

## ANARCHISTS DENY

### Complicity in shooting of British holidaymakers in Spain

THE shooting of two holiday-makers on the Franco-Spanish border might have been passed off as one of those unfortunate incidents that still occur now and then but for the fact that it has been used by the Spanish authorities as a political weapon against the Spanish refugees in general—and the anarchists in particular. With Franco's victory in 1939 many thousands sought refuge in France, where they still live and work for the liberation of their countrymen from the Fascist tyranny.

According to a *Reuter* report the Governor of Gerona has said that the crime—in which Dr. Peck and his wife were injured, Mrs. Peck fatally, by machine-gun fire—was a deliberate anarchist attempt to embarrass the Spanish government. The "wanted" men were a certain Ramon Vila and Juanito El Croix, a lame man. El Croix has been arrested by the French police who state that he had an "airtight alibi". According to a statement given to them, El Croix, an anarchist, was in Perpignan when two bandits machine-gunned the car near the Franco-Spanish frontier on July 25.

Another lame Spaniard has been arrested, and orders have been issued for the arrest of about a dozen known anarchists and ex-convicts with limps.

It was also reported that Spanish anarchist exiles in Toulouse told the French police that Ramon Vila committed four or five crimes "very successfully" for the anarchist group about five years ago. The anarchists said that he had become so "trigger happy" that they feared they could not control him and so ceased to use him. The French police have passed on the reports to the Spanish authorities, who refer to the anarchist headquarters in Toulouse as "a school for murder".

Spanish police say that Spain will ask France for the extradition of Vila, but the French *sûreté Nationale* says there is no proof that he is in France.

At the time of writing it has not been possible to check on the authenticity of the statement alleged to have been made to the police by the Spanish exiles in Toulouse. However, last Saturday a

statement from the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour) in Spain was handed to the press by their London representatives in which they declared that:

"This cold-blooded crime has nothing to do with our organisation or any of our members.

"Our work is directed against Franco and his régime, and the hold-up of peaceful holidaymakers is incompatible with our principles and methods.

"Ramon Capdevila, who was named as a suspect in order to incriminate Franco's political opponents, was a prominent member of the French Resistance during the war and an active member of the Spanish underground in the years that followed.

"His activities were purely political. He severed all connections with political movements nearly five years ago, and since then we have no knowledge of his actions.

"As the Spanish police have now admitted that Capdevila is no longer suspected, there remains no link of any kind with the anti-Franco movement.

"Yet the campaign of persecution of

anti-Franco refugee organisations in France continues.

"In these circumstances it is fair to ask whether this senseless crime was not the work of an agent-provocateur and exploited to strike at Franco's opponents abroad.

"It is significant that the shooting followed closely on the arrest of several of our members engaged in the publication of our underground Press.

"In the course of these arrests a number of our comrades were killed, a fact that was suddenly admitted in police statements to foreign journalists after the Peck crime.

"The Spanish Liberation Movement would welcome and afford full facilities to an impartial investigation of the Tosas hold-up in the full confidence that it would uncover no link with the underground movement."

This statement was published in the *Daily Worker*, and in short news items in some of the national dailies. But the *Manchester Guardian* which published at length, the report of anarchist implication in the shooting has not, as we go to press (Tuesday), even mentioned the C.N.T.'s denial.

## Labour Party Peace Fellowship

A NEW Labour party peace movement has been formed with a broad base on which most Labour party supporters with pacifist sentiments will find room to stand. It is to be called the Labour Peace Fellowship and it is intended to replace the Labour Pacifist Fellowship which was founded in 1940. The purpose of the new organisation is to bring together for joint action both members of the Labour party who refuse individual participation in war in any fashion and those who are willing to co-operate in non-violent activities for the long-term promotion of peace.

The president of the fellowship is to be the Rev. Philip Sorensen, M.P., and there will be two chairmen, Mr. Victor Yates, M.P., when the fellowship meets in the House of Commons, and Miss Aubrey Jupp when it meets outside. More than eighty members of Parliament are joining the fellowship, including about a dozen out-and-out pacifists and more than seventy people sympathetic to pacifism and holding views in accord with the group's principles.

A statement of the fellowship's principles says that only in a socialist society can man attain true freedom and abundant life and that war and militarism

prevent that fulfilment. It adds: "The fellowship works for the ending of capitalism, fear, and poverty, believing them to be root causes of modern war. History shows that capitalist economies in an era of depression tend to rely on large-scale rearmament programmes as a means of staving off economic collapse and maintaining full employment. It looks forward to the establishment of democratic socialism in all lands."

The fellowship is to hold a public meeting at Margate during the Labour party conference at the end of September. *Manchester Guardian* 1/8/53.

## Making Political Capital out of Evans Report?

ACCORDING to last Sunday's *Observer* "the Labour backbenchers believe that the Evans case may become a political bombshell. They think they can prove that Evans was wrongly hanged, and they intend to return to the charge again and again until the Cabinet grants a public enquiry."

The interesting point about the controversy is that Sir David Maxwell Fyfe is not the only person involved. So is Mr. Chuter Ede, who was Home Secretary at the time. If the campaign goes on, it could thus become not only an attack on the Government but also on the Labour Front Bench. The fact that Mr. Aneurin Bevan took part in last week's debate is surely not without significance.

The Evans case is too important for the politicians to be allowed to use it for their political ends.

## General Templer's Bargain Counter

THE notorious General Templer who in his attempts to "pacify" Malaya has not hesitated to use methods which have shocked public conscience (for a day or two at least) continues undeterred to think up new way of encouraging the informer and breaking down the loyalties that exist among the people. His latest brainwave according to an *A.P.* report, was put to the villagers in Jabu Valley last week. He said the would give them an acre of land for every Communist guerrilla killed as a result of information they gave. He told them it was not an offence to hand food over to a Communist "if he stuck a gun into them, but it was an offence not to tell the police about it."

Meanwhile troops were surrounding the village of Broga in Selangor, under orders to let out none of the one thousand inhabitants until they stopped helping the Communist guerrillas. The villagers are under house curfew daily from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., and all coffee shops and eating houses are being closed.

the argument between EOTA and the P.O. Engineers' Union shows, at least 31 possibilities all the time for competition and dispute among the workers themselves.

How can the full strength of the P.O. workers be mobilised in these circumstances? The Anarcho-Syndicalist point of view is that there should be one organisation of all the workers in the Post Office organised at the point of production, no matter what their particular function may be. By setting up works committees composed of workers, without full time officials wherever possible, without paying their delegates more than if they had stayed at work and without allowing control to pass out of their own hands, all the workers concerned—postmen, sorters, drivers, counter-clerks, telephone workers of all kinds—operators and engineers—draughtsmen, Office-workers, whatever they are, could create a Post Office Workers' Syndicate which would further their interests instead of dividing them for the benefit of careerists and politicians. P.S.

## The Post Office Union Squabble

A TRADE UNION argument within the Post Office has just come to an apparent conclusion. And during its progress, which has lasted for more than three years, one or two interesting sidelights have been thrown on political activity.

The issue revolves around the demand for recognition by the Engineering Officers' (Telecommunications) Association, which claims to represent the technical officer in the Post Office, because it has over 40 per cent. of the membership in that grade. And this percentage was established during 1945-47, when Lord Listowel was Postmaster General, as the one which qualified an association for official recognition as a negotiating body.

### Political Issues

The EOTA has been struggling for recognition for several years, but the attitude of successive Postmasters-General during the Labour Governments has been that the needs for representation by the technical officers is well covered by the Post Office Engineering Union.

In 1950 the matter came to a head when, more to embarrass the Labour Government than anything else, a group of Conservative M.P.s raised the matter in the House of Commons. They were, they assured the House, very much concerned with the principle of free association, and one of the Tories who demanded that Mr. Ness Edwards (then Labour P.M.G.) should allow the recognition of the EOTA was Mr. Gammans, now himself, Assistant P.M.G. (the Postmaster-General himself is Lord de la Warr—safely tucked away in the House of Lords).

But, as so often happens, now that Mr. Gammans is in a position to do something to help the EOTA, we find he has changed his mind. For once again, the question of recognition has been raised in the House by a group of Conservative M.P.s, who clearly felt that, since they were subject to pressure from the EOTA to try again now that we have a Conservative Government, no harm would be done and in fact some good may come out of supporting the EOTA's claim.

But Mr. Gammans surprised them all by telling them that what they were voting for in 1950 was not the recognition of the EOTA, but merely to express disapproval of the biased attitude of the Labour Postmaster-General—whose opposition to EOTA was purely the result of prejudice and not based on an impartial knowledge

### The Terrington Committee

Mr. Gammans' opposition to EOTA, however, unlike Mr. Ness Edwards' before him, is based purely and honestly on an unbiased appraisal of the situation. For the argument in 1950 led to the setting up of the Terrington Committee in 1951, presided over by Lord Terrington and including Lincoln Evans, which, in its report in 1952 recommended the abolition of the "Listowel" formula by which con-

### WHO WERE THE MUGS?

"Torquay is to sell 2,000 unclaimed Coronation mugs (cost 2s.) at 4d. each" *News Chronicle.*

consideration was promised to requests for recognition from associations with a membership of at least 40 per cent. of the organised staff of the grades concerned. This formula was condemned by the committee because it "is a distinct encouragement to secessionist groups among the established trade unions and we think it renders trade union discipline in the best sense extremely difficult."

So Mr. Gammans now has all the arguments for doing exactly the same as Mr. Edwards in 1950. He went further and pointed out that at no time had the Conservative Party pledged itself to ensure recognition for EOTA and in any case, a membership of 40 per cent. of the staff concerned did not automatically entitle an organisation to recognition, but only entitled it to *consideration* for recognition. A very different matter.

In the discussion in the House last Friday, one of the Tories speaking for EOTA said what he thought of his own colleagues' action. Sir Robert Grimston, who must be rather a naive gentleman, said: "We have gone back on an attitude and on a cause which we espoused not on the merits of the case but for expediency. I do not think that in the long run that sort of thing will command either the trust of one's friends or the respect of one's opponents."

How right he is.

### The Craft Unions

We cannot leave this amusing little example of political trickery without referring to the cause of it all, which is clearly the fantastic division of the workers in the Post Office by their trade unions.

There are no less than 31 recognised unions in the Post Office catering for 186 departmental grades, as well as the other unions and associations (of which EOTA is only one) seeking recognition.

Clearly, while there is this multiplicity of organisations, the Post Office workers are always at the mercy of the political careerists who live on their backs. There are 31 General Secretaries to be paid, 31 Treasurers, 31 Chairmen and 31 office staffs of various kinds and sizes and—as

## COAL ECONOMY

The Coal Board announced yesterday that they have bought 200,000 tons of good quality domestic type coal from Belgium.

The Board said that this is in addition to the 300,000 tons bought from France recently. The Belgian coal is expected to arrive in the next few months.

*Daily Express* 24/7/53.

In June, Britain exported 1,223,000 tons of coal.

## FARM WORKERS' INCREASE

THE Agricultural Wages Board has confirmed by a majority vote proposals to give men working on the land a minimum wage of £6 a week.

That is an increase of 7s. Women workers will get a minimum of £4 11s.—five shillings more. Casual rates for men are increased by twopence to 2s. 7d. an hour.

The increases were opposed by the employers' representatives, but there is a very good reason why the increase should be given to farm workers at this time. That is to say, a good reason for the government—there are always good reasons for the workers.

The Labour Party, desperately looking around for some rallying-cry on which to hang a policy (as well as looking for a policy on which to hang a rallying-cry) are turning again to the idea of land-nationalisation. It is on the agenda for the next annual conference soon to be held at Margate and may or may not become official party policy.

There is unlikely to be any great enthusiasm among farm workers for the idea of nationalisation. Without betraying any liking for Sir Hartley Shawcross,

we tend to agree with him on his recent criticism of the idea of nationalisation of the land. Sir Hartley, of course, is, among other things, concerned to keep the friendship of such folk as his recent customers, Sir Bernard and Lady Docker. We, however, want to see *socialisation* of the land and workers' control by land workers operating through free collectives.

Any support from farm workers that there may be, however, the Conservatives clearly hope to reduce by giving them a higher wage than ever before. £6 is certainly not a high wage—scarcely a living wage even in the country—to-day, but equally certainly the farm worker is not the poverty-stricken labourer he was in 1939 when the basic wage was 32s.

By "setting the farmer free" by easing controls and letting food find its own price, the Tories will undoubtedly keep the support of the farm employer. By granting a wage increase the Government hope to keep the farm employee satisfied and take his mind off any thoughts he may have of "revolutionary" changes in agricultural economy.



## ONE LONG "SILLY SEASON" UNLESS . . .

THE newspaper men call this the "silly season", as if now that the politicians have stopped talking until October, and the judges have put their black caps on one side while they take a well deserved rest away from it all, that nothing of importance is happening in the world worthy of their front pages. That is certainly the impression one gets when for instance the wedding of Dr. Nunn May, the atom-spy, is given banner headlines in the evening press, and the female world is engaged in bitter combat as to whether it should go up with Dior or down with Schiaparelli.

Yet life goes on with its tragedies and its joys, its problems and its thoughts, during this all too brief respite from the antics of the professional talkers and dispensers of justice. So while the Press is enjoying its silly-season it is perhaps the appropriate moment to ask oneself what function it serves in the life of the community.

With few exceptions our newspapers are published for profit, and only incidentally can it be said that they might be performing a public service. Viewed objectively the press as a whole could be said to be performing a public *disservice* in that an unbalanced presentation of the news is generally given, facts are distorted or suppressed and editorial views are either "inspired" or expressed without much thought. An influential paper to-day is not one which is edited by a competent team of men of intelligence and independence of thought. By "influential" is meant that its editorial views are in fact the views of powerful groups in the industrial and political world whose opinions cannot be ignored by the governments in power, and that what that paper says to-day the government does to-morrow.

The fetish for being "first with the news" makes for inaccuracy in its presentation (apart from intentional suppression) and editorial comments which get by only because the public have such short memories. An illustration is the report on the Evans Trial prepared by Mr. Scott Henderson, Q.C. which was hailed by the Press on the morning of its publication as a vindication of British Justice, a cause for "general relief" as the *Manchester Guardian* put it. Yet we will be so bold as to forecast that it is only a question of time before the *Manchester Guardian* and the rest will be eating their words.

It is difficult to deny that the public gets the kind of newspaper it wants. Trained from childhood to look upon independent thinking as dangerous and unpatriotic, un-doctored and un-commented news and facts mean nothing to the general public. And unable to concentrate on an idea or subject for longer than five minutes, our popular press with its headlines and pictures and its telegraphic articles (with the notable exceptions of reports of murder trials, royalty and sport to which all other news is subordinated) admirably meet the public need.

It is in this respect that this "public service" has become a "public disservice". For it is the popular press which is to blame if to-day the general public is semi-illiterate and mentally paralysed.

Without ignoring the difficulties to be overcome in creating an independent Press, it is nevertheless not an impossibility. Just as people have come together to "self-build" their houses, and even to build their own church (M.G. 3/8/53), not to men-

# AN EDUCATIONAL IDEA

WHEN so many well-conceived and ambitious educational projects go awry, it is natural to wonder what may be the reason. To say that, despite the ample resources of this country, and despite the active intelligence of a number of remarkably good men in the field, education in the United States is nevertheless marked by considerably less than outstanding success is almost a commonplace utterance, often voiced by educators themselves.

The answer drawn from the Eternal Verities, to the effect that modern man has been unable to discover any central purpose for his life, doubtless applies. But while we are investigating this large and important problem, there are considerations to be noted.

Many students, for example, seem to think that to be educated means to undergo a process, to submit to a routine. And many teachers and parents have the impression that the job of the educator is to make that routine as attractive and as inoffensive as possible. Here, of course, there are shades of meaning involved. If the contrast is to be between a dull and punishing routine and a pleasant and exciting one, then, by all means, let us have the one which may be enjoyed.

On the other hand, we should like to quarrel with the idea that there is any element of "routine" or "processing" at all in authentic education. Educational institutions may and do have routines which are necessary to the facilities of education. The facilities, however, are not a part of education, any more than the diving board is the dive, or the temple an act of devotion. It may be argued, further, that any sort of routine, once it is thought of as a part of education, becomes anti-educational in character and influence. Routines are "instruments

tion the hundreds of clubs connected with crafts and cultural interests, so should it be possible for people who want to be informed on what is happening among the people of the world and what they are thinking and doing; who look to a newspaper not for Sport, Royalty and Crime, but for facts, ideas and news, it should be possible, we say, to establish newspapers which serve their common needs. It is a mistake to believe that such initiatives cannot be taken by the consumers. It is a mistake to be blinded by the current idea that one needs vast capital to launch a newspaper. It is only true in the case of the national dailies where a paper is established, not as a result of an existing need, but through expensive and high pressure publicity and sensationalism, by creating a demand. And to create a demand where none previously existed is an expensive business as we learned in connection with the publicity war between the manufacturers of detergents. How many housewives felt the need for such a product as DAZ before it was put on the market? Now millions have been conditioned by expensive publicity to want it rather than similar products with different names!

But a newspaper which is established by the consumers has no such problems to solve. That is not to say that such a project is without problems. Yet a problem greater than the financial one is that of widespread defeatism: the sense of frustration which is not answered by determination and action; the knowledge of what should be done which is silenced by the feeling of individual impotence before the vast problems of our time.

This is the tragedy of to-day: the feeling that there is no room for the individual; that only the large scale has any meaning or value.

It is a view we anarchists do not share.

of conditioning and of habit. Conditioning and habit affect the part of man which may be trained, but they easily confine or inhibit the part of man which responds to and participates in the act of education.

To be educated, a man or boy or girl must want to be educated. This means that anything which hides this fact from the young is a foe of education. Further, the importance of wanting to be educated cannot be disclosed by anyone except those who want the same thing. Thus the only good teachers are people who still regard themselves as learners, who are determined to continue the learning process for themselves throughout their lives. Possibly, for this reason, Socrates is still the natural type of the true educator—a man whom the Oracle called the wisest man in Athens, simply because he thought himself in need of education.

Quite obviously, propositions of this sort invite comparison of a theory of education with the institutional practice of education. The institutional practice of education—a thing which we find it comfortable and convenient to take for granted—may be in direct opposition to the theory of education which insists that education must be wanted. In fact, a great deal of so-called "democratic thinking" on the subject of education may be opposed to this theory.

Albert Jay Nock once suggested that the proper environment for education is that created by a man hard at work at his chosen profession, craft, or calling. Education begins when students are permitted to approach him—quietly, so as not to disturb him—respectfully, since he is in a position to give them what few or no one else can give them. There seems to be a great deal of sound sense in this conception of education. It may be wildly impractical, yet, if it is sound, it should be examined more closely.

Perhaps the first thing that the young will have to recognize is that a genuine education is going to be very difficult for them to get. They need to be disillusioned of the notion that education resides behind any properly appointed ivy-covered wall. Where, then, shall we begin with the business of acquainting the young with the difficult course which lies ahead?

Here, we have a problem. Education does not begin at college age, but practically in the crib. The

basic issues of education present themselves all through childhood, becoming increasingly important as what we call the "age of responsibility" is approached. One primary issue emerges when the parents talk over the question of whether or not Johnny should be given violin lessons so long as he refuses to practice on his own time. Our theory on the answer to this question is far from being worked out. The genius or prodigy offers no problem, since he is the extraordinary child who insists on practicing far beyond the call of duty. Such a child has somehow already learned the secret of getting an education, at least in respect to playing the fiddle. But for the ordinary run of offspring, the question of how much well-meant cajolery and constraint should be applied in such situations is a puzzling one. A person brought up in an atmosphere of the arts is liable to argue simply that children should be made to get through the unpleasant drudgery of learning "technique" so that later, when they are older, they will be free to enjoy their expression.

## Who's Crazy?

HONGKONG, JULY 30.

Michael Patrick O'Brien was allowed ashore here from the Hongkong-Macao ferry-boat for the first time to-day after shuttling between the two ports for eleven months, only to disappear without trace. The unwilling passenger of the *Lee Hong*, a man without a country who had been refused permission to land by the immigration authorities at either end, was reported to have been taken ashore here by two Europeans.

That was the last known about him, though some reports suggested that he was in police custody. The owners of the *Lee Hong* said that they know nothing about his release and told reporters to contact the ferry's captain, but the vessel had already left for Macao.

O'Brien was recently said to have applied to the United Nations refugee organisation to be allowed to enter Brazil.—*Reuter*.

This is the season when some people try to swim across the English Channel instead of going by boat. There were so many last week that to keep the press informed of progress by the various swimmers someone hit on the idea of using carrier pigeons. But according to the *News Chronicle's* Peter Vane "French police banned carrier pigeons, used to carry news of swimmers' progress, because they might violate laws for the safety of the State"! Who said officials—and policemen at that—were intelligent?

## E. A. GUTKIND The Expanding Environment The End of Cities—The Rise of Communities

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We have only a general principle to suggest: that eventually a time will come when the parent will need to convey to the child, as simply as possible, and without being too ponderous or oppressive, that most of the things worth having in later years will be the result of really wanting them now, and taking the steps necessary to having them. One might almost regret the existence of our imposing public school system, the crafts centres, and a score or more of other facilities—making the educational opportunities of our time resemble a smorgasbord array of delectables. Least of all do we like the fact that, very often, the people available to serve these wares have what amounts to the rôle of a clerk behind the counter, in our society. This is a downright smear of the arts and of education. It might be better to resolve to be an ignorant Philistine, rather than to dabble in a "cultured" way in all these things.

The revolutionary side of our argument, which we have been rapidly approaching, involves the fact that what is supposed to be education is brought to the young on a silver platter, and as a result the pupils are helped to imagine that it will always be thus. Probably the basic tools of communication—reading, writing, and ciphering—should be taught by the State, if only in self-protection. And doubtless the politicians will demand that other subjects be taught, such as plenty of nationalistic American history. And the industries will want young men fitted for technical positions. We may accept these incidentals, since, at least for the present, we must—but we are under no necessity to regard them as educational.

Genuine education, it seems to us, should be set apart from all the routines and techniques of instruction. As early as possible, the child should be helped to understand that education can neither be bought nor paid for. Perhaps stories of the founding of the great universities of the Middle Ages would help to get across the idea. Peter Abelard, who had something to do with the start of the University of Paris, was followed about by ardent young men who wanted to listen to him question the orthodoxies of his time. Those young men, we suspect, gained as much education as the times would allow. Abelard was a serious thinker, and other serious thinkers flowered in his atmosphere. Is it too much to say that there is no education, except in an atmosphere of serious thinking? That the mistaking of a lot of degrees, academic buildings, expensive laboratories and other plant for education is a vast deception foisted upon the young by the old? That this deception is subversive of a free society, since it raises up, not a generation of thinkers, but rank upon rank of deluded little conformists who have learned only to echo back to their instructors the settled formulas of the *Status quo*?

We do not suggest that educational reforms are the duty of the State, but that only parents—parents, and a teacher, here and there—can do much of anything about a situation of this sort. It is a matter of refusing to allow education to be throttled by the educational institutions which have grown up all around us—of rejecting any doctrine of education which overlooks the simple primitive conception that education is the transmission from one generation to another of the high skills of men who do their work well—men who are generous enough to permit themselves to be observed by the young, and to answer an occasional question.

Some notice should be made of the fact that the educational idea of bringing educational opportunity to everybody seems to have had the unfortunate effect of cheapening education. Surely, we hasten to add, this is not a necessary result of

# Present-Day Conditions of Engineering Workers

(From a Correspondent)

THESE notes are not intended to make even the briefest overall survey of conditions of workers in the Engineering industries (or even the Civil and Mechanical Engineering industries with which, in particular, I am familiar), although I feel that such a survey is badly needed, because the picture varies so much in the many branches of the industries, and from region to region, that my personal experiences would be wholly inadequate. In fact, with the scanty information published by the press, and the bias in favour of managements views, which even the most 'reliable' papers display when reporting an industrial dispute, it is probably beyond the power of any one man to cover the whole scene thoroughly. Perhaps, one day, a team of observers who are in friendly touch with the workers and independent of government, managements and unions will be set up by an equally independent body, and the real impact of the workers' economic environment upon all workers everywhere will be set out. Until then, the best way of assessing the present situation seems to be for interested people in every sphere to publish their impressions in any way open to them.

\*Before giving my own impressions, some general comment on the subject seems appropriate. Public interest and

concern for the working class is probably as low to-day as it has ever been since early Hanoverian days. It is perhaps inevitable that press news should be one-sided. The views of managements are probably more accessible to the reporter, certainly more congenial to their brother managers of the newspapers, and correspondingly more acceptable to most of the interested readers. This is no new phenomenon. Novelty seems to lie in the several factors which have combined since the war to narrow the range of living standards which previously separated the labourer from the socially-minded middle classes, and to change the order within that range. The factors include the reduced real cost of restricted rent houses, and the reduced real value of fixed incomes, subsidies, social services and higher taxation. Their effects have been sufficient for some workers to enjoy pleasures which previously only the middle-classes could afford, while the middle-classes have had to cut down on accustomed pleasures. Their consciences have been quietened thereby and the small proportion of workers able to invade their preserves is overlooked. Perhaps, too, the competition engendered by middle-class efforts to keep up pre-war living standards has left them little time to think about social conditions. No doubt, international tensions have been mirrored in the national life, and fear of war has been mingled with fear of a slump if peace prevails.

rule, three days wages are held, and men starting that week would receive nothing. This man is still on the job, so that his next action cannot be explained as work-shyness. He demanded his cards, thereby resigning his job, in order to be paid on the spot. The timekeeper refused this on the grounds of a rule that an hour's notice must be given, and called for the next man. Eventually another man lent him ten shillings from his own pocket. But, the rules would have let the man starve.

In another case a man left his job a few days after starting, and after some weeks of unemployment, because he needed thirty shillings to pay his rent to avoid eviction. Although, he had earned perhaps five pounds, he was refused because it was a rule of the firm not to advance more than one pound. It is easy to guess how it feels to give up a job after a few days when work is hard to find, and the bitterness aroused is not surprising in view of the obvious malevolence of the timekeeper, and the fact that he helps to make the rules that he administers. It is that still clouds the lives of working men, and will prevent all real social and human progress as long as it continues.

The attitude of the clerks and timekeepers seems to spring from resentment that the better wages paid to men when long hours of overtime are worked often exceed their own salary. Higher paid staff, such as foremen and inspectors often seem to resent having to lead men instead of being able to drive them by fear of dismissal. Through an unbalanced sense of values, making a mental effort to get the best from men they frequently despise, hurts their pride. In psychological terms the staff-men dichotomy can probably be traced to the removal of the basis of a feeling of superiority which staff's power and social prestige gave them. It is not new, of course; staff high-handedness when they had social prestige above the workers has always been resented, but it was then part of a general social problem, overshadowed by the scourge of mass-poverty.

## Directors and Managerial Staff

It is interesting to consider the relationship between workers and employers to-day. Contacts between workers and the active directors who represent the employing shareholders are few in firms of any size, and usually occur on festive occasions outside working hours, and with a friendly spirit. Marxists may reflect that the failure of the class struggle to bring about revolution in economically advanced Western Europe may be due to an advance on the free economic system of a century ago. It may not have been a simplification then to divide industry into employer and worker. Today, the worker is controlled almost entirely by employed staff and Marxist propaganda paints a picture which no longer corresponds to the workers' emotional pattern. In fact, it offers to remove the "genial" directors, to whom, theoretically, some appeal can be made against abuses by the staff, and to enthroned the staff in full power.

## Role of the Unions

Few outside industry yet appreciate how little the trade unions represent working class interests, and how much advantage union officials took of the Labour Government to install themselves in managerial positions. The bombastic claims for a two pound a week wage increase which the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions made last year can be contrasted with the seven and fourpence they accepted, to give some indication of the weakness of the unions now that some measure of unemployment threatens working class living standards. It will be interesting to see what happens to the proportional increase of 15 per cent. which is being claimed this year, for while there is no indication that the trade unions have closed ranks, the Austin dispute clearly shows how much managements have stiffened.

There seems to be every indication of a similar disunity amongst union members evidenced by the co-existence of unemployment and overtime working in the same trade. That human advance can

really progress when men neglect family life and cultured pursuits by working long hours of overtime to equip their houses with television sets and washing machines is still doubted only by the few. But surely no one can believe that advance will come by denying men the opportunity of working, and everybody but the economic theorists would deny the right of managements to discharge some men while giving overtime working to others, if only because of the unnecessary charge on public funds. Even governments might be persuaded to take action on these grounds.

This double disunity seems to leave little chance of the trade unions leading human advance. To my mind, it is inevitable in a society that rates possessions so highly that, as we progress toward the goal of a truly free life for everyone, more and more will the golden apples deflect men from their path. But for those who had put their faith in institutions, the disillusion leaves a feeling that further efforts are not worth making.

## Leisure and Overtime

Finally, after years of full employment, the capitalist economic system is revealing how diseased it is, even in its new guise. For every man without work at all, there must be many whose hours of working and earnings have lately been drastically cut. Greater leisure may be desirable, but a sudden increase in leisure considered with an equally sudden drop in living standards has nothing to commend it. I know several men who have left a foundry where overtime working had suddenly disappeared in order to work long hours on a civil engineering job which will be finished before the winter. Then, they too will be unemployed. The attraction of overtime working cannot be attributed to the higher rate paid for it, for income tax usually rises sharply enough to offset this. Most of these men would have had to give up their homes and find a cheaper house if they had remained in their old jobs, and in the present housing shortage they would have found that nearly impossible. Unfortunately, the day of reckoning is probably only postponed six months, and their plight may then be much worse.

The assurance of the Labour Government and the unions that the days were over when a man could work himself out of a job seem very hollow now, and the old conflict between working slowly so that no one was dismissed, and working hard to make sure it wasn't you, is slowly undermining men's characters again. I personally think that long hours of work offer more promise than hours of leisure clouded by the fear of dismissal, for I am sure that there is no hope of re-moulding the attitude of men to their neighbours, while every man lives in an atmosphere of suspicion and the-devil-take-the-hindmost.

Looking forward I can see little that is bright. Self interest and xenophobia have combined already in the United

States to take the Chief Joseph dam contract out of British hands, in effect to transfer unemployment from there to the United Kingdom, and the Charlie Chaplin episode, together with the threat of mass deportations, suggests that they will not stop at this. I am afraid the same motives may result in foreigners, many of whom have come here to take refuge from bureaucracy enthroned, being deprived of their jobs to reduce British unemployment, and de-immigration may be the phrase to cover their deportation. That this would correspond to the medieval practice of harrrying the poor over the parish boundaries is unlikely to worry twentieth-century officialdom. I have only one consolation. It is that the futility of building better societies on legal controls is now obvious.

## Living Standard

I think, though, that the roots of apathy go deeper. It is surely significant that so much blame for high taxation is placed on the social services, whose invaluable work is done at a cost of only one tenth of the national budget, and that re-armament, absorbing nearly a quarter of the budget, should hardly be given a second thought. No one can believe that arms are obtained economically by unleashing a greater flood of orders upon the engineering industry than it could absorb, and the boosting of company profits and the consequent encouragement of wage claims would seem to lead to exactly that inflation which the middle-classes fear, as well as aggravating export difficulties. In fact, the money "misspent" in the social services can hardly be compared with the additional profits of the armament manufacturers, and yet, silence reigns on this subject. For these reasons, I do not think my estimate of the apathy toward social questions is exaggerated, and its removal may prove a long and hard task. It must be broken down before any survey will be acted upon, however, for it is one of the fundamental causes of the present hiatus in social progress, and I do urge that its study by all who are qualified would bring most valuable results.

The curse of almost every individual organisation seems to be the staff-men dichotomy, and engineering organisations are no exception to this. By this, I mean lack of human contact, the bitter-

ness, and, in individual cases, even hatred, which separates the working men from the salaried clerks, timekeepers and other office staff. It has a daily impact on the workers every time they clock in at the timekeeper's office, and manifests itself more forcibly on civil engineering sites when the worker is claiming travel warrants or asking for an advance on wages due to him. The following account of an incident at which I was present may help to illustrate this.

## Cause of Discontent

Men were badly needed at the start of a civil engineering contract a few months ago. After working for two days a man went to the timekeeper's window, and asked for a 'sub', or advance, of ten shillings on the strength of the wages he had earned, but would not receive in the normal course of events for several days. His earnings were about three pounds. The timekeeper curtly refused. The man explained that he had previously been out of work for three weeks, and that he had been refused assistance by the Ministry of Labour clerk since starting work on the grounds that he could get a 'sub' after his first day's work. He said he had no money or food for himself and his wife, and that he must have some money to eat that night. The timekeeper again refused—this time rudely. It was the firm's rule, he said, that 'subs' were only given on the first Friday a man worked, when, by another

## An Educational Idea Continued from p. 3

education for everybody, but it may be a necessary result whenever education is conceived as a process which may somehow be imposed upon human beings, whether or not they care about it at all. We might be able to recover some of the lost glory of education if we keep on insisting that learning cannot take place without deep yearning and aspiration. Even when we do "too much" for the young—as it often seems that we must, in a complex society such as ours, in order to have any contact with them—we can still make it plain that they will make no real gains unless they seize upon what we offer and create from it their own expression. There ought to be some way to convince them that all anyone can do for another is to open a door. Walking through the opening one must do for oneself.

Actually, an idea of this sort can take hold only through the slow process of recreating the entire cultural outlook of a society. But what may not be appreciated is that some such re-creation is needed not only in the field of education. The man who wonders about the growing

popular reliance on the resources of the Welfare State ought to realize, also, that the psychology of dependence is at the root of State Power, and that the threat of totalitarianism is more than a merely political development—it is a psychological development founded on a new estimate of the human being and his inner resources. What is wanted, actually, is numerous "Swiss Family Robinsons" who will practice ingenuity and self-reliance within the slowly crystallizing matrix of towering but increasingly meaningless institutions.

We might set the problem in this way: There is always a wilderness to conquer, always a waterless desert to traverse. No child can escape the struggle for wisdom and maturity because his father endowed a library or because his country has hired eminent scholars to render him service. His education will be in the struggle to learn and to know. Anyone who hides this fact from the young is planting the wilderness of to-morrow with impassable thickets of delusion.

—Manas (Los Angeles).

## Who Pays the Lawyers?

IN a recent issue of FREEDOM (18/7/53) we asked "Who pays the lawyers in Murder Trials?" We still have not the answer though a statement made by the judge at the trial of the Merrifields charged with murdering an elderly widow, does reveal the need for a complete exposure of the yellow press' vested interest in crime and violence.

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The judge thanked Mr. J. di V. Nahum, Q.C., who had defended accused couple under the Poor Prisoners' Rules, his junior, Mr. Hague, and Mr. Budd, the solicitor, who had represented the Merrifields.

He added that it had come to his notice that Mr. Budd was offered a sum of money to pay for the defence upon terms which, in his mind, might have fettered his discretion to conduct the defence as he thought fit. The Judge complimented and congratulated Mr. Budd upon his decision to refuse that payment.

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