

# Direct Action

For workers' direct control of industry

Inside—Glasgow bus strike  
Dev's political police : A letter to Labour's leader  
South African trials

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

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## INTO KHAKI WITH WILSON

YOU must have seen those crummy "see-the-world-and-have-bags-of-adventure—it's-a-man's-life-in-the-regular-army" type of advertisement that the War Office insert (at your expense) in various magazines and newspapers.

The bronzed young squaddy sailing a yacht some place with a perfect climate (Aden, perhaps?); the same bronzed young squaddy, grim-faced this time and clutching an automatic weapon in his hot sticky hands (he's having an adventure); our bronzed young squaddy dancing with an attractive female comrade-in-arms (we are now in the realms of pure fantasy). There might even be a photograph of our hero learning a "useful" trade (the average working lad's reaction to this one is that the poor bastard wouldn't be in the

"Kate" anyway if he were capable of earning a living outside.

All in all, these ads make a soldier's life look like some sort of "Valhalla" in the here and now. The point is that few, very few young working men get sucked in by all this rubbish. Apart from the fact that most blokes can see straight through it, there are plenty of dads, uncles and older brothers who can fill in what the photographs don't show—the boredom, stupidity and futility of life in the "Kate"—and the dirt, pain, mutilation and death of their so-called "adventures."

All this results in a problem for British capitalism, whose interests are spread very liberally around the world, with bronzed young squaddies (whose main job is to protect these "interests") a bit thin on the ground these days. South Africa is fairly easy, all they have to do is keep the nazi-minded Nats well-supplied with arms and ammunition and they will do the rest. In other places it isn't quite so easy and numbers of bronzed young squaddies frequently have to be sent all over the world—and there aren't enough of them to go round.

What will be the State's answer to all this? In one word—conscription. Mind you, none of the politicians talk about it at the moment, for the obvious reason that it's far too delicate a topic at election time. If you are a politician you start talking about "unpopular measures" after you have been elected.

The way things are shaping up, it looks as though we are going to have a Labour Government after next October. Would they be prepared to reintroduce National Service?

*continued on page 2, column 1*

## Spanish workers strike for freedom

FOR THE THIRD consecutive year the Asturian miners have set the pace of protest in Spain, underlining the deep social discontent which grips the whole country.

From the central basin of Langre, the strike—which started on April 14, anniversary of the 2nd Republic—has spread to Mieres, Fondon, San Nicolas, Figaredo, Gijon, until the whole coalmining area of Asturias was paralysed. At time of writing, as the Franco Government announces 25 per cent. wage increases for some miners, more than 80,000 miners and steel workers are on strike.

Responding to appeals circulated by the clandestine "Alianza Sindical" (CNT, UGT and the Basque STV), the strike movement has spread to other parts of Spain. In the Basque country the plants of Vasconia, Etchevarria and Balcock in Bilbao have come out in sympathy with the Asturian miners. Puertollano (Ciudad Real), Rio Tinto (Huelva) and the Sagunto steelworkers have also joined the northern workers. At the other end of the country, in Andalucia, over 20,000 agricultural regular workers, particularly vineyard labourers in the Jerez area, have gone on strike in solidarity with the "journaleros" (seasonal part-timers) who have lodged a claim for higher wages.

Spain is in the grip of an agonising crisis from one end to the other. In Madrid, on the eve of the military parade to commemorate the "25 years of Franco's peace", 14 bomb explosions rocked official buildings and mobilised

*continued on page 7, column 1*

## YOUNGS OF BROMLEY STRIKE APPEAL

Twenty-five members of the National Union of Sheet Metal Workers and Coppersmiths came out in defence of the right to negotiate. An agreement made fourteen months ago was broken without prior negotiation regarding inspection.

The Management suspended a Foreman from his duties as Inspector after a dispute with our members regarding his vindictive and unreasonable attitude, now they have reinstated him without any negotiations.

The situation left us with no alternative but to withdraw our labour on 12th MAY, 1964. All monies to:—Mr. M. Powley, 79 Ridley Road, BROMLEY, Kent.



## Norwegian workers call for safety measures

**WORKERS** on the State hydro-electric development of Tokke have, at the annual meeting of the major union concerned, demanded the appointment of an independent safety officer on the site. Seven workers lost their lives in accidents at Tokke last year and speakers rightly claimed that the Norwegian Watercourse and Electricity Authority's appointment of one of their officials as safety officer for all the Authority's plants is not acceptable.

This is not the first time dangerous conditions on State-controlled work places have caused concern. Some years ago we had a strike of conscientious objectors on a forced labour camp, against their being given inadequate instruction in the work they were set. This followed a fatal accident.

More recent and better known are the events at the notorious Kings Bay coalmine, where the exposure of technical undermanning and breaches of safety regulations, preceding the 1962 disaster, sparked a political crisis resulting in the fall of the Gerhardsen Government last autumn. Not a popular issue for a Labour Government to lose its majority.

The Tokke development has now cost the lives of 20 workers in State and private contractors' employ and the last two years show an alarming increase of the accident

rate in proportion to the labour force.

At the Tokke workers' union meeting this spring, members pointed out that the Watercourse and Electricity Authority had sold machinery to private contractors, who often used unorganised labour, working excessive overtime, and that this was also a threat to safety on the job.

A recent article by an official of the Watercourse and Electricity Authority, in its bulletin, gave the impression that only the Authority was interested in safety, despite the workers causing accidents. There was no mention of the Tokke workers' demand, nor that the Authority's one safety officer was also appointed after a previous move by the workers at Tokke. The article did not state who put pressure on workers to do overtime, who sued them for not working overtime, nor that the Inspection of Works (*Arbeidstilsyn*) had often granted employees exemption from the normal limits of overtime, in connection with hydro-electric development.

The Oslo branch of the Norwegian Syndicalist Federation distributed on May Day a leaflet advocating workers' control and showing the failure of State institutions to provide safe working conditions at Kings Bay and Tokke. One of our comrades, aged 76, giving out these leaflets together with anti-militarists propaganda, was arrested and the rest of his leaflets confiscated. The reason given was that the leaflets did not bear an imprint and that no copy had been sent the police in advance. This arrest followed a report to the police by an informer, who gave his name as Jan Erik Lund.

NORWEGIAN SYNDICALIST FEDERATION

## Salazar re-opens Tarrafal

**P**ORTUGUESE dictator Salazar recently re-opened the concentration camp of Tarrafal, closed since 1957, following an international protest against this human slaughterhouse.

The camp was first opened on the island of Santiago, in the Cape Verde group, on October 29, 1936. Its area is 8,000 square metres and it is encircled by a pit to prevent escapes and breed mosquitoes.

Many libertarian comrades are among those who died in Tarrafal—among them Pedro Matos Felipe, Francisco Jose Pereira, Augusto Costa, Francisco Augusto Quintas, Rafael Tablas Pinto da Silva, Candido Alves Barrias, Abilia Augusto Belchior and others were only set free when near death—such as Jose de Almeida.

Now the Camp of Slow Death is once again in operation, to receive prisoners of the PIDE (Portugal's Gestapo), following insurrectionary movements in Angola and other Portuguese colonies—and continued demonstrations against the fascist regime in Portugal itself.

(information from "Anarchist International")

SOME 30 Spanish and English comrades demonstrated in support of extradition-threatened Francisco Abarca, outside the Belgian Embassy in London on April 28. The picket line carried banners saying "Free Abarca" and "Don't Extradite Abarca". The demonstration was called by the LFA.

On Sunday, May 10, a protest march to the Spanish and Belgian Embassies, in solidarity with the Asturian miners and comrade Abarca, was organised by the CNT of Spain in Exile. Some 200 people took part—and the marchers, including a contingent with the SWF banner, were barred from approaching the two embassies by an even stronger force of police.

At press time, no decision has yet been reached by the Belgian authorities about Abarca, in jail on a false charge since last October.

## INTO KHAKI WITH WILSON (cont.)

You can bet your sweet life they would. The Labour Party, as they proved during their last term of office, are prepared to back militarism and colonial adventures to the hilt—and they'll provide the means. This doesn't mean the other political parties wouldn't be prepared to bring in conscription. It's just that their chances of winning the election are either so slim or non-existent that they don't have to worry over much. Anyway, they are all secure in the knowledge that Labour will do the job and do it well.

On top of those "needs" of capitalism already mentioned there are others conscription will meet. It appears that a Labour government would prefer to shelter behind an American Bomb rather than a British Bomb and any cut-back in British nuclear armaments would have to be compensated (their logic, not mine) by an increase in cannon-fodder.

Conscription will also help clear up those queues of school-leavers on the Dole in the north. Unemployed school-leavers are an embarrassment to any government, but particularly a "socialist" government.

National Service is also handy as a lever for strike-breaking in "reserved occupations" (e.g. the seamen's strike in 1955 and many dock strikes during 1945-51).

Resistance to any attempt to reintroduce conscription must start immediately. In fact, several parallel anti-conscription campaigns have already started, e.g. those of the AFB and the Committee of 100 (various groups are also taking steps towards co-ordinating their activities in this field).

The SWF, working with other libertarian organisations, will make every attempt to bring this issue into the daylight. Obviously, we must concentrate our propaganda on those unfortunate young people who are liable to find themselves stuffed into hairy khaki uniforms. When faced with National Service, very few teenagers will want to go. It is our job to show them ways and means of ensuring that they don't have to.

B.L.H.



# Glasgow busmen force union's hand

**This month's industrial notes come from Scotland. It's a long while since we had news from north of the border—and I was beginning to think that everything in their industrial garden must be rosy.**

**L**ONDON busmen are not the only transport workers with troubles. Glasgow busmen have just finished a hard struggle to better their working conditions.

The dispute lasted about a week and was in opposition to the introduction of new shift schedules and other anomalies in a new agreement. As was to be expected, the Glasgow press screamed blue murder, stirring up public opinion against the busmen. The **Evening Citizen** was handing out bouquets in its "Comment" 8.4.64 to the "scabs", kept a skeleton service going, and the hard-pressed workers on the Blue Trains and Underground.

The press found a bus conductor who went to Moscow seven years ago and so began the witch hunt. His picture was splashed on the front page of the **Even Citizen** (7.4.64) and thus began the build-up of the master mind behind the strike.

In fact, Callaghan was a member of the 8-man strike

## Gibraltar pay—to each according to his breed

**B**EGGARS can't be choosers—nor, it seems, can Spaniards who enter Gibraltar each day to work. At least, not where wages are concerned, when a Spanish tradesman gains less than a Gibraltarian labourer. Not that people should get paid for what they know, any more than an account of who they know, but there's not much to be said for payment depending on the papers one carries as verification of nationality.

Admittedly workers from Spain earn more and sweat less than their countrymen who stay at home. But a boss pays for services rendered and it should be all the same to him whatever breed of hands do it. To each according to his need becomes to each according to his breed in this British colony. And though all workers get paid in sterling, there the resemblance ends, Englishmen getting double the Gibraltarian rates and the Spaniards trailing about £2 further behind.

With a cost of living equal to Britain's, the majority of the local labour force don't get above £8 and the Spanish about £6 weekly on average. This has encouraged many to take up residence in Spain, while continuing to receive preferential pay. But boosting the poor pay here will prove difficult while the Spanish labour force is unable to act in Gib, without permission from Spain's State-controlled unions and while local workers seek to increase their weekly wage by overtime and doing odd jobs after work.

Yet this is not all. The 42-hour week brought out for British employees here four years ago, hasn't yet benefited the other races who work 44 hours. Efforts to spread the 42 hours to all by the militant Gibraltar Labour Trades Union seem to have been hindered by the Transport and General Workers Union, which is led by political titivators and supports the local political party, presumed conservative, a union which has negotiated the Rock's present racial system. So far workers and middle-class moral support has fallen short of direct action and we dare not urge the Spaniards to do anything, for fear of repercussions elsewhere.

**B.B.**

committee and had no power whatsoever. This information is from people who know—not from some "copy happy" reporter, day-deaming behind his red type-writer.

Having found their boggy man, the press now had to find a victimised busman who ran his bus during the dispute. Lo and behold, they found one—an Indian conductor, who claimed he had been beaten up for crossing the picket line. I don't suppose for one moment this conductor was given an order of merit by the strikers when he crossed the picket line, but of beating I can find no trace; the pickets at Knightswood, where this incident was supposed to have taken place reported no trouble at all.

One neat tactic against scab buses was to fill them with striking busmen, travelling on their free passes.

The busmen have now been forced back to work. Glasgow Corporation have made certain offers on new schedules, hours and pay. A union official stated "This settlement is a big victory for us". What the rank and file think about the settlement remains to be seen, but it's obvious that limited gains would not have been made without Direct Action.

Here is another tragic example of the split in the transport workers' ranks. One section (busmen) in dispute and another section (underground) constitutionally cutting their fellow workers' throats. One section of transport workers can never win their just demands without the active support of all other sections.

### "REMEMBER THE FORD 13"

**T**HERE is an old saying that history repeats itself—and this is exactly what has happened at the Remington Rand typewriter factory in Glasgow.

AEU convenor Calum MacKay was sacked on the pretext that his work was unsatisfactory—he was too slow. 800 workers struck and, after a month on the stones, have been forced back to work WITHOUT their convenor.

Calum MacKay has been with Remington-Rand for fifteen years. He is regarded as a first-class toolmaker, perfect timekeeper and one of the longest-serving workers.

It was well-known to his union, the AEU, that the management were bent on getting rid of him and he was advised by the union not to allow himself to be provoked by the management under any circumstances.

At Remington Rands there is a system in operation whereby a worker gets a pink slip as a warning for bad workmanship; after three such slips he gets paid off. MacKay received no such slip. He was called into the foreman's office and given the sack for being a slow worker, although the foreman could give no evidence to substantiate this accusation.

According to National Agreement there should have been consultations between the union and management to discuss any problem they had "with the workman directly concerned". **NO SUCH CONSULTATION TOOK PLACE.** This was a blatant case of victimisation.

The strikers returned to work on the recommendation of the AEU executive on the understanding that fresh negotiations will take place to obtain MacKay's reinstatement. There has been tremendous solidarity from workers in Glasgow and Clydeside ship workers, and it is possible that this solidarity will be called upon again if MacKay doesn't get back.

Remember the 13 men of Fords, Dagenham? A black day in trade union history. If Remington Rand management get away with this, no convenor in the country will be safe as other managements attempt to "try it on."

**BILL CHRISTOPHER**



# Direct Action

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WORKERS' FEDERATION

## South Africa—When the British workers acted

**T**HE sentences on the men who have recently stood trial under the Sabotage Act in South Africa will be savage. Already the regime has hanged or condemned to death 44 of its opponents. It keeps thousands in jail, and the vast majority of the rest of the population in poverty and near-slavery.

We condemn the brutality of the Verwoerd regime without qualification—but also without illusions. Most of these men, if not avowed stalinists, are members of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* ("Spearhead of the Nation"), a sabotage organisation that is the direct offshoot of the Congress Alliance. The latter organisation is effectively dominated, behind the scenes, by the South African Communist Party.

Like thousands before them, these men have got the mucky end of the stalinist stick. Though the governments of Russia, Eastern Europe, and China now claim to have stopped, they were trading with South Africa up to three years after Sharpeville (1960). Compared with British and American trade the sums were small—but they always were, and they were still in millions of dollars.

If further proof is needed that human beings are nothing but a means to an end for these people, it is in their records elsewhere. Erudite stalinists may write books about the oppressed black South African workers (example: *Rise of the South African Reich*, by Brian Bunting, Penguin), but where is the right to organise or to strike in their slave-camp utopias?

Bolshevism is a creed for the ignorant and the deceived, and the ruthless who foster ignorance and deception. The men who broke from the Congress Alliance to form the Pan-Africanist Congress knew this. But we appeal to them not to fall for the false god of nationalism instead. Apartheid is a mere smokescreen for naked exploitation. The white South African workers who support it are only typical of the privileged minority in every country that has been bought over by the bosses. We urge the PAC to adopt specifically libertarian goals and methods.

Whatever form the mounting struggle in South Africa

## Views and Comments

(Spring Issue—No. 64)

The current issue of "Views and Comments", published by the Libertarian League in New York contains articles on the recent progress of the SWF; poverty in the States; the Harlem Rent Strike; Anarchism and the Law; a review of the "Desert Revolution—Baja California 1911"; and an article on Cuba.

This issue maintains the high standard, both of production and material, that are a feature of Libertarian League publications. "Views and Comments" costs only 9d (it is sold at below cost) and it is a pity more British comrades do not subscribe to this excellent publication. Copies from SWF, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E17.

takes, we cannot stand aside, however, in 1959 the later South Africa Minister of Justice, F. C. Erasmus, told a Cape Town meeting of Aray officers: "You must not think we are arming against an external enemy. We are not—we are arming in order to shoot down the black masses."

Only one thing can prevent them shooting down tens and hundreds of thousands—external pressure. Where from? Whatever the intentions of other African governments, they are bound hand and foot financially to the capitals of Europe and America. British interests in South Africa are one thousand million pounds invested and a quarter of South Africa's external trade, American somewhat less. If the City of London stopped the French government intervening in Spain for the sake of much smaller interests in 1933, it will move heaven and earth to prevent any intervention by a "non-aligned" African government against Verwoerd today.

Nor need we expect anything from a Labour election victory. Wilson is not going to take an extra penny off the profits at home, so why should he do it elsewhere? He has already started to climb down over a boycott.

Workers in this country, have however, once forced concessions from a South African government. Early in 1914 the South African workers, then some of the most militant and highly organised in the world, were engaged in a general strike against the government's declared policy to "smash syndicalism and trade unionism". Smuts had nine of the most prominent militants kidnapped and deported to Britain without trial; but they did not stay long. Tom Mann went to South Africa with a pledge from the Seamen's Union in Britain that if these deportees were not back in South Africa before Christmas, not a ship would head towards South Africa. The men went back.

This kind of action must be taken again. South African tyranny is mainly the product of international capitalism, British division. Nobody can strike it a bigger blow than the workers of this country.

## GROUP NOTICES

**LONDON SWF GROUP:** Open meetings every Friday, except the first one in each month, at the Lucas Arms, 245 Grays Inn Road, WC1 (5 min Kings Cross Station) at 8 pm.

**BRISTOL SWF:** Contact M. J. Walsh, 22 Hampton Road, Cotham, Bristol.

**DUNDEE ANARCHIST GROUP:** Contact Roddy Cameron, Secretary, 6 Westfield Place Dundee.

**GLASGOW:** Meetings every Thursday, 7.30 pm at 4 Frederick Lane, Glasgow, C2.

**LIVERPOOL:** Contact Vincent Johnson, 43 Milbank, Liverpool 13.

**OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP:** Details from Laurens Otter, 5 New Yatt Road, North Leigh, nr. Witney, Oxon.

**CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP:** Meets Tuesdays (in terms), Q5 Queens. Details, town and gown, Adrian Cunningham, 3, North Cottages, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.

**TUNBRIDGE WELLS ANARCHIST GROUP** meets on 1st and 3rd Thursday of every month at 8 p.m. at 4, Mount Zion, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

**TYNESIDE ANARCHIST FEDERATION:** Contact Steve Wallace, 64 Belford Avenue, Herstree Hill, South Shields, Co. Durham.

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

**MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT:** Contact Jim Pinkerton, 12 Ash Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

**NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP:** Contact the Secretary, 5 Colville Houses, W11. Open meeting 1st Friday each month, 8 pm, British Oak, Westbourne Park Rd, W2.

**EDINBURGH:** Contact Alasdair Macdonald, Torphin, Torphin Road, Colinton, Edinburgh 13.

**NEW FOREST ANARCHIST GROUP:** Contact Ken Parkin, Old Tea House, Brockenhurst, Hants.

**ROMFORD AND HORNCHURCH ANARCHIST GROUP:** Contact Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster, or John Chamberlain, 19 Chestnut Glen, Hornchurch.



## Lenin and workers' control

# The managers take over

WAR WAS DRIVING all governments to greater State control of the economy. This was especially true of such a totalitarian state as the Bolsheviks were creating, but Dobb speaks of other causes. The reason "for the accelerated transition to general nationalisation in the second half of the year (1918) was twofold. In the first place, many factory committees went beyond the legal powers awarded them in the Decree on Workers' Control and eventually took the administration of factories into their own hands". (Dobb, p. 88). Of course a political dictatorship could not allow industrial democracy to exist; the latter had to head the execution list.

The other cause of the Decree of General Nationalisation, which applied to all companies with more than a million roubles of capital in mining, metals, textiles, glass, leather, cement, timber and electrical trades, was quite different. "It might have seemed as if the government had suddenly capitulated to the Left. The immediate reason for the decree, however, was a rather special one, which gave it an emergency character. There were considerable fears in Moscow at this time that the Germans, having already occupied the important industrial regions of the Ukraine, might proceed, here and in other regions as well, to protect important industrial concerns from future nationalisation by transferring them to German firms". (Dobb, p. 95).

Dobb goes on to describe in some detail the actions of the Germans, through Count Mirbach, to protect this future "German property", and the counter-moves of the Russians, but whether from this or other causes, the turn was to greater nationalisation. But would the greater State control find an easier solution to Russia's economic problem?

The problem, the breaking down of much of industry, transport and farming, could be solved by starting at the bottom, in the localities, and co-ordinating the economic units from there outwards. This the workers and peasants were doing. In June, 1920, a delegation of British trade union and Labour Party leaders, with the addition of Bertrand Russell, was invited to Russia. From speeches made by its members on their return, they seemed to be enthusiastic about the methods used by the workers in industrial collectives under workers' control, to overcome crises.

Everyone in a factory would spend a day in the forest, taking their own sleds, axes and saws, and cut timber to keep the boilers and engines going. Some factories, with the aid of peasants' carts, went to coal mines to collect fuel for their plant. Foundries organised scrap iron drives to feed their furnaces. Relations between factory and factory, for mutual support and exchange, were created. Economic relations between factory and peasants, exchanging manufactures for food and raw materials, were extensive.

Workers' control in industry was allied to peasant farming and to artisan production, a strong economic trigon which the Bolsheviks destroyed, then tried to revive under NEP.

Many and ingenious were the devices of those whom Lenin despised as "know nothing" workers, to overcome shortages. One which took the fancy of some members of the British delegation was the building of a local Soviet House, a community building, without iron fittings. The house was built of timber, notched, and all windows, doors and floors held, as there were no nails, by square pegs driven into round holes; the door hinges were of leather.

And how did the centralised control of Barrister Lenin shape up to the job? Divisions of the Supreme Economic

Council, called Glavki, had been created by Lenin and these bodies were to guide and control industry. According to Dobb (ibid, p. 112), confusion—based on wrong and useless information—reigned throughout these divisions. An example: "A committee of investigation set up in June, 1920, reported that many Glavki not only 'do not know what goods and in what amounts are kept in the warehouses under their control, but are actually ignorant even of the number of such warehouses'". (Dobb, ibid, p. 112).

In agriculture this control was even more disastrous, causing several famines and war against the peasants which is still going on. Stalin's enforcement of his collective farms in 1920 resulted (according to Dobb, p. 246) in a reduction of cattle by nearly a third by 1931 (more later); sheep and goats by half; horses by a quarter (later by half). Some figures are much higher than Dobb's, who seems to quote Stalinist statistics of that time. The wastage of arable area during this fatal centralisation of farming was enormous. Stalin himself, in an attempt to shift the blame on to his appointed deputies, wrote an essay, "Many are made dizzy by success", *Labour Monthly* (Communist), June, 1930.

Even in 1962, 1963 and 1964, Russia has bought many million tons of grain from the U.S. and Canada (a less fertile land than Russia) and Khrushchev's central planning of "the new lands" has proved disastrous. Peasants under Czarism did much better when allowed to settle themselves.

From the beginning of Lenin's regime the workers were put under pressure at their jobs that made the old regime seem like organised benevolence. Individual managers were appointed from above and piecework, hated by workers throughout the world, was enforced. This was denounced as a "relic of capitalist exploitation" by Riazanov, a recently resigned Bolshevik, and by Gorki's group, as well as the workers' representatives (see Dobb, p. 91).

The managers were backed up by such armed force that they had never enjoyed under the Czar. The factory committees were abolished. The unions, by force and fraud, were brought under first Communist Party, then State control and the same fate befell the co-operatives. Stakhanovites, petted persons, produced false "norms" of work, 8 or 10 times the normal, which the workers were forced to emulate and which cut their piece rates. Pollitt, leader of the British CP, on his return from Moscow in 1929, boasted that he had seen, as a typical example, one man doing the work of three. Bad as it was under the Czar, the new devils, as in the parable, were even worse than the old.

To those Leninists who now shout "Workers' Control" and to the Trotskyists, too, we say look at the work of Lenin and Trotsky in power. To the Stalinists and the present followers of Khrushchev, who also falsely cry "Workers' Control", we recall the continuation of Lenin's evil work by the latter-day totalitarians.

These have been only two sources of Workers' Control of Industry and Farming, the Syndicalist movement of the world and the spontaneous reaching of the workers towards a better life.

TOM BROWN.

GRANADA TV has carried out a street quiz to find how many persons are aware of the Russian Revolution. One interviewer asked a stranger, "Have you heard of Lenin?" "Of course", was the reply. "What do you know of him?" "He's a Beatle, the married one", was the snappy answer.



# May Day is May 1st

WHEN Labour's grandfathers established May 1st as May Day, it was meant that workers of the world should stop work and, making that day their own, demonstrate for the eight-hour day and for peace and international solidarity.

In Communist and Fascist countries May Day is the occasion for displays of guns, tanks and rockets, instead of peace and brotherhood, and in Britain not even May Day is left to us. Long ago the Labour Party and TU leaders decided that May Day should be the first Sunday in May. The Communist Party celebrated, as we did, on the 1st of May, but during the war, at least after June, 1941, they decided not to stop work on May Day.

The CP, the Labour Party and TU's still echo the cry, "Don't stop work on May Day, you'll hinder production. Now they are joined by the pure Socialist Party of Great Britain, who placarded London, announcing Sunday, May 3 as May Day. While the CP and Labour Party were in Hyde Park on that Day, the SPGB was in Trafalgar Square, all celebrating a false "May Day". Then back to work on Monday like good boys and the line never stopped sir! We wonder when they celebrate Christmas Day?

The Syndicalist Workers' Federation demonstrated in London's Hyde Park on the afternoon of May 1st with the

## Thank you very much!

AS THE LIST below shows, there has been a most generous response towards making good our losses through burglary (estimated at £150). This comradely help has made it possible for us to carry on the publishing work we had already projected—and the reprint of HOW LABOUR GOVERNED will be ready within the next fortnight.

Without wishing to single out individual donations, we would mention New York comrades of the Libertarian League, who received our letter on a Friday evening, passed the hat round at their meeting that night—and sent £17 to us by return. Also the London Anarchist Group, who organised a most enjoyable social, which brought in £5 10d 6d. Our Spanish and Jewish comrades have shown their usual practical understanding of international solidarity.

To all those whose donations are acknowledged below—our grateful thanks. To those who have not yet replied—please help us hit the £150 target.

### National Committee, SWF

#### DONATIONS APRIL 16—MAY 20 1964

Red Deer, Alberta, B.G. 6s 6d; London W10, Anon. 1s 10d; Libertarian League, New York, £5 12s; London Anarchist Group, £5 10s 6d; Bristol, D.P. £1; London NW3, A.O'n. 10s; London SW5, J.R. and M.C. 7s 9d; Punchbowl, N.S.W., A.S. 6s 9d; Kansas City, Kan., C.S.K. 7s; New York, F.K. 7s; Leeds, R.D. 4; London W9, W.C. 10s; London N16, E.M. £1; Plymouth, J.M. 4s; Preston, R.M. £2 5s; Wolverhampton, J.L. and other comrades £2; London W14, J.E. 5s; Kinston-on-Thames, Anon. 10s; Tunbridge Wells, B.R. 10s; Hove, A.R. 10s; Belfast, K.G. 5s; London SW5, I.K. £2; Chorley, Lancs, J.L. 6s; London SW14, P.O. £1 10s 6d; Durham, J.H. £2; Croxley Green, Herts, P. McC. £1; London W10, T.O.R. 6; London NW3, M.H. £1; London NW2, M.B. £1; London N1, J.P. £1; Bristol, S.G. £2; SWF Dundee Group £3; Manchester, B.D. 10s; Poole, J.C. £1; Poole, D.M. £1; Scottish Federation of Anarchists £1; Putney, S.L. 10s; Brighton, A.L. 10s; Falmouth, R.W. 3s; Gibraltar, B. and J. £1 10s; London SW10, M.S. £5 10s; Croydon A.N. 10s; London NW10, J.M. and M.W. £5; SWF London Group £5; London NW10, B.G. £1; Sandvika, Norway, P.G. £10; Southampton, L.S. 10s; Ashton-u-Lyne, J.P. 10s; London W1, J.D. 10s; Stoke-on-Trent, W.T. 10s; Freie Arbeiter Stimme Group (London) £5; Commonwealth, Northern Federation, 10s; Tadworth, Surrey, D.W. 6s; London W11, M.H. £1; National Confederation of Labour (CNT) of Spain in GB £10; New York, Cooper Station, Anon. £1 15s 6d; London NW3, K.H. £3; London W11, V.K. 4s; London NW6, C.F. 2s 6d; Dublin D.P. £1; D.G. 10s; Total £96 5s 10d.

support of the London Federation of Anarchists and under the black and red banner. The SWF London Group decided to continue meetings there every Sunday, which has been done—despite Communist violence.

### IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IN Prague the official Communist May Day demonstration was enlivened by a student counter-demonstration and march. At least 31 young persons were arrested. According to the **Daily Telegraph**, 4.5.64, hundreds of police clashed with almost 4,000 demonstrators on Wenceslaus Square. Slogans protesting against political controls and lack of scholarships were shouted.

### IN DUNDEE

FOR the first time there was a Anarchist contingent on the May Day march in Dundee. Eighteen people marched under the Dundee Anarchists' banner (a red one with black lettering—the only red banner on the march).

Before moving off, an LP official said to one of our group, "We'll allow you to take part in our march if you behave yourselves". He was reminded that May Day belongs to the people, not to any particular faction.

All along the route buses were passing slowly by. The busmen and general public were given copies of our May Day leaflet and the manifesto of the Scottish Federation. When the march reached City Square, where we were to be addressed by Dundee's two MP's, the Anarchists went right to the front of the crowd. Everybody else furled their banners, but we held ours and a poster with "No wage freeze under any government" right under the platform speakers' noses.

The first MP managed to make a speech without once mentioning the word "Socialism". When the other, Peter Doig, a violent opponent of disarmament, whether unilateral or multilateral, rose to speak, the Anarchist Group marched off in protest. We went back individually to heckle.

### D.Y.C.

### IN LISBON

THE First of May was stained by working-class blood in Lisbon. Five thousand Lisbon workers, demonstrating in the streets for freedom of opinion and union organisation, were savagely attacked by the police. One demonstrator was killed, three wounded and dozens beaten up. Armed to the teeth, the Salazar-fascist forces had no mercy on an unarmed crowd, which was demonstrating peacefully. The PIDE (secret police), fearing repercussions abroad, have falsely claimed that the attack was made by the demonstrating workers.

### Combat Syndicaliste

### IN BILBAO

MORE than 5,000 workers and students demonstrated in the streets of Bilbao, Spain on May 1, calling for political and union freedom, and in solidarity with the strikers in Puertollano, Asturias and Rio Tinto. There were many women among the demonstrators, in the belief that their presence might halt police action. Some of the women comrades, however, were beaten up by Franco's strong-arm men.

### IN GLASGOW

MAY DAY plus 3—St. George's Square, Glasgow—individual comrades of the SWF and the Glasgow Federation of Anarchists were manhandled by communists and Labour Party supporters. The Communist Party complained to the police, in an attempt to prevent anarchists and syndicalists from joining the May Day March. Later at Queen's Park, Anthony Greenwood, who was addressing the Rally, was continually heckled. Eventually fighting broke out when comrades attempted to reach the platform with their red-and-black banners.

AND IN CHICAGO wobblers and sympathisers picketed the Spanish Tourist Office on May Day.



# DEV'S PRAETORIAN GUARD FRAME PACIFIST

THE clumsy manoeuvres to frame pacifist Grattan Puxon on a charge of possessing explosives (DA May 1964) threw the spotlight on the Political Police of the Irish State—"S" Division Civic Guard—popularly known as "The Broy Harriers."

Eamonn De Valera, spoiled priest and self-appointed Father of the Irish Nation, succeeded in capturing real political power for the first time in his career in 1932. He did so with the aid of the Labour Movement and its handful of Deputies in the Dáil. The unofficial assistance of the IRA and its ancillary organisations was also a great help.

There was indeed an atmosphere similar to that of the early Popular Front period in the Spanish Republic. The Army and Police consisted entirely of appointees of the Rightist group which had won the Civil War of 1922-23 and had ruled the country until the General Election of

1932. The Rightists yielded reluctantly.

The extremist Blueshirts planned a March on Dublin, to be led by the notorious Fascist, General Eoin O Duffy. In this atmosphere of impending coup d'état the late American Ralph Lynch then a member of the executive of Fianna Fáil (the De Valera Party) proposed that a group of reliable Civil War veterans of the IRA should be recruited and armed to protect the government from any attempted putsch by the Blueshirts—or the Army and Police. Dev's reply was: "I will never have it said that I established a Praetorian Guard". Up to that time it had not occurred to anyone that an Irish Caesar had appeared!

A short time later De Valera did form his "Praetorian Guard". The recruits were mostly men who had been on the Republican side in the Civil War. They were men who had followed De Valera out of the IRA-Sinn Féin movement in 1927, when he formed a breakaway party to achieve power by parliamentary means, a course he had opposed to the point of bloodshed 5 years earlier. They were men who had been literally "drummed out" of the IRA, whose only allegiance was a personal one to De Valera. The personality cult appeared in many countries about 1932-33. Unnoticed, Ireland was one of them.

The leader of the new force was a man named Broy, who had served in every police force in Ireland during his lifetime, a double agent who, whatever else he may have been, was a completely professional political policeman.

His men were later dubbed Harriers, because of their doglike devotion to their leader and their ferocious enthusiasm when on the hunt. They were never called on to repress the Blueshirts, the Army or the Police. The IRA quite unofficially smashed the Blueshirts and the Broy Harriers were quietly incorporated into the regular police.

Their first task, when the De Valera regime became stabilised, was to curb the activities of the IRA, and to keep an eye on other subversive groups, notably the Republican Congress (Socialist breakaway from IRA) and also the small and unimportant Communist Party of Ireland. But always their main task was the destruction of the IRA.

The 1939-45 war—(known in Ireland as "the Emergency")—enabled the State to establish something like Martial Law. The IRA was smashed and many of its leaders shot, hanged, or killed "while resisting arrest". But the IRA was resurrected in the late Forties and the work had to be done all over again.

So much has the IRA occupied the thoughts and acts of the Broy Harriers that many people forget that they have a much wider role in the eyes of the Irish State. When they set to work on framing Grattan Puxon for his attempt to organise the Irish tinkers, to demand at least the same rights as other citizens, and to use the techniques of passive resistance, it became obvious that the Harriers exist for the persecution of all those whom the State would have persecuted.

The Offences Against the State Act effectively abolishes the so-called rule of law, and "S" Division are seen to be fit comrades of the Gestapo or the NKVD. After the IRA comes a Pacifist. Who next? A Trade Unionist? A couple of years ago the OASA was invoked against the Irish ETU. A few months ago it was the Farmer's Union. Now a Pacifist. Who next?

SEAN GANNON

## Spanish strikes (continued)

the entire special armed "brigadillas" in a frantic search for the authors of this "Springtime phenomenon", as it was described by Fraga Iribarne, Spanish Minister of Information.

In Barcelona, several members of the JOC (Catholic Worker Youth), together with a priest, are under arrest for distributing tracts criticising the regime and the "monolithic" vertical trade-unions. All sorts of opposition propaganda is widely distributed throughout Spain. This ranges from "Alianza Sindical" to FIJL, FUDE, Communist, Catholic and even Falangist "left" opposition. Unrest among students is rife in all the universities of Spain. Last month's demonstrations in Madrid, Saragossa, Bilbao, Seville and Barcelona are a patent sign of the social unrest felt by the new generation.

The discontent is even in evidence among the employing class. In Asturias, the mine managements appear to have declared that they would "view with interest the creation of independent trade unions, with which they could at last discuss with an open heart." The fact that this is a public condemnation of Falange's "corporative unionism" (which in theory combines workers and employers under the same roof) is an admission of the regime's dismal failure to embrace the workers within its Labour Front. It is, however, a clear indication of the discontent latent even in management circles.

In Asturias the owners have, for the first time during a strike, left open the "economatos" (co-operatives belonging to the management of coaling companies, from which miners can buy on credit). The management is, in fact, helping prolong the strikes through this indirect help.

Catholic brotherhoods and young Catholic Action workers are actively fanning the strike movement and have openly taken sides with the miners. Already last year several parish priests set up collections in their villages to help "our brothers who are in need", the strikers. Some 18 priests were eventually disciplined and sent to remote parishes. Now, once again, parish priests have come out on the side of the strikers—preaching solidarity from the same pulpits that once served as platforms for fascist propaganda. Secret police are rumoured to be spying on church ceremonies to pick out the dissident priests.

Altogether, it is an explosive and confused situation, which I hope to analyse at more length next month. But by then it could suddenly have blown up with unexpected consequences.

S.G.

## BRISTOL SWF Summer School

JULY 11-12. DETAILS FROM M.J. WALSH,  
22, HAMPTON RD., COTHAM, BRISTOL.



## An open letter to the Labour Leader

Dear Harold,

I know you must be wondering what has become of me. Never fear, your faithful follower will always find time, despite all the canvassing and legwork around the ward, to send you a cheery line and a helpful suggestion or two.

Incidentally, I happened to mention to that fellow Grundiman, our branch trouble-maker, that you and I correspond—well, you could call it that, couldn't you?—and he spoke most coarsely about what you probably thought of my suggestions. The fellow is a political barbarian, of course.

After all the triumphs of the borough elections and the by-elections we were really carried away by your May Day speech. The Get-Tough-in-Cyprus touch was just the job.

## POSTBAG

5th May, 1964

Dear Sir and Brother,

**L. A. MITCHELL (METAL PROPELLERS) LTD**

You will be pleased to read that our dispute with the above firm has now been successfully concluded. The issue of the dispute, the Steward being sacked for holding a meeting on the firm's premises during the night shift has been resolved by his re-employment with the Company as and from Monday May 4.

The Strike Committee and the members involved in the dispute express their sincere thanks and appreciation for your prompt and generous financial support. In due course a balance sheet will be prepared and a copy sent of you.

Yours fraternally,

**W. PETTEY**

(Treasurer—Strike Committee)

Groydon, Surrey

Dear Comrades,

Your readers may be interested to know that on 1st May, the Carterton, Oxon, branch of the AEU unanimously passed the following resolution:—

This branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union resolves, in accordance with the expressed opposition of the Trade Union Movement (Nationally and Internationally) to Apartheid and in accordance with the support which the Labour Movement generally has given to the boycott of Trade with South Africa:—

To cable fraternal May Day greetings to Nelson Mandela and other Freedom fighters now standing trial!

To cable an emergency resolution to the National Council of the AEU—now meeting at Worthing—requesting:—

- a one-day token stoppage by all members working for firms trading with South Africa
- a warning to the South African Government—backed by the necessary preparations in this country—that if the Prisoners suffer the death penalty, (for the sole crime of struggling for democracy in a manner in which early Trade Unionists were forced to struggle), this will be met by an indefinite stoppage by all members on all work on imports and exports to and from Republic.

It is to be hoped that other branches of the AEU and other unions follow suit.

Yours fraternally,

**MICHAEL Q. HILL**

Northleigh, Oxon.

It makes you so **big**, Harold—lifts you high above the little things like wage-freezing, pensions, rents and housing. Then the splendid Aden speech—tanks for Cyprus, helicopters for Aden! No wonder Sir Alex says you're going around spouting like you were already Prime Minister. He knows it takes people's minds off all those awkward questions you're managing not to answer—like conscription, nationalisation and increased taxation.

As usual you've been having your troubles with the Shadow Cabinet. As you've kept them off the telly pretty well until lately, Harold, I think you should go on hogging it until after the elections.

I mean, there was Woodrow Wyatt saying we should clear out of Aden, just when you're proclaiming its importance as a base; there's Callaghan saying how he's going to slug the rich and offending all the influential friends you've made in the City by saying you **weren't** going to slug them; then Crossman getting all the mums upset because they think you're going to make them cook the kids' dinners again. As for George Brown! That remark of his that the Libs quoted about how there is little or no difference between the Labour Party and the Tories? Well, I mean, those aren't things we want said out in the open, are they? And then sneaking off to the Cup Final like that!

It must be all very trying for you, Harold, so take my advice and keep them off the telly and, if you can, out of the papers.

Now, my pre-election suggestions. That Sir Alec, Harold, is your real bother. He goes about with a cheerful grin and he always looks slim and alert. Could you get a bit of weight off in the next few weeks? I think that bit of tubbiness might damage your image. About the smile—I know you've got problems on your mind, but I recommend more smiling. And perhaps a different sort of smile. Grundiman says that when you smile he gets shivers down the back and thinks of tombstones. Of course, we know what he is, but still. . . .

While we're on the matter of humour, I was worried about that bit in the interview with the American in your home—I mean, when he asked who were the great figures in your eyes—and you included Mikoyan and Chou-en-Lai, because you said they were both very humorous men. Grundiman reckoned that they'd both make you **die** laughing. He said how much Beria must have enjoyed the humour when Mikoyan shot him in the neck after the Russian Cabinet meeting in Moscow. And he said Chou had got up to some very funny capers in his career, too. The trouble is, Harold, you don't quite know what to say back, do you? Anyway, I think I'd lay off Mikoyan a bit now that you're off to Moscow again for the umpteenth time. By the way, Grundiman's already started his own slogan: "Let's Go with Labour to Moscow."

I'll be writing again soon to send further help and encouragement before the General Election.

Yours fraternally,

**JIMMY WIGGINS**

## CNT POSTCARDS

Our comrades of the CNT have recently produced a two-colour postcard entitled "SPAIN TODAY". On the face side are four photographs depicting Civil Guards, Madrid slums, a gallery in a Spanish prison and Spanish political prisoners exercising in a prison yard. The postcard gives a far different picture of Spain to that presented by Fraga and his Tourist Office. These postcards are an excellent form of propaganda and comrades can assist our Spanish fellow workers by using them as widely as possible. They cost 6d. each and are available from: A. VARGAS, 68 Buchanan Gardens, London, NW10.