Page Fonr



by two powerful and ruthless war there. blocs this May Day, and the lives Boiling force their way. of working people everywhere have been marred by this fact. No area has escaped the repercussions of the

war preparations. The British worker as a result of five years of Labour Party collaboration with capitalism and the American war camp, has had his weekly pork chop reduced to half a pork chop, and he has been saddled with endless red tape in order to get that. Nye Bevan has Britain's tie-up with the Western Boc, but at the same time does not make a sharp issue of the matter and suggests to the worker that he should rely on action in Parliament to better his situation.

Workers in France didn't have a full pork chop to start with, and the French colonial war in Asia has stripped the lean from that. Italian labour, according to a recent

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German industry has been gettin back on its feet, but a new burden of arms will steal any benefits which the German worker and his family might hope from it.

The dictatorship of General Franco and his cronies was threatened for a time by widespread strikes of courageous Spanish workers. Franco, however, has been given a new lease on life through the support of the United States government. The murder of additional labour militants is now to be expected, for the General is no slouch in such matters. The slaughter of class conscious

workers has long been the policy

Direct Action is making history

say workers

been efforts to get union organisa- paper ever allowed. tion at Best Products' Felixstowe the management.

Thanks to the work of E.T.U. workers there finally joined the Cohen, and songs by Comrade B. Electrical Trades Union.

Brother Hawker's union workall, incidentally, conducted away from the factory and in his own spare time-did not escape the attention of the management.

On April 29, and again the following day, he was called to the Works Manager's office and questioned about his union membership. The second time, he was warned to "watch his step."

Any excuse

Knowing this warning would have attempted to establish that Bro. workers. Hawker's work in the factory was faulty, and on May 2 he was dis- from time immemorial." said Sam missed on grounds of "redundancy Dreen, "have been accused by the. and inefficiency."

At the beginning of the following week, the management tried to transfer a female operative to the work Hawker had been doingdespite the claim of "redundancy." In addition, a further male employee was drafted into the department.

An E.T.U. area official met the company that afternoon, but failed to reach any agreement for the reinstatement of Bro. Hawker. Two days later the 40 members of the Union at the firm struck work.

"The principles of the Electrical and Chancha II. Trades Union, so loyally upheld by the strikers on this job, will be fully understood," says a statement from the Strike Committee. "History is I'rinted and published by the being made in this corner of Suffolk by the direct ac ion that is being laken."

May Day is a day to take stock of the Soviet Union and its satellites, in organisation and understanding of the conditions of working people where domestic terror campaigns of their oppressors. Budding native

The condition of working people in all of Asia and Africa is demoralising when considered in terms of sheer hunger and misery. But there is a boiling force demanding recognition in these areas, which is undoubtedly one of the brightest notes on the labour scene this May Day. It is the force of workers liberating themselves from feudalism led a sort of verbal challenge to and colonialism as best they know how. In some cases the force has been sidetracked in the direction of nationalism (as in North Africa), has been corroded into Stalinist channels in China, but in much of the area, notably India, there has been a healthy tendency away from the influence of either state or private exploitation.

The very darkest spot in Asia is Korea, where the backs of our United Nations survey, has the Korean fellow workers have literally lowest standard of living in Europe. become a bloody rug for the boots of their "liberators." Workers in Mexico and other parts of Latin America, while their conditions are poor, are increasing

police action."

'F.A.S.' HAS ITS 61st BIRTHDAY

Meeting in London

the 61st anniversary of the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" - New York Jewish-language Anarchist weeklywas celebrated in London on Sunday, April 27, at a well-attended meeting organised by the "r.d.o. (London) Group.

Greetings to the meeting were brought by two fraternal delegates -A. Glazovsky (Workers' Circle, Branch No. 1) and Malcie Hawkes (S.W.F.).

Sam Dreen (chairman) said the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" was a journal in which the opponents of Mic Anarchism also found space to ex-OVER a period of years there have press their views-a thing no party

He announced that Rudolf factory. From time to time different Rocker's memoirs, "In the Storm". unions have had some small success which the group had taken the ini--always against the opposition of tiative in publishing, was now ready in the Jewish language.

The meeting concluded with recimember J. Hawker, however, the tations by Comrades Blacker and Bloom.

May day social

A May Day social and reunion was held at Circle House. Whitechapel, on Sunday, May 4.

Celebration of May Day, said Bri chairman Sam Dreen, had become a tradition. It was a day for taking stock of ideas and for self-criticism. Reforms were unsatisfactory, only the maximum realisation of libertarian aims would do.

In Russia and Israel, celebration of May 1 was on a military basisno effect, the Works Manager then as though that could free the

"We, who have been against war treasurer of Freedom Press of being pro-war. When Hitler declared war on the Jews, the Jews had a moral right to defend themselves . . . or should they have allowed themselves to be slaughtered like cattle without raising a hand in their own defence?"

The group would try, he said, to publish an English translation of Rocker's memoirs.

Greetings to the meeting were conveyed for the S.W.F. by Frank Rowe, and the social side was provided by Comrades Cohen, Bloom

Sunáicalist Workers Federation. 25a Amberley Rd. I ondon W.9

DIRECT ACTION

States, where great hunks of complacency are beginning to be peeled off the American working man and woman. This comes as the result of many factors. Among them are a rapidly falling living standard, lengthening of the working day through war-produced overtime biting new taxes, growing unemployment, threatened labour drafts, and government corruption. These are accompanied by slapstick military and political figures, and the maiming and killing of thousands of young workers in an unpopula

Atomic cloud

In the overall scene of labour throughout the world then, it can be definitely said that things are mighty bad. Poverty and injustice are paramount. A dark atomic gloom hangs above us all. Clearly we are in the same predicament and must stand together as workers to find a common solution.

FOR

WORKERS'

CONTROL

OF

INDUSTRY

To our fellow workers everywhere around the world and to extend a and preparations for a third world necessary to fellow workers. and preparations for a third world necessary to fellow workers. and preparations for a third world necessary to collaboration with the military, the in the face of the rantings and pres-All the world has been fractured preserve the system of exploitation church, the Stalinists, and domestic and American capitalists) stand in sures of both war blocs, despite and American capitalists) stand in national and racial barriers. We urge national and racial barriers. We urge This action, claims the statement, The most significant change to you to rely only upon your own was in defiance of the Procedure report in surveying the world situa- organizations, which should be built tion of labour is in the United on the sturdy foundation of direct class action. We, the revolutionary workers in the United States, send you our May Day Greetings.

Industrial Worker', 'Chicago

And in case of the local division of the loc

BIG HELP TO X-WORD FANS

Dr. Garbett, Archbishop of York, said at the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, "While at one time the Bible was the book certain to be found in every house, to-day there are many homes without a Bible, and in some men remained on the job. When of those where it is found it is not this was done, however, men were used except when it is opened for transferred and the state of the jobs some help in a cross-word puzzle." The Rev. W. J. Platt, general secretary, said that during the year 7.095.391 copies had been circulated.

LESS MEAT

campaign conducted by the Argen- particular. tine "Ministry of Public Health of 2. That all redundancy notices be the Nation". The second largest immediately withdrawn and the cattle-raising country in the world E.T.U. permitted to present the is now appealing to its workers- men's case. to eat less meat. Better prices, it 3. That the Management Comwould appear, are to be got abroad by the meat barons. The financial aspect is, however, not being stressed in the "Public Health" propa- disrupt their efforts as they have ganda.

Co-op sacks 11 workers in London

STRIKE FOLLOWS

"Making economies at the expense of the workers is a common practice of capitalist employers, but we expect something different from the Co-op Society," says a statement from the committee of 80 workers in the electrical dept. of the London under the guise of "redundancy."

Agreement, signed in November last year. The agreement was reached as a result of strike action, when the men decided to put an end to years of fruitless discussion.

Clause 10 of the agreement states: "Redundancy or dismissal shall be by prior consultation between shop stewards and management of departments."

In the case of the eleven men sacked, dismissal notices were operated by the management while discussions on staffing were actually

SHORT TIME

To give time for talks on the sackings, the workers agreed to work short time while the dismissed showed there was no surplus of labour.

After a meeting between the Shop Committee, the E.T.U. official and the management had failed to reach agreement, a full shop meeting decided on strike action until the following demands were met in full:

1. That the agreement should be Sign of the times is the recent honoured-the procedure clause in

mittee face up to their responsibilities as leaders of a Socialist Society and encourage assistance from the workers rather than done up to the moment.

LITERATURE

ichael Bakunin and Karl	Marx By K.J.Kenafick	5s 6d					
orkers' Councils	By Anton Pannekoek	5s 6d					
Igaria- A New Spain							
	(C.A.B.A.)	9d					
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June 1952



SYNDICALIST WORKERS FEDERATION INTERNATIONAL WORKING MENS ASSOCIATION

'BLACK' CONGRESS IN BARCELONA 10,000 anti-fascists arrested by A. RUIZ

possible to find "allies" who will act as propagandists and "accredit" terror; meanwhile, however, the pointed out that redeployment and his discredited regime.

gathering or 34th International sours of the dead. Eucharistic Congress, which is on that afflict humanity.

Two months ago five workers of the C.N.T. (Spanish section of the I.W.M.A.) were "legally" murdered in Barcelona for their activities against the regime.

The representatives of the Spanish Catholic Church offered their holy offices to the condemned menwho refused them-a few hours before the executions. The rifle and the cross made common cause at that tragic moment.

But this was nothing new in Spain where, for 13 years, murder has become a system, with the "blessing" of the representatives of Christ, servants of Franco and his crimes.

Franco has allocated 72,000.000 pesetas (about £1,000,000) to take care of the Congress expenses. Of this sum, 30 per cent is dedicated to the police force who, for some weeks, have been busy in Barcelona. All anti-fascists who are at conditional liberty must report daily to the police station. Apart from that, it is estimated that there have been more than 10,000 arrests-and

In these two pictures Franco is seen with two of the men who put him in power. Right, he gives the nazi salute with Hitler to German troops in France (1940), and below he is seen with Mussolini and Serr. ano Suner in Italy (1941)

FRANCO is using every means this two weeks before the Congress.

to warehouses and barracks.

The same government has created a special section of guards (Falangists) to move away hawkers, and 10 s.op ragged and under-nourished children from getting anywhere near the visitors.

The workers of Barcelona and its envirious call this meeting the "Black Congress," the employers having given them a holiday of five

Continued on page 3 Col 5

given a week's notice. I hat is the position of the textile worker to-day: on the dole, shorttime, or liable to be sacked.

Barcelona is a city under police Three years ago "Direct Action" Cathoric delegates are arriving there rearmament would spell disaster to Government policy to switch textile offered for the present situation. The latest example is the Catholic very pleased to pray to God for the the millworkers. The fruits of those workers to armaments production. policies can be seen now.

the point of being held in Barcelona, impression, the municipal govern- bread hangs by Lancashire's thread." recruitment for aircraft and ordto proclaim to the world the ment of Barcelona has ordered the Orthodox trade unionists criticised nance factories was at a rate far "glories of fascism," and to offer demolition of the hovels-made ot "Direct Action" for its opposition below what was required: 850 a the pretence that all is well in o.d wood and corrugated iron-for to redeployment, when we claimed month instead of 7,500. Spain and that the fascist dictator- poor families unable to pay rent, that improvements in productivity ship is the only solution to the ills and their inmates have been moved do not-as they should-work for the benefit of the working class, but

This is one of the worst slumps the textile industry has had, and several conditions are aggravating It is easy for the Government to say there are plenty of jobs Coventry-you can't travel to and fro from Blackburn every day. The slump is not confined to Britain; India, Japan and the U.S.A. are all feeling it. The economic

Three Fascist Butchers





T1 . . . Electricians on solidarity strike

Branch of the E.T.U., employed in the outside contracting dept., were suspended by the North-Western had refused to work on a job that was in dispute.

The rest of the electricians in the shop immediately struck, stating that they would not return until the eleven had been re-instated.

apprentices stopped work in sup- action for the second time in a few they wanted to discuss procedure; port of the principles involved, and months. They claim that the the management insisted that redunthey were followed on May 7 by all management are trying to break, dancy should be discussed. the workers at the Ulverston Depot trade unionism in the factory. of the N.W.E.B.

industry as a whole.

time in just over a year that lino notice. prices have been raised.



day on guaranteed wage halt unemployment can

NELSON

FEW WEEKS ago the "Daily Express" carried a picture of a young girl holding a shuttle, with the Laption: "Margaret Burrows is one of the few weavers in Nelson on full time." Had the reporter stayed a couple of hours longer, he could have learnt that Margaret was no longer on full time . . . she had been

Easy for them

UP AGAIN

working class to buy them.

In Britain there is a definite Air Chief Marshal Sir Guy Garrod,

American dictation

The intention is to reduce the textile industry and concentrate on quality goods in order to save dollars. As in other industries, the policy is dictated economically by America, as is shown by the fact the Tory and Labour lines. I reasury.

except in the U.S., has largely be incidental. taken Britain's export trade in The one policy here that will

policy. Britain could buy raw cotton from Egypt, a sterling area, but refuses to do so in order to put dispute over the Suez Canal and the Sudan.

> It will have little effect; the cost of worker:living due to rearmament is still too high to expect any rush to the shops for clothes that are only slightly reinstated. cheaper.

Guilty men

But the millowners share no little along that a recession was to come slump. and made hay while the sun shone. They persuaded young people to enter the mills . . . there were good no more dark days.

study experts to speed up machines took the rough with the smooth. and automatic looms where, in Foreign competition can only be one weaver.

adjust output to trade conditions, Textile workers: Join the Syndito take the rough with the smooth. a real workers' movement. Always the workers . . . if the Eleven members of Barrow No. 2 bosses ever suffer it is by getting

set-up is at fault, for there is no themselves slightly smaller cars. falling-off in the need for textile Trade conditions are a result of the goods-only in the power of the employers' policy, and it is they that should suffer the consequences. Let us see what remedies are

The Tories say: Increase the quality of production, and the To avoid them getting a bad In 1948 the slogan was "Britain's at an Air League luncheon, said workers must accept lower wages

> The Labour Party and Textile Unions say: Take purchase tax off textiles, trade with Eastern Europe and China, and bring fresh industries to Lancashire.

the first instance, for the benefit Japanese competition, which the of the employing class, and any U.S. views favourably everywhere benefit the workers received would

cheaper materials, but the effect of take effect is the introduction of this has yet to be feit. So far it is new industries, in particular light only the home market that has engineering which is adaptable. The affected the industry, plus America's Tories leave this for the Labour withholding of raw materials in Party to demand, in the hope that order to implement the armaments the workers might think it their own.

"Direct Action" is the only pressure on that country in the working-class paper that carried regular articles on the textile industry before the slump-when it The reduction in purchase tax on became copy overnight-and the textiles is simply a move to give the Syndicalist Workers' Federation appearance that the Government is alone puts forward a policy that is doing something about the situation. of direct benefit to the textile

All unemployed workers to be

Six-hour day in the textile industry. Abolition of piece work.

Gaaranteed weekly wage, based guilt for the slump. They knew all on average earnings before the

Boycott of munition works.

An industry which paid out beprospects, they said, high wages and tween 20 and 30 per cent to shareholders in 1951 cannot be allowed to They employed time and motion plead poverty. It is time the bosses

some cases, 44 could be tended by prevented from affecting the working class by international co-opera-Now they plead they have to tion of the textile unions.

that circumstances are beyond their calist Workers' Federation and fight control, and that the workers have for your livelihood as members of

J. O. PILLING



At the time of writing, the Board up between the firm (non-federated), Orders for the committee. The have refused to negotiate with the the A.E.U. and the E.T.U. on representatives of the firm, without E.T.U., in an attempt to force the April 30. The next day, the the knowledge of the stewards, union members into the negotiating management demanded that the then sent telegrams to the officials machinery for the electricity supply Works Committee-not then formed of the unions involved, telling them -should meet in order to discuss to attend at the works on the tollowredundancy. This the shop stewards ing Monday. declined, as no opportunity had been

Later on May 1-we don't know ment to withdraw the dismissal Linoleum prices went up in May whether the choice of May Day was notices. This was refused, and they approximately one shilling to two intentional or not-twenty women left the meeting. shillings in the pound, depending on and eight men, including the two Later on the same day the firm type and quality. This is the third male stewards, were given a week's sacked an B.T.U. member, and the

On May 2, a Works Committee out in protest.

Workers at Rival Lamps (Wey- was elected and met the manage-On the following day, all the bridge, Surrey), have taken strike ment. The workers indicated that

> The stewards refused to discuss A procedure agreement was drawn redundancy until they had Standing

At the Monday meeting, the given to form the committee. Union officials requested the manage-

rest of the union members walked

(B.B.C., Edward Ward reporting).

The Communists say: Trade with Eastern Europe and halt the war in Korea.

The millowners waver between that this plan was sponsored by the All these policies operate, in

Syndicalist policy

Page Two



Ge-nationalisation of Road Transport, is an opportune moment for considering the basis of State ownership, and the interests of the working class in relation to it.

It is obviously necessary, in the so on. 1.rst place, clearly to define the criterion by which one is to measure the success, or otherwise, of any given policy, programme or state of society. In short, what one hopes to achieve from it.

If one is primarily interested in, say, technical efficiency, "historical progress or some abstract etnical concept, then, of necessity, one's would be in danger of defeat. method of measurement is compietely different from that of a worker who, correctly, judges any particular programme by the material benefits and concrete opportunities likely to accrue to himseil, his family and his class, as the result of the tun realisation of such a policy.

In this article, appearing as it is in a working-class paper, it is proposed to use the latter method of judgment, For a worker, at a i times, there is only one basic criterion by which to measure any course of action: "Will it work-in Our mitres.s?

Their viewpoint

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To carry out a thorough examin: tion of the consequences of State ownership, we must examine the attitude of the capitalist class to the problem, and what enect it has on their interests.

During the last thirty years, large sections of the capitalist class have recognised the necessity, from their under a multitude of different administrations, the State has progressively taken over, or placed under its control, substantial sections of neavy industry and transport.

recurring trade depressions, become in this, and many other countries, economic system. heavy industry could not be relied In Russia, as we can easily recog- the internal and external pressures all politicians have proposed to con- denies the right to life of workers

After you, chum

On the other hand, even during a time of peace some measure of Nationalisation was necessary for a large section of the capitalist class.

of cheap coal. They were, of course, of the Communist Party machine. their own industry.

treatment of their own industry, and

In this country, finance capital gained its way. The power and naterial producing industries and heavy transport were sacrified to some isolated district, have in com- once in full control of heavy indus- Nationalise-which is the lesser the interests of the capitalist class as mon the fact that they control the try, will seek to spread their power evil?" a whole.

Without ownership or control on the part of the capitalist State of these industries, capitalism itse

Even to the capitalists as a who his drastic attempt to iron out son of the worst features of their own antrupicy is not advantageous i all respects. It has its price.

in Germany, under Hitler, the capitalisis gamed survival from economic defeat. To do so, however, they were competied to hand over their own political powers to the clique around the Nazi Party

The State, instead of being th servant of the capitalist class, concerned simply with keeping order at home and abroad in their interests, became, politically, machine above them.

ine enque that controlled State became their political masters. Instead of them making the political decisions to suit the needs of their industrial interests, they were compelled to shape their policy, industrially, to suit the needs of the clique in the political field.

In Britain, without the existence capitalist class are beginning to be of a full totalitarian State, the pro- scared of the tuture. The present cess is less advanced. The partial Conservative Government, classical class, are to achieve the ownership there only for a set period and not point of view, of some measure of State ownership of heavy industry, representative of the financial trusts state ownership or control. In this in general, suits the needs, economi- of capitalism, are taking measures country, since the formation of the cally, of the capitalist class. It has, to decentratise these industries cannot hand over the direction of only, London Passenger Transport Board, however, its dangers-economic as which, from the point of view of the their affairs to a separate classin Germany under Hitler, in Argen- well as political. Already certain employing class, must remain under with separate class interests. tina under Peron, and in France sections of the capitalist class feel. State ownership, that the policy of State ownership Road transport, on the other benefit without controlling. State, to recall them on the spot-so long has gone too far.

Losing control

They are beginning to lose com-Heavy industry on an individual plete control, both political and will be lost to them. Once control capitalist basis had, as the result of economic. The trend of events, is lost, ownership is also at an end. though following a different political completely bankrupt as far as tech- pattern and relatively only in its they refuse to accept State ownernique was concerned. From the infancy, is tending dangerously in ship, in heavy industry at least, the point of view of the capitalist class the general direction of the Stalinist econolny will not stand up to the a dangerous crossroads. Since the claiming to belong to a Socialist

upon to facilitate the preparation or nise, the workers do not control the which result, and the preparation duct "revolutionary" action through in other countries, by exploiting the prosecution of war. They could State. Who, then, does? The indi- and prosecution of the wars which the medium of reformism, based on their social inferiority. The example not depend on getting a derenct coal vidual capitalists banded together form part and parces of the capi- parliament and collaboration of the offered us by the doctrinaire State mine into working order, at a around the State machine for pro- talist system. minute's notice, in the event of war. tection are non-existent. No finan- On the other hand, if they carry collective agreements. cial trusts of wealthy individuals, out rationalisation of the economy, The life of the workers has been Any serious person with a broad owning the enterprises by legal right, which under capitalism necessitates conditioned and submitted to the outlook, who studies the conditions exist. Wealthy people, on the other some form of State control, they will of big business and, worse still, and interests of the workers, must hand, do,

State owns both the means of pro- the masters of industry. duction and distribution. The con- Spreading power The car manufacturers wanted trol of the State is in the hands of Nationalisation of the coal mines the political administrators of indus- The political administrators, comand an efficient on-the-spot supply try, organised within the framework ing from the ranks of the profes-

archy, naturally, the more powerful leadership, though at present only The coal-owners were in favour of and wealthy one becomes. All, how- the servants of the employing class the Nationalisation of the railways, ever, from the Kremlin to the in the State administration, are there

sional middle class, the career opposed to any attempt to take over The higher one goes in the hier- politicians and the trade union but were utterly against the same lowest political administrator in ready to take over control. Once in

MORE AND MORE Z-MEN

The London Tribunal now has to meet twice a week to deal with the large number of "7" reservists who large number of "Z" reservists who have applied to be registered as conscientious objectors. The hearings tive of the Southampton Peace situation to develop? I want my the class-conscious workers organ- favoured in the best reactionary Fulham Town Hall.

been a private in R.E.M.E., and was was helped by a peasant family.

people I had been led to believe," friends." he told the tribunal.

belong to any religious denomina- had worked on war damage since he tion because he could not see his left the Army in 1946. The tribunal the bishop approved of atomic experience on which to found his registration as a C.O.

Mr. J. J. Rawlinson, of Southampton, who was in the Army from 1944 to 1949, said neither of the last two wars had achieved what not they set out to do. The first had been described as the "war to end war" and the second was to sway in the world."

He told the tribunal that he was a God. member of the Ex-Service Move- "In the 20th Century we are not only the present, but future and progress. . . ."

are public, and are held on Tues- Council, and declared, "I definitely children to grow old free from days and Fridays at 10.30 a.m. at will not have anything more to do the threat of war." He, too, was capitalism and the State. with war. I know I am in a recommended for registration. At the April 22 hearing. Thomas minority, but I wash my hands of Michael John Lennard, former Nutter, of Maidenhead, said he had it." He was refused C.O. registration. member of the Royal Signals, an Percy W. Haigh, ex-Gunner of architect, told the tribunal that he who, gaining the majority in many A staff personnel expert, Wingtaken prisoner at Tobruk in 1942 Brixton, now a member of the was an agnostic, and that the point of countries, broke the fighting spirit of Cmdr. Hunter, was employed by and transferred to Italy. He escaped Peace Pledge Union, said, "I first his living was to make the world the workers, just as they are now the "Partnership" to review the from prison and, while on the run, started thinking about pacifism better through his work, designing destroying their unity-better to "efficiency, character and value" of while watching an R.A.F. thousandbomber raid on a French town. "They were not at all the type of They were supposed to be our

Asked about his job, he said he Nutter added that he did not was a painter and decorator, and way to worship in a church where decided he "had considerable bombs. He was recommended for views," and recommended him for registration.

of Walthamstow, said he had been and member of the United Nations' nation-don't press your claims too in the Royal Artillery from 1940 Association, was also refused regis- hard. to 1946, and served in France, tration. He said his objection was "If you follow the advice of your Belgium, Germany and Palestine, mainly based on the fact that rulers, your prosperity will grow

In a statement, he said he hated atomic bomb. "prevent totalitarianism holding all kinds of war and believed he had done right to production, manufactured goods will Victor Roberts told electors, "Vote modern war was the ultimate expres- take part in the last war, but that be put on the world market without for Roberts, the only lunatic who is sion of cowardice and the denial of the bomb had changed the nature fear of competition from other chump enough to believe you really

ment for Peace and on the execu- allowed to confront our slayers with generations.



DIRECT ACTION

FRANK ROWE

SAYS

economy and have access to the over all industry.

their own name, in their pockets society.covering the ownership of the whole of Russian industry. They control production and distribution-in their own interests.

Europe the situation is somewhat different. The capitalist class are still in control, politically and economically. Members of the State boards of, Nationalised industries still largely represent the interests of the employers in other industries and the employing class as a whole. Getting scared

The Government political administrators and trade union leaders are, as yet, only barely aware of are simply there to give these boards loss of ownership. the necessary broad basis. Aiready, however, sections of the

as tast as possible. Unless they take these steps, they realise that control over industry, in the political sense," They face a terrible choice. If

push a button and the most horrible ploited. death is on the wing. How can any

out the matter sufficiently.

the benefits of industry. No class will control any system have no need to face the problem of society in the interests of another which the capitalist class have had class. The political administrators, to face, "To Nationalise or not to

wealth produced by the workers. Each successive war gives growth Union framework They form a ruling class, in to the class of political administraexactly the same way as the employ- tors. Each successive war increases ing class in the capitalist world. their power and privilege. Each Lacy may not own one boit in Rus- successive war brings nearer the sian industry, but they benefit as day when they will reap the benemuch as if they had legal deeds, in fits of being the ruling class within

No such animal

One question is of fundamental interest to us as workers. Can In Great Britain and Western State ownership of the means of production and distribution function in our interests? Can it help achieve a real Socialist society?

The experiences of the capitalis class with regard to the problems o control and ownership have something to teach us. They have found that the two functions cannot b divided. That once a class hands over the political direction of its affairs to an economically separate group of people they have, in effect. lost control over-the economy. Loss their tuture role. At present they of control, as we have seen, implies

> freed themselves from the burden of they do not have privileges above a superfluous and parasitic capitalist the workers; so long as they are of the means of production and dis- for the rest of their lives, they will tribution in their own interests, they be functionaries and functionaries

hand, they propose to de-Nationalise ownership would mean the creation do the workers control.

Where do we go from here? BY BERNARDO POU

justice.

human society.

THE WORKERS have arrived at outcome of State socialism. While strain of recurring economic crises. first decade of the present century, International, each socialist in power workers with their exploiters through socialists is a mockery of social

are, in effect, calling in the very the social conditions of the working- be forced to recognise that the pre-Under the Stalinist system, the people who will supercede them as class now depend on the needs of sent crisis has general causes which the State, their worst enemy.

State socialists loudly proclaim to the workers the road they should follow-according to the way which Let us not hide the fact that best suits the Government at each society as a whole suffers the particular moment.

They promise—these good social liberalism-the principle of the force doctors-to lead the people to comwhich is imposed through war, at plete recovery . . . the suppression of slavery through increased production, the restriction of one's most elementary needs to reach an order of wealth and freedom.

Against this state of affairs, the syndicalism, which is the economic syndicalists-to-day more than ever expression of Anarchism. -stand by the political and direct actionist principles which were, from 'PARTNERS' TO BE the beginning of the First Internaa sword-the slayer needs only to tional, the rallying cry of the ex-

In response to the call of the sane people sit down and allow that revolutionary syndicalist pioneers, ised themselves to fight to destroy circles for their success in keeping

Spirit broken

And it was the State socialists new school buildings. He was re- subject them to the needs of re- the staff. He decided that 280 emfused registration because, according formist politics-by submitting the ployees out of 3,578 should be to the tribunal, he had not thought trade unions to the Labour Pary.

On this field, of course, the com-Other unsuccessful applicants munists are even more unscrupulous. included Frederick L. Edwards of The language of politicians-their Catford, an L.C.C. lettings officer, particular label or colour matters who said he was willing to fight in little-is nearly always the same: a defensive war, but could not sup- "Workers, don't let yourselves be port the present wars in Malaya and led astray, be honest and thrifty, love your family, honour God and Joseph Solomons, a glass beveller Colin F. Ross, a Civil Engineer the State, and-for the good of the

reaching the rank of sergeant. Britain had now produced the with the expanding industry of your Standing as candidate for Porthcountry. Through your increased cawl (S. Wales) West Ward, Mr. of warfare, because it affected not workers, less favoured by technique, want him. . . . Roberts is always hungry and will attend any function

All this nonsense is the logical at the promise of a free meal."

appret and an an

of a class of political administrators who control in their own interests. and at the expense of every other section of society. To the phrase "State ownership

in the interests of the working class" or "Workers' State", we can only control, it is they who will receive reply-there's no such animal. Fortunately, the working class

Union organisations that have served them, under capitalism, in maintaining their living standards. can also be used to act as a framework of an economic system-in the interests of the working class.

Collective ownership of a particu lar factory by the workers who work in it can be combined with the control of that factory at one and the same time.

Co-operation on a national and international scale, between the various factories and other work places brings no one-other than the workers concerned-into the business of controlling the economy.

The position is, in fact, similar to that of a strike committee, composed of workers in a particular factory. co-operating with other such committees in a nation-wide strike.

So long as the members of such a committee have no interests separate from those of the workers as a whole; so long as the committee's officers do not receive more for their If the working class, once having work than their mates; so long as

So long as the workers make the decisions and strictly mandate their They cannot expect to own and functionaries and exercise their right

depend far more on the moral.

rather than the material, state of

horrors of the drift into a war to

Against this the conscience of

free men rises in revolt, and calls

on the workers to have confidence

in themselves and in revolutionary

FIRED

The John Lewis "Partnership".

their workers away from effective

union organisation, have just given

another, very painful, lesson to the

"replaced either immediately or

The firm's journal, The Gazette,

within the next twelve months."

list their employees as follows:

Absolutely first-rate people, of

560; Retention almost—or even

quite-beyond question, 1,590; Not

out of the common, but among

whom resignations would be regret-

table, 1,148; Could be retained "at

a pinch" for some months, 279; To

go within a few months.

whose desirability there is no doubt

save-in the name of socialism or

the expense of the producers.

Ine 1952

Syndicalist Workers Federation Subscription rate: 4s. 6d. for 12 issues. from: Direct Action 25a, Amberley Rd.,

London, W.9 immonum

Back again

the formation of the Syndicalist all industry liable to be used for Western Germany and West Berlin Workers' Federation in August, war purposes, to punish quickly and show the same tendency. 1950, is proof of the long-felt and justly all war criminals, to liquidate The workers fear that the army rapidly-growing need for a workers' the Nazi Party, to purge all influ- would fall under nazi control. paper that will support the struggles against the employing class on the industrial field.

The printed "D.A.," which replaces the duplicated bulletinorgan of our Federation during its "teething" period-has been made possible by the solidarity of Swedish, Spanish, Jewish and American comrades.

We take this opportunity of thanking these fellow-workers for the help they have given us, and of assuring them that one of the first principles of our paper will be to give expression to the international solidarily of the working-class.

Our thanks, too, to the comrades in this country, whose efforts helped us pass the financial target we set last year.

We hope that this first issue will not disappoint you. If you don't like the material we publish, write and tell us why. If you have suggestions to improve the paper, let us have them, too.

And most important, let us have information of any militant activity that is taking place in your area, or in which you, personally, are the suffering it has brought on them, involved. Don't bother about literary siyle . . . we just want the essential facts.

One criticism we shan't take to heart is a beef that something that happened in your district has not been reported or commented on by us. If you haven't given us the raw material, then you'll be the one to blame.

This paper will be open at all times to workers involved in genuine disputes with the employers.

It will not be open to political tricksiers who, for this party reason or that, want to exploit the working- Democratic Party supports co-operaclass movement to help their own sectional interests.

And while we're on this subject, let us make it perfectly clear that we have no connection whatsoever with the Communist Party or any of its undercover groupings.

We Syndicalists consider the Communist Party and its international ramifications as one of the greatest menaces the working-class have to face.

Once Stalinism, or its offspring Titoism, gain control of the State machine, any hope of independent organisation by the workers goes out of the window. The Communist Parties, totalitarian in theory and practice, have nothing but bitter Mr. Butler, Chancellor of the Exdisillusion to offer the workers.

The Syndicalist Workers' Federa- the city stockbrokers. tion is not a political party, nor has Speaking before a special meeting sidering " the position. it any amhition to become one. of the National Joint Advisory Perusal of our Declaration of Council, representing the British Principles, printed elsewhere in this Employers' Confederation, issue, will show that we believe the Trades Union Congress and governworkers' only effective weapon is ment-owned industries, he declared : their own direct action.

That is why this paper has the title "Direct Action." That is the policy we shall express through its columns. We hope to count on your cellaboration.

STINKING

FISH

the restrictive practices employed by pect that workers who "increase a permanent clock number. the trawler owners to keep up the productivity" will work themselves prices of fish on the home market out of a job. have had their sequel in the latest fish agreement with Russia.

Everybody concerned seems to it in this country and lower prices. It is a good indication that the opposition to Stalinism, on the part of the bosses, is dictated by financial scruples.

DIRECT ACTION



GERMANY faces a situation in which anything can happen . . . it may again become a militarist State, and there is always the danger that nazism will regain control.

Such a nazi-militarist State would of equality, in view of the threat sprung up recently, all with a more try to ally itself with either t Eastern or Western bloc-though East. forecast. It would depend largely on whether Eastern and Western Germany, were reunited.

declared:---

THIS first printed issue of to dissolve all the armed forces of referendum of six million members They don't want arms put into the The same can be said of other militarism have been destroyed will Many military associations have former nazis. Of the 19 high offithe possibility exist of a decent life for the Germans."

> That declaration is worthless today. It has been by-passed by political events.

> The Western bloc are trying for Il they are worth to make Western Germany contribute twelve divisions to the European Army. Russ counter is to announce that she w let a Germany army be re-form if the country promises to main tain neutrality. And, the Russians add, all former officers and general of the. German army, with nazis who have not been punished for their crimes, will regain their civil

Over military age

There are differing opinions among the German people, but the vast majority do not seem to want a rebirth of militarism. Considering that's hardly surprising.

Main opposition comes from the youth of the country. A German social democrat recently remarked: Nearly all those who campaign for rearmament and a German army have passed the age of military service, from 20 to 40."

Rearmament is, of course, favoured by West German capitalists, who openly speculate about the huge profits to be made in the arms industry, and it can count on financial aid from the United States.

The German workers' movement is divided: official line of the Social military defence system on the basis working class solidarity.

F	i	g	ht	the	W	a
		0				

country have been challenged - to tact and restore the rate of profit, have to ensure that there is suffi- this respect, the British workers fight. The gauntlet has been thrown that is the old Tory cure for all cient money in our pockets to buy must continue to give their valuable at the feet of organised labour by situations. The cure is now to be back the goods we produce. the vested interests of big business. liberally applied. From now on it is either fight, or go under in a welter of increased prices-without corresponding wage increases.

This is, in effect, the situation . brought about by the proposals chequer and economic gunman of

the "There can be no justification, on cost-of-living grounds, for the widespread claims for increases in wages that are at present being mooted." He demanded that methods be devised to "relate wages more closely to productivity "---in short, finding a way by which the workers can be compelled to work harder to gain

keep up with price increases. the worker will have to run faster turbine-driver-6 to 2 shift." "Direct and faster to keep where he is. Mr. Action" is in a position to deny re-The recent disclosures regarding Butler made no mention of the pros- ports that the Duke has been given

wage increases with which to try and

Employers' delight

Employers have already expressed their delight at Mr. Butler's propothe Employers' Confederation. tial group of readers in the world".

have it. Slash subsidies, freeze penny."

from the totalitarian forces of the or less openly reactionary and nazi

ences of a nazi-militarist type in the Many nazi organisations, local

administration and in the life of the and national, are openly active- posts in the State administration-German people on the economic among them the neo-nazi party, especially the Foreign Office.

THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION seeks to establish a free society, which will render impossible the growth of a privileged class and the exploitation of man by man. The S.W.I] therefore advocates common ownership and workers' control 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 for profit, but according to human needs.

CLASS STRUGGLE. The interests of the working class and the ruling class are directly opposed. The S.W.F. is based upon the inevitable day-to-day struggle of the workers against those who own and control the means of production and distribution, and will con- and after the Congress the fascists tinue that struggle until common ownership and workers' control are and Catholics are trying, and will achieved.

DIRECT ACTION. Victory in the fight against class domination can only be achieved by the direct action of the workers themselves. The S.W.F. rejects all parliamentary and similar activity as deflecting the workers from the class struggle into paths of class collaboration.

THE STATE. The State in all its forms is the enemy of the workers, and cannot exist within a classless society. The S.W.F. does not, I therefore, hope to use the State to achieve the emancipation of the working class; 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, can only result in a new ruling class.

ORGANISATION. To achieve these aims, the workers must organise. They must replace the hundreds of craft and general trade unions by syndicalist industrial unions. As an immediate step to that end, the S.W.F. aids the formation of workers' committees in all factories, mines, offices, shipyards, mills and other places of work, and their development into industrial unions, federated to an all-national Federation of Labour.

INTERNATIONALISM. The S.W.F., as a section of the Intertion with the West in rebuilding a I national Working Men's Association, stands firm for international

We are, on the other hand, still trade union leaders that we expect waiting for the T.U.C. to make a them to fight with us. The honeystatement. Deakin, of the Trans- moon period of co-operation with Seville and Barcelona, a broad port and General Workers Union, the Tory Government must be sector of the trade unions intervened who should spend more time looking ended by them. They must discuss to stop the executions from taking after union affairs and less in wel-. nothing and accept nothing which place. coming Tory proposals, has said has as its basis wage freeze. The that he supports "wage restraint". job they are paid to do is to present The T.U.C. leaders are still "con- to the employers our demands.

Unless we are to see our living standards slashed to ribbons, we have no alternative but to fight. If we are to prevent mass unemploy



Wearing a borrowed raincoat and white gloves, the Duke of Edinburgh took over controls and started a blast furnaee turbo-blower during his visit to Port Talbot. He then An economic treadmill, on which signed the work sheet: "Philip-

HARD UP BUT INFLUENTUAL

The Eton College Chronicle have forgotten that there is a "cold sals, and have agreed to set up a ("battles are won the playing fields for his determination to march all areas and a lower Labour poll in war on ". It is considered far better joint committee with the T.U.C. to of Eton, etc.") now costs ninepence the way in the funeral procession of Labour areas. The Labour Party to sell fish to Russia than to land go into "ways and means". In his per copy. Its editors declare that it the late King George VI he might have done best in Tory strongholds." speech, Mr. Butler appealed for is "being read by what is probably still have been here. But after the reasonable profits "-to the joy of the smallest, and yet most influen-Since the election of a Tory They continue, "If everybody who lapsed and then spent seven weeks government, the employers have read the Chronicle paid for it, the in ced." interests rather than ideological been waiting for a lead. Now they price would probably fall to a

DIRECT ACTION GERMAN NAZIS ARE ON MOVE. Monthly organ of the GERMAN NAZIS

by John Andersson

General Secretary, I.W.M.A.

character.

"We have decided to disarm and posed rearmament. Replies to a workers are against militarisation. service. An enquiry made by the Jewish

International Union -- results of which were published last yearshowed that, in Western Germany known nazis were holding importan

and cultural levels. It is not our S.R.P. Hitler's assault guards (S.A.) A broadcast by Radio Bavaria in democracy. in ention to annihilate the German have been reorganised by Karl March said 85 per cent of the people, but only when nazism and Heinz Neumann, an old nazi officer. Foreign Affairs department are

Aims and Principles

treeze now!

Not on the

In this battle we have to tell the

without having to keep an eye on tion towards the fascist regime. the union leaders.

of his members, has taken a strong end Franco's "reign" is effective. same—or get out of the way.

by the May 15 issue of the Daily Quoted by the Daily Telegraph, Worker.

long suffered with heart trouble. But a high Labour poll in Conservative strenuous march Mr. Horvath col-

Confirmation that the great suc-

cials in the personnel office, 18 had been employed in Hitler's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and 14 belonged to the Nazi Party.

The head of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Hallstein, has since admitted that 65 per cent of the chiefs in his department had been Nazi Party members. He added that just which would be difficult to Within the local sections of the These groups will one day form among the rest of the leading perparty there is a firm opposition to the advance guard of the German sonnel 35 per cent were nazis, and this line, and the same can be said army-if it is reorganised. East and of the West German representatives of the trade unions. At a recent West are both showing keen interest abroad 24 per cent were nazis. His At the Crimea Conference of conference in Pavaria, where more in-and tolerance towards-these defence was the allegation that it 1945, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill than 900,000 workers were repre- military formations. In such condi- was difficult to find other personnel sented, nearly all the delegates op- tions, it is hardly surprising that the with the experience for foreign

"Direct Action" to appear since Germany, to remove or to destroy of the workers' corporations in hands of their political opponents. State institutions, and it is hardly surprising that the workers distrust learmament.

> The new army would be controlled-everyone is convinced-by nazi and reactionary elements, and the workers see in it no guarantee for the defence of freedom and

Black congress (Continued from P.I,Col 2.)

The workers of Tarrasa and Sabadell have refused to accept this ho iday as a sign of protest.

Franco's Catholic opponents-for you must realise that he has enemies on all sides-are under a close watch, and many have been imprisoned.

Neither these detentions, the situation of misery that reigns in Spain, nor the crimes that-for one reason or another-are daily committed by the regime . . . none of these matters will be dealt with by the Eucharistic

On the contrary, before, during try, to present the regime which has cost the Spanish people so much b'ood as deserving the highest praise. In this propaganda detail, the "good offices" of the head of the Vatican will not be lacking.

Franco tries to exploit the favours of Catholicism and, wherever it bas some influence, he will work for fascism to obtain the goodwill of other blaks on the international fie'd.

We are sure that, despite this manœuvre, Spanish fascism will not succeed in deceiving anyone. Noone can ignore, after its 13 years of power, the moral flavour of this cruel and bloody regime, or the call for moral solidarity that the Spanish people have made to all men who. nothwithstanding their ideas or beliefs, defend the human principles of freedom, independence and

T.U. support

All Spaniards-and the working class in particular-hope for international support to end the present The industrial workers of this wages, keep the pound sterling in- ment again stalking the streets we situation in their country and, in contribution, protesting and spreading the protest against Franco and his regime of terror.

At the time of the recent trials in

The movement of protest did not succeed, because the wishes of the workers did not overcome the resist-Fighting the Tory Government, ance of the State, but the broad the employers and the latest poli- campaign of protest showed the tical stunts of the Communist Party feeling of solidarity towards the is a big enough job on its own- Spanish people and of condemna-

This sympathetic action must con-Figgins, of the National Union tinue until the protest becomes of Railwaymen, feeling the pressure unanimous, and the co-operation to line against wage freeze. We expect The Eucharistic Congress of Barthe other union leaders to do the celona must receive the reply of all men of good will.

DEVOTION TO DUTY!

cess of the Labour Party in local Reports, from usually well- and municipal elections was due, in informed quarters, that Imre Hor- the main, to a desire "to get the vath, former Hungarian Minister to Tories out", rather than to a wave London, has "disappeared" since of enthusiasm for the Labour Party, his recall to Hungary were denied comes from the Tory headquarters.

they claim that, "One established They state that, "Mr. Horvath has fact is that there has been, broadly,

> WHEN YOU HAVE READ THIS ISSUE --PASS IT ON