I dictator intends to make to this weeks have struck a discordant note. of Giordano Bruno, of Galileo, the sympathy towards England. Democountry in March, coupled with other A few years ago the "Daily methods used by Torquemada to cracy should be a faithful expression SUPPORT for the striking workers

acceptance have no interest in pro- West, Conan Doyle, Oppenheim, cannot put out of mind at the hour bour as thyself." portion to the campaign of protest Compton Mackenzie, J. D. Beresford, of passing judgment on international raised by the Catholic clergy, about Zangwill, Stacpoole and Henry differences. which there has been so much com- Arthur Jones. Bennett declared, and I do not agree with a certain writer us protest ment, both in public speeches and the it is still good to recall it, that:— that Tito has done good service for wherever they are found: Russia,

Tito is a dictator, an enemy of Catholics). Tito is a dictator at the enter into my social, spiritual, or Church is that, while it attacks com- Bulletin of N.E.London Anarchist France. In a letter, the French union service of American imperialism (according to the Stalinists). In these times of antagonism between the "Black International" and the "Red" Black International" and the "Red" Black International" and the "Red" Christ toucht as all embraces as in its times of control of the stalinists and crosses, just benedictions, altars and crosses, just beliefs. Christ toucht as all embraces as in its times is the avowed end of all religious benedictions, altars and crosses, just beliefs. Christ toucht as all embraces as in its times is the avowed end of all religious benedictions, altars and crosses, just beliefs. Christ toucht as all embraces as in its times is the avowed end of all religious benedictions, altars and crosses, just beliefs. Christ toucht as all embraces as in its times is the avowed end of all religious benedictions, altars and crosses, just benedictions are religious benedictions. International", Communists and beliefs. Christ taught an all-embrac- as, in its time, it lived happily Catholics find common ground—in ing sympathy. He taught humility, together with Italian fascism. that, for reasons of political convenience, maintains a relatively ambigu-

The fact cannot be challenged: of kindliness." Yugoslavia suffers a dictatorship, as "I regard the ethics of Christ as We are still waiting for Pius XII, do Russia and Spain. The illogical being beyond all comparison the or some high Cardinal revolted by and shameful thing, however, is that most admirable rule of life ever the Catholic Church (disciples of given to the world," said Beresford, Christ) are more concerned about the "but I have never seen that ethic Spain. Or could it be that the I DID NOT learn much American ing is that he never met a man he

IN THE BALANCE

carrying out their functions in Yugo- no warrant in Christ's teaching for him discerning the reality in the heart times. slavia weigh more heavily, it would the doctrine that a man shall find of the humble inhabitants of Anda- The pioneering was done mostly taken care of by Bing Crosby and the seem, than the constant death sen- salvation only by following the parti- lucia, not to mention other places. by people such as Victor Maclagen, Catholic Church. There are other for the past 16 years.

Denmark, section of the I.W.M.A. way.

ng surplus value.

concentration in history.

or concentration camps.

Russian wages

the West.

This robbery of the working masses

State capitalism in Russia repre-

changed the wage system into

growth in profits, through the ever-

seals the greatest and most effective

meekness. He taught us to judge not The recent Eucharistic Congress in that we be not judged. He taught Barcelona was a clear demonstration forgiveness. He taught the return of Catholic-Francoist faith against all of good for evil. In a word, his desires for freedom, peace and religion was, in practice, the religion brotherhood.

CAPITALISM IS OUR

MAIN FOE

in that country, drew up the follow- We Syndicalists want to appeal to ence of society.

their organisations. We, as Syndi- ments. the policies of customs Against reformism

its power and in its gaining decisive and reformism of all kinds.

be enough to make the workers of calists" to undertake the conquest of

the West realise that private capital- State power, resulting once again in

can expect only exploitation from Our attitude towards these new

Class distinction, so marked under ism is quickly being transformed into pure reformism. The only thing these

talinism. The yearly wage of a cruel exploitation and the suppression all other reformists: to weaken the

Russian worker barely reaches 3,000 of the workers' struggle for their faith of the workers in their own

roubles, while that of the party or class interests and personal freedom. strength for the decisive economic

The transformation of the wage both sides and that their own position reformists is clearly defined; for us

brutal state régime, with the police front-against both East and West, the Syndicalist workers movement

and army guaranteeing and safe- They must put aside blind reformism, must rid itself of them, so that, both

ing the workers, is the method of authority, and rebuild their industrial be free from the taint of all reform-

the arms of the private capitalism of ism. They must understand that the Printed and published by the

despite its armaments and defence the intrigues of politics, but that they pacts. Fear is the real reason which themselves hold a master card as 25a Amberley Rd., London

factory boss exceeds 30,000. This Workers must understand that they struggle against capitalism.

Russian Bolshevism. As a result, organisations as true organisms of ist tendencies.

many workers have sought refuge in struggle against all forms of capital-

many workers are opting for one or daily securing more power and capitalism.

the other of these ideologies and control of States and their govern-

As sole master of the lives of the tribution—all of which means effec-

workers and peasants, State capital- tive influence over the life and

ism, loyal to its own character, has destiny of nations.

absolute economic and spiritual Another way

DANISH SYNDICALISTS SAY . . .

those of such writers as Arnold and the Church's binding obligation propaganda, the principle of Christ in its tenth month. But the British invitation and Tito's Bennett, Hugh Walpole, Rebecca to meddle in politics are aspects we that: "Thou shalt love thy neigh-

DIRECT ACTION

freedom. Communism, like fascism, Yugoslavia or Spain. negates and prevents freedom. The "The Christian Dogma does not unjust position of the Catholic

IT'S A LONG WAIT

communist atrocities, to make any complaint against the dictator than with the needy and lowly. the right girl.

praise for attacking all dictatorships, Between the theory of the Church For the average citizen Tito's visit It was a hard struggle, with many Altogether, America is a wonderful no matter what their colour, but the and its daily activity in the world is similar to many other official obstacles in the way, such as Red nation with a fine tradition. It also one-sidedness and aim of the Vatican there are differences to which we visits—neither more nor less interest- Indians and landslides. Along the has an army, which it sends overslogans, used by English Catholic should like to devote more space than ing than those of Adenauer, Artajo trail somewhere there was always a seas now and then as a living

saloon, and this is generally where the right girl came in. She was the singer with the band, a pure and innocent girl. At the end of her song there was a gunfight, in which Victor Maclagen, Gary Cooper and latterly The Syndicalist Federation of has impelled workers to act in this producers of all kinds of goods, selves—perhaps just getting Kirk Douglas distinguished themwhich are essential to the very exist-selves winged, to show that the ing statement during its recent the workers, and ask them to reflect. It is necessary to realise our own fluoric acid and skittles. pioneering days were not all hydro-

capitalism of the West is in the to gain control of our workplaces; (IWMA) In the present period course of being transformed into and overthrow capitalism. It is only the right girl was to build a homecharacterised by the historic struggle State capitalism. This change is thus that the working masses of the stead and do a bit of farming, between State and private capitalism taking place in two main ways. West will be able to avoid the dig for gold or to establish a tradin the duel between East and West— Firstly, the big financial interests are exploitation and slavery of State station. That was the immediate programme, but behind it was a great driving force in the shape of an Charing X Rd: (junc Goslett Yd) ideal: that ideal was America. Always they were successful and

by rearmament, but only by an all- built a homestead and did a bit of But their main characteristic is that out struggle against capitalism in all farming, or found gold or established of huge capital investment in small its forms that we workers can open a trading station, and thus Victor Readers interested in activity in countries with the private capitalist the way to a future of wealth and Maclagen, Gary Cooper and latterly happiness for ourselves and future Kirk Douglas laid the foundations of generations. The first steps in this Modern America. The vast investments American direction must be to eliminate any

to that of the East and to that of Europe have resulted in a growth in ism or faith in authority, the State

slavery of the working class. The The second method of change is must stress that these local councils Will Rogers was a comedian who right to strike, and all other rights that of nationalisation, by means of have nothing in common with true used to go on the stage without the THE GARIBALDI GROUP gained by the workers, have been appointed. The possibility to improve industries.

Which the State becomes the owner of socialism or communism. They are slightest idea of what he was going to talk about; judging by the trite talk about; Judging by The worker does not clash directly dent on the State, and links in the remarks he made this would appear 10, Laystall St., London, E.C.1 with private capitalism, but he is capitalist administration of society. to be self-evident. It seems, however, (Off Clerkenwell Rd. constantly threatened by the crush- And if these Syndicalists gained a that these remarks were not only ing power of the police and the majority on a local council, they funny—which point has to be stressed military forces of State capitalism. would soon learn that it was not -but also contained deep truths.

topical questions, is doubtless of Express" conducted an inquiry on introduce the Catholic faith to Spain, of its own meaning and significance at Rival Lamps factory, Weybridge, importance to Anglo-Yugoslav rela- Religion, publishing for its millions the words of Cardinal Hinsley during —something catholicism endangers Surrey, reported in previous issues of tions and, more particularly, to of readers not only the opinions of the Abyssinian war ("If Fascism goes by using similar methods to those of "Direct Action," has come from

result will be to stop any further

supplies of argon gas." This expression of international solidarity may well be the decisive step in bringing the strike to a suc-

Incidental Essays

punishment inflicted on their clergy practised by the members of any bishops persecuted on the other side history at school. That may be be- didn't like. This is acceptable as than with the permanent martyrdom Christian community with which I of the Iron Curtain are better sons cause England had a war with humour (just about), but the deep of the Spanish people by a State have been associated. Moreover, the of God than the peasants, engineer- America and lost, but since leaving truth in it is not easy to fathom. dogmas of the Churches appear to me ing workers and suffering mothers of school I have learnt quite a lot. For Either he had poor perception, didn't to be utterly at variance with the the Iberian Peninsula? It's more than instance, I know that American his- meet many men, or was a Christian possible, of course, that the luxury tory is divided into two main periods: pacifist. Since all these are denied, Half a dozen priests prevented from obvious of many examples, I can find surrounding "His Holiness" prevent the pioneering days and modern one is left wondering.

'THE LIBERTARIAN'

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A quarterly Anarchist review

tences enacted by a Mussolini cular articles of belief adopted by one The Catholic Church has lost any Gary Cooper, and latterly Kirk minor religions, but these mostly beassociated with the Vatican during particular sect or division of the moral authority it held through the Douglas. It consisted of blazing a long to foreign language groups, such doctrines of Christ, by showing itself trail across virgin country and find- as Swedes and Russians, whose parmore concerned with the powerful ing a suitable spot to settle in with sons have the disability of being

acid which, if spilled from their glasses, went through the wooden counter like a bullet.

Pure and innocent?

There was also a band in the SYNDICALIST WORKERS

national assembly in Copenhagen. Let us recognise that the private strength as a basis for the struggle The reason for wanting to go out

capitalism has made in Western kind of shilly-shallying with capital- Where there's a Will

Modern America consists mainly influence over States and their This applies even more particularly This life, too, is fraught with danger governments. This example clearly to Syndicalists, whose historic rôle right up to the time when the reshows the way to control State it is to form the vanguard in the fight porter or the detective gets the right girl before some marrying authority, Certain Syndicalists, attracted by then things seem to simmer down Discussion meetings in East Ham the intrigues of politics and the deceit somewhat. There is a philosophy Alternate Wednesdays at 8 pm. of parliamentarianism, are turning to- behind all this called the American wards local government in an attempt way of life. This was founded by

ncreasing tempo of work, geared up

The fact that the big financial they, but the State, who had the real One thing that he is noted for sayconcerns are daily taking more power control. The logical consequence of over States and governments should this would be for these "Syndi-

What's on

FEDERATION: LONDON GROUP

OPEN DISCUSSIONS on INDUSTRIAL MATTERS sunday 29th March & alternate Sundays thereafter at 7.30.pm at the SWF CENTRE

25a, Amberley Road Paddington, London, W.9. (Buses 6 or 187 to Sutherland-Ave or Bakerloo to Warwick Ave.)

Hyde Park: Sundays at 4.15 Sats. at 7.30

MANCHESTER

this area are invited to contact; Jack Macpherson, 3, Barlow Road. Dukinfield, Cheshire.

(Next meeting March 25th) Enquiries to 'Direct Action'

near Holborn Hall) Fridays at 7.30

LITERATURE private capitalism, also exists under the State variety, with inhuman and people will achieve is that done by Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx

5s 6d system into absolute slavery under a must, of necessity, be that of a third they are no longer Syndicalists, and | Social General Strike guarding production and superintend- based on a servile spirit towards nationally and internationally, it can Industrial Worker" and "Solidaridad Obrera" 3d a copy ALL PRICES POST-FREE FROM: the West, relatively more democratic, vote gives them no real influence in Syndicalist Workers Federation, Direct Action, 25a, Amberley Rd., London, W.9

ary 14, of our grand old comrade, cratic Federation in 1883.

Defended John Most

Ambrose Barker. He was 93, and His activity in the working class

Tories' work well."

AT AN R.A.F. camp at Moreton

notice was posted up stating that

died at his Walthamstow (London) movement was never relaxed.



SYNDICALIST WORKERS FEDERATION INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

C.I.O. LET DOWI take measures against it. BUSMEN

'Strike was crime' - President

Dictator Batista. port Workers' Union, affiliated with national Longshoremen's Association, an economic policy. the Congress of Industrial Organiza-tions (C.I.O.), lost a strike for a 40-hour work week with no pay reduc-hour work week with no pay reduc-

elevated and subway trains. The A survey revealed that all American from directors to shop managers to strike came after a rank and file revolutionary syndicalists-unlike revolt against trade union leaders, few armchair anarchists whose anarch- a dozen there, even when they can who had obtained a contract granting ism is of the phony type—completely ill be spared.

said it resulted from "mob rule" and

The New York City bus strike of 8,200 drivers who belong to Quill's union ended after four weeks. Members voted to arbitrate demands for a 40-hour week with the same pay as now received in a 44 to 48-hour

BOSSES BRIBE OFFICIAL

home of bronchitis contracted during schoolmaster, he was an able indoor lectors and school janitors—threaten— To attempt anything like a full "Freedom" (not connected with the Such schemes, when successful, will a regime which has made of Spain ing to sack the strikers. The men record of Ambrose Barker's work in present journal of that name) was re- always be used to start a new wave a country of illiterates and tuberhad demanded 25 cent hourly wage the revolutionary movement would started by the London Freedom of sackings and hold the threat of raises. The city is giving them a few need a great volume. A tiny indica- Group, he became its editor. strikers belong.

Joseph P. (King Joe) Ryan proved in May 'Direct Action.'

that again. Ryan is life-term presi-"to fight was prosecuted at the Old Bailey for But testimony before the New York execution of Alexander of Russia. A Golders Green on February 20, fol

needed strikes and to keep union suffered 16 months imprisonment, and panion of many years. Ryan, who admitted in Crime Com- the trial was proceeding. It ran to

mission testimony that 30 per cent seven or eight numbers and then sucof his union officials have criminal cumbed for want of funds. "expense account" for joy trips and potkin first came to England in 1885.

made a beginning. They forced their earlier, he had belonged to the Inter- make it easy for those who wanted the world. first branch election in 22 years and national Club, in Rose-street, Soho, to contribute to do so. On the apelected rank and file officials.

Philadelphia, 600 scalemen, sage from Chartist days. the International Longshoremen's William Morris, and worked with him fellows made use of it.

workless—and to cut wages CRIM SIGNS of spreading unemployment are showing even in the best employed areas. The motorcar trade, up to now the most busily employed in England, is beginning to suffer unemployment. In mining, where previously there was a keen shortage of labour, several coalfields have stopped recruit-In London, the Eldorado of the job seekers, to be out of work has long been the lot of thousands of clothing workers, and in most other trades temporary appearances at the Labour Exchanges are becoming longer and more frequent. the face of West Yorkshire and The Electrical Trades Union has banned overtime in such cases—an I wenty years in will deepen if the workers do not one Lancashire town the bus and

Employers plan to build reserve of

have an organisation to do so? Yes, at company meetings and in the 'One man, one job'

measure of it, is earnestly desired by stopped, they demanded—and won

Unemployment, at least a certain

New York Association won a five-day strike for they need no new one. Such plans movement resumed the old principle Meanwhile, however, two more REPORTS received here from 22 cent hourly straight wage in are not made at the F.B.I. or such of "one man, one job." In too many libertarian workers, Liberto Sarrau societies. Employers, through their cases a man leaves work to do his and a woman comrade Joaquina to grab control of unions in that A strike of 3,500 tugboat workers multiple directorships—a man may be "other job." This principle of dual Dorado, have been condemned by a country by working with followers of threatened to tie up this city, which director of scores of companies—and jobs is even applied by some em- court in Barcelona after spending depends on water-transported fuel through business contacts, have ployers, particularly in small busi- more than five years in jail awaiting On the U.S.A. labour scene, 9,500 and food. The strikers, who belong ready-made all the organisation nesses. Labour Exchanges are being trial. Philadelphia members of the Trans- to the Marine Division of the Inter- necessary to discuss and carry through used to recruit men who will do two Their sentences? Twenty years and

sent to a firm, a fairly large one, by Dorado. The extra day on Sarrau's tion. They now work 48 hours weekly. Camden, New Jersey. Longshoremen industry of such a policy being pushed from wanted a millwright an electric full time.

JCHN LOEB of workers are already taking action.

the workers can have no true intere

Walthamstow. During the two hours guard against any scabs who volun- outrages, all the ravages. of Labour (A.F.L.) "Our mutual friend G.C. (George that we were with him he brought to teer to do the extra work created by Union, to which the Cores, who died on September 20, life the story of his part in the work- the unnecessary "redundancy" of enough, as if he couldn't be con-1949, at the age of 82.—Eds.) has just ing-class struggles of more than 70 one of our fellow workers,

from 'Freedom' to which he replied thought of the Labour Government. who was sacked because his job was having reduced to misery all who "£1,000-a-year men - all of them," redundant-it was no longer needed. have not got rich on the proceeds he answered, "they're doing the But on the following day fitters were of smuggling and the black mar-Comrade Barker's main activity was actions such as these we can soften coming war.

of them suffering the hunger and want Fight to the death against him

their loss of earnings. It seems that of the date on which the trial of the Do employers plot for years they have been working 27 C.N.T. workers, waiting to appear before a military court in Barce.ona on charges of "crimes against the State," will be held. These comrades

propaganda

jobs-but for one man's pay. a day for Sarrau, who is seriously ill One of our members was recently with T.B., twelve years for Joaquina the Ministry of Labour to fill a sentence means that there can be no

cut down staff. Two or three here, be: "One man, one job." It was prisoners were concerned with an certainly the slogan of our member. arms cache, and the "crime" for

oing more work with fewer men. If ever know: THE ANTI-FASCIST

WOMEN: FRANCO MEANS WAR, SLAVERY AND MISERY You, women of Spain, suffer more than anyone the consequences of Franco's tyranny. You are the

like a 10 cent premium tion of his early activity is given by On his 90th birthday, I and another Let us, then, stand firm against all results of 13 years of dictatorship. five cents for night the following extract from a letter comrade spent the evening with him measures to swell the ranks of the during which you have seen and City officials withdrew he wrote to "Direct Action" in June, and his companion, Ella Twynam, at unemployed. Especially let us be on experienced all the crimes, all the

Red-baiting, like patriotism, is a sent me a letter enclosing the cutting years. We asked him what he A case in point is that of a welder workers to starvation wages, with

asked to do his work in their spare ket, we now see Franco making During the latter years of his life, time. They refused. By countless Spain a training ground for the Your sons will be the victims of blizzard strikes us, then let workers fathers. They will be sacrificed,



objecting please report to the pay the I.W.W. should affiliate to

MADRID newspapers, which rewhere comrades such as the brothers pointed day, a separate table was In New York, Boston, Baltimore Murray were able to pass on the mes- provided at the pay-out for any who flect the views of the Spanish dictatorand of "great importance."

International Working Men's Associa- tribution in schools of a brochure by the graft-ridden waterfront here to helped found the Labour Emancipa- The next day about three-quarters tion. It's the heartfelt hope of the Valen-Sendstad (Doctor of Philosophy grab publicity, rank and filers believe tion League, a militant organisation of the men clustered round the office. S.W.F. that the "Wobblies" will link and retired Captain) by the Noronly their own efforts will end the which developed a widespread indoor Taken aback by this, Officialdom up with the International, thus forg- wegian Defence Association, in an One local branch of the and outdoor propaganda for revolustated that they had never, of course, ing more strongly the links between effort to combat increasing resistance International Longshoremen's Union tionary socialism in London. Still meant to take any money, but just revolutionary unionists throughout among young people to military Winter, 1952.

SIX railway workers were arrested wished to give a shilling to the fund, ship, liked Eisenhower's electoral in Buenos Aires after a bomb explosamplers and weighers belonging to Comrade Barker was a friend of and we hear that hardly any of the address, referring to it as "lofty" sion at a railway station on the

EAST AFRICA: Exchange of corr pondence between the Secretary State for the Colonies & the Govern-Office, 1s. 3d.)

Colonial Secretary in November, freedom we also give away our right anything which would at the same the workers. To hand your strike violently opposed, 1951, which reviewed the economic to bread. These things are not alter- time help the economic problems of weapon to a shop steward makes one and social conditions of the native natives. We need freedom and Britain and Italy—and against the as much a slave as if the weapon suggesting solutions to the problems It should be obvious to the meanest

appointment of a Royal Commission. the theme of the despatch, was that that if we lose the right to strike, our nearly all the land now farmed by employer, state or private, could pay sion of tribal lands on this system be heaped upon us until we were less a strike of transport workers against was no solution; that the industrial than men, until we became but work the Act of Parliament to deworking class (in mining, processing, oxen, etc.) which had grown up over the past 50 years and was still growing. had insufficient wages to support their families (who still depende partly on their agricultural holdings AND AGRICULTURE thus raising productivity.

RULING-CLASS VIEW

tained in it naturally expresses governing-class viewpoint. It must taken for what it is worth—a com- in the sun.

tion of cattle actually aggravate the in particular, just strikes. economic conditions which the Governor finds unsatisfactory.

And the Governor makes a plea for the development of education for the Teachers' College shows that they will forbid the Africans educating them

It may be concluded that Govern ment publications of this kind, while not in the same category as its usual information, represent the view which most suits the economic interests European direction.

often have to deal with the meanest The Governor's view, which formed intelligence among the dilettantes.

First condition

But because the strike weapon use it with care and thought. We ing to the workers and the greatest that the mere threat of it would wring concessions; hitherto undreamed of,

of strike action, however, would waste our efforts, bring the technique into disrepute and cause our strike The right to call a strike support them, and then called for a We are to consider these forms of power to melt away like a snowman The right to call a strike support them, and then called for a We are to consider these forms of

It reveals much of the on party politics. Naturally, the taking part in it. But to be effective, with less response, has ended even sharp difference from that of our plight in which the Africans find chief offenders against this principle the strike must have the support of a quicker, and disillusioned, the men political opponents. have been the Communists. In 1928 Naturally, it ignores the fact that the Comintern decided we were living technological advance, when organised in the "third post-war period, the by Africans themselves, would also period of the rapid radicalisation of improve their lot, and that the policy the masses," and more strikes must of collective punishment and confisca- be called. Not strikes for anything

How NOT to strike

a world one-day strike for March 17

however, the C.P. has passed through victim.

BRITISH SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION seeks to establish a free society, which will render impossible the growth of a privileged class and the exploitation of man by man. The S.W.F. therefore advocates common ownership and workers' control of the land, industry and all means of production and distribution, on the basis of voluntary co-operation. In such a society, the wage system, finance and money shall be abolished and goods produced and distributed not for profit, but according to human needs.

CLASS STRUGGLE. The interests of the working class and the ruling class are directly opposed. The S.W.F. is based upon the inevitable day-to-day struggle of the workers against those who own tinue that struggle until common ownership and workers' control are

DIRECT ACTION. Victory in the fight against class domination can only be achieved by the direct action of the workers themselves. The S.W.F. rejects all parliamentary and similar activity as deflecting the workers from the class struggle into paths of class collaboration.

THE STATE. The State in all its forms is the enemy of the workers. and cannot exist within a classless society. The S.W.F. does not, therefore, hope to use the State to achieve the emancipation of the working class: it does not seek to obtain seats in the Cabinet or Parliaold. Any attempt, by an allegedly working class party, to create a new State, can only result in a new ruling class.

organise. They must replace the hundreds of craft and general trade unions by syndicalist industrial unions. As an immediate step to that end, the S.W.F. aids the formation of workers' committees in factories, mines, offices, shipyards, mills and other places of work, and the working class; this leads us to arise, new laws are decreed and the A meeting at Roosevelt College. their development into industrial unions, federated to an all-national the conclusion that the mere fact of worker is called on to make still Chicago, sponsored by various A.F.L. Federation of Labour.

INTERNATIONALISM. The S.W.F., as a section of the International Working Men's Association, stands firm for international working class solidarity.

To fight successful battles in industry we must have an effective

by Tom Brown

uggesting labour in Britain. In particular they shop stewards who claimed that the towards the problem. It will at once Polish workers anywhere.

Recently the C.P. tried to organise nationalise road transport. Such a strike would not have been successstrongly enough about it to suffer the long privation of bitter struggle with

have fallen the aftermath of repres- the last 17 or 18 years in Britain to six months. That, and only that! sion and victimisation. Which is just there have been hundreds of strikes— It may mean that, of course, but

Let us consider the conditions of decided by the will of the workers, being gained or decided.

returned unwilling to listen to future

A strike, to be justified, must have

Clumsy method

Syndicalists the persons to decide on we one with them, differing only Against Polish workers the Com- strike action are the workers con- from the Communists? No! Syndimunist strike call was particularly cerned, by ballot or in meeting calists for fifty years have disagreed vicious, because Poland had been a assembled. This is not only a good with the Social Democrats on the barrier to Russian expansion to the principle of itself, it is sound common- proper use of the strike weapon. tive and uneconomic techniques, and that would be very little. Without English Channel and so the Poles sense, for if a strike does not have although they have always supported that would be very little. Without the understanding and support of the workers, it will fail. They and by the right wing, for working class their families must suffer the priva- victory is more important than theory.

tion caused by loss of wages and, if But the Syndicalist holds that the right-wing trade unionist's way of striking is clumsy, ill-timed, hedged about with restrictions and likely to win the smallest rewards with the greatest amount of suffering.

To many, indeed most, a strike But on divided, defeated and dis- Thirdly, we must guard against means stopping work, leaving the illusioned transport workers would entering a strike frivolously. During factory and staying away for three I am thinking principally of engineer- there are other ways, too. Syndicalist Firstly, then, the strike, to be ing-which have been called by C.P. practice, not only in strongly Syndisuccessful, must be on an issue which shop stewards, who have allowed the calist countries like Spain and Sweden, concerns the working class, which stoppage to go on for a week or ten but also in England has developed they understand and on which they days, sometimes even less, brought strike techniques which have not lost feel strongly. Such issues are not, along a union official, often a Com- a worker one hour of wages, but of course, limited to wage questions. munist, who told them to go back which have yet been wonderfully to work for the union would not successful.

Secondly, the strike should be return to work without anything strike action in future articles in a sound indicator of the policy which successful direct action. Firstly, it Obviously, this means a majority of should be taken on an issue which is the workers, for no strike has ever repeated after a few months have method of striking, for even on this European settlers and British Capital the concern of the workers and not had the support of all the workers elapsed. The second strike has met issue our Syndicalist methods show a

YEARS OF DECEIT MISTAKES

which follows, the second state

Serious attitude

worse than the first.

surely have been more appropriate, and some comforts—largely the marching workers through fear Not one worker struck for even one product of industrial progress—the being pushed to one side. hour. Even the Communists went to worker today, despite his membership work as usual. TIES This is an example of how not to relation to his exploiters as a century The lack of independence by the state of defeat and confusion, con-

ence, and it could be said that the aims another way, that the fruits of of the proletariat." With one extent at the service, if not within political mission is achieved and, important question and it is idle to fundamental change. point out what anyone can understand from day-to-day experience.

NO REAL CHANGE

his hands and brain to another man tion is qualitatively the same as when But experience has shown that the the working day was longer and he only victim in this political struggle LARGE meetings of protest against had no "right" to unemployment is the worker. The capitalist system the tyranny of Franco's fascist dicthe result of a century of struggle by new forms, fresh political hierarchies throughout France and in America. belonging to an organisation does not bigger economic sacrifices and to and C.I.O. unions, the I.W.W. and effectively help to solve the many submit to the discipline of the execu- members of several socialist and aspects of the social problem. tive power which was to lead him liberal organisations, was the first

HUNDRED YEARS ago the adopted a different orientation. But dreamed-of social change: either the intered factories and tried to shut H emancipation of the working the union policy-makers have had working-class becomes the slave of a class seemed to depend on its own two tasks—one of advance, the other dictatorship, or—victim of its errors workers. German delegates to the recognition of the pressing need for of retreat. First, to propagate the —gives rise to a continuance of the Communist International afterwards organisation, as the best means of organisation of the exploited by old system, of which it has become gave tearful accounts of how the defence against the exploitation of the promising the gaining of social rights, succeeded in grouping themselves class; second, when the organisation's In Britain, the C.P. with bewildered together and in getting some improve- growth gives it the strength to demand faces called on the workers to strike. ments in conditions from their ex- the promised reforms from capitalism, "for it's March 17." April 1 would ploiters. But, apart from small gains to brake the impetus of the forward-

call for strike action. Since 1930, ago, and is always society's first unions from those political group- tinue being the victims of deceit, or ings placed between the capitalist and they must seek new methods, freeing P.G. several conservative phases and has We are not denying that the wage-slave has meant that their themselves from the political control of techniques has practical social mission has been very to which they are now submitted. The in general terms, all social classes the great aspiration of the party con- determining factor in finishing with have gained from these advances. If trolling the unions is the conquest an old system and stopping it imposwe compare the present means of of political power, the organisation ing its vile intentions communication and transport with which accepts this leadership is just those of a hundred years ago, for a docile force, without any character example, we shall find a vast differ- of its own to reach the proposed

worker uses the railway, the trans- On the one hand, the politicians atlantic liner and the plane—if he can confront capitalism with the pay the fares-or the telephone, tele- unions when it suits them and, on the graph or radio, in precisely the same other, use the unionists' vote to capway as do the economically privileged ture parliamentary control or to making no effort to find the members of society. Or, to put it establish the so-called "dictatorship technical progress are to a certain these two aims satisfied, the workers' the reach, of all. But that is not the exchange, they have obtained no militant had earlier denounced as

won political victories by means of the vote, the workers' organisationsthe basis of such victories—have been remain in prison. A lie, for the 11

Better results could have been to his "emanicipation."

The lessons that can be drawn from

aroused such great hopes among the workers—show the negative quality of lessons do not yet appear to be learnt by the workers, who are still under the control of their bankrupt leaders. The choice is clear. Either the

that has brought them to the present

Police shelter Tunis killer

FRENCH police in Tunisia are murderers of Ferhat Hached, Secretary of the Tunisian Trade Unions. It would be interesting to know what the two policemen, whom the Union being his sworn enemies, were doing We have seen how, once parties on the day of the crime. . . .

PERON has announced on the Argentine radio that no portworkers converted into economic baggage of docker comrades of the F.O.R.A. the new state. If the final aim of the whose imprisonment and torture we workers is to defeat capitalism by have already reported, have never the electoral machinery, then the been freed. But the campaign undertaken by the libertarian defence comthis object is achieved, because there mittee has already awakened a great workers, who are rapidly becoming disenchanted with the "Peron

such to be held by the Chicago Comobtained during this hundred years of And we all know the final result mittee to Defend the Labour Victims frustrated effort, had the trade unions of what was alleged to be the of Franco.

PAGES FROM LABOUR HISTORY

occurred at Hay's Wharf on the

like demented creatures for an engage-

ment of four hours or more, at four-

To their everlasting credit the

ightermen joined in the strike, and

backed up the so-called unskilled

formed a Dockers' Union, but it had

But the great resort to direct action

enthused everybody, and it spread all

over London and to the provinces.

Workers in hundreds of factories and

payment which they received for their

labours and for the improvement of

the intolerably bad conditions of their

labourers. The late Ben Tillett had

We are very sorry, but...

You can help by taking extra wildfire, and dock labourers joined

o subscribers and other readers for the non-appearance of "Direct Action" in January and February. The reasons for this, of course were economic.

March 1953

We hope that future issues of

We need more subscribers. You can help by persuading your work- 20 years. That was the great dock We need a bigger circulation. Thames riverside. This spread like

copies for distribution. in spontaneously all the way, in We need cash. You can help thousands. by occasionally foregoing a packet They had been shamefully treated. of fags or a pint, and sending us They used to wait for hours during the odd couple of bob for the the night for the chance to earn a Press Fund. few shillings to buy a few necessaries

The address is: "Direct Action," of life for themselves, their wives and 25a Amberley-road, London, W.9. | children. They fought each other

SPEAKS pence per hour. To their ever

BECAUSE the forerunner of the made small progress. Syndicalist Workers Federation was the Anarchist Federation, it is sometimes assumed that the S.W.F. is an Anarchist organisation. This is not so. The initiative in forming the S.W.F. was taken by Anarchists, who saw a need for a revolutionary labour movement, organised on the economic field, which would embrace all people who agreed that the solution to the a government to do something, but in the working men and women of the country turning to and doing MOST IMPORTANT something for themselves. In other MOVEMENT words, the establishment of Workers' Control of industry by a federation of democratically-controlled industrial well as Ben Tillett, made a public

NAMES UNIMPORTANT is seemingly unproductive effort by many obscure people, although hum-

Thus, membership of the S.W.F. is drum and undramatic, is the kind of open to all who agree with its aims thing which may bring about big and and principles, which are printed else- startling events in the course of years. where in this issue, whether they like No. "great leaders" or prophets to call themselves Anarchists, Liber- brought those things about. tarians, Socialists or Revolutionary main credit must go to the obscure Industrial Unionists. For those who "utopian" and Anarchist people, who don't get tongue-tied, there is the never ceased carrying on in good "Useful Work versus Useless Toil' by William Morris, published by, term Anarcho-Syndicalist, while some times or bad. are content to remain just Syndica- Naturally, all Anarchist workers

North Country people tend to put ported their fellows in this great the accent on the second syllable. while Southerners prefer the first.

Really it doesn't matter a bent social movement in Britain farthing what you call yourself, as modern times. Maybe more so than long as you're agreed that the work- even the General Strike of 1926. ing folk should get together and The dockers won their demand for organise themselves in such a way sixpence per hour, more regular that they can effectively fight not work, and formed the Union, which prosecution was rendered ridiculous the S.D.F., Charles Morton and W. only the necessary and inevitable day- now is known as the Transport and by over 30 comrades from Norwich, Pearson, compositors in the printing to-day struggle with the employers, General Workers' Union. but also prepare for the taking over Meanwhile, during these years, in court, charged with the offence of S.D.F. branches on Anarchist Comof industry in order to run it for attempts were made by the police, their own benefit, instead of for the both in London and in provincial there was none. profit of the set of lazy, overfed, towns, to break the constant prop- But previously, in 1885, Peter TROUBLED TIMES idle good-for-nothings who are our aganda by meetings at street-corners. Kropotkin came to London, and The Socialist League passed throug masters today.

WHAT WE CAN DO What, you may ask, is there that RED & BLACK NOTEBOOK we can do now that can help the

move towards Workers' Control? The S.W.F. says that we can be active in the Trade Union which covers our particular job. We can ally controlled, abolish block voting and the like, make official positions offices of delegates and not executives, and secure the right of recall of those delegates should they not ac according to instructions given. W can support moves towards industrial unionism and the abolition of craf divisions—as, for instance, by the Federated House Chapels found i the printing industry. And, above all, we should always bear in mind that it is the workers on the job who are the basis of the union, and that is they who should have the ultimat say on any question. Syndicalists be lieve in organising from the bottom upwards, instead of the top down-

Syndicalists.

and drives the bus, too.

SHOPKEEPERS, small businesses

KEEP POLITICS OUT

of political parties in the unions. Unions should be concerned solely with the welfare of the workers, and connected with their work be sent not with playing the game of politi- for us to do. to complain about a new chaser in Branch and the Trades Council are At our place of work we can be strong enough and willing to declare adaptability, but rail officials are

active in the Shop Stewards move- the Social General Strike, to lock t ment and in the setting up of Works out the employing class and make an office desk. As the paper work Committees and seeing that these are Workers' control a reality. fellow workers are on strike whether of the S.W.F., British section of the tion is just simple stupidity. of the country or in France or Spain ciation. If you sympathise with us, had just returned to England after NAME we do not place ourselves in the your place is in our ranks. And so, living abroad, answered an advertiseposition of blacklegs by allowing sup- Comrade, Fellow Worker or Brother, ment for locomotive fitters at Neasplies of material to be sent to their or whatever you like to call yourself, den (Middlesex) loco sheds. He had ADDRESS employers, or by letting anything why not drop us a line?

FARE STRIKE' WHEN New York busmen, recently ing to extend the shop assistants' famous locomotive firm and his inter n strike, debated direct action in hours by staying open later on one view was satisfactory until the superapport of their wage claim, many night a week, then increasing the intendent learned he was a member f them were in favour of a strike number of late shopping nights.

bstruction", where, in reality, munism.

Among the Londoners, Jimmy Allman, although he first wrote some articles some troubled times at the end of

did" the usual month in lieu of for Henry Seymour's "Anarchist," he the eighties. Although it was well-

BUSMEN SAY, 'LET'S HAVE

The period cartoon shown above appeared in the cover of the pamphlet

William Reeves in the 'Freedom' Library Series.

in Manchester. There, irony of With him were Count Ferdinand

ironies, his own father was a warder Tcherkesoff (a Georgian), Mrs. Dry-

At Great Yarmouth, where several Olivier (the last two Fabians).

men and women, appearing together trade, joined also, and lectured

Stockton also paid the same penalty 1886, the journal "Freedom."

ployers without hurting the public. say: "No matter how late you stay have to join the A.E.U." "But the Union leaders frowned on the pro- open, some people will leave their A.E.U. won't allow me to join until methods used by the Libertarian Reunning as usual, but to refuse to -and it's always the same people." I'm working at the trade," replied th ake fares—a method often advocated It may seem strange to some to simply walking out at the old knock- super. "I can't join until I work read of bus drivers taking fares, but ing-off time, leaving lights on, doors and I can't work until I join?" " America the driver takes money ssues tickets and transfers, "packs round the store. A method of direct action to be recommended.

way disaster at Blea Moor, York- applicant. cal nonsense. The fellow who wants The Works Committee, the Union on the railways is very low, but the the factory is not interested in a dis- all bodies which will play an import- control. Engineering cussion on the rebuilt Stalingrad. ant part when organised labour is calls for practical commonsense and

served an apprenticeship with a

Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx (a daughter of Karl Marx) tried to convert it into a rival to the S.D.F. on similar lines: much to William Morris's indignation. Joseph Lane organised a successful opposition to them, and published his Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto" as a counterblast. This pamphlet was far from being brilliantly written, and was so very dogmatic in tone that the Aveling section derisively styled him "Pope Joe Lane." But before very long dissension occurred between William Morris and some of the anarchistic section, and then Morris (who had ceased to finance the "Commonweal") resigned from the League.

'THE DIVIDING LINE'

David Nicol became the editor of the paper, and Charles Mowbray its publisher. An indication of the growing cleavage in opinion between the non-parliamentarians and the definitely anarchistic members was shown by a lecture given in the Socialist League Hall in Farringdonroad. William Blundell, a compositor who became the manager of the printing office when William Morris ceased to provide the money, lectured on the line "of demarcation." The "line" was illustrated by a

known that the League was founded

and carried on as a non-parliamentary

propagandist society, Dr. (of Science)

bound volume, resembling the London Postal Directory, which contained laws which still had force in Britain. Blundell contended that to make an abundance of additional Statute laws. versus the ideas which would lead in tions. In a way, it was quite prophetic to the present (1946-47) period.

George Cores

Her Majesty's true blue 'Anarchist'

WITHOUT surprise we read of the of us incurred imprisonment,, the couple of well-known members of Tory Government's bestowal of knighthood on one of the B.B.C.'s ame "Anarchists," Herbert Read, of Freedom Press. Soon Queen Elizabeth will swot him on the skull with a little tin sword and say, "Arise, Sir

DOPE PEDLAR Of course, the Conservative Gov-

rnment knows its own loval servants. pseudo - intellectual, pseudo - artistic dope. Only booksy dimwits, who aspire to be mistaken for intellectuals, are deceived by such stuff.

We remember the commentary Read wrote for a post-war "documentary" French film, praising General de Gaulle as the "leader not only of the Resistance, but of rench reconstruction."

DOUBLE THINKER And Read's public statement last

sistance fighters in Franco Spain. He In a few cases assistants have de- fitter. "And you won't work here is that combination so well loved by feated the employer's attempts by until you join the A.E.U.," said the the ruling class—a pacifist when it's a question of the working class using open and goods on view, with a suppose it's like that." And the fitter class which awarded him the D.S.O. finds itself in danger. On learning of this some months Speed the Syndicalist revolution,

later, an A.E.U. shop steward of a which will sweep away all knights nearby depot said that the union and barons and other relics of feud-It is necessary to fight the influence and big West End stores are still try- A RECENT inquiry into the rail- would have been happy to receive the alism, and the middle-class "intellectuals" who try to maintain them.

DIRECT ACTION

Monthly Organ of the Syndicalist Workers Federation

Subscription rate: 4s. 6d. for 12 issues.

increases the maintenance decreases. Please fill up the form below and return it with P.O. for 4/6 run correctly, so that when our This is a brief outline of the policy Much of the bureaucratic obstructo "Direct Action" 25a, Amberley Road, London, W.9. All across the road or at the other end International Working Men's Asso- A reader of "Direct Action," who P.O.'s and cheques should be made payable to J. Scott