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# Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

Know ye not who would  
 be free themselves must  
 strike the blow

BYRON

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Threepence

## IN A CLASS DIVIDED SOCIETY THERE CAN BE NO INDUSTRIAL PEACE

WHEN asked, many years ago, what the labour movement wanted, Samuel Gompers, the New York cigar maker who founded the American Federation of Labour in 1881 (and was its president until his death 44 years later!), replied in one word: "More". "The answer remains the same" writes George Meany,<sup>1</sup> president of the A.F.L. in 1955. "Our goals as trade-unionists are modest. We do not seek to recast American society. We do seek an ever-rising standard of living—by which we mean not only more money but more leisure and a richer cultural life". As to how they will get "more" Mr. Meany places his faith in "voluntary collective bargaining" which he says can exist "only in the environment of political freedom . . . And so we are dedicated to freedom, not only political but also economic, through a system of private enterprise. We believe in the American profit system, in free competition . . . Collective bargaining is not a means of seeking a voice in management. We do not want so-called "co-determination"—the representation of unions on the board of directors or in the active management of any company."

idea that private ownership of the means of production as such is utterly wrong, and towards the notion that it is inequality not related to merit or function which is the real trouble."

"Equality", wrote Mr. Gaitskell earlier in his article, does not mean identical incomes or uniform habits and tastes. What instead he means by equality is

"a classless society—one in which the relations between all people are similar to those hitherto existing within one social class; one in which though there are differences between individuals, there are no attitudes of superiority or inferiority between groups; one in which although some are paid more than others, the differentials are based on generally accepted criteria—skill, responsibility, effort, danger, dirt, etc.; one in which though people develop differently, there is equal opportunity for all to develop."

AT the congress of the Confederation General du Travail (C.G.T.—the communist dominated French Trade Union Confederation representing a majority of organised workers), held in Paris last week, an

overwhelming majority of the delegates accepted the secretary general's report that "progressive pauperization" is inevitable as long as the capitalist system survives, against the minority view which argued that an energetic and constructive trade union programme can do something to improve the workers' lot.

ONE cannot explain away the diametrically opposing views expressed by the A.F.L. and C.G.T. spokesmen simply by dismissing the latter on the grounds that being communist dominated it must be "politically" inspired and divorced from reality (any more than one can discount the validity of the campaign of the ETU (Electrical Trades Union) for shorter working hours launched at its conference last month on the grounds that its president is a communist). One must instead seek the reasons—and accept one or the other since both cannot be correct estimations of the situa-

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### FOOTPLATE MEN'S AWARD

#### WAS THE STRIKE WORTH IT?

THE ASLEF called off its strike last week on a formula which was supposed to be a face-saver all round.

At the end of the talks that had been going on all the time, the three parties to the discussion—ASLEF, NUR and British Transport Commission—agreed to submit their arguments to a single judge, and all would be bound to accept his finding.

This was a considerable gamble on the part of ASLEF, but it did give them one advantage. The legal mind of a judge would be bound to come to an impartial decision on differentials in accordance with all the documents, statements and declarations of policy on that issue by the BTC in its dealings with ASLEF.

The statement from ASLEF which we published a fortnight ago showed clearly enough that the BTC had in fact committed itself to observing differentials, and so ASLEF felt confident that the judge's decision could not go wrong here.

And that has been borne out in the event. Lord Justice Morris was the legal eagle chosen to hold the inquiry and in making an award to ASLEF has established the differential in principle.

But that is about all, for in practice—i.e. as expressed in terms of hard cash—Lord Justice Morris has been somewhat niggardly with the locomen. He has awarded increases of 1s. per week for 1st year drivers, 2s. for 2nd year, and 3s. for 3rd year. Firemen get nothing.

This is in contrast with the ASLEF claim for 5s. 6d. increase all round for drivers and 2s. 6d. for firemen.

Basic wages are now, including the increase; £8 16s. for 1st year drivers, £9 7s. for 2nd year, £9 18s. 3rd year. Top rate (i.e. 3rd year) firemen get £8 4s.

The increases Lord Justice Morris has so munificently distributed are only on the basic rates. 'Extra mileage' rates and presumably overtime rates, are still to be won on those.

This, however, is not the point for which the 17-day, nation-wide strike was fought. The basic awards are so footling as to make no difference worth mentioning to the locomen's pay packets, and they will still have to rely on overtime and extra mileage (the footplate man's equivalent to piece work) to bring their wages up to a satisfactory level.

Average earnings for 3rd year drivers are £12 per week—more than £2 a week over the basic. That surely represents a lot of overtime and extra mileage.

The ASLEF has stated that it is satisfied that Lord Justice Morris reached his decision fairly, and that he has established the principles of differentials. What the men on the footplates are thinking, however, may not be quite so sanguine (*sanguinary* might be more like it!) for in fact the learned Judge's decision has awarded the men less than was offered by BTC earlier in the negotiations!

## The Coup d'Etat in Argentina

THE uprising of naval airmen and marine personnel against the Peronist Government following the earlier conflict between the Church and the Government, appears to have been quelled.

Both the official Vatican newspaper, *Osservatore Romano*, and the rebel movement have denied any connection between the Church and the uprising. The Editor of *El Pais* of Uruguay, where some of the pilots and mechanics have sought asylum, after interviews with thirty of these writes that:

"the revolution had been in preparation for three years, and the refugees say its purpose was not to seize power but to restore to the people the possibility of Democratic Government which Peron had subverted by means of unfair elections."

"How "democratic" Government can be restored without seizing power is difficult to understand.

Commenting on the situation in the *Observer*, J. Halcro Ferguson writes that traditionally the Navy is entirely officered by Catholics and it is fairly certain that naval leaders were in touch with the Church leaders, so that although Catholic Action may not have direct control over the rebellious naval officers it is obvious that the plan would not have been put into action if the Catholic militants had not openly defied the Government, with some success, thus showing their strength, and if they had not been prepared to support the uprising of the crews of the naval aircraft.

The other connection is between the wealthy landowners who form the leadership of Catholic Action and, according to a *Times* editorial are advised by anti-Peronist priests, and the officer class of the navy. Both these groups have a grievance against the Government because to some extent their economic and political powers have been undermined.

But, as the same *Times* editorial points out, thus underlining our own observations, the:

"basic significance of the Argentine Church's quarrel with General Peron should not be exaggerated. High principles were invoked by supporters of Catholic Action who broke windows and by Peronists who manhandled their opponents . . . Yet essentially the struggle is a struggle for power between the Government of General Peron and the political leaders of Catholic Action . . . Though it speaks in the name of religion it demands also the rewards of political authority."

Another factor in the timing of the uprising was the excommunication of Peron from the Church. It is not with-

out significance that it followed the pronouncement from Rome which gave tacit support to the anti-Peronist groups.

We should remember however, before coming to any conclusions that the legal, religious and political power enjoyed by the Church in Argentina to-day was given to it by Peron.

#### Peron's Strength

Further, Peron is a baptized Catholic, as indeed are many of his Government officials, there is therefore no ideological quarrel. He has also gone to great lengths to dissociate the Government from any anti-clerical feelings as such, and has firmly placed the blame of Church burning on the shoulders of the communists. Because of this, it is surprising that the Pope has taken the extreme measure of excommunication, and must only have done so in the belief that the uprising would be successful and stood a chance of overthrowing Peron. The Church may well eventually be right, but it seems unlikely, if we consider the support that Peron commands from the industrial workers and the army (which unlike the other services is staffed by officers from peasant and "lower middle class families").

If then Peron conceded the Church so much power what are the eventualities which have given rise to this recent conflict? The growing power of the land-owning class within the Church anxious to re-establish themselves and the restlessness of the officer class are important factors, as well as the influence of Catholics within the official Trade Unions.

#### PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT! WEEK 24

Deficit on Freedom £360  
 Contributions received £303  
 DEFICIT £57

June 9 to June 16

London: T.G. 3/-; Manchester: K.L.C. 3/-; Cromer: M.J.S. 1/6; Abercarn: G.B. 3/-; St. Helier: G.E.P. 2/6; Hitchin: L.A. 5/-; Dagenham: F.S. 2/6; London: N.B.T. 1/6; Stroud: S.L.R. 1/6; Rhymney: D.H.E. 4/6; London: J.H. 3/-; Surbiton: F.N.F. 2/6; Sheffield: G.P.\* 5/-; Birmingham: V.P.S. 10/-; Ipswich: W.M.D. 3/-; Hassle: G.T. 1/6; Manette Street: L. 10/-; London: Anon. 6d.; Croydon: P.O. 2/6; Byfleet: E.H.H. 3/-; Bolton: R.T.S. 10/-; Nayland: W.G.P. 3/-.

Total 4 2 0  
 Previously acknowledged 299 7 5  
 1955 TOTAL TO DATE £303 9 5

But, a factor which has not been mentioned by the press but which we hold to have considerable bearing on the position is the economic relationship between North America and Argentina.

When we discussed a few weeks ago in *FREEDOM* the millions of dollars which were being invested in Argentina we likened the changing attitude to the Church of the Peron Government to the Franco régime. It will be remembered that with the arrival of dollars and the U.S. military in Spain came a curbing of the more extreme anti-Protestant, and Liberal elements within the Church, with, be it noted, the full support of the Pope.

The reason was not that the U.S. Government was worried about freedom of expression, but that the strongly Protestant public in the United States were bound to protest against their money being poured into a country whose official Church was so virulently anti-Protestant.

The essential difference as we see it in this connection between the set-up in Spain and the one in Argentina is that Peron has acted too hastily and violently. If, like Franco he had co-operated with the Church and so effected a compromise he might still be enjoying the support of the Vatican. But the Pope has also acted with unusual speed in this matter because, we suggest, Peron's removal seemed certain. M.

### The Dock Strike What is Happening in the Blue Union?

ALL the expectations were that the dock strike would be finished last weekend. But it is still going on.

Confusion is getting worse confounded by the activities of the leaders of the Stevedores' and Dockers' Union. The three leaders of the executive, Barrett, Hern and Newman, have all come out in favour of going back to work—and all three are giving up their jobs in the union. Barrett is a sick man and is retiring (although this has not been officially announced yet, and he may change his mind), Hern (a Moral Rearmament supporter) is taking a quieter job with a shipping firm and Newman is opening a shop.

None of these three, therefore, have any great interest in the strike—and all along have not shown any great enthusiasm. We published last week facts on the rôle of the Communist Party in this strike, and it is interesting to hear that Newman, official of the striking blue union, thanked Vic Marney, C.P. leader of the fence-sitting liaison committee in the white union, for what he had done during the strike!

It is the rank and file in London who have kept the struggle going—and even there the enthusiasm seems to be waning. The new strike leadership which has emerged is struggling bravely against a dead weight of opinion which doesn't seem to care very much about the issue of recognition for the blue union in the Northern ports.

For this the blame must be shared be-

tween the weak leadership of the blue union and the liaison committee in the white. In the northern ports, Birkenhead, Liverpool, Manchester, Hull, there is determination to fight and win. A young, fresh, strike committee has the backing of the men. It will be a tragedy if they are let down by London.

If this strike is lost completely it will be a considerable setback for the blue union. This will be a bad thing in that it will drive back many dockers into the Transport & General, and in any case will sicken and sour many more against direct action and striking in the future. When the next real issue comes up, their experiences this time will hold them back.

On the other hand the militant and forward-looking port workers will see the part played by the various factions and will learn the lessons and act accordingly. If a healthy distrust of all leaderships and all political factions comes out of this confused struggle, that will at least be something gained.

**Eyes Left!  
 the Deficit is  
 increasing**

Mr. Meany forecasts that in the next twenty-five years—in this age of automation—a thirty-hour working week will be sufficient to provide the standards he demands for the workers, but ends with these words:

"Advances in technology alone do not solve the great social problems. These are questions not of science but of wisdom. I feel that the voluntary co-operation of labor and management in a free society can carry us far toward their solution."

IN an article in *Forward* on "What do we Mean by Equality", Hugh Gaitskell, former Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer and strongly tipped as one of Attlee's possible successors, writes:

"As for exploiting there are certainly many Socialists who still feel that it is wrong that a man should make a "profit" out of employing another. But frankly, in these days of powerful trade unions and full employment the mere fact of employment in private industry does not excite much moral indignation . . . The emphasis in British Socialist thought and propaganda has shifted away from the

<sup>1</sup> In *Fortune* (New York, March 1955).

#### South African Censorship Commission

FOUR years ago the South African Government appointed a Press Commission to hold a secret inquiry into the conduct of newspapers in the Union, and of foreign journalists reporting there. Obviously the real purpose of the Commission is to gain a stranglehold over Press reporting so that criticism of Nationalist policy becomes impossible.

Because of the secret nature of the Commission, very little has been heard of its activities, but information is now gradually coming forward which suggests that the procedure when cross-questioning journalists may be likened to the third-degree methods we see in American films. Once again the totalitarian aspect of the Nationalist Government is revealing itself in a broader, front than just the African native question; such Press freedom as there is at present is in danger, and the foundations of a South African *Iron Curtain* can clearly be observed. H.



## No Industrial Peace in Class Divided Society

Continued from p. 1

tion—in the basic approach to the relationships between workers and employers (or management).

In countries such as America and Britain "a new managerial class has arisen on both sides of industry"—as Viscount Woolton so succinctly expressed it in the House of Lords last week—the result of which is the maintenance of the *status quo*, with capitalism dressed-up in a bowler hat, a Montague Burton suit and a pair of boots (not forgetting the presentation watch and chain for long and devoted service)<sup>2</sup>. In countries such as France, Italy and Spain with their long traditions of struggle, and a recognition that the day to day struggles of organised labour is simply a means of survival and defence against the abuses of the employing class and not an end, in these countries the idea still persists, even among thinking intellectuals, that fundamentally there can be no reconciliation of workers and employer.

The French writer Raymond Aron, in a much discussed book just published in Paris<sup>3</sup> lists the six "grievs fondamentaux (fundamental grievances) of the proletariat as follows: 1. Insufficiency of remuneration; 2. excessive working hours; 3. threat of total or partial unemployment; 4. discomfort associated with the technique or administrative organisation in the factory; 5. the feeling of being imprisoned in the "condition ouvriere" without prospects of advancement; 6. awareness of being the victim of a fundamental injustice by reason of the fact that he does not benefit from the national product and that he is denied all participation in the direction of the economy.

Mr. Meany for the A.F.L. believes that "collective bargaining" will provide a solution for workers to the first four of these "fundamental grievances" so long as they repress the fifth and sixth. Mr. Gaitskell, for British "Socialism" more or less discounts the last two "grievances" as being of no consequence (who but a Labour politician would accept Mr. Gaitskell's definition of a "classless society" in which there is "private ownership of the means of production" and differentials?). But herein lies the fundamental mistake both of trade union leadership and of management. They seek "peace" in industry through collective bargaining wage tribunals and conciliation boards as if these methods of determining social and economic differentials will ever expunge the humiliating injustice of the exploitation of man by man. Indeed, if ever such a situation should exist then the workers of the world will have not achieved the status of free men but deserved the badge of slavery.

The following statement is issued by the Inter-Continental Secretariat of the Spanish National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) in exile:—

Our fellow workers from the Spanish underground write us the following:

"In anticipation of the First of May, Franco's police took extraordinary precautions following rumours to the effect that members of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) would organize public demonstrations of hostility to the régime.

"In spite of the police vigilance, No. 39 of *Solidaridad Obrera* was widely distributed as well as other leaflets. The workers and the general public received our propaganda favourably and with indications of sympathy.

"Unfortunately, on May 7th, the Bank of Vizcaya in Barcelona was robbed. According to the press four bandits escaped with half a million pesetas. There was no bloodshed. In spite of accusations, the C.N.T. of Spain declares that it has no connection with this robbery or with any other similar acts.

"Following the bank hold-up, Franco's

## Franco's Drive Against the Resistance

### Anarchist Press Seized

Mas, the well-known militant and veteran of the Confederation.

"All of these comrades were beaten and barbarously tortured at the Police Headquarters, especially Manuel Llatje Tomas whose condition is critical.

"Men and women are imprisoned and tortured in Spain for defending freedom of expression and the right to print and circulate their ideas in print. In this case—and the police themselves know this—neither Primitivo Llansola Renau, Dolores Cabañas Montañes nor Maria Mas Casas have any knowledge of or connection with our underground press or with any of our other activities. Such arrests as these can only be based on a sadistic spirit of political vengeance which is characteristic of a régime based on injustice.

"There are evil winds hereabouts. A general wave of police terror has been unleashed. Public places where people

are thought likely to congregate are invaded by the police armed with revolvers and sub-machine guns. Everyone present is required to show his papers and anyone from whom it is thought some information may be extracted either by simple interrogation or inhuman torture, is taken into custody.

"The local police have been reinforced by elements from other provinces and men armed with tommy-guns are everywhere. This is not limited to Barcelona. The surrounding countryside and all the highways leading into the city are controlled by the Civil Guard.

"On May First, the new underground newspaper *Cultura y Accion*, published by the Regional Confederation of Aragon, Rioja and Navarra, was circulated very widely in Zaragoza and other towns of that region.

"The Chief of Police of Barcelona has been in Madrid to consult with the General Security Office there. The bloodhounds of the régime are frantic with worry at the great increase of activity by the resistance movement, an activity that all their efforts have been unable to stop. We will never interrupt this activity. All precautions have been taken to preserve intact our underground apparatus. With the determination of always we shall continue the struggle. Help us with your solidarity! Long live the C.N.T.!"

The words of our comrades are so eloquently expressive that no comment is really necessary. The printing plant of *Solidaridad Obrera* and *CNT* has fallen to the enemy, but at the same time a new paper *Cultura y Accion* has appeared. Some militants have been detained. They have been martyred for the crime of propagating just ideals and for telling the truth about a régime that is willing to go to any extreme to prevent the truth being known.

Now more than ever, we must give our utmost material and moral solidarity to the comrades so nobly fighting the terror in Spain. Workers of all countries—Free men of the World: Express your active solidarity with those who in Spain are defending the cause of Liberty and who do not cease in their fight against the Franco-Falangist totalitarian régime.

THE INTER-CONTINENTAL SECRETARIAT OF THE C.N.T. OF SPAIN IN EXILE.

Toulouse, France, May 1955.

## Letter from Germany BACKGROUND TO REARMAMENT

(Continued from last week)

THE main organisation opposing rearmament is the D.G.B. (German Trade Union League). There are also, in the big cities, associations of young men which have been founded for the sole purpose of refusing military service and of telling the State: "Ohne mich!" without compromise. These associations as well as the D.G.B. have lately been assailed by the spokesmen of the government, capitalism and the churches, who call these objectors fellow travellers of the Communists. These gentlemen know very well that the anti-rearmament movements are the product of the experience of the people in the last two wars, but they refuse to acknowledge this simple truth.

The D.G.B. is divided over the question. The majority is against rearmament and a minority is for it. The majority are the so-called "Free Unions" who refuse, at least officially, to collaborate with capitalism and are not so much influenced by priests. The minority are the members of the former so-called "Christian Unions" also called yellow unions. Before the Nazi régime these unions were not members of the D.G.B., but they amalgamated with it after Germany was 'liberated'.

Since the Free Unions took a stand against rearmament they have had a quarrel on this issue with the former members of the Christian Unions who are influenced by their priests who tell them to do their duty and defend 'Christian Culture'. In the past these yellow unions collaborated with their employers and churches against the aspirations of the Free Unions, and at the present the employers see another chance of attacking these aspirations with the help of the priests, the speakers of the government and the members of the former Christian

Unions, by splitting the D.G.B. and setting up another Trade Union League.

THE aims of the Free Unions to-day are not only the rejection of rearmament, they are also demanding co-management of the shops and works—to have their say in everything that happens in their place of work and to be directly in partnership with the management—*Mitbestimmungsrecht* in German. A law to this effect was passed several years ago, as a result of pressure from the workers. Capitalism was weak at that time as a result of the war, and so was the government. And both feared that the people would take control, as in fact they could have done had they not been so apathetic as a consequence of Nazism, war and hunger. To appease the people the government passed the law of the *Mitbestimmungsrecht*.

Capitalism and government have regained their strength in Germany and are growing stronger every day. "Free enterprise" is not inclined to allow its workers to look into every corner of its business, and it is not surprising that the capitalists have striven to sabotage the co-management act and to stop it from being put into action. For several years a struggle has been going on between the capitalists and the D.G.B. on this question. The German Social-Democratic Party has exerted itself to damp down the aspirations of the D.G.B. and not to ask too much of the capitalists. The party wants to remain in good grace with the government in spite of its pretended opposition.

To the D.G.B.'s struggle for co-management was added its rejection of rearmament. That again is an attack on the dividends of the capitalists. The prospect of rearmament had rocketed the price of industrial shares, and the capitalists, and their servants the press, have

everything to gain by slandering everyone who is for a peaceful Germany. Of course our government, the Christian-Democratic Party and the owners of the armament shares work hand in hand because these owners have contributed a few million marks to the party's election funds. This money invested in the election has to produce interest. And then there is Cardinal Frings in Cologne who controls the government on behalf of the Pope. And the High Commissioners of France, Britain and the U.S.A., the former occupying powers.

These advocates of rearmament do not of course intend to take part in a war, they are among the important people who would be indispensable at home; and when there is danger at home they will quickly be evacuated to "safe places" while other people bear the brunt of it. Their effrontery and unscrupulousness should be an added incentive for anti-militarists to continue their struggle against rearmament.

To back any power in this struggle for world domination is pure madness, it is even doubtful where it is even of any use to carry arms purely for self-defence. Perhaps an empty-handed man in these days has a better chance of escaping with his life! W.F.

## Mr. BERLIN, COMMENT

Continued from p. 2

such convulsions merely alter the terrain; they may divert or divide, but they do not permanently dam the stream. The idea of ideological blocs systematically opposed to one another in intellectual matters is a naïve idea such as can only occur to doctrinaires and bigots. The Age of the Reformation had of course its bigots: monks who, in 16th century Spain, denounced Liberal Catholics as "Lutheran" heretics, puritans who, in 17th century England, denounced Liberal Protestants as "popish" conspirators. But the historian of ideas is not interested in these stunted McCarthyites. The victims of persecution are always more interesting than their persecutors; and if we wish to discover the heirs of Erasmus, rather than to assume too easily that they were crushed by the Counter-Reformation, we should not accept as final and mutually exclusive the barren categories of "Protestant" and "Catholic" into which Christendom was officially and superficially divided. There was an Erasmianism after Erasmus, a secret stream which meandered to and fro across those loudly proclaimed but ill-guarded frontiers, creating oases of rational thought impartially on either side.

And he goes on to underline the implicit parallel between the age of Erasmus and our own day, and to suggest that we may learn from the comparison:

"What does a humanist do when bigotries swell, black and red, on either side? There are some to-day who say that intellectuals should line up on either side as a species of army chaplains to encourage the troops. But I do not think that Erasmus, if he had yielded to political pressure and joined the Gadarine stampede of Lutherans or monks would have had so lasting and beneficent an effect in the history of thought as he did by continuing to advocate peace for the diffusion of unarmed sense. Intellectuals may be citizens; they may even, as such, have to become soldiers; but it is not their business to be recruiting-sergeants. If their rational message is not heard in their time, let them still utter it rather than turn it into a battle-

cry: it may still be heard to-morrow. For history, closely considered, suggests that opposite sides in an ideological struggle, for all their high-sounding abstract slogans, are not so opposite as they think that they are. The humanist message in fact can be understood by both. It may take a long time and a devious route; it may have to survive by stealth; but there is no proper alternative to it."

THIS is the message of Erasmus and of Jayaprakash Narayan. It is Herzen's message from the other shore, so brilliantly expounded by Mr. Berlin. I wish it animated everyone I encountered in *Encounter!* C.W.

## International Anarchist Camp

AN international Anarchist Summer camp from July 1st to August 31st has been organised by our Italian comrades not far from Carrara, on the N.W. coast. All comrades are cordially invited to spend their vacations at the camp. The estimated cost for food is approximately seven shillings a day. Campers are asked to bring as much equipment and blankets as they can as the organisers have only a limited amount available. The great success of the two previous summer camps is a guarantee for this year's venture. Comrades from all parts of Italy as well as from many other countries are expected and we hope that many will be the comrades visiting the camp from this country.

Intending campers should write to the organisers giving the approximate dates of their stay. All communications should be addressed to:

Gruppo Kronstadt, Vico Agogliotti, Canello (Genova)

## Man's Barbarity to Man

IN 1950 a United Nations committee sent out a questionnaire asking all member nations to report on the extent of slavery within their boundaries. The questionnaire was totally ignored by Saudi-Arabia, and it was categorically denied that such terrible practices were carried on. Recently an African who was forced into slavery 15 years ago, but has now escaped into Sudan, has told of his experiences as a slave. He has also given information as to the considerable extent of slavery in Arabia.

Having been sold to the Arabian Prince Abdullah Feisal and worked as a slave in his household, he was eventually sent for re-sale to Jidda. From there he managed to escape, but saw many slaves of his own race being sold at prices ranging from 570 to 1,150 dollars. He said: "There are slave markets in all the big towns there. The slave traffic starts at sundown. The big chiefs examine us and select those they want, just like at a camel fair."

In the Portuguese African colony of Angola, evidence is forthcoming of the existence of slavery, much of it in a book by Basil Davidson, *The African Awakening*. More recently in the newspaper published in Luanda (the administrative capital of Angola), the *Diário de Luanda*,

the following advertisement appeared:

"To Planters: Licensed contractor offers duly legalised personnell at Esc. 1,000 each."

This so-called "contract-labour" is in reality forced labour, offered for sale at roughly £12. 10. 0. per head.

There is no doubt that slavery continues on quite a large scale in many parts of the world; sometimes officially recognised, sometimes as an open secret. Whether it is called "forced labour" or "slavery" it is always the same (although there may be varying degrees of harsh treatment). It is the degradation of human beings to the level of animals by other human beings; the removal of all human rights and dignity by the lowering of men to the status of chattels.

But in our disgust for these practices let us not fall into the common error, by supposing that this is only what one might expect from "ignorant savages"; we have to remember the slave camps which existed in Germany in 1933 to the end of the war, the forced labour camps which function now, in Russia and her satellites, and the roughly equivalent working conditions imposed on many Colonial and subject nations by the Imperialist states of the present-day world. H.F.W.

<sup>2</sup> The Conservative Minister of Labour Sir Walter Monckton, addressing the general conference of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva (June 17) said, on the question of human relations in industry: "One thing is certain, the carrot and the stick can no longer be regarded as the only driving forces on which industry should rely."

The conditions of freedom and dignity which we demanded for every one in the Declaration of Philadelphia must be recognized as applying in the work place just as much as outside it. We must understand that a man brings more to a factory than the work of his hands. He brings a part of his life—he lives it there—and he should be able to enjoy rights and satisfactions in that working life just as he does in his life as a citizen. The study of those rights and satisfactions and the most effective means of securing them should be a major task of the I.L.O. in the years ahead."

<sup>3</sup> *L'Opium des Intellectuals* (Calmann-Lévy, 1955).

