

Direct Action

For workers' direct control of industry

Inside—Back to the dole
Sell-out to Verwoerd
and Franco? : Letters
The industrial front

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION (IWMA)

Vol.7 No.9 (63)

September 1966

Fourpence

THE ANSWER — INDUSTRIAL ACTION

THE latest attempt of Wilson & Co. to patch up the capitalist system is pathetic to say the least. The Labour Party have always claimed that they can run capitalism better than anyone else: using these terms of reference they are failing

Two years a prisoner of Franco

THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY falls this month of Stuart Christie's sentence to 20 years in fascist jails. Stuart, then 18, was arrested in Madrid on August 11, 1964, with Fernando Carballo. The two anti-fascists were held in secret for five days by the Spanish gestapo, who then announced that they were to be tried for "terrorism"—that is, for intent to "carry out acts of violence against official buildings and private residences, in order to create a psychosis of terror." On September 1, 1964, Christie and Carballo were railroaded to jail by a military court. No independent observers were present at the brief proceedings, which were the usual cynical burlesque of a fair hearing.

Thousands of anti-fascists rot in Franco's jails. The fascist State does not, of course, admit to the existence of these political prisoners—they are merely "criminals". It is not they, however, who have created any "psychosis of terror", but the 30-year-old Franco regime which, installed in power by Mussolini and Hitler, has drowned in blood and suffering every democratic liberty. For some time now, we have heard reports from time to time of Franco's "liberalisation". They amount to nothing. Only three years ago two men were garrotted to death in Madrid. In the Asturias, striking miners and their wives were beaten and tortured. This year a peaceful protest of priests was batted, and even a pro-government newspaper (the only kind allowed to exist) suppressed for its "liberalness".

In the case of Stuart Christie YOU can do something to help. Please, on the second anniversary of his sentence, protest and demand that the Labour Government intervenes for his release.

With the current negotiations over Gibraltar, Spain is in the news, to say the least. Please write to the newspapers, national and local, to your local MP and to the new Foreign Secretary. Act now to save Stuart Christie, a lover of freedom, from further long years of imprisonment.

hopelessly, but they are using the traditional capitalist method of attempting to get out of trouble—slam and hog-tie the ordinary people.

The Prices and Incomes Bill was just a warning of things to come, the body-blow came in the Government's amendment, Part 4 of the Bill. This section freezes wages and, hopefully, prices for six months, followed by a period of "severe restraint"—the difference, if any, is negligible.

The Government White Paper on the subject is very clear on *one aspect only*, the freezing of wages: any claims due to be paid after July 20 are frozen solid. Workers in 16 industries are due for wage increases and/or shorter hours in the next six months. Some are the result of long-term agreements involving increases, or hours reduction, every year. Others involve Wages Council awards. Looking through the list, the majority of people involved are the lower-paid workers, railwaymen, grocery and provision, toy manufacture and local authority manual workers. These workers are always trailing in the wages rat-race; as soon as they receive a wage increase they must put in for another, in an endeavour to *obtain*, not maintain, a living wage.

Part 4 of the Bill is the usual written diarrhoea, so many words and cross-references, designed deliberately to close all the gaps and bolt-holes.

FORCES WORKERS TO STRIKE

The operative part is that any employer paying an increase in wages, or granting shorter hours after July 20 can be fined £100, unless the appropriate Minister has given his consent in writing.

By placing the onus on the employer, it forces the workers to strike, if they wish to pursue their claim. There is no fear of an employer breaking the wages freeze.

The freezing of prices, on the other hand, is far more fluid. The White Paper states that the standstill period will apply except to the *limited* (my italics) extent that higher prices or charges may be necessary because of marked increases, which cannot be absorbed, in cost of imported materials, or which

cont. on page 2 col. 1

On THEIR salaries, too!

"BOOKS missing from the House of Commons library at the last check last year totalled 2,380."—Mr Crossman, Leader of the House, *Hansard* 13.8.66.

But did they look down Charing Cross Road?

arise from changes in supply for seasonal or other reasons, or which are due to action by the Government, such as increased taxation.

These exceptions are no different from normal. Failing the usual cry of "price increase due to labour costs", the other reasons are always used: increased cost of raw materials, Government taxation, or seasonal demands. Who is trying to kid whom?

The Confederation of British Industry is backing the standstill, showing out like a knight in shining armour BECAUSE they can see a way around the price freeze, or failing that can gum the works up administratively. The Government's White Paper promises that the list of 81 items on which price increases have already been notified under the early warning system arrangements will be extended. Clause 9 of the White Paper covers price freeze and states that, except in certain circumstances (already mentioned), all price increases must obtain sanction from the Government. Therefore, if the list of prices which must be included in a total freeze are to be notified, the list will run into millions—and any Government would need thirty million clerks to sort it out. The CBI are hoping to get a compromise on this clause. One can say the CBI have scored the first "breach". Employers do not like their price increases to be noticed; they like to slip them in gradually, drop the price on one article by a penny and up the price on another by threepence—this is good business.

Purely as a matter of interest, bacon prices have been raised for the SECOND time in a fortnight. The Minister for Agriculture was very disturbed, BUT he appreciated the difficulty: the increase was due to SEASONAL fluctuation, I must be excused for saying "I told you so." According to the "Grocer", bacon is one of the few commodities to show an increase, except for those influenced by the Government decision to increase *purchase tax*. Clause 9 cannot only be used as an escape hatch—it's a bloody great hole.

HANDY SAFETY-VALVE

Clause 11 of the White Paper covers rents. Local authorities are expected to prevent or postpone rent increases. Rents of private housing will be kept under the closest scrutiny.

Clause 14 on rates is very brief: local authorities have been urged to ensure all proper economies in expenditure. Local government is always skint; what they can't get on rents will go on the rates. Who is the arbiter of economies in expenditure? Most certainly not the people who pay—the ratepayers.

It is pretty obvious that this whole abortion is a WAGE and prices Freeze, and the opposition to it, for the moment anyway, has been hundreds and hundreds of words and quite a few cubic feet of hot air. The Labour Government can afford to tolerate the so-called "left opposition" in view of its parliamentary majority; in any case, it's a handy safety-valve for the time being. Those trade union leaders who at the moment oppose the Bill look to the "left wing opposition" as their saviours; it prevents them advocating any form of direct action, also it's something to tell their members if they get stropy: "We are supporting the fight in Parliament". During the committee meeting on the Bill (4.8.66), Mr. Cousins suggested that the trade unions were in danger of becoming an adjunct of Government. Mr. Brown maintained

that for much longer than his lifetime the effort had been to see that the trade unions became an effective part of the process of Government. This involved responsibilities and obligations—not Syndicalism.

"This does not mean the delegating by a public elected Government of its powers—or some part of its powers—to the CBI or TUC, but it does mean sharing with them the whole business of making up one's mind".

Let's get this straight: the Joe Soaps of this country HAVE BEEN TOLD, this is how it's going to be. Sure, Mr. Brown chatted the TUC, but he TOLD them how it was going to be and they were halfway with him anyway. This is the reason it's not Syndicalism, but control and direction from the top down. The Bill grants Minister and Government powers unheard of in peace time, it is a "not-so-benevolent dictatorship". The freeze is for a 12-month period and Mr. Brown has stated that it would require an entirely new Bill, that would have to go before both Houses of Parliament, before the freeze could be extended beyond that period. This was an attempt to soften the critics, but the point is A NEW BILL COULD BE PRESENTED AFTER 12 MONTHS and the Government, with its majority, could easily get it through, and the only thing that could stop such a venture would be industrial action.

INDUSTRIAL ACTION

An important factor which does get overlooked during the melée of events, is the increasing use of Administrative Tribunals by the Government. The National Board for Prices and Incomes is a classic example: any person who refuses or wilfully neglects to attend in obedience to a summons shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding £50. Refusal to supply books or documents merits the same treatment. No wonder George Brown said this was not Syndicalism.

The Labour Government has thrown off the "velvet glove" and the TUC has acquiesced. Trade union leaders have rucked, Frank Cousins has walked out of the Committee room, but still the Bill goes on. Remember Cripps and his attempted wage freeze? The organised workers knocked it to hell, and it's them who will have to do it again, maybe piecemeal at first, guerilla tactics, strike here and away, strike there and so on. We have to face it: only industrial action will blow this lot back into Wilson's lap.

BILL CHRISTOPHER

'Illegal' association

A MADRID court dropped charges against three Spaniards accused of illegal association and reserved judgement on four others on August 3. Giving evidence for the defence, Herr Hans Matthofer, a German Social Democrat MP and Metalworkers' Union official, said the clandestine Alianza Sindical Obrera (Workers TU Alliance) conformed to the West German conception of a legitimate free trade union. The seven defendants were charged with illegal association because of their membership of ASO. Charges were dropped against three men who had sought exile in France and were being tried in their absence. The prosecutor demanded sentences of 3-4 years for the four in court, saying they had represented ASO at the ICFTU Congress in Amsterdam last year.

FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS

RESISTANCE—Committee of 100 Bulletin, 6d. From 32a Fellows Road, London N.W.3.

PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST GROUP: Contact J. Hill, 79 Underland, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.

SWF (LONDON) SOCIAL

Saturday, September 17 at 8 p.m.

Lucas Arms, 245 Grays Inn Road, London, WC1

(5 min. Kings Cross)

ENTERTAINMENT . . . BAR . . . GOOD COMPANY

Book the date — and bring your friends
proceeds in aid of DIRECT ACTION

BACK TO THE DOLE UNDER WILSON

THE GREAT SQUEEZE, starting with the Big Freeze, is here.

The most drastic series of measures aimed at cutting purchasing power since 1945 was announced by the Government at the end of July. The selective Employment Tax starts operation on September 5. The Prices and Incomes Bill, a multi-pronged attack on militancy, is rushed through Parliament. British capitalism is in a mess. International bankers, we are told, lack confidence in the pound, and threaten to withdraw their sterling deposits. They don't like the way the economy is shaping up. Something drastic must be done. The workers are to tighten their belts and lower their dignity. The politicians are to ensure that they do this, in the name of the "national interest". The policies are being peddled with all the lies, half-truths and self-deception that the rag-bag of politicians' phrases will yield.

Mass unemployment is being sold as "redeployment". A better word would be "uprooting". Even if this favourite pipe dream of Wilson's came true, some hundreds of thousands of workers are to be torn from one occupation and driven, on pain of beggarmdom, to another. If this means moving their homes, so much the worse for their families as well. If it means learning a new trade, too bad also. The wages paid in retraining centres (what few there are) hardly correspond to industrial rates.

Workers nearing retirement age find it is usually impossible to find a new job after losing the old one. The number of premature pensioners is certain to multiply.

SALES TALK

But "redeployment" is strictly sales talk. As an article by Stephen Aris in the *Sunday Times* (24.7.66) points out, what the exporting and heavy industries (which are, supposedly, to "snap up" workers sacked from others) need is skilled workers. "And so acute is the national shortage that however strong the economic gale these are the last people to appear on the labour market. An examination of the occupational structure of the unemployed at a time of crisis bears this out. In December 1961, when unemployment had risen well above the 400,000 mark, for every out-of-work electrical and electronic worker there were two vacancies; for every two unemployed engineering workers there were three jobs going begging and for carpenters the ratio was one to two. Even in the depths of the dreadful winter of 1962/3 when nearly a third of the workers in the North East were out of work and unemployment was running at over double the national average skilled men were hard to find."

So when Wilson glibly says that unemployment should not rise, as a result of the July measures, to more than 1½ to 2% after redeployment, it rings like a cracked bell. Though these percentages alone mean 350,000 to 470,000 on the dole, Mr. Richard Pryke, the government economist who resigned against the measures, puts the likely figure at up to a million by the end of 1967.

So much for the economists' statistics. For the unemployed

worker it does indeed effect his prospects of eventually getting another job to know whether half-a-million or a million other workers are in the same boat. But for him and for his family the immediate problem is not 1½, 2 or even 20%, but 100%. Every single unemployed worker and every single one of his dependants is a living indictment of the wages system. More than this, as unemployment increases it brings terrible demoralisation. Those without jobs are reduced, in effect, to begging, and conversely those who have steady employment come to look on it as a favour granted by the employer. Added to this, the state of the labour market reduces all living standards, of employed and unemployed alike, while both are without the dignity which is an essential condition for any militancy let alone thoughts of a better world. How can labour be emancipated when it is scarcely tolerated? Unemployment, too, is felt most bitterly amongst the young, which in turn reflects on family life as a whole.

"SACRIFICE OF WELL-BEING"

Selective Employment Tax promises only to increase and add to these tendencies. The same arguments against "redeployment" apply, the same effects on the standard of living and morale of the workers will tend to take place. Added to this, it is obviously the government's intention to take a considerable number of services as such out of production and hence out of consumption. As a perceptive article by Andrew Maxwell in *Candis* (the lively magazine of Harlow CND) points out, "Its primary purpose is to restrict those forms of social production which make life more easy, bearable or enjoyable, namely, those which concern aspects of life not strictly involved in industrial production." That is to say, "the sacrifice of well-being to the needs of heavy industry." As Maxwell mentions, while Russia slowly emerges from this condition Britain is going back to it!

It is with the immediate Wage Freeze and the Prices and Incomes Bill, however, that the Labour Government reveals its true nature, for if the Tories are a party of class rule, Labour with its decisive TU and general working-class support is a party of class collaboration whose pose only serves to bind the workers tighter in wage slavery.

The "national interest" is as mythical as the language in which the Big Stick is wrapped is dishonest. Under capitalism there is a direct conflict of interest between those who produce and those who own the means of production, those who obey and those who command. "More production", "higher productivity", "bigger exports"—none of these supposed aims are necessary or automatic conditions for a higher standard of living for the workers. In class society the distribution of wealth comes about by other means: through the struggle for power of class against class, first and foremost at the point of production. The intention of the Prices and Incomes Bill is to cripple and even castrate the workers' struggle.

POINT OF PRODUCTION

It is at the point of production that its measures must be fought, and will be most effectively fought by democratic shop-floor organisation, whatever the promises of politicians and the middle men called union officials to the contrary. It is the same organisation which is called for to fight the sackings and intimidation which employers will attempt to operate under the stimulation of the credit squeeze and Selective Employment Tax.

The political errand-boys of the employers may try to take away the right to strike, but they can never take away the workers' power to strike. The State will probably try to terrorise the many by jailing the few. But it can only jail a few.

MARK HENDY

YOU CAN GET D.A. AT . . .

DIRECT ACTION is on sale at the following bookshops:

GLASGOW: Clyde Bookshop.

LONDON: Collets, Charing Cross Road, WC2.

Freedom Bookshop, 17a Maxwell Road, Fulham, SW6.

ILP Bookshop, 197 Kings Cross Road, WC1.

Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, WC1.

CHICAGO: IWW Headquarters, 2422 N Halsted Street.

Solidarity Bookshop, 1947 Larrabee, Chicago 14.

SAN FRANCISCO: City Lights Bookshop, 281 Columbus Avenue, SF 11.

PARIS: Librairie Publico, 3 rue Ternaux, Paris 11.

Direct Action

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION, BRITISH SECTION OF INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Labour hands over to Verwoerd

BOMBING of villages on India's NW Frontier . . . collective punishment for individual crimes in Malaya . . . banning of public meetings in the West Indies . . . repression in Kenya, Nigeria, Uganda, Bechuanaland . . . support for the White Supremacists in Bermuda and the Bahamas. That was the Labour Government's record during the 1945-51 period, fully documented in our pamphlet *How Labour Governed, 1945-51* (9d. postpaid).

Fifteen years later, with all but the remnants of Britain's Colonial Empire liquidated by successive Tory Governments, the pattern under Harold Wilson and Horatio, sorry Arthur Bottomley is little changed. Negotiations with fascist Franco over the future of Gibraltar (dealt with elsewhere in this issue), kid-glove talks with Baas-man Ian Smith about Rhodesia and Government-sponsored capital investment in the economic set-up of Verwoerd's South Africa are three facets of Labour Party "socialism" in practice today.

The third of these was exposed by an excellent article, "The Sell Out", in *The Observer* (17.7.66) from African expert Colin Legum. He writes:

"Britain . . . chooses to remain deeply embedded in South Africa's economy. Within recent months the Government-sponsored Export Council has established a special committee to expand British trade further with South Africa.

"Fundamentally, the paralysis of British policy on Southern Africa stems from the fear that a direct confrontation with *apartheid* would gravely damage Britain's economy by loss of trade and dividends from her £1,000 million investments . . . At the same time as Britain clearly dishonours her political responsibilities to her weakest wards—for fear of the consequences of confrontation with South Africa—she deliberately increases the extent of her own dependency on Dr. Verwoerd's Republic."

Legum's reference to "weakest wards" touches on the main subject of his article: the betrayal to fascist Verwoerd of the three territories of Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland. That is the "Sell Out", initiated by Tory Sir Alec Douglas Hume and faithfully pursued by Wilson and Bottomley.

The Territories were taken under British "protection" almost 100 years ago. During the past century their inhabitants have been left in poverty-stricken misery, in the best traditions of colonialism. Legum recalls:

"After the defeat of the Boers in 1901, and with the subsequent decision to surrender power to the Union of South Africa in 1910, Britain would have liked to see her protectorates incorporated into the Union. All three, however, resisted. With no alternative policy to offer, Britain

left them in a political limbo until one day their inhabitants should agree voluntarily to join South Africa.

"That time never came. But Britain . . . did virtually nothing to assist their development. Inaction was justified over almost half a century on the grounds that since the protectorates would one day form part of the Union it was unnecessary to spend British taxpayers' money on them. . . .

"As late as 1921 the official British view still was that the territories should subsist largely as reservoirs of cheap labour for the mines and farms of South Africa . . . there was virtually no education . . . the migratory labour system became a way of life."

Now Basutoland is to be granted "independence" on October 4, Bechuanaland on September 30, Swaziland probably next year—all under conditions which guarantee that they will be taken over, at last, by South Africa. The conditions in Basutoland, says Legum, guarantee "maximum insecurity, with the Government entrusted to an unrepresentative Ministry incapable of uniting the badly divided Basuto nation. And even now, with barely 10 weeks to go, no financial arrangements have been made about Basutoland's budget after independence."

In Bechuanaland, writes Legum, "Seretse Khama's team has estimated that the infant Republic must raise some £30 million over the next five years if it is to take even the most faltering steps towards self-sufficiency . . . it will be lucky to get a third of this sum from us. Bechuanaland thus seems doomed to beg its way into financial dependence on Dr. Verwoerd."

Similarly, Swaziland, with an administration on the feudalistic Saudi Arabian model, is ripe for Verwoerd's plucking.

Meanwhile, South Africa advertises in the British Press—like Franco Spain before the £50 clamp-down on holiday allowances—the wine and sun that await holidaymakers from this country, and all inside the sterling area. Business is business. Dirty business is dirty business. And chameleon Wilson is in it right up to his neck.

GROUP NOTICES

LONDON: Weekly meetings at Lucas Arms, 245 Grays Inn Road, WC1 (5 min. Kings Cross). Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m.

Aug. 24 The Peace Movement and Social Struggle—Ralph Rosenbaum

31 Subject to be announced—Mike Callinan

Sep. 7 Group business meeting

14 Building Workers' Joint Sites Committee—P. Turner

21 Ireland Since 1922—Dave Pickett

28 Workers' Control Under Capitalism—Tony Clifford

Oct. 5 Group business meeting

LONDON: SWF Industrial Action Sub-Committee (London). Readers wishing to help in the work of this committee are asked to contact the Secretary, c/o 34 Cumberland Rd., London E.17.

Open-air-meetings every Sunday, Hyde Park, 3 p.m.

ABERDEEN: Contact R. Comrie, 288 Hardgate, Aberdeen. Regular meetings.

BELFAST: Contact Tony Rosato, 103 Deer Park Road, Belfast 14.

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

BRISTOL: Contact Mike Davis, 130 Chesterfield Road, Bristol 6.

GLASGOW: Contact R. Lynn, 2B Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

HULL: Contact Jim & Shelagh Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hessle Road, Hull, Yorks.

LIVERPOOL: Contact Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

MANCHESTER & DISTRICT: Contact Jim Pinkerton, 12 Alt Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

NEWCASTLE: Meetings every Thursday, 8 p.m., at The Adelaide, Newgate St., Newcastle-on-Tyne 1. Contact M. Renwick, 122 Mowbray St., Heaton, Newcastle 6.

POTTERIES: Contact Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Ave., Weston Coyney, Stoke-on-Trent.

SOUTHALL: Enquiries to Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Ave., Southall, Middx.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: Contact J. D. Gilbert Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

WITNEY: Contact Laurens Otter, 5 New Yatt Road, North Leigh, nr. Witney, Oxon.

DIRECT ACTION PRESS FUND—August 1966

London S.E.5, M.H. 18s; Hull, J.Y. 8s; Vancouver, D.J. 7s; London E.17, D.P. 10s; Hyde Park sympathiser 4s 8d; Tynemouth, P.R. 2s 6d; Madison, Wisc. G.G. 7s; London S.W.7, D.R. 4s; Sales of CNT "Spain Today" postcards £3 2s; Northolt Anarchists 2s 6d; SWF London Group £3 16s 3d.

PLEASE, IT WASN'T ME, SIR!

A BIZARRE situation at the Associated Newspapers: the employers being forced to justify a wage claim to the Government, on behalf of their workers on the basis of productivity.

Members of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (SOGAT), after a day's stoppage, secured an increase from Associated Newspapers (*Evening News*). The agreement was finalised on July 22 and, within a few days, someone tipped off the Ministry of Labour.

As it was after July 20, the Minister wanted details. A

SPAIN—30 YEARS AFTER

THE BBC marked the 30th anniversary of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War with two TV programmes, one dealing with the events of 1936–39, the other on bullfighting. The first, based on some excellent films of the actual events, was marred by an often stupid commentary, written by James Morris and spoken by Dirk Bogarde.

To anyone with a working knowledge of what happened in Spain, the errors of omission and commission were clear. For those too young to remember, or whose ideas have been fashioned by the popular image of a simple struggle between Fascism and Communism (Russian variety), the script can only have added to the confusion.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists of the National Confederation of Labour (CNT) and Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) were cursorily dismissed as having been a disruptive element during the years of the Republic. No credit was given them for having formed the backbone of the armed resistance to the Fascists; not one word was spoken about the revolutionary social reconstruction carried out in anti-Franco Spain, when the Syndicalist workers took control of industry and agriculture. The commentary emphasised, grossly over-emphasised the strength of the CP, which, only a few thousand strong in 1936, grew—though we were not told this—by battering on middle-class opposition to workers' control, and through its grip on the Russian arms, which (again this was not mentioned) were sold to Republican Spain by Stalin for gold and a political price in addition.

And yet, the newsreel films of the period, which the programme drew on, did not lie. There were our comrades of the CNT-FAI grabbing whatever arms they could to fight the fascists; there were the Anarcho-Syndicalist militia columns, the initials "CNT-FAI" proudly blazoned on their lorries, there was the Catalan regional HQ of the CNT in Barcelona, industrial hub of revolutionary Spain and unmentioned until its fall right at the end of the war. The irony was aural as well as visual: the inspiring music chosen as background to scenes of the anti-Franco forces was, appropriately, the CNT's "To the Barricades" and the FAI's "Sons of the People." We even heard the words of the latter. But we were not told that these were the Anarcho-Syndicalist songs of anti-fascist Spain; from the commentary one would have imagined they, too, were the product of the CP.

The credit given Franco for industrialisation of Spain echoed the old cries of Mussolini making the trains run on time in fascist Italy and Hitler building motorways in Nazi Germany.

The splendid camerawork, however, must have had its effect. Two people have told me that, as a result of seeing the programme, they will not spend holidays in Spain until fascism is dead there. And that's something.

KEN HAWKES

report was submitted to the Minister on Monday, August 8.

The situation is fluid to say the least. Two payments have already been made to SOGAT members, so what happens now is anyone's guess. Many anxious eyes will be watching the Government's decision, but one thing is certain: there will be no repeat performance by Associated Newspapers. I know—I have tried.

WARREN REPORT (contd.)

BUNNY GIRLS have been warned that they must increase productivity or get out. Their job involves spinning roulette wheels, dealing cards and serving food and drinks. How one increases productivity on that basis I can't imagine. Anyway, the American-owned London Playboy Club claim that the English bunnies are not as productive as their American counterparts, plus the fact they do not take the job seriously enough. This sort of carry-on could really wreck the British economy.

DIRECTORS, WATCH YOUR FEES!

ACCORDING to a firm of Management Consultants, if the Government compels directors to reveal their salaries, they will get a shock: directors' fees are relatively low. One managing director gets only £5,000 a year from a firm employing 3,000 people. This is a pittance, when you compare it with a State-registered nurse's pay or a hospital ancillary's large remuneration. The wage freeze will hit directors badly: having a wage frozen at £100 a week must be pretty demoralising. Particularly if you have only one directorship!

WAGE-FREEZE — BUT NOT FOR US

THE Prime Minister has rejected two suggestions that MPs' salaries should be cut "as an example". Both a Labour and Tory MP put forward suggestions. Was it with tongue in cheek? After all, you can't very well cut a paltry £3,250 a year when railwaymen's wages are frozen at £650 a year (approx). This is a Labour Government's socialism, brother: "One for you and five for me".

T & GWU BLUFF CALLED

SOME 77,000 municipal busmen are entitled to a wage increase of just under 4%. The Prices and Incomes Board recommended an increase of 3–3½%. The employers are refusing to pay, claiming protection under the Wage Freeze. The T & GWU have written George Brown, claiming the wage freeze for municipal busmen is illegal. Brown had already written the employers, instructing them not to pay before the end of 1966. Brown drew the employers' attention to paras 19–23 of the White Paper, which stress that existing commitments cannot be honoured. George did not have to twist the employers' arm (I have this on good authority).

The ball is now firmly at the feet of the T & GWU. The "hen party" is over, all the chat at the TU Congress or the Labour Party Conference won't put cash in the busmen's bin. The only way the busmen will get the cash is by direct action at rank and file level. The T & GWU leadership has cried "wolf" once too often.

WISFUL THINKING

JACK COHEN, Chairman of Tesco supermarkets, has asked his employees to do an hour's overtime daily without pay. This would enable Tesco to meet the £400,000 cost of the pay-roll tax, without increasing food prices, plus the fact it would be an "example to the nation".

Cohen is absolutely oozing with patriotism, even his night attire is red, white and blue. Tesco are a poverty-stricken company: last year's profits before tax were £6,451,000. Dividends rose from 22½ to 32½%. Shareholders have doubled their money every two years. Surely Cohen's suggestion must be classified as "joke of the year".

DIRECT ACTION REPORTER

LETTERS

Anti-war rally in Japan

DEAR COMRADES,

We are going to hold the *Anti-War August Rally of the Workers and the Students* in Tokyo on August 2 together with the Marxist Young Workers' League and the Marxist Student League. For the success of the meeting we ask you to send us a message of international solidarity to be read there.

As you may know the rally is held every year by the revolutionary organisations independent of the conventional Peace Conferences sponsored by the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. The Anti-War Rally has drawn attention of the militant workers and students through its uncompromising criticism of the nuclear armament race between the capitalist and the so-called socialist, that is bureaucratic stalinist countries as well as between the "possessed" and the "un-possessed" at the sacrifice of the people of the world. On the other hand, the CP and the SP have become confused and inactive faced with the drastic transformation of the world today, such as the collapse of the Indonesian Communist Party, "Cultural Revolution" in China and so on.

This year the August Rally is going to be held in the midst of the intensification of the US aggression on the Vietnamese people and the rapid change of Japanese capitalism into imperialism.

Despite the fact that the Hanoi bombing has aroused strong indignation among the Japanese people, the SP as well as CP did not organise any serious protest action. It was only the Anti-War Youth Committee composed of the youth sections of the trade unions and the Togakuren and the Fugakuren (local organisations of the ZENGAKUREN in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto) that actually waged repeated demonstrations on the street under the suppression of the police.

Early in June the Japanese government willingly accepted the visit of the US nuclear submarine belonging to the Seventh Fleet to Yokosuka (adjoining harbour of Tokyo). It showed the open support of the Japanese ruling class for the US aggression in Vietnam and the intention of the nuclear armament of Japan through co-operation with the US force.

WORKERS' PARADISE?

LYN HARRINGTON, a Canadian writer, tells us in *Maclean's* (May 2, 1966), of her interview with one "worker" couple in Shanghai, who, in company with some 90,000 other "workers" of their type in that city do live in a veritable paradise.

In the words of Liu Nyan-tse (a "transformed capitalist"): "I'm not a Communist. I'm a capitalist. I draw a million *yuan* on my investments and, as general manager of China Wool Manufacturing Company, my salary is 525 *yuan* a month" (this, according to Lyn Harrington, is equivalent to an investment income of 420,000 Canadian dollars plus \$225 monthly—approx. £136,500 plus £73 monthly). And it seems that "some 65 other Chinese families are in the same position of drawing nearly half-a-million dollars a year . . . Liu and his fellow capitalists . . . have two cars, three servants and an ample wardrobe for Madame Liu as well as ample spending money for the children at school. As Mr. Liu put it to Lyn Harrington: "I never had it so good nor felt so well as I do today."

Western Socialist, Canada.

Liu and his fellows are not, of course, the ones who are suffering under Mao Tse-Tung's current purge of "Rightists."

The protest demonstration was not strong enough to prevent the anchorage of the submarine through the sabotage of the SP and the CP in the struggle. Thousands of the student demonstrators were completely cut apart from the workers demonstration by the policemen, overwhelming both in number and power. Nearly fifty students were arrested and many were seriously wounded trying to rush at the gate of the US Navy base there.

The Japanese ruling class, after concluding the Japan-Korea Treaty last December which cleared the way for imperialistic invasion into Korea, turned on the workers and students at home by passing many reactionary bills in the Diet, taking advantage of the confusion and degeneration of the current leadership of the workers' movement.

In this situation the task of the revolutionary left wing has become important in carrying out the people's own struggle against the aggression of the dominating powers at home and world over. We have long maintained that the decisive power that can bring an end to the threatening situation of the world today lies not in counter-measures by means of nuclear weapons or in summit talks among the powers, but in the mass direct action of the people of the world, especially in the unified struggle of the workers of the "advanced" countries and the colonial countries, based on proletarian internationalism.

Waiting for your answer,

Tokyo.

TORU KUROKAWA

Japan Revolutionary Communist League.

The SWF sent a message of solidarity to the Rally, which we hope to report in our next issue.

Gimlets at work

BACK IN THE 1930's, during the depression days in the USA, the Kremlin Communist Party boasted a membership of 100,000. Now they boast a hard-core membership of only 12,000. As pathological liars, they have no doubt exaggerated both statements. Of course, they have tails to the Communist kite, such as the ILD and the Dubois Clubs on University and college campuses. Just as the CP in England has Scotland Yard agents in it, so the Kremlin Communist Party in the US is honeycombed with FBI agents, some of whom doubtless hold official positions, in addition to layman stool-pigeons, who co-operate with the FBI agents.

If there were no Kremlin Communist Party, the American capitalist class and their finks would start one. They are doing the dirty work for the boss class. Labour unions which they can't control, they try to disrupt and destroy. Their International Labour Defence (I Love Dough) racket is crooked as a goat's hind leg. Some 90% of the money collected by this phoney outfit goes to the CP and their political hacks.

Since 1921, the orders from the Kremlin are still in effect that the IWW, the IWMA and all their branches must be liquidated and destroyed, because the CP are unable to control these genuine, revolutionary labour unions. Where the Kremlin or Peking CPs set up their dictatorships, members of these militant unions are the first to be persecuted, jailed and shot. No politician should be trusted at any time. Through the passing years, the IWW membership has expelled the Commie gimlets, as they have kicked out capitalist agents and other disruptive elements.

Seattle, Wash.

SKIDROAD SLIM

SCRAM—A national demonstration will be held in Scotland on September 24-25 at the Faslane Polaris base, the missile store at Coulport and the bomb store at Glen Douglas, all within a few miles of each other. It is an attempt to balance a realisation of the seriousness of the nuclear situation with the enjoyment of a pleasant week-end among beautiful Scottish scenery. Organisers are the Scottish Campaign for Resistance Against Militarism and full details are available from Jim Livingstone Jnr., 64 Greenhill Road, Rutherglen, Glasgow.

Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution

Ed. Note: *The article that follows was written by a comrade who, in addition to participating in the Russian Revolution, has also studied the vast literature on the subject. The events sketchily touched upon in his remarks took place in the early period of the revolution—between February and October of 1917, before and shortly after the Bolsheviks seized power. Anarchist participation in the Kronstadt Rebellion and the Makhno movement in the Ukra'ne are relatively better-known than the events dealt with below. Material dealing with this period can be found in the English translation of Maximoff's "The Guillotine at Work," and Voline's two-volume history "The Unknown Revolution."*

THE ATTITUDE of the Anarchists toward the deformation of the Russian Revolution by the Communist Party and the constructive libertarian approach to the problems of the Revolution were broadly summarized by Peter Kropotkin in his prophetic "Letter to the Workers of Western Europe", written in 1919 while in Dimitrov:

"... this effort to build a communist republic on the basis of a strongly centralised state communism under the iron law of party dictatorship is bound to end in failure. We are learning to know in Russia how not to introduce communism—the idea of soviets, that is to say, of councils of workers and peasants—controlling the economic and political life of the country is a great idea, since these councils should be composed of all who take a real part in the production of national wealth by their own efforts. But as long as the country is governed by a party dictatorship, the workers' and peasants' councils lose their entire significance.

"The methods of overthrowing already enfeebled governments are already well-known to ancient and modern history. But when it is necessary to create new forms of life, especially new forms of production and exchange [the new] government becomes a nuisance. It develops a bureaucracy so formidable that the French bureaucracy, which requires the help of forty officials to sell a tree broken down by a storm on the national highway, is a mere bagatelle in comparison. That is what we are learning in Russia. And that is what you workers of the west should avoid by every means, since you have at heart the success of a real social reconstruction.

"The immense constructive work demanded by a social revolution cannot be accomplished by a central government, even if it had to guide it something more substantial than a few socialist and anarchist handbooks. It has need of knowledge, of brains and the voluntary collaboration of a host of local and specialised forces which alone can attack the diversity of economic problems in their local aspects. To reject this collaboration and to turn everything over to the genius of party dictators is to destroy the independent centres of our life, the trade unions and the local co operative organisations by changing them into bureaucratic organs of the party as is the case at this time. This is the way not to accomplish the revolution, to make its realisation impossible. And this is why I consider it my duty to put you on guard against borrowing such methods . . ."

Before and after the October Revolution of 1917, Lenin echoed such anarchist slogans as, "Down with the Kerensky Government," "Down with the War," "Abolition of the Standing Army," "Arming the Workers and Peasants," "Workers Control of Industry" and "The Land to the Peasants." It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the workers and peasants of Russia knew nothing about these demands until the Anarchists or the Bolsheviks came around and persuaded them to accept these slogans. The

fact is, that all these demands were raised by the people and carried into effect before the radical groups were even known to them. Any movement wishing to gain popular support had to accept these slogans. It so happened that these slogans coincided with the Anarchist conceptions. The Anarchists rightfully viewed the spontaneous raising of these slogans as a vindication of their theories.

The slogans of the Revolution did not, however, coincide with the authoritarian Marxist theories of either the Bolsheviks or the Mensheviks. Lenin understood that his party could not come to power if he did not endorse the slogans raised by the Revolution. Lenin deliberately repeated the Anarchist slogans of the Revolution to gain popular support for his party. Subsequent events showed that once in power, Lenin and Company immediately instituted a dictatorship over the organisations of the workers and peasants and forgot all about his promises.

The "Marxists" in criticising Lenin's ideas inadvertently acknowledge the Libertarian tendencies of the Revolution. When Lenin tried to square his endorsement of the Anarchistic slogans of the revolution with Marxism, the various Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists tried to dissociate Marx from Lenin and associated Lenin with Bakunin and Anarchism. Thus, R. Abramovitch, a leading Menshevik, could still write in his book, "Soviet Revolution," (1962):

"[Lenin's] concepts shocked the Russian Marxists of April 1917. They considered [them] as a betrayal of scientific Socialism, a reversion to the old utopian Bakuninist, Maximalist, Anarchist idea" (page 30). Lenin was mistaken for an Anarchist not only by the Mensheviks, but even by some Anarchists.

While the political parties were engaged in a bitter struggle for power, the Anarchists dedicated themselves to spreading revolutionary ideas among the peasants and workers in the Czarist armies, and furthering the libertarian tendencies of the revolution. The Anarchists freed from Siberian imprisonment and those who returned from abroad developed and intensified Anarchist propaganda and mass action in the largest cities of Russia like Moscow, Petrograd, Kronstadt, Yaroslavl, Nizhni-Novgorod, Saratov, Samara, Krasnoyarsk, Vladivostok, Rostov-on-Don, Odessa, Kiev, Kharkov, Poltava, Ekaterinburg, Kursk, Ekaterinoslav and Viatka.

In the short-lived period in which the Anarchists enjoyed freedom in Russia, publishing houses were formed in Moscow, Petrograd and other centres, publishing papers, pamphlets and books. So successful were the Anarchist publications that weeklies turned into popular dailies, such as the Syndicalist *Golos Truda* of Petrograd, *Anarchy* of Moscow and others. In addition to these papers, there were also *Burevestnik*, *Rabochaya Mysle*, *Sibyrsky Anarchist*, *Rabochaya Zhizn*, *Trud i Volya*, *Volnaya Zhizn* and the famous *Nabat* of the Ukraine.

Even at this early stage of the Revolution, the Russian Anarcho-Syndicalists already foresaw the dangers of centralised bureaucratic unionism. They successfully organised shop and factory committees, where workers directly controlled production. This decentralised form of direct action workers' organisations took on national proportions. The Anarcho-Syndicalists organised the River Transport Workers' Union of the Volga. They were especially successful in the Bakers' Union in Moscow, Kharkov, Kiev and other cities, and also in the then Russian Poland. The Petrograd Postal and Telegraph Employees official publication was edited by Anarchists. Workers from the Nobel Oil Refinery joined the Anarcho-Syndicalist labour movement. In the Moscow

cont. on page 8, col. 2

SELL-OUT TO FRANCO NEAR

"Britain has made secret concessions to Spain over Gibraltar." The Sun, 25.7.66.

THE BRITISH PRESS, of all shades of opinion, is confident that Wilson is trying to bring off a one-sided deal with Franco—one-sided, that is, in favour of the chief Fascist. But the more Wilson grovels, the more arrogant and insulting becomes Franco. Wilson may have forgotten his own cries of "Munich, Munich!"; his new friend has not forgotten the tuition of his mentor, Hitler.

There is no question of giving Gibraltar to "Spain". Inanimate objects are not given to inanimate objects and Spain in this context means not the country and certainly not the people of Spain. Gibraltar, it is intended, shall be given to Franco and his Fascists. It is not surprising, then, that *The Sun* learned, "The Spaniards insisted that the people had no rights in the matter—and that the talks were simply between two sovereign States."

In general, it appears the proposals of the Labour Government are that Gibraltar should cease to be under direct British rule and, says, for example *The Sun*, "Its (Gibraltar's) national stamps, currency and passports would go." Instead—and on this all papers seem to have similar information—Gibraltar would be jointly controlled by some local British nominees and Spanish Fascism. The port and the airfield would be controlled by Franco, as well as the British, so that Spanish Fascism would control not only the domestic life of the Rock, but no-one could enter or leave Gibraltar, by land, sea or air, without permission of Franco.

Not only would the people of the Rock be handed over to Fascism (for Fascism can never be a "partner" in any sort or degree of free life), but those who have fled from Fascist hell, and those few who still manage to escape from Spain to Gibraltar, would be handed over, in cold Socialist blood, to jail, torture and death.

Pressing his advantage over Appeaser Wilson, Franco has intensified his "on, off" land blockade of the Rock, staged a phoney "strike" of Spanish workers who earn their living in Gibraltar and, in all possible ways short of open war, has bullied the Wilson Government. Well may the *Daily Express* in its front-page headlines cry: "Fears of sell-out over Gib" (9.8.66).

It is impossible on this matter to get a straight and truthful answer from the British Foreign Office. As the *Daily*

Telegraph (9.8.66) says: "The language of the Foreign Office, like its architecture, seems to be designed to baffle the average observer." In the Commons, Labour's Foreign Secretary would say only that Parliament would be informed, but said this in such a way that MPs believed they would "be informed" after the event. "Mr. Stewart would not give a firm assurance that any agreement on Gibraltar would have to be approved by Parliament" *Daily Express* (9.8.66). "Some Labour MPs listened to him with the sort of wariness one normally reserves for a second-hand car salesman." *Daily Telegraph* (9.8.66).

In the House, Tory leaders Heath and Maudling pressed Wilson for a straight answer on the reported surrender to Franco, but got none. Seven times they repeated their question, seven times they received from Labour's Premier—an open evasion.

This was in marked contrast to Wilson's speech in a House of Commons debate on June 17, 1964, when the Labour Party was in opposition. The following quote (our italics) is from *Hansard*:

Harold Wilson: "But that (the Spanish Civil War) is all of a quarter of a century ago and perhaps the right honourable Gentlemen, in common with other features of the landscape, have changed. They may have, *but Franco has not*, and all of us on this side—indeed on all sides—look forward to a change which cannot now be long delayed. To supply valuable information, about naval vessels, radar and other equipment to a democratic Spain is one thing, to supply it to Fascist Spain is quite another . . ."

"Has the right honourable Gentleman (the Foreign Secretary) received from the Franco Government a withdrawal of their claim to Gibraltar? Has he made that a condition of the arms deal? The House is entitled to an answer to that."

There can be no doubt that the proposed deal would be welcomed by Franco, for such a "National Victory" would help bolster his tottering régime. Remember the photos of Mussolini, Hitler and Franco smiling triumphantly over other deals? Perhaps we shall see one of Franco, Wilson and whoever is his Foreign Secretary at the time smiling over yet another Devil's Deal.

TOM BROWN

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (cont.)

junction of the Railwaymen's Union, the Anarchist, Kazimir Kovalevitz, was very influential. In the big Putilov Plants Anarchist influence was tremendous.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists organised between 25 and 30 thousand miners of the Delbatzev district of the Don Basin. This daring organising drive provoked the bitter enmity of the reactionary Don Cossacks, who murdered a number of Anarchist organisers. At the All Russian Trade Union convention the Anarchist faction represented 100,000 unionists. The delegates were instructed to present the Anarchist position. To combat the Anarchist influence, the Social-Democrats issued a special publication attacking the Anarcho-Syndicalists.

Views and Comments

(to be concluded).

LITERATURE

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE UNIONS ? by Tom Brown	4d
WORKERS' CONTROL SWF Pamphlet (2nd printing)	6d
HOW LABOUR GOVERNED, 1945-1951	6d
THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE by Tom Brown	4d
THE BOMB, DIRECT ACTION AND THE STATE	6d
LENIN AND WORKERS' CONTROL by Tom Brown	4d
THE LABOUR PARTY ILLUSION by Sam Weiner	6d
RESISTANCE SHALL GROW (full implications of the Spies for Peace disclosures). Jointly with the ILP, FLA and Solidarity	6d
THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE by Tom Brown	2d
ETHICS AND AMERICAN UNIONISM by Sam Weiner	6d
THE IWW'S LITTLE RED SONG BOOK	2s 6d
STRIKE STRATEGY (National Rank & File Movement)	2d
INDUSTRIAL WORKER (monthly paper of IWW)	4d.

Add 4d in the 1s for postage

From Direct Action, 34 Cumberland Road, London E.17. Cheques and p.o.'s should be payable to Syndicalist Workers' Federation

Subscribe to DIRECT ACTION

Yearly subscription rate 6s 6d (USA & Canada \$1—dollar bills preferred to cheques owing to loss in negotiating latter) from 34 Cumberland Road, London E.17. Cheques and p.o.'s payable to Syndicalist Workers' Federation.