

Direct Action

For workers' direct control of industry

Inside—Threat to Zengakuren
Story of the SWF : Dow
boycott appeal : Wilson
and the economic crisis

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION (IWMA)

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THE FOOLISH VIRGINS

THERE'S little need in DIRECT ACTION to point out what is wrong with the Back Britain Movement. £2,000,000,000 a year wasted on arms and they pretend they have a financial crisis because men are not working. Half a million unemployed and they pretend that working an extra half-an-hour per day per person will cure the crisis.

Many, forced to double mortgage their houses and work all the hours God sends to make ends meet, will see the unpaid overtime of the Surbiton Stakhanovites generalised so that they cannot get a job unless they work one free half-hour and real wages will be cut.

Business men slobbering over sacrifices: "We should all make them for the country" and selling at inflated prices little imported union-jack T-shirts (saying "Buy British"). Prominent politicians and a bishop who used to give lectures in Marxist economics jumping on the bandwagon.

18 years in Franco jail

To the slogan 'There are no political prisoners in Spain' it may be retorted, 'There are still political prisoners who have served more than eighteen continuous years'.

Miguel Garcia Garcia—now in Soria—60 years of age, militant of the CNT, is now the 'father' of the Spanish prisons. He was detained in Barcelona on October 21, 1949—the same date as Juan Busque Bergés, who was judged by court-martial in the Military Headquarters of that city in February 1952 and condemned to death (being commuted at the last moment, on March 13 of the same year, with three others). Another five were shot in the Campo de la Bota, Barcelona, after the same court-martial.

Now Miguel Garcia Garcia, half-blind and critically ill, is still languishing in the prison of Soria, hoping against hope that the authorities will allow him to die outside prison.

Lately he has been suffering severe heart attacks and was saved only by a miracle—he was taken to Yserias, where he remained two months during which period he saw no heart specialist. The crisis over, he was returned to Soria at 1,100 metres altitude, where a new crisis would of necessity be fatal.

It is imperative that something be done very soon on behalf of Miguel Garcia Garcia. He cannot be left to die among the warders of Soria, a latter-day victim of the Spanish Inquisition.

STUART CHRISTIE

But there is a more significant and dangerous side to it than this. The left has so far dismissed the campaign as a flash in the pan that will be forgotten in six months and therefore should be ignored, but the danger is that it will not be forgotten.

Many Anarchists have referred to the Wilson regime as Fascist. Fortunately, in fact, despite the racism which Wilson manifested in the White(s-only) Paper on Immigration and everything else, he has lacked just one thing to make his regime fit the label.

Fascism necessitates a body of industrial workers who because of mistaken idealism not because of bribes are prepared to blackleg in industry and help discipline other workers, if necessary beating them into submission.

IDEOLOGY NEEDED

Old-fashioned Liberal Capitalism (democratic and laissez-faireist) was found at the beginning of this century incapable of keeping the workers down; moreover the Boom-Slump cycle which had in the past served the interests of efficient Capitalism well was now found to be irksome.

Lenin, more or less unconsciously, later Stalin consciously and to a far greater extent, demonstrated how the State and the economy could be planned in the interests of efficient capital and how the workers, given an ideology, could be relied on to discipline one another in the interests of the rulers of the economy.

Fascism achieved this by similiar methods; the New Deal under Roosevelt was only able to so do in the wake of the Slump, and then only in limited measure, and in Britain the war and post-war austerity also did not suffice to allow the full transformation. State-managerialist Capitalism to take full control and make its full transformation of society, necessitates the support—and active support of a significant section of the working class, which can only be won on the basis of an ideology which will appear altruistic. So that when the strong-arm squad administers the castor oil it can sincerely convince itself that it is doing this in the common interests of all well-disposed inhabitants of the Workers' Fatherland—the socialist-nation—and that only ill-disposed trouble makers need be thrashed to secure this.

It may well seem scare-mongering to warn that in the Back Britain Movement Wilson may well find for the first time the seeds of the rank and file involvement, the intolerant nationalism, the self-righteous pseudo-socialist class-peace reasoning

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FOOLISH VIRGINS (cont.)

which always marks a Fascist movement. (Though *Peace News* in an interesting column noted a pre-Fascist air about the movement.) But most Fascist organizations start with just such well-meaning but mistaken attempts to end slumps, restore industrial peace and so forth.

ATTITUDES ON THE RIGHT

Of course the classical Right—represented by laissez-faireists like Enoch Powell—have attacked the Back Britain Movement, agreeing for once with the Left that it is economically nonsense. They are also aware that any upsurge of patriotism redounds to the support of the party in power at the time; for if the defence of the nation is made good in itself, which is to be posited uncritically in this way, then it is in effect defence of the nation's rulers and all criticism thereof is labelled anti-patriotic. Support for the Back Britain Campaign from the old Fascist groups would of course have been the one thing guaranteed to kill it at birth, and since these are saying that the Labour Government is anti-patriotic they are unable to get on the foolish virgin bandwagon. But the fact that the heirs of the pre-war Fascists oppose Backing Britain in no sense makes the latter less Fascist. Mosley was opposed by the British Fascists, Huey Long said when Fascism comes to America we'll call it anti-Fascism, and the Vichy regime was opposed by the Cagoulards (the pre-war French Fascists).

Traditionally, Fascism arises where a timorous and half-baked Social-Democrat movement has scared Capitalism, but done no more to change society and where the betrayals of the Social Democrats have led to the disillusionment and disorientation of idealistic youth.

There is a difference here. Wilson never even scared Clore, though it is possible that the *Tribune* Left may so have done; but the pusillanimous Social Democrats are certainly to be found. The radical youth of the CND era are certainly to be found disillusioned and disoriented, having retreated from the corruption of politics and turned in on themselves, many taking refuge in drugs and other forms of ivory towerism. In the twenties and thirties the Stalinists called everyone "Social Fascists" and deliberately disrupted the left to the advantage solely of the authoritarian Right; so the Maoists and Healyites now do.

SIGNIFICANT

There would be a significant difference between the British situation if the Back Britain Movement does mature into a Fascist-type movement and all versions of overt Fascism, in that it would arise in support of a Labour Government and encourage that Government to rationalize to continue planning society. But these are the same aims as the Left of the Labour Government now advocates and criticises Wilson for not having adequately attended to in his period of office. So, while in all social matters Labour would be swung further Right, it would be encouraged to pursue economic reforms beloved of much of the Left, and so it would be supported by many now half-bakedly critical of Wilson.

It is significant in this context how much Britain-backers like Thorpe, Grimond and the Bishop of Southwark have been considered in the past Left critics of the Government.

LAURENS OTTER

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

The 1966 Seamen's Strike: an Analysis
by GEORGE FOULSER
(9d. postpaid; bulk orders 6s. a dozen)

Tolpuddle, 1968

NINETEENTH-CENTURY employers still exist, or at least they do in Yorkshire. Nine workers from a firm of tent makers were sacked because they refused to leave the National Union of Agricultural Workers.

After the county organiser for the union had completed an agreement concerning pay and hours the firm's 40 men were told they could no longer be members of a trade union. Nine members refused to submit to the firm's reactionary attitude, and 20 of the remaining 31 are technically still members because their dues are paid up. It is suggested that they send their dues by post so that the employer doesn't know. I have it on good authority that members of a trade union are no longer deported to Australia, although sometimes I begin to doubt this authority. Surely it's about time this employer went out of business, until he falls into line. The workers decide whether they wish to belong to a union not the employer or the State.

WAIT AND YOU SHALL HEAR

THERE were two interesting written replies in answer to recent questions asked in the House of Commons. While it's true that this incident occurred in December 1967 the value from such knowledge is not dated. The first written reply was by Mr Harold Lever, Financial Secretary, which said, "The seamen's strike in 1966 and the docks strikes in 1967 had caused a direct and violent disturbance to the trade figures for individual months, with secondary effect on confidence in sterling. But their net effect on the trade balance over a period would probably be found to have been relatively small."

Remember Wilson's tirade at the time? One only has to wait. In fact two day's snow costs the country more money than industrial disputes.

The second reply is also a gem, from the Workers' Champion himself, Ray Grunter: "There would be no Government inquiry into the dispute at Roberts-Arundel, Stockport."

While one must confess that the less Government inquiries the better, the Workers' Government have left Roberts-Arundel strictly alone. It is true that Grunter has had a chat around the problem but it was fine window dressing and no one was deceived.

ANOTHER NINETEENTH CENTURY EMPLOYER

ROBERTS-ARUNDEL and CBR Jersey Mills of Brighton have one thing in common, both sets of employers are violently anti-union. Roberts-Arundel has virtually been locked out of business but CBR continue merrily on.

For nine months the workers at CBR have been fighting for better pay, conditions and trade union recognition. On Friday, January 19 came the end of the struggle, with the workers defeated. The locked-out members were not reinstated and the factory is not organised.

The Hosiery Workers Union did a deal with the employers. What kind of an agreement was reached one shudders to think.

The significant point is that CBR were able to continue production throughout the dispute, and unfortunately this is the continuing story of industrial life. Were the maintenance engineers and electricians in the plant union members? If they were, how come the plant continued to function?

According to reports, the conditions in CBR are primitive. A 72-hour minimum working week on the basis of 12-hour shifts at 5/6d an hour for men and 2/9d an hour for women. How about Mr Scamp having a butcher's at that lot? No need to go back to the drawing board to sort that one out. CBR should join Roberts-Arundel on the scrap heap.

B.C.

JAPAN: THREAT TO BAN ZENGAKUREN

FIFTEEN THOUSAND students and workers joined in demonstrations at Haneda Airport on October 8 and November 12 to protest against the visits of Prime Minister Sato to South Vietnam and the United States, respectively. To get the real impact of the demonstrations you have to see the photographs in Zengakuren's latest pamphlet*—the police cordon which had been thrown around the airport was broken, and demonstrators "acquired" several police armoured vans. The riot police retaliated by turning on the water cannons and fired tear gas into the crowds.

HOW HIROAKI YAMAZAKI DIED

On the October 8 demonstration one demonstrator, Hiroaki Yamazaki, was killed. Contrary to reports in the press—including the Communist press in Japan—he was not run over by an armoured van driven by one of the students. He was clubbed to death by the police. When this fact was announced by Zengakuren, 58 of them were arrested and the organisation was threatened by mass arrests from the police. It's significant that although most of the Japanese demonstrators wear steel helmets, most of the injuries sustained are to the head and shoulders. From the photographs received, it's obvious that the police pick out a small group and club them over the head until they're half-dead—or even full-dead in some cases.

During the November 12 demonstration 333 people were arrested (the highest number to be arrested on a demonstration in Japan since the war).

Although these demonstrations were specifically directed against the visits of Sato to South Vietnam and the United States, the wave of demonstrations which is still sweeping Japan, is in the main against the Japan Government's now total committal to U.S. policy in Vietnam.

In January, 1960 Japan and the United States signed a Treaty of Mutual Co-Operation and Security, replacing an earlier Security Treaty signed in 1951, at the same time as the Peace Treaty. By this treaty each country recognised that an armed attack against either in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own safety and declared that it would act to meet the counter danger. As a result, Japan is becoming more and more a huge U.S. military base for "activities" in Asia.

WORKERS AND STUDENTS

In particular, Okinawa (one of the Japanese islands south of the mainland), is under U.S. military occupation—all administration, including the judiciary and education, is in the hands of the Americans, powers given them under the Treaty signed in 1960. This island is used as a supply base for missiles, as a storehouse for atomic bombs, as a radar base, a training centre for guerilla warfare, a base for the counter-intelligence corps, etc.

The inhabitants of Okinawa are not allowed to travel freely to the mainland, wages are low and prices high and they have no political rights or status. "These military bases and equipment in Okinawa are very important for us, chiefly because of its geographical position and the freedom of action we enjoy there." (T. G. Holt, Deputy Under-Secretary U.S. Army—International Affairs).

Sato, whose pretext to visit South Vietnam and the U.S. was to "settle the Okinawa problem", returned from the U.S.

to a crowd of 110,000 demonstrators at Okinawa, to tell them "United States authority evaluates Okinawa's importance as a strategic base" and that Okinawa would be returned to Japan "when the Japanese people are ready to defend themselves independent of U.S. nuclear forces." Which translated into Hindustani means "We need it so get lost"

Throughout these recent demonstrations the workers and students have not only faced the opposition of the Government and all that goes with it, but the leaders of many trade unions have publicly denounced these demonstrations and have forbidden their members to take part. The Post Office workers' union even had photographs taken of its members who took part. The university authorities have threatened reprisals for students taking part, and now the Government is considering banning Zengakuren as a subversive organisation. The Japanese Communist Party (pro-Peking) has denounced the whole organisation with the usual long string of "ists" and "isms" that nobody really understands.

However, much to the disgust of all concerned, these demonstrations continue to be supported very strongly by the Japanese workers. On October 19–22 last year, the National Railway workers refused to transport a shipment of U.S. military material to Tachikawa (part of the U.S. military base at Sunagawa; see DIRECT ACTION, September 1967.)

JAPAN AND VIETNAM

The week of January 19 has seen more gigantic demonstrations, this time against the visit of the U.S. aircraft carrier "Enterprise" to Sasebo. Over 100 demonstrators had been injured in the first six days of demonstrations. Zengakuren considers this as the first of many and that it won't be long before the Japanese Government announces its open participation in the Vietnamese war.

Some quotes:

"We will treat students as a band of rioters from now on. We also demand severe control of students in the campus by university authorities." (Hatano, Chief of the Metropolitan Police.)

"The whole issue is provoked by the violence of the students. We have to find adequate measures to regulate the student movement." (Sato at Djakarta.)

"This is unpardonable violence of ultra left-wing elements . . . we demand severe control of these violent demonstrations . . ." (Japanese Communist Party Official Statement.)

For background to Zengakuren see DIRECT ACTION, October, 1967.

MARYLYN HUTT

SYNDICALISTS in the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

by G.P. MAXIMOFF

Direct Action Pamphlet—6d.

(9d. postpaid; bulk orders 6s. a dozen)

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

WHAT FUTURE IS THERE FOR PRINTWORKERS?

PAUL FOOT, well-known political journalist, will open a discussion on this important subject at the

SCOTTISH CORPORATION HALL (Fetter Lane, off Fleet Street.)

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, at 7.00 p.m.

Chairman: R. Hood (SOGAT)

(Organised by The Association of Rank and File Printworkers, 29 Love Walk, London, S.E.5.)

*"Zengakuren", Autumn 1967. Published by the All-Japan Federation of Student Autonomous Associations, Zenshinsha, 2-62-9 Higashi Ikebukuro, Toshima-ku, Tokyo.

Direct Action

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British section of the International Working Men's Association

Calling all readers

Dear Fellow Worker,

We need your help to go on publishing

DIRECT ACTION.

There's always been a big gap between what it costs to bring out the paper every month and what we get in on sales and subscriptions. Over a year these monthly deficits add up to quite a tidy amount.

So we've decided to have an Annual Fund Drive. In the past we've avoided asking our readers regularly for money. This is because we've been able to meet our deficit thanks to our readers' generosity in response to appeals we've made for special reasons—moving premises, replacement of stolen type, new machinery.

OUR TARGET—£200

We reckon we need a subsidy of £200 this year. In case this sounds a lot, remember that thanks to Labour's Wonderful Policy, the prices of paper, postage and electricity have all gone up in the couple of years since we made our last appeal.

Please help us find this sum which we need to go on bringing out DIRECT ACTION (not to mention our pamphlets which in fact add further to this figure). Please send us a donation now—and whenever else you can. All contributions will be acknowledged in the paper.

Yours fraternally,

SWF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

I/we enclose a donation of £.....s.....d.

Name:

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Date:

DIRECT ACTION PRESS FUND

December 1967—January 1968

London, NW1, J.R. 3s 6d; London, NW6, J.G. 4s 6d; Manchester 14, R. & J.M. 10s; Driffield, Yorks, G.D. 3s 6d; Bristol 8, A.N. £1; Northolt, Mddx, J.H. 3s 6d; Colchester, D.J. 14s; London, SE5, M.H. £1 7s; Willenhall, J.D. 6s 6d; Hartlepool, B.C. 1s; Colchester, S.T. 3s 6d; London SW6, F.A. 13s 6d. Total £5 10s 6d.

GROUP NOTICES

ABERDEEN: Contact Russell Knight, 42 Mathews Road, Aberdeen.

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

BRISTOL: Contact Adam Nicholson, 10 Bellevue, Bristol 8.

GLASGOW: Contact R. Lynn, 16 Ross Street, C.I.

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

LONDON: Open meetings every other Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. at Lucas Arms, 245 Grays Inn Road, WC1 (5 min Kings Cross). Correspondence to 34 Cumberland Road, E.17.

Next meetings:

Feb. 14 Industrial organisation—the way forward. Discussion for new pamphlet.

Feb. 28 Revolutions in 20th Century industrial society

DIGGER WALSH

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

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

JOIN THE QUEUE!

AT CONSETT, Co. Durham, 300 lorry drivers, including shop stewards, members of the TGWU, have resolved to cease supporting the Labour Party and have cancelled their political levy. Other districts are expected to follow.

More workers every week are picking up this ready-made weapon against the Government's Wages Policy. Southend busmen, too, have recently got into the news by large-scale contracting-out. "It's not the employers we're fighting now," some of them told a *Sunday Times* reporter last month, "it's the Minister."

The Government's record has been increased taxation, higher prices, health stamp up, devaluation and a wage freeze. All of which adds up to a real, savage bite out of your pay packet. Why pay the TU political levy just to be robbed? Contract out now!

Stop your political levy. Don't be put off by the fact that your TU membership card doesn't make any mention of this animal—you still pay. Ask your Branch Secretary for a form to fill in. (If he hums and haa's, and says he hasn't any, he's possibly a Labour (or Communist) stalwart. In which case ask him a bit louder so your mates can hear. Ten to one he'll suddenly find one—to shut you up!) Don't let it stop there. Get your mates to do the same, disaffiliate your branch from the Party of the Wage Cut.

Join in the fight. Only a degenerate mug would consent to have his pocket picked.

The strength of the working class lies in our organisation and action at the point of production—at job level, on the shop floor. As the Wage Freeze shows, it only weakens us to form political tie-ups.

Busmen are angry

NEWCASTLE municipal busmen applied to the Corporation for an increase of £1 a week on their basic wage and better overtime conditions.

After negotiations these demands were granted by the Tory-controlled council. Councillor Neville Trotter (Tory), chairman of the Transport Committee, said he thought the agreement just and sensible. Then the Labour Government stepped in and stopped the rise and increase of overtime rates.

On Monday, 22 January, the busmen of Newcastle held a meeting to discuss this action. The Labourites moved that new negotiations, based on the Government's Incomes Policy, should be asked for. This proposal was thrown out.

It was agreed that Newcastle's 1,500 busmen, organised in the TGWU, should send delegates to the national meeting in London on Thursday and call firmly for a national strike.

Vic Joyce, Newcastle busmen's chairman, said, "We must stress that we are not in dispute with the Corporation. Our quarrel is with the Government for putting a stop to a freely negotiated local agreement."

"The decision to call a national stoppage was a majority one. The lads are very bitter that this £1, and better overtime rates, have been snatched from our grasp."

HELP SPANISH TOURIST BOYCOTT

FROM the Spanish comrades of the exiled CNT in this country, the SWF has received the gift of 1,000 two-colour postcards, in aid of our Press Fund. These beautifully-produced cards, 7×4 in., with the CNT imprint, depict four aspects of Franco Spain that Costa Brava tourists usually miss: photographs of a Spanish prison gallery, political prisoners, slums in Madrid and armed Civil Guards on patrol. By using these cards, which have the normal spaces for greetings and addressing, readers can help both the Spanish Tourist Boycott campaign and the SWF Press Fund. They are 6d. each, 6s. for 12, plus postage (2½d for single copies, 6d for 12) from SWF,

STORY OF THE SWF--BORN IN STRUGGLE

WHEN, in 1939, Fascism triumphed in Spain, the Libertarian movement was downcast, many gave up hope and departed. The social climate, too, was gloomy, for Spain had been, not only the last, but the only hope of defeating World Fascism. And in spite of those who murmured, "Now for peace, I always said they should not have resisted Fascism," the world knew that in that same year war would again sere the earth and tens of millions would die in the rubble of civilisation. That, all knew, was the beginning; none could know the end.

There were Syndicalists before and during the 1914-18 war. They were not many, but their work in the social struggle was so earnest, so great and so apt to the workers' needs that the class enemy numbered them as hundreds of thousands. They were the proverbial "little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump." But, they were men of action, men of the deed, few of them had the time to write. Syndicalism was the opposite of the parties, which seem to consist entirely of writers and policy merchants. So, when men say, "Show me the Books of Syndicalism," there is little to show. Its lasting work is the living flesh of the workshop committee idea, with its shop stewardship, which has grown till nearly every worker, be his collar dirty blue or dirty white, knows its efficacy.

If you ask, "What became of all that work of the Syndicalists?" we would say, "When you see the grassroots organisation of the workers in action, bending employers, union bosses and the State to its will, think of the St. Paul's tablet to Christopher Wren, 'If you seek his monument, look around you.'" The only thing of value remaining out of this century's struggles and work of the Left is the shop steward and workshop committee movement. The parliamentarians and "Parties of the Working Class" have nothing to show but Wilson and Ramsay Mac.

By 1936 there was no identifiable Syndicalist movement in Britain, though the idea was still operated and individual Syndicalists practised their skills in factories, mines and on railroads. Anarchism, too, fared badly; indeed every grouping that could be called by the vague term Left had suffered at the hands of the Communist Party and the wealth of Russian money that was dedicated to smashing all Left movements to make way for the sole proprietors, the party of Lenin. The big British Socialist Party was swallowed, then digested, the Socialist Labour Party destroyed, the numerous lively local Socialist groups hammered one by one. Only the ILP remained, later to fall a prey to Parliamentarism and Communist intrigue.

Summer, 1936, all that remained of Anarchism was the old Freedom Group of London and the Jewish "Worker's Friend" Group. Freedom Group was a very old organisation and all its members were elderly, too, having spent most of their lives in the cause of Anarchism; some had known William Morris and been in Trafalgar Square on Bloody Sunday. These good people worked with handset type and a treadle machine to publish their paper, *Freedom*, monthly.

When Spanish Fascism made civil war and was answered by Social Revolution, the group ended the paper *Freedom* to concentrate on the CNT-initiated English paper, *Spain and the World* (later *Revolt*) and wound up the group to merge with all others who gathered to aid the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists in their life-and-death struggle. They never republished their paper, *Freedom*, one by one they passed away and the world was poorer for their going.

The comrades, mostly fairly young, who remained after the end of the Spanish struggle, reassembled; at first only three persons, who made anti-war posters and pasted them

in prominent parts of London, then enough to form a group and link with groups in Scotland; the Anarchist Federation of Britain was formed.

Serious discussion produced unanimity on the kind of organisation we wanted. Everyone was sickened by the coffee-bar Anarchists, who specialised in "the Ego", individualism, hating the working class, being "anti-organisation" and forming organisations to propagate that idea, or who had a new theory of society every few months. Such persons had created a bad image of Anarchism.

We all wanted a sincere, responsible organisation. We wanted Anarchism to influence society, to be revolutionary, bring about change, not to be just a permanent grouse. We all insisted on Syndicalism and Internationalism, we were all anti-war.

As the war developed, others joined us and we billposted, printed and published and held public anti-war meetings, indoors and, mainly, open-air. Members in industry, mostly in Lanarkshire, on Clydeside and in London, took the anti-war struggle into their workplaces and unions, opposing the State, the union bosses, the employers and their Communist stooges. We stood with others, PPU and ILP, in a mutual witness against war. *Direct Action* was one of the very first papers to be anti-A Bomb, while the CP supported it and many others were silent.

Early in 1944, the AFB resolved that when the war ended we would appeal to all Anarchist Federations abroad to meet and form a viable, militant Anarchist International. Late in 1945, the French Anarchist Federation sent out such a call to meet in Paris and form the International. In February 1946 the meeting was held, a delegate of the AFB attending.

The times were right; Europe was in the melting-pot, between war and peace. Anything could happen, men's minds were open and eager, the peoples of Europe were anti-Fascist, eager to end Franco and Salazar in the last, Iberian fortresses of Fascism. People were ready for a new society, but the politicians had no answer.

With hope and eagerness, the AFB delegate reached Paris, to be astounded at the well-organised opposition to the mooted international; opposition within the Anarchist ranks. The Internationalists were defeated. The majority were against the International in any case, but added the excuse, "The time is not yet ripe." Curiously, it hadn't been 50 years earlier.

Later, the Anarchist Federation of Britain changed its title to the Syndicalist Workers' Federation and joined the Syndicalist international, the International Working Men's Association, of which it now is the British Section.

The term Syndicalism is more acceptable to the British worker than is the theological-sounding mouthful, Anarcho-Syndicalism, and the Syndicalist ethos is to workers, and even historians, a good ethos in Britain.

Some complain that the SWF has not changed its principles. That, in a world where Socialist politicians change their principles far more often than their raincoats, ought to be welcome. But the principles of capitalism have not changed: we live in a society which is still founded on rich and poor, war and class war still go on, men's lives are still governed by property relations. What has happened to all those fabulous developments which made Syndicalism and Revolution "irrelevant"—the H-Bomb, Affluent Society, Automation?

The old problems are still with us. Capitalism has no answer. The case for Syndicalism remains unanswered. It is no answer to go looking for a new butterfly to chase.

TOM BROWN

DOW: An appeal to architects

Dow Chemicals are a well-known US company. They are well-known because they are high up the profits list of American firms, and because these profits come from sales of napalm and other chemicals which are dropped on people in Vietnam.

Throughout 1967, the anti-Vietnam War radicals in the United States have attempted to prevent this firm functioning, by calling on Dow's workers to strike; and themselves picketing the gates and blocking the supplies coming in and out of the factory.

In some cases, where Dow Chemicals arrived on the US University Campuses to recruit staff, they were mobbed by thousands of students who queued up for information but had no intention of seeking a post with the firm. Result! Dow deserts campus!

Dow Chemicals have a subsidiary in Britain; DOW CHEMICAL CO. (UK), 105 Wigmore Street, London W1, with a factory in Kings Lynn. *Among other products, they make building materials*, mainly polystyrene and polyurethane based. One of their best known products is ROOFMATE FR, an insulation board.

Dow's stand at last year's Building Exhibition was picketed by the STOP IT Committee, Americans living in Britain who are opposed to the Vietnam War.

Last year, there were *seven* cases, known to us, of architects refusing to have anything to do with this firm. Dow, of course, weren't told the reason. *The architects acted as individuals not for their firm.* Lately several groups of architects have said they will boycott this firm should representatives call at their offices.

ACTION NOW

The time for all architects to repeat the actions of their fellows has come. *Don't let Dow quote for jobs. Don't nominate them as suppliers. Don't specify their materials.* Make it as hot for them as they make it for Vietnamese peasants. *Put Dow at the top of your blacklist.*

We feel that action such as we are advocating is important, since it bypasses the built-in stabilisers in parliamentary democracy, which prevent "constitutional" protest from being effective. *Some of us say this from experience, having been involved with the Architects' CND Group, and having been on the Committee of 100 sit-downs.*

ARCHITECTS HAVE POWER. THEY SHOULD USE IT. THIS IS YOUR CHANCE. PASS THIS LEAFLET ROUND. MAKE SURE EVERY ARCHITECT IN BRITAIN KNOWS ABOUT DOW'S ROLE IN VIETNAM. [Reprints of this leaflet are available from: Architects Against the Vietnam War, 130 University Ave., Glasgow W2.]

ALFRED ROTH

WE RECORD, with deep regret, the death of Alfred Roth, at Hove, Sussex on January 9. Comrade Roth was an active member of the libertarian movement in Vienna, during the years before fascism, with the late Pierre Ramus and others. A talented song-writer, he set new words to old Austrian folk music and these were very popular in the movement. He came to Britain with his family, as a refugee from Hitlerism. A lifelong anti-militarist and member of the War Resisters' International, he retained his libertarian beliefs and was a subscriber to and supporter of DIRECT ACTION. He was cremated on January 19. The SWF expresses its sympathy in their great loss to his widow, Mali, and family.

LETTER

SOVIETS IN IRELAND

DEAR COMRADES,

During and before the Civil War in Ireland in 1922, a number of soviets appeared in the areas under the control of Republican forces. While these soviets certainly did not enjoy the official support of the Republican Army or Dail, there is a reason to believe that some local Republican Forces sympathised with them.

Very little is known of this movement, indeed my own knowledge is limited to a radio lecture given some years ago on the subject.

Raynor Lysaght, a post-graduate student of Trinity College, Dublin, is doing a thesis on these soviets and would welcome information from any readers who have any knowledge at all of their existence, history, and fate.

Readers should bear in mind that these soviets were voluntarist, spontaneous and entirely without the hand of any authority. This was both their strong point and weakness. Not only were they not centralised by any authority; there appears to have been no co-ordinating body to link their activities and they were thus able to be dealt with one by one.

Information should be forwarded either to myself, c/o DIRECT ACTION, or to Raynor Lysaght, 15 Hume Street, Dublin 2.

Comrades will, I think, agree that this is a very welcome break in a 50-year freeze on a subject that has met with official silence from the Republican movement, the Labour Party, and the Irish Communist Parties. And I think you'll agree that this comrade deserves all the support possible in this venture.

DAVE PICKETT

Lone rebels

IN GATESHEAD Mr and Mrs Heslop were making a modest living running a "Joke Shop" in a run-down part of the town. The shop, an old tramwaymen's tool storage, sells small practical jokes, comics and cheap records and is popular with youngsters. Because the shop had but one tiny window the Heslops put up posters advertising their wares.

Unfortunately for them, they made little jokes about the Labour-controlled Council and even advertised a well-known comic paper as "*Billy's Weekly Liar*, This is not a Government publication."

The Heslops were told they ought to have planning permission for their posters. This they could not get and the Council prosecuted them. They were fined and ordered to take down the posters, which were mounted on hardboard. While doing so they were summoned for obstructing the footpath and again fined.

Both the Heslops were first offenders in any court, but the lay magistrates of the town fined them a total of £28 10s.

The shop is still open and the kids and teenagers are still supporting it. The Heslops are determined to resist.

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STOP THE POLITICAL LEVY. New leaflet asks "Would You Pay a Man to Pick Your Pocket?" Calls on trade unionists to stop financing the Labour Party—the Party of the Wage Cut. Plain words, concisely argued, backed by facts. Price 2s per hundred, £1 per thousand, from SWF.

HAROLD WILSON'S ECONOMIC CRISIS

As I jumped on the Newcastle bus the conductress seemed to be addressing a public meeting: "Before I believe Wilson's promises again," she went on firmly, "I'll want him to write them down and sign them." Much good that would be, I thought,

Yet, what promises did Wilson make? A few definite bonds, no prescription charges, "An End to Stop-Go" (without saying that this would be achieved by making it all Stop) and a few others. But in the main his strength was a string of vague generalisations about Automation, Cybernetic Revolution, Space Age, Technological Revolution, and a kind of Science Fiction Promised Land where we would breathe the rarified mountain air of a technological Golden Age.

It was left to his underlings to fill in the details as they fancied, so that in most divisions the public got a general impression of mortgages at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, higher wages, lower taxes, lower prices, lower rents and rates, higher education for all, more hospitals, and a wonderful new Health Service—and just about everything on the political Christmas tree.

It was Wilson's good fortune that the 1964 General Election hit the top of the TV and Pop Press "Press-button" propaganda that was "building a Disney world" and making millions automation-daft, and millions fell for the trick. Now that Science Fiction stuff is out of fashion and the Press look for other sensations.

But soon arose the question, Having gained power, what do we do next? And no man answered. Soon it was a matter of running about, stopping up holes, and the kite hawks, not the chickens, came early to roost.

A PREMIER IN SEARCH OF A POLICY

The Labour Government of 1929-31 got into trouble because, not knowing what to do, they did nothing. The present Government has run into trouble because not knowing what ought to be done they did something blindly.

Of one thing they can be certain. Up to the close of 1964 production had been rising steadily though by no means spectacularly. But not fast enough for Wilson. He would sweep away the fuddy-duddies and drag the nation into high speed production. Ever since then production has stood practically still and Harold looks like a sorcerer's apprentice working backwards.

When Magician Harold opened his much-boosted Pandora's Box, out flowed the higher prices, higher rates, higher taxes, higher mortgages and bank rates, wage freeze, unemployment and speeches about Jam Tomorrow. And his Party blamed everyone except the persons in charge.

These people would do very well selling one-legged trousers to tourists in Petticoat Lane, or tips to mugs on a racecourse, but run a country—no! I'm reminded of a friend who took his son, home for the holidays, to church and was horrified to hear the boy make the response, "We have done the things we ought not to have done and left undone those things we ought to have done and there is no help for us." The lad must have had a vision of Wilson's cabinet running around trying to plug up holes.

In spite of all its planning propaganda, the Labour Party has never had an economic plan. Economics is the study of wealth production and distribution. For production Socialism relies on sermons to workers and capitalists to work

harder at unspecified tasks, while they concentrate on dividing an ever-shrinking cake.

But something turned up for Micawber Wilson, like angels to a Daniel the five young typists of Surrey launched their "Back Britain" campaign and worked a half-hour every day for nothing. Of course it is a perfectly useless scheme and if it succeeded the fruit would only be gobbled up by the Government, but the little girls saw what the Socialists could not see, that distribution cannot be solved without production. It took a child to see and declare, "But the Emperor has no clothes." The others were brainwashed.

Wilson at once seized the opportunity and went on TV to place himself at the head of the "Work for Nowt" campaign, pinching from the five little girls their brief glory. The scheme is now doomed to failure.

I'LL RESIGN, SEE IF I DON'T

Jennie Lee had issued in *Tribune* and elsewhere her call to revolt against the cuts, especially the Health Service charges. Such persons always do such things with the belief that a cry will go up "Please don't resign," to give them a chance of doing a Nasser act. No cry being given, she found another excuse—the prescription charge of 2s 6d allowed certain exceptions, e.g. the very poor (which had always been the case) and this was her escape clause. I suggest that if Wilson thinks of increasing it to 3s he makes it 2s 11½d—the odd halfpenny will be sufficient escape clause for the *Tribune* Socialists and rebels.

Only one minister resigned; not one of the "I've always been a rebel, I've given a lifetime to the cause of Socialism" crowd, not one of the "heirs of Keir Hardy, Lansbury, Marx and Lenin" left the plush seats of office. One minister resigned—over education. Lord Longford, ex-bank chairman, RC, ex-Tory, no trace of Red Flag. He had escaped the corruption of Socialist politics.

A VOICE FROM YESTERDAY

Let us suppose that the increases in charges and the cuts had been made by a Tory government, or a Labour government in which Wilson was not Premier. How would he have spoken? Surely, somewhat like this:

"An integral part of the Budget proposals involves the first cutting into our social services, which we have built up over these past years, and which represents a system in which all of us rightly take great pride. It is a minor cut, I agree, but I cannot believe it to be necessary. £13,000,000 out of a budget of four thousand million pounds is well within the margin of error of any possible series of Estimates. But carries with it, in a time of rising prices, the danger—I should have said the certainty—of further erosion of the social services as year succeeds year. The principle of the free Health Service has been breached and I dread to think how that breach might be widened in future years."

THE LABYRINTHINE WAY

That is what Wilson did say in the Commons (April 24, 1951). The occasion was the then Labour Government's introduction of a payment of 1s for prescriptions and half the cost of false teeth and spectacles.

In Wilson's biography, *Pragmatic Premier*, written by his bosom friend, Ernest Kay wrote: "It was a typically Wilson speech: he declared his loyalty to Nye Bevan—and also to Clem Attlee. And few people really knew just why he had resigned."

"What Wilson himself believed," Kay goes on, "Was that Labour would be out of office for between 4 and 8 years

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● The SWF has reprinted its leaflet, "A Cheap Holiday", attacking tourism to Franco Spain. Copies are available at 1s. 6d. for 100; 15s. for 1,000, postpaid.

BUSMEN FACE A CHALLENGE

LAST YEAR Frank Cousins resigned from the Government on the grounds that he was opposed to the Government's then proposed Wages Policy. At a later date he resigned his seat as MP to resume the leadership of the Transport and General Workers' Union. The great Frank was to be the leader of the opposition against the Wage Freeze. To date his opposition has been so much hot air. The rabbit game is all very fine provided your bluff is not called and you do not have to back your words with action.

Cousins now faces this precise situation. The municipal busmen have negotiated a £1 a week increase, the employers are willing to pay (hiding behind the Government's skirt), but the Prices & Incomes Board (PIB) and Grunter say No! The ball is firmly planted in Cousin's court, making it his turn to serve.

CHANGE OF HEART

Somehow one gets the impression that Frank is wearing diving boots, his reactions are slow. At a delegate meeting representing 77,000 municipal busmen Cousins suggested to the meeting that there should be a week's adjournment so that delegates could sound out the opinions of the busmen. Normally one applauds such a show of democracy, until one realises that if the T & G wanted to get over to their members an indifferent sort of agreement, such a show of democracy would be far from present.

Why the change of heart? Cousins is hoping like hell that a sizeable number of busmen will desire no action. He can then say, "Even a general cannot fight without troops". Honour is preserved.

One can speculate on the reactions of the busmen, and in doing so, remember the fact that the rank and file have been fighting for a few months already in terms of stoppages, go-slows and bans on overtime. Such action can have either strengthened their resolve to fight an all-out battle with the Government, or so financially weaken them, so that they are forced to have second thoughts about going in again.

Reports indicated that the former was the case. Glasgow and Aberdeen busmen voted for a national strike at the recalled conference on Thursday, January 25. Sunderland's 800 busmen at a mass meeting demanded industrial action; Harry Luxton, full-time official of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers (some municipal busmen

are in the G & M, others in the T & G) was accompanied by two officials of the Sunderland branch committee to London on the insistence of the rank and file busmen. These boys were not taking any chances. According to reports the Sunderland busmen are in good spirits, supported by the men from South Shields and Newcastle.

It seemed that Cousins might allow his members to push him to the stage where the Government was forced to impose Part II of the Prices and Incomes Act, which would mean a compulsory Freeze of six months on the agreement. And one might have hazarded a guess that at that point Cousins would call Halt, for under the Act a union or a worker faces a £500 fine for trying to force an employer to pay a wage increase which is subject to a Part II order.

The busmen's claim is adequately covered by the loophole of "lower-paid worker". It's useless the PIB talking about average earnings, because such earnings are only obtained by excessive overtime and extra day working, plus the fact that without such workings the bus service would be crippled. This was proved by the screams from the bus employers when an overtime ban was imposed.

WAS IT DISCUSSED?

Municipal busmen at the reconvened delegate conference decided by 51 votes to 10 against a national stoppage. Instead, on the recommendation of the T & G National Executive, legal action is to be taken against 97 local authorities.

As a matter of interest, one wonders whether this course of action was discussed prior to the strike vote being taken. Such a move would be one way of drawing off the support of the half-and-half supporters of strike action from the "hard-liners" such as Glasgow and Aberdeen.

Support for legal action as opposed to strike action gets Cousins off the hook completely. Going to court can be a long-winded as well as a costly business. It could well take up the seven months' delay period that the Government can impose.

Frank wasn't in politics very long, but give him credit—he learned fast.

One fact is obvious. Someone has got to take the Government on. Whoever it turns out to be must have the full support of all industrial workers, because once the challenge is accepted there is no turning back.

BILL CHRISTOPHER

LITERATURE

- WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE UNIONS?** by Tom Brown 4d
WORKERS' CONTROL SWF Pamphlet (2nd printing) 6d
STRIKE STRATEGY (National Rank & File Movement) 2d
THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE by Tom Brown 2d
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Wilson's crisis (cont.)

and that afterwards Bevan would be Prime Minister with himself as Chancellor or Foreign Secretary."

"True," Kay continues, "he had not really suffered any loss by resigning, for it seemed certain that Labour would be defeated at the forthcoming General Election which everybody expected to take place that year."

In truth, Socialism has no economic plan, only a plan to capture and keep power. That is true of Left and Right Labour. There have been three Socialist premiers, one Right, Attlee, two Left, MacDonald and Wilson. Condemnation should fall upon all—and upon the Communists and Trotskyists who, following their master Lenin's lead, call upon the workers to "Vote Labour", "Get into the Labour Party", and pay the political levy to Wilson.

There's nothing to choose in a whole legion of shyster politicians. "The slaves own arm his chains must sever."

GEORDIE