

## What Some Planters Would Do In Malaya

THE PLANTER, a planters' journal in Malaya, has recently advocated the public exhibition of the bodies of executed Resistance fighters. In an editorial comment on this proposed barbarity of the men who would bring civilisation to the "backward" peoples of the world, the *Manchester Guardian* condemns the "morbid mental underworld which the proposal evokes", but also refers to it in the same sentence "as politically an exceedingly unwise one". By so doing, the *M.G.* by implication would be prepared to forget the "morbid" aspect of the proposal if "politically" it produced results favourable to the British objectives in Malaya. Perhaps unconsciously, the editorial writer in that sentence also clearly reveals what a dirty business politics really

is. If the "sort of medievalism" advocated by *The Planter* is morally repellent and contrary to the most elementary standards of civilised behaviour then it should be denounced without any "ifs" and "buts". By referring to its political inexpediency, the *Manchester Guardian* destroys the human and moral grounds on which such a proposal should be condemned.

It is a sad fact that the *Manchester Guardian*, editorially, has ceased to be one of the few voices that expose injustices without allowing political opportunism to influence their views of the issues at stake.

the reasons for the presence of the British army in Malaya, and refers to the "Communists", and assumes that the choice for the people of Malaya is one between Western "democracy" and communism (presumably by this he means Russian domination) nevertheless he realises many truths which seem to escape the attention of the general public.

"Having recently returned to this country after serving with the Army in Malaya. I was interested by your comments on General Templar's action at Permatang Tinggi. I was glad that you made an attempt to see the point of view of the Chinese villagers, for too many people fail to do this.

"I don't think that anyone with personal experience of the Malayan campaign will dispute the High Commissioner's contention that our ability to defeat the Communists depends very largely on our ability to induce the Chinese to co-operate. The British authorities in Malaya attribute unwillingness to co-operate to fear of bandit reprisals more than to any other single cause. I should be the last to deny that such fear plays a big part in determining the attitude of many. But even if the fear of reprisals were removed, I doubt whether we would get maximum co-operation from the ordinary Chinese under present conditions.

"If the Chinese squatter or rubber-tapper is as much of a realist as he is supposed to be, he must occasionally ask himself what he would gain or lose by a Communist victory. He might easily come to the conclusion that in terms of economic advantage he would be no worse off. And as for the democratic values to which we attach importance, it is unlikely that the people behind the barbed wire of the resettlement villages attach much importance to them. And even on this point it is possible to argue that in a so-called People's Democracy

## WANTED: UNCOMMON SENSE

"The first day of the Trades Union Congress is always like the opening chapter of Waverley—as dull as ditch water and not half so full of life.

"After the local mayor—on this occasion a sweet and succinct silver-haired lady—has welcomed the comrades, they listen to the president's address, which they have all read already in a printed hand-out, with Spartan resignation and well-bred acquiescence.

the Chinese worker would take a no less active part in the political life of the country than he at present takes in that of Malaya.

"Let us be frank. Though the Sultans still exercise considerable authority the British Government is ultimately responsible for policy in the Federation. From an admittedly slight study of the political situation in the Federation I formed the impression that progress towards removing the civil disabilities of the native-born Chinese was unnecessarily slow. This might in part be owing to the clumsiness of the administrative and political machinery through which reforms have to be effected, but I suspect there is no sense of urgency in the state legislative councils. I think that the British Government could with propriety bring more pressure to bear on the Sultans through the influence of the British advisers in each state. We cannot afford to appear sympathetic to the more reactionary elements in the Malay hierarchy.

"While it would be worth while to speed on political progress in Malaya for its own sake it might also pay military dividends in the long run. In the circumstances of the Malayan emergency we must accept the necessity for an occasional resort to strong measures, but they must not be an excuse for putting more liberal policies into cold storage. For it is on these policies that we depend to convince the Chinese workers that they have everything to lose by a Communist victory. But second-class citizens are hard to convince."

"Then the official wire-pullers—described on the programme as the General Purposes Committee—get down to the job of rigging the conference and generally switching the business on to the right rails.

"This usually means that nine-tenths of the resolutions so laboriously drawn up by the various trade unions, after months of industry and intrigue, are scrapped in favour of guileless composites, which are intended to please everybody, but, in the event, never please anybody, not even the wire-pullers themselves."

THE above is not, as some of you may have thought, the reflections of a cynical anarchist. It is the reporting of a socialistic journalist on the *News Chronicle*—Ian Mackay—who is in fact sympathetic to the unions and their cause. And to prove it, he goes on to say: "This, like the block vote, is one of the prices we pay for democracy. And if the man who sees the result of all his hard work go to the Transport House abattoir before the proceedings even begin is a little sore about it, the net effect is that things get hammered out more or less satisfactorily, before the end."

"More or less," one could say, are the operative words, for it is indeed a strange democracy that has to be bought by the undemocratic procedures that prevail at these annual gatherings of wire-pullers and block voters.

But what, in fact, can be said about this year's Congress? Only that it was, as we suggested last week it would be, the mixture as before. If it was at all different from previous years' gatherings, it was so only in the ease with which the General Council was able to jockey the whole thing along the way it wanted.

And perhaps, a little more obvious than usual in some ways, the underlying political motives showed themselves. Those who thought that the advent of a Conservative Government would free

the official unions from the chains their loyalty to Labour had fashioned round their necks, have been shown not to have understood the Machiavellian nature of the political struggle. For the Labour Party to get back next election, it must retain the middle-class vote. To do this, it must not be embarrassed in Parliament by the behaviour of its supporters outside.

So the workers have to keep quiet, not only when Labour is in office but also when Labour is out—in order not to spoil its chances of getting back.

Knowing, however, that the workers are not going to swallow everything just so easily, the T.U.C. was careful to leave loopholes in its wage restraint resolution—carried by a staggering majority of over 6,000,000 votes (how misleading as to the real feelings of trades unionists these card-vote figures are!)—by so wording the resolution that "legitimate" wage claims can be allowed to go forward. This has had the effect of winning for our responsible leaders the plaudits of all the capitalist press with the exception of the *Daily Worker* and putting them in the position of always being able to say, "Well, we did our best to restrain our members—blame the Tories for making things so bad," when the workers push their way through this year's "restraint" just as they did through Cripps' "freeze".

The issue that seemed to embarrass the General Council more than any other, however, was that in which they were defeated by Congress' demand for more nationalisation. One would indeed have to believe that the workers of Britain were gluttons for punishment if we thought they were really demanding the extension of State control and bureaucracy. It is much more likely however, that the demand came from union officials who have their eyes on the many jobs that nationalisation opens up for them. The General Council are already high enough up in the income scale and the hierarchy to have satisfied most of their ambitions in those directions.

The whole attitude of the Congress, however, showed once again the poverty of thought and total absence of revolutionary conceptions of society in the Trade Union movement. Was workers' control mentioned once? Was their any criticism of the capitalist mode of economy? The "responsible" leaders who showed so much "common sense" have not even the misgivings about Britain's mode of economy that, say, the *Conservative Observer* has been expressing.

Our "working-class leaders" have swallowed whole the capitalist "export or die," "rearm or perish" arguments and could do nothing but belch them back at Margate.

If that is common sense, then we are very badly in need of a little uncommon sense. P.S.

READERS may recall that only a fortnight ago we referred to another lukewarm *M.G.* editorial on Malaya, dealing with Major General Templar's actions in the village of Permatang Tinggi ("Templar Strikes Again," *FREEDOM*, 30/8/52). Apparently other readers of that journal shared our views, judging by two letters published in its correspondence columns. The one from a soldier who has returned to this country after serving in the British army in Malaya is of interest because though the writer does not appear for one moment to question

### Deliver the Bombs but not the Plums

The following letter appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* (August 28th):

SIR.—Two months ago we had a bumper cherry crop. My lowest "returns" from the market were 2s. 4d. a chip (12lb.) We were lucky, as some growers did not get as much as that. No wonder that many trees were left unpicked, especially in orchards where the owners were dependent on paid labour at the rate of 2s. 6d. a chip. I was informed that in some of the industrial cities in the North 1s. 6d. a pound was about the lowest price at which cherries were sold.

We read that a Canberra jet bomber has flown the Atlantic at over 600 miles per hour, but we cannot help questioning the value of this type of progress when the mere problem of getting perishable fruit to the industrial areas seems to baffle "the powers that be".

And now we are in the midst of a heavy plum crop but again no market, and so the orchardist shakes the trees for the pigs. It is at least a gesture "to save his bacon."

The writer of that letter has hit the nail on the head. In the society we live in, when it is a question of choosing between guns or butter or cherries or plums, the guns win every time.

## Scientists Champion Freedom

THE ethical problems of science and scientists have been frequently discussed in *FREEDOM* over the past years and it seems likely that the resolution of these problems will have great social significance. *FREEDOM* has always held, as is natural for an anarchist journal, that the tackling of this problem must be a matter for the scientists themselves, since they are the "men on the job". Hence it is with considerable satisfaction that we received the news that this very problem was the basis of Professor A. V. Hill's presidential address on "The Ethical Dilemma of Science," to the British Association for the Advancement of Science holding its annual meeting this year at Belfast.

Professor Hill declared that the essence of the dilemma lay in the fact that all knowledge can be used for good or evil. Man therefore has been regarded as facing the choice of either abandoning the search for further knowledge and concentrating on how to put to the best use existing knowledge; or of acting on the belief that more and more science will of itself bring happiness and prosperity to the world. Professor Hill held that both views are wrong.

They are, however, widespread. The first is represented by those whose horror of certain scientific discoveries, e.g., atomic science, and of the ethical nihilism which man, scientists seem to show, makes them cry out against science and knowledge itself. The second choice is that of the ethical nihilists themselves. The first reason is, in the main, that of cranks. Professor Hill thought the second more dangerous because it is more likely to

be commonly accepted. Indeed, we may remark, if scientists ignore their ethical and social responsibilities they receive every encouragement from a world which looks to science as a panacea, scientists as a new priesthood.

### Wisdom and Knowledge

Professor Hill thought that "completeness and dignity" were brought to man by three main channels, first by the religious sentiment and its embodiment in ethical principles, secondly by the influence of what is beautiful in nature, human personality or art, and thirdly by the pursuit of scientific truth and its resolute use in improving human life. If we discount the confusion likely to be caused by identifying

### The Forgotten War

The forgotten war—that in Indo-China—drags on without any signs of ending, in spite of repeated "successes" by the French. Last week, French Union troops in an operation N.W. of Hué, described as the biggest French success in the last six months, resulted in the killing of 380 Vietminh troops and the capturing of 700.

*Reuter* reports that foreign observers believe, on the basis of these casualty figures, that Hué should be secure against attack when "the main fighting season begins next month, after the rains". How indifferent the world has become to the horrors of war when journalists can write that "the main fighting season begins next month" just as if they were announcing that "grouse shooting starts next month."

the religious sentiment with ethical principles which seems to us to have muddled human thought for far too long, this seems a very sound argument.

In brief, it means that science will be beneficent if scientists are men of wisdom as well as knowledge: men for whom human happiness is measured in other ways than purely material ones, while the actual material conditions of the bulk of mankind are given a true appraisal and science used to better them.

It is not enough to urge that the scientific and the religious spirit should not be in conflict but should co-operate. Religion, like other political structures, exploits ignorance and hence must obstruct science. What science needs to co-operate with is the ethical outlook in its humanist form.

But this requires still more than mere good intentions. It must not only act by good principles, it must also attack the bad. Must criticise and oppose the general social economic and political organisation of mankind which so plainly does not advance human happiness.

Some such recognition that Professor Hill's discourse required something more forceful than mere piety to give it life was shown by Professor A. Macbeath in his address "A Plea for Heretics."

There were in every direction, Prof. Macbeath declared, symptoms of a reaction against liberty.

Indeed, some people were beginning to wonder whether the conditions necessary for the spirit of free inquiry to flourish, instead of being a natural

### End of Colour-Bar in the Front Line

In a *Reuter* report from Frankfurt this week it was pointed out that:

Fighting units of mixed white and Negro troops are taking part in the United States Army autumn exercise for the first time in any major American manoeuvre in Germany.

Basing its action on the value of such units in the Korean war the United States Army in Europe began earlier this year to break down racial barriers between Negroes and white troops by mixing them. The aim is to have about 10 per cent. of Negroes in all units, the same proportion as Negroes are of the population of the United States.

Mixed White-Negro units form most of the Second Armoured and Fourth Infantry Divisions which are taking part in the three-day manoeuvre which began yesterday. About 30,000 Negroes are believed to be serving in Europe.

It would appear that to date the coloured man has won the right to die alongside the white man. Even that has taken a long time, so one can imagine how many years will have to pass before he is allowed to live alongside the white American as equals.



# LAND OF HOPE AND APATHY

PORTRAIT OF ENGLAND: News from Somewhere, by Laurence Thompson (Gollancz, 10s. 6d.)

WILLIAM MORRIS's News from Nowhere, which Marie Louise Berneri described as the most attractive of all the utopias, gave a picture of the England which emerged after the revolution which took place in 1952. Mr. Thompson's book gives a picture of what England is actually like in 1952, or at least what he saw in his journeys across England and Wales early last year.

## WEST COUNTRY

He first took a train to Plymouth, where he met Councillor W. A. Miller, a West-African Plymouth dockyard worker who declined to become Lord Mayor because it meant he would have to cease to be chairman of the Corporation Housing Committee. Mr. Miller took him to the centre of one of the city's windy new housing estates and explained to him the principles of the 'neighbourhood unit'.

"Bill Miller's frequent 'You see' has a certain dying fall. He has been trying to make people see for a very long time, and it is tiring. I looked across the shallow turf, trying to see. There was a school, long and flat, unfinished amid the debris of duckboards, wood-shavings and paint pots. There was nothing more. The rest was still a pretty picture on an architect's drawing-board, a vision in Bill Miller's mind."

In Cornwall, Mr. Thompson saw a changing society. "The old pattern of Cornish life, which still survives here and there, was of a living scratched from a multiplicity of small activities. A man had an acre of ground on which he grew vegetables, he did a few hours' work a week loading china clay ships in Fowey docks, he helped the farmer up the road at hay harvest, and his wife sometimes let lodgings to tourists during the summer. . . . Now the pattern is changing, has changed just a little more each time I return. . . . If one insists on being one's own master, one pays 6/6 a week in National Health Insurance and can't draw unemployment benefit during bad times, as the Looe fisherman found a year or two back." He looked at the problems of the decaying tin-mining industry and of the market-gardeners and fishermen who, it seemed to him, wanted at the same time independence and high prices in a free-for-all market in good seasons, and government assistance at other times. "If Cornwall does remain independent," he thinks, "one fears that it will only be by accepting a standard of living lower than that which the young men and women back from the wars have learnt to demand as of right, for small-scale working has its disadvantages as well as its advantages." He went to a big estate where he found one of the doomed "country gentlemen" of the old school playing his part in the spirit of *noblesse oblige* to the last, and then to another which has been handed over to the National Trust and where the great house has become merely a museum.

## NATIONAL TRUST

"I was more interested in the estate, which grows things and supports living people. I was told that the tenants of this and other National Trust estates complain that there is no one in the big house to go to with their troubles, no one to pay the vice-presidential sub-

scriptions which keep the Horticultural Society alive. . . . I fear I am unsympathetic. They are grown men and women, they have votes and rights and wages which their ancestors surrendered in exchange for Sir John's strong right sword-arm, and if they cannot look after themselves now that the need for armed protection has gone, and pay for their own amusements, it is high time they learnt. . . ."

"The National Trust is very English," says Mr. Thompson, "a compromise so sensible that one wonders how we have the luck to blunder into such things. It cannot by itself solve the whole problem of the land, but if its administration does not ossify, and adapts itself to changing conditions, it can be increasingly useful. At present it administers about one hundred and sixty thousand acres. For ten shillings a year, anyone can become a member and have a member's say in its deliberations. Of the population of these islands, 24,500 think it worth paying for, and of these, between 350 and 400 presented themselves at the Trust's last annual meeting. Democracy, it seems, prefers either Sir John or the gentlemen in Whitehall to do things for it."

## BIRMINGHAM & CO-OPERATION

Birmingham, which goes on and on with its 29,000 back to back houses, 65,500 without separate water supply, 34,000 without separate water-closets, 142,500 without bathrooms, he found ugly as sin. "It is difficult to believe that people can live in these fuliginous rows and remain human beings. Small blame to them if they behave now and again like industrial robots, 'cases,' numbers on somebody's register. How could it be otherwise?" But, "At the price of Birmingham we have tobacco, Danny Kaye, petrol and tyres to run out of Birmingham into the country when our day's work is over, security. . . . It may be the price we have to pay, but it is none the less heavy." He went to a co-operative factory which began nearly a hundred years ago with £83 capital and ten workers. "It prospered. Something had been made out of wild talk and angry deeds. A garden factory was planned, set in pleasant surroundings, owned by the workers. . . ."

"I looked for the garden factory. My guide showed me the stumps of trees. 'We planted them,' he said, 'but then we needed to expand the factory, so they were cut down again, and that was

that.' The working conditions in the factory are by no means bad; but although the workers own it, washrooms and the like compare poorly with those in many small factories owned by the workers' traditional enemies."

The Co-operative Movement as a whole, Mr. Thompson concluded, seems to have turned its back on garden factories. It was founded "to show a better way, less immediately efficient perhaps, and directly more costly, but indirectly, in the important things, cheaper. Unless co-operators can show that they have a better way, they must not expect people to take them seriously when they pass resolutions protesting against Korea and Malaya and this, that and the other. They must not keep their own expenditure down by importing and selling in their shops cheap South African marmalade, while passing resolutions about Dr. Malan. And if they can only attract members by keeping the divi up, I suggest they will be better able to achieve co-operation with fewer members."

Battered, terribly overcrowded Coventry, with its high wages and its key position in this country's economy presents a tremendous problem in planning the location of industry. "Planners may be a lot of Mrs. Partingtons but before anyone says planners are wrong I suggest they run over and have a look at Birmingham." In the Midlands, Mr. Thompson attended a Works Committee meeting—and scathingly comments on both sides. He then went south and examined the organisation of the Bermondsey Group of British Road Services, and then to meetings of Consumers' Councils in nationalised industries. "Ah, a journalist," a schoolmaster said to him at one committee meeting. "When are you going to turn out decent newspapers?" He replied that they would when schoolmasters turned out people to read them.

## WALES & COAL

In Wales he went to see the new factories, like the Nylon Spinners at Pontypool, the Margam Steel Works in the old mining valleys. "Unemployment in South Wales is now only a tenth of what it was in the depression years, but it is still double the average for Britain. There are about 65,000 registered disabled in South Wales, of whom 54,000 have some kind of work. There remain 9,000 disabled unemployed, 3,500 of them suffering from the living death,

pneumoconiosis, contracted while hewing coal. Eighty-two per cent. of those who contracted this disease in Great Britain between 1931 and 1949 were from South Wales. . . . I always remember a remark, quite a casual aside, made by Ammanford's M.P., the Rt. Hon. James Griffiths. Of all the friends with whom he worked down the mines, he said, he was the only one alive. He remained alive because he stopped hewing coal and became a politician." Mr. Thompson's following chapters on welfare and on Coal are some of the most thoughtful in the book, and he also gives an impression of Dr. Bronowski's Coal Research Station at Stoke Orchard.

## SCHOOLS

After a visit to his farming cousins in Derbyshire, Mr. Thompson went to Manchester. There he visited schools and observed the clash between what parents want and what educationists think they ought to have—"between education as a fitting for life and education as fitting for a job, seems to run right through the system. I suppose that is inevitable, during the first years of any change-over. Indeed, it may be inevitable for longer than that, because obviously the educational theorists' Whole Man is not going to be content living in a mass-producing Birmingham or Manchester."

He watched some Manchester school-

girls giving a gymnastic display. "They swung from ropes and leapt over horses with a panache and freedom of limb which took my breath away. I found myself thinking, in the gloomy way one does, that in a few years they would be doping themselves with the pictures three times a week in order to endure their stuffy offices and factories; they would be standing packed in buses, suffering the sniggering, furtive, unlovely approach to love in a cold climate, growing old under the burden of children, household duties, fear of war."

At Sheffield he visited the university, and at Preston he went to a class for spastic children, to an address to a Parent-Teacher Association on child-psychology, and to one of the thirteen Industrial Rehabilitation Centres. At Liverpool, he spent most of his time with the Family Service Unit, "which used to be the submerged tenth and is now, I believe, the submerged twentieth."

## PETERLEE

Finally, at Durham he went to the embryo new town named after Peter Lee, miner, lay preacher and parish councillor. The New Town of Peterlee differs from those which are beginning in the south of England. "It has not been imposed from without upon a reluctant local population, but grew from within, from the discussions of the local council. Then again, the new towns"

Continued on p. 4

## The Calamity of "Liberation"

THERE are no wars of liberation now. There are only wars of unlimited, purposeless destruction. If General Eisenhower allows himself to be persuaded, and persuades American opinion, to wade through a sea of napalm, from Calais to Prague and there install another Syngman Rhee we shall not be there to see. Our lack of interest is not a lack of humanity, or even dislike of suicide. It is simply the realisation that a war to liberate a million prisoners will end with two million prisoners and ten million dead.

Liberation is needed everywhere. It can be secured in one way only—

by the limitation of fear. So long as hot heads and cold feet direct events, so long as military psychopaths openly boast of their readiness to wage indiscriminate war, so long as the liberators are associated with massacre, tyranny, and bad faith, and so long as peace and conciliation are terms of common abuse, "liberation" is a calamity which its potential victims will pray hard to avoid. The truculent nonsetters being talked in the West do nothing to help the misgoverned, serves only to sicken and dishearten honest men.

—ALEX COMFORT in a letter to the Manchester Guardian

## Lessons of the Spanish Revolution — 9

# The C.N.T. and Political Action

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(Continued)

THE C.N.T. since its inception has never been without its politicians, its political demagogues and its internal "ideological" crises. That they have harmed the Confederation there can be little doubt, but not to the extent that any organisation other than the C.N.T. would have suffered. Indeed, the greatness of the C.N.T. is the greatness of its rank and file. Though the organisation did not succeed in preventing political leaders from rising in its midst it always retained a spirit of independence, as a result of its decentralised structure, and a revolutionary spirit which successfully resisted the efforts of the reformists and politicians in its ranks. Internal "crises" in a revolutionary movement are not necessarily bad. Any movement, and especially a mass movement that is not ossified, must be continuously subjecting its ideas and tactics to discussion. A movement that is always unanimous is generally one in which there are only sheep and shepherds. Not that the C.N.T. did not also have its would-be shepherds, and especially since July 19th, 1936, but it is significant that though (because of the peculiar circumstances through which Spain was passing) they did much harm to the revolutionary cause and the struggle against Franco, they never succeeded in converting the rank and file of the C.N.T. into sheep.

As one first hand observer of the Spanish scene has put it: "An orator in a Plenum might get away with a decision in favour of collaboration; but left to themselves again, all our comrades returned to their profound convictions and went on with the task of the revolution. These men were as capable of taking up arms as of running a collective, of tilling the soil and wielding a hammer as of guiding a local meeting or a meeting of the syndicate with their sensible opinions on the practical problems that needed a solution. And thanks to this ability and concrete activity of the rank and file of the Spanish libertarian movement—particularly those amongst the militants who had acquired, in the Syndicates of the C.N.T., an experience through long years of struggle—the libertarian organisations were able to develop, in spite of the rebirth, or rather the consolidation of the State and the development of the governmental political parties."\* Elsewhere the same writer, dealing with the entry of the C.N.T. in the Caballero government points out that "some anarchist delegates, who had become ministers or official personages of different categories, took their task seriously: the poison of power took effect immediately. But what was saved was the potential of the Spanish anarchist movement. It had thousands of seasoned militants, in all or almost all the villages of Aragon, the Levant and

Andalusia. Almost all the militants of the C.N.T. had a solid experience of practical organisation in their own trades or in the life of a village and enjoyed an indisputable moral ascendancy. Furthermore, they were gifted with a strong spirit of initiative."

The gulf that existed between the leaders and the rank and file of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. can be explained simply by two complementary references, one from Gaston Leval's work, the other from Peirats'. In drawing the conclusions from his book, which deals with the Spanish Collectives, Leval points out that the outstanding militants such as Federica Montseny "played no part in the work of the collectives. From the beginning they were absorbed in official posts which they accepted in spite of their traditional repugnance for governmental functions. Anti-fascist unity determined their attitude. It was necessary to silence their principles and to make provisional concessions. This prevented them from continuing to carry out their tasks as guides. They remained outside this great reconstructive undertaking, from which the proletariat will have learned precious lessons for the future." Peirats, in dealing with the political orientation of the C.N.T. from the beginning of the struggle against Franco, refers to the almost complete unanimity among the "influential militants" for a policy of collaboration with the politicians but adds that "a large part of the militants and the immense majority of the Confederal rank and file were only interested in the problems that confronted them in the armed struggle at the fronts, the routing out of hidden fascists and the expropriation and canalisation of the new revolutionary economy". The reader cannot avoid noting in this extract the reference to "influential militants", "militants" and "rank and file".

Perhaps in a mass movement, which accepts all workers in its ranks irrespectively of their political affiliations though its objectives are those of libertarian communism, it may be inevitable that to protect these objectives it must have recourse to behind the scenes manoeuvres and take decisions at a "higher level", i.e., by the "militants" or by the "influential militants". Though it may be inevitable, it must clearly provoke resentment as well among militants and the rank and file. Such a problem had existed in the C.N.T. since its foundation, and had resulted in more than one internal crisis. And there can be no doubt that many decisions taken, and tactics adopted by the C.N.T. during the struggle against Franco were not discussed in the Syndicates, and only too often were fundamental questions decided by the "influential militants" and accepted as a *fait accompli* by the delegates at Plenums and often not even discussed by the rank and file in the Syndicates. The abandonment of the traditional method of the C.N.T. for taking decisions, was justified by the necessity of acting with a minimum of delay. There might be questions in which such a position could be justified, but on fundamental questions of principle and revolutionary tactics there could be no excuse for not consulting the syndicates. The fact that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. did not enter the Governments of

Catalonia and Madrid until the end of September and November respectively, that is more than two months and three months respectively after the July uprising, makes nonsense of any claim that there was no time to consult the organisation before the decision to enter the Governments was taken. Many Local and Regional Plenums had by then been held, but so far as we have been able to ascertain no discussion took place on the subject of collaboration. The problem was one discussed only at the "highest level" of the organisation, and when it was finally decided to have C.N.T. ministers in the Caballero Government, the Confederation was not even consulted as to who would be their representatives in that government. In a speech made by Federica Montseny in Toulouse in 1945 (quoted in the *Internal Bulletin of the M.L.E.-C.N.T. in France*, Sept.-Oct. 1945) she is reported as saying: "By agreement between Largo Caballero and Horacio Prieto the latter came to Catalonia and explained the position reached in the negotiations, which had resulted in the nomination of Juan Lopez, Peiró, Garcia Oliver and myself as members of the Government. I refused to accept. Horacio Prieto, and Mariano Vazquez insisted. I asked for 24 hours to think over the matter. I consulted my father who, thoughtfully, said: 'You know what this means. In fact it is the liquidation of anarchism and of the C.N.T. Once in power you will not rid yourselves of Power. . . .'" Federica Montseny and the others entered the Government as representatives of the organisation! We are told that though the C.N.T. was not consulted, its leaders were, in fact, representing the wishes of the overwhelming majority by entering the government. Such a method for determining the opinion of an organisation may be in order under a dictatorship but is inadmissible in an organisation such as the C.N.T. and one cannot, in attempting to establish the real position of the organisation as a whole to collation, accept the view of the leaders that they were representing the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the organisation, without asking whether this same "overwhelming majority" was also opposed to collaboration as late as September (when the anti-collaboration article appeared in the *C.N.T.-F.A.I. Information Bulletin* from which we have already quoted), and after six months of collaboration was once more opposed to it when in May 1937 the C.N.T. leaders refused to enter the Negrin Government. Such somersaults are typical of politicians; the rank and file thinks more slowly and also generally changes opinions less frequently! Significant is the fact that whilst the leaders of the C.N.T. were vainly attempting to pit their political wits against those of the professional politicians, the rank and file and the militants in the syndicates were consolidating their victories in the economic field, functioning completely independently and outside the reach of govern-

Continued on p. 4

\* Horacio Prieto was National Secretary of the C.N.T. and Mariano Vazquez Regional Secretary of that organisation.

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\* Gaston Leval, *Né Franco né Stalin. Le Collectivité anarchique espagnole nella lotta contro Franco e la reazione staliniana* (Neither Franco nor Stalin. The Spanish anarchist collectives in the struggle against Franco and stalinist reaction). (Milan, 1952.)



## SOCIAL PROGRESS & THE CHURCHES

IF the Christian religion has exerted any force for social progress it is through its doctrine of the brotherhood of man and the unique significance of each individual. And though the Churches have for nearly two thousand years sidestepped this teaching of their founder and have occupied powerful positions in an organisation of society which is openly hierarchical and anti-egalitarian, this doctrine nevertheless survives and receives occasional expression.

In the world, to-day the most explicit and outspoken attack on the idea that all men are equal comes from Dr. Malan, himself, ironically, an ordained clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church. It is perhaps true to say also that the conscience of English-speaking people (in so far as such a term has any meaning to-day) has been stirred up against the South African race discrimination by another clergyman, the Rev. Michael Scott.

It would, however, be quite misleading to find any opinions about the attitude of the Churches towards racial discrimination on the behaviour of these two men, Malan and Michael Scott. Both are quite unusual exceptions and the "average churchman" is unlikely to resemble either of them. For this reason it seems more significant—because in the folds of the orthodox—to hear of Malan's racism being roundly condemned from the pulpit in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Canon L. J. Collins, preaching last Sunday, must have startled the placidity of the congregation of St. Paul's by calling upon all Christians "to break away from neutrality and come out boldly in support of those liberal forces who are taking a stand against the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa" which he went on to describe as "an evil fabric". Dr. Collins appealed for a bold and courageous stand on principle. "And may we be more courageous still," he added, "and come out quite openly in favour of the passive resistance movement now taking place in South Africa."

There can be no doubt that such an appeal carries potentially considerable weight. Canon Collins said that Christian Action was hoping to collect money, food and clothing for the dependants of those taking part in the passive resistance movement.

Such a call demonstrates how powerful an element for social progress the doctrine of human brotherhood might be. But it also shows—if one is realistic—how ineffectual the Church of England has become, for one immediately feels it to be a wholly inappropriate torch bearer of such social dynamite.

On the other side of the ecclesiastical fence an even more stark *volte face* was recently enacted. The Pope, in his address to the International Congress of Astronomers now meeting in Rome, urged them not to depart from the principles of "such great scientists" as Galileo, Kepler, Copernicus and Newton! In his book, *The Roman Catholic Church against the Twentieth Century*, Mr. Avro Manhattan instanced the first three of these men as examples of how the Church had sought to obstruct the advance of science and human understanding! One can only gasp at the solid

effrontery of the Pope, can only admire the elasticity of the only true faith.

In the countries where the Roman Catholic religion is strongest—Southern Italy, Spain, Ireland—so the Church is still found opposing modern education in the very areas where the darkest and most destructive ignorance prevails. While the South Italian and Irish peasants believe in spirits and live under a reign of metaphysical terror, the Church flourishes; and the Pope, conveniently forgetting the inquisition, holds up Galileo to act as a brake on the science of to-day!

Meanwhile, one can only speculate on what modern scientists felt on being told by the Holy Father that "many modern scientists have reached the extreme limit of human reason, namely the knowledge of God as sole creator. . . . It is God alone who omnipotently creates, conserves, and governs."

Shame, bewilderment, derision?

## Business is Business

In spite of the fact that Switzerland was said to have increased her defences and military effectiveness during the war out of fear of a possible invasion by the German armies, the recent settlement of war-time and post-war debts by which Germany repays £53 millions of the £97 million she owes Switzerland, reveals that "the debts have accumulated from war deliveries, support granted to German soldiers interned after the war, and from damage caused by German aircraft shot down over Switzerland."—(Reuter.) (Our italics.)

## American Letter

CHICAGO in September presents one of the year's best examples of the way in which the various segments of big business and government work together for a common cause. The House Un-American Activities Committee has continued its peripatetics, and on September 2nd settled in the courthouse here.

To understand the purpose of the committee's hearings here, it is necessary to go back a few months to the steel strike. During this strike, International Harvester claimed that it did not have sufficient steel to continue operation, and laid off most of their workers. The unions published statistics indicating that the companies did in fact have more than enough steel. Since contract negotiations were due to come up in September, most of the Harvester workers had been saving their vacation time to tide them over any strike which might result. The company, however, realising how close to their income the workers were living, called the phony lay-off in July and August in order to force the workers to take their paid vacations then.

The next step in the Harvester strategy was the announced closing of the twine mill, and its removal to the cheap labour area of New Orleans. A sit-down strike in protest of this run-out was quickly cleared up by police strike-breakers who hauled the strikers into paddy wagons.

Now that the Harvester unions were sufficiently softened up, it was an appropriate time to introduce the *tour de force*. Simultaneously with the opening of contract negotiations and a strike at all Harvester plants, the Un-American Committee opened hearings in Chicago with the avowed purpose of "showing that the officers of the Farm Equipment Workers Union are Communists from top to bottom,"

PANDIT NEHRU said that we can do nothing about the bombing of the Yalu Power Station in Korea. Yalu is only an episode but why Yalu only? We can do nothing about the whole war in Korea, which is a civil war backed by big powers. Pandit Nehru protested against the bombing of the Yalu Power Station and called on both sides to cease fire. Pandit Nehru claimed that India had to be consulted as a member of U.N.O. before the bombing. But the U.S.A. acting in the name of U.N.O. did not consult even Britain. Even when U.N. troops went into Korea, U.N.O. had not authorised sending them there. The U.S. Government sent the troops and U.N.O. obligingly later on confirmed it on their behalf.

## U.N.O. IS U.S.

The U.N.O. cannot exist one day without the U.S.A. Nobody would contribute funds to a U.N.O. and act according to its decisions if the U.S.A. were not in it. Most of the Governments are helped to remain on the saddle in their own countries with the military and economic help of the U.S.A. If that help was not coming, all the so-called free world would be a prey to Bolshevism.

## TWO CAPITALISMS

The war in Korea is but a fight in the battle between private capitalism and State Capitalism which is raging all over the world. U.N.O. supports the private capitalist order while the Chinese and Russians support the State Capitalist order. The Koreans themselves are ranged against one another as partisans of state or private capitalism—the former going as communism, the latter as constitutional democracy. Both say they want freedom and unity of Korea.

## UNITY UNDER DICTATOR

Both say they want to unite Korea which means simply they want to bring both parts under state capitalism or private capitalism. Even if foreign champions of one or the other systems did not intervene or help in Korea.

## Letter from India

# NEHRU AND KOREA

Korean fanatics of state and private capitalism will continue to fight each other, and decimate the people, in order to "unify the country" as they claim. *Unity in the Grave!* Now, of course, there will be no more Koreans left alive before Korea is unified by one or the other side. Both sides do not mean to unite, even to keep the two systems separately as before this war.

## BOTH ARE FOR SLAVERY!

It is good for India to protest when nothing can be done about it by India, and to ask both parties to cease fire and come to truce. But there is no chance at all for uniting Korea under their own rule. If Korea is given over to Syngman Rhee, he will have pro-Bolshevik enemies behind his lines. But if it is delivered to Kim Ir Sen, the Koreans will be complete slaves, as in Russia. Korea will be a vast forced labour camp. Constitutional democracy will be used for private capitalist exploitation and dictatorship under which only a few will be pleased while Bolshevism will make Korea a vast prison house in which only the Bolsheviks will be happy as jail warders, as in Russia.

## CONSTITUTION FACADE FOR DICTATORS

Pandit Nehru wants to see Korea united and free but there can be only dictatorship, exploitation and prison-freedom whether state or private capitalism is established in Korea either with the consent or without the consent of the Koreans. If that is unity and freedom, it does not matter which is freedom: both will be slavery. Only the Bolsheviks will profit by and exploit the constitutional democracy if it is really maintained. It will soon degenerate into fascist dictatorship and civil war.

## HARMONY AMONG DICTATORS!

This slogan "United Korea", "Free Korea", "Hands off Korea", whether of Bolsheviks or private capitalist friends of Korea is meaningless. Pandit Nehru is a naive man to think there need be no conflict whether either Bolshevism or private capitalism is established.

# The Chicago Steel Strike

according to Representative Velde (Rep., Ill.) To further illustrate the impartiality of the "hearing", Velde stated: "Officers of the council, composed of two unions ousted from the C.I.O. for radical activities, are using workers as tools. By and large, the workers are not Communists or Communist sympathizers. Now is the time for them to revolt and elect new representatives as bargaining agents."

The other union besides the F.E. involved is the United Electrical Workers. The hearings also threaten the left-wing workers, and there are even many rumours that the witch hunt at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College will be renewed by the committee.

Refused admission to the courtroom where the hearings are being held by U.S. Deputy Marshals who put their backs to the door from the

inside, the strikers set up a picket line around the courthouse, in the centre of Chicago's Loop. About 200 pickets marched around the building singing and shouting until they were asked to disperse by the unions' own left-wing leaders (!)

The hearings in themselves are nothing new: the same stoolpigeons and turncoats singing for their supper.

If the strike and unions are not broken now, it will be through no fault of the combined forces of big business and government.

It will be remembered that it was a similar dispute with International Harvester and its minions of the law which precipitated the Haymarket Riot. We may be excused for agreeing with Representative Velde that "now is the time for them to revolt." R.I.D.H.

## FRANCO FACING BOTH WAYS

THE government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco, whose anti-Communism not even his most bitter enemies question, is playing with the Communists and getting a neat profit to boot. His régime is right up to its ears in East-West trade, making most of its deals in this thriving commercial centre.

Franco is trading wolfram, cork and minerals to the Soviet bloc for hard cash—dollars, Swiss francs and gold which are deposited either in banks here or in Tangier, which makes it a little handier to the Spanish mainland. The commerce has been thriving for some time in dribbles until about a year ago, and fair quantity to-day.

About \$15,000,000 a year changes hands in goods or value received between Franco's official economic experts who transact with Soviet or satellite business agents. That's the amount computed that passes through Switzerland.

His deals are, and have been, known to U.S. and British economic information analysts. The reports, based on documentary evidence, interpretations and spot-checking of Communists interest in specific commodities, have all been submitted to Washington and London in fair abundance. Yet nothing has been

mentioned of this blacklisted trading, although any NATO country found violating the spirit of no East-West trade gets dressed down promptly.

Franco, however, finds that the U.S. owes him a living because of American interest in bases below the Pyrenees. He is holding out for an extortionate amount of assistance in return for what he can provide—which is simply the real estate that must be developed before it can be used for military or naval purposes.

Besides, his government is demanding guarantees from the U.S. in the event of aggression. If Spain should be threatened by Soviet armies, it will mean that Russia had already washed like a tidal wave over Western Europe.

The paradox in Franco's position is, at this point, self-evident. He is trading actively and heavily with the force which he claims his government has quarantined. At the same time, he proclaims publicly that the Americans had better put up the kind of money he thinks his assistance to collective security requires. Otherwise, the whole Spanish base deal is off, he suggests strongly.

—New York Post, 21/8/52.

Democracy is a facade for dictatorship while Bolshevism is naked dictatorship. Both stink in the nostrils. Both Kim Ir Sen and Syngman Rhee want their own dictatorships with foreign backing.

## THE ONLY HOPE OF KOREANS

In Korea there is only a group of persons who are against Syngman Rhee—and Kim Ir Sen and their foreign helpers. They neither want foreign governments nor native governments. They want a Korea free from government as the only solution.

They were only 70,000 persons but they work among workers and peasants to wean them from all political parties who are out to establish governments. Early in the Korean war, we published their manifesto in these columns (FREEDOM, 28/10/50).

Their leader and six others were arrested by Syngman Rhee. They were sentenced to death and now pardoned.

Again they go among the people to wean them from war and civil war on behalf of native and foreign rulers. They are the only hope of unity in Korea except for a "unity" in which the Koreans will be extinct.

M. P. T. ACHARYA.

## ARGENTINA TO BAR DOCTORS UNLESS POLITICALLY INJECTED

The Government-controlled University of Buenos Aires said to-day that only "political indoctrinated" physicians and dentists would be permitted to practice in Argentina in the future.

Special courses in "political formation" will start for medical students.

—New York Times, 26/8/52.

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SYNDICALIST NOTEBOOK

What Use is an M.P.?

THE idea is still fairly widely held among the democratic that Members of Parliament are supposed to represent the interests of their constituents.

But not so Mr. Robert Mellish, M.P. for Bermondsey, in London's dockland, who told a lunch-hour meeting of dockers at the Surrey Docks the other day that he could not raise the matter of the considerable unemployment in the docks in the House of Commons.

Having had the slackest summer since the war, the dockers are now apprehensively awaiting their "normal" slack season—between now and Christmas.

And although they are guaranteed their £4 8s. a week under the decasualisation scheme, it is obvious that if there is a continued surplus of men over jobs, many dockers will be put off completely.

It is reported in the September issue of The Syndicalist that large numbers of dock workers are not waiting to be sacked in the boss's own time, but are leaving the industry themselves rather than continue to struggle along on £4 8s.

But Mr. Mellish, paid £1,000 a year to represent, among others, the thousands of dockers who live in Bermondsey, is afraid to touch the situation in case it embarrasses the unions in their negotiations.

What many dockers are beginning to ask is—what negotiations? In so far as can be seen in any concrete results, the unions are doing nothing about it at all.

And there is no doubt that such a policy in the docks would suit the T. & G.W.U. very well. The sharpest thorn in Deakin's flesh since the war has been the militant docker, and just as the Electrical Trades Union sat back while

militant meter readers were sacked by the London Electricity Board, so the T. & G.W.U. will sit back while militant dockers are sacked by the Dock Labour Board.

And Robert Mellish, M.P., who has been urging more permanency in the docks would also be very pleased to see the militants weeded out. And who could doubt that if the sackings do begin, the "trouble makers" will be the first to go?

Such are the considerations governing the actions of Parliamentary representatives and trade union leaders.

Vehicle Builders Ban Overtime

WE should hesitate to suggest that the policies or suggestions put forward in FREEDOM have much effect upon the official trade union movement.

In a series of articles on "The End of Full Employment?" earlier in the year, we suggested that any industries threatened with redundancy should introduce bans on overtime and piecework.

George Evans, Birmingham district organiser of the N.U.V.B. said that the purpose of the ban was to find work for unemployed members.

The employers have, of course, begun to cry that the union is breaking national agreements. But the union is able to point to Clause 13 of its agreement with the Engineering & Allied Employers' Federation which states that "in the event of depression in the trade, systematic short-time should be worked, if practicable, in preference to discharging labour."

This is clearly the answer to redundancy—at least, at this stage.

FOUR DISPUTES IN ONE PIT

Strikes in which 148 fillers at Silverwood Colliery, Rotherham, stopped work because of four separate disputes on Monday continued yesterday.

Thirty-eight men stopped work because of dissatisfaction over wages, 41 refused alternative work when their own was not available, a further 41 refused to work until a type of arch recently introduced had been withdrawn, and 28 more came out of the pit after complaining of heat.

—Manchester Guardian, 4/9/52. The agitators have been busy!

Special Appeal

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Land of Hope and Apathy

Continued from p. 2

the settlement designed to lure the West, to scatter some of London's swollen population. Peterlee lies at the centre of 16,000 people scattered among little farming hamlets and mining settlements.

There he met a little girl who now lives in one of the new houses. "Where did she come from, I asked. From Wheatley Hill, she said. Wheatley Hill was once Peter Lee's village, where Peter Lee, the local preacher, was summoned to pray for a dying woman, and stepping over the reeking open channel, said, 'There's need of something more than praying here, I think, where he fought his first public battle for running water and closed sewers, which led to a new reservoir and a new town. I asked the little girl what she knew about Peter Lee. Nothing, except that it was the name of the place where she lived. Well, it is enough."

YOU will see from this account of Mr. Thompson's book that it really is what its title suggests. How many books you might pick up with a title like Portrait of England and find that they are really about the West End of London and Stratford-on-Avon, some quaint cockneys and country squires and not much else. His book is not a masterpiece and he has some irritating journal-

istic tricks, but he really knows what this country is like and he really knows what is wrong. You can put it simply as a matter of participation. Whatever seems hopeful and worthwhile and heart-warming in his survey is the effect of people doing things, whatever is hopeless, dreary, irresponsible and apathetic is the result of things happening to people.

The publisher's note on the jacket remarks that "while the author is often outspoken in his criticisms of authority, he is even ruder to those individual citizens, from trade unionists to landowners, who by shirking their responsibility, make ever more inevitable the tidy centralisation beloved of planners."

But will we leave behind us anything as useful as the Burnhope Reservoir? C.W.

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution - 9

Continued from p. 2

ment control. Indeed how could it be said that they would support the strengthening of government by the participation of their representatives, when they were aware that the government would never permit such a radical reorganisation of the country's economy if it had the power to prevent it. And it was obvious to everyone (and even the "influential militants" have admitted it on more than one occasion) that the government was much more concerned with strengthening the rearguard than in strengthening the fronts manned by the militia and in hastening the defeat of Franco.

Teruel front, which made an armed incursion on the rearguard in Valencia, which it realised was being armed, not for the benefit of the men fighting at the fronts, but in order to strengthen the power of the Government. In a manifesto issued by the Column afterwards, they pointed out that they had previously sent the following demands to the "interested parties": the total disarmament of the Civil Guard, and the sending to the front all the armed forces in the service of the State. They also called for the destruction of the archives and documents of all the capitalist and state institutions.

"We asked that all the armed corps should be at the front, because there is a shortage of men and arms at the front, and the fact of remaining in the city, in view of the present situation, was and is a hindrance. We have achieved this only partially and will not give up until it is complete."

"Finally, we asked for the destruction of all those documents which represented a completely reactionary and conservative past against which our front movement rebelled. We destroyed the papers."

carried them out, using the methods which seemed to us most suitable." There was no question of a coup d'etat by the Columna de Hierro. It was an act of defence by men who were prepared to sacrifice their lives at the front but who could not stand by indifferently whilst preparations were being made in the rearguard to stab them in the back at the appropriate moment.

"In the rearguard the arms were held not only by the government's police and Assault Guards but by the political parties and the workers' organisations. It was a kind of armed camp, each faction being on the look-out against any attempt by another faction to impose its will by force of arms. Such a situation was a clear indication of the impossibility of any effective unity between the revolutionary workers' organisations and the political parties and government forces. There existed among the armed workers in the rearguard the preoccupation of defending the social revolution from growing encroachments by the government forces. For all arms to be sent to the front therefore it was necessary not to strengthen the government, by committing the C.N.T. to its decisions, but on the contrary to weaken it by removing the armed forces at its command. The workers realised this in spite of their "influential" leaders."

Scientists Champion Freedom

Continued from p. 1

state, might not be the result of an unusual set of circumstances occurring only on rare occasions in the history of mankind. Before we rejected that view as a pessimist's nightmare, he said, we should do well to remember that so far as could be discovered such favourable circumstances had occurred only twice—in the history of our race—once for some centuries in Greece, and the other since the sixteenth century.

There was no doubt the present century had witnessed a serious decline in respect for freedom of all kinds, and so widespread a phenomenon must have causes which were pretty deep-seated in our form of civilisation. The function of the heretic and critic was to force us to keep examining and revising and perfecting our beliefs and ideals; his attitude was the attitude of science, the conclusions of which were always on trial. This was the only sure safeguard against error and degeneration.

Professor Macbeath believed that in the end there were only two ways of dealing with human beings—the way of persuasion and the way of force. Every society had to make some use of both, but the resort to force was always a confession of failure, and when it entered the mental and spiritual sphere the result was intellectual and moral disaster. Science stood for the way of persuasion; it appealed to the intelligence, to evidence, and argument, and could flourish only in an atmosphere of freedom, an atmosphere in which dissent and non-conformity and differences of opinion were tolerated.

In our society, which science had helped to produce and which it was continually modifying, there were factors and tendencies which made it difficult for the critic and the independent thinker. "When we hear a statesman say that no man has a right to be wrong, when we pay those who rely on the method of force the compliment of imitating them as we do when we say that we cannot combat totalitarianism except by totalitarian methods, when in the professed interests of security we are in danger of destroying the way of life which we want to protect and thereby of undermining the national security which we wish to safeguard, freedom and science are in danger and it behoves their friends—scholars and scientists, statesmen and common men—to gird on their armour. The way of persuasion is hard and long, but it is the only way of hope for a tortured and perplexed humanity; for we cannot bring about a desirable state of affairs by means which are inconsistent with the end which we pursue."

If that diagnosis of our contemporary situation was even approximately correct, scientists could not be indifferent to the tendencies at work in society. They could no longer afford to say to their colleagues who called public attention to totalitarian tendencies: "Leave us alone to get on with our work; don't criticise or disturb our paymasters." That was the easy and selfish way; it evaded the issue and if long continued it might prove the end of scientific freedom. Nor did he think that the remedy suggested by their president would by itself prove an effective way of dealing with the situation.

The remedy which he suggested was that scientists should refuse to work under conditions which denied them the freedom of research and publication which they considered necessary for the progress of their work. But Professor Macbeath asked, was not that rather a counsel of despair, which might have value as a protest and might have some

effect in the short run, but which would not provide a permanent solution?

"Perhaps the chief danger to science," he said, "is not so much from positive restrictions consciously imposed as that the atmosphere of a society which rewards conformity and penalises dissent may cease to produce scientists, men imbued with the spirit of free inquiry."

Professor Macbeath said it was not for him to tell those, whose duty it was, in the words of their president, not only to engage in the practice of science but to hand on its traditions unimpaired to their successors, what they should do about that situation. "All I say is: The danger that the spirit of science may be crushed by its own creations is real, and in the face of it scientists cannot afford to remain silent and inactive."

All in all, these are welcome indications that scientists are by no means as complacent as might have been thought.

THE SAME GOAL

Between the Communist mind (of the Moscow or Belgrade variety), the Nazi and Fascist mind and the mind of our own arrogant minorities who can dismiss half a people's aspirations as negligible there is essentially and ultimately no difference. The same pattern of mentality is there. Different starting points lead to the same goal. Movements which seem antithetical on their surfaces end by having to adopt precisely the same methods of coercion. These are the marks of a mind that still believes it can scale Heaven from Babylon and make men as gods. The point is that it must make men do as it thinks and plans, and purposes. It must make men in its own images.

—Times Literary Supplement, 22/8/52

MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

Weather Permitting HYDE PARK Every Sunday at 4.30 p.m. MANETTE STREET (by Foyle's, Charing Cross Road) Every Saturday at 6.0 p.m.

NORTH-EAST LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN BAST HAM Alternate Wednesdays at 7.30 SEPT. 17—Tedd Mann "THE MODERN NOVEL" OCT. 1—SOCIAL EVENING

LIVERPOOL

DISCUSSION MEETINGS at 101 Upper Parliament Street Liverpool, 3 Every Sunday at 8 p.m.

GLASGOW

OUTDOOR MEETINGS at MAXWELL STREET Every Sunday at 7 p.m. W/A John Gaitney, Frank Leech, Jane Strachan, Eddie Shaw, Frank Carlin

BRADFORD

OPEN AIR MEETINGS (weather permitting) BROADWAY CAR PARK every Sunday at 8.30 p.m.

LEEDS

Anyone interested in forming a group in Leeds, please contact Freedom Press in first instance.

COVENTRY

Anyone interested in forming a group in Coventry, please write Freedom Press.

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