Fi: Four ROAD A CLASS QUESTION

We have become accustomed to reading of thousands of people being killed and maimed every week. Perhaps because it is not in war, but A further aggravation of the that she need not sit in the dock. Or of direct action. I was reminded of in the interest of mechanical casualty list is the class nature of consider the recent case of a lord this last week, while passing through "progress," we makes no protest at the State. The ruling class is a who ploughed through men and the thickly-populated London suburb the slaughter. Yet such casualties motor-car owning class. Though women, throwing them to each side of Willesden. Several streets were are greater than in the Korea war. others-petty middle class and even of the road, and received the sort of crowded with children at play. I First committees is insipid and dare basis of traffic law administration not having an identity card. speeding cars, until I noticed that not go to the cause of the problem. is the simple rule that the wealthy You can supplement these cases cars were turning abruptly from The chief, almost the sole cause of own cars, the poor do not, with examples of your own taken lines of jagged broken bottles scatthe near-insoluble problem is the The laws are made by car owners. from any newspaper, or attend any tered over the street. private motorist. A large section of the local councils are largely made police court for what doesn't get motorists - arrogant, incompetent, up of car owners, most magistrates into the papers. Some may call this callous and often drunken-aggra- are car owners. Few magistrates crude propaganda, but the facts are vate the problem tenfold.

problem cannot be solved in a use against a bus driver for a I once read in "Direct Action society based on class rule, private similar offence. ownership and individualism.

most men in a densely-packed scaffold or in gaol, serving a lengthysociety, but in capitalism men are sentence. Let him use a motor to encouraged to try to live in the kill or main and the odds are that manner of Robinson Crusoe, who he will be fined, likely a trivial sur owned and controlled his own the payment of which may not cos means of production and consulted him an hour's inconvenience. no one. A tightly-packed society Recently a West Country chief public streets and roads.

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their own little systems, attempting speeches about it. same time.

car. If only half the families of the big city owned cars, a man would get in his car in the morning, sit there all day, and get out at night without having been anywhere. Banned There would be no room to move for cars. If you don't see what I mean, go and look at the London-Brighton road on a bank holiday.

A London bus may carry 2,000 passengers a day. A man may drive his car to London in the morning block the street with it all chi and return to the suburbs at night-w passenger journeys a day. One London bus may be worth 1.000 private cars in passenger journeys.



When urging us to give support to the rearmament programme, our Western political leaders constantly remind us of the suppression of human rights in Russia and its satellites in Eastern Europe, and that the workers in these countries are denied the freedom to associate in independent trade unions.

It is true that only the Statecontrolled workers' organisations are allowed to exist in the Stalinist-run countries, while it is common knowledge that in those areas which have come under communist rule more recently, the workers' organisations have been ruthlessly suppressed.

But at the same time we must ask why our politicians are so anxious to show their concern about the workers' rights. In 1936-39 the elected Government of Spain was attacked by Spanish, German and Italian fascists, whose avowed intention was to destroy human rights: did the Governments of the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. then champion the workers' rights? From 1941-45 there was just as little freedom in the U.S.S.R. as there is now: what did the Western Powers do then?

and Greece are persecuted just as sounds normal enough.

conclusion-the political leaders are charge was made out. 118 11.

Once we were asked to fight against Fascist diclatorship and upho'd the communist variety; now we are asked to arm against Commutism and gie economic aid to e imbling dicialorships in Portugal, nand the Balkans.

brought by any war need only be beings. mentioned: we all know what it means. There is on'y one stand for us to take: we shall not take up Printed and published by the arms on behalf of ANY government. Syndicalist Workers Federation,

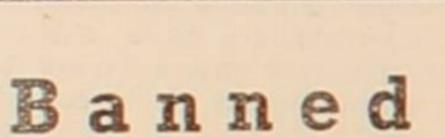
## SAYS TOM BROWN

would punish a whisky-sodden crude and ruling-class justice is The plain truth is that the traffic motorist with half the severity they crude.

Man wishes to live in society, but one will find himself on the

such as ours calls for a social form magistrate publicly said he would of transport, much as it calls for not convict any motorist breaking the law relating to pedestrian safety Yet into the crowded city a man crossings. He had to be removed will bring his own personal trans- for making that statement in public. port system, where he meets a mil- but hundreds of magistrates act on Jewish Anarchist groups in Paris. tion others who are trying to run this principle without making More than 40 friends attended a destroyed by its communist leader-

the impossible act of two bodies Even a case-hardened public was Arbeiter Stimme" Group of Paris. took energetic action and bodily occupying the same space at the shocked by the recent case where a bishop's daughter was in court At present the problem is limited following the death of a motor by often deliberate economic restric- cyclist. So obvious was it that she tions. Poverty prevents the vast would be acquitted that she was majority of British people owning a told, at the beginning of the trial.



As we go to press comes news that the weekly organ of the Spanish Libertarian Youth (F.I.J.L.) in France, RUTA, has been suspended for three months by the French Government. It seems likely hat this is a new concession to Franco Ly the West.

In expressing solidarty with the Spanish comrades, we call on workers here to be on guard against these totalitarian act tions.

> NATIONAL COMMITTEE

## rive men in the 'Pickle'

Five men in a room with a bottle seems, to the innocent, in no way on Israel extraordinary. Exchanging of hats, And in 1952 the workers in Spain good, bad and indifferent stories Surasky of Los Angeles was held at

violently as they are in Bulgaria and Usual enough, but for the place June 8, by the "Freie Arbeiter the East European States. Do the and the men. The place, appro- Stimme" (Jewish language) London politicians of the West now cham- priately, was H.M.S. "Pickle," and Group.

conduct prejudicial to naval disci- years, pline and good order. He was The destruction and misery they were all acting like human

PETER GREEN 25a Amberley Rd. London W.9

of parents in West London who A man who kills with any weapon stopped the slaughter of their chil-

MEETINGS

prize in Paris..

largely literary content. the manager. "Fifty years." said the inquiry into the D. C. Thomson dis-In a conference with the "Freier Gedank" Group it was agreed in worker. eave open the question of mutua manager, "how on earth could you Briginshaw, General Secretary of nderstanding and co-operative action between the two Paris have worked fifty years for one firm NASOTPA, that he was "behaving groups. Second point discussed was when you are only forty?" the need for helping to develop an Anarchist movement in Israel by The worker looked the manager Briginshaw replied, "It's a case of founding a printing press, club and in the eye and said, "Overtime." library. Chairman Doubinsky pro-

posed a fund be launched for this purpose, and this was generally acpled. It was further decided that the London Group should take the nitiative in trying to organise a world conference of all Jewish anarchists. Final point on the agenda-general attitude to be taken against Stalinist communism-was referred to discussion by groups throughout the world. Towards the end of the meeting the question arose of the attitude to be taken towards a third world war. Several comrades spoke in favour of a

middle course-neither for capitalist U.S.A. nor for capitalist Russiawhile others held that the Russian slave state, in which freedom was non-existent, represented the greater danger. Comrade B. Surasky (Los Angeles) was present at all the

discussions. U.S. Worker's report

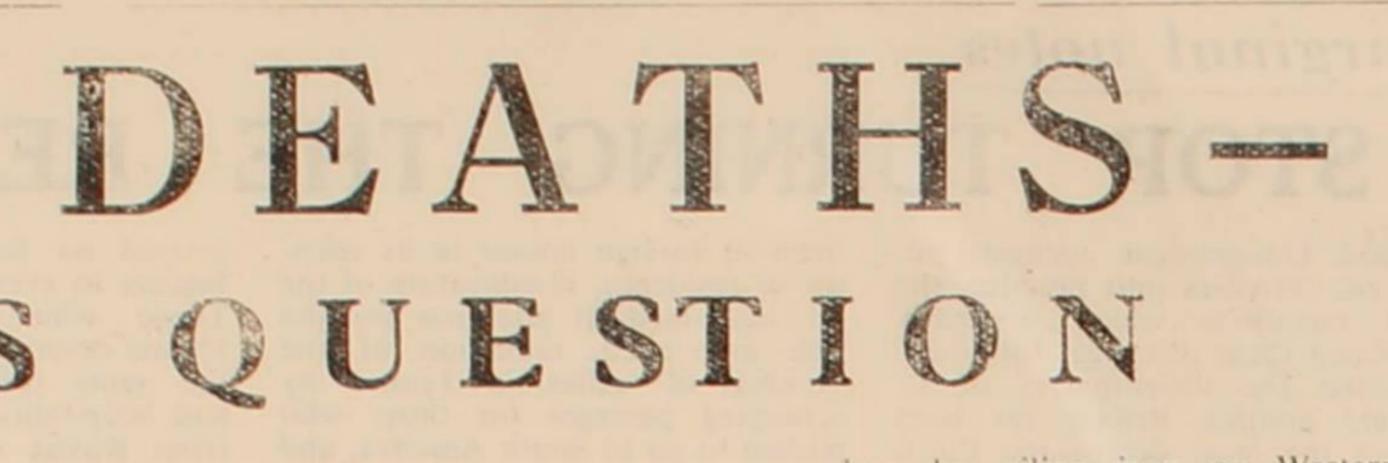
Meeting to welcome Comrade B. Circle House, Aldgate, on Sunday,

pion the freedom of these workers? the men were four ratings and one Chairman S. Dreen, introducing The answers to these questions are officer. The Lords of the Admiralty Surasky, said he was sent to Israel obvious, and can lead us to only one trembled in their high places and a by the Workmen's Circle of America and the Kropotkin Literary Society not interested in human rights, they Temporary Lieutenant Alan to discover what progress has been ust talk about them when it suits Lilley, R.N.V.R., was charged with made there during the last three Com. Surasky said he was satis-

alleged to have drunk spirits with fied with the progress and said ratings in his cabin, with wearing in Israel could be compared to a newthe presence of a Leading Seaman born baby that had to go through a rating's cap, and allowing a Lead- all the childish phases before it ing Seaman to wear an officer's cap. came of age. It was surrounded by The trouble was, of course, that 40 million Arabs, who were planning what they would do to the Jews when they had defeated them. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of the U.S.A. was one of the organisations, said the speaker, who were helping rebuild Israel by financing a trade school and supporting the Jewish

DIRECT ACTION

July, 1952



dren by piling iron on Western Avenue, forcing road hogs to slow down. Apparently an effective form The propaganda of the Safety a few workers-own cars, yet the sentence a man might have got for expected to see them scattered by

> Could it be entirely accidental that those bottles were broken there? Or are the children of Willesden, impatient of the law's delays, determined to grow up to be full-sized pedestrians, all in one piece? Perish the thought.

# LONDON DELEGATES AT PARIS CONFERENCE

'Freie Arbeiter Stimme'' attended zim (communes).

Hermalin and Korenhendler, and a the bosses.

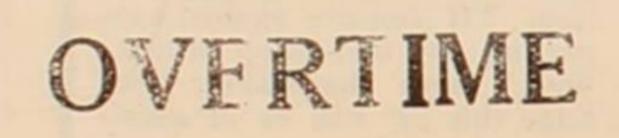
poetic comrade who won a literary Another meeting was that of the group who publish the monthly

journal "Der Freier Gedank' 'The Free Thought"), in celebration of the paper's fourth year. Comrade B. Bloom, London deleate, said the paper's readers showed great interest in its contents. At a business session between the

two "Freie Arbeiler Stimme Groups, London promised full sup- o'd are you." port for the projected publication t a quarterly journal "Freie ribune." which would have

Whitsun meetings held by the two The Union had almost been

meeting called by the "Freie ship, until the Anarchist element to celebrate the 61st anniversary of expelled the disrupters, who used the New York paper. Group secre- gangster methods without success in tary Gylberman was in the chair, trying to gain their nefarious ends. and Comrade Dreen brought the The I.L.G.W.U. was once again a London group's greetings. Social strong organisation, able to defend side was provided by our friends its members against exploitation by

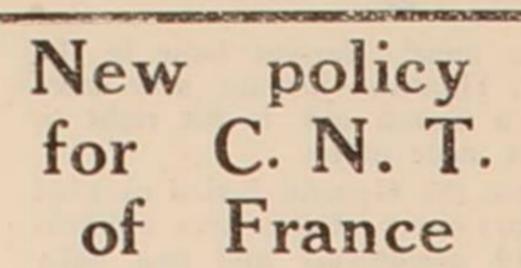


E. M.

interviewed by the manager of a we'l-known manufacturing concern. " Teil me," said the manager. " how cal and regressive organisations."

"Forty years of age." replied the WHO'S SLIPPERY? worker. "And how long were you employed by your last firm," asked During the Ministry of Labour

An open invitation **READERS** who find themselves sympathetic to the viewpoint expressed in "DIRECT ACTION" and who wish to have further information about the Syndicalist Workers' Federation are invited to write to the Secretary, S.W.F., 25a Amberley Road, London, W.9. Our declaration of principles and organisational basis is available on request. Membership is open to all who accept our aims and are prepared to work actively for their realisation.



Fifth congress of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) of France was held at Lyons from May 31 to June 2. Delegates from ill parts of the country took part in he debates, and the decisions taken are expected to lead to great development by the French section of the International Working Men's Association.

The following resolution gives Four delegates of the London socialist movement and the Kibbut- some idea of the organisation's future policy:

"The Congress reaffirms its attachment to the principles of the I.W.M.A. and of revolutionary syndicalism, defined in the Paris (harter

"Pledges itself to work for the ealisation of these principles without any compromise.

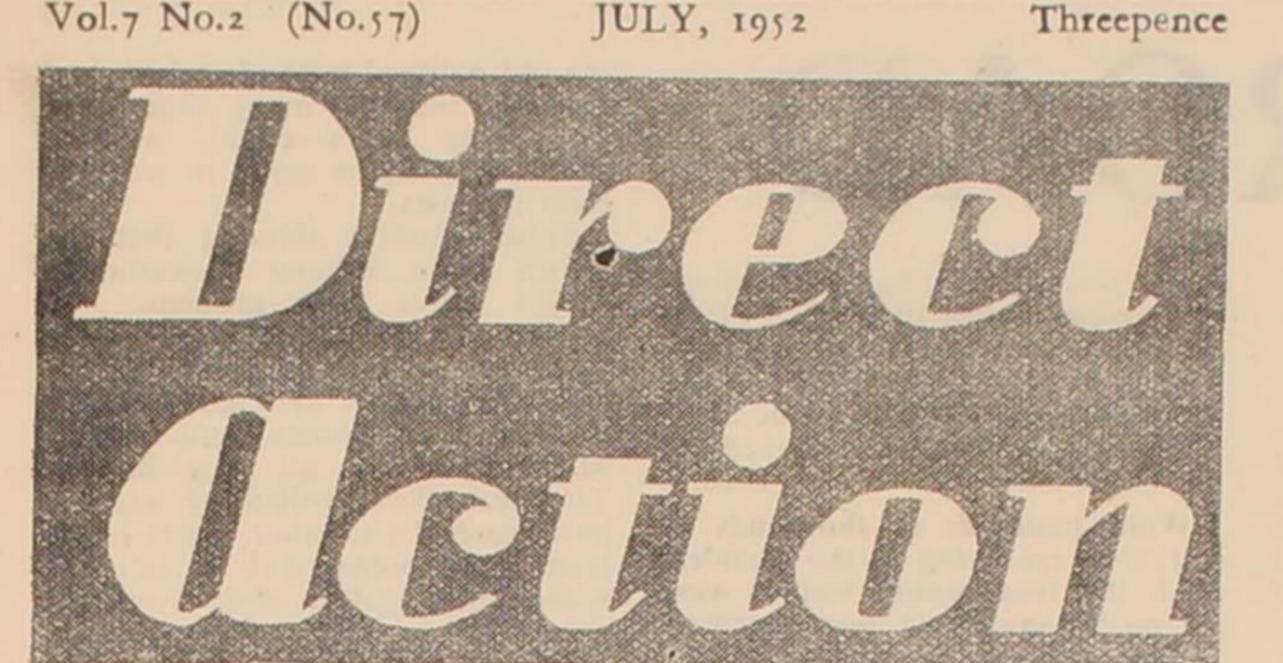
" This does not in any way hinder ts syndicates from having contact and working agreements with other syndicates for immediate and precise aims.

"Considers that only the practice of unity of action at the base, (on the job) for the realisation of claims common to all producers will lead them to learn the truth of our A worker seeking a job was being principles, which could be the prelude to a union regroupment. "Affirms anew that no possibility exists of common action with politi-

pute, Mr. Gilbert Beyfus, Q.C., for "Good gracious," exclaimed the Thomson and Co., suggested to Bro. in a very slippery manner." Bro. diamond cut diamond."

LITERATURE
Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx By K.J.Kenafick 5s 6d
Workers' Councils By Anton Pannekoek 5s 6d
Bulgaria- A New Spain (C.A.B.A.) 9d Trade Unionism or Syndicalism
By Tom Brown 4d British General Strike
By Tom Brown 3d Struggle in the factory
By Equity 4d Social General Strike
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SYNDICALIST WORKERS FEDERATION INTERNATIONAL WORKING MENS ASSOCIATION

# MALAN-NAZISM IN S. AFRICA Poll tax is basis of native workers' slave conditions BY TOM SMITH

"A gulf divides the native ling pass, poll tax receipt and emleaders from the rest of the ployer's letter. opposition. If they offered cooperation, it would be promotly rejected; they therefore call down a plague on Nationalis' and United Party alike." - "Daily Telegraph.'

differ only in degree-their master pass, the native worker may be imrace attitude to the native, coloured prisoned. races of South Africa.

Africans are deeply cynical of politics, seeing in the struggle of the parties an unprincipled fight for power and privilege.

## Their only means

it difficult to recruit native labour, own particular set of permits. as many natives preferred to live a simple pastoral life on the poor lands left them by the white conquerors, passing their lives with little or no money.

The poll tax forced them, however, to get money by the only possible legal means, selling their labour power to the white employers as miners, servants and farm hands.

About 20 years ago I was in the company of Senator Boydell Labour Party Minister of Post in the Labour - Smuts Coalition Government, while he was on holiday in his England. He smilingly to'd of the natives walking to town with shoes slung round their necks The French Communist Party. The French Government has been surely rank as the biggest flop his shoes.

## Malan strongholds

Boydell said this was used to pro- of the treaty. asked. "We build them roads," said but had to yield to orders. The defeat. Senator was silent.

controlled.

from his headman and a letter from others nil. ticket.

Office, presenting his permit, travel- blow.

There he is indexed, medically examined and finger-printed. But the black man's ordeal is not ended there. He must report to the Local Authorities Influx Control Office. If the officials will, he is given a "Ser-It would be foolish to ignore the vice Contract" which must be great difference between Malan's signed by his employer every Nationalist Party, which is openly month. For failing to have this pass

### Mass resistance

Special Pass for a few days' holiday. to his resignation.

Little wonder that the native races of South Africa, the onceproud warriors who held this rich weapon of mass disobedience, looking not to the manœuvres of polititheir native land.

OUESTIONS of the greatest importance for the working class movement are raised by the situation at Euston and St. Pancras stations in London, where the Railwaymen's Mulual Aid Speic. is threatened by an all-out attack from the executive of the National Union of Railwaymen.

Present events-the dismissal of 21 N.U.R. members for refusing to Camden Town railmen were pre- .o a shop stewards committee, and work with members of the Mutual pared to take sympathetic action, as does, therefore, conduct local Aid Society, the N.U.R. threat to were those at other London stations. negotiation. call out goods and cartage workers. Keynole of the strike was struck the Railway Executive's withdrawal by the poster stuck on Unity House. of the dismissal notices and the sub- N.U.R. national headquarters, by sequent inquiry now taking place the workers. It read: "WE DEbehind closed doors-cannot be MAND DEMOCRACY WITHIN understood without knowledge of THE UNION." the background to the Society's The return to work eventually formation.

How did it come into being?

Four years ago the N.U.R. had a strong organisation at Euston. Some 2,509 members belonged to the Euston Terminus branch, secretary of which was Jack Rice.

During 1948 the branch officer came into conflict with the N.U.R. executive at Unity House, over a seniority dispute. The full story told in a booklet published by the Mutual Aid Society, is one o bureaucratic interference, backstairs intrigue and broken pledges on the part of the union officials, who worked hand-in-hand with the Rai way Executive.

Inquiry demanded

Jack Rice, sickened in body and It was for this reason that the Railwaymen's Mutual Aid Society Syndicalism Nazi, and the United Party of the signal, failing to carry it, or being spirit by this attitude on the part of late Smuts, but on one issue they outside the locality named on the officers of a union in which he had been an active militant for more than 20 years, resigned his job on the railway. At midnight on Decem- workers, with a second branch of ber 6, 1948, the vanmen and parcels staff struck work, demanding the re- What is the aim of the Mutual Nor has he yet collected all the instatement of Bro. Rice and a full Aid Society, I asked one of its exenecessary passes. He must have a inquiry into the events that had led cutive members. "Our purpose is Lumberworkers' Federation of the

He may need a Lodger's Pass, a Two days later, the N.U.R. replied. "We are really a brother-Day Labourer's Pass, a Visitor's Executive suspended Euston Ter- hood in the true sense of the word." The cornerstone of white supre- Pass or a Permit to Seek Work. It minus Branch from all union benemacy has long been the poll tax is possible that he will need even fits. The Railway Exceutive closed law. Under this, every male African more permits and passes than these down the workers' controlled canover 18 years must pay a tax of £1 and, if he is married, then his wife teen on the station and, on Decema year. White employers had found and children, too, will need their ber 13, notices were posted up warning the strikers to resume work or be sacked.

Sole result of this threat was for the van-girls to join the strikers. land, are turning towards the Catering workers at Euston Hotel were already out in sympathy. The strike won wide sympathy. Society-which is not a trade union according to local conditions, but

cians, but to the mighty weapon of Meetings of support were held in the -cannot and does not negotiate on general oblinion of the workers is direct action to free them and give London docks. St. Pancras workers a national level, but at Euston it that real wages have risen. them the right to live in their own, refused to handle diverted traffic or controls the Local Departmental . "Those who have tried to min -

while they crossed the open grass- though still large and wealthy, has divided in its attitude to the C.P.; the Cominform. lands. Arriving at the stony high- received a heavy setback from the one section being scared to wake a The chief representatives way, he said, the negro would put failure of its recent "general strike." sleeping giant, the other anxious to Moscow stationed in West Europe on his shoes. He later admitted that When it was seen that the West go out and expose the fighting are giving the leaders of the French the black man could travel faster German Treaty was to be signed, weakness of the commies. The de and British sections a sound discibarefoot than the white man with Moscow gave orders to its West feat of the C.P. in the streets and plinary going over. Threats of a European parties, in particular the factories has encouraged the latter change in leadership in both parties German, French and British, to section, organise large-scale riots and general Workers who for years have seen cult to see what can be used to form Asked about the poll tax, Mr. strikes immediately after the signing the communists sabotaging strikes a new leadership, good material

spite of intimidation and violence, riots.

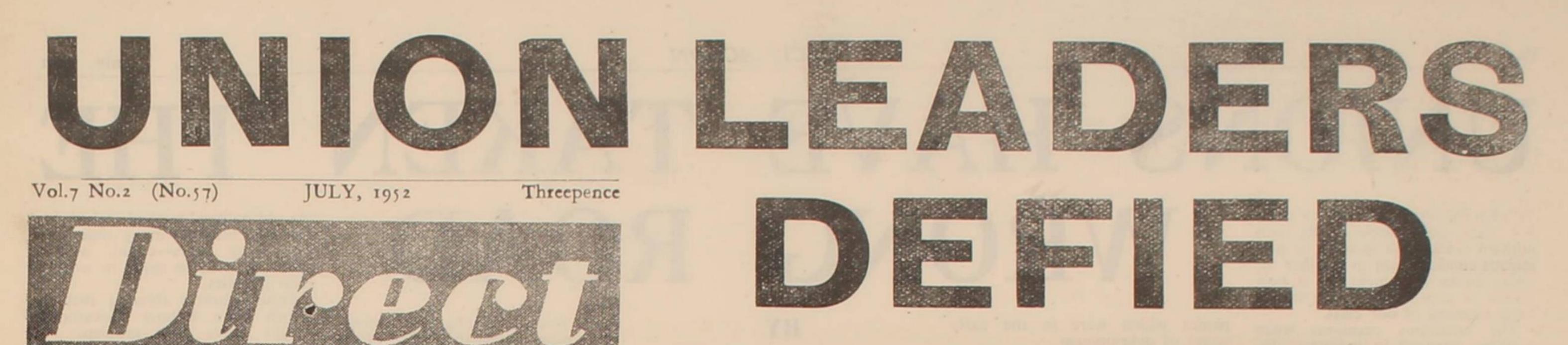
Commissioner, who, if he approves, strike and, in fact, in some reputed tions" even being attempted. grants the coloured man a travelling commy strongholds the strike After misguided party propa- this bitter lesson the hard way, they pass. Only when he has the travel- flopped completely. In some facwithin 48 hours, report to the Pass tories, and resisted, giving blow for .

for wages have little interest in being scarce. This is particularly vide social benefits for the native The French C.P. leaders were communist political strikes, and true of the British C.P., where the races. "Such as-?" somebody doubtful of their ability to do this, will be encouraged by the party's "men of iron" have always turned

the Senator. "You build them French Government was well aware In London the British C.P. leaders look like iron. roads they don't want, sell them of the general plan, as was the were even more reluctant than the A later development of the Paris shoes to protect their feet from the Press, and acted briskly when the French to carry out the Moscow riots was a small purge of comroads, then charge them for the riots were staged two days behind line, pointing out that any open munist policemen. No such action roads," another chipped in. The schedule. The communist "storm strike action of that kind would re-seems likely in England, where battalions" quickly faded away and sult in heavy losses of trade union communist coppers are fewer than But, having decided to seek work the well-organised "spontaneous up- positions. Under pressure, however, in France, especially since the disto pay his tax, it is not easy for the rising of the masses" fizzled out. they agreed to call "mass demon- banding of the War Reserve Police. native to seek an employer, for the Next came the general strike call strations against the Yankees" In any case, the British C.P. insupply of native labour is strictly of the C.P.-controlled C.G.T. In which would be developed into structed its members in the police to

In the Orange Free State and the less than 2 per cent of the workers The party districts, particularly The communists are for ever Transvaal, the Malan strongholds, responded to a one-day strike. This London, were instructed and in turn demonstrating the fact that they for instance, when a native wishes was the national average, a few sent out their calls to action. All have no interest in a sincere strike to go to town he must get a permit workplaces showing 80 per cent and this was carried out in an air of for higher wages and better working ghostly unreality, no one in the conditions, but only in political a European willing to employ him. This means that thousands of British C.P., apparently, believing in s.rikes, aimed at extending the The letter is sent to the local Native C.P. members did not join the the possibility of these "demonstra- power of the party.

gandists giving pretty broad hints of will turn out the commies from their ling pass may he buy a railway tories the workers were attacked by the action to be taken "the momen control of the unions and use the gangs of commy strong-arm men the Treaty is signed," the commy strike weapon, not for political Arrived at the city, he must, attempting to shut down the fac- action plan folded up and was can- party ends, but for its old purpose, celled by the reluctant heroes. The the achievement of the industrial British Communist Party must now hopes of the workers.



# 'Our organisation is a real brotherhood,' declare Euston Railwaymen

What is the Mutual Aid Society?

took place on the terms that Jack Rice should be reinstated and that there should be no victimisation. The demand for an inquiry had no: been won.

## Branch disbarded

Immediately, Jack Rice and eleve others were suspended from the union and banned from holding branch office. Shortly after, Eustor Ferminus branch of the N.U.R. was disbanded by the executive and its members were told to join other

But the Euslon men had learned gether for a principle, and were to be defended.

was formed in April, 1949. It started with some 300 members, and now groups more than 700 Euston 50-60 at neighbouring St. Pancras.

paid for it.

Incoming members are given an ments. . . assurance that the Society will never "The value of the wage increases undercut union agreements. The has varied from district to district,

# FRENCH WORKERS IGNORE STALINIST

# **STRIKE' ORDER**

have been made, though it is diffiout to be sticks of wood, painted to

lie quiet a long time ago.

When trade unionists have learned

the Mutual Aid Society is democratically and efficient y conduc ed. Members are broud of their badge -a red crusader carrying the torch of liberty.

All this of course, has aroused the bitter enmity of N.U.R. officialdom, though there is great symbathy for M.A.S. among the rankand-life. There can be no doub that the N.U.R. call for a srike against the Society would have gained a very poor response.

But it is equally clear that the NUR. executive will ston at nothing to crush the Mutual Aid Society and that-if necessary-they will do a deal with the Railway Executive to gain control of the Euston workers.

We appeal to all railwaymen not to be led into action against fellowworkers whose only sin has been he value of local organisation and 'oyalty to the basic principles of of solidariy. They had fought to- unionism. The Mutual Aid members have set an example of soliddetermined that it should continue arity we can only admire-they deserve our full support.

# shows results in Sweden

News of gains won by the protection of our members," he S.A.C., Swedish section of the I.W.M.A., are reported by a recent number of the journal "Trabaru Indus ri Arbetaren" ("The Lumber

"Great activity was carried out for smaller contributions than any in 1951," says the paper. "Never trade union. There are no full- in the S.A.C. s history have so manytime officials: all work is done on advantageous agreements been a spare-time basis and no one gets reached, both on wages and in the various details of collective agree-

to do overtime, and went slow, Committee, railwaymen's equivalent mise the S.A.C.'s influence among the forest workers have had a rude shock. We are now stronger than ever, and facis prove the truth of our statements."

In relation to general price levels, the wage agreements reached are very favourable, as can be seen by figures quoted in the S.A C.'s annua report. Overall rise in the cost of living in 1951 was 20 per cent. A wage increase of 40 per cent was gained in the collective agreement for the lumber workers, and in some districts wages were forced up by as much as 70 and 80 per cent.

Apart from wage increases, big improvements have been won in conditions-better living quarters for the workers, improved transport to workplaces, safety measures, better lood, etc.

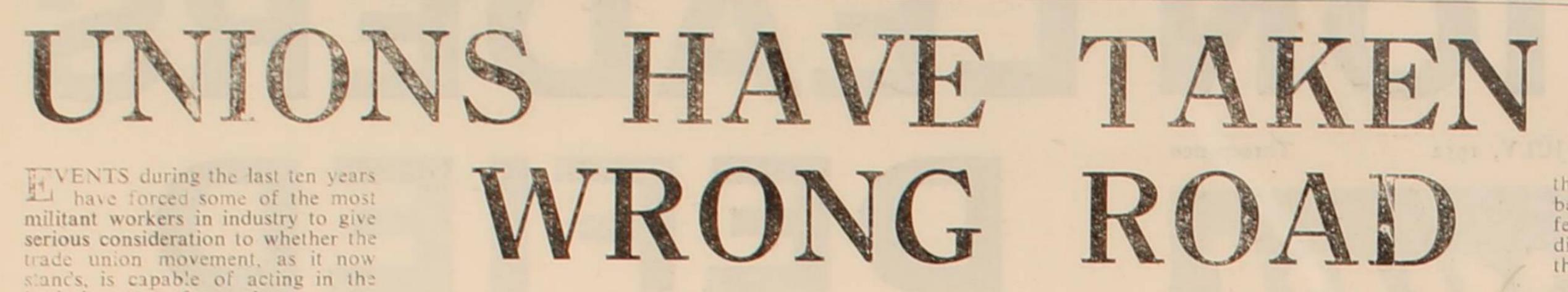
Further improvements have been won this year. The last issue of the maper quoted above states that the Federation had conferred on wages with the "Da'a varna," "Iliusnan" and "Harjedalen" companies which control the work of floating timber down the rivers. Discussio ad also been held with regard to work at the junction of different rivers-at Tagten, Hasio-Holmen and Mehedeby-where the wood is selected and separated.

The Federation states that the hourly wage of the former workers has been raised by 31 per cent, while that of the latter group has been increased by 26 per cent on the gains won last year.

Many details could be added to illustrate the moral and material gains obtained by the activity of fferent sections of the S.A.C. Difficulties have existed and continue to exist, but a steady progress can be noted in the day-to-day strugg e. JOHN AND: RSSON

Torch of liberty

The Society offers bigger benefits



have forced some of the most militant workers in industry to give serious consideration to whether the trade union movement, as it now stands, is capable of acting in the basic interests of our class.

The numerous occasions when panies which were in the early workers, engaged in industrial dis- stages of development. putes, have been compelled to fight By these means the capitalists the purpose of this article. class life.

One of the first things to note is that the trade union movement in this country came into existence in the honeymoon period of British capitalism. During the middle years of the nineteenth century, the bankers and industrialists of this country dominated world manufacture and trade.

Under the guns of the British Navy cheap raw materials flowed, in Reformist ideas an ever-increasing stream, from the colonial possessions to the industrial centres of these islands. Markets opened up, in some cases by force of arms, in these same territories provided a dependable outlet for manufactured goods. At home in dustry expanded at a rate which seemed, to both workers and barons of industry, to portend an everlast ing boom.

### Expanding profits

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Industry absorbed craftsmen 7 fast as they could be trained, and labourers as quickly as they could be brought from rural districts. Both the volume of profit and the rate of profit per pound sterling inby few.

of the craft unions were organised, result. To the nineteenth century craft The tea-party intellectuals of task of defending the living stan- sometimes elected every once in a union militant the problem appeared Bloomsbury, with little knowledge dards of our class. It made it while and sometimes for life, with a to be the division of the spoils of working-class life and absolutely possible for political leaders, with virtual blank cheque and a standard rather than a struggle against the no experience of it, were busy with a different standard of living and a of living more in common with the system. With the ever-growing de- weird and wonderful schemes for different social outlook, to spring to employers than the workers. mand for skilled labour, the safe- making a garden of Eden out of the front of the movement and drag guarding and extension of the the economic desert of capitalism. workers' share of the rising volume of profit, by way of raising the price of labour power, was the immediate Fabian ideas are only too wellat stake.

a more equitable scheme of things. trial framework controlled from advance to a more equitable society. able point of policy. of socialism or a free workers' society, went no further in Britain than coffee-house arguments on the part of middle-class intellectuals, for the most part living in the artificial atmosphere of exile.

The struggle for the ten-hour day everybody concerned. and an extra halfpenny an hour consumed the energy of the craft history has any class exercised con- emerge from the fog and take on a many workers into the belief that union fighters. No conception of an ultimate aim for the movement was possible in such a situation. Generations of workers had, and are still having, to learn the hard way not only the desirability of free socialism, but the absolute necessity for it in order to survive.

### General unions

No longer were such countries as confusion. Germany, France and America conmanufactured goods.

ate fight to retain control of its facts of their own existence. existing markets, and with little of the fresh outlets in Africa.

At the same time, as the result of developing industrial technique, the volume of capital required by industry was constantly increasing By the same process, the rate of profit, per pound sterling invested. was gradually decreasing. Such a situation demands an ever-growing turnover, so that the gross volume of profit will offset the decline in the actual rate of profit.

Combined with a fall in trade as the result of foreign competition, the system. concerned.

these conditions, took the only State or a religious institution change through the State, which is of its forms, becomes the instru- padded walls, ceiling and floors, has alternative road. They began to assuming the representation of the the very essence and representative ment of political and economic the British royal line been seriously export capital as well as manufac- people, and claiming to administer of class privilege, and which would power. The State, by reason of its affected by nervous diseases. tured goods and services. They be- human rights, freedom and justice. never admit its own origin, is opposed to any solu- Continental royalty has not been gan to create in South America. What this governing body actually abuses. The working class has the tion which would bring about social so fortunate. Both Hapsburgs and India, Japan and a host of other practised was the subjection of one need to be prepared to solve the well-being without the absurd differ- Bourbons have been subjected to under-developed countries, industrial class to another, prolonging an problem by not falling into the ences that are in fundamental con- tragic illnesses. The late Adolf enterprises capable of providing an iniquitous situation which is then same faults and vices as its oppres- tradiction to the ethical principles Hitler, with his unfortunate habit of on-the-spot supply of cheap con- considered inherent to a human sors. sumer goods. In Europe, British community.

the official trade union machine, as kept their heads above water-at the well as the employers, is an indica- expense of the industrial workers. tion that something is seriously Foreign competition, financed by wrong. The examination and dis- British capital, intensified the recur- a socially and economically lower cussion of the background to the ring trade depressions which were class. The experience of the last six While hundreds of thousands of present highly-unsatisfactory situa- already becoming a regular feature years in relation to State control workers were dying in the Flanders tion, and some of its root causes, is of the system-and of working- and nationalisation, tends to confirm mud, the trade union leaders were witness box against workers on trial

> The general unions came into existence in very different circumstances to those when the craft unions were formed. The onus was now on defending, rather than exending, the gains of the past. The errible struggles fought for the Dockers' Tanner" and the formation of the Dockers' Union bear witness to that.

As a result, the membership of the general unions did not tend to attach themselves complacently to the rear of the Liberal Party, as did the early craft unionists. In the main, however, the conception among working-class militants was still one of reform

To find a way round the hard economic facts of recurring trade depressions, the poor-law and the other effects of the capitalist system was the burning problem of the day. Generations of workers still to come had a lot to learn.

Even among most so-called "socialists" the accent was on re- Secondly, it placed the onus on mutual co-operation, to use the form. "Socialist" ideas seemed to parliament and the State as a means machinery with which they fought vested increased at a speed foreseen consist of schemes for modifying of advancing the interests of the capitalism as the basis for adminicapitalism in such a way that, some- working class. It removed from the strating production and distribution. Under these conditions the first how or other, socialism would factory floor, and from the effective They rejected, out of hand, the

## 'Benevolent State'

above by a benevolent State but in the saturation of the move- That the Shop Stewards' Movemachine, supervised by a class of ment with the ideology of the capi- ment lost its great fighting gusto in professional political administrators. talist class. One look at the leader- the early '20's, and almost died out drawn, essentially, from the same ship of the trade unions is enough in everything but name, is not due social strata as the Fabians them- to justify that statement. selves, and run in the interests of Perhaps only once, since the it had achieved great victories. It have syphilis.



After all the examples offered oy the history of humanity in its many different aspects, and the ex-The economic conditions under perience gained through living which the formation of the general socially, it is almost unthinkable unions-the unions of the unskilled that individuals should have fallen appendixes - have succeeded in -took place were radically different. into their present state of mental establishing complete domination

This confusion cannot be related venient dumping grounds for British to the period in which we live without our being forced to the con-Instead, these coun'ries were clusion that human beings, conthemselves beginning to be im- fronted with systems that give a portant exporters. The closing wrong direction and hinder the years of the last century found common good, are mentally blind British capitalism waging a desper- and incapable of realising the true

The mistakes, disenchantment and hope of gaining uncontested control treachery of the past should be the best possible insurance against falling into the same faults, which constitute the root of the social problem.

> From its infancy, humanity has been condemned by its individuals to an internecine struggle, in which we can trace the personal ambition of those who seek the fruits of privilege, and who view with supreme contempt those who are subjected to the control of the political institutions governing this or that

situation was hopeless insofar as We can trace, in the first place. home industry, by itself, was the struggle between individuals in society. This, in turn, led to the The British capitalist class, under establishment of classes, with the bility of getting a satisfactory social systems, wherein the State, in any III was isolated in a room with

trol of anything in the interests of

the workers behind them. In many Lost spirit branch rooms today one can see the process in action.

each other.

Every individual, whatever his social, cultural or economic position, is partly responsible for this human confusion. The responsibility can be made greater for one or the other social class-the exploiting or the exploited—according to the way one views it. The responsibility of the exploiters consists in refusing to the individual the right to enjoy the benefits which would be a just return for fulfilling his social duties. or, more exactly, in refusing to submit their own interest to that o

society.

class-rule. Experience proves the impossi-

DIRECT ACTION

# FRANK ROWE

BY

century the working class has been terms of class, not country. paying for it.

meate the movement.

their interests sounds excellent in theory. It has, however, serious Worker's control

In the first place it bound the For the Shop Stewards the probcapitalist system itself.

### Political tie-up

c'ear, practical, and fighting ideology of its own. Under the impact of the growing macness of the capitalist system, its economic St. Vitus Dance and the world bloodbath, the Shop-Stewards' Movement developed on the Clyde and elsewhere in 1916.

the fact. calling for more and more sacrifices

It organised on the basis of the tions of the workers. Another factor which must be fac.ory-and everyone in it, irretaken into account was the entry of shee ive of their trade or the tools Old basis the trade unions into parliamentary they used. It fought to gain every politics, in the early years of the possible concession in day-to-day present century. It was this move strugg'es, and gained terrific adlesser extent Marxist, ideas to per- capita'ism-to make it work a fraction better-as do the trade union talism has to offer. The desire of trade unionis's to leaders, but to destroy the system have a say in questions affecting and replace it with a socialist society.

trade union movement to the capi- ie n was not to create a Statetalist State. It made the movemen' controlled industry a hundred times esponsible for the continuation of the size of any monopoly-and a the existing State machine and, hundred times more inhuman-but hrough it, the status quo, the for the actual workers in a factory to own and control that factory, to link together factories and workplaces on a national and international scale, on the basis of control of the ordinary worker, the conception of the union leader,

to any defeats that it suffered, for middle of the last century, has the was due rather to the Bolshevik They forgot to add that never in British working class begun to revolution in Russia, which lulled

# STATE AND FREEDOM

## By A.RUIZ

these institutions, "representing the people"-the State with all its over the geographical area they control. Then comes the struggle for power between States, with one people being set against another. The only result is mass destruction and the encouragement of hatree between people who do not know

The responsibility of the exploited lies in their not being prepared to defend their rights, or to seek a new social basis, without privilege or

concept of the "revolution" has unfortunately led people to a state of delusion and a lack of self-confidence, which prevents them from embarking on more constructive methods.

We have seen how the preachers of a "social revolution" that would permit equality of rights in all aspects of life have fallen into the same errors or bad ways as those of capitalism. The Bolshevik revolution was a great frustration for the working class. The so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat" in practice merely gave privilege to a new ruling class, and strengthened the State as an instrument of oppression of all social ideas through which an end could be put to power and privilege.

Other movements, apparently based on the idea of "democracy. have also failed to lead to the de sired end, though previously accepting the same false principle. In these circumstances, the working class has failed to escape from subdetriment of society as a whole.

We must, therefore, seek a road schizophrenic condition. capital poured into foreign com- The second stage comes when demands according to the Marxist financial considerations.

the old political method-which had betrayed them so many times in a few short years-could, with a different twist, be made to work in their interests.

Other workers thought that the return of a Labour Government would solve the problem. In essence, try everything and anything

to save doing the job ourselves. The betrayal of the General Strike of 1926, J. H. Thomas and Ramsay MacDonald are all now history. The years have rolled by and we have reached a situation where union leaders are prepared to go into the for strike activity, all in the in-Fabian influence on the working- in the in erests of their capitalist terests of the capitalist State. The class movement is regrettable be- coun ry. The Shop Stewards' Move- trade unions today are more an adcause of its success. For half a min, on the other hand, thought in junct or department of the State than independent fighting organisa-

In Russia, the great hope of many militants, the "trade unions" defend which enabled Fabian, and to a vances It fought, not to administer far worse social and economic classdivisions than the worst British capi-

> Need the question, "Is the trade union movement, as it now stands, capable of acting in the basic interests of our class," be asked again? The S.W.F. thinks not. We need, desperately need, a radical transformation in the system of union organisation.

> We need to get back to the basis of the old Shop Stewards' Movement of the Clyde, organising it on the basis of our present experience. And let us realise, once and for all. that nobody will give us a more just and equitable system of society. We have to create it ourselves-if we want it.

# disease in Egypt

The recent report of the Rocke-Instead, they had as their dele- feller Institute for Medical Research Lastly, any tie-up between the gates men who were liable to re- on the living conditions of Egyptian -and in most cases the only-issue known, and do not need repeating working-class movement and the call at a moment's notice, paid the villagers contains some grim facts. at length. In essence they consist of political State machine of the capi- same rate as their fellows and More than half the children born in In such a period the discussion of creating a highly-centralised indus- talist class results, not in gradual strictly mandated on every conceiv- these villages die before the age of five, while the average length of life is between fifteen and twenty years.

The report shows that 92 per cent of the people are affected by bilharziosis, 64 per cent suffer from intestinal worms, and six per cent

Health conditions in the villages were found to be the worst in the civilised world, comparable only to the poverty-stricken and epidemicridden areas of China, India and Algeria. In one centre, one doctor was trying to treat 27,000 patients. The facts are, however, not surprising. Sixty-one per cent of the villagers, it was found, were paid between 15s. and 75s. a month. Five per cent of the families had incomes not exceeding 15s. a month. The rest had incomes up to about 150s. a month.

Twelve per cent of the people are living only on bread, eked out with skinned milk and cheese. Half the village population get fresh vegetables only once a week.

Needless to say, the vast majority of the villagers work for wealthy pashas and landowners, who can afford the very latest American luxury cars.

The British Government, of course, voices concern for these people only at times when it has a dispute with the Government of

## ANOTHER KING GOES ROUND THE BEND

Major occupational disease of jection, just as the ruling classes, royalty has claimed another victim. protected by the State, have never King Talal of Jordan is advised by given up their own, insatiable am- his government, his wife and everybitions, which are always to the body else concerned, to enter a "nerve clinic" for treatment of his

that will lead to new goals. We can British royalty has, on the other hope for nothing from the old hand, been lucky. Not since George

which should govern human society, biting carpets, is perhaps the most A century of struggle to win without coercion, despotism or well-known case among near rovalty.

July, 1952



### July, 1952

# DIRECT ACTION Marginal notes Monthly organ of the Syndicalist Workers Federation Subscription rate: 4s. 6d. for 12 issues.

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in manuna

The right to

## organise

The most clear-cut issue in the D. C. Thomson dispute, now more u an a month old, is the right to o a a rade union.

all employees of this firm publishing 19 periodicals and two daily newspapers have had to sign a document making non-membership of a trade union the condition of employment.

This right of everyone "to form and to join trade unions for the proacction of his interests" is written into the Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations (December 10, 1948. Article 24 (4)). The modern dictators, like Stalin, Franco and Tito, all support this right, and membership of a "workers front" or "national syndicate" is obligatory in their police s ales.

John Strachey, M.P., who underslands these matlers, has called the attitude of Thomson's an "anachronism," and for once we do not intend to dispute his verdict.

But however debased trade unions have become in the fascist states. they are still organs of the working class in the struggle for decent living conditions in those countries without a "People's Government," and the right to organise is a vital weapon in the straggle.

This is well understood by thousands of trade unionists in Britain who have shown solidarity with the 80 strikers at the Glasgow "Sunday Post" to an extent hardly known since 1926.

Eight hundred workers, mostly members of the Printing Bookbinding and Paper Workers' Union at the Cyde Paper Mills, Rutherglen, near G asgow, struck work on May 6, refusing to handle newsprint for Thomson's.

Locomotive crews in Dundee refused to drive trains carrying Thomson publications. Dockers at Glasgow, porters at Manchester, journalists in Belfast, declared Thomson publications "black."

The Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, represening 280,000 workers in 17 unions, has given the s rike its full support. The miners and engineers' executives, and the Scottish T.U.C., have pledged support. Many other unions and branches all over the country have shown solidarity. Between them, they have already given thousands of pounds in financial aid.

Beyond the right to organise, however, are other issues that affect every member of the working class in Britain.

"The issues involved are of a farreaching character . . . I fear there is a real risk of an extension which might seriously inconvenience the public and interfere with the supply of news," said Minister of Labour Monckton in the House of Commons on May 10.

There is no doubt that he was not exaggerating. The right of trade unions to extend solidari y during disputes to each other is being called into question.

British workers, who have shown such fine solidarity in this struggle so far, will not let themselves be intimidated.

## MORE WORKLESS IN TEXTILES

this country drawing the dole. This a visit to Russia. short time, such as clothing and any of the others mentioned above authorities, that he was a nazi textile workers, or dockers "bomp- would be out of place. While in agent. ing on" at £4 a week.

months usually show a heavy drop band. She was prepared to prove done illegal work in Germany, had in unemployment figures, due to an her loyalty to Stalin at his expense. been in a concentration camp and Stalinists or ex-Stalinists. fewer than the peak post-war figure prepared to do the same thing at her found himself in an extremely un- British Communist Party and lesser filmed in practically any of the of the previous month. expense.

STOP TURNING

one of the most democratic Euro- wished to go to South America, and from Russia or its satellite coun- to all. pean countries—possibly of the so on. world. Hospitality offered those Some months ago these facilities persecuted by totalitarian régimes ceased to exist, even though conduring the past two centuries created tinued repression in many countries a feeling of confidence among pro- meant there were still a large numgressively-minded people every- ber of political refugees. where, They regarded Britain as a Countries which had maintained corner where freedom of thought minority.

Geographical and cultural factors were probably largely responsible for this: the British Isles are surrounded by water, and the social and political circles here have been runs the risk of an illegal departur more evolutionist in outlook than since the General Strike in 1926 those of the Continental countries.

## Shocking reception

Impartiality towards the problem blocs since the last war.

The problem has grown to alarmsituation.

Organisation) offered some measure of solution by arranging employ-

A CONTRACT OF A DESCRIPTION OF A DESCRIP

Lest we

forget . . .

The following list of D. C Thomson publications is from a leaflet issued by the Printing and Kindred Trades' Federation. "If you are against supporting any non-union productions," says the leaflet, "we hope this list will be of assis .ance to you."

Daily: COURIER & AD-VERTISER, EVENING TELE GRAPH & POST.

Weekly: ADVENTURE BEANO COMIC, DANDY CCMIC, FAMILY STAR HOTSPUR, MAGIC COMIC MY WEEKLY, PEOPLE FRIEND, PEOPLE'S JOUR NAL. RED LETTER, RED STAR WEEKLY, ROVER SECRETS & FLAME, SKIP-PER. SPORTING POST. SUNDAY POST, WEEKLY NEWS, WEEKLY WELCOME and WIZARD.

-and still claim to support-the and expression had not been throt- view that human freedom is an tled by the brutality of a sectarian elemental principle of democracy should, quite irrespective of any diplomatic pressure, carry th principle into effect much better than has been the case. The persecuted individual wh fron a country subjected to dic tatorship will arrive here expecting to find his rosy view of British hospitality confirmed.

For some time now, however of refugees has, however, not been men who have come here to seek shown in the period of growing ten- the international right of asylum sion between the Soviet and Western have been shocked at their reception by the immigration authorities.

The individual becomes a refugee ng proportions since 1939, and from the moment when he volunspecial organisms were set up by tarily leaves a country in which he special organisations were set up by finds it humanly impossible to live. J.N.O. to deal with the complicated The rights of hospitality belong to this person, irrespective of race, re-The I.R.O. (International Refugee ligion or social class, when his convictions force him to depart from a country subjected to fascist or Hilms Marxist dictatorship.

Facilities are readily granted those who come from countries behind the Iron Curtain, but enormous difficulties are placed in the way of those from the Iberian Peninsula. Their reaction

The refugee, by the very act of responsibility against the régime he film has been hailed by the Stalinists teresting at last, the Nazis begin the detests, and it is unthinkable that and fellow-travellers as a master- war of 1941-45 by savagely bombhe should be sent back to his coun- piece of filmcraft and a flower of ing the field. try of origin, despite all official con- Russian culture-and it's in co.our, From that point the film, liberfirmation of the reprisals he may too, though I watched it for about ally helped out by newsreels, behave to suffer.

Men have come here from Spain e pecting to find the haven of their dreams. Before running the risks involved in crossing the fron.ier they have been friends of England. There can be no doubt of their reaction against the country tha did not aid them when they are sen

I have read in the papers and heard on the wireless of anti-communists to whom the right of asy um has been granted.

In Spain there are very few communists compared to the number in Italy, Greece, France and even Britain, and it is not difficult to

decide that those Spaniards who

Rumanian communist leader, now cases, let us recall the case of the worked at Napiers in London durseems certain. Not only has she Russian Party itself. During the ing the war, but we wilhhod his been thrown out of the Political great purges, from 1936 to 1938, the name in view of the present situaconfessed to "deviations of a left gether with the General Staff of the Yet another case was that of Alex and right character." Nobody in army and the G.P.U. leaders were Weissberg, an Austrian Jewish com-Eastern Europe has yet survived wiped out. such a double catastrophe.

Rajk, late Hungarian Minister of the Interior, died as a result of similar circumstances-in front of a firing squad. Kostov, late General Secretary of the Bulgarian Comnunist Party, admitted at first only to "right-wing deviations." Later he confessed to spying for every conceivable government at every conceivable date. He, too, kept a

date with a firing squad. Polish Communist Party, and Slansky, late Secretary of the Czech their turn to confess.

Unemployment in the textile in- in Bulgaria and Rakosi in Hungary Gestapo was tipped off.

Russia during 1937 Pauker assisted But for the fact that he was able Despite the fact that the summer the G.P.U. to liquidate her own hus- to produce evidence that he had

The liquidation of Anna Pauker, Lest these may be though: isolated This man is known to many who ureau of the Party, but she has entire hierarchy of the party, to- tion in Eastern Germany.

1917 Central Committee only Stalin others he got caught up in the great remains alive. Many of the others purges. He was handed over to the quisition demonstrated that, but it saw their last glimpse of life down Gestapo, who had an account to the barrel of a rifle in the early settle with him. Unfortunately for demonstrated on the screen. hours of the morning.

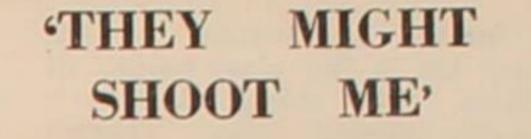
too, has a very unpleasant history. both leading members of the pre- LOS OLVIDADOS (Academy. of Czechoslovakia in 1939, the Ger- many when Hitler seized power and of the most savage indictments of the latter country. "Comrades" murdered in the great purges; story, based on actual incidents, is whose views were considered un- Margaret was handed over to the of slum life in Mexico City and, Party, are both in prison waiting orthodox, from a Stalinist point of Gestapo in 1939 as part of the particularly, its demoralising effect view, were sent to Germany for Hitler-Stalin pact. Only the removal of Chervenkov underground work - then the

dustry increased again last month, is needed to wipe out completely A German communist who saw Another seven thousand textile the founding members of the this going on left Czechoslovakia operatives joined the ever-growing Cominform. Zhdanov died-at an and the Party in disgust and sought army of workless in the mill towns. early age-in his Soviet fatherland, refuge in this country. During the Altogether, there are now 467,445 while Dimitrov of Bulgaria was last war, his brother-a staunch full-time unemployed workers in overcome by a fatal illness during Stalinist-"informed" the German Trade Unionists' Committee in figure does not include workers on Sympathy for Anna Pauker or Britain, and through it the British

pleasant situation.

### REFUGEES THE

When Government agencies put ment of foreign labour in its coun- arrived on British soil were anti- Political asylum for he who seeks tries.



A Spaniard who swam ashore from a ship in the afraid to go back to Spain is the brotherhood of man. being kept in Horfield Prison, Bristol, until the Home Secretary decides what to do with him. The man, Lefuete Gonzalez Angel, was being taken to mission to land in Britain. When police found him near Portishead, Somerset, eight days ago, he said he had jumped overboard and swum a mile to the shore.

Angel was alleged to have told the police: "I am afraid to go back. They may shoot me because I left Franco's Army."

"Manchester Guardian," 16.6.52

# by 'Germen' AWAY

different activities into practice, the try of residence, re-education of the fascists in every sense of the word. shelter is a moral principle that good intentions which originally crippled, medical attention for the Those who escape the Franco must be guarded jealously. It is not motivated them often get forgotten. sick and aged, reduction of the régime deserve the same respect and something to be hedged round with During the development of its number of exiles in France by the same tolerance, consideration stipulations, given as a favour or a internal politics. Britain has been arranging passages for those who and hospitality as those who come charity, but a right which belongs

All of us, while the present international hostility prevails, are liable to need the solidarity of others better placed than we.

### Our duty

Let there be shown in practice that which the representatives of the different countries in UNESCO Bristol Channel because he was hold in theory when they discuss

" Proofs and not good reasons are lovers," says a Spanish proverb. The best proof that can be given is to make sure that, in future, no one who leaves Spain as a result of Lisbon after being refused per- hating the present régime and finding it impossible to live there should be sent back.

> For the politician the proben may have various interpretations; to the humanist, he who comes from the West has an equal right to solidarity to he who comes from the East. Both are fleeing from death and seeking life. We have the duty to protect the life which Marxist or fascist materialism wishes to wipe out.

## ADVICE TO STALIN'S LOVELORN THE

meant to be.

The film begins with Stalin, in an immaculate white uniform, entertaining a steel worker to dinner -as though he would! After a reel f alcoholic sentimental production propaganda about steel being like a woman, the worker returns to his illage and, evidently still under the influence of Stalin's vodka, goes on o make love to his previous.y cold lady love, strictly following Stalin's is supported by American tanks. advice as to method. Needless to The Russians attack Berlin, the vear plan.

We follow the couple into the middle of a cornfield but, just as

# ANNA PAUKER JOINS THE VICTIMS

munist, who went to work in Russia. Today, of the 24 members of the Like hundreds of thousands of Stalin, he lived to tell the tale.

The German Communist Party, Franz and Margaret Neumann.

No mention has been made her. of the murder of countless non-Stalinist workers, both syndicalis and orthodox trade unionist, Eastern Europe, the Far East and Russia, nor of the systematic destruction of independent unio organisations in those countries. Neither have we dealt with the antitalinists murdered in Western urope and America during the past 15 years or so by Stalin's agents. We have limited ourselves to a very few examples of the liquidation

stooges, please note!

THE FALL OF BERLIN.-This the film looks like becoming in-

15 minutes before I realised it was comes a struggle between two giants-Hitler, portrayed as a gibbering maniac, and the cool, calm Stalin, always in a brand new while

> The British and Americans meet Stalin, but refuse to join in the war-especially Churchill. Even by 1944 Winston is still showing lamentable pacifism, so Stalin decides the Russians will win the war a one, even though the German rear

say, this is as successful as a five- Red Flag goes up on the Reichstag, the war stops and turns into a Russian dance and-you guessed -in their joy all look up into the sky, an airplane appears, lands, and from it steps Stalin, in a new white uniform. The film ends with a hymn of praise to Stalin and some lovemaking from the steel worker, now rager to resume what was so rudely interrupted in the cornfield.

> The acting is crude and hammy, a throwback to early silent days. The propaganda is crude, so crude it sent shudders up and down my spine and moved the audience to roars of laughter.

> This is a long, long way from "Potemkin," The Russian film industry is going backward: It supports the old thesis of Thomas Buckle: under dictatorship ideas wither-first culture, then science and eventually techniques. The Inwas a shock to see it so starkly

Between the time Hitler seized Hitler Central Committee of the London).-This great film, directed power in 1933 and the occupation German Party, escaped from Ger- in Mexico by Luis Bunuel, is one Gomulka, late Secretary of the man Party in exile operated from sought refuge in Russia. Franz was modern society yet screened. The on youth. Murder, robbery, stoning of a blind beggar, assault on a legless cripple . . . our feelings are spared nothing, though there is infinite compassion in Bunuel's treatment of his subject and of characters such as little Pedro and "Big Eyes." If you want happy endings. stay away . . . the final shots are of the police shooting the gang-leader Jaibo, in the back and of the battered corpse of Pedro-always denied the mother-love he cravedbeing dumped on a rubbish tip. All this squalor and decadence do not stem from some mythical "original increase in seasonal employment, Promising young types in the had succeeded in escaping only by Anna Pauker is the latest of a are the direct result of the social last month the figures were only 426 Rumanian Party are now doubtless the skin of his teeth, he might have long line. King-street leaders of the system, and could equally well be world's big cities. K. H.