ORGAN OF THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN.

RED AND BLACK NOREBOOK

account for the Bolshevik arith-

T.U.C. claims to speak in the

name of the organised workers

of the world, and as such will

seek to impose its will upon all

Credentials Report will reveal

it is only a part of "organised

The unions of "enemy

states" were treated as social

started against the Vatican.

The Congress Of

World T.U.C.

The Paris Congress of the elf-styled World Trade Union have not even the excuse tha the politics they talk are "working class politics," each national section voices the imperialist claims of its national master class,

Citrine, leader of the British The American C.I.O. most Some Unions often supports the Russians

Trade Unionism By Numbers

The Russian delegation to labour. alike in shoddy-looking clothes, Congress of Organised Labour enter in a body, sit in a body, "unions of enemy countries." usually visit in a body or stay feud which the Kremlin has away in a body.

The free and easy British and This feud has nothing to do U.S. delegates hardly know how with were freethought or atheto take a delegation which ism, for Stalin is bolstering the attacks Congress like a well- Greek Catholic Church against trained body of infantry. The the Roman Catholic. British delegation has been This religious rivalry led to further embarrassed by the the International Federation of live in a country which has lost its his American competitor on more desertion of the Russians of Christian Unions (Roman industrial and commercial suprem, equal terms. the communist Bert Papworth, Catholic) being omitted from acy; which is financially bankrupt; The nationalization member of the T.U.C. General the invitations to Congress. Yet Council, A. F. Papworth is cer- the London Conference in Febtainly an obedient party mem- ruary had decided to form an ber. I wonder if he ever organisation "uniting in a remembers his activities as a World Federation the trade member of the London Catholic union bodies of freedom loving nations, irrespective of con-

PRESS FUND

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When every bloody man-of-war is taken out and sunk, And all of hell's artilery is hammered into junk, And all the plunder band is swatted stiff, and only those that toil Shall eat and wear and use the things from mine and soil, And folks that do the work that's done shall own the tools and

And will not feed the drones on corn, while they themselves eat

When Labour blows its trumpet blast in hallelujah tones And nothing but a garbage heap is left of kings and thrones, We'll claim we're civilised and cultured men, But not, my unsophisticated brother, not till then.

THE RIP SAW POET.

Doing Things By

In a political statement P. S. Serrarens, the Secretary of

Intervention by the French

represent one million one hun- any means the biggest, but red thousand at London Now probably the most celebrated

The Syndicalist international -the International Working Men's Association was absent as were its powerful affiliates of Sweden, Spain and Latin

Several large national trade union federations were also absent. In brief, it was not a World Congress of Organised Labour. It was not even a World Congress of anything. It was an international conference of some unions from some nations, talking not union affairs but politics.

SYNDICALIST.

MEETINGS

Are held by the Anarchist Federation of Britain

At LONDON, Hyde Park

Every SUNDAY, at 4-30 p.m. Every WEDNESDAY at 7-30 p.m.

At GLASGOW, Brunswick Street Every SUNDAY at 3-30 and 7-30 p.m.

In Anarchist Federation Hall, 23 Wilson Street every MONDAY, at 7-30 p.m.

BUSINESS MEETING in ANARCHIST FEDERATION HALL

At HAMILTON, New Cross Every SUNDAY at 7 p.m.

At PAISLEY, Jail Square

rovalties for a guaranteed govern-

ent bond, will be only too glad to

For thirty years the Labor move-

and, with the ultra-respectables

(75) pervocent, of the political

he land is to be bought over a

values placed upon it by the aristo-

greater percentage than the wage-

Whether it is paid as "royalt

land. The worker wild not be one

cent better off because the govern

ment pays the landowner the

interest on a bond rather than the

land-user paying the land-owner a

In fact, the worker will be worse

off! In addition to the parasitic

landowner, the worker will pay

day to say that "the more govern-

ment, the less liberty," it is just

as true to say that the "more

government the less wages, and the

less the worker can buy with his

from his meagre wages, the

"secondary parasite" of a gover

wreck of a building sitting on top labors of the men who use that

Every SUNDAY at 7 p.m.

If you want to hear a Working Class Message put forward by Unpaid Working Class Speakers in a forthright working class fashion in working class language

LONDON

If you live in the LONDON AREA and are interested in the ANARCHIST FEDERATION, write to the SECRETARY, LONDON GROUP, A.F.B., KEN HAWKES, 15 PARLIAMENT HILL, LONDON, N.W.3. NELSON, LANCS.

If in This Area, Write to J. O. PILLING, HEIGHT CROFT, MARSDEN HEIGHTS, BRIERFIELD, NELSON, LANCS.

Bellyache Vote (continued from front page)

American charity. Junking the largescale commercial dealings Kaiser Liberty ships, the American England. Inasmuch as Wall Street Maritime Commission could— if it is now the financial center would-use the better made ships of world, and the war construction period, and European commerce will be on

because of-the Empire have got to enable the British financier to meet and commercially, and which exists

servative foreign policy" by power in Europe must be checked and if possible checkmated. woman and child are the stake on the diplomatic tables, and English hand so that Imperial England gains from EVERY conference, and

THE DOMESTIC SITUATION In no country in the world to-day the domestic situation tied in so ightly with the foreign. The very act of being able to dominate world means the disadvantage of rising-and falling-with that world. The ability of the Labor Govern ment to grant any concession what apon the ability of British foreign policy to frustrate the diplomati urgings of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. The "socialist" policy to placate ne citizenry and to ameliorate the mestic troubles of the country nationalization of (a) the Bank of

the government or any municipality. Its only function is as a clearing house of the commercial banks of notes based on its possession of a

For the government to "nation, ment servant who does the regulatalize" the Bank of England means ing. If it was true in Jefferson's "legal" right to nominate the governor. But-ever since the Bank was formed, the government has always nominated the governoreven if only by courtesy.

wages, want stablished belos a tue What the Labor mob mean by PREDICT WITH CERTAINTY nationalization is the legal right to The reader can paste this in his use the Bank as Hitler used the

Europe as any Conservative Government ever could hope to be!

more servile, more cringing to the financial powers of Wall Street, and to the political ambitions of Russian Boloism than any other form of government, and that the Labor Government will be defeated five years hence because, with all its servility it will not be able to protect the interests of the British plutocracy against New York and

empire builders, (b) the landed aristocracy, and (c) the more alert, That the worker will get fewer actual benefits from "his" government than any other caste or class

The "Labor" Government will use more force, more repression against the working class than any other government would deem

The FIRST OFFICIAL ACT OF THE LABOR GOVERN-MENT WAS TO BREAK THE WOODEN SHOE" STRIKE SHOREMEN WITH ARMED

That sets the pattern for the entire period of office. The English worker, having been given a homeopathic dose of the German brand of Nazism by the Churchil ian Government during the war, will bid goodbye to a Labor Government (five years hence) which has gone the whole hog in installation of the Italian brand of vidual liberty for the worker-as a worker. He will be forced to obey his government-owned labor leaders more than he ever had to obey the employer's orders and stooges. He will carry a card in his pocket, but will find no unionism

on the job nor in the hall. Workers who "rejoice" in the taking over of power by a Labor Government are workers who have yet to learn the facts of life. Five years hence, the philosophy of socialism" will be scorned by dealists in much the same way as t is now scorned by the unthinking. The practice by the British Labor ites of their brand of "socialism" will discredit all the fine beliefs ever preached by any variety of socialist even of the non-political

The "victory" of British Labor Party is a DEFEAT for the workclass-conscious workers to realize their defeat-five years too late!

Printed by the Caledonian Press, 793 Argyle Street, Glasgow, and Published by the Anarchist Federation of Britain at 127 George Street,

coppers that they have corned to the top.

shown a compared to perfect the say of they aspired aspired they are aspired to the aspired to the aspired they are aspired to the aspired to the aspired to the aspired they are aspired to the aspired they are aspired to the asp

Not Safe

bombs could be devised with

enormous penetrative powers.

All other weapons were out of

bomb would bring about as

much destruction as took

months of struggle with the

old weapons. It would mean

new weapon is being used in

As long as it remains in the

AM QUITE SURE WE ARE

HEADING FOR ANOTHER

"One scientist could make a

little country great in power

by bringing about a little im-

provement of the atomic bomb

and he could destroy a great

nation like the U.S. IN FIVE

Arms Race

race for markets is on - the

The arms race is on - the

SECONDS." (Our Italies).

WAR." (Our Italics).

the game of power politics.

hands of one or two nations

"The tragedy is that this

a Passchendaele every day.

The smallest atomic

Capitalist Military Fiends Pre- The LAST AND FINAL BATTLE IS ABOUT TO BE pare to Destroy Millions of are about to die are shouting the World's Workers.

The corpses are still piled on the one which wiped out Hirothe fields of battle, the dead shima look like a firework, Mr. are scarcely cold, the medals Leslie Arends, member of the are still to be struck for the Military Affairs Committee of heroes, the wounded are still the House of Representatives, gasping their last or fighting said to-day. their battles bover bagain in He introducted a bill proposdelirium or in nut houses, the ing a commission to make prisoners of war have still to recommendations for the safety return, the vast majority of of the U.S. soldiers have still to be de- He suggested that cities and mobbed and already UN- factories be decentralised and EMPLOYMENT and the that vast underground factories NEXT WAR are the main and shelters be built "in readi-

tit-bits on the capitalist menu ness for the next war, when American towns and cities will For six years, while they be the most dangerous spots took" their sons, daughters, on earth." (quotation ours). Or wives and grandmothers—the this one—Sun. Express, 30-9-45 boss class have patted their One-Man "Army" is enough. slaves on their scrawny and With atom bomb. Air Viceragged backs-"You can take Marshall D. C. Bennett said that they have murdered their bomb were wrongly used, the sons or crippled them, and Prime Minister in a control have used them, they have room at 10 Downing St. could declare war by releasing 6,000 shove the suckers back to the atomic rockets on the enemy offices, from which they were would destroy every major dragged-backs to the same town in the country he was old starvation, slums, doss attacking," said the Vicehouses and poor houses, to Marshall who was addressing await their master's call to the London Institute of World next blood bath (if they get Affairs.

the chance to hear it). BUBIJEUA With the high rate of technical development on the field of production the master class after getting rid of ten to TO-DAY." twelve million in 1914-1918 and twenty-five to thirty million 1939-1945 they still have an overabundance and so the next liquidations are about to take place—in the best civilized mass production mann

The Atomised Way

Nature never mourned the 10,000,000 dead of the '14-18 massacre nor is she mourning the further death role of today nor will she mourn the huge obliterations of to-morrow TIT IS NOT THE GOOD WHO DIE YOUNG it is the STUPID WHOODIE YOUNG and nature never mourns the stupid, she has no time for them-she gets rid of them.

Since the French Revolution the Anarchists have warned the working class (Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Malatesta, Reclus. Kropotkin, they sacrificed their bravest and best the industrial battlefields, they died on the gallows, in the electric chair, by the executioner's bullet, by the garrot, on the barricades, and on the revolutionary battlefields) and the warming was "Destroy the fight for trade routes - the State on the State will destroy battle between the dollar and you." How true that warning sterling - the final battle for was and is we see to-day in world supremacy in the skiesevery newspaper headline— on the sea—on the land. The take one at random—the Daily Foreign Ministers Council has Express, 25-9-45. "U.S. HAS failed as it must fail - Russia NEW ATOM BOMB." Wash- and America the only two ington, Monday.—The U.S. has powers left in the world glare a new atom bomb which makes at each other across the oceans.

for murther!

In the War Graves Commis sion's Report there occurs the following by Sir Fabian Ware: "But shed no tear"-

Mourn not those that in the cool earth lie.

mothers all who die.

Bellyache Vote.

Specially prepared by Political Research Section of WWUNST The Editors of Direct Action consider this article too good to In the confined to America. Such articles of sanity come few and far between in this orgy of madness, hypocrisy and corruption. -With acknowledgments to the "Industrial Worker,"

Chicago, organ of the Industrial Workers of the World.

PROFITS OF EMPIRE

They have not the courage to cut it. They haven't even got the intelligence to be aware of the contradiction between their professed

Prior to the first innings of world

fortably on the difference. To-day, the expense of maintaining the empire is almost as much as the boodle coming in as a result of that maintenance, leaving little to be divided up among the secon-

dary parasites of the empire.

One time the workshop of the world, millions of English workers profits—the English worker finds himself in competition with the low wages, long hours, and abominable conditions of the Indian

Ninety-seven per cent. of Canadian manufacturing industry is owned by the American plutocracy. The only wealth siphoned from Canada by English imperialism is the mineral wealth which is owned by Imperial Chemicals (ex Brunner-Mond) and which, in pre-war days it had to share with I. G. Farbenindustrie of Germany and with Dupont here in the U.S.; the surplus values coming from Canadian prairie land owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway and the wealth made in trading by the Hudson

Bay Company 1 Jyan III 1970 bler Burma and the Malay States are the only colonies which show a profit on imperial exploitation,

INDUSTRIAL COMMERCIAL Prior to 1914, England supplied

the world with machinery and the products of the machine. Prior to 1939, the supply of "brummagenn" i.e., gimeracks, for the world came from Germany and Japan with English supply but a minor fraction of the total. Gimerackery (the junk found in dime stores) must always be made by cheap mass production labor, and the attempt by England to regain her prior position as the world supplier of this junk will mean a nation-wide lowering of even the low wage levels now existing a leb of bester

Precision machine products are now an American monopoly. What percentage of the world supply will come out of England will pay tribute to American plutocrats who own most of the modern and im-

(Continued on page 4, col, 3.)



CHRISTIANS AT WAR.

Onward, Christian soldiers! Duty's way is plain; Slay your Christian neighbors, or by them be slain. Pulpiteers are spouting effervescent swill, God above is calling you to rob and rape and kill, All your acts are sanctified by the Lamb on high; If you love the Holy Ghost, go murder, pray and die. Onward, Christian soldiers, rip and tear and smite!

Let the gentle Jesus bless your dynamite. Sphinter skulls with shrapnel, fertilize the sod; Folks who do not speak your tongue deserve the curse of Smash the doors of every home, pretty maidens seize;

Use your might and sacred right to treat them as you Onward, Christian soldiers! Eat and drink your fill;

Rob with bloody fingers, Christ O.K's the bill, Steal the farmer's savings, take their grain and meat; Even though the children starve, the Saviour's bums must

Burn the peasant's cottages, orphans leave bereft; In Jehovah's holy name, wreak ruin right and left. Onward, Christian soldiers! Drench the land with gore; Mercy is a weakness all the gods abhor,

Bayonet the babies, jab the mothers, too; Hoist the cross of Calvary to hallow all you do. File your bullets' noses flat, poison every well; God decrees your enemies must all go plumb to hell. Onward, Christian soldiers! Blighting all you meet, Trampling human freedom under pious feet. Praise the Lord whose dollar sign dupes his favored race!

Make the foreign trash respect your bullion brand of grace. Trust in mock salvation, serve as pirates' tools; History will say of you: "That pack of G . . . d . . .

-From the I.W.W. Song Book. -- lile W to thing out the salmagno sankrow

EDITORIAL.

The reverberations of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima will be heard for many days to come. Besides signalising the end of this war it also exploded the synthetic unity of the Allied Nations, the demagogy of the Atlantic Charter and as a con-"International Co-operation for Peace." It is not our task here to show that the use of atomic energy for the purpose of destruction completely beggars in frightfulness any attempts, amateurish in comparison, made by the "enemy countries" in pursuit of their nefarious mission "to destroy civilisation." It will suffice for the moment to say that Capitalism admits no law moral or otherwise.

The sorry spectacle of Keynes and Halifax returning emptyhanded from their pilgrimage of want (on their journey they me Hope, but found that Faith and Charity were liquidated, Belsen as they had thought, but in Wall Street) amply illustrates the simple fact that all is fair, not only in love and war, but also in "peace." Capitalist Society can do no other than respond to its own inner dynamic, and the Labour Government of this country cannot justly complain since they are expressly concerned, not with the abolition of this system, but with the attempt to stabilise it. They are repeating their old trusting in no one but them- earth.

The wail "We must export or die," take up by Italy, Germany and Japan in turn is now echoed by Britain, and previously it has been an unfailing harbinger of the development of totalitarianism. The writing is on the wall, and as a reward for the sacrifices of war the working class of this country will require to herent in the antagonistic streets in times of social unrest, Anarchy: work harder to produce the things they so urgently need-but not for themselves-in order to undercut competitors on the foreign markets.

The miracle of persuading a starving man to eat less must be accomplished, since, according to our Socialist Ministers, before we can purchase essential imports we must first get foreign currency-so now we understand the economics of Socialism.

The mechanism of Imperial Preference and the Sterling bloc, behind which Britain bargains, will not avail her much and will inevitably lead to an attempted policy of Autarchy within the Empire and the creation of a Western European Bloc of powers.

The still-born Council of Foreign Ministers simply reflects the irreconcilable clash of interests between the three remaining powers (two of them allegedly Socialist) in the Capitalist jungle, and presages World War No. 3, because there is to-day room only for one single world dominant power caucus. There can be no peaceful transition to world-wide totalitarianism, the interests which bar this can only be removed by force and violence.

With the advent of the atomic bomb and the directed space have always right" and cul- the flowers cast by its friends, projectile the question is no longer one of world-wide Fascism or mentally different to the minating in the great general through the blood of its deworld-wide Social Revolution, but resolves itself into total teachings of the Communists strike—is the REVOLUTION! fenders, across the bodies of its annihilation or total peace. Capitalism means annihilation, and their bastard sons, the On the day of the final social enemies." Social Revolution means peace; there is no middle course.

The common people alone can save the world and guarantee a future for Homo Sapiens: when will they act?

FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Over the week-end of September 29th-30th the ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN held its first National Congress, in doing so an important step was taken and a milestone passed in Anarchist history, for the first time we are organised on a National basis, the Federation includes all the Anarchist groups and individuals in Britain, those who remain outside are relatively of little or no importance.

Delegates and individuals from London, Kingston, Shrewsbury, Manchester, Nelson, Lanark, Greenock, Hamilton, Burnbank, Glasgow, Clydebank, Dalmuir, Paisley and Kilmarnock were present in the A.F.B. Hall, 23 Wilson Street, Glasgow, C.I. Fraternal delegates from the Spanish Libertarian Movement in Britain (C.N.T.-F.A.I.) carried fraternal and revolutionary good wishes for the success of the British Congress. . AAW TA

A National Committee was formed, also a National Editorial Committee. "DIRECT ACTION" was enthusiastically accepted as the National Organ of the Federation.

Resolutions were passed on the following: -

The War and the Peace,

The Labour Government,

The British Working Class Movement,

Nationalisation,

and various Domestic Social Problems.

As the complete minutes are not to hand yet of the Congress, which took place in four sessions, the complete report must be held over till next issue. What we can report is that the Congress was a complete success.

Sired by the militants of the various Anarchist groups, who during the six years of the world's greatest blood bath have carried the Working Class Message of Anarchism up and down the length of the country. Opposing the war and all its facets-Conscription, Industrial and Military; Firewatching, Pay As You Earn, Home Guards, etc. Many of the militants found themselves in the various jails serving sentences up to and including 12 months, one comrade being brought before the Governor of Barlinnie Prison on his first day for disobeying orders, and later threatened with TEN MONTHS in solitary for propogating Anarchism in the jail. Carrying on undeterred he was later approached by Major D. C. Heron Watson, Deputy Governor, and asked to deliver a private lecture on Anarchism, which, needless to say, was never given. In all weathers, in air raids and out of them, the work has gone on, and now, mothered by conditions. we have a lusty bouncing baby that is going to grow into an unholy terror to the carrion who seek to feed on the body of the Working Class-The Anarchist Federation of Britain.

REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

The Anarcho-Syndicalist Position Re-defined

In view of the latest dis- that there is any such thing as no doubt come from the repreagainst Capitalism.

2 yes osls shrink, let traitors turn NOITOAVTS and we have dared to think, that dare we also say. 2

arguments about the "useless- selves. We answer the Pacifists when ness of waging the Class- Again, we have aiways they tell us to give up the

Trotskyists. We do not believe general strike opposition will

coveries of Science, prostituted a successful insurrection organ- sentatives of "Law and Order," in the Service of the State, and ised with the intention of but it is safe to assume that therefore only used for destruc- forming a "Workers' Govern- the revolutionary sections of tive purposes, it is necessary ment" or that such an insur- the workers who have been to re-define the Anarcho- rection ever represented the forced into the Capitalist mili-Syndicalist attitude to violence true aspirations of the workers, tary machine will be quite in the revolutionary struggle When a minority stage a capable of dealing with these "Putsch" and say that they gentry in the only language

The pacifists, who have always represent the "workers and that they understand. shown a complete inability to peasants" we say that they The Capitalist system is fight war successfully on a mass are nothing but careerists aspir- founded on violence, and basis, using as they do "respect- ing to dictatorship. There is violence gives birth to violence. able" methods of struggle such a vast difference between this That is why we say that petitions, campaigns, sort of thing and a real revolu- Capitalism, its institutions, its etc., seem to be expecting tion where the whole of the laws, its God, must all die a tremendous increase in their masses, and we mean the whole a violent death like all evil numbers following the develop- of the masses, rises and ends things before peace, happiness ment of the Atomic bomb. Bourgeois rule spontaneously, and justice come upon the

Struggle," forgetting that the opposed the C.P. tactics of fight, with the words of Pierreclass struggle is a factor in- leading the masses out into the Joseph Proudhon, the father of nature of Bourgeois society where they provide perfect "A revolution cannot be itself. The days of revolution- targets for the armed thugs crushed, cannot be deceived, ary struggle are over, they say! and social parasites of the cannot be preverted, all Hurrah! Now we shall fight Master Class, the Police and the more, cannot be Capitalists by "brain power" the degenerate Regular Army, conquered. The more you re-From now on the revolutionary We think it much more pre- press it, the more you increase movement must be wholly ferable that the workers remain its rebounds and render its Pacifist! From such an attitude in the factories, their places of action irresistable. So much so it is but a short step to com- work. But, with their arms that it is precisely the same for plete compromise and many folded. We advise them to the triumph of an idea, of our pseudo-Intellectuals are wage the struggle with the whether it is persecuted, hartaking it. many and varied form of assed, beaten down during its In saving, as Ethel Mannin "Direct Action" of which they beginning, or whether it grows has said, in a "I told you so" themselves, and their brothers and developes unobstructed. fashion, these people are for- the World over, are becoming to Like the Nemesis of the getting one thing. Just this, realise the value and strength. Ancients, whom neither prayers The methods advocated by the And this industrial struggle, nor threats could move, the Anarcho-syndicalists to be used based on the principles of the revolution advances, with in the revolutionary struggle "Boss is always wrong, the sombre and fatal steps, over

AROUND THE MEETINGS Questions in Jail Square, Paisley

Paisley meeting was by a young of life. When we can do that, when well-dressed individual who was all men have free access to the inthe basis of voluntary co-operation and live and work together in a free



ends you will have to change cular country, you can apply that

bombing, when the water supply piece-work system, etc., and to that was disrupted, you had the spec- end the lives of the working-class Glasgow where there is an acute appeared. Anarchists, Social Recalled days of peace when people has been liquidated. The O.G.P.U. there is scarcity, there is struggle, a word, Industrial Feudalism. where there is abundance there can The State has become the absolute be good-fellowship. In Edinburgh power. (The Dictatorship of the a bunch of do-gooders sat to try Party over the Proletariat, Stalin's and solve the problem of juvenile own words) as merciless as any redelinquency. It was beyond these gime we have yet seen and that surface-thinkers to see that the includes Nazi Germany. And if you sordid environment breeds crime, can call that progress as opposed That is why we advocate that to your definition of progress. God won't accept your thanks workers organise at the point of Well!--

The question thrown up at the production to take over the means necessities of life are as plentiful as that water I have described flowing freely from the well, when arisfreedom to develop and enrich their personalities, then I say we Regulations and instituted an will have solved the problem of

> The second question was in relation to some critical remarks made by the speaker concerning the social set-up prevailing in that particular geographical area, known variously as the Socialist Fatherland, the Workers' Paradise, etc. The land of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The question was asked by one of that well-known fraternity who hang around meetings, who, when questioned, are never members The exception was the Feder-

The Question was-Do you imply Mr. Speaker, that there has been no

sonally, the yard-stick which I would happiness, the well-being of the Question.-In order to attain your individuals who make up that partinight as compared with the so- The Bolshevik old guard in its turn

AUSTRALIAN WORKERS' STRIKE "Socialist" Govt. Order to Return to Work.

Workers at the Bunnerong Electrical Powerhouse, Sydney, N.S.W., are using direct action. First strike at the plant occurred in May when the maintenance workers struck for a 36-hour night shift week. The Socialist Prime Minister of Australia ordered the strikers to return to work under the National Security (Wartime) enquiry. Result of enquiry: Maintenance workers to receive 2s instead of 1s 3d a shift (night) penalty rate.

The maintenance workers struck again on September 2nd. Sydney Trades and Labour Disputes Committee ordered a return to work. All unions bar one agreed to this decision. ated Locomotive, Engineers and Firemen's Association, whose President stated that rather than see the Bunnerong strike defeated he would pull out every F.L.E.F. member in the mean coal mining and rail transport would be brought to

Unions supporting Labour Council decision are giving no financial assistance to strikers. but the municipal workers are. some branches, levying themselves Is in the £1 in support of the strike.

The white-collar workers (Staff) are running the plant. Many electrical blackouts have ready occurred in Sydney

L. J., Sydney, Australia,

RABBIE BURNS on THANKS GIVING WEEKS. Thanksgiving for a National

Ye hypocrites! are these your To murder men and give God

Desist, for shame! - proceed no

for murther!

Kropotkin On Law And Authority

"When ignorance reigns in society and disorder in the minds of men, laws are multiplied, legislation is expected to do everytning, and each fresh law being a fresh miscalculation, men are continually led to demand from it what can proceed only from themselves, from their own education and their own morality." It is no revolutionist who says this, nor even a reformer. It is the jurist, Dalloy, author of the Collection of French law known as "Repertoire de la Legislation." And yet, though these lines were written by a man who was himself a maker and admirer of law, they perfectly represent the abnormal condition of

In existing States a fresh law is looked upon as a remedy for evil. Instead of themselves altering what is bad, people begin by demanding a law to alter it. If the road between two villages is impassable, the peasant says:-" There should be a law about parish roads." If a parkkeeper takes advantage of the want of spirit in those who follow him with servile observance and insults one of them, the insulted man says "There should be a law to enjoin more politeness upon park-keepers." If there is stagnation in agriculture or commerce, the husbandman, cattle-breeder, or corn speculator argues, "It is protective legislation that we require." Down to the old clothesman there is not one who does not demand a law to protect his own hitte trade. If the employer lowers wages or increases the hours of labour, the politician in embryo exclaims, "We must have a law to put that to rights," instead of telling the workers that there are other, and much more effectual means settling these things straight; namely, recovering from the employer the wealth of which he has been despoiling the workmen for generations. In short, a law everywhere and for everything! A law about fashions, a law about mad dogs, a law about virtue, a law to put a stop to all the vices and all the evils which result from human indolence and cowardice.

We are so perverted by an education which from infancy seeks to kill in us the spirit of revolt, and to develop that of submission to authority; we are so perverted by this existence under the ferule of a law, which regulates every event in life-our birth, our education, our development, our love, our friendship—that, if this state of things continues, we shall lose all initiative, all habit of thinking for ourselves. Our society seems no longer able to understand that it is possible to exist otherwise than under the reign of Law, elaborated by a representative government and administered by a handful of rulers; and even when it has gone as far as to emancipate itself from the thraldom, its first case has been to reconstitute it immediately. "The Year I. of Liberty" has never lasted more than a day, for after proclaiming it men put themselves the very next morning under the yoke of Law and Authority.

Indeed, for some thousands of years, those who govern us have done nothing but ring the changes upon "Respect for law, obedience to authority." This is the moral atmosphere in which parents bring up their children, and school only serves to confirm the impression. Cleverly assorted scraps of spurious science are inculcated upon the children to prove necessity of law; obedience to the law is made a religion; moral goodness and the law of the masters are fused into one and the same divinity. The historical hero of the schoolroom is the man who obeys the law, and defends it against rebels.

Later, when we enter upon public life, society and literature, impressing us day by day and hour by hour, as the water-drop hollows the stone, continue to inculcate the same perjudice. Books of history, of political science, of social economy, are stuffed with this respect for law; even the physical sciences have been pressed into the service by introducing artificial modes of expression, borrowed from theology and arbitrary power, into knowledge which is purely the result of observation. Thus our intelligence is successfully befogged, and always to maintain our respect for the law. The same work is done by newspapers. They have not an article which does not preach respect for law, even where the third page proves every day to demonstrate the imbecility of that law, and shows how it is dragged through every variety of mud and filth by those charged with its administration. Servility before the law has become a virtue, and I doubt if there was ever even a revolutionist who did not begin in his youth as a defender of law against what are generally called "abuses," although these last are inevitable consequences of the law itself.

Art pipes in unison with would be science. The hero of the sculptor, the painter, the musician, shields Law beneath his buckler, and with flashing eyes and distended nostrils stands ever ready to strike down the man who would lay hands upon her. Temples are raised to her; revolutionists themselves hesitate to touch the high priests consecrated to her service, and when revolution is about to sweep away some ancient institution, it is still by law that it endeavours to sanctify the deed. The confused mass of rules of conduct called Law, which has been bequeathed to us by slavery, serfdom, feudalism, and royalty, has taken the place of those stone monsters before whom human victims used to be immolated, and whom slavish savages dared not even touch lest they should be slain by the thunderbolts of heaven.

This new worship has been established with especial success since the rise to supreme power of the middle class-since the great French Revolution. Under the ancient regime, men spoke little of laws; unless, indeed, it were, with Montesquieu, Rousseau and Voltaire, to oppose them to royal caprice; obedience to the good pleasure of the king and his lackeys was compulsory on pain of hanging or imprisonment. But during and after the revolution when the lawyers rose to power, they did their best to strengthen the principle upon which their ascendaney depended. The middle class at once accepted as a dyke to dam up the popular torrent. The priestly crew hastened to sanctify it, to save their park from foundering amid the breakers. Finally the people received it as an improvement upon the arbitrary authority and violence of the past.

To understand this, we must transport ourselves in imagination into the eighteenth century. Our hearts must have ached at the story of the atrocities committed by the all-powerful nobles at that time upon the men and women of the people, before we can understand what must have been the magic influence upon the peasant's mind of the words, "Equality before the law, obedience to the law without distinction of birth or fortune." He, who until then, had been treated more cruelly than a beast, he who had never had any rights, he who had never obtained justice against the most revolting actions on the part of a noble, unless in revenge he killed him and was hanged-he saw himself recognised by this maxim, at least in theory, at least with regard to his personal rights, as the equal of his lord. Whatever this law might be, it promised to affect lord and peasant alike; it proclaimed the equality of rich and poor before the judge. The promise was a l.e, and to-day we know it; but at that period it was an advance, comage to justice, as hypocrisy is a homage rendered to truth. This is the reason that when the saviours of the menaced middle class (the Robespierres and that Dantons) took their stand upon the writings of the Rousseaus and the Voltaires, and proclaimed "respect for law, the same for every man," the people accepted the compromise; for their revolutionary impetus had already spent its force in the contest with a foe whose ranks drew closer day by day, they bowed their neck beneath the yoke of law to save themselves from the arbitrary power of

The Middle Class has ever since continued to make the most of this maxim, which with another principle, that of representative government, sums up the whole philosophy of the bourgeois age, the XIX century. It has preached this doctrine in its schools, it has propagated it in its writings, it has moulded its art and science to the same purpose, it has thrust its beliefs into every hole and corner-like a pious Englishwoman, who slips tracts under the door-and it has done all this so successfully that to-day we behold the issue in the detestable fact, that, at the very moment when the spirit of turbulent criticism is reawakening, men who long for freedom begin the attempt to obtain it by entreating their masters to be kind enough to protect them by modifying the laws which these masters themselves have created!

But times and tempers are changed since a hundred years ago. Rebels are everywhere to be found, who no longer wish to obey the law without knowing whence it comes, what are its uses, and whither arises the obligation to submit to it, and the reverence with which it is encompassed. The rebels of our day are criticising the very foundations of Society, which have hitherto been held sacred, and first and foremost amongst them that fetish, law. Just for this reason the upheaval which is at hand is no meet insurrection, it is a Revolution.

The critics analyse the sources of law, and find there either a god, product of the terrors of the savage, and stupid, paltry and malicious as the priests who vouch for its supernatural origin, or else, bloodshed, conquest by fire and sword. They study the characteristics of law, and instead of perpetual growth corresponding to that of the human race, they find its distinctive trait to be immobility, a tendency to crystallise what should be modified and developed day by day. They ask how law has been maintained, and in its service they see the atrocities of Byzantinism, the cruelties of the Inquisition, the tortures of the Middle Ages, living flesh torn by the lash of the executioner, chains, clubs, axes, the gloomy dungeons of prisons, agony curses and tears. In our own days they see, as before, the axe, the cord, the rifle, the prison; on the one hand, the brutalised prisoner, reduced to the con dition of a caged beast by the debasement of his whole moral being, and on the other, the judge, stripped of every feeling which does honour to human nature, living like a visionary in a world of legal fictions, revelling in the infliction of imprisonment and death, without even suspecting, in the cold malignity of his madness, the abyss of degradation into which he has himself fallen before the eyes of those whom he condemns.

They see a race of law-makers legislating without knowing what their laws are about; to-day voting a law on the sanitation of towns, without the faintest notion of hygiene, to morrow making regulations for the armament of troops, without so much as undertanding a gun; making law about teaching and education without ever having given a lesson of any sort, or even an honest education to their own children legislating at random in all directions, but never forgetting the penalties to be meted out to ragamuffins, the prison and the galleys, which are to be the portion of men a thousand times less immoral than these legislators themselves.

Finally, they see the gaoler on the way to lose all human feeling, the detective trained as a blood-hound, the police spy despising himself; 'informing," metamorphosed into a virtue; corruption, erected into a system; all the vices, all the evil qualities of mankind countenanced and cultivated to insure the triumph of law. All this we see, and, therefore, instead of inanely repeating the

old formula, "Respect the law," we say, "Despise law and all its attributes!" In place of the cowardly phrase, "Obey the law," our dry is "Revolt against all laws!" Only compare the misdeed, accomplished in the name of each law,

with the good it has been able to effect, and weigh carefully both good and evil, and you will see if we are right.

Industrial Notes And Comments

Dockers Pull The Pin

The dockers of Britain have given the British working class another lesson in strike tactics and SOLIDARITY. While the T. & G.W.U. and the other comic controllde set up show once more their utter importance, and expose themselves for what they are FINK ORGAN. ISATIONS.

Our Socialist, or is it Labour Government? shows its ANTI-WORKING CLASS role by the employment of uniformed scabs to break the strike - the dockers stand against them all, good luck fellow workers more power to your elbows. Now is the time to organise a fighting machine in the shape of a rank and file Dockers Industrial

Building Workers' Protest

coppers that they have earned to the top.

they have been bought, bar- well" up the slimy political NATIONS DON'T DIG COAL, SOCIAL REVOLUTION-ORtered and sold by their union ladder, Mr. Shinwell, Minister it is very concrete MINERS GANISING TO ABOLISH masters—they have allowed the of Fuel. At a conference of pit WHO DIG COAL, that is why THE WAGES SYSTEM introduction of Time Clocks and productions committees and the Anarchists postulate and ORGANISING TO ABOLISH Time Keepers on the sites— union branches he said that propogate the very concrete ALL SLAVES AND MASTERS they have watched the clerks of 8,000,000 more tons of coal had proposition of MINERS' CON- AS SUCH-ORGANISING AS work evolve from benevolent to be produced, and, he added: TROL OF THE MINES. WORKERS AND NOT AS half-wits to despots—they have "I am going to have coal and SHINWELL SAYS, 12/10/-: been shoved around by National no one is going to stop me- "I am not an Anarchist"-he's Service Officers - robbed by even if I have to dig it myself." telling us. P.A.Y.E .- and booted by the Well, no one is going to stop bosses, and this when they had him, in fact the Burnbank the ball at their feet, history Anarchist miners will escort says of the last generation of him to the coal face any time. building trade workers- and we are sure coal dust will "Bosses men - creepers be clean to Shinwell after the crawlers-lick spittles-boot swill of the political "Hog lickers." What will history record of this generation of craft disorganised "can boys," who haven't even the gumption know that their strength lies on the job and in industrial, not craft organisation, and organfrom its ages old sleep to find isation of building workersit has been knocking its pan in not joiners, brickies, glaziers, plasterers, electricians, navvies, All during the war the build- or what have you, battling ing workers have been so busy between and among themselves minding the bosses business and but a solid Builders' Industrial playing pontoons, they've had Union controlled from the decision that has got to be no time to mind their own! The various jobs from the bottom

would have brought a blush of

Glasgow

Glasgow was honoured by a as any Anarchist that NATION down to the serious business of shame to the face of a coolie- Socialist who has "shinned is an abstraction, and that ORGANISING FOR THE

the delusion that under nationalisation he can do as he likes he is making a profound mistake." Yes, we know that the jails are being made ready by the Labour Government for those who will resist its Nazi

He went on: "The miners themselves have not the right to decide how their industry should be run. That is taken by the nation as a

What Is The Nation?

On the 18th of September, Mr. E. Shinwell knows as well kidding and swanking and get

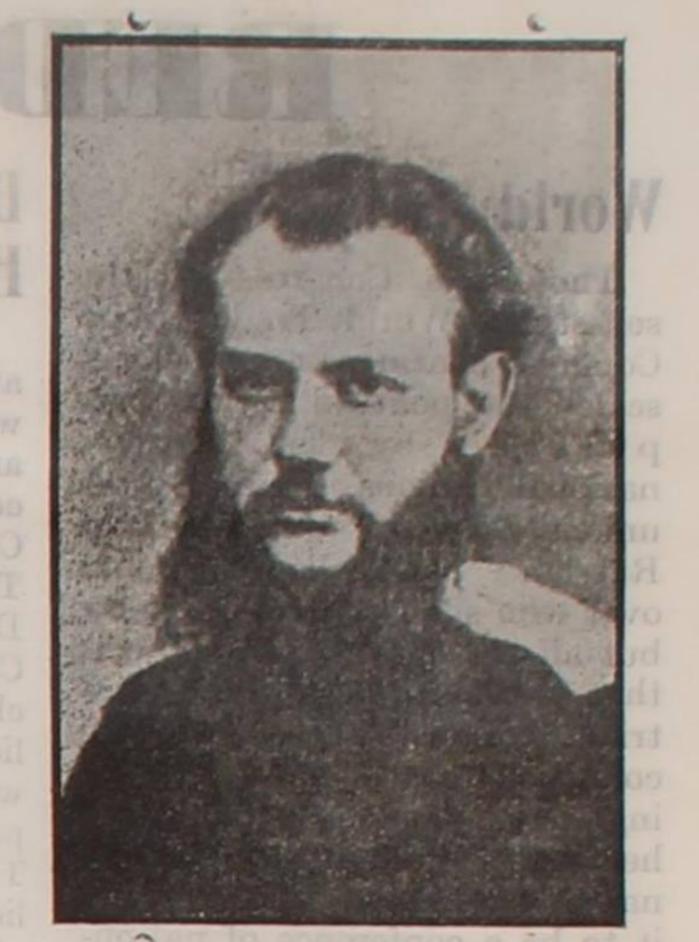
Communist Capers

he Comical Communist Party has adopted a new boring from within tactic. In the N.B.L. Queen's Park Works, Glasgow, the sub-convenor of A.E.U. shop stewards, a communist, has infiltrated into the ranks of the rate-fixers brigade. and now stands with the stopwatch to cut the already starvation piece-work prices.

He only carries out policy of Jack Tanner president of the A.E.U., when about a year ago in the Woodside Halls, Glasgow, he advocated the stop-watch as

the workers' friend. N.B.—In some circles a ratefixer is considered the lowest

form of animal life. ANARCHIST.



ORGANISE OR DIE

Continued from page 1, col. 5] As all men must

Mourn rather, the apathetic

The cowed and meek, Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong, And dare not speak."

Yes the meek shall inherit the earth - the lucky ones in 6 ft. by 2 ft. lots, the unlucky shall inherit a vast area, with nothing of them remaining to show how they desecrated the fair face of nature with their cowardice and humility.

Capitalism is in its death throes, the wounded monster is thrashing in its death agony and threatening to take every man jack of a worker along with it—the workers can save themselves if they would, but voting for all the political rats from here to hell and back again will leave the situation unchanged - as. Dwight McDonald points out in the August '45 issue of 'Politics':

"WE MUST GET' THE MODERN NATIONAL STATE BEFORE IT 'GETS' US. THE CRAZY AND MUR-DEROUS NATURE OF THE KIND OF SOCIETY WE HAVE CREATED IS UNDER-LINED BY THE ATOMIC BOMB. EVERY INDIVI-DUAL WHO WANTS TO SAVE HIS HUMANITY -AND INDEED HIS SKIN-HAD BETTER BEGIN THINKING 'DANGEROUS' ABOUT 'THOUGHTS' SABOTAGE, RESISTANCE, REBELLION, AND THE FRATERNITY OF ALL MEN EVERYWHERE."

The time has come for the

working class to cut out the YOU - ORGANISING TO TAKE OVER INDUSTRY AND PRODUCE FOR USE INSTEAD OF PROFIT—OR-GANISING AS MEN-RES-PONSIBLE MEN, INTELLI-GENT MEN AND NOT AS STARVING CURS OR GUTTER RATS SNARLING OVER THE CRUMBS THAT MASTERS TABLE - NOT STATE CONTROL - BUT CONTROL — MAKING GOVERNMENTS. HUNGER, FRUSTRATION, REPRESSION. MISERY, BLOOD, TEARS, TOIL AND SWEAT - HIDE-OUS DREAMS FROM A NIGHTMARIC PAST.

JIMMY DICK.