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TWOPENCE

ATTLEE ATTACKS YOUR Police Protect The Fascists REPRESSION GROWS PAYPAGHET

Government Attempts to Patch Up Tottering Capitalism WAGE LEVEL FAR BELOW COST OF LIVING

taken another step in its frantic, yes! they will assure you that it is authorities. and futile, efforts to patch up the purely a temporary measure, and that worn-out capitalist machine. This time as soon as the danger is past the orders

inefficiency were not so tragic to us, as a class, we could really do no other than laugh at their antics. They were sent to power on a socialist ticket . . . a

effects of the main plans.

that the L.P. had not foreseen . . . so yet attack. more plans had to be devised. Each of these new plans needing, of course, infinitum.

We have the colossi of socialist thought, patching and repairing the putting on more patches to hold the first them along, too. Then we suggest that not. patches in place . . . a scene that only M.P.'s wages be cut, they get £1,000

Increased Bureaucracy

We could really laugh at this insane from the general pattern. One of the worst, and probably the most dangerous, has been the tremendous increase in bureaucratic power, and the corresponding decrease in individual freedom.

Clem Attlee freezes the wage packets; no more increases in the workers' wages, although he knows full well that the average wage level is still far below the cost of living.

Sir Stafford Cripps, ("Laughing Boy") croaks out a further dismal warning of a "totalitarian alternative." one third of Czechoslovakia, and then He was really a little inaccurate in that the other two thirds had gone into this statement; what he meant was an the Stalinist net. Ten years ago Czechoincrease in the present degree of slovakia went through an almost totalitarianism!

which we are now faced; either to having digested that morsel they sequently a lowering of the level of gobbled up the rest. This time, instead placidly accept frozen wages, and conliving. Or push on for wage increases, in which case the Government will Czech nationals under the orders of an increase its powers, using the old bogey alien power. of "inflationary danger," and will then

Share out the Seats power in Czechoslovakia is but a further the Coal Board in an all-out attack on COUNTRY.

Political Carve-Up Admitted

The washing of dirty linen in public, at home and abroad, is becoming quite a habit with the Political Boys!

Washington of equally compromising documents on fraternisation by the Russian, American the Parliamentary constituency squabble.

Churchill, stung by Labour intentions to liquidate "Big Business" and University representation (all non-labour seats) reveals a secret we said (in "Direct Action," January, The Anarchist Federation supports pact between the parties to ensure a comfortable election all round (Daily Press, 17/2/48).

This pre-election agreement made above the heads of the electorate, and sanctified by the Speaker of the House of Commons, compensated for the granting of municipal votes to seven million non-rate payers by guaranteeing the continuance of the City of London and University representation.

It comes to light only because of Labour welshing on their "gentleman's agreement with the Tories,

Yet again the Anarchist Federation's "Don't Vote " campaign during the general election is justified by events. Government is for Slaves," said our posters

"Free men govern themselves."

The truth of our statements is shown by the contemptuous disregard of politicians for the people who vote them into power. Rather indiscreet of you, Mr. Churchill!

they have attacked the wage packets will be rescinded. But, they have told Spain illegally by boat. For this reason BOGDANOVDOL, NOJAREVO, TA- thrusting their shabby wares at passers-. . . the means of life of the working us that tale before, and the measures they carried no papers. once applied are not rescinded, but If the consequences of Labour Party remain as chains upon us. Too Much Money? direct mandate to smash the capitalist ally trying to keep the system ticking days, in prisons in various ports, and were September, 1945. In March, 1947, he militant "On Guard" sympathisers tradition or syndicalism for fascist over, hits hardest at the men and then sent back to Spain.

that they, the so-called "utopian money chasing too few goods, and (b) here from Franco's barbarism, found the idealists," could run capitalism more a standard rate of profit would strike a door of democratic Britain shut against efficiently than it has ever been run deadly blow at efficiency. Too much them, and have been returned to the money; and who has it? . . . most clutches of Franco's hangmen. They drew up ambitious economic certainly not the working class. The plans, then put them to the practical people who have the vast sums of plans to mitigate the less pleasant black marketeers, the directors and the Government officials who draw salaries of thousands per annum. It is against These short-term plans in their turn, this strata that one might expect a then began to work out in a manner Socialist Government to direct its main

enforce them. So the crazy cycle goes profits of the Stock Exchange specueffects, so yet more plans, and so on ad the war-time fortunes were acquired. and try to act like one!

spectacle if it were not for the many dangerous effects that have emerged Falls

STALIN ON ROAD TO THE WEST

There was an excited fluttering in the Marshallite dove cots when the news arrived that the Communists had seized identical period of change . . . the Nazis This, then, is the alternative with swallowed up the Sudetenland, then of an alien army, it is being done by

> of the Stalinist international included plans. It is in this context that the action methods. present situation must be studied.

Following the publication by Moscow and battle between the two imperialisms. miners in question to court. This brings the "front" of the Molotov the Stalinists in Western Europe. As state-controlled industry.

1948) the Molotov plan of political every struggle of the miners against vince of Toledo for a mass trial that is Greece. infiltration is aimed at stabilizing the the hide-bound bureaucratic Coal Board being prepared by the Franco authorities. aiready considerable Communist dom- with its soft jobs for ladder-climbers But the resistance movement is daily gamextension of the sphere of influence into (the Anarchist Federation) supported heroism of our Spanish anarchist comrades. Sage, and were the only voters against the reso-Czechs will suffer "Communist" state capitalism.

that this situation presents is:— miners can build the framework of a does not represent the feelings of the mentary action. The only successful resistance LATE "Who will be the next?" News from real fighting organisation on a syndical-British workers. Europe, recently received, make it seem ist basis. highly possible that Compagno Togliatti may be the next to get his orders to move. In which case, watch out for squalls in the Trieste area!

Anti-Fascists Deported to Spain

Labour Government

Aids Franco

In South Wales

Miners Fight Back

One of the few bright spots on the Sofia.

strikes was "anarchy."



According to a "Daily Herald report, this conference resolved to make the an all-out attack on the guerilla In "Direct Action," of September struggles of the miners in question. last, we pointed out that the main task This action, said the meeting of officials, "threatened to drive miners back 50 step in the advancing of Stalintern any miners who dare to employ direct

We have reported on previous N.C.B. This latest move is only another "breach of contract." This has now SPANISH RESISTANCE tactical manœuvre (and it must be become a recognised practice; as soon admitted that it is a good one), in as a strike takes place the Board the vast scheme of preparation for the announces its intention to take the

Miners are being forced to take action and British Governments with the Nazis, comes army several leagues towards the west; they know that the N.C.B. and the on a guerilla, and local, scale because and will serve as an encouragement to union are hand in hand-part of a

THE COAL FACE! THE MINES TO THE MINERS!

IN BULGARIA

C.P. Aims to Wipe Out Anarchist Movement

In recent issues of "Direct Action" we have published accounts of the terroristic methods of repression used DOROVO, BOSNA; the camps in the by.

Instead of carrying out this mandate, women who sent it to power. The This is the anti-fascism of the British tion decree while talking to fellow stuthey have attempted to show the world reasons given for this are (a) too much Labour Government. Men, seeking refuge dents. So far he has been in the concentration camp at Cuciyan for nine Action in the West End for some or syncicausm, but is careful to months . . . this is the price that he has months. We have had two arrests for emphasise that: tal decree.

a printer by trade, and for many years be sold there." Yet when the fascists government authority to safeguard the test; and as each plan began to go wrong they hastily drew up short-term work the short the shor gal," twice the fascists imprisoned him. remember how, before the war, Mosley central government to administer He, too, has been enjoying the ameni- was protected from the wrath of anti- national anairs." ties of Cuciyan for the last nine tascist workers by Lord Trenchard's it is apparently becoming fashionable months, because he dared to preach "blue division." How, in the fascist for the "left" political parties to anarcho-syndicalism to the workers of countries, the police have transferred devate with the Mosleyites. Recently

There are over 2,000,000 officials in local Coal Board officials to close down pits. methods used in "sovietising" the Mosley.

tortured and murdered for espousing Mosley's paper is a dreary hotch- tarian control over society. the cause of liberty. Who can forget the vicious attacks made by the Bolsheviks gradual liquidation of the Bolshevik old guard in Russia . . . some names stand out from the long lists of the dead,

Bukharin, Rykov, Yagoda, Rakovsky,
Trotsky; men who openly criticised . . .
Remember, too, the Italian revolutionaries who were returned to Fascist Italy by the Stalinist government revolutionaries handed over to Mussolini's execution squads. Then in Spain, the May days in Barcelona . . . more names, Camillo Berneri, Gonzales The attacks against the agrarian com- conscription. munes in Aragon.

ing little item:—

"So far as Catalonia is concerned, cleaning up of Trotskyist and anarcho-syndicalist elements there has already begun, and it will be carried out with the same energy as in the USSR."

To-day, if we substitute Bulgaria for preparation for future war. Labour and Tories

espionage and infiltration to prepare for the inevitable struggle between the U.S.A. and the U.S.B. The seizure of U.S.A. and the U.S.B. The seizure of the days when sectional differences allowed the mine-owners to divide and conquer." In other words, the the conquer of the days when sectional differences allowed the mine-owners to divide and conquer. TOTALITARIANISM CAN NEVER and conquer. U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The seizure of union has decided to collaborate with SION, NO MATTER IN WHAT

Many libertarian comrades have been arrested in Spain since the new wave of hundreds of comrades have been detained socialist state. .. more than a hundred in the small town

concentrated in Ocana Prison, in the pro

Western Europe. Comrade Gottwald the struggles of the miners against the While preparations are made to incorwill get a nice pat on the back; a coal-owners. We call on the miners porate Franco Spain into the American very warmly applauded. couple of red stars . . . and the to resist NOW the Fascist structure Marshall Plan and Bevin's Western Union, Welcoming the spirit of the meeting, he assowhich is developing in the mining the Spanish workers are fighting and dying industry, by the use of direct action to free themselves from this foul fascist Our delegate pointed out the continuous resis-

DIRECT ACTION FOR SPAIN! ALL COAL BOARD OFFICIALS TO BOYCOTT SPANISH MERCHANDISE! FRANCO!

ECHOES OF PRE-WAR DAYS Mosleyites on the Run from

London Anti-Fascists As we go to press, information arrives against anarchists and anarcho-syndithat the British Government has deported causts in Bulgaria. We have just 136 Spanish anti-fascists back to Spain, received more lists of men imprisoned paper "Union" (incorporating "Ac- claimed that this idea of a consolidated where they face torture and probable for daring to preach the cause of human won). Under the benevoient eyes of capitainst Western Bloc was originated HE Labour Government has now force down the level of living. Oh, death at the hands of the Franco freedom. These lists are far too long for the bonce some twenty of them took by Mosiey nimself—we don't doubt it! us to print in full—lists of militant revo- up their stance, shoulder to shoulder, the paper is edited, as one might These men recently arrived at British lutionaries imprisoned in the commun- on the kerb-side, while the others expect; by Kaven Thompson, we underports, having managed to escape from 1st concentration camps of CUCIYAN, marched up and down the pavement, stand that Thompson is also responsible

> put on a ship to be returned to Spain. being constructed in other parts of of the "On Guard" group came on the pampuet is composed of nam-truths, When the ship put off from the dockside BULGARIA. scene . . . and the mosieyites took to near-truths and downright nes. Typithey jumped into the water. They were A chemical student named STOYAN- their neels, seeking reruge in the public- cany, mompson succeeds admirably in then placed on a Spanish-bound plane and OFF, who was a guerilla fighter nouse opposite Saville Kow Police Sta- saying nothing. He seeks—as did Mus-Yet the Labour Government, frantic- deported. The others were held, for a few against the fascists until the 9th mon. A police-sergeant warned the somm—to explore one revolutionary dared to criticise the superior educa- that, if any trouble ensued, it would be ends, simply by using the word "syn-

these enter the mines and mills to help the miners, who—working the pits— in the concentration camp. Six months them against the hooliganism of the son is Mosley's tool, and that his creed produce more goods. Sack some of the were in a position to know whether the ago, KURTOFF, one time editor of the Palestine Police type which finds its is rascism—not syndicalism. worn-out machinery of capitalism, then full-time Labour Party agents, and send seams in question were worked-out or "Workers Thought," joined them in the home with the fascists, will be disillused by the first of the first of

rebruary 14th about thirty potch, composed mainly of calls for

In one port six men were immediately DOBROUDJA, and other camps still A little later some ten sympathisers Like most rascist propaganda, this arcansm. He does not (how could

had to pay for criticising a governmen- obstruction, and we constantly receive we are too practical a people to instructions from the police to "move fall into the errors of anarcho-syndi-In the same camp is JARDANOFF, on, and that "no political papers may causm . . . there must be some central

their allegiance to dictators like Musso- the S.P.G.B. and the L.L.P. have entered industrial front during recent weeks has Then there is the baker, IVANOFF, lini, Franco and Hitler, without batting the lists with Kaven Thompson. It they If there is too much money, then we been the use of "stay-in" strike another comrade who has seen the an eyelid. The police, as everyone want to waste their time in giving the more powers and more officials to suggest that the Government slash the methods by miners at several collieries, inside of fascist prisons many times. He knows, are on the side of "authority" fascists publicity in this way, it is, of particularly in South Wales. These organised the Co-operative that sup- and their function is the protection of course, up to them. But we were suron, plans, effects, more plans, more bad lators, then enquired actions have been directed, in several plied the 26,000 inhabitants of Jambol private property—small wonder, then, prised in the hypocrisy of the I.L.P. in instances, against arbitrary decisions by with bread. But he criticised the if their sympathies lie with the fascist electing to depate on the subject, "Union of Europe—Socialist or Syndiand central governments; let a few of These decisions have been resented by baking industry, so he joined the others Those who look to the law to protect calist." They know full well that Thomp-

camp. His crime was that of sending sioned as they were in the past. If we Mosiey's mob with its racialism, as it Heath Robinson could have put on to per annum too much. Come, Mr. Attlee, the opposition of the union. At a countries. These are but a few of the example of the small group of the other political parties. We recognize the countries against fascism as conference, held at Cardiff on February cases mentioned in the tragically long workers, who—by relying on their own mise the struggle against fascism as 21st, Alf Davis, Union area president, lists now in our possession. action—brought fascist activity on being part of the fight against the and Will Arthur, general secretary, So we have to add yet another chap- Tyneside to an abrupt end in pre-war capitalist system which gives birth to said that the recent wave of stay-in ter to the long catalogue of crime and years. To indulge in shouting-matches —and nurtures—fascism, and against repression. a catalogue that bears the against the fascists—as we have already the state machine, by means of which names of men and women imprisoned, pointed out—only builds them up. the fascists hope to impose their totali-

DELEGATE CONFERENCE IN LONDON

More than a million people have called upon Moreno, Andres Nin, the POUM leader. the British Government to end military

At a meeting, organised by the No Conscrip-In "PRAVDA" (December 17th, tion Council, and held at Denison House, on March 1st; and already rumours are circulating 1936) appeared the following interest- February 21st, over two hundred delegates representing Co-op Guilds, trade unions, leftwing and other groupings, expressed their determination to fight conscription, and passed a resolution demanding the withdrawal of the National Service Acts.

The resolution declares, in part:

"That conscription is an essential part of the

"The introduction of peace-time conscription TOTALITARIANISM CAN NEVER is morally indefensible, economically disastrous and militarily irrelevant." The meeting was characterised by libertarian

speeches, both from the platform and from the Allen Skinner, chairman of the N.C.C., WINIMUM SET BY THE BILL.

and a well-known worker in the socialist movement, recalled the past opposition of T.U.'s and Labour Party to conscription, and said:

We have military conscription. We are now three stages towards industrial conscription. These twin decrees are the classic instruments of the totalitarian regime. Upon the awareness repression commenced towards the end of of the people depends our future—free socialism, December last. In Aragon, particularly, or the final step towards the authoritarian

Speeches by the women delegates were forthof Barbastro alone, where two comrades right and down to earth. Condemning the have been killed. The detainees are being Labour Government's imperialistic policy, they

"Bring our boys back from Germany and Cases like this stand as a warning to Cater-

Branch, USDAW), using Stalinist arguments . . . WE MUST PREPARE AGAINST THE ination over the Balkans, then the in its country mansions, just as it ing strength, under the impetus of the infavour of conscription, had a very rough pas-

A delegate from the Anarchist Federation was

ated the A.F.B. with the resolution.

could come by the direct action of the individual and his organisations-from outside of Parliament. Failing such direct opposition to conscription, the N.C.C. would exist long into REFUSE TO HANDLE GOODS FOR the future, as there would continue to be the need for it.

CATERING WORKERS SOLD OUT

Union-Employer Collaboration WAGE BILL TRICKERY

The new Catering Wages Bill came into force on among catering workers, of preparations being made by the employers. Many workers, especially those on the waiting staffs, who had previously been delighted with the proposals of the Wages Bill, are now fast losing their early enthusiasm as they see the forbidding prospect of unemployment looming ahead of them.

I have heard of many cases of men being dismissed from their jobs and the reasons given vary little, "staff re-organisation"! BUT THEIR JOBS ARE BEING FILLED WITH WORKERS, PAID A MUCH LOWER WAGE; BUT ONE THAT IS JUST ABOVE THE

An example of this comes from a veg. commis, recently employed in the well known London Café Royal. He began working there in late 1945, at a wage of £8 per week. In early 1947 his wage was reduced to £7 per week, and six months later another pound was deducted. A few days ago he was dismissed, although the head chef admitted that this man is an excellent worker. The reason given for his dismissal was, of course, "staff re-organisasation." The man's job has since been filled with a worker who is doing the same work for only £4 10s. 0d. per week.

ing Workers . WE MUST PREPARE AGAINST Three lone delegates (from Central London A GENERAL FORCING DOWN OF WAGES

THE DENMARK STREET LABOUR EX-CHANGE. Remember the pre-war days, when cooks and waiters were tramping the streets; ready, nay eager, to take on the worst kinds of sweated labour in order to have a few extra shillings to take home. Remember the feelings of humiliation and degredation that those men wherever and whenever it is necessary. regime. Bevin has shown himself to be tance by Anarchists against conscription, and in 1948. BUT IF WE CATERING WORKER Perhaps the most important question By linking up local action committees, a good friend of Franco—let us prove he warned the meeting against trusting in Parlia- DO NOT ORGANISE NOW, IT WILL BE TOO

> Read the "Catering Bulletin," it will give you further details, free on application to the Secretary, Catering Action Movement, 159 Ledbury Road, London, W.11.

BOOKS

ATMMETASANTY

effects. Sufficiently strong radio-activity will Thompson, "to prevent them from kill all living tissue . . . Gas masks? Useless. Deep underground shelters with efficient air filters might save a few people. But when the wind had passed, the survivors humans."-Professor Edward Teller, Chicago University.

closer to hand, frantic development of Government atomic energy factory at in the hands of the capitalist class. events in catering strike actions since atomic energy for war purposes is being Springfields, near Preston. What pros- Then the task of building up production, the end of the war. carried out by the back-room scientists pect for these young people? . . . The with use, and not profit, as the deciding the only way in which real workingor the rival plocs. Little or no information about the implications of this work is made public: the preparation for the them: annihilation of the human species is covered with the cloak of secrecy and nush-hush.

Any attempt to break through the conspiracy of silence which prevents people from realising what lies in store for them is to be welcomed. James C. Thompson, or the Kingston Clinic, Edinburgh, has done well to publish a Atomic Stupidity," and we hope that it will get the wide circulation it deserves. recall that:

mation about the effects of atomic warfare. It explodes the popular belief that the main effect of the atom-bomb (or "atomb") is a colossal bang. The explosive force (which, according to latest development is sufficient to atomize an area of three or four hundred

The real danger—one that may well remove life from this planet—lies in the effects of radio-activity, resulting from Brues and Paul Henshaw examined some of the victims and collected infor-

reproductive disturbances, malignancies of one form or another, shortened life span, altered genetic pattern, etc., will in time appear in greater or lesser degrees . . . The full effects on the victims' descendants may not show up for many generations."

To be subject to such effects, it is not necessary to be within the area of explosion. Twelve months after the experiment on Bikini atoll, the "mush- criminal treaty of Brest-Litovsk left them withroom" cloud of radio-active particles that was so photographed at the time, had circled the world six times, and airfrom it. "So long as the present cloud precipitated with rain, or sweep it along the surface of the earth, would make it destructive of life."

But the radio-activity produced by research and development is, itself, dangerous. What has happened to the report, made by the Chemical Workers' Union to the T.U.C., of ill-effects suffered by workers in atomic projects in Britain? The report said ". . . Of 250 men employed on research at a Northern atomic station, more than 20 men are ill. They claim they have . . . become sterile, that they are breaking out in rashes, and falling asleep in buses. to expel, once and for all, the landlords, masters Their home lives are being disrupted."

In America a huge hospital was built to accommodate damaged workers from the Manhattan (Atomic) Project. It was soon filled to overflowing. A great annexe was hurriedly constructed and

Class-War Prisoners In Argentine Released

A letter from the Federal Council of Regional Workers Federation of Argentina-F.O.R.A.-informs us that the fifteen years of protest and direct action in favour of the five class-war their arms to the Makhnovists, who used them Kharkov, the same measures were taken; but prisoners of San Martin has ended in success, with their release.

semi-fascist regime of Peron, has just celebrated a Congress of regional delegates in Buenos Aires.

"The radio activity produced by the Bikini was likewise filled to capacity. Still bombs was detected within about one week another annexe was improvised to keep in the United States. It was weak, com- radioactive workers from filtering home pletely harmless . . . But there is a thresh- to contaminate their families and neighhold beyond which radio-activity has lethal bours. ("And incidentally," says | THE production and distribution of masses—are unwieldly things to move, A federal structure, parallel to the

> of the trouble. The 'innocent' contact soon previous articles. became equally radioactive."

atomic rays, sterility has followed and deep on the firm basis of Syndicalism. cancerous growths, together with skin cancers, have developed very rapidly and the animals have died as a consequence."

The implications of all this are tremendous. Particularly when one considers the irresponsibility of these scientists, who have prostituted their small pamphlet, "Our Expanding knowledge to the service of the militaristic state machine. One has only to

This pamphlet contains much infor- poll of more than 150 scientists working on objective chosen."

aluable warning of what the cen- various unions.

Towards the Free Society (3)

PRODUCERS' CO-OPERATIVE

aging to find that the Government were transport and warehousing facilities: and so starve out the strikers. While each international conference advertising, last year, for 15-year-olds, in short all the instruments of producand one that can be done, provided that service, and not the kind of tool used. ... By subjecting these rodents to the necessary organisations are built up At the mass meeting of all the

The Syndicate Basis

The basis of the syndicate is the mass ship, loco-shed or mine. It differs from the archaic trade-union structure in many respects, one of them being that half of them voted for (2' ('demonstration present system, the cooks and waiters Federation of Engineering Workers. in an inhabited area'). Hiroshima was the belong to one union, the painters to the electricians to the E.T.U., and so on I. C. Thompson's pamphlet is an in- -a whole complex of small sections of

goods in the free society, is the and as a consequence, the workers in one we have described for engineering, life blood of the whole social the various unions scab on one another. will be formed in each of the twenty-five they most For a follow workman to stand one they met. For a fellow workman to stand more detailed study than we have been hotel, when the cooks and waiters industrial federation will then be affiliand talk to such a victim, or for the doctor to examine him was to invite a tragic spread able to allow ourselves in the two members of the N.U.G.M.W.) come out ated to the National Confederation of on strike, the rest of the hotel staff Labour—the co-ordination of all the

The problems to be faced are stay on the job, because their union is workers' forces. The prospect of workers at Didcot, Warrington, Preston, Drigg, and other Warrington, Preston, Drigg, and other the entrance and player ounds the factor. Warrington and other workers at Didcot, turning to socially productive use, of of engineers, mechanics, etc., keep the of the order of the atomic research stations in Britain does the estates and playgrounds, the factor- hoter functioning, and enable the not look very healthy. Nor is it encour- ies and mines, the shops and entire employers to bring in blackleg labour,

"Chemical Worker" reports on what factor, until a sufficient abundance of class unity can be built up is where the ation of Labour can have the strength happened to guinea pigs and rats sub- goods and services exists for the satis- pasis of organisation is the "job" as jected to the influences which will affect faction of all needs. A monster task, a whole; the type of production or society of to-day.

workers in any single production unit, delegates are elected and the workers' committee organised. Each such syndi- of Labour, as the organisation of the cate is federated with all other such mass of the workers, would not only committees in the locality—textile, shop be able to arm and equip the workers' assistants, dockers, busmen and so on. aistrict, Economic Council.

At the same time, the production unit -for the sake of example, let us say capitalist, no matter how wealthy, can the syndicate includes all the men and an engineering factory—is federated run a factory without workers? women employed in the factory, mine, together with other engineering factorthe project was taken . . . More than etc. For example, in a hotel, under the les in the same locality to the District

centralised unions — those monolithic attains a national expression by the the defence of gains acquired. extension of the Regional Federations In the free society of to-morrow the in the balance. Watch this column for further to the National Federation.

of Labour

In this organisation we see not only brings the prospect of World War III to attend the training school at the tion and sources of raw materials now remind our readers of the course of the basis for the economic structure of it can be attained, for only such an organisation as the National Confeder-

When the class-struggle burst its normal bonds of social restraint, and the workers and employers confront each other, the National Confederation militia, but it would effectively remove their place of work, factory, garage, In this way is built up the local, or the real wealth of society from the factory without a capitalist—but what

Social Economy

the character of the syndicate would to Kultur H.Q. this morning. The lad was playanother, the engineers to the A.E.U., Control from the Base undergo a change. Under the present ing his mouthorgan, when, to her horror, she social system the function of the syn- detected definite signs of an imperialist ten-In its turn, the District Federation sends dicate—besides the preparation for the delegates to the Regional Federation of free society of to-morrow—is, of necessquare miles) is the least thing to worry sequences will be if we continue to This trade-union structure breaks the Engineering Workers, and, similarly, sity, the struggle for the improvement whether the boy is suffering from reactionary allow the politicians to run our lives for whole fabric of workers' unity, for the the organisation of engineering workers' conditions generally, and

function of the syndicate will be the flashes. We hardly need to repeat that the running of social economy, of the induscontrol of the whole organisation will tries and public services. With their be from the base, and all delegates basis of delegate committees and federal elected will have their tasks sharply organisation the syndicates will become

Letter from France

To strengthen their power, Lenin and Trotsky called on all the regions "for a voluntary and equalitarian mobilisation." (1) Certain peasants interpreted this call for mobilisation as com-

enced in France (and throughout the those who receive their orders from padsky, who e intention was to lead the the revolutionary ranks. But, as normally world) a "new" political strategy. Instead or having a multitude of parties, From the Northern border descended the we find ourselves confronted by two forces only. At the last French In several battles the Makhnovists pushed municipal elections we saw the birth or a new party, which made a big electoral campaign: the Rally of French People (R.P.F.) led by General de Gaulle.

> It was the first time that he had put nimself forward at the elections and he nad a positive success, but this did not spread anarchist propaganda by meetings. By greatly weaken the force opposing him. the French Communist Party had is yet time we must build our Interpractically no losses, even though it correited a few mayors' seats to the recently in France. It needed half a million lose in votes and its disciplined troops did not break. The Socialist Party At that moment social disturbances in Austria again suffered severe set-backs, while

> > Confronted with these facts, the centre parties, M.R.P. (Christian Socialists), Socialist Party (labourites) and some other small groups decided to create that little thing with the big name—the "Third Force."

> > The members of the Christian tradeunions (C.F.T.C.) and of the new reformist unions of the C.G.T.-Workers' Force, which is led by Jouhaux, have given their support to this "force."

The Third Force draws its dynamism In October and November, 1918, the Makhno- Goulai-Pole, Makhno devoted himself to making reality, composed of elements which are in opposition-Christians and Marxist-Soviets of the region "to equalise the rights of materialists; we doubt whether its life will be very long. It is not a force, but a weakness. The M.R.P. and the tionary spirit. These units willingly surrendered At Ekaterinoslav, in Taurida, at Poltava and Socialists have found unity to defend, not the interests of the electors they represent, but those of their Ministers and M.P.s, against the twin menaces of

> of organising the great peasant mass into a of its leader, informed us of its social special historical force, to unleash the revolu- programme a little while back :

1. Renovation of syndicalism, that is ism. The strengthening of Production Committees. The participation of the workers in management and profits.

Such is the programme of the R.P.F., such was the programme of Petain under the Nazi occupation.

ened with a split. There are now only himself!

For some little time we have experi- two political forces, that is to say, Moscow, and those who receive them from the Yankees. Bureaucratic state capitalism on the Russian model, and liberal private capitalism. These two forces are antagonistic, and peace is

> other of these forces. Our task is to show the workers of the world that they have nothing in common with these forces, which are forces of oppression, of misery and of war.

To combat the creation of the Kominform, and the actions of the forces of oppression, a Proletarian, Revolutionary and Anti-militarist International, which will be the real Third

PAUL CAMUS

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From: "Direct Action" Administration, 59, Malham Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.23.

Relief Food on

Argentine recently sent a large quantity of grain to Spain, for the relief of the victims of the big explosion at Cadiz last Summer. The grain Workers (per C.M.); £2 14s, 4d. was cornered by Spanish Government and commercial officials and sold on the black market. The Franco Government, being implicated in this filthy business, kept quiet about it, and nothing

DIRECT ACTION

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Administration, "Direct Action," 59, Malham Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.23.

Naughty tovarich Prokofiev, the famous Russian composer, has just written a beautiful etter of confession, admitting "bourgeois influences" in his music, and thanking the C.P. or the assistance given him in correcting his mistakes. How nice to know that the comrade has seen the light, and will incorporate the party line in all future compositions.

Perhaps we shall now have the pleasure of hearing a new composition called "Prokofiev's Variations on a Pamphlet by Marx.

The Spiritual renaissance of comrade Prokoev has given rise to many rumours, and we are n a position to emphatically deny the one which says that the Union of Soviet Composers has ent disguised N.K.V.D. agents out to check up on the whistlings of Moscow errand boys. "

From information received from trustworthy sources, we are pleased to say that it is not true that the good tovarich is now using hammer and sickle emblems instead of double clefs, when writing scores. He only puts them on the

FLASH-Ivanovna Ivanovnavitch, Stalingrad Once the period of struggle was over, housewife, hurriedly rushed her 9-year-old son dency in his fumbling efforts at "Pop goes the Commissar." So far, the experts at Kultur H.Q. have been unable to decide tendencies, or whether Trotskyist saboteurs had "nobbled" the mouthorgan. The fate of the musical interpretation of the party line hangs

> NOTE: To all musical comrades, to-morrow evening at 8, on the Moscow Foreign Broadcast Service, is a rare treat for all truly proletarian music lovers. The Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra is playing "Wage, Labour and Capital" in G Minor.

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.)

Mar. 7 .- "Dostoievsky's Resurrection,"

-Fred Read.

14.—To be announced.

21.—"The Spartacus Insurrection,"

-F. A. Ridley. 28,-" Chartism and the early Trade Unions,"

-Ray Upton.

we don't like appealing for money. And we don't do it more often than necessary, because we want to keep every possible inch of "DIKECT ACTION Tree for important news items and articles.

Unfortunately we are forced to make an appear this month, because we are heavily in debt. Our income comes mainly from outdoor sales, and, inevitably, these are hit by the bad weather in the winter months. To clear our obligations, and retain a small balance in hand we need £50 quickly.

We know that the vast majority of our readers are workers earning just enough to live from week to week and that they usually have nothing to spare. But we ask them to reflect for a moment —this is their paper . . . a paper written by workers for workers, whose aim is the overthrow of capitalism, and the introduction of a system based on wellbeing for all, in which politicians will be a bad dream of the past. Isn't it worth a small effort to keep "DIRECT ACTION "going?

We thank those readers listed below, Both Gaullism and the Third Force Franco Officials Sell who have sent contributions, and hope that we shall be able to print a much that we shall be able to print a much longer list in our next issue.

PRESS FUND LIST No. 6

London: T.B. £1; R.U. 2/-; "Libertario" 7/-; R.J.T. 1/6; A.G.B. 5/-; E.T. 2/6; D. 10/-; Argyll: H.D. 4/-; Dukinfield: A.F.B. Group (per N.A.) 10/-; Tyrone: J.M.H. 6/9; Huddersfield: A.L. 5/-; Spokane, U.S.A. I.W.W. Lumber

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Fifteen Years in Jail

The prisoners — members of the F.O.R.A.—were framed during a big Austro-Germans were losing their counter-opinions unchanged. Makhno returned to the Ukraine with his early opinions unchanged. strike action of brickmakers and their collapse of morale. Where they resisted "For a long time he had nourished the idea of the French People, through the voice sentenced to life imprisonment. As a savagely. result of the years of prison and torture, one of the anarchist prisoners, Mario Montiglio, has lost his reason, and is now in a mental hospital. The other comrades have returned to the Workers' Federation to again take up the struggle for the freedom of the world's workers. Our greetings to them, and to the F.O.R.A., which, working under the most difficult conditions owing to the

atomic fission itself. Drs. Austin M. The Makhnovist Movement (2)

mation from Japanese physicians at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They report: "There is good reason to believe that THE BOLSHEVIK PEACE elected will have their tasks sharply defined and will be subject to immediate the PRODUCER CO-OPERATIVES. (To be continued) WITH GERMANY

negotiated with German imperialism. The equalitarian mobilisation." (1) Certain peasants

out the Baltic States and Western Ukraine, The pillaging by the invasion troops and the everybody. craft were warned to keep well away peasants back to Czarist servitude, fortified happens in a revolutionary movement, there and steeled the Makhnovists. In June, July and were not enough arms. remains at a very high altitude," writes August, 1918, a war went on between the Thompson, "There should be no great peasants on one side and the Austro-Germans danger to the populace below. Only and Pomestchiks (rich proprietors) on the other. some disturbance in the sub-stratos- The latter had, for their principal agent, phere which might drive it down to be Denikin, the Czarist general, operating on the

Having disposed of Skoropadsky, the Makhnovists had to organise their forces against

Despite pulmonary tuberculosis, contracted in rison, which was consuming him, Nestor Makhno displayed a prodigious energy.

He was an ordinary peasant's son, with little education and rather obscure. But he thought of the war solely from the social and revolu- means of an underground army they executed

"The problem that excited him was that of concentrating and organising all the peasantry in a manner solid enough for them to be able and stewards, and arrange their lives them-

The followers of Petlioura were influenced in their aims by French and Swiss bourgeois

epublican institutions. So, while Kerensky held power in Great Russia, Simon Petlioura, before his eviction by the Bolsheviks, aimed at creating a State in in the Ukraine:-

From the 11th to the 25th of January, 1918, there was a short struggle between the Bolsheviks and Petlioura. The Bolsheviks triumphed, and immediately they began to extend their power in the Ukraine.

the Ukraine.

They remained there for 2 to 3 months, soon giving place to the occupying Austro-Germans, while Petlioura took refuge in the east of the

vists went into action against Petlioura's forces, an inventory of the estates of the Kulaks (rich which were supported, though without much peasants), and proposed to the congress energy, by the Austro-Germans.

"Makhno made agreements of neutrality with usufruct of the land among the proprietors and those troops who were captured by the revolution rich peasants and the poorest labourers." to establish friendly relations with the Austro- authority of the local bourgeoisie. Germans he drove them from the region by Leader of men, but without theoretical culture, force of arms." (2)

"His army already consisted of several regiments of cavalry and infantry possessing artillery and numbers of machine-guns." The youth of the peasantry began to swell

Sensing the danger, Petlioura offered to work in common with Makhno. But the two forces, Makhno's response was: "War to the death against the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist movement." (2)

When You've Read Later, Denikin, advancing from the Sea of Azov and the Caucasus, began to menace the Ukraine, and the second regional congress of peasants at Goulai-Pole on February 12th, 1919,

(1) "La Revolution Bolcheviste," by Antoncelli. (2) "Histoire du Mouvement Makhnovist 1918-21," by P. Archinoff.

interpreted this call for mobilisation as compulsory—a justifiable error, since the peasants thought the necessity of fighting obligatory on

exactions of that creature, the Hetman Skoro- In fact, every village sent combatants to swell

Communist army; from the South East came the army of Denikin.

offered half a million roubles to whoever killed Food for the Cities

Denikin's troops back to the Caucasus. Denikin

Early in 1919, repulsing Denikin's troops to the Sea of Azov, the Makhnovists seized a hundred wagons of corn and sent them to the starving workers of Moscow and Leningrad.

Makhno, and the movement in the Ukraine,

tionary angle of the organised emancipation of the oppressors of the people and all those who persecuted the peasants. Throughout the Austro-German occupation, Makhno and his partisans concentrated on guerilla activity, aided and sustained by the K.P.F.-M.R.P.-R.G.R. bloc, it did not peasants in the same way as the Maquis were

Austro-German soldiers and the landlords to subdue the Ukraine and sustain the reaction. and Germany brought about the recall of the the M.R.P. had losses of 60 per cent. chist activity. These troops were the carriers of

the germ of the free Soviets. The reaction, without support from abroad was uprooted in a few days.

"From that moment, 3 forces were at work

The Makhnovists; The Bolsheviks; The Petliouravists.

other two " (1). Fight for Equality As Chairman of the council of the town of

Soon, each one became the sworn enemy of the

to arm themselves. Where Makhno was unable the arrival of the Austro-Germans restored the

Makhno went to Moscow to consult his old Gaullism and Stalinism. It was a natural strategy. Where the anarchist comrades. They were indecisive.

> tionary energy accumulated within it during the centuries, and to precipitate this formidable power against the contemporary oppressive to say the suppression of true syndical-

> > (To be concluded.)

-Translation by J. P.

threatened.

We are neither for the one nor the

national must be created. While there Force—the Anarchist International.

By TOM BROWN BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE 2d. (post 1d.) SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE

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JOHN MACLEAN-MARTYR OF BAKUNIN

COMMUNISM, Story of the A CALL TO MANHOOD 26 essays 1/- (post 3d.)

The split in the C.G.T. has marked was known until the Argentine Embassy in Madrid very clearly the division between the brought the facts to light. It is said that Peron the same movement is taking place. has written to Franco, saying that if the matter The World T.U. Federation is threat- is not cleared up, he will come and get justice