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JANUARY, 1948.

TWOPENCE

## MOLOTOV - MARSHALL=N.C.B. VICTI MASSAGRE

### Revin's "Peace" Plan -Atom Bomb A.R.P.

ARMAMENTS BUILDING UP FOR THIRD WAR

the brink of civil war. While France

that comes from East and West.

of Judge Lynch.

To further complicate the confusion

From behind the Iron Curtain come grim

tales of opposition parties being split up,

Anarchists Dying

in Bulgarian

Concentration Camps

which we have referred in earlier issues,

continues. Many anarchist and anarcho-

HE Christmas festivities stand as a as yet seen outside the domain of his reminder that, many centuries ago, Satanic Majesty. Whether or not these a man was born who later became sparks will initiate the flames of the third the symbol for what is called the world holocaust is as yet uncertain. But "Christian Era." This new era was the widespread signs of world indigestion, ushered in with a celestial choir, while a following this collision, are highly disgolden star hung in the sky over turbing. Bethlehem, and was eagerly greeted by four wise men from the East. These Magi weeks of social strife that brought her to industrial plants. bore gifts for this new leader.

The approaching conflict of tomorrow was, expels Russians, indirectly accused of instead, ushered in with a blinding white having aided in initiating this strife, and in flash and a hideous pall of smoke—the retaliation Russia expels French nationals. present from "above", when the first atom the rest of the world can only gaze in have an economic stranglehold on Western bomb was dropped on unsuspecting wonder at the weird antics of the "leaders" Europe. The good Tovarich plays for mass slaughter was followed by another, chief; the Right Wing Fuehrer De Gaulle. when the teeming inhabitants of Nagasaki | the power behind the throne, and Bidault were blasted and burned by the super- the mouthpiece for the Marshallites. product of Western "Civilisation." Two These rather pathetic little puppets. acts without any parallel in the history of dancing and jolting on the stage while the mankind. The stage was thus prepared great American showmen pull the strings and supply the words. for the new age of world power politics.

crooked political machinery of the western strings too are tugged in a far-distant land the destruction and damnation of the slogans. The hard reality, the hunger and reason to fear the other, when they think world. "Four Wise Men" indeed . . . the unrest of the working masses was almost of Hiroshima being translated into in arms against fascism. "Four Horsemen" would be the more buried in the welter of hypocrisy and lies. appropriate title.

Marshall Plan, and his two stooges, Bevin Rome has had about 600,000 workers on navies and air forces re-equipped. The and Bidault. Although the means used, and strike. Mass hunger and fear again swing British Home Office issues a memorandum

The Marshall Plan is primarily that o economic infiltration and the first objective is Western Europe, which will thus become its main bridgehead. The secondary phase will be that of attempting to seduce some of the "Red Satellites" in Eastern Europe away from the Kremlin.

The Molotov Plan of political infiltration is aimed at stabilizing the already considerable communist domination over the Balkans, then the extension of the sphere of influence into all Western Europe.

The head-on collision of these two plans skin. Brother, be you a "red" or be you has given rise to some ominous rumblings, a "nigger", you are just as likely to run and some of the liveliest showers of sparks

#### MEETINGS

Open Lecture-Discussions are held each Sunday at 7 p.m. at:

> CENTRAL HOUSE, TRADE UNION CLUB (Room 7), Great Newport Street, W.C.2. (Opposite Leicester Square Station.)

All Welcome

Admission Free

SUNDAY, JAN. 4th-Bill Mansbridge-MERLINO AND MARX.

SUNDAY, JAN. 11th-Bonar Thompson-THE FAILURE OF BERNARD SHAW

SUNDAY, JAN. 18th-Raymond Upton-

ANARCHISM AND WAR.

SUNDAY, JAN. 25th-Nan Hanson-THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIALISM.

SUNDAY, FEB. 1st-Julian Pilling-NATIONALISATION OR WORKERS' CONTROL.

SUNDAYS, FEB. 8th and 15th-Subjects to be announced.

SUNDAY, FEB. 22nd-F. J. Corina-THE FREETHOUGHT STRUGGLE.

Questions.

Discussion.

#### Imagination Unrationed!

Sir - Potatoes seem to taste much better since they were rationed two days ago. I think we should all eat them much more slowly, be more conscious of their rich, unique flavour and the minute golden grains of which they are composed. I am sure if eaten this way the vegetable will become more appetising and therefore more nourishing. - Yours &c.,

K. H. C. LO., Acting Vice-Consul, Vice-Consulate of the Republic of China, Sunlight House, Manchester 3, 11/11/47. | the above address. -Letter in "Manchester Guardian", 15/11/47.

### your skin is no crime, but wrongly-coloured politics lead to firing squad and gallows.

This is the grim back-drop for the Grand Guignol" play enacted in London in December. The stars were the big "four" — Marshall and Molotov, while in the supporting cast were Bevin and Bidault. Against the back-drop of human misery they sat, like four rather aged vultures whetting their beaks on the prostrate body of Hitler's Third Reich. The one-time terror of Europe now lies prostrate, bled by the Eastern and Western Imperialists.

Marshall, bristling with righteous indignation, accuse Molotov of draining assets, to the tune of 500,000,000 dollars yearly from Eastern Germany. He omitted to mention the minor detail that Yankee France is now slowly recovering from dismantle and loot a matter of 682 German

> force an early settlement of the German question, for they must do this while they set-back. So they continue procrastinating women. and arguing, and the German workers continue suffering and dying.

The dominant note of the Conference was fear, thinly disguised as belligerence. Like Washington or Moscow.

In Italy, Milan has been occupied by ultimately the domination of the world. | Communist and Anti-Communist. "We yet more arable land goes for battle-MASSACRE!

#### come disturbing facts from both sides. America has the tragi-comedy of the Committee of Un-American activities. For a 'Bolshie" is more than the good, honest, western "democrats" can stand. So they now bracket the wrongly-coloured political belief together with the wrongly-coloured

Industrial Fascism in into good democratic justice in the shape Clyde Shipyard

Most of us are familiar with that old marching song-"John Brown's body lies their leaders flying or dying. For in this a'mouldering in the grave but his soul great sphere of "liberty" and "equality" goes marching on!" On the bonnie banks in the "new democracy" the colour of o' the Clyde, there stands a shipyard ilmost as well-known as the above dirge.

The fame of 'John Browns' has spread to every corner of the globe, chiefly on account of its big ships, big profits and Guadalajara: 195; Ciudad Real: 562; Cuenca: innumerable Royal Visitations. On the other hand, it is equally infamous for the poverty-stricken wages paid to the workmen, and the out-of-date antediluvian The Communist terror in Bulgaria, to conditions under which they toil.

At precisely 7.30 in the morning, th syndicalist comrades, among them some of huge entrance gates are closed against all the most devoted members of our Bul- local workmen.

garian section, find themselves in danger To insure that nobody 'sneaks' in, of death at the hands of the Stalinists. Thousands of libertarian comrades have policemen, gatemen, yard detectives and been arrested since the end of the war, other lackeys, stand faithfully on guard and many have been condemned to a slow No concentration camp ever needed to death in the forced-labour camps which demonstate such a display of might, but have been instituted by the Communist- then-John Brown's have their own ideas controlled Government, and which are on as to the best means of imposing discipline. For being a few seconds late, many work-To be an opponent of the government in men, every morning have to return home there were only 40,000 political prisoners power in Bulgaria, as in all countries of Russian-controlled Eastern Europe, means again; despite all this clamour for in Spain, and that of these few were daily danger of the firing squad on charges creased production.

of "activity dangerous to the security of the State." The Stalinist puppet governemerge from their various 'offices' before turned, by its fascist rulers, into one vast elected to the strike committees and where ments have nothing to learn in sadism and the last sound of the starting siren has concentration camp. died away; enthusiastically 'whipping' the workers' demands was put forward by the vorkers to their allotted tasks.

> taken aboard partially completed ships. visit, is self-explanatory. When a man is caught by a 'Hat' or one of rules, he is fined half-a-crown, or as an alternative, instantly dismissed. All depends on how submissive, or enslaved the individual has become.

£4 5s. 0d. per week.

men engaged in ship construction with the their own joy and comfort! £40,000 a year placed in the lap of royalty

## FRANCO SPAIN

123,470 Political Prisoners SECRET DOCUMENT REVEALS EXTENT OF FASCIST TERROR

IWMA, W. Europe.

and British Big Business are preparing to political prisoners in the gaols of Franco to be deducted from their wage packets at the withdrawal of his labour power. A Spain. These figures, which are included the rate of 10/- a week, commencing on in a document of the Spanish Ministry of January 16th. The Marshallites bend every effort to the Interior, and secretly obtained, are, at falsity of the figures issued publicly, and a with these strikes." clear demonstration that the bestial fascist Hiroshima. This act of destruction and of France. . . . Schuman, the big white time, and yet more time. For if the matter regime of the "Christian General" can said : were settled now Russian inspired tactical only survive by putting behind bars tens of moves in Europe would receive a severe thousands of freedom-loving men and

This mediaeval barbarity is tolerated by U.N.O., and by the politicians of all colours, who are responsible for the con- Employers and Workers Act of 1875. £10 This time, however, only one of the Tacing them are the French "Marx" This time, however, only one of the Tacing them are the French "Marx" This time, however, only one of the Tacing them are the French "Marx" the British Labour Government by its morning shift fillers, and £4 from 16 after-"wise men" comes from the East, while Brothers", Thorez, Cachin and Marty, the yard—quaking with fright, yet attempting the British Labour Government by its morning shift fillers, and £4 from 16 afterthe other three are the products of the exponents of the Molotov Plan. Their to put on a bold front. Each one ready economic aid to Franco bears a heavy share noon shift workers. to trip over the other and start running. of responsibility for the slavery of the democracies. The gifts they hold out are and the Politbureau suplies the words and Marshall and Molotov both have good Spanish people, who were the first to rise of industry. The boss, in this case the

The following are the names of the men's So the endless stream of words flow prisons together with the number of 11 From the East comes Comrade Molotov, communist forces, while a carefully- back and forth, and behind the screen political prisoners in each—all of whom are "criminal offence" of taking direct action bearing the Molotov Plan; from the West, engineered strike wave battered at the frantic preparations are made. New condemned to from six to thirty years, and to redress a legitimate grievance. That is to confront him comes the bearer of the all-too shaky base of Italian economy, while armaments are manufactured, armies, many of whom are awaiting the death sentence to be carried out :

Alcala de Henares: 1,874; Ocana: 1,625; these two "plans" aim at is the same: corn, while from the top of the corn sacks Britain is to be trained in self-defence Talavera: 1,943; Guadalajara: 1,537; Guadala the domination of Europe first, and gibber and gesticulate the mad figures of against air raids. In an underfed country jara (special prison) 967; Carabanchel and Yeserias: 6,400; Cuenca: 170; Segovia: 600; Ciudad Real: 1,225; Penal de Cuellar 1,035; alone can save you from the foreign im- training areas. Signs that are horribly Puerto de Santa Maria: 1,589; Sevilla: 2,322; perialists, we alone can feed you and give reminiscent of 1939. Signs that we cannot Badajoz: 1,021; Cadiz: 672; Huelva: 565; you peace and life." This is their bizarre wish to laugh away. It may well be that Teneriffe: 1,823; Balearic Islands and Morocco: duet. "With us, or against us" is the cry Molotov plus Marshall will equal 2,327; Colonia de Dos Hermanas: 1,034; Barcelona: 5,480; Gerona: 526; Lerida: 418; Tarragona: 345; Saragossa 1,633; Figueras 1,070; San Miguel (Valencia): 1,989; Granada 1,048; Reformatorio de Alicante: 1,093; Provincial Castellon: 486; Provincial de Teruel: 268; Provincial de Albacete: 563; Central de Santona. 1.542; Provincial de Santander: 986; Central de Gijon: 960; Provincial de Oviedo: 1,027; Provincial de Lugo: 840; Provincial de la Corona: 1,146; Pontevedra: 752; Provincial de Orense: 820; Salamanca: 647; Avila: 110; Caceres: 468; 796; Palencia: 428; Burgos: 2,058; Pamplona: 940; Larrinaga, Bilbao: 649; San Sebastian: 458; Vitoria: 372; Provincial de Pamplona: 280; Provincial de Burgos: 380; Soria: 195; Provincial de those in France—the Communists hoped Granada: 770; Almeria: 689; Malaga: 896; that a situation would develop where it of Labour to say that, though they realised Cordoba: 985; Jaen: 990; Cartagena: 504; would be possible for them to seize power. 7,933; Delegaciones de Falange: 8,500; Provincial They were not interested in the demands Prisiones Partidos :16,928; Concentration camps:

> The following are the details of women imprisoned on political charges:

Ventas (Madrid): 988; Segovia: 342; Alcala de Henares: 782; Aranjuez: 1,017; Prison de Mujeres en lactancia (Madrid): 229; Manicomio Prison: 85; Toledo: 362; Provincial de Segovia: 180; 142; Seville: 620; Badajoz: 325; Cadiz: 249; Teneriffe: 380; Balearic Islands and Morocco: 160; Tarragona: 109; Huesca: 267; Saragossa: 534; Valencia: 672; Gerona (special prison): 629; Provincial de Valencia: 466; Provincial Alicante: 180; Provincial de Castellon: 198; Teruel: 86; Albacete: 193; Santander (special): 487; Provincial de Santander: 462; Provincial de perienced, has increased discontent. Oviedo: 498; Provincial de Lugo: 318; Provincial de la Corunna: 503; Provincial de Pontevedra: 216; Provincial de Orense: 260; Provincial de 200; Leon: 210; Zamora: 112; Valladolid: 385; Palencia: 150; Bilbao: 346; San Sebastian: 218; Vitoria: 109; Pamplona: 132; Soria: Granada: 403; Murcia: 215; Almeria: 321; Malaga: 392; Cordoba: 1,025; Jaen: 985.

These figures give a total of 20,501 women and 102,969 men imprisoned, a total 123,470. The statement of Aylagas, Spanish Director General of Prisons, that reached a point where its influence on Inside the yard, Bowler-hatted bosses to be a deliberate lie, made to cover-up the of the workers' action. In many factories, fought as such. strut around as thick as bees. They fact that present-day Spain has been mines and railheads a C.N.T. majority was

for launching these vessels, the cool recep-No tea breaks are permitted during work- tion, indeed the lack of interest shown by ing hours, and no smoking, or meals to be the people of Clydebank in the recent royal

John Brown's body may be a'moulder-

# MERS

Grimethorpe Men Ordered to Pay £304

Strike Action Needed Now

In court it was stated: "The Coal cases in the future. one and the same time, the proof of the Board really means business in dealing

For the strikers, miner Victor Turner

"Our working place was unsafe. There was no recognised roof. The floor was

The prosecution took place under the

This is the meaning of State ownership N.C.B., takes you to his court, makes the pretence of giving you a hearing, fines you and then deducts the amount of your fine from your wage packet. All for the what happened in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The almighty state became the arbiter of all social life. Now it is

# in France and Italy

C.P. Losing Support of Workers

political and partisan ends. There is no imported. doubt that, during the strikes—particularly de Valencia: 1,832; Provincial de Alicante: 507; put forward by the workers, but simply in playing a hand for Molotov and Stalin in the preliminary skirmishing with Anglo-American imperialism which is now taking place (see the "Big 4" article).

out on strike was, of course, a symptom "when convenient." At time of writing, of the deep unrest which is prevalent many men have not been taken back. among the French and Italian working-495; Barcelona: 1,115; Gerona: 220; Lerida: class. This unrest has been caused by the sharp rise in the cost of living, and the fact that wages have—as usual—lagged sadly behind prices. An acute food-shortage, far worse than anything Britain has yet ex-

As we pointed out in our last issuebefore the strikes started—it is still too They were aliens and were detained as Salamanca: 290; Provincial de Avila: 32; Caceres: early for the French Anarcho-syndicalist such. They had no trial and the C.P. movement, the C.N.T., to give the situation has no right to give them a verdict. revolutionary direction. The C.N.T. is gaining in numbers rapidly-many workers, disgusted by the Communist trickery within the official C.G.T. unions are tearof ing up their C.G.T. cards and joining the strike was the vicious batoning and strikeevents can be decisive.

During the strikes the C.N.T. took part this was the case, a clear statement of the Committees, and gains were made by the workers.

One day it will burst in flame, and the dirty work for French capitalism in sidered except the workers, who came out. 'Hats' and other symbols of authority will batonning, shooting and gassing the striking be enveloped in the conflagration. Instead workers. Through their political direction seeking rich, the workers will build their workers. In the next round the State, and When one considers this pittance paid to own ships, for their own needs, and for the employing-class it represents, may find themselves laughing on the wrong side of traditional Union machine. J.Mc.D. their faces.

Party are doing the Tories' work by laying the cornerstone of a totalitarian state. You aren't even given the option of not paying your fine, and going to jail instead: your employer—the state—with the power of the law behind him, filches the money from your wage packet before you even see it. And the Control of Engagements Order prevents you from finding a new boss.

When the big Yorkshire strike took place last August, it was in Grimethorpe that the The pattern of industrial relations miners' action originated. This case under nationalisation was set in Barnsley against the men of Grimethorpe must receive the immediate support and action Magistrates' Court, on December 19th, of all workers. The Government-like the when forty miners from Grimethorpe were coalowners of old—are yelling for more ordered to pay the National Coal Board production. The answer to victimisation £304 for the "crime" of having taken of miners is NO PRODUCTION. The We print below the exact figures of strike action in November. This money is worker's weapon against the boss lies in coalfields, NOW would teach the Government not to be so hasty in bringing similar

> Direct action in support of the 40 Grimethorpe Miners!

Force the Government to stop victimis-

All Coal Board Officials to the Coal Face!

The Mines to the Miners!

Union Leaders Betray Struggle Vicious Strikebreaking by Police

After gaining the right to organise in October, 1946, the Savoy Group of workers have again struck, this time fundamentally Strikes against arbitrary dismissal, but there were a number of outstanding grievances against the Savoy employers, including the matter of the dismissed waiter. Not one concession would the Savoy employers grant the workers, not even under the threat of strike-action. This is the fault of the Union—for they have shown that they are not serious in the matter of strike-action, either through inefficiency or weakness. We The recent widespread strikes in France believe that the strike methods used were and Italy were, to a large extent a totally unsound, and the fact that the weakmanoeuvre of the Communist Parties in ness was there was demonstrated by the Leon: 627; Zamora 340; Provincial de Valladolid: those two countries, carried out for purely fact that the majority of the pickets were

> Immediately the strike was declared official, the employers wrote to the Ministry that their proposed enquiry had no standing in law, they would be happy to accept the decisions. After all, they must have business as usual some time. It was recommended that a job should be found elsewhere for Piazza, and that the Savoy should take a few men back at a time-50% The fact that so many workers came first week, 25% second week, and 25%

It is high time that workers in general opened their eyes to the attempts by the Communist Party to make profit out of these strikes. The C.P. said that the 8 waiters who had resigned from the Union were fascists. This is wrong. They were Italians who were interned without trial when this country was at war with Italy.

#### Police Strike Breakers

But the most sinister development of the ranks of the C.NT.—but has not yet breaking of the police. It showed where the police stand—as servants of the 'Socialist" State in the preservation of capitalism. The cops' action showed the sentenced to more than four years, is shown and tried to break the political direction strike to be a class issue which should be

### Union Mis-Organised

It is useless to speak of the workers voting for and conducting a strike when the Union comes under the thumb of the The French Government, changed during T.U.C. The latter body gave orders that the crisis, utilised the situation to pass the strike should not become general. vicious anti-labour legislation, and the They did not wish to embarrass the Labour the yard 'Gestapo' breaking any of these ing." But the pent-up hate of the workers arm of the state machine—in the form of Government, especially at the time of the employed in this shipyard is smouldering! armed police and mobile guards—did the royal wedding. Everything must be con-

The "French Cooks' Syndicate" of by-At the present moment, labourers in the of building battleships and luxury liners the strike-movement in France, as in Italy, gone days proved the invincibility of the Those desiring further information | yard are paid the miserable wage of to satisfy the blood-craving pleasure- has resulted in a temporary defeat for the wage of the satisfy the blood-craving pleasure-We must develop their methods, their class character, and refusal to affiliate to the

-Catering Action Movement Bulletin.

#### NOTICE

brutality.

the Russian model.

All communications to the National Committee of the Anarchist Federation should be addressed to:

The National Secretary, A.F.B., 59, Malham Road,

Forest Hill, London, S.E.23.

regarding the Federation, or interested in becoming members, should write to

of the Spanish workers' struggle.

"Faced with the increasing danger of a third

world war between the forces of Russian and

organised Anarchist movement on an international

scale can resist the dangers which are presented

European Anarchist organisations.

Anarchist

for profit, but according to human needs.

possession of the means of production.

army, gaolers, police force or any body of public coercion.

personality, we can avoid both dictatorship and leadership.

Social Revolution.

and Action

POLICY

Aims and Principles

of the

(Adopted by the first National Congress at Glasgow, September, 1945, and

amended by the second National Congress at Manchester, November, 1947.)

which renders impossible the growth of a privileged class and the exploitation of man by man.

The A.F.B. therefore advocates common ownership of the land, industry and all means of

production and distribution, on the basis of voluntary co-operation. In such a society the

wage system, finance and money shall be abolished and goods produced and distributed, not

CLASS STRUGGLE. "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

The A.F.B. is based upon the inevitable struggle of the worker against those who own and

control the means of production and will continue that struggle until the workers gain

REFORM OR REVOLUTION. Victory in the fight against class domination can only be

achieved by the direct action of the workers themselves. The A.F.B. rejects all parliamentary

and similar activity as deflecting the workers from the class struggle into paths of class

collaboration. No compromise with the forces of reformism or reaction. Organisation for the

WAR AND MILITARISM. The A.F.B. is opposed to all wars between rival states and

governments. It stands firm for the international solidarity of the world's workers. But

believes that it is necessary for the workers to use violence in their own defence. It opposes

THE STATE. "The State is the executive committee of the ruling class." The A.F.B.

it does not seek to obtain seats in the cabinet or Parliament. Nor does it desire to build a

new state on the ruins of the old. Any attempt by an allegedly working-class party to create

a new State could only result in a new ruling-class. Instead, the revolutionary working-class

must abolish the state and administer economy by workers' committees without a standing

ORGANISATION. To achieve these aims the workers must organise. They must replace

the hundreds of craft and general trade unions by revolutionary industrial unions—syndicates.

To that end the A.F.B. aids the formation of workers' committees in all factories, mines,

offices, shipyards, mills and other places of work, and carries out propaganda for their

Anarchist Federation. Recognising the need for organisation, we therefore accept the

responsibility which organisation places upon its members. Without the loss of freedom or

To popularise this aim it is necessary to build up the A.F.B. as part of the World

development into syndicates federated to an all-national Federation of Labour.

does not, therefore, hope to use the State to achieve the emancipation of the working-class:

while it opposes war, it does not urge non-violent submission to ruling-class aggression. I

militarism because the armed forces are used by the ruling-class to maintain their class rule.

THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN seeks to establish a free society

### Delegates FIX

### Tasks Defined for European Anarchist Federation "Recognising that such industrial organisation can only be developed organically, the A.F.B. works

HOUGH only a small number of achieved by a methodical scheme of work on an Spanish Congress Anarchist Federation of Britain, which isation, both national and international, of our was held at the Milton Hall Manchester own forces. The lack of coherent anarchist syndicalism and strive to develop direct action was held at the Milton Hall, Manchester own forces. The lack of coherent anarchist syndicalism and strive to develop direct action on November 15th last, the work accom- organisation in Russia was one of the factors which methods among the workers. Maintains Antifacilitated the Bolshevik seizure of power and the plished there will undoubtedly strengthen subsequent betrayal of the revolution; the lack of movement as becoming part of the capitalist state our Federation for its future struggles. International Anarchist organisation in July, 1936, machine. The trade union movement, by its The constructive force of Anarchism was resulted in a failure by Anarchists in many organisational form divides the workers, and by evidenced by the resolutions which showed the will of the A.F. militants to build a well-organised movement, able to make Against Franco itself felt in the social struggles ahead and American imperialism, Anarchists should be pretake its place as a worthy member of the pared to unite their forces in the revolutionary (I.W.M.A.) Towards the end of October third-camp of the class struggle-only a wellproposed World Anarchist Federation. the Spanish Libertarian Movement-C.N.T.-in France held its second national

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Britain.

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State Position

Congress at Toulouse. Delegates repre-

Fraternal delegates from many sister

The delegations unanimously ratified the

Congresses of the C.N.T., and rejected any

Working Men's Association in its work of

stressed, and practical decisions were

reached to ensure that the I.W.M.A. should

receive the economic support of the Spanish

comrades in France. The question of the

received full attention, and resolutions were

the Spanish Libertarian Movement -

fascism, capitalism and the State.

Australian Workers

Melbourne.

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Communist Party

RICHARD CARLILE

26 essays

CONVICT 9653,

JAIL JOURNAL

By TOM BROWN

SOCIALISM AND PARLIAMENT

compromise with political elements.

organisations were present at the debates

of the Congress.

of direct action.

example.

action.

By GUY A. ALDRED

WHY JESUS WEPT

CHRISTIANITY

PIONEERS OF

BAKUNIN

Full Aid for Fight

by the impending clash of rival imperial forces." Congress opened on the morning of sented 462 local federations of our Spanish movement in exile in France. Saturday, November 15th, under the chair-Dozens of telegrams of greeting were manship of Raymond Upton (London), the A.F.B. for European Federation. received from the movement throughout with Jim Pinkerton (Ashton-under-Lyne) the world-including one from the A.F.B as Minutes Secretary.

#### Greetings from Abroad

anti-state position of Spanish Anarcho-After a brief opening address of welcome syndicalism, as laid down in the regular to the delegates, the chairman read the letters of greeting that had been received from sister organisations. These included: The need to reinforce the International the F.A.I. Group in Great Britain, the F.I.J.L. in Great Britain, the M.L.E. international revolutionary liaison was Federation, the Western Europe Subsecretariat of the I.W.M.A., the Libertarian Communist Alliance of Central Portugal struggle against Franco, from inside Spain, and the Catering Action Movement. Greetings and regrets for non-attendance were taken to intensify the aid to the comrades received from comrades in Ireland, within the Spanish Peninsula, who are Scotland and England.

#### fighting Franco and his henchmen by means Organisational Reports The Congress of Toulouse one of the

most important events in the history of The report of the acting General Secretary gave an outline of the work that showed the firm will of our Spanish comhad been accomplished by the Federation rades to propagate the ideas of revolutionsince the previous Congress, in September ary syndicalism and to realise them in the 1945. The difficulties encountered were practical struggle against international detailed, including the question of the schism within the Anarchist movement, which the A.F.B. had tried, so far without success, to bring to an end. "The gradually developing trends towards totalitarianism are signs that we must not ignore," Oppose Fascist Trend stated the secretary. "This closer integration of the State machine, the new of Labour Government restrictions on the basic rights of the individual are manifestations that we must fight now. Later we will not be able to The Australian "Labour" Government fight except in the manner in which has passed a fascist-minded Act, worse freedom-loving workers in Italy and Nazi than any that was ever passed here by Germany fought, clandestinely." . . . "Our any anti-Labour Government. It makes any immediate objective must be the building attempt at banning work on Defence pro- up of a strong, unified, anarchist federation jects a criminal offence, and practically that can fight at the side of our comrades deprives the worker of the right to strike of many other nations, for the overthrow on any of these projects. This can, of of the state and the emancipation of the course, mean whatever the Government workers." This report was unanimously chooses-railways or road transport for adopted.

A short report, presented by the The T.U. movement, after making a weak | Secretary for International Relations gave formal protest against the Act, took no details of movements with which the A.F.B. had established organic relations. There has just been a state election here, Correspondence with the movements of in which the Labour Government was over- other countries had recently greatly inwhelmingly defeated because of its support | creased, particularly in view of the A.F.B.'s of the Federal Labour Government's Bill to proposals for a new European Anarchist nationalise the banks. The Labour Party, Conference. The report, together with its of course, tries to represent that the Bill recommendation that the A.F.B. should is for the benefit of the workers-or, as concentrate on the preparatory work for Mr. Chifley puts it "for the love of the formation, as soon as possible, of an humanity." Many workers regard the Bill European Anarchist Federation, as the first as another step towards totalitarianism." step towards World Federation was K. J. KENAFICK enthusiastically accepted.

> Reports were presented by the Administration and the Editorial Committee of "Direct Action." The financial difficulties involved in the regular production of the paper were brought forward, and means of increasing sales and obtaining the finance necessary to ensure the regular monthly appearance of the paper were discussed It was agreed to develop a sales drive.

#### Internal Organisation

A long discussion took place on the subject of internal organisation, and, as a result of experience gained since the last National Congress, a number of modifications and additions were made to the illogicalities of capitalist society show us Federation's organisational basis. The clearly that purely reformist measures will amended basis will be supplied, on request, to those interested in joining the A.F.B. Together with this question were discussed long sought-after, long fought-for emanpropaganda, records and solidarity and cipation, social changes of a profound and decisions were reached on each point. A new National Committee was elected

#### by the Congress.

#### International Relations

The keen interest which the A.F.B. has in the International Anarchist movement formation of an European Anarchist Society" would take. When asked by non-speaker, so the definition varies.

"The A.F.B. believes that international, and European, organisation is essential for the been too easy to reply "We lay down no miner. But we conceive the Free Society

"It is time that the Anarchist movement

production in a free society.

"Recognising that such industrial organisation through the medium of job organisation, factory committees, etc., and seeks to destroy political delegates were able to attend the Second National Congress of the hist Federation of Britain which

> "The A.F.B. views the British trade union countries to recognise the paramount importance its methods of class collaboration sabotages the class struggle. The A.F.B. does not, therefore, seek to reform the trade unions, but, by working through the medium of workers' committees, etc., to develop an organisation which will replace them. Members of the A.F.B. are free to join trade, or the working-class, the only real solution lies in a be fighting to wipe off the face of the earth during industrial organisations when, by this means, the direct attack on capitalist property relations and the second world war." solidarity of the workers can be aided or the the state machine which defends these relations. struggle for syndicalism advanced.

"The industrial action advocated by the A.F.B. is in conformity with the Principles and Charter The resolution continues by detailing the of the I.W.M.A. and with the declaration of the Aims and Organisational form proposed by First International Syndicalist Congress held in A London, Sept. 27 - Oct. 2nd, 1913, and the ultimate copy of the resolution has been sent to the aim of this propaganda is the formation of a National Confederation of Labour in Britain, which Provisional Secretariat of International will be affiliated to this, the only true workers' Relations in Paris for circulation to all international."

#### Economic Crisis

'The crisis of British capitalism is based on created it." economic factors, which within the capitalist framework, are unaffected by the particular government in power. The Labour Party, based on a pro-Industrial Organisation gramme of reformism, is powerless to solve this problem, except by attacking the wages and conditions of the workers.

"The A.F.B. sees the origin of the crisis in the "The A.F.B., basing itself on the class struggle, attempt of the British ruling class to maintain in Great Britain, the M.L.E.-C.N.T. and recognising the direct action of the working- a parasitism, unequalled in the world's history, France, the Italian Anarchist class as the only effective weapon in the fight upon the body of a moribund economic system. against capitalism and the state, advocates the The Monarchy, the Church, the Law, the landindustrial organisation of the workers for the owners and industrialists, the merchants, bankers

Federation of Britain

prosecution of this struggle, and as a means of and stockbrokers, insurance agents and the myriad, providing the framework of the organisation of useless, non-productive elements of society with their hangers-on and servants, together with and foreign investment.

> "The British Empire is, in general, now costing more from public funds than can be extracted from it. British export trade supremacy is a thing of the past. The return on British investments abroad is shrinking even more rapidly than the investments themselves, yet the scale of parasitism seeks to extend itself.

the economic crisis. It is the working-class who are dictatorial regimes.

This attack can be achieved only through the conscious and direct action of the workers, and the destruction, by social revolution, of class division Piccadilly Incident within society.

today, turns to the total state machine of fascism to protect privilege. The British ruling class are no exception to this rule; their Labourite lackeys are already introducing legislation which tends increasingly towards the complete subjugation of the individual to the rule of the State bureaucrats.

"The A.F.B., therefore, calls on the workingclass to organise against this threat and for the revolutionary overthrow of the system which has

'The A.F.B. deplores the fact that the majority the organised British workers give their adherence to Labour and Co-operative parties which are committed to the support of the capitalist state and society, and which are, therefore, the

"The Communist Party, though holding only an

only pale shadows of the main parties, and offering Tujunga, U.S.A.: A.S. £1 3s. 7d. no real solution of the class conflict, cannot and do not hold the allegiance of the British worker.

"Holding that these parties in their continual struggle to attain power for themselves, cause disunity in the ranks of the working-class, and when power is obtained use it to create new privileges and new inequalities, the A.F.B., aiming groups will exist, refuses to collaborate in any way with political parties."

#### Conscription

"Conscriptive legislation, enacted by a Labour government, in its attempts to bolster up a failing capitalist economy, merits the contempt and resistance of all class-conscious workers. Conscription present social order, must be avoided, and is used by the ruling class to consolidate the military society upon which the state is based. Therefore, while advocating and supporting individual resistance to conscription, the A.F.B. realises that conscription can only be defeated

#### 3rd World War

'It is two years since the end of World War II,

## swollen state-machine, are part of this gigantic

"Capitalism in decline, as British capitalism is

#### Political Parties

workers' enemies.

infinitesimal number of workers, nevertheless constitutes a considerable danger to the British working-class, since it has succeeded in capturing a disproportionate amount of the higher bureaucracy in the trade unions and other working-class organisations. We reject with contempt the mix ture of opportunism and dangerous demagogy which purport to be this party's policy. In reality the C.P. is only an arm in the imperialist expansion policy of the Stalinist government.

"The A.F.B. is utterly opposed to conscription in any form, whether military or industrial. Under military conscription the individual becomes an perfect, is prone to error, and there are expendable unit in imperialist market-grabbing many obstacles, crossroads and pit-falls wars. The application of industrial conscription that are bound to arise. at any time, and in any circumstances, reduces the worker to chattel slavery and is an admission by the state executive of the existence of class war.

the destruction of the state."

and the main feature of the international situation based on private property, no more castes is still that of clashing imperialism. Faced with the imminence of a third world war, with the possibility of further abuse of atomic energy the A.F.B. declares itself against all imperialism, whether of the right or the left. The Japanese they must have an equal share in the full people are still dying as a result of the atom bombs which fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The A.F.B. products and its amenities. In order to declares its firm opposition to imperialist conflict and sees the only solution in revolutionary action and international fraternisation of the workers."

(Continued at head of next column.)

## Greetings to Policy Anarchists Abroad In closing the Congress, the Chairman

accepted with enthusiasm:

"The A.F.B., meeting in Congress at Manchester, sends its fraternal greetings to the Anarchists of the entire world, and to all organisations which, parasitic structure, which was built up on the within the International Working Men's Associanineteenth century level of imperial exploitation tion, are upholding the banner of the revolutionary class struggle against the forces of capitalism and the State. In particular the A.F.B. expresses its solidarity with those libertarian organisations which are fighting against the brutality of totalitarianism in their respective countries; of the heroic Spanish and Portuguese comrades who are continuing the struggle against the tyranny of Franco and Salazar; of the Bulgarian Anarchists and Anarchosyndicalists who face forced labour and death at "That, and not the financial issue, which is but the hands of Red fascism, and of the comrades an expression of capitalist society, is the basis of in South America who are still submitted to bloody

suffering as a result of the crisis, and the Labour "The Anarchist Federation calls on the workers Government as the servants of the capitalist system to support its campaign in aid of these revolutionthey represent and protect, will increasingly attack ary militants who, for their activity in favour of the workers in order to protect their own interests. a free society, are daily faced with the same "To protect and raise the standard of living of horrors which the "democratic" powers claimed to

The following news-item was prominently displayed on the front page of the London "Evening News" for December 8th.

#### ANARCHISTS 'TOUCHY' OVER OBSTRUCTION

They Sold Newspapers Frederick Read and Lilian Dorothy Pilling, Hereford Road, Paddington, both 24, were at Bow Street today each fined ten shillings for causing an obstruction at Piccadilly-circus on Saturday evening. It was stated that they were selling

an anarchist newspaper, "Direct Action." Read, from the witness box said: "This is an attempt to interfere with sellers of minority papers. It is unusual to see these papers in Piccadilly-sircus."

Pilling quoted the recent acquittal of a newspaper editor and added: "The freedom of the Press is a dead letter if it does not include the right to sell as well as print."

The magistrate said they had caused an obstruction, and were far too touchy about it.

#### Press Fund List No. 5

London: Lib. 1/10; W.B. 2/6, 3/6, 2/-, 2/6; J.M. £2; F.R. 5/-; K.N. 2/9; E.S. 2/-; W.O. 2/6; H.G. £1; R.U. 2/-, 2/-; M.S.D. 7/-; "The I.L.P. and other splinter parties, being Glasgow: D.M. £2; Manchester: R. & B. 10/-;

Previously acknowledged .. 63 1 0

£71 10 2

continue our work by contributing to the Press at a classless society, where no special privileged Fund. "DIRECT ACTION" is still facing a heavy deficit, and we appeal to all those of our readers who wish to see the paper appearing regularly in future to give us their aid quickly.

(Continued from foot of previous column.)

Certain primary considerations must be remembered and taken into account, and here we can list only a few, owing to the restricted space at our disposal.

Centralism, one of the curses of the to do this the basic principles of association and federalism must be adhered to. To avoid the domination of man by man. authority, as we know it today, must be eradicated completely.

A society can only be free when men have complete equality; this means economic equality—no more class systems based on political party membership and ease of access to state-owned property. Men must have not only equal civil rights, ownership of the country, its resources, its avoid later regressions, let us point out now that when we speak of communes, cooperatives, federations, or any other organisms, the administrative functions of which could be supposed to carry extra responsibility to extra work, this responsibility will not be accompanied by any form of particular privilege, whether economic or social.

The right to life being the same for all, no difference in individual advantages must be admitted. Any differentiation would be succeed in overthrowing the capitalist and freedom of all men will be the primary create inequalities and would lead back to

is the first, with the aim of sketching out and concentration camp. Where the wish to precise that all representatives, some of the principles and organisational parasites of profit-mongering capitalism, members of councils, enterprises, coforms on which a Free Society can be bureaucratic state and myth-supplying operative councils, agricultural collectives, priestcrafts will be things of the past, communes, etc., will be chosen by the . Where man will acknowledge no master general assembly of the interested groupdetails , and we hope that our readers will but his own reason, and where the phrase ing, and will be elected for a determined "for the common good" will have a real period. These representatives will be subject to instant recall, and re-election will be facultative.

Although "freedom" can be relatively After the expiry of their mandate, greater than it is today, it can never representatives can remain in their position become total, for man, the human animal, or function while their successors are

On the economic plane-(a) Consumers Co-operatives.

(b) Production Co-operatives, to which will be added the agricultural collectives and

On the social plane— (c) The Free Commune.

artisans unions.

Having thus defined these primary

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### The society

## The New Economic Structure

#### Introduction

In the long struggle for emancipation, belief that while freedom and equality are but utopian dreams as long as we remain shackled by the existing social organisation, once these shackles are smashed, then both freedom and equality will be attainable.

The glaring injustices, inequalities and never emancipate mankind. To secure this gestions, criticisms and arguments. society, every root and branch of the old preparation of these articles. order must be completely destroyed.

This view has long been held by revolu-

state machine they will know how to build goal. A society in which the individual the old regime, based on profit and the Anarchists have been motivated by a beg the question rather than reply to it.

based. We intend to deal primarily with the broad lines, rather than with minor co-operate by sending us their own sug-

We should also like to take this opportunity of expressing our deep appre-

#### A Free Society

Federation, was adopted. In stressing the anarchists, "But what will a free society economist's definition differs from that of be like? . . . how will it function?, it has being, and that of the artist is at being. This is the problem that we wish considerable variance with that of a coal to analyse and solve.

up the new, saner form of social structure." will re-emerge from the monotony of class privilege. This rule, absolute and definite, In other words it has been found easier to and type, when the man can be a man, with is the necessary condition to the final and all his idiosyncrasies, his own views and complete disappearance of the class In an attempt to fill this gap we are beliefs, and the full freedom to give expres- struggle. publishing a series of articles, of which this sion to those beliefs without fear of prison. To avoid more useless repetition, we also meaning.

all-embracing character are necessary; ciation of the extensive studies on this has certain basic needs that must be suptrained. changes that can only be achieved by subject, performed by our comrades of the plied, and to supply these desires men must. The whole organisation will be built up determined working-class action—in short, French Anarchist Federation and the work and produce. No matter how free on three principal organisms: revolutionary action. For, to clear the Spanish Libertarian Movement, studies man becomes, he will still need food, way for building up a free equalitarian from which we have largely drawn in the clothing, shelter and warmth. Then, with these primary physical desires catered for, man needs books and tobacco, amusement music, and thousands more of the items, accepted generally as necessary to life as was in evidence when the question of tionaries in this country, yet there has There are many, many ways that the opposed to "existence." So the main International Relations came up for dis- been comparatively little done to define meaning of the two words "free society" problem in forming a concept of a free cussion. A motion, urging the immediate what form this much desired "Free can be defined, and according to the society, is to find the optimum level where man has the greatest possible freedom of considerations and factors, we will deal, expression and action, combined with the in the next article, with consumers' highest possible level of economic well- co-operatives and production co-operatives.

realised that practical results can only be workers' revolutionary forces finally in which the happiness, general well-being reminded that the human being, far from

# We thank those comrades who have enabled us to