### Delegates meet for Fourth Congress of the SWF

new and critical phase—a phase of lives. direct and open struggle by the their 'right' to dominate and exploit war and militarism. The first objec- sections of the International Working the coloured races with their tradi- tive in this fight should be the aboli- Men's Association, and through them

# can win

in the £) put forward by the Con-AMERICAN LABOUR NEWS extraordinary about that. But the game of the C.S.E. unions has a cer-

repairing industry received an "in- missing when Mike Brogan's body body. crease" of 7s. 4d. a week, instead of was found in the Hudson River off
Lewis fell to the hall floor, dead. The racketeers shook down the cards, which are being sold to raise the £1 called for. Yet the highly- New York docks. Thus, fingerprint and his wife ran from the door of tracks for huge sums to prevent funds in aid of S.I.A.s co-operative salaried union leaders were satisfied, identification was impossible, but their apartment to his corpse. Before needed strikes. The racketeering invalid colony at Aymaré in the South so were the bosses. The latter have tattoo marks identified Brogan as a she started screaming, the man who trade union bosses also extorted of France. The cards—real photoprofits, while the workers' standard He supported the new American of living has been falling steadily. Federation of Labour docker trade

Since the workers themselves do union against the gangster-ridden Lewis was 35. He had been presi- Louis Waldman. slave leaders of the national labour ciation—ousted by the A.F.L.

They dare to say this, even in the statement was "rot."

a swindle, so is the so-called living and thus scare other dockland leaders an escapee from Sing Sing. wage. What is meant is weekly earn- so they won't leave the gangster-ridden ings, including overtime.

The fact is that, instead of the dock union. official 44 hours, up to 64 and more hours weekly are worked, while hundreds of thousands of misorganised workers are kept at starvation level.

There is plenty of empty talk, but with gangsters, of course. very little enlightenment among the workers. Their ideological state painters, following other sections the ship-repairing industry, have i cently introduced piece-work as well as the speed up, "pay by results with T.U. backing, of course. Hence and filers oppose the law, too, of

the 39 trade unions involved in th Protests are mounting against a new claim is so much stage thunder. No doubt there are many thousar ruling that no union can receive of workers, among the 3,000,000 certification as a collective bargaining volved, who are ready to go furthe than the recent 24-hour strike, tho conscious that action now, by a sma never held Communist membership. minority, cannot pierce the prevailing Thus, indictment alone—not con-

ideological fog instantaneously. viction—can sabotage a union. Thomas E. Lewis was in the hallenlightenment, by workers at the way of his apartment house fifth floor workplaces, stressing that the standa in the Bronx. He was walking toof living, or wages, can be raised on ward the door of his apartment. by the independent action of th workers themselves.

senting London and the North of populations, the S.W.F. affirms its interests thereby suffer a defeat. England took part in the delibera- solidarity with the oppressed colonial resolves to assist their totalitarian communism and the for bases, has given the lie to those Martinez, Juana Iglesias Orellana.

Anarchist Group. The Secretariat of the International Working Men's Association was represented indirectly by a comrade of the S.W.F.

Messages of greeting were received Messages of greeting terested solely in maintaining the one set of masters for another. Only privileges of the white settlers and the colonial peoples themselves can socialists, anarchists and syndicalists. were passed against 27 anti-fascists. testations of concern for the welfare the way of Soviet Russia. If they fascism at work:of the colonial peoples, is there any could also avoid going the way real difference in the attitudes of the India. of so-called representative tions—for the present government's instead of reliance on leaders, and repressive actions in their ruthless keep the initiative among the people Cadomeque. Antonio Arpal Jarion, crime? Clandestine activity. treatment of the Kikuyu, in suspend- themselves.

> "It is not even too much to say struggling colonial workers, and the Longas Casanovas, Eduardo Munoz drew from the case. these sorely oppressed peoples. Nor their cause. According to the measure Pardillo. Mateu Andreu Gassellas. is there likely to be until the working of our success in sowing libertarian Antonio Diaz Casanovas. Raimundo classes of the imperial powers accept ideas today, they will in time bear Lagunas Sena, Jose Herrero Andreu, the responsibility as theirs. Every- fruit in real freedom for the oppressed Germen Peralta, Francisco Hernanwhere the bogy of Russian imperia- colonial peoples." lism, masquerading as Communism, is used to deprive the colonial peoples of the sympathy and support which they Congress appointed a sub-con men who talk of justice. The workers industry in the British colonies

Workers' action that the State is able both to hold the who are continuing to carry the canst military tribunal in Madrid:— the organised working-class move-the organised working-class movetunity should be lost to bring it home and the total state."

Hand-in-glove

ecision, which refused to annul part

The new A.F.L. union also opposes

ne "regimentation" law, like the old

dock union, for its own reasons. Rank

a killer, who had waited for Lewis

of the new waterfront "anti-crime"

law making dockers register.

Capitalist police here often work home.

Fraternal delegates were present on behalf of the exiled Spanish C.N.T., the London Freie Arbeiter Stimme Group, and the North-East London

WHITE PRIVILEGE

To any the desperate search for allies, the Syndicalist Workers' Federation re
White Combating its insidious in its power.

White Combating its insidious in its power.

Who thought his close contact with Yankee "democracy" would bring a blood-thirsty Colonel Eymar. The their desperate search for allies, the Syndicalist Workers' Federation re
White Privilege in the result of the accused in the combating its insidious in its power.

White Privilege in the result of the accused in the combating its insidious in its power.

White Privilege in the result of the accused in the combating its insidious in its power.

White Privilege in the result of the accused in the combating its insidious in its power.

White Privilege in the result of the accuse of the accused in the combating its insidious in Nor, despite their pro- ensure that their countries do not go Here are some examples of Franco at a military tribunal held in Valencia

brought to realise the true nature of operate these can be exposed. the colonial peoples' struggle and its The Aims and Principles essential identity with their own S.W.F., printed elsewhere in this issue struggle for higher wages, better living were ratified without alteration.

other sections of our Integrational was passed unanimously:-"This Fourth National Congress of just and monstrous sentences. Before showed his further approval of "This emphasises the necessity for the Syndicalist Workers' Federation that, however, they will have to pass Franco ("that gallant Christian an intensification of the fight against sends its greetings of solidarity to all many months in prison.

had ambushed Lewis ran down the money directly from rank-and-filers. graphs, specially produced for S.I.A. apartment house stairs to the outside. You Englishmen could get lessons and bearing their imprint, are in sets on your famed understatement from of eight depicting various views of the

can stand either an increase of its costs "rot" may have removed Brogan's bers include porters, lift operators, mented on the Lewis murder and Committee, S.W.F., 25a, Amberley fingers, many dockers said this police cleaning women, and other mainten- racketeering in Lewis's union: This Road, London, W.9, who will forward ance workers in the Bronx and in helped "reveal the absence of stan- the money to S.I.A. knowledge that the meagre wage The police said examination showed wealthy Westchester County nearby. dards of conduct " of T.U. leaders. "increase" in question would add less Brogan died of drowning and was The killer was a professional gun- Meanwhile, several New York than 3 per cent to the industry's total drunk when he died-but many man. Police identified him as Edward political figures got into trouble when dockers here think gangsters killed (Snakes) Ryan, who had gained fame the public learned they had mysterious The talk about the average wage is Brogan to make an example of him as a Prohibition era gunman and as dealings with a man in prison: Joseph F. Fay, American Federatio

In a nearby street, Ryan was shot of Labour construction union leader, docker union and join the new A.F.L. dead by Police Patrolman Vincent convicted of extortion. Langan, on whom he opened fire In South Norwalk, Connecticut, the after being called on to stop. Ryan A.F.L. United Hatters, Cap and dropped a few feet from a funeral Millinery Workers began a drive to Readers interested in activity in sell \$500,000 worth of bonds. finance a strike against the Hat Cor-The murder of Lewis resulted in an poration of America in that city. union planned to appeal to the investigation, which revealed wide- Union members will buy the bonds

Supreme Court against a lower court spread racketeering at New York race —which pay 3 per cent interest.

LITERATURE Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx by K.J. Kenafick National Labour Relations Board Bulgaria — A New Spain (C.A.B.A.) agency, if any of its officers are under Social General Strike

3d a copy ALL PRICES POST-FREE FROM: When he was 20 feet from the door, Direct Action,' 25a, Amberley Rd., London, W.9.

### VATICAN & U.S. GOVT. AID MURDERES

MORE TRIALS IN FRANCO SPAIN

cently been underwritten by American Saher, Augustin Barrera Corona, capitalism, from which he is receiving Esteve, Ignacio Serra Via, Benita

BARCELONA.—In July last ollowing militants of the under- charge of belonging to the underdantly clear by the British Labour more to achieve freedom in a genera- ground National Confederation of ground resistance movement. Party's continuation of the Tories' tion than most people's have done in Labour (C.N.T.) were arrested for the plonial policy during their recent a thousand years. The surest way to "terrible crime" of clandestine orof office, and is being em- gain that enviable prize is for the ganisation and propaganda:-

support—despite purely token objec- direct action, which teach self-reliance Azmares Garde, Edgar Emilio Rodri- Sarrau, which was imposed by a mili-Dionisio Romero, Fernando Gallego ing the British Guiana constitution, "Today we have a rare opportunity Rodriguez, Jose Herbera Tosan, against the proceedings taken against for introducing libertarian ideas to the Fructuoso Grimaldo Moreno, Jesus him and the monstrous sentence, with-

Fructuoso Grimaldo, Jesus Longas during many years of preventive and Francisco Hernandez Diaz have detention. This sentence condemns been savagely tortured. As a result of Sarrau to a slow but certain death.

the United States. And the Pope gentleman") by awarding to him, on December 21, the highest decoration

tion of conscription, for it is mainly to the revolutionary syndicalists of MADRID.—After undergoing bar- layman. through the possession of this power the world, and particularly to those baric treatment, the following syndithat the State is able both to hold the who are continuing to carry the calist militants are to appear before a anti-fascists of Spain must come from

break strikes at home. But the vast in countries such as Spain, Portugal, Cipriano Damiano Gonzales, Emilio ment. A broad and international cammajority of conscripted soldiers are Argentina and Bulgaria, where the Quinones Ocampo, Celedonio Perez paign of repudiation, of opposition themselves members of the working movement is forced to struggle against Bernando, Jose Torremocha Arias, and of protest against the Francoclass, and for this reason no oppor- the brutal forces of police repression Enrique Sanz Rodriguez, Manuel Falangist regime must be developed, Munoz Martinez, Pedro Torremocha if the executioner is not to claim new

BARCELONA.—Sentence of 20

are shot and imprisoned in Spanish

jails, Franco is given the moral sup-

the Catholic Church can give to a

A year ago, workers in the ship- NEW YORK.—All his fingers were a heavy calibre automatic into Lewis's tracks by members and officials of FASCIST SOLIDARITY (S.I.A.) we not move, the bosses are telling the International Longshoremen's Asso- dent of a local unit of the American He just resigned as lawyer for the of "Direct Action" at 4s. a set or Federation of Labour's Building Ser- racket-ridden International Long- 6d. each card (post 1½d. please). front that: "the engineering industry Though police said water rats or vice Employees Union, whose mem- shoremen's Association, and he com- Orders should be sent to Publications

### Notices

on SYNDICALIST WORKERS FEDERATION:

MANCHESTER

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

### LONDON GROUP For details of memberrhip,

neetings, etc, write to;-Secretary, London Croup at the SWF CENTRE 25a, Amberley Road Paddington, London, W.9.

### WILLIAM THOMPSON 3d Socialist—feminist—co-operator

A book every rebel should read ( Watts & Co: 158 )

If you cannot buy it, ask for it at your local library

# ENGINEERSON MARGH

rbitration proceedings are taking

their course, no wage increases are

paid, but profits continue to roll in

On December 2, the engineerin

workers made quite clear what they

jection of their claim for a 15 per

1. The rising cost of living;

Increased productivity in indus

But engineering workers do not

# Direct WAGES is again the vital question facing workers. Already something like five million workers have had their wage claims totally rejected. Some of these claims will, no doubt, be subject to arbitration, because this procedure is provided for in some collective agreements. With the cost of

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

### TWO VICTIMS O STALINISM

### Prison sentences—and death for Bulgarian Syndicalists

in Exile, gives latest news of the Council of the General Workers Stalinist repression against syndica- Trade Union (only Bulgarian union

sentences against ou will be a matter of course.

All interned comrades have been Certain other speakers, however formally condemned, by administra- attacked government policy quite tive channels, to long years of violently. deportation. Many die in the camps. Among those who have perished recently are Cyril Gueorgueiv Yanev, These criticisms caused surpri compositor, and Cyril Karanov, and it is being asked whether the journalist of the Anarchist Com- were sincere or just a new comedy munist Federation.

contracted as a result of the tortures port about it has appeared in the National Income and Expenditure with his bren gun and, according crimes against Europeans would he underwent in the cells of the daily Press. National Police Headquarters, after The general situation for the populing, shipbuilding and electrical goods being arrested following his publica- lation as a whole is steadily worsen- increased, between 1947 and 1951, tion of a semi-official statement by ing. Apart from the minority in from £152 million to £305 million the Minister of Commerce concerning power, they are condemned

partly responsible for the freeing of charged in the State shops. some internees.

Their 'mistake'

AFTER being on strike just two

hours, the workers in an East London

factory won a decisive victory, having

and the union organisation (Union of

all their demands met.

ence a year ago.

(I.W.M.A.) The following report, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and the

by the General Secretary of this T.U were listed to take part in the debate, and each was given ten minutes. The first twenty-four, all Stalinis

### Nothing in Press

aimed at throwing dust in our eyes. high and ever-increasing profits. Karanov died from a heart ailment, It is significant, however, that no re- Figures given in the Blue Book of terrorists" (both of whom died) that Africans convicted of similar

rationing, the facts of which have hunger, because of the low prices weekly PROFIT since been confirmed. Passive resistance is growing and is produce and the very high prices It has been estimated that every The progress of the claim was overtime.

government now speaks of improving the employers. This is a modest esti- centres. On September 8, at the com- the situation. But one must never mate, since output per person is up Some 12,000 men marched in Man- with separately—and had not then memoration of the Liberation of forget that, with the Stalinists, when by over 50 per cent since 1946, and chester, 20,000 in London. In Belfast, been rejected—gave good support by Bulgaria, the President of the Coun- they talk of doing one thing, they are none of the proceeds from this in- some 40,000 downed tools and turning out in their thousands. cil, leader of the Bulgarian Com- usually preparing the exact opposite. crease has gone to wages, as is proved marched; in Sheffield 20,000 stopped As an expression of solidarity and munist Party, made a long speech in Figures taken from the speech of by the wage bill figures. Profits in the and, on the Clyde on October 21, determination to win this claim, the which he recognised many of the the C.P. leader are enough to show industry naturally had to rise con- nearly 250,000 workers took part in day was a great success. We can only so-called mistakes committed by the the big setback in the agrarian policy: siderably. government, and stressed the mea- through the policy of State collec- The employers, when dealing with marched to Glasgow Green. sures the government intended to tivisation, the total number of live- the claim, had the effrontery to allege In London, a mass demonstration will not be thwarted by the bungling take to improve the lot of the stock in the country has been that wages had kept pace with the took place in Trafalgar Square on and compromise of Stalinists and peasants, the material and cultural decreased by 500,000 head of beef cost of living, that profits were fall- Sunday, October 18, when a resolu- Trade Union officials. conditions of the workers, and to cattle, 600,000 pigs and 1,700,000 ing, that any increased productivity tion calling for a ban on overtime,

DIRECT ACTION WINS

October 9. Then the boss chose to

TWO-HOUR STRIKE IN EAST LONDON WAREHOUSE

very active since it came into exist- crease—though from October 30, not term victory used."

impression that the workers held their the union officials and some of the ing on strike for two hours.

union bases the rates of pay of strike action came over one by one, Now available, price 6d,

When the union was first formed in strike. The only people who continued The Central Board for (

were dissatisfied, and they made i

Wages in the tea and coffee trade decided by 32 to ten votes to strike.

Their position in 1953

who was in the union supporting the

The two-hour strike, which was un- This satisfied everyone concerned

official, was at R. Twining's, tea and until the recent wage increase was

coffee merchants, who employ about granted in September, payable from

union cards in order to get an extra workers concerned, and they were

six shillings on which to live when out willing to accept it. But the majority

The test of strength came when the known that they were prepared to

management refused to pay an in- strike for the wage increase, back pay,

crease in wages, recently granted by and for a written agreement between

are not governed by the J.I.C., but the Fortunately, the ten who voted against

workers in the above trade on J.I.C. so we had every worker in the factory

the Joint Industrial Council for the the union and the management.

settled on a "gentleman's agreement." office girls.

Twining's is an old-established firm, break his "gentleman's agreement."

### freeze policy of employers and government. ertainly profitable for employers to nake use of the delay created by the libration machinery. While the

-or One Law for the Whites...

30.9.53: Sergeant Jack Lionel they were walking away after hav-Ruben of the Kenya Regiment and tubercular hunchback, had "failed to give information."

Results of other wage claims may hang

on their success

living continually rising, the justification for these claims cannot be denied, and it will be interesting to

see whether awards are determined by the merits of the demands or by the influence of the wage-

12.11.53: Brian Walter Hayward. 19. leader of a Kenya screening pects among Kikuyu in Tangantied with leather thongs around on January 11. To make a suspect their necks and that some had had talk it is alleged one officer

27.11.53: Captain Gerald Selby badly burnt on the stomach. need to study government statistics to know that the real wage of the Lewis Griffiths, of the Durham These are just some of the majority of men in their industry has Light Infantry, acquitted by a cases of ill-treatment of Africans

fallen in recent years, despite the general court-martial of the mur- that have come to light. Who can enormous increase in output and the der of a Kikuku forestry worker. say how many others will never He had shot down two "suspected be known? And who can doubt show that gross profits in engineer- to a C.S.M. who was with him, have been hanged.

See article on Page Three.

worker in the engineering industry, marked by the biggest demonstrations When the Confederation called for

This lukewarm policy of embargo

but had been brought about by new overtime, and at this time only onethird of engineering workers are on

rewards of 5s. a head for terrorists

they must get a half-century of

21.12.53: Frantz Pauli Hvass, a

Kenya police reserve, fined £50 for

assaulting five Kikuvu, who were

lashed with rhinoceros-hide whips

extract confessions. Two other

police reserve officers. Michael

John Sawver and Dennis Louis

Charles Pharazyn, are also charged

with assault, and an enquiry opens

head in the smoke of a fire. His

clothes caught alight, and he was

by Askaris under his command t

kills before going to Malaya.

After ruining the peasantry by its man, woman and boy, produced a for years, and by important stoppages a one-day stoppage, however, the policy of enforced collectivisation, the profit of from £4 to £5 a week for of work in the main engineering men lovally responded, and the

This action has stunned the bosses. can hold out indefinitely without They haven't known anything like it before, and they have asked the union

throughout the engineering industry

renew diplomatic relations with sheep. Comment is unnecessary. was not the workers' responsibility, should the employers persist in their government, now hardly try to disguise the fact that they mean to reduce the workers' standard of living. on overtime and one-day token strikes And, in 1953, they have already springs from the Stalinists. It is fast succeeded in doing so. If the enlosing support among workers gineers fail in this struggle, the throughout the country, as they know workers in other industries will have from the experience of the last en- little chance with their own wage

### LOCKED OUT - AND THEN DESERTED BY A.E.U.

WORKERS at the Wembley, Middlesex, factory of Messrs. However, after some discussion, the The last comment from the man- Bone Bros. Ltd., locked out by the firm, have been forced to Workers) in the factory has not been union was able to secure the wage inowing action in support of the wage claim, the AEU refused to recognise it officially. Is it a mere coincidence that a director of The management may have got the This arrangement seemed to satisfy workers of Twining's achieved by go- the firm is Tom O'Brien, TUC delegate to the last Labour Party Conference? Here is the lock-out committee's statement, issued before the sell-out:-In common with thousands of other we reported on Monday, November

Trade Unionists, the A.E.U. members 9, the management would restart employed at Messrs. Bone Bros. Ltd. THOSE THAT THEY WANTED. informed the management of our in- MITTEE MEN. ention, and received this reply:-"There will be NO VICTIMISA- else is it?

ONE BACK-ALL BACK.

demonstrated for the 15 per cent Upon reporting on Monday, all Wage Increase on Thursday, Novem- were offered employment except OUR At a meeting in the factory it was Conscientious Objectors: ber 5. On the day prior to this, we SHOP STEWARD and TWO COM-If this is not victimisation—what

We now stand on the principle

W.C.I to get INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS as well as you and your immediate with the members we were told that if relations.

### Read the full report of the debate in the Commons

organiser such things as: "Is there,

firm?" and if he will assure them that

But whether the term "victory" is

Obviously, he said he could assure

them of no such thing.

## THE CRISIS OF EXPORTS

IN ORDER to understand the crisis of productivity and exports, we must briefly review the happenings of the last 170 years or so—that is to say, or the Rise of Capitalism.

country from many parts of the world as China. the ruling classes, in order to main- State, so much by rules making it the appropriate body of workers to and made into manufactured con- The colonial countries themselves tain their privileged position. This necessary to secure the sanction of act effectively on whatever issue faces

which had sold the raw materials that

Returning to our corner of the In general, now, the State is itself direct defiance of orders from union basis, to fight the very necessary money was usually available to pay for imported consumer goods. Agricultural and mining products from the cultural and mining products from the clearly. Britain has lost export maroppose the seizure of industry by the clearly. Britain has lost export maroppose the seizure of industry by the consumer solutions. colonies and from European countries kets and is rapidly losing more of workers, and it must therefore b were taken to the British mills and them. We are told that if we do not fought and abolished. factories: manufactured goods of all maintain, and indeed extend, these kinds were exported to all these places. Britain, in the familiar phrase, longer be able to pay their way, and became the workshop of the world.

### Lost monopoly

light of latest technical knowledge, wages, produced goods just as cheaply, or more cheaply, than British exporters. As a result, fierce competition began for export markets, and for the con-

trialised, and had the added econon of the raw materials which their European competitors had to import main consumer goods to supply their from halfway round the world.

### Nature of crisis

This intense economic rivalry pro-But this process of the de-centrali

### Syndicalists plan future policy in Italy

0 8

LO

- 4

(I.W.M.A.) The Italian Syndicali Union (U.S.I.) held its Secon National Congress at Leghorn October 3-4. Thirty delegations repre sented the different industrial centre of Italy, where U.S.I. is carrying o an intensive recruiting campaign.

such a policy to be fruitless.

For the first time, delegates from and everywhere. agricultural regions took part in the The existing economic system Congress. They affirmed that Italy's therefore, in a state of permanent or main industrial problem lies in the recurring crisis: only rearmament and or support, found its workers emigra- feature of "peacetime" life, and the ting to the towns in search of non-indications are that this unemplo

### ORGANISING SOUTH

It was resolved to send capable comrades into the agricultural regions of Southern Italy, to carry out propaganda and organise syndicates. Congress dealt with the means o ensuring the regular appearance of goods produced to satisfy a social believe the members of the Spanish U.S.I's. organ, "Guerra di Classe" need-all types of economic competi- movement and developments in Spain ("Class War").

It studied the problem of the Syn- replaced by co-operation. dical Defence minority, large composed of Anarchists, which existed means of production, distribution and Learn from mistakes within the Italian Confederation o Labour, and whose members sought ally owned—in fact, the idea of

a meeting with U.S.I. delegates. It was agreed to give every possible appear. support to the C.N.T. of Spain, by How could production and distribu organising an intensive campaign of tion, the essential things in economic

protest against the Franco régime. Delegates ratified the principles and ditions? By the workers in each pro aims of the I.W.M.A., declaring that ductive or distributive industr there was no need to revise a position Direct workers' control of these prowhich had proved itself by practice. | cesses would ensure the efficiency and It was decided to set up Centres of freedom which State Socialism cannot Syndicalist Agitation for agriculture, give, and allow the initiative for immining, engineering, etc. These should proving processes and products which work in collaboration with U.S.I's. "private enterprise" will only permit will to strengthen and improve the

### PRODUCTIVITY - what it MEANS to US

the social and economic development turn of the century, British machinery In order to build such a free they are certainly better than no they use, need a single industrial known as the Industrial Revolution and capital in other forms had been society, in which there is economic organisation at all. exported to, for example, India, where freedom, the workers will need to To secure gains in industrial strug- tively as a body on matters concern-When the system of factory manu- a flourishing textile industry grew up, seize control of industry from its gle, organised workers must be able ing their industry. facture came into being (as a result using locally-grown fibres and selling private or state owners. to act directly and to act quickly. Regional, countrywide and worldof technical progress) first in Britain, both to the Indian market and to The State is the organisation which Trade unionism is bound up so much wide federations of separate indusraw materials were brought to this comparatively nearby countries such has been built up over generations by by agreements with employers and tries, and of all workers, to enable

sumer goods, which were then ex- are fast becoming industrialised, and has been, and still is, the primary executive committees before strike them—that is the organisational basis ported to wherever markets could be many are exporting consumer goods. function of the State, and the intro- action can be taken, that most of the of industrial unionism. found, as well as being sold here. Japan has become one of the major duction of the façade of "democracy" big struggles of recent years have had When workers have organised Naturally, it was in the countries industrial countries of the world. has not altered this.

markets, mills and factories will no we shall be faced with mass unem-state organisation after workers' con-but these things are largely a relic of

dustries. First enough to satisfy their tell us that the problem is one of home needs, and then, inevitably, the competing on the export market with often with factories newly built in the work longer hours than we for lower

### The real problem

hope is to produce more per man vance our present conditions of work ployer, the State, to contend with. Syndicalism, which seeks the conhour, so that British goods become and our standard of living. Organisa-cheaper and the markets recaptured. tion on the job is our way to achieve

One job - one union solved, for all of the colonial and minister production when the capita- try. Workers in the same factory over issues of party politics. backward" countries are develop- list class has been thrown out. ing industries, and even if each of them produces only enough of the anywhere else.

crisis of Capitalism. It cannot be solved by higher productivity.

All this is in addition to the fact that, if we do forfeit the gains of generations of struggle in the interest of higher productivity and the expodrive, this will only lead the indu trial bosses in rival exporting con ries, for example Japan, to attack tandard of living of their workers. rder to cheapen their own export

### Vicious circle

This, in turn, will be the signal for the organised workers in Japan holm. About 19,000 members were with this question. As previously, the and similar countries to fight a sucactivity would be more effective if capitalism, but it is obviously better mark (F.S.D.), and Norway (N.S.F.). discussed for a long time in the S.A.C. dictators. they worked within other union than worsening our conditions AND A letter from the Syndicalist Workers' is the unemployment fund. By general organisations; now many had realised precipitating a vicious spiral of con- Federation was read and received referendum, the members voted in Work together

as the crisis is sharpened by the con- sure—that the time will come when, to it because the State is involved I.W.M.A.

What, then, can we suggest? tion would disappear, and could be itself will solve the problem of unity

To put this into operation, th transport would need to be commu ownership or property would dis-

life, be administered under these con national secretariat, and would be a when it suits the needs of profit- movement in the fight for freedom means of decentralising its work. I making.

### Organisation needed

ployment on a scale never previously trol has been established would be to the days when unionism was more. The controlling force in syndicalist The State is an organisation which the unions.

capacity to produce for export. These goods produced by "coolie" labour, feudalism, capitalism, similar systems nationalisation has led to a recent ject to immediate recall. was designed to suit the needs of However, the experience of whose behalf they act, and thus subbased on exploitation. A free society revival of interest in these questions, If a syndicalist organisation has must find its own forms of organisa- because it has not given workers any full-time officers, these must be paid

### Revival of interest

no room for imports of these goods organisation. How does it come up belong to the same union. from outside—from Britain, Japan, or to our needs? Examining it from the Union amalgamations, shop, fac- It is this class organisation which

to cut the cost of their exports and attack our standard of living again. We in the S.A.C., Swedish brother These members have founded an revolution which, in one moment, maintain and improve our living stan- congress in September. It was held tions. You must remember, too, that spirit, but we are also realists. dards, it will at least make it easier in our own headquarters in Stock- the S.A.C. itself has nothing to do raising the price of Japanese exports. Spain (C.N.T.), France (C.N.T.), Ger- the S.A.C.s natural territory. This does not solve the crisis of many (F.F.S.), Holland (N.S.V.), Den- Another question which has been majority wants to rule and play at stantly deteriorating conditions, here with applause.

### Our answer

production were carried on for use comrades, I had the impression that live. instead of for profit—that is to say, the question is not an easy one, but I

in this country have much room for affairs right, but there is still much

to take place unofficially, often in themselves on this commonsense

workers' control of industry, some appropriating the essentials of existunions do mention in the rule book ence and continuing production under 'the extension of co-operative pro- workers' control, on the principle of duction and distribution" and "a free distribution, then there is revoluin management" and others even dicalism. To form a new government or have the words "workers' control,"

often have no contact through union The workers have a common in-

standpoint of fighting effectively for tory and shop stewards' committees syndicalism seeks to promote. improvement, though in most cases need for rationalisation. Workers on

the same job should belong to the same union.

Workers in the same industry, irrespective of their trade or the tools federation if they are to act effec-

everyday struggle, and have the con-Regarding the establishment of scious aim to end capitalism by

recreate a new privileged class, which militant and syndicalist in outlook, organisation is the will of its mem-And how should we deal with this would inevitably seek to extend its and do not now seem to receive much bers, not authority from above. were not far behind in developing in- situation? The blunter economists power and end workers' control. attention from the executive bodies of Delegates, where used, must be per-

more control over their lives and no more than a working-class wage, The time to start organising is now. livelihood as some had hoped and, in otherwise it would become corrupted We need organisation in order to some cases, has meant only that they by the careerism which is now so rife Faced with this, they say, our only fight effectively to defend and ad- have an even more powerful em- in the T.U. movement's officialdom.

struction of a free society by the direct action of the organised BUT, even if we did, for example, these ends; indeed, almost our only Another pointed criticism of much workers, must oppose the political cheapen exports by higher produc- way. Organisation in industry also existing trade union organisation is control which is so often exerted over tivity, longer working hours or lower provides just what is needed to estab- that so much organisation is still on the workers' organisations and resist real wages, the crisis would not be lish workers' control and to ad- the basis of craft, rather than indus- the splitting up of workers on the job

channels at local level, just because, terest as a class, and no political for example, some are labourers and party can represent this: only the We mostly have Trade Union others tradesmen, and they cannot workers themselves, organised as a class, can act on their own behalf.

UNION JACK.

(From "The Libertarian")

### Britain, but of Japan, America and C.J. BJORKLUND REPORTS ON

## SWEDISH CONGRESS

spoke at a meeting organised by our have used elections against the bol-ship and economic oppression.

The SAC has always been London Group, while in England last

I.W.M.A. represented The I.W.M.A. was represented by tinual dwindling away of export as previously, there will be a united and controls the money. Most memWe must, comrades, have goodwill in the right way.

I hope, too, that our dear comrades from Spain, France and other counlearn from these mistakes. In the d Swedish Syndicalist movement there are different opinions on many questions, and there is nothing wrong with ADDRESS h that, if all comrades have the good-

The following report on the 14th We have some members who be- In the S.A.C. we have always had Congress of the Swedish section of lieve they can use municipal elections a minimum and maximum prothe International Working Men's to the profit of the S.A.C. and syndigramme. We have fought for recalism. It is a question of free halls, forms, higher wages, shorter working Association was sent to "Direct sickness insurance, help for old hours, factory safety and such things. Action" by an old militant of the people, municipal baths and such But we have also fought for a society Swedish Workers' Central Organisa- matters. We have this phenomenon without rulers and slaves; a cotion (S.A.C.), C. J. Björklund, who in small places, and S.A.C. members operative society, free from dictator-

This then becomes a vicious spiral. organisation to the Syndicalist association for this purpose, but they would create new people. We are If, on the other hand, we fight to Workers' Federation, had our last do not believe in parliamentary elec- idealistic and have a revolutionary cessful battle to improve their ad- We were very glad, too, to see repre- the economic field. The workplaces, telligent opposition is, however, very mittedly bad conditions, inevitably sentatives from other countries: like the co-operative movement, are important—more important, perhaps,

favour of such a fund, and congress

movement in Spain. But only the bers claim that we should take as and tolerance towards each other, Spanish comrades themselves can and much as we can from the State and then we can work together for our will solve the problems of their move-ment. When I listened to the Spanish that, if unemployed, we must do so to high aims.

The S.A.C. has always been a revolutionary movement, but we have never believed in a metaphysical

decided that it should be inaugurated. I think that we must fight together The State contributes to this fund on the main questions: for freedom. which is formed by all trade unions, against dictatorship, for social and comrade Renée Lamberet, and both a certain sum for each member, and economic justice, against oppression, Agriculture, left without protection or support, found its workers emigra-Merino. The two tendencies were inthe vited in the hope that they would find a form of mutual aid. Nothing more.
a way to work together. It was not not a way to work together. It was not not a though there is also opposition.

S.A.C. members this fund represents also fight for the unity of the S.A.C. To split the S.A.C. would be of no advantage for the syndicalist moveexistent jobs, thereby worsening ment will become even more general possible this time. I hope—and am pose, though there is also opposition ments of other countries, or for the

### C. J. BJORKLUND.

### Monthly Organ of the Syndicalist Workers Federation

DIRECT ACTION

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

tries understood the congress and us Please fill up the form below and return it with P.O. for 4/6 in the I.W.M.A., have the freedom to to "Direct Action" 25a, Amberley Road, London, W.9. All solve our own problems, if we can. We all make—and will make—mistakes. But the best thing is when we ry.

of the 4th National Congress the S.W.F., the seat of the National Committee for the coming year has been moved to the Manchester area, and all correspondence for the National Committee should be

J. Pinkerton, 12, Alt Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs. Money intended for the National Committee should be sent to: A. Gould, 116. Charlestown Road,

Blackley, Manchester 9, Lancs. Correspondence and money for 'Direct Action" and other literature should be sent to: Publications Committee, S.W.1 25a, Amberley Road, London, W.9. racial hatred, and it is fortunate

## existent, they have found a perfect

MAIN significance of the National Union of Railwaymen's threatene strike for December 20, called three days before it was due to take place, is that direct action—even the mere danger of direct action—can pay dividends for the workers.

would have caused, the British Trans- 29,000 Europeans and some 4,000 are port Commission, earlier determined State forest, while 5\frac{1}{2} million Africans, of October troops and police began to make no advance on the Railway most of whom depend on the land for Tribunal's 4s. wage offer, came to subsistence, occupy about 50,000 terms with the N.U.R. leadership.

The exact nature of these terms is not known at time of writing, but it WHO OWNS KENYA? seems likely that the basis for future The White Highlands, which under discussions between the bosses and the 1939 Order in Council are re- of land is given on which they can children, had gathered spontaneously months later, 12 battalions of troops, unions will be a 3s. advance on the 4s. served exclusively for Europeans, are grow produce, 15 head of goats and outside the police headquarters at 12,000 police, some 20,000 Kikuyu Whether this will apply to all grades the most fertile lands in Kenya, while material to build a hut are provided, Nairobi to demand the release of their Home Guards, and an R.A.F. bomber is not clear.

Transport Commission not have been the square mile. prepared to give more ground had the In some parts of the Kikuyu for the farmer as well; there are or even put into effect?

in Glasgow and on Merseyside antici- but work for the white man. pated the theratened strike by going "Who owns Kenya?" asks Bob have been compelled to leave their slow. Loco men, whose union, the Millar in Tribune (4/12/53), and land," says Bob Millar. "That is A.S.L.E. & F., had accepted the gives these facts in answer B.T.C.s 4s. offer, were pledging their "Kenya's most valuable mineral is 10,000 homeless in Nairobi alone." support in thousands to the N.U.R. soda ash. Production is entirely in the strike. The justice of the railway- hands of Magadi Soda Company, a thing to say of the plight of these men's case was recognised by the subsidiary of I.C.I. Over the past Africans forced by overwhelming working class in general, and there four years dividends have been 100, would have been widespread sym- 150, 275, and 220 per cent." pathy and support for direct action, despite the hardship caused by dislocation of Christmas traffic.

Poor compromise

involved. The railwaymen, then, held a hand-ful of trumps. The N.U.R. leader- wholesale and retail trade of the TEACHING DEMOCRACY ship, in a position to scoop the kitty, colony is largely controlled by Dalgety In the following year, gold was dis- But the K.C.A. was in its turn desettled for what appears a poor and Company, and the United Africa covered in the Kavirando Reserve, clared illegal, under the Kenya Gov-

rich rewards as since nationalisation. "The East African Tanning Extract prices to a European meat-packing Not so the railwaymen—one of the Company has 50,000 acres, and em-firm. lowest-paid categories of the British ploys 3,000 Africans. Profits jumped In 1939, following the Order in

working class. The final answer lies with the rankand-file N.U.R. members. Having FORCED OFF LAND found out that the employers fear direct action more than anything else.

turing Co., with branches in Sheffield, Millar, "tells of a Kenya farmer who African to develop culturally and achieved. clared BLACK by the Shipbuildin and Engineering Confederation. Most of the workers involved in the lock-out at this firm are A.E.U

June 8 last, after seven workmates the Park Royal, London, factory—had been declared "redundant." Workers in many hospitals have re- the peasant farmer, but the scarcity tion, the East African Association,

are boycotting Medical Supply. mittee will go to any branch or fac- Kikuyu.

### No sane person could condone even stop short of coercing and killing women and children of their own race. But, equally, no clear-sighted

scapegoat in Mau Mau.

VV Colonial Secretary, visited Kenya

over a year ago, at the beginning of

the Emergency, he declared that Mau

Mau was an anti-European and anti-

Christian movement which was stimu-

quite wrong to link it to economic

exceptions, to be white is to be rich

and to be black poor, it is hardly

surprising that social and econom

grievances should have festered

lating racial hatred, but that it was

In a country where, with very few

dizabethan slavers that in a colony

much of the land in the Native and then payment of from 3s. 6d. to leader." The question rank-and-file railway- Reserves is poor soil, and the density 4s. 6d. per week. There are clauses The demonstration was perfectly men are now asking is: would the of population is often 300 or more to in the contract which say that if a boy orderly, but the police lost their nerve Mau. becomes 16 years of age he must work and opened fire on the crowd.

strike decision been adhered to longer, Reserves, it rises to between 500 and clauses in some contracts saying that successful struggle? Railway workers Kikuyu do not live in the Reserve them."

Other companies with large interests of Britain's Tunnel Portland Cement), the lowest figure a man can live on of the blacks." The Association was equals. Conditions were generally favour- African Explosives and Chemical In- if he spends the whole of his money able for action. It would have been dustries (subsidiary of I.C.I. and De on food is 60s." well nigh impossible for the Govern- Beers), and Kenyan Gold Areas Com- In 1930, Ramsay MacDonald's members divided into groups of three ment to use blackleg labour in mili- pany, the chairman of which is Earl Government assured the Africans that and four, kept in touch with each tary uniform to run the railways, be- Grey, father-in-law of Sir Evelyn "the lands within the Native Reserves other secretly, and continued their cause of the highly skilled work Baring, Governor of Kenya. Among are reserved for the use and benefit of work of protest and agitation." he directors is Sir Ulick Alexander, the natives for ever."

To the B.T.C. argument that the "Much of the land is owned by concessions to Europeans to exploit while its leaders were imprisoned and railways are not in an economic posi- companies such as Dwa Plantations, it, and the natives were dispossessed thousands of its militant supporters tion to pay increased wages, there is with over 20,000 acres; it has paid of their land. a simple answer. Some £36,000,000 is dividends of 30 per cent after a 300 In 1937. Kikuyus in the Trigoni nationalised British transport. The Oliver Lyttelton) and the Earl of were forcibly evicted, while their cattle shareholders have never reaped such Plymouth have big interests in it. were rounded up and sold at very low

### 5 per cent in 1951 to £1,400,000."

Labour Government was in offic the solution to any dissatisfaction 30,000 acres, but the average Euro- more than 30,000 people in the O. with a paltry wage raise is in their pean farm is about 2,000 acres in Engruone settlement were dispossesse size. In striking contrast Mr. Norman of their land. Officer, stated in a report that in the were confiscated because they had but according to human needs. Reserve the average holding of a children to work on a European ruling class are directly opposed. The S.W.F. is based upon the family of six was only 3.35 acres in plantation. 1944, "and in 1955 would be reduced still further to 2.61."

> £30,000 are not unusual." The average wage of the natives is is being taught by an electoral sys-30s. to 40s. a month. Their staple tem which allows 29,000 European. food is a maize flour called posho. 14 elected members, and 54 million "One bag will last a man and his Africans six nominated members. family about a month, and costs RESISTANCE GROWS

nade £60,000 last year (and paid only

The native way of life is that of . The first African political organisa fused to touch equipment from Medi- of land and the levying of hut and was founded after the first world war cal Supply, because orders placed poll taxes of some 24s. a year have to champion the rights of Kikuyu with the firm have been handled by combined to force half a million threatened by eviction. In March scab labour. Co-operative Societies Africans to work for the white man. 1922, its chairman, Mr. Harry Thuku, About half of them are squatters on was arrested. Speakers from the Lock-Out Com- European farms, including 200,000 "The immediate result," writes Federation of Labour.

tory meeting, to explain the workers' Fenner Brockway, speaking of such in Kenya: The Land of Conflict, "was case in detail. Write or phone: squatters in the House of Commons the first general strike in the history Faraday Hall, Horn Lane, Acton, recently, said: "I have seen contracts; of Kenya. It seemed that the whole London, W.3. (ACOrn 0526). they are simply appalling. A little bit African population, men, women and

# -or Might is Right

COLONIAUSM

MAU-CHILD

had been arrested. Captain Lyttelton and his crew of

On October 24, 10,497 Africans were in prison, 1,403 suspects held in detention camps without trial, and 355 awaiting trial. Up to December 16, 1953, 97 Kikuyu had died in captivity. Of 24 complaints Mau Mau methods, which do not of assault by security forces, five cases resulted in convictions and eight in acquittals. The remaining

Compulsory Repatriation. By More than three-fifths of Kenva's 100,000 Kikuyu had either been 25,000 square miles is near-desert. forcibly repatriated to their over-Of some 80,000 square miles that re- crowded tribal reserve or had returned through the compulsion fear or unrest. At the beginning an operation to remove from by the Kikuvu, so that their chil-Nairobi 15,000 to 20,000 Kikuvu dren might have some education. who were estimated to be there without permission.

Council, the Waitata people were

on the education of each European

moved off their land in the Highland

and, as recently as 1948, when the

Between January 1 and Novem- Forced Labour. On September ber 28, 1953, 2,821 Africans were 29, 1953, the Kenya Government December 5, 1953, security force able, would be accommodated at to the oppressed colonial peoples. land rehabilitation.

> Collective Punishment. As in Malaya, collective punishment has been used against "unco-operative" villages. In one such operation 4,000 cattle were confiscated. Silencing Dissent. On June 8

1953, the Kenya African Union. fighting for the rights of Africans of all tribes, was proscribed for allegedly being a cover for Mau Mau. The Labour Trade Union of East Africa, with a reported membership of nearly 2,500, has been banned, and a number of African newspapers have been proscribed. The independent schools set up

teaching sedition.

European plantations.

In 1944, the Kenya African Union was founded, with Kenyatta as its president. Despite the embittering experiences of its leaders its demands were moderate and in no sense revolu-

pressed into forced labour gangs on

The sweeping victory of the Labour killed and 980 captured in opera- announced that Africans rejected Party in the General Election of 1945 tions against Mau Mau. Up to by screening teams, but not indict- brought a great resurgence of hope

casualties were 213 killed and 168 camps and employed on public But the great reservoir of goodwill wounded, while 153,398 Africans works, such as road building and which the socialists had built up by championing their rights during the party's years of opposition was rapidly quandered by its adoption of the reactionary, imperialistic policies of he Tories as soon as it was in power.

"Better conditions," Mr. Creech Jones, the Labour Colonial Secretary, told the natives of Kenya, "can only come to you through hard work and obedience to the Government officers." Socialism at Home-Slavery Abroad!

Despised, living like serfs in their native land, face-to-face with starvation, and with all political paths to social and economic advancement blocked by the arrogance and greed of white settlers and big businessmen, it was almost inevitable that the Africans should turn to violence.

### were closed on the charge of SPORT FOR THE SAHIBS

A State of Emergency was declared in September, 1952. Today, fifteen squadron equipped with Lincoln heavy bombers, are ranged against Mau

Barbarous as the crimes of Mau

Mau undeniably are, they are dwarfed "There was a panic and an up- by the crimes of so-called civilised 1,000 per square mile, though a con- children and wives, must, at the de-What were the perspectives for a siderable proportion of the 1\frac{1}{4} million mand of farmers, also work for cound the streets of Nairobi."

All the description of the 1\frac{1}{4} million mand of farmers, also work for the streets of Nairobi."

All the description of the 1\frac{1}{4} million mand of farmers, also work for the streets of Nairobi."

All the description of the 1\frac{1}{4} million mand of farmers, also work for the streets of Nairobi."

All the description of the 1\frac{1}{4} million mand of farmers, also work for the streets of Nairobi." A general uprising was feared, and grand sport for the pukka sahibs and repressive measures followed. All the empire builders in Kenya.

meetings were banned, and Harry But the day of the African is at Thuku and two of his relatives were hand. No longer is he content to serve the white man. No longer will he Fenner Brockway also had some- SOCIALISM AT HOME... meekly submit to the humanding After collecting every penny that part of the continent he is demanding

the people could raise, the European his own heritage. lawyer engaged to defend the Associa- "There's no room in Africa for tion "bolted bag and baggage, leaving those who do not love the Africans," n Kenya include Royal Dutch Shell "The wage for African labourers them to take in the lesson that Law Graham Greene quotes a settler as and Anglo-Iranian, the East African in Nairobi is 56s. a month. The and Politics were two sides of the saving. Nor is there room for any medical officer of health says that white man's system of exploitation man who will not treat them as his

Forbidden to hold meetings, the

When the Kikuyu Central Association was formed to carry on the fight, Kenyatta became its general secretary. Company (subsidiary of Unilever's). the Kenya Legislative Council granted ernment's wartime emergency powers,

ORGAN OF THE NORTH-EAST-LONDON

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 Humphrey, a Senior Agricultural Furthermore, their cattle and goats shall be abolished and goods produced and distributed not for profit, THIS South Nyeri area of the Kikuyu disobeyed an order to send their CLASS STRUGGLE. The interests of the working class and the

The more "progressive" of the and control the means of production and distribution, and will con-"Kingsley Martin," says Bob White leaders are pledged to help the DIRECT ACTION. Victory in the fight against class domination can only be achieved by the direct action of the workers themselves. tional, but incomes of £20,000 and child and only 30s. on each African The S.W.F. rejects all parliamentary and similar activity as deflecting

inevitable day-to-day struggle of the workers against those who own

child, while representative democracy | 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 Parliament. Nor does it desire to build a new State on the ruins of the old. Any attempt, by an allegedly working class party, to create a

new State, can only result in a new ruling class. ORGANISATION. To achieve these aims, the workers must 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 all factories, mines, offices, shipyards, mills and other places of work, and their development into industrial unions, federated to an all-national

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

DONOVAN PEDELTY

Libertarian

ANARCHIST GROUP 4d including postage.

### paid out annually in interest to per cent bonus in 1950. Two Tory district suffered the same fate. In the "dispossessed" shareholders in peers, Viscount Cobham (cousin of 1938 natives in the Wakamba Reserve BRITISH SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL