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FRANGO TERROR IN SPAIN Communist Somersault

Announced by Pollitt POLITICIANS SEEK TO EXPLOIT WORKERS' DIRECT ACTION

by the change of line by the Commanist Party. The switch, announced recently by Pollitt, means a reversion to the policy advocated before the German invasion of Russia in the summer of 1941; that is, an opportunistic and ruthless exploitation of the genuine grievances and struggles of the working-class for the advancement of the foreign policy of the Russian Government.

two heavyweight champions of the world gangs. and broke the Russo-German Pact—the policy of the British Communist Party has been one of open class-collaboration and strike-breaking.

Members of the party have acted cousistently as blacklegs and have done their utmost to sabotage and destroy the illusions about any of the political outfits, mission of the Trade Union Federation was workers' will to fight. There have been signs of a break in this policy for some time—the Communist participation—and the effect is always the same as far as the whole international organisation. For the trade or industrial internationals confusing of issues—in the recent Savoy worker is concerned. strikes being one example—but no clear directive on the changed position of the workers lies in the development of revoluparty was forthcoming until Pollitt's recent tionary industrial organisation, in the formally affiliated to the Federation, are depriving these groups of their right of statement, though the straws were waving widest possible direct action in all its beginning to work outside it. The Belgian free determination, has provoked opposition in the wind for all to see.

C.P. Acts For Russian Imperialism

It became clear—we made the foreca. in the June, 1946, issue of "Direct Action" ("The Stalinist Dilemma")that with ever-increasing hostility between the eastern and western blocs such a change would have to be put into effect in the Western European countries. The recent Communist - sponsored strikes in France and Italy were the forerunners of an attempt by the British party to carry the same policy into effect.

Fortunately the Stalinist section Britain has far smaller forces at its disposal.

This change of front does not mean that the Communist Party has returned to a revolutionary position (not that the policy of the C.P. has ever been truly revolution. ary) nor does it mean that the workers can now count on the communists to back them in their struggles on the industrial field.

the conditions of the workers, nor is it interested in seeing revolutionary action in Britain or on the European continent.

imperialism it will exploit strike and other direct action and will seek to gain control of such action. When it sees no advantage to be gained for Stalinist expansionism, then it will sabotage the struggle as it has done so many times in the past

"Rule or ruin" remains the policy of the Communist Party, and the Anarchis Federation warns all workers to be on their guard against the hypocritical manoeuvrings of this jesuitical outfit which, more than any other factor, responsible for the present weakness and anathy of the working-class of this and other countries.

Trotskyism Trots

position of the C.P. And we have been confirmed in our view of its bastard offspring, the "Revolutionary" Communist Party (Trotskyists). In "Direct Action" for September 10, 1946, we wrote:

its 20-year-old grave and trotted out once again. ment at the hands of the guards. . . A merger of the two parties is unlikely; it is quite probable that each group will continue to vehemently denounce the other, that the pot will in the Karaganda Camp, and who were repatriated In view of the foregoing, when the communist dontinue to call the kettle black. But unity of a long time after the end of the war. These French leaders inside and outside Russia style themselves

Jock Haston, in a leading article in the Trotskyist organ, "Socialist Appeal," for January, writes:

is certain."

"Perhaps now we will get a reply to some of remembered by the French repatriates, are: our numerous letters addressed to Pollitt at King

DANGEROUS situation for the of the workers in their day to day struggles against workers of Britain has been created the capitalists and for the defeat of the rising

wielded by a Stalinist hand, that split open the head of his leader Trotsky? Will the Trotskyists-for many of whose rank-andfile members' fighting qualities as workers we have the highest regard—swallow this powers and not a free and independent itself in favour of the affiliation of the new rubbish? We don't know, for in the weeks that have followed, those dialectics of Marxian politics everything is expression in the degree of cohesion in this ation. But the problem of the French detained have been subjected to the of the R.C.P. to break with the dangerous the imperialist powers, the situation is the Secretary of the International—Louis before they appear—without right recognise that the workers' struggle is the Since the invasion of Russia-wher workers' struggle, and not a game of chess Hitler decided that there wasn't room for to be played by rival power-seeking political

By the Workers-For the Workers

whether they claim to speak in the name held in Paris, some time back, the so-called of labour or in the name of capital. . . . Marshall Plan threatened to break up the between the Trade Union Federation and

forms. This means a complete rejection of the reformism of the capitalist Labou: Party and official trade-union movement. as well as of the Stalinist tape-worms among the working-class.

Leave the Labour and Communist politicians to shout names at each other, and get down to developing the class-struggie American Aid to Europe in the form of by the workers and for the workers. That the Marshall Plan. must be the order of this most critical nour for the workers of Britain and the

Spanish Anti-Fascist Fighters Interned by Stalin

Seven Years in Siberian Camps

Forgotten in the depths of Siberia, and undergoing a living death as prisoners of the Bolsheviks, The C.P. is not concerned with improving approximately a hundred Spanish anti-fascists are in the most extreme danger.

During the years 1937-38, during the Spanish Civil War, these men were sent to Russia to undergo a training-course as air-pilots. It is clear grouping of Big Powers. In this way the In so far as it can exploit the struggle that in order to leave Spain for the country of Marshall Plan bids to break up the World of the workers to strengthen Russian the Soviets, these men were accredited by the T.U. Federation. Republican Government of those days, and especially by the Spanish Communists in agreement with the Russian Communist agents who were watching the war in Spain; there can therefore be no doubt of the anti-fascism of these men who are today prisoners of the Soviet

> These Spaniards underwent their training and studies at Baku (Georgia) and the partial triumph of fascism in Spain prevented them from returning to that country. Shortly afterwards their More Victimisation by situation was worsened as a result of the Russo-German Pact, because it appears that they asked to be allowed to leave for France and the South American countries. This was refused by the Russian authorities.

From Baku they were taken to Moscow, where they lived under the supervision of the N.K.V.D. In 1941 they were imprisoned, and then, moving from prison to prison, they were taken through Siberia to be interned in the Concentration Camp Colliery. of YAKUTSK. From there, and after moving The N.C.B. are claiming damages for to different camps in the Siberian Steppes, they We are under no illusions as to the arrived in the Concentration Camp of Karaganda, in the region north-west of Mongolia, where they

It is unnecessary to enter into details about the sufferings these Spaniards have undergone, and are still undergoing, under the brutal dictatorship Adolfo Puig, Ricardo Allego, Agustin Lionas, of Stalin, which is only equalled by that of Franco. Pedro Llopart, Manuel Tejero, Pedro Cornese, ". . . it is more than probable that the old stuff A number of them have died as a result of the Pedro Armesto, Ramon Sanchez, Victor about International Socialism will be dug up from Siberian climate, of starvation, or of bad treat- Rodriguez, Jose Perez, Juan Gomez, Jose

The authenticity of this information is vouched for by French citizens who were also interned action, unity of propaganda, planned or unplanned, subjects brought with them the S.O.S. of the democrats (having so little respect for the truth), Spaniards who are living on in the one hope that the Spanish Libertarian Movement in Emigration some of them will be able to leave this horror in Great Britain calls on all workers who are able

> The names of the Spanish prisoners in Karaganda, or at least of those whose names were

Vicente Montejano Moreno, Dorin Almor, of these men will not be easy to obtain; Russia is a Street, proposing a united front against the fascists Maximo Ramos, Fulgencio Buendia Garcia, Emilio vast prison from which it is difficult to escape, Salud, Jose Garcia, Jose Calvo, Agustin and only the universal demand that will put to "On the basis of the new line announced by Buch, Hemogenes Rodriguez, Shame those responsible for this violation, will be Mar. 7,—"Dostoievsky's Resurrection," Pollitt, if it is seriously carried into effect, there Jose Romero Carreiras, Claudio Ramel, Ramon able to avoid the irreparable death of these men. are many issues upon which the Trotskyists and Beltran, Arturo Prieto, Jose Segura, Pablo Stalinists can fight together. Let us unite where Villanueva, Francisco Aliaga, Antonio Marquez, we can, and fight together, to ensure the victory Eusebio Pons, Felipe Pedron, Miguel Velasco,

Crisis in World T.U. International

BREAK-UP IMMINENT

As the contradictions between the big powers become more marked, so the differ- federation of Labour-C.G.T.-has also Has Haston forgotten the ice-pick, Federation deepen. This is natural, since friends, who recently broke away from resistance movement, commenced a new the Trade Union International is closely the communist-dominated C.G.T.. have tied to imperialist politics; in fact it is already received a promise of support from just a reflection of the policies of the big the American C.I.O., which has declared same inside the trade union international.

> John Andersson (General Secretary I.W.M.A.)

The Anarchist Federation has no When a meeting of the executive comcuss "the defence of the moral and questions. material interests of the workers." The Belgian organisation has recognised

Marshall Plan

ation of Labour-A.F.L.-has decided to ington, the executive commission of this call representatives of the unions of all International accused the World Feder-European countries accepting American ation of having broken up the negotiations aid to an international congress, the air on the position of industrial department of which will be to discuss the best way in In a resolution adopted there, they declared which the European organisations can that the World Federation wanted to conaid . . . the Marshall Plan. Admittedly front Industrial Internationals with the A.F.L. does not belong to the World accomplished facts. A consequence of this T.U. Federation, but this project will help resolution has been the withdrawal of the to increase the confusion inside the French Transport Workers Federation Federation.

should undertake an open struggle against develop within the Federation. it. They support the viewpoints of the so-called Eastern Bloc of States in the

DURHAM MINERS SUMMONSED

Coal Board

Durham, January 16th, 1948. Seaham Harbour (Durham) magistrates have granted summonses against 191 miners employed at Vane Tempest

alleged breach of contract on the grounds of the miners having taken part in an unofficial strike in August 1947.

Santamaria Garcia, Manuel Castaneda, Jose Castaneda, Juan Leira, Jose Colombina, Antonio Echauria, Luis Serrano and Juan Bota.

to protest, on all men of liberal sentiment, and on all those who act according to their conscience, to contribute to the liberation of these Spaniards, who for fighting Spanish fascism have fallen into the clutches of Soviet Communism. The freedom COMMISSION OF RELATIONS.

S.L.M. IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The split within the French General Con-Saillant-is a member of the C.G.T., and strongly Communist.

the Special Tribunals. Saillant recently made a trip to London, where he discussed the situation of the International with its President, Arthur Deakin. Marked differences appeared between the viewpoints of the Secretary and the President, and this personal situation will also accentuate the split in the Western Europe. international organisation.

Moreover, the differences which exist moment this question has been adjourned, within it, are tending towards open rupture The only hope for the future of the but it has considerably worsened internal The decision to constitute trade secre- arrested in Seville on December 20th by Civil elations. Some organisations, which are tariats within the Federation, thereby rganisation, for example, has called re- inside the industrial internationals. Only resentatives of 16 different national trade three of them have recognised the new form the Marshall Plan, to a Conference to dis- it, in spite of all the negotiation on these

Opposition of Transport Workers

The most active element of this opposi tion is the International Transport At the same time the American Feder- Federation. In a meeting held in Wash from the I.T.F. At the same time it asked The union organisations of Eastern the World Federation to call an inter Europe, under the influence of the Russian national conference as soon as possible to 26th at the Seville Cinema in Madrid. He is unions, have, on the other hand, taken an constitute a transport department inside married with a daughter of two-and-a-half. The energetic stand against the Marshall Plan, the Federation. If this is carried out there Civil Guards in plain clothes threw themselves and demanded that the T.U. Federation is no doubt that an open break will

There are, therefore, many differences inside the World Trade Union Federation. The cause of this is that the International was not organised on a clear policy. not an independent workers' international, against Franco's regime. He has been taken to organ by a group of dock fighters. but an instrument of international power The International Working Men's Association-I.W.M.A.—the revolutionary international of the Syndicalist movement, has tial that everything should be done faciliate the evolution of this independent international, and to obtain for it the sympathy of the workers of the world.

MEETINGS

Open Lecture-Discussions are held each Sunday

CENTRAL HOUSE TRADE UNION CLUB (Room 7) Great Newport Street, W.C.2. (Opposite Leicester Square Station,)

Admission Free

Feb. 8 .- "Problems Old and New"

-George Cores. For a whole week he was subjected to torture and

22 .- "The Freethought Struggle,"

29 .- "The Catholic Church and Socialism." -Nan Hanson.

-Fred Read. the Governor. This is equivalent to giving them up

URING the last days of December so-called trials in order to carry out their ences within the World Trade Union helped accentuate the contradictions in the

Repression Against Anarchist

Resistance Movement

wave of terror — directed particularly

against the members of the Libertarian

Movement. Many arrests were made, and,

defence, and behind closed doors-before

The details which follow, smuggled our

of Spain to the Intercontinental Com-

nission of the Spanish Libertarian Move-

ment in France, have been forwarded

us by the Subsecretariat of the Inter-

Andalucia

MANUEL RODRIGUEZ is an anarchist mili

tant belonging to the Andalucian Region. He was

decuments belonging to the resistance and 6,000

pesetas destined for the needs of the resistance

Those who arrested him subjected him to the worst

treatment imaginable. He is imprisoned in Seville

her home (Colectiva 96, Ciudad Jardin, Seville)

were found fire-arms, explosive material, a type-

writer and documents of the organisation of the

active resistance. All this material belonged to

the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) and the

F.I.J.L. (Libertarian Youth), underground anarch-

ist organisations which animate the anti-fascist

resistance to finish off the Franco regime She is

accused of being the owner of this material because

they have been unable to arrest her companion.

IN THE SEVENTH MONTH OF PREGNANCY,

TORTURED. She is also detained at Seville.

SHE HAS BEEN SAVAGELY BEATEN AND

THE MOTHER OF MERCEDES DE LA

CRUZ is a very elderly woman. She was arrested

shortly after the detention of her daughter. Like

THE AUNT OF MERCEDES DE LA CRUZ

has also been arrested, but through lack of proof

Madrid

MANUEL GALVE was arrested on December

on top of him, and he was unable to use his gun

treatment he has suffered and above all because

the places in several provinces where he is accused

of having carried out acts against the regime, in

for these acts of sabotage, etc., although they

ANGEL URZAI, aged 33 and father of three

children, was detained as Secretary of Defence of

Committee and dues stamps of the organisation.

He was arrested at Diego de Leon, a province of

Madrid, on December 27th at 11 a.m. This com-

rade also is in the gravest danger. The police have

GABRIEL CRUZ, aged 29, was arrested with

Angel Urzai, also as Secretary of Defence of the

Regional Committee of the F.A.I. of the Centre.

He was living at Ciudad Lineal. His life is in

grave danger. During a search, his home was

EUSEBIO CABRERA, aged 50, rationalist

schoolmaster, and the sole support of his 80-year-

old mother, was arrested at 1 a.m. on December

28th at his home in Bravo Murillo Street, Madrid.

He is Secretary of Propaganda of the Peninsular

Committee of the F.A.I. At his home were dis-

covered a quantity of the underground press,

"Tierra y Libertad" and "Juventud Libre,"

together with receipts for propaganda material

received. Like the others he has been brutally

beaten, and has suffered a lesion of the spinal

28th at 10.30 a.m. in the Plaza d'Espana, Madrid.

not spared him their inquisitorial procedure.

completely destroyed by the police.

column. He is in grave danger.

he got free.

consider him to be responsible.

she was provisionally freed after enduring a

the daughter she is in prison at Seville, and has

been subjected to the same treatment.

savage beating.

Seville while on a mission for the resistance.

MERCEDES DE LA CRUZ is the companion

national Working Men's Association for

TORTURED MILLIONS IN DANGER

Aragon and the North

As a result of the arrests at Madrid, searches being carried out in the Provinces. At Valencia plain-clothes Civil Guards made a number possible, but we do appeal to the members of the R.C.P. to break with the dangerous the imperialist powers, the situation is the laterational. We can mention that the laterational to the members and tortures in an of swoops, happily without success. In Aragon, attempt to extract information from them the imperialist powers, the situation is the laterational. In Galicia of they are picking up all those likely to belong to the clandestine organisations of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. and F.L.J.L. It is these elements they particularly want, for they are the animators of the passive and active resistance against Franco and his miserable regime. In Asturias the same thing is happening, similarly at Santander, Biscay and Guispuscoa. Up to now we have not received details of this great man-hunt against the militants of the Spanish Libertarian Movement.

> If Franco is to be prevented from claiming the lives of more of those who have risked everything in the struggle against his foul regime there is the urgent necessity for the widest possible international pro-Guards in plain clothes, and found to be carrying test by all workers' organisations and by all those opposed to the tyranny and oppression of totalitarianism. We call on everyone to do his part, and to help in saving the lives of these true anti-fascist union movements, which are interested in of organisation, and the others all oppose of an Andalucian militant. She was arrested in fighters, and to aid in ending the shameful At reign of terror in Franco's Spain, for which the British Labour Government, like that of Churchill, bears a heavy responsibility.

> > Comrades! Anti-fascists! Act by every means at your disposal to help those who, in Spain, have never betrayed or slackened the struggle for human freedom.

> > > NATIONAL COMMITTEE, ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN.

LONDON DOCKERS CALL FOR WORKERS' CONTROL

Labour Board Acts For Employers

We welcome the appearance of a new because of the superior force of his assailants and industrial bulletin, run by a group of their surprise tactics. He has been grievously dockers. The title is "STRUGGLE-For tortured. His condition is grave, following the Workers' Control of Industry." Not just he is accused of being the author of numerous acts another paper, not full of a lot of capitalist carried out by the resistance. All these actions adverts for Mars, Kolynos, Harpic, etc., but It is were of considerable importance in the struggle a plain downright industrial commonsense

The shape of things to come in the docks politics. There is a profound need for a an attempt to reconstruct these actions, and they can be seen by the "New Scheme." A new renewal of working-class internationalism. pretend to make him denounce those responsible board of employers has been set up, with the sanction of the Union, calling itself the "National Dock Labour Board." Like its brother, the National Coal Board, it is a big mission in this respect. It is essen The Peninsular Committee of the F.A.I. At his solely pro-employer, and is assuming the home were found the archives of the Peninsular role of arbiter and disciplinarian. We quote one extract from "STRUGGLE":

"The men of sector 5 are feeling a bit worried. They had been led to believe that a man could only be penalised to the extent of seven days' suspension. Instead of which they find that a new dodge is being tried. First give a man the sack. Then, when he appeals, give him a month's drilling. Three men were recently sacked. In due course they appealed. One was given two weeks drilling, another was given four weeks, and the other was sacked. But as this man had worked in the dock for 28 years the committee out of their kindness of heart have given him the doubtful privilege of having his case re-opened in three months time. ALL these men had committed the heinous crime of having time off without pay. Further comment is unnecessary. Work it out for yourselves."

We hope, in a future issue, to publish a JUAN PORTALES was arrested on December detailed analysis of the "New Scheme."

"STRUGGLE" is published by the beatings. From time to time they took him from No. 1 Branch of the N.A.S. & D. It is good 15.—"My Life—The Origin of the Speeches," the police station where he was held, to places to see it appear. These revolutionary be found, or would be meeting. He was found groupings are the real hope on the industo be carrying false identity papers and other trial field. It is important for them ic documents, fortunately of little importance. On retain their identity and break from the -F. J. Corina. Saturday, January 4th, this comrade managed to Unions when of sufficient strength. It is escape while going from one police post to another; after a fierce struggle against his guards. Happily remarkable that with so many union members having syndicalist ideas, The five comrades arrested at Madrid have been authority is still given to the T.U. leader: questioned continually. Then, after undergoing the to conciliate with the bosses and sell the worst possible torments, they were handed over to workers out!

> to the judgment of the police, who with the pro- Anyway we hope this grouping-and its cedure customary in totalitarian regimes, establish bulletin—live up to its name.

THE CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATIVE

wealth for the capitalists will be a thing for the distribution of consumer goods and services, will be replaced by Consumers' Co-operatives.

taken into account in the constitution of articles we shall fill in and amplify it. In these co-operatives—factors such as the this particular article we are dealing solely extent of each area concerned and the with the one aspect—consumption. density of the population to be served. Uniformity of desires and needs i Obviously different needs will arise, and absolutely contrary to human nature. different methods will be necessary, in u is, therefore, evident that the Consumers' commune with a dense urban population Co-operatives will have to account for a such as one finds in a London borough, and vast diversity of needs, with the aim of a commune with a sparsely distributed satisfying, as far as is possible, all conagrarian population such as is the case sumers and with due regard for individua! in the Lincolnshire farm-lands.

All consumers will be members of the co-operatives, and it is under their control of distributing goods through the conthat the co-operatives will function. All men being consumers, the general desire will be to attain the greatest freedom of expression here.

will meet periodically and elect an administrative council. Each co-operative will have its representative, and the general assembly of these will form the local consumers' council. In large agglomerations, this council can be divided into sections, one to each urban borough, for example. In their turn the local councils will constitute, by means of delegates, the regional consumers' federation. Finally, the regional federations, following the principle of delegation, will constitute the Union of Consumers' Co-operatives. This union will cover the whole country, and its function will be that of co-ordinating the activity o the regional federations.

consumers will be able to make their voices trade. heard, and their desires known, in every section. By this means, the needs of the population will be known with considerable exactitude.

To fully utilise this knowledge of local possible, to the syndicates (which are the

Memories Misery

Do you remember those pre-war days a large pool of unemployed?

It is not so many years ago. Do you remember the mile-long midnight queue at Betty Baxter's "Silver Lady" in Trafalgar Square? Do you remember the "Black Lady's" two slices of bread and dripping and two cigarettes? The some kitchens and the welfare hostels?

I remember those days vividly. I was out of work during most of that period. The day consisted of looking round for free meals and a "kip". If I didn't get a bed. I slept either in Trafalgar Square, on the Embankment (gazing at the floodlit clock back of Fleet Street, or in Green Park or St. James' Park.

To get a wash, I either showed my unemployment book at Lambeth Baths and had a bath, went into a lodging house and used their facilities, or more often, if had soap and rag, used an improvised "field toilet" in Green Park, using rain or stream water.

There were some thousands more in the same position. Many of us came to know and help each other with a remarkable comradeship. Some of us used to make a few bob on market days at Caledonian Market; furniture removal; casual work on the dining cars of the railways, and DELINQUENCY. Men became burglars, so on.

But for the most part we tramped this The winter was dread to us. We could put up with sparse raiment and worn-out they could rob them. L.C.C. welfare hostels, or the religious implementing some sort of social upheaval. dosshouses where we could chop wood all Labour governments twice were reday for our keep (you had to chop so turned on their promises ticket. found myself in the Chelsea Institution. But no government could destroy Fulham Road (now closed). Here I first capitalism; only the Social Revolution met those worst and most inhuman officials could do that.

in Somewhere" for the winter. Of course, ing all the essentials of capitalism. happened, then, to those who fell in the sane society-of social production. struggle for existence? Here is the much shall have to do it ourselves. neded answer-THIS WAS THE TIME. PLACE AND ORIGIN OF SOCIAL

N the economy of a free society, com- organs of production). The best apparent sumers' co-operatives will be on the promercial activities will no longer exist. organism for this purpose would be a duction of a consumer's card, this card The sale of consumer goods and ser- "statistics service". This service would being the means through which the invices for the sole purpose of amassing analyse and integrate all the information dividual affirms his right to goods and of the past. Production will be based on dicates as to the supplies of raw material, belonged. Persons unable to work, through the real needs of the people and not on the labour and machine capacity available, it age or ill-health, would receive this card basis of prefit. The shops and depart- would be able to perform invaluable aid in from the Health Service, and one could satisfy the needs of each commune.

of the basis of co-operation necessary for centre, and so on. the regional economic council. As yet this A large number of factors will have to be is in a purely skeleton form, but in future

In our view, the most equitable manner

received from the consumers' co-operatives, services. The card would be issued and having equal information from the syn- through the syndicate to which each person ment stores that are today the focal points judging the rational use of resources to continue by including students and schoolchildren receiving their cards from the In this link-up of functions we have part school or technical institute, training

> This conception is based on the viewpoint that any person in a fit state to produce (and we interpret "produce" here inthe widest possible sense, to cover all forms of human activity of benefit to the community) but who refuses to take part in the communal effort, would not be entitled to any of the products of the community's productive work. This is, in our opinion, an elementary principle of co-operation and objectors should ask themselves whether they are not still thinking in terms of capitalist economics.

(To be continued in our next issue.)

Expression here. The general assembly of the co-operative Four Years of Workers Control in Glasgow Canteen

Clyde Workers Show the Way T has been suggested that a short tinue to prepare food and offer it for sale

put forward as a suggested solution to his good offices as arbiter, asked the Comlong-suffering workers who have endured mittee "in all fairness" to go back to and survived the ruthless exploitations of the men and ask them to give the private their stomachs in works' canteens operated caterer another chance. We agreed to put Thanks to this extended federation, the by unscrupulous elements in the catering the factory manager's request before the 70-80 men is cooked the food for 150-200. The

In the industrial dungeon in which and about 1,300 fellow wage-slaves create their desire to increase their "40 per cent. mined and resolute stand the private needs and wants there must be an organ-net" by intimating a considerable rise in caterers moved out and the factory manage ism to communicate this information, in the price of meals. Having earlier made ment drew up a contract which we signed, the most efficient and direct manner numerous complaints which were com- allowing the workers to control and quantity, the demanded increase in prices project in a simple and direct maner. was the last straw to us.

It was flagrant robbery, and we decided at a mass meeting called to consider the matter, that we would boycott the canteen.

elected a Canteen Committee who were stituted our sole capital. The Shop when capitalism insured itself by creating mandated to contact the factory manage canteen premises. The factory manager £50—and we proceeded to form an said he had no serious objections to offer but, to say the least of it, he was rather sceptical of our ability to operate the canteen successfully and, in any case, the meaning of the Companies Act would have These punishments are applied on the slightest private caterers had still three weeks to run before their contract expired.

Boycott

This did not deter us in the slightest; the boycott was honoured 100 per cent. of the 'Mother of Parliaments'), under manager of the Catering Company began to We drew up an Association rule book, the arches of Charing Cross, round the squeal. He requested a meeting with the stressing the no-profit character of our Committee and there hastened to assure us business, and we also opened a current discuss or negotiate prices or complaints, Committee proposed & contribution of 2/but that our mandate was simply to tell per member to the Association assets, and plete without some supplementary details. him to clear out.

> He fumed and blustered about legal rights and we replied that, being very lawabiding citizens, we would not dream using coercion; that as a matter of fact he had every right, if he so desired, to con-

cursed city with the curse of the workless, capacity of their nature. Women turned prostitute. Women led men astray so that

accepted the workhouses, casual wards, It could not continue indefinitely without when the private caterers had functioned. turnover is around £7,000 per annum.

in this social system—the workhouse The Tories then conscripted the 21's, and officials. Prison warders are beneficiary in many of the fed-up down and outs comparison. We can be assured that the accepted the army gladly. War then rethree months, where the manner of diskilling some off.

BOMBTHROWER

history of the Harland and Wolff but that we would continue to boycott it Workers' Canteen Association might be Becoming somewhat desperate he appealed workers but emphasised that we could not vouch for the likelihood of its acceptance.

The men were more vehement than ever our quota of wealth, the catering company about their intention to run the canteen one fine day over-reached themselves in for themselves, and in face of this deterpletely ignored, and instead of the looked- operate the canteen. Having established for improvement having experienced a pro the right to operate the canteen, on our own gressive deterioration both in quality and behalf, we set about organising our little

How it Began

As we stood, our energetic and en The meeting appointed a picket and thusiastic approach to the problem con-Stewards volunteered to loan the Canteen "Association of Persons," namely,

'Harland and Wolff, Workers' Canteen meant a delay of three months and legal fees of £50; but nevertheless, for trading purposes, we had to conform somehow to for our purpose an association of persons was sufficient.

Incidentally our dealings with the legal without a picket, and after three days the profession only cost us altogether about £8. in prices, but that he would guarantee do this with practically nothing). We then we told him that we were not there to pay the staff their first weeks' wages the since 450 workers had enrolled for membership this netted us £45. We opened with an abundance of confidence. The bureaurather difficult regarding the issue of people of 60-70. permits, but we overcame this hurdle by threatening to march up the workers en

extended us a month's credit and I may We repaid the initial contribution of 2/- to attitude during the revolution." (2)

shoes in the summer, together with This was the anti-social consequence of co-operation replaced the discordant moans, movement of commodity prices and upsets The bolsheviks exploited this impulse by using "sleeping out". But the fall of the year the placid acceptance of the inevitability groans and growls which had been a concaused by industrial changes. Our slogans which corresponded to the spirit of the

per cent., shortened the staff hours of work, as workers, tackled one of the many basis of these ideas which ressembled their own and made an all-round improvement in problems that confront the only rationed objectives. But they encountered the instrument their conditions.

Recall of Delegates

Our condition requires us to submit an State will not be short of personnel for duced the floating army of workless by bursement of our "trading profits" is discussed and agreed upon. Free meals and to the greater task—the control of the However, as I say, we all tried to "get Again we are faced with a state uphold- the purchase of necessary equipment, with factory.

Communist Concentration Camps in Bulgaria

Forced Labour, Starvation and Torture for Opponents of Red Fascism

has not been silenced. The report from the with us is an enemy of the people,' declared a Secretary of the Bulgarian Anarchist- Bulgarian Minister recently, 'and against him we Communist Federation, which we print must fight pitilessly.' below, was smuggled past the iron curtain, and has been sent to us by the Subsecretariat of the International Working Men's Association for Western Europe.

enough to present the true character of the contended to exterminate man and his freedom. Alongside our comrades in these camps are thousands of other Bulgarians.

"We shall give some facts and examples that you may judge the reality.

"The camps are composed of barracks made of wood or earthen bricks, and are in two wings. The beds-one above another-are two metres The beds—one above another—are two metres long and 40 cm. wide. On the bed the prisoner Russia, 1917-21 must place, at one and the same time, himself and his baggage, and from the first night onward he is able to understand perfectly the nature of the camps.

"One cannot speak of hygiene, because, in the main, there is insufficient water. In most of the camps water has to be fetched from far off, and there is not enough for everyone to drink. It's a big event when one is able to wash one's clothes -a thing that isn't possible for everyone. Only the strongest are able to wash their linen once a

The food for nearly 1,000 men is cooked in boilers meant to supply 200-250. It is the same in the camp called BOGDANOVDOL. In boilers for prisoners work 15 hours a day making bricks. The situation in these camps is particularly bad, as food and clothing parcels have been forbidden since January 1st.

"The bad conditions of the dwelling quarters and the food are not the sole causes of the dis-The amount of work required from each one is in them the enemies of the revolution and the hard, and is, moreover, accompanied by an inhuman system of punishments. In this matter the two camps cited are the worst. The CUCIYAN workers and peasants. The class of unsettled in Camp is known as "The Caresses of Death" and BOGDANOVDOL "The Camp of Shadows."

"The treatment inflicted on the anarchists is particularly bad. They are often forced to do 36 is sometimes represented as a simple peasant, is the normal thing. Men often fall down of with Denikin, Petlioura and Wrangel. The cam- states Archinoff. hunger and fatigue, and there have been some paign to discredit this valiant revolutionary has deaths in spite of the practice of releasing dying used all kinds of lies. prisoners, so that their deaths take place at their The Bolsheviks cannot stomach the prestige that Party only possessed one-tenth of the organised homes and not at the camp.

"Punishments are so bad, that they are beyond conception. In addition to beatings, supplementary work and imrisonment for several months, the infamous punishment of "counting the stars" is ment and demand workers' control of the Committee all their available funds-about practised. The internees are forced to remain open air, during the night, in rain, frost or snow. This punishment lasts one, two, three, four, five or ten consecutive nights and those who are under-Association." To form a company in the going this punishment have to work during the day.

"For example, one of our comrades was ordered to "count the stars" because he took an invalid from work and put him to bed. Another bourgeois legalised commercial codes and elderly comrade received three nights of it for the crime of not rising when one of the camp officers passed through the hall while he was eating at

"'Collective punishments' are often applied. For an error by one detainee, a group, a barracks foreign to the people. or the whole camp may be punished. These collective punishments are used often against the becomes not only socially but psychologically anarchists. There are other special punishments. For example, by an order from above, the social ideals reinforce infallibly the spirit of caste that not only would there be no increase banking account (strangely enough you can anarchist collective has been destroyed and all the privilege." (1) means of subsistence confiscated. In September an all-round improvement. For our part, engaged a staff. To ensure that we could them, we told him that we would be staff that a few that we could them.

"What we have already said about the Bulgarian extermination camps would be incom-

months. In BOGDANOVDOL and CUCIYAN ten ment was crushed by countless persecutions.

It is now four years since we took over, There were only a few Anarchist groups, and The local Co-operative Society daringly and our position is very stable and healthy. perhaps they "did not make sufficiently their beggars, confidence tricksters, killed, stole say that we have traded almost exclusively every member in the first three months, and tunist thought of the universities was in its ranks also handed back the Shop Stewards' loan (professors, doctors, lawyers, students, journalists). There was an immediate increase of 200 of £50. Experience had taught us the It had, therefore, a strong petty-bourgeois followper cent, in attendance figures at the requisite amount to hold in reserve to ing. But from 1917 the instincts of the masses canteen, and a general note of harmony and cover such contingencies as the upward shops were turned towards the fields, factories and workstant feature of the lunch-hour atmosphere reserve at the moment stands at £340. Our masses.

> workers' control of food production cannot be exaggerated. The evaggerated organizational force, it paralysed the free initiative of the be exaggerated. The organisational method used is of the utmost social significance if it is indicative of our approach

we did not all manage to do so. What We need to destroy this menace to a emergency purposes is, of course, the form immediate needs, the struggle for, and We that the disposal of our cash usually takes. control of, factory canteens has special The Committee, who are unpaid, are sub- merit in that it is an excellent training (1) "La Revolution Bolcheviste," by Antoncelli. Published by Direct Action Administration, 59, Malham Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.23,

N spite of the ferocious communist "As in Franco Spain and monarcho-fascist repression in Bulgaria—to which we referred in our last issue—the voice of our comrades continues, and this is now withour Anarchist comrades in that country out even a charge being brought: 'He who is not

> "It is enough now to be an anarchist, or simply an honest man, to refuse to call black white, or to recognise the new masters, to be labelled 'Enemy of the people', 'saboteur' or 'agitator', and to be taken from your home and separated from your

"All free-thinking men throughout the world must raise their voices and protest against these "All the letters of our alphabet would not be crimes. We ask them to make these facts known so that they can rise with us against the Bolshevik centration camps in our country, which are in butchery. Down with the masquerade of the false communism and the false communists!

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MIDDLE CLASS EDUCATION_1948

"A person over the pensionable age, not being an insured person, shall be treated as an employed person if he would be an insured person were he under pensionable age and would be an employed person were he an insured person."

> -National Insurance Act, 1st Schedule, Part 2.

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UKRAINE

given by decree. Doctors are forbidden to pre- by Bolshevik and right wing sources on the sub- Kerenskyites. scribe rest in more than the agreed percentage of ject and, for this reason, it has been difficult for It was easier to influence the Russian masses in cases; in the CUCIYAN Camp, for example, this workers to draw from the Revolution the important lessons which this history contains.

"The quality of the food is beyond description. In Britain practically nothing is known, for Under Kerensky's provisional government, after For example, in the CUCIYAN Camp, near the instance, of the role played in the Revolution by the overthrow of Czarism, the Russian masses town of PERNIK, where the work of mining is the anarchist peasants of the Ukraine, led by the proclaimed the 8-hour day and formed workers' very hard and painful, the ration is 600 gr. of man-Nestor Makhno-who during his subsequent councils. The Communist Party gave its approval bread a day and a soup called "chorba", which exile in France taught the great Spanish revoluto to this, but it was obviously pursuing other ends. do not give the necessary calories. For several tionary, Durruti, much about guerilla warfare. Fighting at that moment against the provisional months nothing but cabbage—of the worst quality For this reason we are publishing the translation government, its plan was to capture the confidence in Bulgaria-has been cooked in the Camp, a of an article which recently appeared in "Le of the masses before gathering the forces to crush of interest to readers. It is certainly also to the factory manager, who in turn, using witness from the camp tells us. 'Most of our fat Libertaire," organ of the French Anarchist it. The Great Russian masses had every reason to and sugar ration is kept by the camp guards', a Federation. Through reasons of space we have consider the communists their comrades-in-arms cook, recently released from this camp, states. had to divide this article into two parts.—Editors. while they were fighting effectively alongside them.

> by the Communist Party and the so-called 'Soviet', The prestige of the bolsheviks allowed them to powers. This dictatorship fought against the defeat the coalition government and climb to Makhnovist movement, in which the anarchist power. This caused them to completely reverse tendencies of the Russian masses were given their attitude towards the masses who, in many We know that the Bolsheviks-who seized organise on an equalitarian basis." (1)

power without hardly firing a shot-behaved in comfort which the internees are made to suffer. such a way that the peasants and workers saw inheritors of Czarism. The Makhnovict movement was built up by

> tellectuals, which helped instal bolshevism, played an insignificaant part in its structure. In the flood of sectarian propaganda, Makhno

remain obstinately attached to the freedom of the nominally in the hands of the "democrat" elements, of intellectuals in search of careers, who went back to the 14th and 16th centuries. All the

leave the dying world but will not help the one refugees from Czarist slavery had found refuge standing motionless in front of the guards in the which is being born. The bolsheviks represent there.

"Our Russian revolution is without doubt, and Since the February revolution this tendency at this moment, a political revolution which had begun to flower spontaneously. realises, by popular forces, interests foreign to the The anarchist formula found expression in the

of iron on these intellectuals and made from them surplus property and the land divided among the a revolutionary party.

the people with no interests foreign to those of true ends of the labouring classes; the will to the working class.

"Living as a privileged person, the intellectual privileged. All his spiritual aspirations, all his

The Two Currents Oppose Each Other

A little history: The year 1870 is marked in "In the CUCIYAN Camp, for example, a few Russia by the appearance of a class who wished months ago, two children of 14 spent nearly two to give the people a political culture. This movecrats of the Food Control Office made things Turkish children of 15-17 years of age are still From 1900-1905 revolutionary propaganda was detained today. With these children there are old restarted amongst the masses by the State socialists and the anarchists.

The first were composed of bolsheviks, mensheviks and social revolutionaries, and had a good deal of

The masses, fascinated by the slogan "the workshops to the workers, the land to the We raised the general wage-level by 25 This, then, was the manner in which we, peasants" had already organised themselves on the section of the community, the working- Having once gained power, the Communist Party class. In this permanently crisis-ridden demanded that the social organisation of workers condition of society, with its insane and peasants, which had raised it to power, scarcity economics, the importance of should be subordinated to the party. And, by

The Seizing of Power

The mensheviks, social revolutionaries, and rightwing democrats were no better than the bolsheviks had it been possible they would have supplanted the retention of a suitable reserve for Besides the importance of alleviating our the latter to exercise the same oppressive role. Under the Czar the bolsheviks represented the left-wing of the social democrats. Durin

The true history of the Russian Revolution has | February-March 1917, czarism had been overmonth, or once in two months. Medical aid is been obscured by the mass of material published thrown. In October it was the turn of the

political direction in Great Russia than in the

existed, and it was natural that the bolshevik In Russia the Revolution has been monopolised predominance should extend everywhere. parts of the country, " had begun to produce and

Hardly any other revolutionary organisations

Libertarian Traditions

In April 1918, the liquidation of libertarian organisations was already being carried out to the rattle of machine guns and rifle fire. "The 'left' reaction arrested the ulterior development of the workers' and peasants' revolution, replacing it by the statist measures of the party. It was there hours' work without halting. 12 to 16 hours work sometimes as an adventurer: a traitor, collaborating that the revolution in Great Russia was halted,"

In the Ukraine the Revolution went further. Communist influence there was insignificant; the this man retains among the Ukrainian masses, who forces that it had in Great Russia. Power was

A dying regime favours the birth of hybrid The Ukraine had libertarian traditions which

this putrid growth which prospers on decom- In this way a natural psychology was formed among the peasants. Thus an hereditary tendency Of them, Archinoff, historian of the Makhnovists moved them to resist "all powers seeking to

Ukraine in the agricultural domain. "The Lenin, the impoverished bougeois, imposed his will Kulaks, wealthy peasants, were relieved of then labourers. What was original about the Opposing him, Makhno represented the man of Makhnovist movement was the desire to gain the conquer complete independence of work; the mis-Stalinism is the very incarnation of interests trust of the non-labouring classes of society."

-Translation by J. P.

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(To be concluded.)

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ject to immediate recall and, in any case, ground for the translation of theory into (2) "Histoire du Mouvement Makhnovist 1918-21," and printed by C.A. Brock & Co. Ltd., (T.U.), 79, Southern Row, London, W.10.