

Direct Action

WORLD LABOUR NEWS

Inside—Industrial struggle in Rhodesias : Workers demonstrate in Spain

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

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Fourpence

AGAINST ALL BOMBS

AN anti-war movement must be international. That is obvious. It must oppose war as such, and war preparations in every country. If it selects certain targets rather than others it will be seen not as an anti-war movement, but as an agent of the powers whose weapons it does not oppose. The fact that the anti-war movement in Britain is labelled "Communist" is due partly to the automatic labelling of all subversive movements, partly to the efficiency of the Communist Party inside and outside CND and partly to the movement's lack of a clear unilateralist position.

Of course the argument for unilateralism is not simply that it would distinguish CND from the Communist Party. The argument is that since we are opposed to all nuclear weapons we must call for unilateral disarmament in every

country. It is a simple matter of logic : if we oppose British bombs on principle, we must oppose Russian and American bombs. Those who demand unilateral disarmament in Britain and do not call for it in the Soviet Union and the USA reduce themselves to the level of the politicians, who oppose all aggression but their own.

The SWF gives its wholehearted support to the new campaign for unilateralism, which opens with an open forum in London on April 18.

Unilateralism as a principle is revolutionary. This is why it is opposed by some, and why we must insist on it. Nuclear weapons are both the product of an authoritarian society and a symbol of its brutality. The H-Bomb was not built by accident ; and we cannot talk about removing it without considering the system which produced it. Nuclear weapons exist not in order to protect the British people from the Russians and the Russian people from the Americans. They exist primarily to protect the governments of the world from their own peoples.

The phrase "War is the health of the State" has never been more relevant than it is today : international conflict, whether or not it involves the use of armed force, strengthens the State. If there is no enemy, why have an Army, Air Force, Official Secrets Act, R.S.G.'s ? In fact there is no enemy except the governments of the world, together with the ruling-class whose interests they protect.

The society we live in is a class society : the vast majority of the people are exploited and oppressed by a minority, the ruling-class, which uses its control over the means of production to impose the social priorities which are in its own interests. The State is the iron glove of the ruling-class : its laws, its police force, its prison system to enforce its will—as the Committee of 100 has learned. H-Bombs are a part of the defence system of the ruling-class : to end them we need a social revolution.

Many people in their hatred of nuclear armaments tend to forget the reasons why they exist. They realise the importance of acting to get rid of them and, partly for this reason, restrict their activities to campaigning against nuclear

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Racketeer landlord is baulked by picket

In last month's D.A. was an article on housing in Paddington with the message : "Just because Rachman is dead and nothing about racketeer landlords appears in the papers any more, don't assume they aren't still around. They are!" Recently another one has been active."

* * *

MRS. ST. LOUIS lives with her three children in one room of what is politely called a house—115 St. Stephen's Gardens. In December she went, on her own initiative, to the Paddington Rent Tribunal and, after a long wait, had her rent reduced from £3 10s. a week to £2 10s. She was immediately given notice to quit. Her husband, living in a separate room in the same house, was also told to get out, because he refused to prevent his wife applying.

At this stage any eviction would have been completely legal, but the landlord, a man named Glover, had a reputation for using Rachman methods on tenants who annoyed him—strong-arm men if no dogs were available. The police were not interested, so when the notice expired, on Feb. 8, the St. Stephen's Tenants' Association, together with members of the SWF and the Notting Hill Anarchist Group, began a picket of the house. This was carried on, day and night, for almost a week. For a lot of the time four toughs

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OPEN FORUM

Subject : UNILATERALISM

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1
7 p.m., Saturday, April 18

SPANISH NEWS

WORKERS DEMONSTRATE
FOR FREE UNIONS

THE FIRST SESSION of the 3rd Congress of the Spanish State-controlled "syndicates" opened in Madrid on March 10. That evening 600 Spanish workers entered the building where the Congress was being held and demonstrated against the phoney syndicates. The demonstrators were demanding free trade unions in Spain. During the demonstration students circulated leaflets pledging support to the workers in the struggle for freedom. The demonstration, which lasted about 45 minutes, was dispersed violently and brutally by the armed police, several arrests being made.

A day earlier, 5,000 miners of the Rio-Tinto (Huelva) Basin had struck work in a pay dispute.

On Saturday, March 14, Franco was to address the congress of the State-controlled unions. The **Sunday Tele-**

MUJERES LIBRES
(Women for Freedom)

Lecture in Spanish
LOUISE MICHELE
her influence on the militant activities of women
by **SUCESO PORTALES**
Royal Hotel, Woburn Place, London, W.C.1
Sunday, April 5, 4 p.m.

graph (15.3.64) reported that his visit was called off through fears of a mass demonstration against the regime. It adds:

"Outside the building, an hour before his expected arrival, some 1,000 students had gathered in protest at a lecture ban. There were scuffles as police tried to disperse them. Earlier 400 students ended a 17-hour sitdown strike because the lecture, by Prof. Enrique Galvan, a Socialist leader, had been called off by police. The students had planned to continue their protests outside the union headquarters to coincide with Gen. Franco's arrival."

Provisional freedom

ON FEBRUARY 29 comrades Antonio Ros, Salvador Gurucharri and Vincente Marti were released from Fresnes Prison (France) and granted "provisional liberty." Now all the 21 comrades of the CNT-FIJJL originally arrested by the French authorities last September are at "provisional liberty," though still under close police surveillance and in forced residence.

Belgian TU's support Abarca

COMRADE FRANCISCO ABARCA also of the FIJJL, who was arrested in Belgium last October, is still in prison in Brussels. Last September he left France to avoid repression by the French Government against the FIJJL. In Belgium he was re-arrested at the request of the Swiss authorities, who subsequently tried to get him extradited on the grounds that he had "attempted to set fire to a Spanish aeroplane" in Geneva.

Francisco Abarca is innocent of these charges; what is more the charges themselves are incorrect. The event referred to was the burning of a suitcase at Geneva airport. Abarca went on protest hunger-strike from February 12 to March 6 and is now in prison hospital in very poor health.

Widespread protests in Belgium have included trade-union demonstrations in Liège and Brussels, with threats of token strike action before March 23, when the Court was to announce its decision on extradition. Latest reports suggest that, under this pressure, the Belgian Government is preparing to deport Abarca, but not to Switzerland or Spain.

Rhodesian unrest

Salisbury, 7.3.64.

WHILE THE REACTIONARY Rhodesian Front Government in South Rhodesia talks of ways and means to cut all ties with Britain and Dr. Kuanda, the recently-elected Prime Minister, threatens to stamp out all attempts at unconstitutional action in North Rhodesia, the Rhodesias are in a state of industrial and political unrest which shows every sign of increasing in intensity and scope.

In South Rhodesia the Government has used the excuse of "thuggery" to arrest close on 100 "agitators". They are restricted in a camp at Wha Wha, near Gwelo, and are being held for 3 months without trial; at the end of 3 months the restriction order can be renewed. It is very similar to the notorious 90-day detention in South Africa. Among those arrested are many thought to be entirely innocent of any crime.

A strike at the Waukie coal mines is currently proving extremely worrying to the Government: the mine management has been forced to fly in 170 strike-breakers, as 4,000 men remain solidly on strike for the fifth day. The strike is over a request by the miners to have pay, instead of rations the miners claim that the rations consist largely of bones. The Government has declared the strike unconstitutional, while itself playing with the idea of an unconstitutional declaration of independence.

Another highly successful strike of some 200,000 school-children in Salisbury's African townships has also been in full swing this last week. In Highfield Township 20 out of 21 Government primary schools have been put out of action. The strike is over recently-imposed school fees, which many African parents simply cannot afford. The Acting Minister of Education claims that "a substantial proportion" of the fees have been paid, but in fact only £10,000 of the £230,000 expected revenue has been collected. The Zimbabwe African National Union has appealed to the children and parents to refuse to pay school fees—but it hardly seems that the promptings of the politicians are required.

In North Rhodesia the second day of a rail-strike has met with 100 per cent. support from the 4,500 employees. This strike is a protest at the Railway Management refusal to dismiss a European member of staff who insulted African railworkers and was said to have hit one of them. Incidents of this sort are common on the railways and the strike is an indication that Africans do not intend to be treated as inferior citizens now they have their independence.

The strikes and unrest are likely to continue and expand and everything points to an encouraging increase in African resistance to the Government of South Rhodesia and to the doctrine of white supremacy.

KALI

A social success

SOME 70 COMRADES, including a strong CNT-FIJJL contingent, attended the SWF (London) Social on Friday, March 13 at the White Swan, Farringdon Road. An enjoyable evening was highlighted by the excellent cabaret turn of comrade Desmond Macdonald, whose well-chosen excerpts from Sea O'Casey, G. B. Shaw, Shakespeare and F. L. Green ("Odd Man Out") were capped by a delightful story told him by the late Dylan Thomas.

HOW LABOUR GOVERNED, 1945-51

Forgotten? Too young to remember? This pamphlet is essential reading in election year, for voters and anti-voters. It describes how, in six years, and despite an overwhelming Parliamentary majority for nearly five of them, the post-war Labour Governments betrayed every socialist principle.

Price 6d. a copy, plus postage.

(Bulk orders welcomed—but please send cash with orders if possible. This will help offset costs of reprinting.)

Industrial Notebook

POWER MEN GO FOR FORTY-HOUR WEEK

"UNITED WE STAND" is the policy which has finally been adopted by power unions in their dispute with the Electricity Council. At one stage it was felt the five unions controlling the power stations would be split on the issue of taking industrial action, making craft unions in favour (ETU, AEU) and the non-craft (T&GWU and NUGMW) very, very lukewarm.

It is reported that the ETU was prepared to 'go it alone', but on Tuesday, March 10, the AEU reaffirmed its proposals to end the current three-year agreement and attempt to get higher pay and shorter hours in the industry by an overtime ban and work to rule.

With Frank Cousins (T&GWU) saying his union would agree to industrial action only if all other unions agreed, Mr. Cooper (NUGMW) was in a sticky position. Reluctant as he might be for industrial action, Cooper could hardly say "No". Apart from the rucking he would get from the other T.U. leaders, his own members would have had his 'guts for garters'.

The unions' demand is for a 40-hour week without loss of earnings by July, 1965, improved pay and other conditions.

Obviously the Electricity Council is sticking to the Government's 'guiding light policy', hoping to hell it will back them to the death. As in all nationalised industries, the workers have to fight the government, the toughest nut of all, but with solidarity they can win. The fact that the unions are informing technical and clerical staff and supervisors that during the dispute they must not touch jobs normally done by manual workers, indicates they mean business, though why they cannot join the general struggle beats me.

CONTINENTAL CINDERELLAS

EVERYWHERE in industry demands are made for an 8-hour day, but not for girl telephonists in the Continental Exchange—a 44-hour week is their lot. The Post Office Union has concluded an agreement whereby the girls now work a 9-hour day. They used to work an 8½-hour day with Saturdays, now the Saturday hours have been transferred to the week, the post office claims that Saturday afternoon is a 'slack time, therefore less operators are needed. One consequence, workers who live a great distance away have to travel for a couple of hours' work.

What is behind the change of shift? The P.O. claim the section is overstaffed. The girls cannot be sacked because they are 'established', therefore if hours and conditions are made uncomfortable the girls will leave, many are doing so each week.

The conditions the girls work under are medieval; the lighting is atrocious, causing eyestrain; the type of job creates nervous tension.

The Post Office, in common with many employers, treat women in a way men in the same position would not tolerate. Seven out of ten women really need the job, they need set times to look after their families, so they are prepared to swallow all the impositions employers place upon them.

As far as women telephonists are concerned, the Post Office union stinks—so much so that some telephonists have resigned and joined the 'guild', which is nothing, means nothing, is not even recognised and therefore can do nothing.

There is only one way to improve one's conditions:

to take action at rank and file level—at switchboard level. In **solidarity** things can be changed.

Ann will take action if Pam will, so will Sue if Jean does, so the four should act together. There is nothing to lose and everything to gain.

SOLIDARITY

WORKERS at the Denby Mill, near Bradford, are still in dispute over the principle of the 'closed shop'. The strike has been on for 17 weeks and is as solid as ever.

The management have been taking scabs through the picket lines in closed wagons and private cars. According to the local reactionary press, the **Yorkshire Post**, pickets attacked drivers and vans going into the works. The **Yorkshire Post** called them thugs and called upon the police to treat them as such. Lo and behold, the police did fall upon them and charges were brought against them, and in two cases they were cleared at Bingley magistrates court.

Local railwaymen have pledged to do all they can to prevent the transport of scab goods to and from the firm. This is workers moving into action in solidarity—to date over £4,000 has been donated to the dispute fund.

In the **New Daily** 4.3.64, 'Brutus' is choked and asks whether such action in a nationalised industry is legal. This boy has got legality on the brain. The sooner he realises that the people who do the work do it on their own terms, and not for the benefit of the layabouts who draw the profits, the sooner he will be able to sleep nights. He can have 20 million MP's signing petitions, but if we don't wish to work he and his kind are kettled.

YOU HAVE BEEN WARNED

GEORGE BROWN, deputy leader of the Labour Party, has warned trade unionists that it's easy when a Tory government is in power to say 'them and us', but with a Labour Government there is no 'them'. Funny, I find it difficult to choose between them—unless it's the criteria 'better the devil you do know'.

WE DECIDE

THE two-week stoppage at New Town Polishing Co. Ltd., in Birmingham, was fought to a successful conclusion, after 57 workers had been sacked. They claim they were fired for refusing to resign from the National Society of Metal Mechanics; the management claimed they were redundant. In any case they have all been reinstated—and are still members of the NSMM.

PEACEFUL FORDS

FORD workers at Halewood (Liverpool) demanded an increased rate for shift workers. After the placing of a ban on overtime, Ford's management increased the shift rate. Fords thought they were on easy street picking Liverpool, with its large unemployment, for their new plant. They thought they could use the economic whip. How wrong can one be?

WAGE RESTRAINT OUT THE WINDOW

IT is quite evident that the dockers, railwaymen, coal-miners, steelworkers and power workers are not enamoured with the idea of a wage freeze, or the government's 'guiding light policy'. Within the last week or so all have submitted wage claims. All will have to struggle to get their demands, so what about the idea of struggling together? It's an old left wing cliché, but I think I can guarantee it would bring results. Divided, the results are peanuts; in unison, who knows?

BILL CHRISTOPHER

Direct Action

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE SYNDICALIST
WORKERS' FEDERATION

For a free society

DIRECT ACTION advocates the ideas of Syndicalism, or to be more precise, Anarcho-syndicalism. In most English-speaking countries these names are unfamiliar, to say the least of it. Most of the time we take it for granted that our readers know what these terms means, but maybe it would do no harm to run over it again briefly.

With the General Election just around the corner here in Britain, there will be a lot of talk about Socialism of one kind or another in the coming weeks and months. Most of it will be plain old-fashioned hot air and the worst will be coming from that venerable band of fakers and charlatans, Her Majesty's Loyal Labour Party. Some of them even have the impertinence to call themselves Socialists. Anyone who feels an irresistible urge to shout "You're a liar" at such people will have the full sympathy of this paper.

If we were to define the word Socialist, probably the first and most necessary thing to say today is that the Labour party is **NOT** Socialist. A Socialist is a person who wants to abolish the capitalist system, who wishes to replace it with the ownership and control of all productive and distributive facilities by the workers themselves. By this definition, we Syndicalists are also Socialists.

But we go further than this. We differ from those genuine Socialists who **would** fight for an economic revolution by saying that the State must go too. We see the State as the repressive organisation of the ruling class. Cops exist primarily to protect property. Cops and courts, the legal profession, the prison system and the degenerates who staff it are not there to apprehend such criminals as the late unlamented Rachman and other such slum landlords, like one known to this paper, who takes £7 rent from a Jamaican worker who earns £10 per week. **The State protects the landlord against the tenant.**

But if you protest against the presence of a foreign Nazi queen in London, if you lose your Christian forbearance so much that you harm a hair of the head of a scab, you will go to jail. Better to direct your criminal instincts into the field of legitimate business. Be a landlord, or an industrialist, or peddle certain legalised forms of drugs, such as cancer-bearing nicotine, or cirrhosis-inducing alcohol. You will then have the full protection of the State and its formidable terrorist organisations. You will make a lot of money. You will contribute some of it to "Aims of Industry," and some of it to your local Tory Party's funds. But some capitalists will be smart enough to push a little of this kind of thing towards the Labour Party, just to keep the circus on the road. The suckers must be kept convinced that there is a difference between Labour and Tory. The shadow-boxing in Westminster must go on, but the real power is still a few miles further down the Thames—in the City.

We Syndicalists reject the Labour Party and all its quisling tricks. We stand for revolutionary industrial organisation. We say, **Abolish the State.** This usually provokes the parrot cry, "But that is Anarchism." So let us call a spade a spade. We are Anarchists. And we are Syndicalists. When we say that we will dispense with the State,

we mean the apparatus of repression by which one class dominates all society.

With a truly Socialist society, there would be no ruling class. Even today, through voluntary organisations outside the State machine, people practise mutual aid to a great degree. We would carry this principle into every field of human activity. Industrial unions could operate industry and produce all the goods we need. Co-operative societies could distribute these goods. There would be no economic basis for crime, so we could give the cops useful work elsewhere.

Anti-social behaviour could only arise from mental or physical illness, and in a Socialist society of the kind we Anarcho-Syndicalists want to see, sick people would be treated as such. They would not be hanged or incarcerated in institutions staffed by the kind of people who work in prisons. Many of those warders (and cops too) would be first to receive humane medical attention, for they must be among the sickest members of our present sick society!

Above all, a free workers' society would not need coercive organisations to "police" the workers themselves. That would only indicate (as in East Europe) the arrival of a new ruling class, with the same exploitation as before. The name for that is Tyranny. **We stand for Socialism and Liberty!**

SEAN GANNON.

GROUP NOTICES

S.W.F. (LONDON)

Open Meetings

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| April 1 | Impressions of East Germany | Wolfgang Zucht |
| 8 | The Makhnovist Movement | Brian Hart |
| 15 | Open Discussion. | |
| 22 | Anarchism and Syndicalism | Mark Hendy |
| 29 | The Fascist Threat | Roger Sandell |

Wednesdays, 8.30 p.m., at the White Swan, 28, Farringdon Road, London, E.C. (near Farringdon St. Station, in loop off main road on other side of railway line).

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP: Details from Laurens Otter, 5, New Yatt Road, North Leigh, near Witney, Oxon.

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP—Open Meeting Thursday, April 2, 8.0 p.m. at the British Oak, Westbourne Park Road. (Tube: Westbourne Park; buses: 7, 28, 31). Subject: General Election. All correspondence to the Secretary, 38 Oxford Gdns., W.10.

EDINBURGH. Would anyone interested in forming a group in Edinburgh, please contact Alasdair Macdonald, Torphin, Torphin Road, Colinton, Edinburgh 13.

BIRMINGHAM AND W. MIDLANDS. Contact Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23.

SOUTHERN FEDERATION. Contact Ken Parkin, Old Tea House, Brockenhurst, Hants.

GLASGOW FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS meet every Thursday evening at 7.30 p.m., 4 Ross Street, Glasgow S.E. (off the Gallowgate).

LIVERPOOL—Those interested in forming a libertarian discussion group on Merseyside, please contact Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

BRISTOL FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS—For details please contact the convenor, Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells, Bristol 8.

ROMFORD AND HORNCHURCH ANARCHIST GROUP—for details please contact Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster, Essex, or John Chamberlain, 74 Upper Rainham Road, Hornchurch, Essex.

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT—Contact Jim Pinkerton, 12 Alt Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS ANARCHIST GROUP meets on 1st and 3rd Thursday of every month at 8 p.m. at 4, Mount Zion, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP. Meets Tuesdays (in terms), Q5 Queens. Details, town and gown, Adrian Cunningham, 3, North Cottages, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.

Lenin and workers' control—Part 2

THE KISS OF DEATH

LATE in 1917 the Russian provisional government was confused, weak and ready to fall. Peasants, wage workers, soldiers and sailors, growing stronger in their soviets, were moving in half awakening to take over the direction of the country. Lenin saw his opportunity.

The peasants were winning their battle for the land, so the Bolsheviks suddenly switched their land policy and, in the face of a successful revolution, cried with the Anarchists and Social Revolutionaries, "The land to the peasants!". Lenin wrote his *State and Revolution*, which looked like an approach to Anarchism and a rebuff to Marxists, and an alliance with the Left Social Revolutionaries was made.

On November 7 the rising against the Kerensky Government was made in Petrograd, the attack on the Winter Palace being led by a Russian Anarchist, Bill Shatov, returned home from America. The sailors of Kronstadt, "the flower of the 'October Revolution'," were given pride of place in the battle. Success followed in Moscow. Under Lenin a new government was formed, some seats being given to the Left S.R.'s and to smaller groups, such as Maxim Gorki's Novaya Zhizn. However, the Bolsheviks held the posts of physical power, they were the commissars who controlled the army, the police and the jails; the S.R.'s and Gorki got the portfolios of education and such. Revolutionaries in Russia then seemed to trust one another a great deal. Certainly the non-Bolsheviks never intended a one-party dictatorship. They were soon to learn, as others are still learning, that an alliance with the Communists is the kiss of death.

On November 18 the Peasant Congress met in the Duma. The Bolsheviks had tried hard to gain a majority, but could command only 20 per cent. of the delegates, the Left S.R.'s having a big majority and beloved Maria Spiridonova in the chair. The delegates expressed the self-confidence of the delegates in their handling of the land question.

Reserved for the State

Isvestia of November 10, 1917, published Lenin's Land Decree, seemingly giving to the peasants the land they already possessed, but in fact limiting the land they might take. "It was the intention of the Bolsheviks, however, that a considerable portion of the estate lands should not be subject to distribution, but be retained as model State farms; and the annexe to the decree referred explicitly to 'Territories where cultivation is of a high order: gardens, plantations, nurseries for plants and trees, orchards, etc.' as 'not subject to division', but as reserved for 'the exclusive use of the State or district as model institutions'; and similarly 'studs, State and private cattle-breeding establishments, poultry farms'." M. H. Dobb, *Soviet Economic Development since 1917*.

Dobb goes on to say that peasant pressure curtailed the plan, for example only between two and three million acres of sugar beet estates were left to the State, instead of 10 to 12 million. The land possessed by the peasants increased from 70 per cent. of all cultivated areas to 96 per cent. In the Ukraine the increase was from 56 to 96 per cent. and the land workers were in almost complete control of agricultural production.

Lenin at the same time tried to stop the take-over of industry, his "Decree on Workers' Control" came on November 14, 1917. Here we must be careful, the decree was not written in English and translation of political terms is often

faulty and influenced by the political consciousness of the translator. The Russian words used in the decree do not mean the same thing that is meant by "Workers' Control" in the English-speaking world. Dobb comes halfway to admitting this, "In fact the very word that is usually rendered into English as 'control' has in Soviet usage a meaning that goes at least halfway towards what in England would be referred to as 'supervision' and might at any rate be not inappropriately rendered as 'steering'." (Ibid.). The works committees were intended to be something that we would now recognise as ancestors of the Joint Production Committees organised by the British Communist Party and the Engineering Employers' Federation in the late war.

Bolshevism somehow acquired the reputation of being "Socialism, but in a hurry." Dobb denies that it was so and, ascribing the myth to such writers as R. W. Postgate (*Bolshevik Theory*) and Norman Angell, goes on to say, "But the placing of Socialism on the immediate agenda was explicitly disclaimed. Clause 8 of the April Theses clearly affirmed: 'Not the "introduction of Socialism" as an immediate task, but to bring immediately social production and distribution of goods under the control of the Soviet.'" (Ibid, p.68). That is, State control. With a fatalism worthy of Marxist determinism, Lenin's party was moving, not to collectivism, but to the extension and intensification of the Tsarist centralised State. It was the workers who were driving towards collectivism.

The 'bourgeois' example

"The 'amalgamation of all banks into a single national bank, control over which should be exercised by the Soviet, and national control of syndicates and cartels were called for, but only as 'measures which do not in any way imply the "introduction of socialism" and which have been frequently undertaken during the war by a number of bourgeois States', which are 'entirely feasible economically'." (Ibid, p.68).

"Later, writing on the eve of the November revolution on *The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Avert it*, he spoke of the nationalisation of the oil industry and of the coal industry as necessary 'to increase the production of fuel' and to combat 'the stopping of production by the industrialists'; the complete syndication of industry under State control—a measure which 'has already been put into practice in Germany' and does not directly, in itself, infringe upon the relations of private property to any degree." (Ibid, p.69, also Lenin, *Collected Works*, XXI, book 1).

"Compulsory syndication under the control of the State, this is what Capitalism has prepared the way for and what the Junker State has put into effect in Germany; this is what will be completely realised in Russia by the Soviets." Lenin, *Will the Bolsheviks Maintain State Power* (pp. 52-53).

"But no sweeping measures of confiscation or nationalisation were immediately proposed. Rather was it a controlled or directed capitalism, steered by such measures of economic control as had come to be the common stock-in-trade of belligerent governments that was contemplated." Dobb, *S.E.D.S.* 1917, p.83).

Lenin spoke of the State power adapting itself to the existing conditions "as gradually as possible and breaking with as little of the old as possible." Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX (p.284).

(More next month)

TOM BROWN.

MANIFESTO

Federation of Glasgow Anarchists

● The Federation of Glasgow Anarchists is seeking to establish a free society, which will render impossible the growth of a privileged class and the exploitation of man by man. In such a society the wage system, finance and money shall be abolished, and goods shall be produced and distributed not for profit, but according to human needs.

● Anarchists believe that the State in all its forms is the embodiment of authority and privilege: that it is the means by which one class oppresses another. Therefore they seek the destruction of the State, in order that the working class may take control of all means of production and distribution, that the economic conditions of freedom and equality may be realised.

● The interests of the working class and those of the privileged classes are directly opposed. Only by unremitting struggle, and, ultimately, by revolution, can the working class succeed.

● Let the privileged classes and all reactionary elements in society tremble at an Anarchistic revolution.

● The Federation of Glasgow Anarchists has as its immediate objects: (1) shorter working hours; (2) improved working conditions; (3) wage increases. It seeks (4) working class solidarity, and recommends (5) Direct Action as the only means to achieve these objects, and to combat such evils as unemployment, war and militarism, racial discrimination, and the poverty of old people. N.B.—The most effective form of Direct Action is the general strike.

● The Federation of Glasgow Anarchists recommends that the working class organise itself, not in craft and general trade unions, but in syndicalist industrial unions, which, in the event of revolution, will constitute the basis on which a free society can be built.

Postbag

Dear Comrades.

We have been reading in the English Libertarian press of various anti-parliamentary projects by the S.W.F., the comrades connected with Freedom Press, and also, of a Schools Anti-Vote Campaign (mentioned in ANARCHY No. 29).

We are very interested in attempting a similar project here in the United States. The 1964 presidential campaign here is going to bring up a number of issues on which we feel that it is crucial that American libertarians should take a stand and present our viewpoint. We have no illusions about the effectiveness of such a campaign, should it ever get off the ground. However, something of this kind has never been tried in the United States, and the experience alone should prove valuable. We have in mind such initial steps as leaflet distributions, street-corner meetings, debates (with the trotskysts, social democrats, etc. who will be running their own candidates, or supporting Democratic Party candidates), publishing a broadsheet, possibly stickers, buttons, etc.

Before we attempt anything, however, we should like very much to learn what we can from the experience of our English comrades. We would appreciate very much to receive the following:

1. Samples of anti-vote literature that you have so far issued (leaflets, etc.).
2. Any books which you believe might contain useful

information about the parliamentary system, etc.).

3. Any personal accounts or suggestions which you feel would be of use.

We would like to state that this project is taken outside the existing libertarian groups in the U.S. (Although we hope that these groups will help us.)

We would also like to let you know that we are very pleased to hear about the recent formation of an Anarchist Youth Federation in Great Britain, and this heartens the efforts and hopes of what anarchist youth there are here towards a companion youth group here in the United States.

Please send all items and keep in touch with us via: PSAVC, c/o Shapiro, 336 East 4th, New York, 9.

We thank you in advance.

JONATHAN LEAKE,

for the Provisional Student Anti-Vote Committee
(J. Leake, Everett Shapiro, Walter Caughey)

Thank you, but . . .

READER'S RESPONSE to the appeal (in last month's editorial) for more money for the Press Fund has been very encouraging. Contributions are acknowledged below, as we promised they would be.

Besides getting out the paper, our propaganda activities in the last month have included printing and distributing leaflets aimed against Spanish tourism ("A Cheap Holiday") and Martell's anti-union threats ("Your Unions are in Danger"). From now onwards we shall probably be concentrating on anti-parliamentary material; as the first stage we are reprinting "How Labour Governed". This is the kind of thing for which we must have a surplus in the Press Fund, so may we appeal to all who intend to sell this pamphlet during the General Election campaign to order in bulk advance, WITH CASH. £1 buys 40 copies.

MARK HENDY (Treasurer, SWF National Committee)

PRESS FUND—FEBRUARY 13 to March 16, 1964

Preston, Lancs., R.M., 1s. 6d.; Chicago, Ill., B.M., 7s.; Red Deer, Alberta, B.G., 5s.; London, E.7, B.W., 4s.; S. Gervais, Seine, F.E., 14s.; London, J. & M.M., £1; London, N.W.3, M.H., 10s.; London, W.2, T.L., £2; London, W.11, J.E., £1; Hailsham, Sussex, A.A., 8s.; Woodford Green, J.P., 14s.; Ruislip, Middx., J.L., £1 5s.; London, W.1, T.B., £1; London, W.10, M.H., £1; Proceeds of London Group Social, £10 7s. 6d.; London, N.W.10, A.R., 10s.; London, N.W.3, K.H., £1 2s. 6d. Total: £22 8s. 2d.

Against all bombs (cont.)

weapons. From saying that the Bomb is the most important issue of our time, they argue that those who oppose it should concentrate their energies on anti-nuclear propaganda. We think they are mistaken—we share their concern about nuclear weapons, but we do not accept that the Bomb **by itself** is likely to inspire the widespread opposition necessary to destroy it.

We think that the picture of millions of people one day leaving the factories to occupy the air bases is fanciful in the extreme. We support symbolic direct action at air bases and elsewhere as propaganda against the Warfare State, as a means of showing that direct action is possible; but we are convinced that it is in the factories and the offices and wherever people work that the confrontation between the people and their rulers must take place.

For us the struggle against the Bomb is the struggle for a free and classless society. If war is the health of the State, then we shall achieve peace only when we replace it by libertarian organisation. If class society has produced nuclear weapons, we must destroy class society. Peace, freedom and social justice are one and indivisible.

WYNFORD HICKS

Anarchism—a slanted history

THE ex-anarchist George Woodcock has written a 476-page book, *Anarchism—a History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Penguin Books, 7s. 6d.), which we are afraid might be accepted as a reliable textbook on the subject. Valuable historical material is intertwined with factual errors and distortions. Flat statements are contradicted by equally emphatic "evidence". More serious are the misinterpretations and distortion of Anarchist theory, as formulated by Bakunin, Kropotkin and, to a lesser extent, Godwin and Proudhon. It would take another book to straighten out the mess. We have already dealt with some objections to Woodcock's "history" in *Views and Comments*, No. 45.

Before going into a few of Woodcock's many theoretical falsifications, we shall cite one more glaring example of his numerous factual errors. Woodcock says:

"... the FORA (Anarcho-Syndicalist labour movement of Argentina) continued as a large and influential organisation until 1929, when it merged with the socialist UGT into the General Confederation of Workers and quickly shed its Anarcho-Syndicalist leanings" (page 426).

This statement is not true. The FORA was suppressed, militants were murdered, thousands suffered imprisonment and exile. Despite the persecutions, the FORA valiantly continued to function as an illegal underground movement. It merged with no-one and still functions. The FORA never abandoned its Anarcho-Syndicalist principles and participated in the recent congress of the Anarcho-Syndicalist IWMA.

Any exposition of Anarchism must begin with a concise definition of terms. What is the nature of the State . . . Freedom . . . Authority . . . Federalism? Woodcock gives neither his own definition, nor does he clearly state what the Anarchist thinkers mean by these fundamental concepts. This major defect adds to the confusion. Woodcock says:

"The dissolution of authority and government, the decentralisation of responsibility, the replacement of states and similar monolithic organisations by a federalism which will allow sovereignty to return to the intimate primal units of society . . . necessarily implies a policy of **simplification**" (page 28, our emphasis).

This is a theoretical error. The direct and voluntary administration of all the affairs of society by all the people demands the creation of **more** and not less organisations. Such a society is bound to be more complex. In an authoritarian society all the affairs of the people are conducted by a comparatively few highly-centralised governmental agencies. All social life is standardised, "simplified," compressed into rigid moulds to expedite the control of the many by the few. Soldiers and wage slaves lead "simple" lives. Everything is done for them and to them. All they have to do is obey. If they try to revolt and do things for themselves, by creating new organisations of their own, they are punished by the State. A free, pluralistic society, where all the countless needs of mankind are supplied by the people themselves through their infinite varieties of human association is necessarily a complex society. Kropotkin declares:

"The voluntary associations which begin to cover all the fields of human activity would take a still **greater extension** so as to substitute themselves for the State in all its functions . . . they (the associations) would represent an interwoven network composed of an infinite variety of groups and federations . . . local, regional, national and international." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1958). Woodcock finds fault with Kropotkin's vision of Anarchist society, because it is "complexly organised" (page 221), our emphasis.

Bakunin and Proudhon envisioned a proliferation of voluntary associations co-ordinated by a vast and intricate

network of federations and confederations on a global scale. Anarchists accept the fact that society is complex and is bound to become more so. Because of this, they insist that society is too complex for any centralised authority to manage efficiently and still satisfy the needs of all with freedom and equality, and that the State hampers the harmonious functioning of social life. Woodcock's misinterpretation only reinforces the false charge of our enemies, that Anarchism will not work in an increasingly complex and interdependent world. This is, unfortunately, the theme of Woodcock's book. That Woodcock's brand of "simplicity" cloaks his essential reactionary, escapist ideas is demonstrated by the following quote:

"... But we would miss the essence of the Anarchist attitude if we ignored the fact that the urge toward social simplification rises not from any desire for the more efficient working of society, nor even entirely for a wish to eliminate the organs of society that destroy individual freedom, but largely from a moral conviction of the virtues of a simpler life." (page 28).

Woodcock speaks only for himself. No Anarchist will agree that a moral life is possible without freedom. No Anarchist will sacrifice the "efficient working of society" and, above all, his freedom, in order to live the "simple life." To attain a simple life without freedom is easy. No change in society is necessary. One can escape to a hermitage or a nunnery. Such irresponsible statements amount to the renunciation of Anarchism.

Woodcock's criticisms of some of Kropotkin's ideas are completely unfounded. One of the basic tenets of Anarchism is that society is natural to man. Man is social by nature and will act co-operatively when the State and other artificial restrictions to mutual aid and freedom are removed. Woodcock objects to this. He argues that Kropotkin ignores the "... fact that when men have been conditioned into dependence, the fear of responsibility becomes a psychological disease that does not disappear as soon as its causes are removed" (page 206, our emphasis).

This is a typical capitalist argument. Kropotkin did not expect that men would miraculously become saints at once. What he did maintain was that, once the causes of the disease were removed, a cure would follow. The cure for mental and physical slavery is the practice and the habit of freedom. Can Woodcock suggest a better remedy?

With the exception of Stirner and Woodcock every Anarchist writer from Godwin to Malatesta and Rocker upholds the right of freely constituted associations to exert moral pressure, persuasion and public opinion to convince anti-social individuals to honour their voluntarily accepted obligations. If they refuse to do this, they are no longer entitled to receive the benefits of the association and are free to leave. Kropotkin illustrates this point. He says to a man who refuses to do his share of the work:

"If we are rich enough to give you the necessities of life, we shall be delighted to give them to you. You are a man and have the right to live. But as you wish to live under special conditions and leave the ranks, it is more than probable that you will suffer for it in your daily relations with other citizens." (*Conquest of Bread*, quoted by Woodcock).

Woodcock disagrees with Kropotkin. He insists that moral pressure by public opinion against individuals who will not keep their agreements violates fundamental principles of Anarchism. Does Woodcock propose to abolish public opinion? If so, how? By State decree? Today public opinion is tyrannical, because it reflects the amorality of Statist society. No-one will have anything to fear from

"public opinion" when it will be enlightened and inspired by the humanistic ethics of freedom, solidarity and love.

Woodcock correctly asserts that "the Anarchist movement made its earliest appearance within the First International" (page 240) and that "the Anarchist movement was his (Bakunin's) last and only creation" (page 183). (Note: First International or International Working Men's Association, founded 1864). The conscientious historian must, therefore, thoroughly explain the principles and tactics of the International, as worked out in its congresses. He must, above all, present a well-documented, clear and concise exposition of Bakunin's ideas and his activity within the International. In *Anarchy or Chaos* Woodcock established the indisputable fact that the IWMA was and still is an Anarcho-Syndicalist labour organisation, described its tactics and reprinted its Declaration of Principles. In his present work he does not do this and confines himself to a few, scattered remarks.

Woodcock devotes 38 pages, a whole slanderous chapter, to Bakunin, which he calls for no logical reason, "The Destructive Urge." Why does not Woodcock record the facts about Bakunin's constructive Anarcho-Syndicalist theoretical and tactical principles? There is not a single responsible historian of the socialist movement who does not recognise the enormous contribution made by the First International and the Bakuninists in the evolution of modern Anarcho-Syndicalism. Why does not Woodcock give a single quotation to establish this connection?

Anyone has the right to criticise our movement and we must learn from our mistakes when they are pointed out to us. Woodcock has the right to change his mind. But he has no right to slant his "history" of Anarchism in order to justify his defection from the Anarchist Movement.

SAM WEINER

Handcuffs across the sea

HERBERT L. MATTHEWS, editor of the *New York Times*, recently visited Castro's Cuba. His sympathetic findings were not printed in that paper, however, but appeared in a monthly report issued by Stanford University Hispanic American Institute. Extracts were reprinted in *I. F. Stone's Weekly* (17.2.64), from which we take the following choice extract concerning the Unified Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba, the country's only political party:

"The PURSC is . . . a carefully chosen elite, dedicated to the Revolution. I asked Fidel (Castro) if it was not similar in conception to the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, the Fascist Party in Italy and the Nazi Party in Germany, and he said that roughly it was."

And from the Stockholm Syndicalist weekly, *Arbetaren*, we learn that Franco Spain's recent exports to Cuba include 40,000 pairs of handcuffs. Totalitarian hand(cuff)s across the sea!

Strike against discrimination

WORKERS at the transport depot of Davis Brothers, Solebay Street, Bow, London, E, went on strike (27.2.64) in defence of coloured fellow workers. The firm employs white motor fitters at the full wage rate and coloured fitters at a lower rate. 150 lorry drivers struck to support the coloured fitters having the same pay and conditions as the whites.

MAY DAY is MAY the FIRST

Libertarian Platform,

Friday, May 1, at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, London, from 4 p.m.

If wet, evening meeting at the British Oak, Westbourne Park Road, W.10, 8 p.m.

Salazar fears First of May

SALAZAR's fascist police in Portugal are awaiting May Day, 1964, with apprehension, expecting renewed mass demonstrations against the regime by militant workers and students.

Despite the violence of the PIDE (political police), the people in general and workers in particular challenged the fascist State on the First Day of May, 1962 and 1963, in both Oporto and Lisbon.

In 1962, thousands of workers came on to the streets of Lisbon to demonstrate, while the police tried vainly to disperse them with jets of coloured water. The enraged crowd reacted by tearing up stones from the road and throwing them at the police, who reached for their guns and opened fire, killing José Danque Giro, a printing worker.

This crime increased the workers' anger and they moved by various routes to the centre of the city, pulling down telegraph posts to block the roads and hold up the vehicles of the PIDE. Violent man-to-man fighting followed with stones and bullets flying. After 24 hours the workers were beaten, there were some 200 wounded and 98 known anti-Salazarists had been arrested.

On May Day, 1963, the workers again came on to the streets, but within a few minutes in Lisbon the police had replied by killing another printworker, Agostino Fineza, and Lucila Costa Loureco. But the demonstration continued, both in Oporto and Lisbon.

Tenants picket (cont.)

in a van further down the street waited for a chance to move in.

On March 5 a delegation saw Glover and offered him the rent. In the circumstances he realised he could do nothing and, although he refused the rent, he promised not to take any action until the St. Louis' had found somewhere else to live. By this time, though, the Council had placed Closing Orders and a Management Order on the house. This provided an easy way out for him. He decided he wanted the rooms for "re-decoration" to reach the Council's standards and, just before going to press, Mr. and Mrs. St. Louis each received a summons to answer a charge of trespass. Trespass on their own homes!

S.W.

LITERATURE

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE UNIONS?

WORKERS' CONTROL	by Tom Brown	5d.
HOW LABOUR GOVERNED, 1945-1951		6d.
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VIEWES AND COMMENTS	(fortnightly organ of the IWW)	4d.
	(organ of the Libertarian League, U.S.)	8d.

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