

IRISH WORKERS STRIKE

KILDARE MENS' GALLANT FIGHT

Boss alleges Sabotage
From Bill Saults Junior: Kildare

Farm workers in North Kildare, Eire, have been on strike for eight weeks. Prices of farm produce have soared since 1939 and capitalist farmers in Eire have made big profits during the past seven years, while the cost of living has jumped slowly, while the cost of living has jumped a weekly wage of £3 per week and one holidays with pay.

The farmers asked the men not to strike and to appeal to the government to fix prices and wages through a tribunal instead. Michael O'Connor, County Secretary of the Rural Workers' Federation replied:

"From a trade union aspect, we cannot intervene to secure fixation of prices as was suggested by the farmers. We believe that the farmers are well able to pay for the demands we have made."

After four weeks of strike action, Michael O'Connor reported surrender to union terms by 40 per cent. of North Kildare farmers. Among those agreeing to the terms, it is reported, are the important farms of Maynooth College and Convent, the Duke of Leinster's Carlton Estate and Mr. Seozaimh O. Buachalla.

From Kildare the strike has spread to the neighbouring county of Meath and other parts of Ireland. The strikers are showing great courage and determination. Farmers have stopped supplies of vegetables and milk to strikers' families (these are supplied, according to normal custom, by the farmer to his workers). Evictions from farmer owned tied cottages have been threatened and attempted. Police are thick upon the landscape, detectives and

guardia swarming everywhere. Police have entered the cottages of strikers, intimidating the workers and searching their homes.

The strikers maintain a good picket line, a difficult job in a farm strike. Farmers and their family blacklegs have been travelling in cars to gather the harvest. Police have protected them, following them from field to field. Anyone walking on a road near a farmer's house is stopped by police and searched.

Farmers' leaders allege acts of sabotage by strikers, claiming that ricks and crops have been burned and iron spikes hammered into the ground to break the reaping and harvesting machines. They declare that widespread damage to farm machinery has been caused by these acts in the Maynooth area.

On behalf of the union Michael O'Connor denies these allegations, saying:

"I issue a flat denial to Lord Carey that strikers committed sabotage. They are a well conducted body of men and are fighting for their rights by fair means."

A conference of the strikers, employers and the Minister of Agriculture took place but broke down and dispersed without hope of settlement. Meanwhile, the strikers fight on with splendid determination.

The CLOSED SHOP

The closed shop policy of the trade unions is not so much an attempt to end non-unionism as it is an effort by the few big unions to kill the small trade unions.

Of course, the big unions believe in freedom, but they have a quaint idea of what freedom means—even Mussolini wouldn't disagree with their notion of liberty. Arthur Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, says:

"They talk of freedom and personal liberty. We retort that no one is entitled to have liberty to upset the work of unions affiliated to the T.U.C."

As Syndicalists we do not believe in conscription for union members. The strength of a union is not the number of members paying dues, but in the consciousness of its members. The present closed shop policy is being enforced, not only by unions such as the Transport and General Workers' Union, but also by such employers as the London Passenger Transport Board, who prefer to have their employees disciplined by the unions.

The closed shop is enforced by the employers in return for a bargain: "You give us a no-strike policy and we will give you a dues paying membership."

This does not mean, however, that we take up the position of the smaller unions, as much as we sympathise with the smaller man in any fight. The declared policy of such unions as the National Passenger Workers' Union is "non-political trade unionism." Syndicalists are not non-political, they are not neutral in the social struggle, they are anti-political.

Non-political as defined by the N.P.W.U. secretary, Frank Snelling, means, (quite rightly defined) a neutral attitude towards politics and property relations and seeking to limit the trade unions to permanent wage-bargaining bodies.

This statement was made at an I.L.P. public meeting by Snelling who takes an S.P.G.B. stance and agreed to by Webster of the Gas Workers (a Labour Party man) and Bob Edwards of the I.L.P. and the Chemical Workers.

On the other hand, Syndicalists are very much concerned with property relations and aim to abolish them. By attacking the property and political basis of capitalist society we do not become, like that strange Victorian animal, the Tory trade unionist, non-political, but anti-political.



THE PEACE CONFERENCE CLOSES

COMMUNISTS EXPLOIT HOMELESS

Squatters Betrayed by Politicians

The Communist Party has killed the squatters movement.

Two months ago the squatters swept on to success. The movement was not organised by any political party; it had no ulterior motive; it was a spontaneous movement of the workers. Quietly and efficiently the movement took possession of thousands of army huts and housed tens of thousands of people. Whatever organisation was needed was created by the squatters themselves, on the spot, and the squatters stayed on. The movement was quiet, orderly and harmed no one, but aided many. It had no other purpose than to house the homeless. It did not jump any housing queue; it did not hinder the housing programmes of the Government or the local councils.

Seeing the success of the movement, the Communist leaders, human kite-hawks, scavengers of misery, decided to capitalise the movement. Always they have denounced such direct action when it was advocated by Anarchists. When "vigilantes" seized homes for the homeless last year they denounced such action as "Fascism". So Pollitt and Co. started squatting on their own, not the quiet,

temperate, squatting of the honest squatters, but a spectacular stunt, designed to attract attention and slap the Labour Government in the chops.

Enticing the poor by promises they did not intend to keep ("even tear gas will not turn us out") the Communist leaders persuaded them to camp in luxury flats and in less than two weeks marched them out without a struggle to even greater discomfort than they had left.

It is exactly the same pattern as Communist led strikes—three or four days out, then back again without result, like the parlour game of children.

"The grand old Duke of York, he had ten thousand men,

He led them up to the top of the hill and led them down again."

That is the comedy—the tragedy is that the unscrupulous stunt of the Comrats has killed the squatters' movement, for the present at least. Instead of direct action, the homeless are asked by the Comrats to try processions, resolutions and deputations to the Government.

The Communists are not interested in the homeless, except in so far as they can be used for party ends. C.P. policy is

determined by the needs of Russia's government, therefore, as Russia moves into open conflict against the British Government the British C.P. will swing from seeking affiliation and shouting 'Vote Labour' to attacks upon the Labour Government at its weakest points. An H.Q. circular sent by the C.P. from its district offices to local branches a few months ago promised an end of the party's policy of class-collaboration and the beginning of one of 'class warfare'.

The Labour Government's most embarrassing problem is housing and the C.P. is already forming "Housing Committees" in the localities, thinly disguised as "formed by various organisations".

A few weeks of Communist stunts is usually enough to disgust and drive away most workers from squatting or any other class action. There are many workers in London who believe that the Communist wrecking of the squatting movement was subsidised by the big property owners to about that. All we know is that if the Communists had been paid by the property owners they would have acted exactly as they have done and the property owners would have made a good bargain.

Meantime, the homeless continue homeless and the Communist leaders and the landlords sleep soundly in bed.

Spanish Youth Greet A.F.B.

We are taking advantage of the passing through this region of the comrade Ken Hawkes, London Secretary of your Federation, to send by him fraternal salutations to you from the Spanish Libertarian Youth exiled in this region of France. We salute at the same time the Spanish comrades exiled in England.

Scattered throughout the world the Spanish Anarchists have carried out the struggle for human emancipation no matter where we have found ourselves.

Our satisfaction is great to see the rebirth of Anarchism in all countries of the world at this moment when the passions of chauvinism, product of the war and of the economic imperialism have completely destroyed the internationalist spirit in the working-class movement of the world.

Our hour has arrived British comrades. Advance!—And let the title of your paper, 'Direct Action' be the real exponent of the fight against the State and for the fundamental liberties of the individual, to carry out the destruction of the capitalist system and bring about the human fraternity of Libertarian communism.

Long live Anarchy!

Long live the Anarchist International. Regional Committee of the F.I.J.L. (Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth) of the DRodano Alpes in France.

F. CAMPOS (Secretary).

Syndicalist International's Secretary tells of

THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

Interviewed by Ken Hawkes

Our comrade Bernard Pou, delegate to the Spanish Libertarian Movement—C.N.T. in France to the International Working Men's Association, is an old militant of the Anarchist movement, young in spirit. He attracts you by his vivacity of language, his good humour and his energy. We found him at work in the modest office of a conspirator in Lyons. His main activity is in connection with the international relations of our movement, and particularly the organisation of revolutionary syndicalism in Western Europe. He was surrounded by a pile of revolutionary papers, and letters waiting for a reply on social and syndicalist topics. However, he broke off his work to reply to questions of importance to the British workers that we asked him.

REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISM IN EUROPE

What do you think of the present position of the revolutionary syndicalist movement in Europe?

"Since reformist unionism labelled itself as an off-shoot of capitalism in the con-

stitutive congress of the World Trade Union Federation, we have seen inside the reformist organisations a big ferment, favourable to a revolutionary opposition.

"In Italy the principles of the IWMA find their expression in the Committee of Syndicalist Defence which, inside the Confederation of Labour is struggling against the communists and christians who act in accord with the incorporation of the workers with the parties and the government. And above all we note the strength of the Anarchist movement which, with the Spanish movement is the hope of the future social revolution.

"In France the General Confederation of Labour is in decline. The communists with their politics of governmental collaboration have sown confusion among the French workers. The recent strike of the P.T.T. (Post, Telephone and Telegraph workers), among others, is the first sign of a renaissance of revolutionary syndicalism which formerly organised the victories of

the French workers under the inspiration of Pelloutier, Pouget, Grifuelhes, Pataud, Yvetot, and Delassalle, the theoreticians of anarcho-syndicalism.

"The French C.N.T., section of the I.W.M.A., becomes the hope of the French workers. It revives the spirit of struggle and of direct action, long abandoned by Jouhaux, Dumoulin, Belin, Mommousseau, Frachon, Vaillant, etc., who have linked the C.G.T. to the state by their collaboration with public authority and the bourgeoisie.

"The French Anarchist Federation, also carries out the struggle at the side of the revolutionary syndicalists. The old discussion and philosophic tendencies which formerly made impossible Anarchist unity have disappeared and an organisation, sister of the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) is developing; it will, we hope, become, like the Spanish movement, the heart and nerves of the future revolution."

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Behind the Aircraft Crashes

The writer of this article is a highly skilled and experienced aircraft worker engaged on aircraft work for the greater part of the last twenty years. He has experience of experimental, production and aerodynamic work, including flying experience and has worked for most of the big aircraft firms in several factories and airfields.

Accidents to aircraft in France, U.S.A. and Britain occur almost daily, the average number of deaths per plane being over twenty. Alarming as these reports are, they cover only a few cases. In Britain most flying is done by the R.A.F. which does not usually publish fatal accidents. A few weeks ago, after the crash of a Wellington bomber at Moreton-in-Marsh, Gloucester, an Air Ministry official stated:

"It is not our practice to give out news of purely service accidents.

"We announce a crash when a plane is carrying passengers other than R.A.F. personnel. In this case all the crew were on a normal training flight."

"But for the inquest, it is unlikely the public would have heard about the crash."

Considering the tiny number of persons who travel by air, hundreds compared to the railways' millions, a death toll of more than a hundred a month should cause some one to think even in this age of scientific progress.

There are three main factors to be considered in a survey of the problem of aircraft disasters. The design of the craft involved; the standard of manufacture, and the operation of the craft. The design of aircraft is not nearly so scientific as the general public, influenced by trade propaganda, believes. Only the general outline of the airframe is arrived at by anything like scientific calculation. Most of the other work, details of construction, position of equipment and so on, are determined by the most empirical method, trial and error, hit or miss, try, try again.

Aircraft makers seem to be influenced by a "biggest aircraft in the world", "heaviest aircraft", "most powerful aircraft" mania. Civilian aircraft design has been determined by bomber design. Bomber design was the result of the demands of the air marshalls, demands for

aircraft which could fly a round trip of 2,000 miles with a heavy load of bombs, rather than smaller aircraft for use on or immediately behind the battlefield. Aircraft based on the "Super-Fortress" and such are so heavy and powerful and land at such a high speed, they are dangerous in bad weather—much more dangerous than the older type. Highly organised and complicated airdromes too, are needed for the handling of these modern and complicated craft, and such airdromes hardly exist as yet.

As to operation of aircraft, the writer has not been engaged in the servicing of them, that is airdrome work, for several years; being employed during that time in aircraft factories. But information given him indicates a fairly high standard of work on the actual flying field and in the air. We can now turn to consideration of the factor which interests us most; standard of manufacture or, as it is sometimes called, standard of workmanship. This is indeed bad in many of the big firms. At a time when it should be highest, because of the greater strain, it is lower, much lower than it has ever been.

The war was an excuse for lowering standards of workmanship, but wartime standards still continue. I have seen Halifax bombers (Halifax bomber production ceased only four weeks ago) with scores of clumsy patches hiding bad work which had weakened the machine before the machines were delivered to the R.A.F. These machines are built by the firm which has sacked experienced men because they are "too old at forty" and retained unskilled and semi-skilled labour (Handley Page).

The high standard of work and inspection carried out by the airframe industry until the armament boom started in 1939 has been flung aside by many firms and a policy of "that's good enough, your too fussy" adopted as more consistent with the profit motive.

What I have seen of aircraft production since 1940 has completely cured me of wanting to fly, although previously I flew with confidence.

The greatest factor in the deterioration of aircraft work is the managerial system. Men are appointed as managers, charge-hands and foremen without possessing any qualification for the job. They are most

(Continued at foot Column 6)

AIR CRASHES—continued

often appointed because they belong to certain clubs, or have blacklegged in strikes, or because they have 'sales talks' or are just plain bootlickers. These people decide the tone of an aircraft shop and the standard of work. Workmen who desire to maintain a high quality of work are just squeezed out and their places taken by the inexperienced.

Those who believe that Workers' Control of Industry is not such a good system technologically as the managerial system should gain some experience of an aircraft factory and then read the air casualty lists. The answer is in the infirmary—and in the mortuary.

Red and Black Notebook

WORKLESS IN WALES

The recent demonstration of unemployed in Cardiff underlines the news of increasing unemployment in Wales, Scotland and Northern England reported previously in "Direct Action".

Welsh workers are indignant at being advised to leave their homes to seek work in London. The population of London is increasing at an alarming rate, while Scotland, Wales and the provinces are being neglected and denuded of man power and resources.

This centralised development of capitalism is providing a strong argument for the use of Welsh Nationalists. The Nationalist movement, however, is composed mainly of middle-class persons, particularly professional persons.

BLACK LIST FOR SEAMEN

Many seamen have been excluded from the seamen's labour pool recently following complaints from their employers. In several cases where the men had protested against rotten conditions in floating slums, the rottenness of the conditions was admitted, but the dismissal of the protesting seamen was upheld by the Government machine.

Under the old capitalism, a dismissed seaman sought a job with a new employer; under State control and semi-nationalisation he is completely barred from making his living on the sea.

IT PAYS TO ADVERTISE

All of our readers must have noticed the campaign of poster defacement and bill tearing carried on by the Communists. All posters put up by the Anarchist Federation, I.L.P., S.P.G.B. and others, in some cases even voluntary hospitals, have been torn down by the Bolsheviks.

It was without sorrow, therefore, that I noticed a little retaliation in West and Central London a little while ago. Large Communist posters advertised a meeting to be addressed by the Dean of Canterbury. Someone had painstakingly posted over the "erbury", so that dozens of posters announced "the Dean of Cant reports."

TRADE UNION DISUNITY

The myth that trade unions are justified because "at least they unite the workers"

is receiving shocks daily by the news of trade unions blacklegging on one another and of inter-trade union squabbles for membership.

For a long while the cinema trade has been rent by these squabbles of member poaching. The National Association of Theatrical Employees are carrying on a long standing quarrel with the Association of Cinema Technicians and the Electrical Trades Union. The Communist led A.C.T. has laid complaint against the N.A.T.E. before the T.U.C. Communist George Elvin as press officer of the A.C.T. lays low and sez nuffin. N.A.T.E. leader Tom O'Brien has just landed in the United States, so he's out of it.

Meanwhile, the E.T.U. and A.C.T. have appealed to millionaire film boss J. Arthur Rank against the N.A.T.E.

THE GAME GOES ON

A new dispute has now arisen between the N.A.T.E. and the E.T.U. The Cinema Exhibitors Association have just made an agreement on projectionists' wages with the N.A.T.E. This national agreement binds the C.E.A. to recognise no union but the N.A.T.E. The Scottish section of the C.E.A. has, therefore, cancelled its agreement with the Glasgow and West of Scotland E.T.U.

The E.C. of the Electrical Trades Union has appealed to the Ministry of Labour. The closed shop seems to be appearing in the operator's box.

On the suggestion of the N.A.T.E. the General Council of the C.E.A. agreed to hold a joint workers'-bosses' dinner-dance in January, "influentially attended," to celebrate the agreement. Considering the disgracefully low wages paid in the cinema trade we wonder what there is for trade unionists to celebrate.

STRIKES IN JAPAN

Japan is the scene of a miniature general strike which the American Army of Occupation is unable to check. At least 350,000 farm workers have struck against the rising cost of living, making the total of strikers well over 1,000,000.

NO RELATION

Tom Brown of the Anarchist Federation asks "Direct Action" to state that he is not the Tom Brown who acts as chairman at meetings of the Russia To-day Society. Nor is he the film star, or the racehorse, or the greyhound of that name. He is not the black and white artist who invented Weary Willie and Tired Tim. He had schooldays, but not at Rugby. Any resemblance is totally uncalled for.

SYNDICALIST

Cable of Reuter and the P.A.

MADRID, Monday — Barcelona police have arrested 20 anarchists including leaders of the former F.A.I. (The Iberian Anarchist Federation) when they were meeting to reorganise the once powerful National Confederation of Labour and re-start the paper "Solidaridad Obrera", it was reported here today.

THE DUTY OF EVERY COMRADE IS TO HELP THE SPANISH ANARCHISTS.

The appeal of Peninsular Committee of the F.A.I. and the message of further arrests of prominent militants tell their own stories.

Our comrades in Spain don't sit back and wait for imperialist interests and political manoeuvres to liberate them. Arm in arm with the people, they fight in the factories, field and concentration camps. They need the things that money can buy: arms for the fight, paper for the illegal press, etc. For lack of them, they fall in the hands of the police.

Can you stand by and see them sacrifice their lives without helping?

Donations in this country are received by Comrade M. Ballesteros, 13, Warren Street, W.1. Comrades in the Western hemisphere, please send contributions to "Tierra y Libertad", Post Box 1563, Mexico, D.F.

The F.A.I.-Group in England, P. DORT

F.A.I.

The F.A.I. is the soul of the Resistance against the tyranny ruling over the Spanish people.

Seven years of terror. What Spain has suffered, and is still suffering, can not be described.

The Spanish Anarchists have not interupted for a single moment the fight against those who for years have tortured a people who gave the world an example of dignity.

The Spanish Anarchists will not cease to fight until Fascism is definitely extinguished. Franco and Falange are weakening. And the final blow will come from the Spanish people.

The freedom of Spain can never be given by a diplomatic solution.

Peoples forge and conquer their freedom by their own action.

What Spain can do, the Spanish people will show by their deeds.

Comrades all over the world. Do not forget your comrades in Spain.

We send you all our cordial greetings. We stand and will always stand against every kind of tyranny, against the State, against Capitalism and for the right of every people and every man to be free and master of himself.

The Comité Peninsular of the F.A.I. (Sealed). Somewhere in Spain, August 5th, 1946.

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"The Minister Leiva come from Spain to take his post in the Giral Cabinet condemned the attitude of the M.L.E.-C.N.T. in a statement, and in the name of the National Committee of the C.N.T. in Spain disauthorised the secretariat of the M.L.E.-C.N.T. in France, elected by the majority of the Congress of Paris. This absurd manoeuvre was rejected by the majority of the members, taking count of the 2% who followed those who provoked the scission.

"Since that day a wide split has developed between a handful of members and the majority. The partisans of collaboration intrigued among themselves. Nothing can be held against the intransigent anti-governmental position of the majority. But the scissionists don't abandon their methods. They are convinced that they have something to gain by their ruses and machinations, by exploiting the feelings of those remaining in Spain. They hope to triumph by means of the aid they receive from the hands of agents serving hidden interests.

"The days go by and the Giral government doesn't liberate Spain. Franco has heightened the repression, particularly

against the militants who have declared themselves anti-collaborationist in meetings organised underground, by his own agents or by the Phalangist police.

"The Committee of Liaison of the M.L.E.-C.N.T. in France with the forces of the C.N.T. and the Libertarian Movement in Spain—which are not anywhere representative of the opinion of the National Committee in Spain which has approved of the scission in France provoked by Leiva, Prieto and some other elements—takes the same position as the M.L.E.-C.N.T. in France and unmasks the confused actions of the National Committee in Madrid and those who represent it in exile.

"The reaction of the workers is shown in accordance with the measure in which they are aware of the conspirative task which has been undertaken to do away with Franco and with all forms of oppression.

"Then, inside Spain, appeared "Ruto" organ of the Libertarian Youth, which supports the underground struggle. Then "Tierra y Libertad", organ of the F.A.I. has heightened the wave of struggle for the liberation of the Spanish people. The manifestoes circulate. All those who resist the regime are invigorated by these signs of action.

CABBAGES and KINGS

We are not sure if the above title is ver complimentary to the humble cabbage. It is after all a fairly inoffensive vegetable and forms part of a staple diet of most of the working peoples of the world. Or may argue, quite rightly, that kings also form part of the staple diet of most of the working peoples of the world. The difference, however, is that most peoples like cabbage and have chosen them voluntarily, while kings have been with them since the beginning of history, and are regarded as an irksome but natural bugbear, like a man who has suffered from corns since childhood but never seems to have time to go to a chiropodist.

By MOG

In England we usually boil our cabbages but get our Royalty served up in a variety of dishes.

We have Royalty a la B.B.C., Royalty a la Newsreel and one can hardly look at the daily press without a smirking queen or a podgy princess peering out of the pages.

It is all organized like the advertisement industry, very much the same as bread, shoes or soap, but of course we come back to the idea that these are useful articles so we can partly forgive the advertising of them.

The ever growing popularity of our Royal Family can be seen in the stampede in the cinemas when everybody, every night, rushes to the exits to avoid standing before the picture of a man with a bored air and sometimes a slight squint, (this is probably the fault of the photographers, we're not trying to be insulting).

"But" says "Honest British Working man" lumbering up and belching weak beer through his loyal moustache, "you gotter have a Royal Family—we've always 'ad one."

Well we have no doubt that a lot of the Royalty are in themselves pretty decent people, we've never been to the corner pub with them so we don't know, but it is the forces that maintain them and that they represent which are the real menace. They are all part of the great State machine which, everywhere is slowly lumbering to a gigantic smash. This in itself is not so bad an idea but the trouble is that under the present system when they smash we also smash, and when the gigantic junk heap finally piles up, we'll be at the bottom.

Kings are really the expensive pawns of bigger, smarter and slimmer players. And when they become too antiquated will be discarded at the greater powers' leisure. Trouble was that many of the countries decided to kick their kings out themselves, which alarmed the State machines of the world as it was obvious that the peoples of the world were getting ideas above their stations and would, with typical working class lust and greed, not be satisfied with gobbling up a few kings, but turn on the men behind them. They might even refuse to go to war against each other again, the lazy swine, and settle down to live in peace, which would have been very disconcerting for the arms manufacturers and oil combines who wanted other combines' oil and the whole shower of parasites.

Churchill declared in the Atlantic Charter that he would "Return to countries their sovereign right". He obviously meant that he'd return their sovereignty, right or wrong, peacefully or forcefully.

A picture now waddles into view of good old (he won the war for us) Bulldog Breed Winnie, stuffing his already overfed face at numerous banquets and telling everybody what a great guy he is, while making dangerous speeches on our behalf. To us a slightly annoying, pathetically comic old wind-bag, but to other nations a different aspect presented itself.

The Greek peoples decided that this war was going to be their last and while marching to the mountains and strapping on their bandoliers, watched the hurried exit of those who had a lot of money or position and very little guts. Included in this smelly mob were Greece's chosen

"The workers, as in the past, have confidence in the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. They are organising themselves with the precautions that the exceptional regime calls for. The old and the young are finding themselves once more in the struggle."

And today we can affirm that the National Committee of the C.N.T. in Spain, which decided on the collaboration is a dead body, as is the corpse of the Giral Government.

The National Confederation of Labour is recovering its effective forces. It is marching straight towards its aim. And we are authorised to say that it will do honour to its glorious past. That it will guide the Spanish people to their real emancipation.

Workers of Britain. Workers of all countries have confidence in the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. If you want the Social Revolution to triumph throughout the world help the fighters of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. with all your moral and material solidarity.

leaders and rightful rulers, all eager to rule from the safe distance of Egypt or England.

When the weary Greek partisans, on defeating the Nazis, looked over their shoulders they saw these same people returning behind a screen of British bayonets, and behind these bayonets were men who had been told that partisans were bandits and scum, but who suspected the truth and obviously had little taste for the job.

The Greek people had to fight or go under. They fought and went under.

Afterwards, a free election was held, with half the Left wing peoples in jail or in hiding, and the rest being intimidated and beaten up in the streets. Last month this free people voted for a return of the monarchy.

For a long time the unemployed monarch has been waiting just inside the black aperture of his hole—his nose quivering eagerly toward the world outside. Last month he stepped out into the glaring sunlight of Athens, backed and applauded by the Labour Government whom the people elected to act in their interests.

A few days later it was announced that Princess Elisabeth was going to be engaged to Prince Phillip of Greece. The announcement was just as suddenly called off and discredited a day later, but perhaps the cat was well out of the bag. We shall see.

Perhaps the glare of Athens will be too harsh for King George.

If one of us could ask the remnants of those gallant partisans who are searching in the dustbins for food, if they, the workers, would prefer cabbages or Kings, we wonder what would be their answer.

We are going to appeal to the ex-Servicemen of this country, we do not ask that they rush to our cause, for we only want people with us who understand us and our cause. We ask the ex-servicemen to study our cause and think deeply. We also ask that they talk, talk of the world that they have seen and the people in it.

Say that they have found out, that peoples all over the world have the same interest and within themselves want peace. Tell how children fought over scraps of bread and dirty porridge outside military messes in Italy.

Tell how the Arab children would stand by the side of the roads calling for biscuits, with their sad hungry faces.

Tell of the millions of kids lining the routes of the B.L.A. leave trains from Germany to France begging for scraps of sandwiches or pies that were often too unappetising for the servicemen to eat.

Tell how the Black Market rules Europe, how all the food we send to Italy is immediately sold on the black market, which AMGOT did nothing to discourage.

Tell of the women of Italy, Holland and Germany who are forced to sell themselves for tins of bully or bars of chocolate, tell of the immorality and vice that has engulfed the miserable peoples of the world.

You, the ex-servicemen have seen the whole show, the rottenness and corruption. Stop thinking of the good times you had and talk of the bad times which you tend to forget. You have had the opportunity of seeing things that the people back here haven't seen and don't suspect. Tell them.

Remember those few bits of ribbons you had on your chest before you were demobbed—remember the gallantry and misery that they represent. Remember the Western Desert with its burning days and freezing nights, remember North Africa with its wind and rain, remember Cassino, Anzio, the Liri Valley, the steaming swamps and jungles, the fear that lived with you and was always beside you. Remember Normandy and Arnhem. The long bomber trips through cold and frost and your comrades going down, burning.

Remember those comrades, they lie in dusty holes by the side of the road, they lie at the bottom of the oceans, and those few bits of ribbons represent all this.

Turn up the wet stones around you and you will find them, the little Kings of Europe. They are covered with medals and decorations but have never fought a battle, they didn't have the courage to stay with their people and fight. And now they are eagerly awaiting you to force them back on the people who don't want them! Think it over.

GREECE

Seven Anarchists Executed

In Greece the Fascist government, under the protection of British troops acting on the orders of the Labour government, are carrying out brutal persecution of the anti-fascist workers who were the backbone of the resistance to the German occupation.

On July 25th, seven anarchist-communist comrades were executed at Jarusta, among them a 20-year-old schoolmaster. For the Greek workers nothing has been altered by the Allied victory.

"Solidaridad Obrera," Paris.

The European Revolution

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ary movement in France. The French C.N.T. and F.A.F., at the side of the Spanish C.N.T. and F.A.I., under the shield of the principles of the I.W.M.A. will form an impregnable rampart against the State for the suppression of capitalism, and will carry on the struggle until libertarian communism is introduced.

"In Bulgaria the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists are acting together. Every day the revolutionary forces are opposing the reformism and the authoritarian currents sustained by the Stalinists.

"Throughout the Balkans, in spite of the difficulties and hindrances of the occupation forces revolutionary syndicalist groups are constituted, and were it not for the repression the sections of the I.W.M.A. would be in the majority.

"In Belgium and Switzerland reformism is losing ground, the workers are returning to the conceptions of the First International.

"In the Low Countries revolutionary publications, inspired by anarchism are opening the way for revolutionary syndicalism and the workers are organising according to the influence of the S.A.C. which, in Sweden, during the war has maintained its action without defection or abandoning the principles and tactics of libertarian socialism; non-political action, class struggle, opposition to governmental and capitalist collaboration.

"And if, in Germany, we cannot mark the same rebirth it is only because of the obstacles of the self-styled liberators, who prefer to sustain the organisation of nazism hidden within the trade unions under the direction of the authorities, and who forbid the constitution of revolutionary syndicates which, formerly formed the basis of the F.A.U.D. (Free Workers Union of Germany).

"In Spain we can affirm that the C.N.T. will soon again be that which she was formerly. The crisis produced by some militants who have lost confidence in the Second Revolution, whether owing to tiredness, personal ambition for power, or by concessions made to Franco or the power of money, has already been over-ridden by the workers who repudiate Franco's regime to the same degree as all regimes of constraint and oppression."

SPANISH MILITANTS IN FRANCE OPPOSE POLITICAL COLLABORATION

Carrying on the pleasant conversation we asked Comrade Pon his views on the Spanish problem, and in particular the position of the M.L.E.-C.N.T. (Spanish Libertarian Movement) in France towards the situation created by the National Committee of the C.N.T. in Spain.

"Some people talk about anti-fascist unity saying that it is the Anarchists who make difficult the unity of the Spanish republican exiles. Nothing is more false. Whoever believes that the Anarchists tend to enfeeble the forces which seek to liberate the Spanish people, must be considered as an element influenced by those who are interested in crushing the Spanish Revolution.

"What the members of the M.L.E.-C.N.T. in France don't want is that the political parties, socialists and communists included, should instil reaction in Spain with royalty or the republic as the communists claim to do with the National Union. And as the parties and organisations comprising the Giral Government also claim. The type of people who kneel before the feet of the chancelleries to beg for a place at the banquet of economic division of Spain that the 'Big Three' are preparing.

"The shadow of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. haunts the international bourgeoisie and follows all the diplomats, while the Revolution of July 19th, 1936, is the fear of all the politicians. It is that revolution which inspired the Spanish Anarchists and which the workers claim by their resistance, opposed to all submission to a regime imposed by force of arms. This revolutionary action makes a capitalist solution of the Spanish problem impossible.

"The geographical position of Spain, on the eve of a bigger exploitation of the soil and sub-soil of Africa, its mineral wealth, its natural hydraulics, its rich agriculture, its potassium deposits, etc., are the obstacles to an international political solution.

"The imperialisms are struggling on the Spanish plane; Anglo-American and Russian. The stake of the economic rivalries and the stranglehold over the sources of riches in the first place, over strategic positions for the defence of their interests. One financial or political clique struggles against another for superiority. To precede these filthy deals Franco receives aid to prevent social revolution. The Anarchists, who by their tenacity will make possible the spreading of the Social Revolution throughout Europe, even against the will of the Red and Black Popes, so fraternally united to destroy the Spanish revolution inspired by the Anarchists, which will confound the Spanish communists with the monarchist elements in their so-called liberation of the Spanish people.

"The most curious phenomenon which is exploited is the presentation of Spain as a country of catholic fanaticism. The nostalgia and mysticism of the Spanish people is confused with christianism. But we can bring forward the anti-religious struggles of the Spanish people, the paganism which during, and since, the

Inquisition has been submitted to moral and material tortures by the representatives of the Catholic Church which for centuries has governed Spain at the cost of keeping tens of thousands of free-thinking men in prison.

"The shame of the past is that which they wish to see continuing in Spain. "Only the militants of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. are opposed to these ill-omened combinations, with the agreement of the immense majority of the workers, convinced that they are defending the interests of the international working-class.

"The Spanish Revolution has become the mysticism of the people. The libertarian realisations of 1936-1939, based on the sentiments and principles of federalism, have awoken their hearts and pushed them to an extreme love of freedom.

"That federalism, which is characterised by its folklore and customs throughout Spain, is that which is feared on the national and international plane. The example of a triumphant revolution in Spain would be the death of all systems of exploitation, the disappearance of the States, the new era which could not be opened in Russia by the political revolution, will begin in Spain under the system of Libertarian Communism.

UNDERGROUND SPAIN

"Such is the situation of the Spanish problem."

We then asked for some details of the relations of the M.L.E.-C.N.T. in France with the National Committee of the C.N.T. in Spain.

Comrade Pon was genuinely amazed by the question but replied immediately. "There is no problem, only a trick which has been played on the workers in Spain."

We then asked him what had caused the crisis exploited by certain elements?

"There is no crisis. The Spanish Libertarian Movement in exile and continuing the struggle in Spain has not suffered any collapse.

"Let me make a little historical survey, it is necessary in order to sort out the facts.

"Since the exile our movement has been exposed to very great trials both in Spain and in France. But it has kept, under all circumstances, the relations between its militants. This our perfect form of organisation made possible.

"After the liberation in France, when action took on a public form the F.A.I. and C.N.T., together with the Libertarian Youth, were joined together in one movement under the name Spanish Libertarian Movement—National Confederation of Labour (M.L.E.-C.N.T. in France).

"To determine future action and lay the basis of conduct to be followed a Congress was held in Paris in May, 1945.

"In the course of the discussions two tendencies became obvious. But the resolution confirming the principles, tactics and aim of the C.N.T. in accordance with the declaration of the Madrid Congress of 1919 were voted unanimously. Adhesion to the I.W.M.A. figures in that resolution.

"The debates were impassioned, as they always are, but the minority made no hostile demonstration towards the principles of direct action which have been, remain and will be, the effective and strong weapon of the C.N.T. and of revolutionary syndicalism.

"Later that small majority—less than 2% of the M.L.E.-C.N.T. in France—launched a violent campaign of defamation, against the Secretary General elected by the Congress and the ex-minister Federica Montseny, a member of the secretariat.

"The delegate who had come from Spain to be present at the Congress, and who had not shown himself until the end of the last sitting, gave an incorrect report on his return to Spain. The National Committee in Spain prevented the motions and decisions from becoming known in Spain, similarly the names of the new secretariat.

"It was evident that the secretariat which had been deposed by the Congress had plotted with the National Committee in Spain against the integrity of the principles of the C.N.T.

THE GIRAL GOVERNMENT

"Little by little the position clarified owing to the action of the new secretariat, and it was discovered that inside the organisation in Spain were double agents serving the interests of Franco and the Phalange under the protection of the British Ambassador.

"The day of the constitution of the Giral Government in exile arrived. To make it the expression of the representation of all anti-fascist sections in exile the C.N.T. was invited to furnish two ministers.

"The M.L.E.-C.N.T. in France which at the Congress of Paris had agreed not to collaborate with any government, replied to President Giral that the C.N.T. had nothing in common with the action which the Giral Republican Government could make by diplomatic means. Collaboration was refused both in the name of the M.L.E.-C.N.T. in exile and of the workers of the C.N.T. in Spain who were unable to manifest their position publicly.

"The National Committee of the C.N.T. in Spain, which did not represent the wishes of the organised workers, since it had never consulted them, decided to incorporate itself into the Giral Government.

(Continued at foot Column 1.)