

DIRECT ACTION Monthly Organ of the Anarchist Federation of Britain

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From: Sec. London Group A.F.B.
Ken Hawkes, 15 Parliament Hill,
London N.W.3.

"Daily Worker" Finance Mystery (cont. from p. 2)

Now, in spite of the large capital collected, the *Daily Worker* is not expanding, but is shrinking, and frantic appeals for help are going up. The issue of Tuesday, June 17th, 1947 features a front page S.O.S. by the editor William Rust from which we quote:

"The *Daily Worker* is facing a financial crisis of such serious dimensions that we are compelled to enforce severe economies and to call to our readers for urgent assistance."

He goes on to tell us that the *Daily Worker* deficit is £3,500 a quarter and that the "Fighting Fund" at £2,372 a month is £628 below target. The main causes of decline he tells us are the printing workers' five day week and an increase of £2 per ton in the price of newsprint. The comparatively small increase in the price of newsprint can hardly be a chief cause of the crisis however.

Rust goes on to state the economy measures. Revised production schedules, administrative changes, sacking of workers and a reduction of the size of the Saturday edition each week. He appeals for new readers as well as cash.

So, the appeal continued in every issue. On June 21, Pollitt had a long article complete with quotations from Lenin. Pollitt can never speak or write about the *Daily Worker* without quoting Lenin — and same old quotations. He's been doing it since 1930. His appeal is decorated with a picture of the new *Daily Worker* premises in Farringdon Road. A close examination reveals that this is not a photograph, but a pencil sketch. In rather small letters we are informed that it is an artists' impression! Rather different to the progress report of eight months ago.

It's about time that Co-op and other members enquired what is happening to the share capital subscribed to the *Daily Worker* on the lavish promises which have vanished with the snows of last winter.

French Workers on the Move

During the past few months the National Confederation of Labour, C.N.T., — the French section of the I.W.M.A. — has gained a strong foothold among the industrial workers. The big strikes, such as the recent Renault and railway stoppages, have received their impetus from the syndicates of the C.N.T. and the membership is rapidly growing.

The situation for the French revolutionary workers is today more favourable than for many years. The continued sell-outs by the Communist-dominated C.G.T. (counterpart of the T.U.C. in this country) together with the inability of successive governments to do anything to better the rapidly deteriorating economic situation have thrown the workers back on to their own initiative.

A report we have received from the C.N.T. states that the industrial federations are growing, and that strong sections are developing among the engineering, building and transport workers.

The *Observer* (15/6/47) published a long report dealing with the growth of our French movement. "There can be no doubt," writes Alan Houghton Brodrick, "that the C.N.T. is playing an important part in the labour unrest. It is gaining ground in most industrial centres... possibly the C.N.T. has helped to inspire labour unrest, which is worrying the Communists and the C.G.T. not a little, since the recent strike movements have shown that these organisations have followed rather than led... the most curious (strike) is perhaps that at the great glass factories of St Gobain, a "go-slow" affair in which the men smash up in the evening the glass produced during the day."

Le Libertaire, organ of the French Anarchist Federation, devotes much space to making the C.N.T. known, and on reporting on the strike wave which is developing. Future prospects for revolutionary action are good.

CORRESPONDENCE

Gruppo Germinal [F.A.G.]
Lettera del 24 Guigno
ricevuto.

Nostra risposta viene.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

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We thank those comrades who have enabled us to continue our work by contributing to the Press Fund. **DIRECT ACTION** is still facing a heavy deficit, and we appeal to all those of our readers who wish to see the paper appearing regularly in future to give us their aid quickly.

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DIRECT ACTION

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AFB

VOL. 2 NO. 6 (NO. 23)

JULY, 1947

TWOPENCE

RUSSO-AMERICAN WAR: 3 YEARS OR 5?

ABOUT twenty years ago I wrote that war could only occur between two rival powers (or groups of powers) if they were of roughly the same strength. Otherwise, if one was much weaker than the other, war could not take place, because the weaker would have no alternative but to submit to the will of the stronger.

If one applied this criterion to the present situation one would judge that war was not for tomorrow. Of two present rival powers, the United States and Russia, the former is considerably stronger than the latter. If there is one thing that the last war demonstrated it is that, to an increasing extent, military force resides in technical genius. It lies in speedily inventing means of attack and defence better than those of the enemy, and of being able to organise, just as quickly, an enormous production. From these points of view American superiority is crushing. In fact Russia's technical inventions, up to the present, have only copied those of the West, and with regard to the speed of production, an American visitor to Russia, during the height of the war in the summer of 1944, White, estimated that the Russians always took a year to do what the Americans did in a month. And that is exact.

The Americans came out of the last war with a crushing superiority, given to them by the atom bomb, but we mustn't think that they've rested on their laurels. Their researches for new weapons have never received

such impetus and material means, even doubtless at the height of hostilities, as they have since the end of the war. Some time ago an American journalist stated that before 1940 American scientists, like those of other countries, had found it difficult to obtain, either from the Universities or from Industry, the necessary funds for their researches, but they are now literally swimming in money. The Army and Navy are offering them all the money they need, even for undertaking the study of subjects of a purely scientific interest which, at first sight, seemed to have no connection with war.

The results of this scientific and technical activity has certainly been considerable. Not only has the technique of long distance flying (from one point of the earth's surface to any other point) made enormous progress, not only has the sister army, the British, been assured of an absolute superiority in fighter planes thanks to jet propulsion, but, according to some remarks made some time ago by an American senator, the American army has a bacteriological department whose effects will be far more devastating than those of the atom bomb.

Thus Anglo-American superiority is crushing, and it would be folly for Russia to wish to defy it.

However, there are two cases where, in spite of opposing forces being disproportionate, war can break out.

The first case is where the weaker power doesn't reckon with its weak-

ness. It seems that this situation was nearly produced in the first months after the war. The Russians were drugged with victory; their policy towards the Western Powers was, at that time, particularly aggressive — even provoking: there was, at that time, a strong war party in Russia, particularly among the military chiefs; Stalin's two successive retreats were probably due to the importance taken by this party... For the Marshal is evidently much more prudent than his generals, and even than the young Party bosses. But today, given two years' American technical progress, of which the G.P.U. has some little knowledge, this danger can be considered over. The Russian diplomatic withdrawal since the Paris Conference shows that Moscow has now a fuller realisation of the true disposition of strength.

But there is a second case. It is when the stronger power decides to have a "preventive" war. And it seems that today, we are faced with this case; that after much hesitation the American leaders have decided to have a preventive war.

Their policy has suddenly changed. From a firm defensive they have passed to the attack. It dates, doubtless, from the day that it was decided to replace Byrnes by Marshall. A general in charge of Foreign Affairs! And that in a country where brass hats are hated like the pest. That event, in itself, was sensational. But the most sensational step in this new policy has been the aid given to Greece and

Turkey, as well as the presidential message which accompanied it.

At the same time a series of internal measures have been taken which it is difficult not to consider as moral preparation for a state of war. In this category is the enormous inquiry into the political opinions of all the officials or semi-officials, following which not only "communists" but even those who, to a greater or lesser extent, sympathised with the communists, were dismissed. A great deal of "anti-communist" and anti-Russian literature is appearing. The ex-ambassador to Moscow, Bullitt, is publishing a book which doesn't forget to mention that, if the Communists gain control of France, Russia would be at Dakar; that is to say at the gateway to the American coastline. At the same time the American ambassadors in Poland and Yugoslavia have resigned, both with the aim of lecturing more freely throughout America on what they had seen in Russia's two big satellites.

The elimination of the fifth column; the use of all propaganda means to strengthen feeling against the future enemy; aren't these the usual, and necessary, preludes to all war?

The haughty indifference with which Marshall followed the Paris Conference is also a pointer, as is de Gaulle's return to the scene. The Americans are hurrying to clear Stalinism out of France, for they don't want to risk seeing Russia gain a foothold on the strategically important Atlantic coast in the first few days of this Asian-American war. France and North Africa must be part of their bridgehead, and not a base of attack by Russia.

It is fairly certain, however, that if America has decided to have a preventive war, it is not without a reason; that reason is obvious.

Everyone knows, the Americans better than most, that ever since the day at Potsdam when Truman revealed to his questioners that the United States was going to use the atomic bomb, Russia has also been hard at work seeking the means to make atomic weapons. And one can predict, without fear of being mistaken, that she will find these means. When? It is difficult to be exact. A German scientist who had been taken to Russia for research on this subject, and who took advantage

of a trip to the Russian occupation zone in Germany to escape to the American zone, stated that while each group of scientists were specialised strictly in one branch of research and could not know what results had been obtained in other branches, he believed, however, that Russia would be able to manufacture atomic bombs in between three to five years. This estimate seems very probable.

How can you believe that the Americans will agree to live indefinitely in such a fear.

Since the day of Hiroshima America has been afraid. Afraid that her towns may one day become Hiroshimas. There is only one way to suppress this fear: the obtaining of world control of all production in all countries. It is necessary for her to have the means of assuring herself that nowhere in the world (except perhaps in her own country) can anything resembling an atom bomb be manufactured.

The decision for preventive war was probably taken on the day when the Russians refused such a control. Today only one thing could change the decision—a Russian acceptance of complete control of all their production throughout all their territory. But such an acceptance would mean the end of Russia as a world power, smashing all her dreams of expansion and imperialism, and is highly unlikely.

We must wait then for the day when the American information service reports to its government that Russia is within reach of the manufacture of atomic bombs (perhaps even earlier) for the Americans to start the war! That war will be extremely popular in America, not mainly for "ideological" reasons, nor even for imperialist reasons, but simply because it will free the Americans from fear.

In 1928 I wrote: no war for ten years; today I would like to write, if I didn't fear upsetting sensitive feelings: war before the end of five years.

ROBERT LOUZON

We reprint this article from the Paris review "La Revolution Proletarienne" because we think its analysis of the Russo-American imperialist conflict is the best we have seen.—Eds.

"Daily Worker" Finance Mystery

IS THE *Daily Worker* on the rocks? What has happened to the money of trade unions and Labour bodies, collected to launch a new big *Daily Worker*? Is there a new Communist wangle going on?

After much advertisement of tremendous plans for expansion to the scale of the *News Chronicle* or *Daily Herald*, the *Daily Worker* is now issuing frantic appeals for help to prevent its going under. Yet, a little while ago the Communists were obtaining trade union money and capital from the London Co-op Society and other bodies on the lavish promises of a bigger *Daily Worker*. A capital sum of £250,000 was asked for. By April 12th of this year £198,000 of this had been subscribed on the promise of a full sized national daily. Labour bodies and persons had been led to invest money on this promise. Said the *Daily Worker* of November 2nd, 1946:—

"The new *Daily Worker*, an eight column, full sheet paper of the size of the other national newspapers, is scheduled to appear on May 1st, 1947.

"This is our progress report:—
November 18: Completion of the ground floor in the *Daily Worker*'s new Farringdon Road building.

December 16: Sub-basement ready for installation of the new Goss rotary press.

December 23rd: First floor prepared for the linotype machines.

January 20th: Completion of the basement for the foundry equipment.

April 14th: Farringdon Road building complete. All equipment installed and all departments ready for occupation."

—*Daily Worker*, 2/11/46

We invite readers to visit Farringdon Road and see for themselves how much of this report is true, even eight months afterwards.

May the First came, but still no bigger and better *Daily Worker*. The directors, instead, announced the postponement of the new paper until May 1st, 1948 — by which time they hope the matter will be forgotten, presumably.

(continued on page eight)

THE COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP IN THE BALKANS

FOR the first time in its long, bloody and strife ridden history, Yugoslavia is united under a single communist-dominated government, headed by Marshal Tito. A united Balkan Federation has long been the cherished dream of many of the Balkan peoples . . . but one whose fulfillment was prevented by the nationalistic spirit that permeated every national grouping. Each of these groups wished to be the ruling factor in an eventual federation. But now the single ruling group is not national . . . but communist.

When the Balkans were invaded, conquered and partitioned by the Nazi-fascist armies . . . the peoples began to combine to throw off the yoke of the foreign invaders. So began the long, hard fight for freedom. Later the communists reached a level of power never before known in the Balkans . . . and taking advantage of the peoples' desire for liberty . . . and gulling them with slogans like "Death to Fascism, Liberty to the Peoples," "A Free Classless Society", they succeeded in obtaining the confidence of the masses, which later enabled them to impose a communist dictatorship. A dictatorship upheld by the unrestricted use of terror and repression.

Today the united nations of Yugoslavia present a picture of national agony. It seems almost a miracle (engineered by Tito's communists) that the country exists as a separate entity. On the borderline of starvation, its economy completely disrupted by four years' war — and with every possibility of remaining torn with internal strife — hidden, but no less potent for that reason — thanks to the one party dictatorship.

THE METHODS USED

The communists have used many of the methods employed by the Bolsheviks from 1917 onwards for imposing their regime on the Russian peoples, true they have polished them up a little, and adapted them to fit Yugoslav conditions — but in all essentials they remain the same.

They set up the National Liberation Front which embraces the remnants of all the old political parties, and

serves as a facade behind which the communists reign. They have split the area up into six federal units (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia), each with a federal capital. These are controlled by the central government at Belgrade.

Below each federal government there is an interlocking web of district, regional and local authorities, political groups, committees and party organs, while through them all run the tentacles of the secret police organisations — and over all hangs the foul shadow of brutal, ruthless repression, massacre and concentration camps.

While the fighting was going on, cynically exploiting the peoples' fight for liberty, the communists initiated their plan for power, thus using the peoples' struggle towards freedom to ensure their future subjection. Their first move was to split the army.

To do this, they first installed in every army unit, a political commissar, and the orders of the officers had no effect unless approved by these commissars, all of whom were selected from the ranks of the communists. The political indoctrination of the troops received a new impetus.

Then Tito split the army into two parts, the National Liberation Army (Partisans), into which any one could be admitted, and the "Proletarian Units" composed entirely of the new indoctrinated troops. These Proletarian Units formed the Communist Party's private army.

Following the good old Bolshevik principles of equality, Tito accorded special privileges to his private army . . . binding them to the regime with economic chains. The Proletarian units were better fed, paid, clothed and armed, and very carefully conserved, for Tito had no desire to waste his "trusties" in the firing line. It is calculated that at the end of the war, Tito had 80,000 of the militant communists. As soon as the war ended these Proletarian units, hand in glove with the secret police (O.Z.N.a.), began their real work, that of rounding up and exterminating the armed bands of anti-fascist fighters who did not relish the

idea of a communist dictatorship. "Death to the Enemies of the People" became the slogan . . . and thousands of enemies of the communists, not of the people, were ruthlessly liquidated.

The mass of the people now find themselves completely in the hands of the secret police . . . modelled on the lines of the N.K.V.D. . . . which has completely infiltrated into every branch of life. Its agents are in every branch of business and industry, in every branch of the state administration, in all quarters of the towns; streets and even houses being under the control of agents. Who dare criticise a regime when any man or woman to whom one speaks can be a secret police agent?

Then there are the "Public Prosecutors" who have the power to superintend the observance of the laws by all citizens, the fulfillment of all duties by administrative officials. Authorised to start criminal or civil action on behalf of the government. These officials are a branch of the secret police service, and are under the direct control of a member of the central government at Belgrade. This is the judiciary system, party police, party prosecutor, and judges who are party members, is it then to be wondered at that there are two kinds of justice, one for party members, and one for those who offend against the dictate of the party?

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The prisoners, condemned by trial, or by the special edicts of the O.Z.N.a. which render a trial unnecessary, are either shot out of hand, or herded into the concentration camps. There are many of these camps, some large, such as Buccari, Kocivje, Cilli, Semi etc., some on a smaller scale, such as those to be found at Dol, Skoplje, Petrovac, Gradec, Jagodina, Most, Cirquenizza, etc.

These camps are alike in their appalling conditions, physical hardship mixed with tortures, starvation, beatings and heavy manual labour coupled with deliberate attempts to degrade and demoralise the prisoners. For many of these unfortunates death

must come as a happy release from a life rendered insupportable.

Here I have a letter smuggled out of the camp at Kocevje, one brief quotation demonstrates, with horrible clarity, the starved condition of the inmates. "... I have some bad news to tell you, the husband of Raiter died, on the 16th of this month, from debility caused by hunger... please help me or I will have the same end... I am well, but so very hungry..." and that letter was written, not in '43 or '44, but on January the 24th, 1946. A short while later, the writer of that letter died from starvation in the same camp.

Entire volumes would be needed to fully describe the conditions, tortures and brutality of these camps, but already, unfortunately, the mass of the people are slipping back to that old pre-war state of mind, when tales of the nazi camps were met with scepticism, and remarks such as "Well

they are only foreigners," or "they must have done something or they wouldn't be in the camps," and so the final horrors of Buchenwald and Dachau were rendered possible; are we to deliberately close our eyes again?

TO-DAY

The people of the Yugoslav Federative today bear an enormous burden of repression and want, and underground resistance groups are increasing. To feed, pay and clothe the enormous number of party officials, government officials, police and the disproportionately large army (400,000) over one third of the entire national income is used.

The communists have translated the "guns or butter" policy of Hermann Goering into the "Tanks or Bread" policy of Marshal Tito and comrade Stalin. It is worth remembering in this connection that

in March of this year Tito asked for 12 million pounds' worth of food and material from Britain, plus 200,000 tons of food from U.N.R.R.A., when this request was refused it was repeated to America, and finally to Russia. Russia too refused to supply food, but instead is supplying and rearming the Yugoslav army. The people cannot eat the Katushas, K.V. tanks and guns supplied by Uncle Joe's benevolent government, but it must be remembered that Yugoslavia is the base for Stalinist imperialism in the south. They have already gained over a half of the Julian March, and have their eyes fixed on Trieste, Austrian Carinthia, and Greece; and an armed, starving people, doped by the totalitarian propaganda system, impelled by a one-party dictatorship, is a very poor guarantee for future peace. B.M.

Calling all ambulances! There is a notice in a West End shop window—"All persons buying shoes in this store are guaranteed a fit."

Russia has now abolished the death sentence, and has substituted the life sentence:—

"... they sent a bookkeeper and a woman cashier to prison for 25 years, with the confiscation of their property and loss of civil rights for five years.

They were found to have falsified payrolls and absconded to Kiev, where the police found £42,857 in the bookkeeper's suitcase.

The wife was sentenced to 10 years in a labour camp for concealing the money.

The new Russian criminal code abolished the death sentence and made the penalties for theft of private property five times greater."

—Reuter, 6/6/47

The old saying, that if the working man had a bath, he would only put coals in it, is no longer a burning controversy.

In response to an enquiry, a Shavian is a Socialist who believes in royalties.

The war had just ended; and the lonely commercial traveller had just arrived at the village inn in a small town in the heart of the country.

"Bring out the whisky, Guv'nor, let's have some celebration!"

"Why, what's all the excitement?"

"Haven't you heard? the war is over at last!"

"What war?"

"Why, the war against Germany, of course."

"Have we been at war with Germany?"

"Yes, my boy, and we won, too."

"Whoopee, Queen Victoria will be pleased."

"Halt! who goes there?"

"Friend."

"Friend, advance two paces and announce your name."

"I'm just the Army Chaplain."

"All's well, pass, Charlie Chaplin."

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From: Sec. London Group A.F.B., Ken Hawkes, 15 Parliament Hill, N.W.3

19 JULY 1936-1947

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF SPANISH ANARCHISTS

ON JULY 17th, 1936 General Franco, representing Spanish capitalism, the church and the landowners, rebelled against the weak leftist government of Azana, receiving prompt aid from Hitler and Mussolini. The government was preparing for capitulation, but the workers seized arms and rushed to their own defence. On July 16th the revolution and the war against fascism had begun in earnest.

The chief workers' organisation in Spain was the Anarchist movement — one united body with three branches: The F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation), C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labour) and F.I.J.L. (Libertarian Youth). The C.N.T. numbered over two million members, while the reformist union, the U.G.T., was much smaller.

The threat of fascism left the workers in no two minds what to do; through their syndicates they organised the economy of the country and the militias to fight the terror that had existed too long in the past. The efficiency of the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement in Spain is proverbial. General Mola, one time Chief of Police, complained:—

"Often the secret code instructions sent out by the Government, the Provincial Governors and Captains-General, are published in 'Solidaridad Obrera' a few hours after they have been dispatched from Madrid."

The revolutionary workers of Spain were well-equipped to deal with the situation. Franco suffered his first defeat.

Members of the two-timing journalistic profession rushed to Spain and after a few hours at the front (or behind it) returned to safety, each to write in his memoirs his peculiar travesty of the Spanish Collectives.

Unfortunately the great achievements of socialisation in Spain are little known — Anarchists are men of action, not armchair theoreticians. Industry and agriculture were taken over by the workers and run for their own benefit, for they had in their organisation, the Syndicalist union, the machinery to make this possible. Control was from below, each group of workers electing a delegate to their

industrial committee, and the industrial committees electing delegates to the regional and national committees for the co-ordination of work; these delegates had no power, only a mandate to speak for those they represented. The power remained with the workers, who could recall their delegates at any time.

The Workers' Militias were organised on similar lines, and these — the Durruti column is the best known — were acclaimed throughout Spain for their competency and heroism. It may be as well here to give the lie to the Stalinist tale that Catalans refused to fight outside their own territory, and point out that 25,000 Catalan troops took part in the defence of Madrid alone. The great comrade Buenaventura Durruti lost his life there on November 20th, 1936.

As the war went on it became evident that the workers were fighting a losing battle. Franco had Germany and Italy supplying him with arms and troops, while the "democracies" flouted "international law" with their policy of non-intervention, and refused the Spanish Government any help whatsoever.

Faced by the lack of arms and no solidarity from the international working-class, the Spanish Anarchists were forced to make compromises, culminating in the C.N.T. having representatives in the Spanish government. The situation was aggravated by the policy of the Spanish Communist Party and the P.S.U.C. Formerly a very insignificant body, and always numerically weak, it gained in power when Russia sent arms to Spain "cash down"—and distributed them through the Communist Party.

The C.P.'s first thought was not the crushing of fascism but the annihilation of left-wing movements that did not kow-tow to Stalin. The marxist P.O.U.M. was the first victim, and then the collectives were attacked by a communist force headed by Lister.

The government changed and the Negrin regime formed, in which the communists were the only "left" party. Franco's advance could only be delayed and not stopped; in April, 1939, the civil war was over.

The Anarchists who had been first in the fight were the last to leave.

Many thousands of Spanish refugees poured into France and were herded into concentration camps. Some were able to go to Latin America, and a few came to Britain. The exiled Libertarian movement began to reform itself. Many of the Spaniards in France fought with the Maquis, some were caught by the Germans, and many died in the concentration camps, but the end of the European war found the Spanish Libertarian Movement active and in close contact with the underground Anarchist movement inside Spain. In spite of what has been said in the press, the vast majority of the Anarchist movement within and without Spain, have no connection with any government — monarchist, republican or otherwise.

The Inter-Continental Conference of the Spanish Libertarian Movement, which was held in France in April, this year, reaffirmed the revolutionary and anti-governmental position of Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalism.

Most of the countries subscribing to U.N.O. have written General Franco on their black list, and left it at that! Britain has not even done that—indeed she is welcoming Senora Peron, wife of Franco's fellow-fascist, who has just been frating with Franco on a large scale.

Meanwhile the terror in Spain grows. Two comrades, Amador Franco and Antonio Lopez, were recently shot, the only charge against them being that they resisted arrest. A protest was made in this country, and in the U.S.A. by the I.W.W. and other organisations, but to no avail. Franco and Lopez were shot on April 21st this year. The original firing-squad selected for the execution refused to carry out the death sentence, and were placed under close arrest. A volunteer firing squad, who did Franco's dirty work for him were, within a few days killed by our brave comrades of the underground Anarchist movement in Spain.

International working-class solidarity, must now, more than ever, act in favour of our Spanish comrades. Above all, they need money for arms. Given these the Spanish Revolution will once again be a living reality.

J. O. P.

BLAST!

A Surrey paper has recently exhibited the great Power of the Press—

"Owing to pressure upon our space, we have postponed births and deaths until next week."

Bombthrower has now given up smoking, as cabbage leaves are 1/8 a pound and not fit to whiff.

Passenger at Newcastle enters the Lost Property Office.

"I have lost my trunk, Miss; oh dear! I have looked all over the train. I can't find it anywhere."

"Where did you see it last?"

"At Waterloo."

"Oh, that's a terrible place; that's where my grandfather lost his leg."

Blast! Six blue diamonds for a princesses' 21st birthday! If we want a glass-cutter, we have to go along to "Woolly's" and get some of their ersatz tack, while the proper stuff dangles round a royal neck.

It wasn't her fault she was born a princess — it was our's.

A Socialist Employer

THE anti-strike outbursts of Alfred Edwards, Labour M.P. for Middlesbrough, East, continue to embarrass some of his colleagues, who don't mind his sentiments, but wish him to less frank about them. Edwards is slightly in front of declared Labour policy. Most notable of his statements was that contained in his article in the *Sunday Express*, entitled, "What to do with the Strikers." Likening strikers to murderers he goes on to say—

"Except that they are more direct in their methods, the gangsters in Charlotte Street, were very like the gangsters who to-day foment strikes.

"Using the blunt instrument of the strike weapon, they are trying to club to death the trade unions, hamper our national programme, and incidentally bring suffering to thousands of innocent people.

"I say, if they persist, put them outside the law and punish them as they deserve. I feel no pity for thugs.

"Some of them will say that I am preaching 'Neo-Fascism.' (we do!—*Syndicalist*).

"My answer to that is just this; a man was shot dead in a London street the other day because he got in the way of gangsters. Are we content to tolerate that sort of thing, or do we rise in our wrath and demand the extermination of these things?"

Whether employers of labour are Conservative, Liberal or Socialist, they are pretty much alike. Alf Edwards says he speaks "as a Socialist employer of labour." A strike against one of this Labour M.P.'s foremen occurred lately—that made him jumping mad. "350 of my men came out on strike. It cost the firm thousands of pounds." Shame!

LABOUR PARTY'S SECRET POLICY

This Labour M.P. goes on:—

"Its (the Government's) only course of action is to make strikes illegal, and I would do this at once.

"It should be a criminal offence to strike, punishable by a prison sentence and a heavy fine on the union. The union's funds should be attached for this purpose.

"Exactly the same treatment should be used in the case of unofficial strikes."

If that's not Fascism, what is? Yet Mr Edwards has not been repudiated by the Labour Party, indeed, he was a delegate to the recent national conference of the party.

The truth is that the Labour Party is entirely anti-strike, but divided on method. One section, the middle-class intellectuals, are in favour of anti-strike laws more savage than those of the Tories. The other section, the trade union leaders, believe that it is better to smash strikes by their control of the trade union machine. Up to now they have been largely able to do this. When they fail the anti-strike laws will appear.

* * *

LONDON ENGINEERS' WAGES

A critic of *Direct Action* objects to my reference to the trade union rates agreed to by the Amalgamated Engineering Union in London (May number).

I stated that the trade union rates (in closed shops) for skilled fitters were £5/9/0 per week in an L.P.T.B. shop and £5/5/0 in a railway shop. In each case they

insisted that applicants should be members of the A.E.U. Our critic says it is quite easy for a fitter to get a job at 3s. an hour. That ignores our point, which is that the union rate is less than the current market rate—much less. In other words, union rates are scab rates.

Our argument is supported by an information circular to shop stewards issued from the North London District of the A.E.U. and signed by J. Reid, District Secretary, and dated June 1947. He gives the following as the official trade union rates of the Amalgamated Engineering Union in London (outside London the rates are lower):—

TOOLMAKERS: (70/7 plus 10/- plus National Bonus 36/-), £5/16/7.

MAINTENANCE, INSPECTORS, SETTERS, MARKERS OFF: (70/7 plus 8/- plus National Bonus 36/-), £5/14/7.

SKILLED FITTERS AND TURNERS, ETC.: (70/7 plus 36/-), £5/6/7.

DITTO, on production bonus (piece work): (70/7 plus 28/- plus 27% of 70/7 (19/3), £5/17/10.

Reid then quoted reports covering about 50 factories, showing how the trade union rate is below the market rate of labour. Here are his figures:—

Toolmakers	£7/14/ 3
Setters	£7/ 2/ 1
Maintenance	£6/13/10½
Fitters & Turners	£6/11/ 9

Thus, trade union rates are 25/- to 38/- below the real rate. The lowest rates are paid in the shops which are most solidly trade union—the closed shops like the L.P.T.B. If an employer wishes to reduce wages, all he has to do is to pay the A.E.U. district rate. Then the union officials, Communist and others, say "You can't strike, you're getting the union rate."

It's time we had an Engineers' Syndicalist Movement.

FRANCISCO FERRER MODERN SCHOOL

FRANCISCO FERRER, who in 1901 founded the first rationalist school in Barcelona, and a publishing house for scientific works, was a martyr to the cause of free thought. He was shot on Oct. 13th, 1909, by Spanish monarchists instigated by the clergy. Rationalist schools rose and flourished all over Europe. In Italy the advocate, Luigi Molinari of Mantova, helped by a group of free thinkers, prepared the base of the movement that had its first practical realisation at Clivio, Varese, where workers, enthused by his ardour and personal aid, built up, stone by stone, the edifice of the Modern School, that in a very short time was bearing excellent fruit.

Then all over Italy arose groups of free thinkers who, following the example set by the Milanese, collected funds and supporters for the great task. But the initiative received a great blow when Luigi Molinari died on July 12th, 1918. Fascism did the rest, and the activities were cut short.

(Continued opposite)

BEVIN — PROTECTOR OF FASCISM IN PORTUGAL

From Portugal we have recently received copies of the underground Anarcho-syndicalist papers, "A BATALHA" and "C.G.T." This article was sent to us by a comrade inside Portugal. It shows how the Labour Government of Britain is continuing to support the fascist dictatorship of Salazar. It is more than time that the working-class of Britain should act in favour of the oppressed people of Spain and Portugal by declaring a complete blockade of all trade with these two countries.

THE Portuguese people have anti-British feelings as old as the celebrated treaty of alliance after the intervention of the Duke of Lancaster in the unpopular wars of the demoniac Don Fernando. The ultimatum of 1891, with the imperialist arrogance of the Tories, showed the fear the British ruling-class had of the Portuguese people. The Portuguese people suffered far more from these political and diplomatic actions than the magnates of business, industry and banking who, as agents of capitalism, submitted us to the most abject exploitation and turned the whole country into a colony of the City of London.

The greater part of telephonic communications, city transport, basic industries and banking were brought under the control of British commerce; the workers rose against these monopolies, organised in our General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.). The patriotism of the bourgeois politicians was always on the payroll of Sterling capital, and we remember bitterly the strikes of the railworkers of Lisbon and of the miners of Santo Domingo, that were suppressed with all the power of the State.

With its economic potential, British capitalism dominated the economy and politics of Portugal and rotted them.

After the installation of the 1910 Republic, the Anarchist Organisation with its libertarian syndicalism—our C.G.T.—attained an extraordinary influence, and the economic struggles of the workers assumed a revolutionary character—approximately the same decisive character as the libertarian struggle in Spain.

The Iberian peninsula is like an imperialist fortress—a vast territory, colonised by the interference of the Governments of London, on behalf of capitalist and imperialist interests.

Salazar established his reign of terror with British protection. In 1928 the British refused to make him a loan—not because his regime was hostile to them—it was just a question of convenience because British economy was in a bad way; but he now receives loans and protection for his fascist policy from them. At the time of the revolt in the Madeira Islands, the government landed troops under cover of two British warships and all people

Today the spiritual heirs of Francisco Ferrer and Luigi Molinari take up the interrupted work, and again the Modern School is rising in Italy. The Founding Committee invite all free thinkers, above any political creed, to adhere to the Ferrer Modern School, and so contribute to the emancipation of society from all forms of moral and intellectual slavery.

For further information write to: "SCUOLA MODERNA FRANCISCO FERRER" M. G. Tholonan, Milan, Piazza Tito Imperatore, 5, Italy.

who took refuge in the British Consulate at Funchal were made prisoner.

The events in Spain, after the fall of the Bourbon monarchy, and with the growth of libertarian realisations, endangered the interests of British capitalism. They therefore strengthened Portuguese fascism in order to have a bridgehead from which they could unloose their treacherous attack against libertarian Spain.

British "democracy" turns a blind eye to the terror that reigns in Portugal and to the concentration camps of slow death at Tarrafal that still persist. A perfect picture! The complete negation of the spirit of freedom.

Salazar, through his traditional short-sightedness, allied himself with nazi-fascism, preferring the advantages of business deals to the dangers into which they brought him. British capitalism attempted to dominate Europe with the glitter of sterling, and the intrigues of the London Stock Exchange will always top the excesses of the nazi-fascists. Through these intrigues can be seen the intrinsic weakness of capitalism.

The war of 1914 marked the beginning of a crisis of capitalist economy, and this undermined British supremacy. Fascism attempted to dominate humanity, trying to break London's rule by seeking new imperialist objectives. When Hitler's hordes were unloosed on France, the Stock Exchange and the Foreign Office saw that they were losing world control, and their privilege. It was necessary for their governmental agents to appeal to the love of freedom of the British people to fight against barbarism.

But Churchill used the spirit of freedom very cautiously, and did not allow the chains binding the people to plutocracy to be broken. By his silence he protected Britain's lackeys, Franco and Salazar.

Salazar, with his jackal's instinct, saw the danger of the Nazi overthrow developing, and rapidly ceded the bases of the Azores, receiving in exchange a sponsorship for his depotic regime from Downing Street.

During the 1945 British Elections, the entire fascist and catholic press of Portugal—the only legal press—called on God for a Conservative victory and emphasised the dangers of a Labour triumph. The Portuguese people heard of the Labour victory with ingenuous enthusiasm, but they were soon disillusioned. They know now that Salazar is in power by the support he receives from the Labour Government—the criminal successor of Tory imperialism.

In October, 1945, as a result of the moral effect of the British elections, Salazar promised elections, and allowed a kind of passive opposition as a political ornament for his totalitarian state. He promised it sophistically—within the fascist framework. The working-class and intellectuals allied and demonstrated; this surprised the government, which believed that the backbone of the country was already broken. The fascist chiefs were alarmed—and immediately a new wave of terror spread through the country, and the elections were a farce—as they always are.

British Labourism ignores what is happening in Portugal by a conspiracy of silence, and protects Salazar in return for monetary and economic agreements that hold the country in hunger and misery, through the greed of the London Stock Exchange.

SALAZAR AND FRANCO are SERVANTS OF BRITISH LABOURISM IN DEFENCE OF IMPERIALISM AND THE STATE.

MARIO MARTINS