

TEXTILE SLUMP

Six-hour day on guaranteed wage can halt unemployment

NELSON

A FEW WEEKS ago the "Daily Express" carried a picture of a young girl holding a shuttle, with the caption: "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 given a week's notice.

That is the position of the textile worker to-day: on the dole, short-time, or liable to be sacked.

Three years ago "Direct Action" pointed out that redeployment and rearmament would spell disaster to the millworkers. The fruits of those policies can be seen now.

In 1948 the slogan was "Britain's bread hangs by Lancashire's thread." Orthodox trade unionists criticised "Direct Action" for its opposition to redeployment, when we claimed that improvements in productivity do not—as they should—work for the benefit of the working class, but against us.

Easy for them

This is one of the worst slumps the textile industry has had, and several conditions are aggravating it. It is easy for the Government to say there are plenty of jobs in 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

set-up is at fault, for there is no falling-off in the need for textile goods—only in the power of the working class to buy them.

In Britain there is a definite Government policy to switch textile workers to armaments production. Air Chief Marshal Sir Guy Garrod, at an Air League luncheon, said recruitment for aircraft and ordnance factories was at a rate far below what was required: 850 a month instead of 7,500.

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 that this plan was sponsored by the Treasury.

Japanese competition, which the U.S. views favourably everywhere except in the U.S., has largely taken Britain's export trade in cheaper materials, but the effect of this has yet to be felt. So far it is only the home market that has affected the industry, plus America's withholding of raw materials in order to implement the armaments policy.

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

The reduction in purchase tax on textiles is simply a move to give the appearance that the Government is doing something about the situation. It will have little effect; the cost of living due to rearmament is still too high to expect any rush to the shops for clothes that are only slightly cheaper.

Guilty men

But the millowners share no little guilt for the slump. They knew all along that a recession was to come and made hay while the sun shone. They persuaded young people to enter the mills . . . there were good prospects, they said, high wages and no more dark days.

They employed time and motion study experts to speed up machines and automatic looms where, in some cases, 44 could be tended by one weaver.

Now they plead they have to adjust output to trade conditions, that circumstances are beyond their control, and that the workers have to take the rough with the smooth. Always the workers . . . if the bosses ever suffer it is by getting

themselves slightly smaller cars. Trade conditions are a result of the employers' policy, and it is they that should suffer the consequences.

Let us see what remedies are offered for the present situation.

The Tories say: Increase the quality of production, and the workers must accept lower wages (B.B.C., Edward Ward reporting).

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

The millowners waver between the Tory and Labour lines.

All these policies operate, in the first instance, for the benefit of the employing class, and any benefit the workers received would be incidental.

The one policy here that will take effect is the introduction of new industries, in particular light engineering which is adaptable. The Tories leave this for the Labour Party to demand, in the hope that the workers might think it their own.

Syndicalist policy

"Direct Action" is the only working-class paper that carried regular articles on the textile industry before the slump—when it became copy overnight—and the Syndicalist Workers' Federation alone puts forward a policy that is of direct benefit to the textile worker:—

All unemployed workers to be reinstated.

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

Guaranteed weekly wage, based on average earnings before the slump.

Boycott of munition works. An industry which paid out between 20 and 30 per cent to shareholders in 1951 cannot be allowed to plead poverty. It is time the bosses took the rough with the smooth.

Foreign competition can only be prevented from affecting the working class by international co-operation of the textile unions.

Textile workers: Join the Syndicalist Workers' Federation and fight for your livelihood as members of a real workers' movement.

J. O. PILLING

Direct Action

SYNDICALIST WORKERS FEDERATION
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MENS ASSOCIATION

'BLACK' CONGRESS IN BARCELONA 10,000 anti-fascists arrested

by A. RUIZ

FRANCO is using every means possible to find "allies" who will act as propagandists and "accredit" his discredited regime.

The latest example is the Catholic gathering or 34th International Eucharistic Congress, which is on the point of being held in Barcelona, to proclaim to the world the "glories of fascism," and to offer the pretence that all is well in Spain and that the fascist dictatorship is the only solution to the ills 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 men—who 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

this two weeks before the Congress.

Barcelona is a city under police terror; meanwhile, however, the Catholic delegates are arriving there very pleased to pray to God for the souls of the dead.

To avoid them getting a bad impression, the municipal government of Barcelona has ordered the demolition of the hovels—made of old wood and corrugated iron—for poor families unable to pay rent, and their inmates have been moved to warehouses and barracks.

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

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

Continued on page 3 Col 5

Three Fascist Butchers



Electricians on solidarity strike

Eleven members of Barrow No. 2 Branch of the E.T.U., employed in the outside contracting dept., were suspended by the North-Western Electricity Board at starting time on Monday, May 5, because they 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.

On the following day, all the apprentices stopped work in support of the principles involved, and they were followed on May 7 by all the workers at the Ulverston Depot of the N.W.E.B.

At the time of writing, the Board have refused to negotiate with the E.T.U., in an attempt to force the union members into the negotiating machinery for the electricity supply industry as a whole.

UP AGAIN

Linoleum prices went up in May approximately one shilling to two shillings in the pound, depending on type and quality. This is the third time in just over a year that lino prices have been raised.



NATIONALISATION IS NOT OUR ANSWER

The advent of the recent White Paper, containing proposals for the re-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 first 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 ethical concept, then, of necessity, one's method of measurement is completely different from that of a worker who, correctly, judges any particular programme by the material benefits and concrete opportunities likely to accrue to himself, his family and his class, as the result of the full 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 times, there is only one basic criterion by which to measure any course of action: "Will it work—in our interests?"

Their viewpoint

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

During the last thirty years, large sections of the capitalist class have recognised the necessity, from their point of view, of some measure of State ownership or control. In this country, since the formation of the London Passenger Transport Board, in Germany under Hitler, in Argentina under Peron, and in France under a multitude of different administrations, the State has progressively taken over, or placed under its control, substantial sections of heavy industry and transport.

Heavy industry on an individual capitalist basis had, as the result of recurring trade depressions, become completely bankrupt as far as technique was concerned. From the point of view of the capitalist class in this, and many other countries, heavy industry could not be relied upon to facilitate the prosecution of war. They could not depend on getting a decent coal mine into working order, at a minute's notice, in the event of war.

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.

The car manufacturers wanted Nationalisation of the coal mines and an efficient on-the-spot supply of cheap coal. They were, of course, opposed to any attempt to take over their own industry.

The coal-owners were in favour of the Nationalisation of the railways, but were utterly against the same

treatment of their own industry, and so on.

In this country, finance capital gained its way. The power and material producing industries and heavy transport were sacrificed to the interests of the capitalist class as a whole.

Without ownership or control on the part of the capitalist State of these industries, capitalism itself would be in danger of defeat.

Even to the capitalists as a whole, this drastic attempt to iron out some of the worst features of their own bankruptcy is not advantageous in all respects. It has its price.

In Germany, under Hitler, the capitalists gained survival from economic defeat. To do so, however, they were compelled to hand over their own political powers to the clique around the Nazi Party.

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

The clique that controlled the 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 of a full totalitarian State, the process is less advanced. The partial State ownership of heavy industry, in general, suits the needs, economically, of the capitalist class. It has, however, its dangers—economic as well as political. Already certain sections of the capitalist class feel that the policy of State ownership has gone too far.

Losing control

They are beginning to lose complete control, both political and economic. The trend of events, though following a different political pattern and relatively only in its infancy, is tending dangerously in the general direction of the Stalinist economic system.

In Russia, as we can easily recognise, the workers do not control the State. Who, then, does? The individual capitalists banded together around the State machine for protection are non-existent. No financial trusts of wealthy individuals, owning the enterprises by legal right, exist. Wealthy people, on the other hand, do.

Under the Stalinist system, the State owns both the means of production and distribution. The control of the State is in the hands of the political administrators of industry, organised within the framework of the Communist Party machine.

The higher one goes in the hierarchy, naturally, the more powerful and wealthy one becomes. All, however, from the Kremlin to the lowest political administrator in

SAYS

FRANK ROWE

some isolated district, have in common the fact that they control the economy and have access to the wealth produced by the workers.

They form a ruling class, in exactly the same way as the employing class in the capitalist world. They may not own one bolt in Russian industry, but they benefit as much as if they had legal deeds, in their own name, in their pockets covering the ownership of the whole of Russian industry. They control production and distribution—in their own interests.

In Great Britain and Western 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 their tenuous role. At present they are simply there to give these boards the necessary broad basis.

Already, however, sections of the capitalist class are beginning to be scared of the future. The present Conservative Government, classical representative of the financial trusts of capitalism, are taking measures to decentralise these industries which, from the point of view of the employing class, must remain under State ownership.

Road transport, on the other hand, they propose to de-Nationalise as fast as possible. Unless they take these steps, they realise that control over industry, in the political sense, will be lost to them. Once control is lost, ownership is also at an end.

They face a terrible choice. If they refuse to accept State ownership, in heavy industry at least, the economy will not stand up to the strain of recurring economic crises, the internal and external pressures which result, and the preparation and prosecution of the wars which form part and parcel of the capitalist system.

On the other hand, if they carry out rationalisation of the economy, which under capitalism necessitates some form of State control, they are, in effect, calling in the very people who will supersede them as the masters of industry.

Spreading power

The political administrators, coming from the ranks of the professional middle class, the career politicians and the trade union leadership, though at present only the servants of the employing class in the State administration, are there ready to take over control. Once in

a sword—the slayer needs only to push a button and the most horrible death is on the wing. How can any sane people sit down and allow that situation to develop? I want my children to grow old free from the threat of war." He, too, was recommended for registration.

Michael John Lennard, former member of the Royal Signals, an architect, told the tribunal that he was an agnostic, and that the point of his living was to make the world better through his work, designing new school buildings. He was refused registration because, according to the tribunal, he had not thought out the matter sufficiently.

Other unsuccessful applicants included Frederick L. Edwards of Catford, an L.C.C. lettings officer, who said he was willing to fight in a defensive war, but could not support the present wars in Malaya and Korea.

Colin F. Ross, a Civil Engineer and member of the United Nations' Association, was also refused registration. He said his objection was mainly based on the fact that Britain had now produced the atomic bomb.

He believed he had done right to take part in the last war, but that the bomb had changed the nature of warfare, because it affected not only the present, but future generations.

control, it is they who will receive the benefits of industry.

No class will control any system of society in the interests of another class. The political administrators, once in full control of heavy industry, will seek to spread their power over all industry.

Each successive war gives growth to the class of political administrators. Each successive war increases their power and privilege. Each successive war brings nearer the day when they will reap the benefits of being the ruling class within society.

No such animal

One question is of fundamental interest to us as workers. Can 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 capitalist class with regard to the problems of control and ownership have something to teach us. They have found that the two functions cannot be 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 of control, as we have seen, implies loss of ownership.

If the working class, once having freed themselves from the burden of a superfluous and parasitic capitalist class, are to achieve the ownership of the means of production and distribution in their own interests, they cannot hand over the direction of their affairs to a separate class—with separate class interests.

They cannot expect to own and benefit without controlling. State ownership would mean the creation

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 reply—there's no such animal.

Fortunately, the working class have no need to face the problem which the capitalist class have had to face, "To Nationalise or not to Nationalise—which is the lesser evil?"

Union framework

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 particular 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 workplaces 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 work than their mates; so long as they do not have privileges above the workers; so long as they are there only for a set period and not for the rest of their lives, they will be functionaries and functionaries only.

So long as the workers make the decisions and strictly mandate their functionaries and exercise their right to recall them on the spot—so long do the workers control.

Where do we go from here?

BY BERNARDO POU

THE WORKERS have arrived at a dangerous crossroads. Since the first decade of the present century, all politicians have proposed to conduct "revolutionary" action through the medium of reformism, based on parliament and collaboration of the workers with their exploiters through collective agreements.

The life of the workers has been conditioned and submitted to the will of big business and, worse still, the social conditions of the working-class now depend on the needs of the State, their worst enemy.

State socialists loudly proclaim to the workers the road they should follow—according to the way which best suits the Government at each particular moment.

They promise—these good social doctors—to lead the people to complete 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 syndicalists—to-day more than ever—stand by the political and direct actionist principles which were, from the beginning of the First International, the rallying cry of the exploited.

In response to the call of the revolutionary syndicalist pioneers, the class-conscious workers organised themselves to fight to destroy capitalism and the State.

Spirit broken

And it was the State socialists who, gaining the majority in many countries, broke the fighting spirit of the workers, just as they are now destroying their unity—better to subject them to the needs of reformist politics—by submitting the trade unions to the Labour Party.

On this field, of course, the communists are even more unscrupulous.

The language of politicians—their particular label or colour matters little—is nearly always the same: "Workers, don't let yourselves be led astray, be honest and thrifty, love your family, honour God and the State, and—for the good of the nation—don't press your claims too hard."

"If you follow the advice of your rulers, your prosperity will grow with the expanding industry of your country. Through your increased production, manufactured goods will be put on the world market without fear of competition from other workers, less favoured by technique and progress. . . ."

All this nonsense is the logical

outcome of State socialism. While claiming to belong to a Socialist International, each socialist in power denies the right to life of workers in other countries, by exploiting their social inferiority. The example offered us by the doctrinaire State socialists is a mockery of social justice.

Any serious person with a broad outlook, who studies the conditions and interests of the workers, must be forced to recognise that the present crisis has general causes which depend far more on the moral, rather than the material, state of human society.

Let us not hide the fact that society as a whole suffers the horrors of the drift into a war to save—in the name of socialism or liberalism—the principle of the force which is imposed through war, at the expense of the producers.

Against this the conscience of free men rises in revolt, and calls on the workers to have confidence in themselves and in revolutionary syndicalism, which is the economic expression of Anarchism.

'PARTNERS' TO BE FIRED

The John Lewis "Partnership", favoured in the best reactionary circles for their success in keeping their workers away from effective union organisation, have just given another, very painful, lesson to the staff.

A staff personnel expert, Wing-Comdr. Hunter, was employed by the "Partnership" to review the "efficiency, character and value" of the staff. He decided that 280 employees out of 3,578 should be "replaced either immediately, or within the next twelve months."

The firm's journal, *The Gazette*, lists their employees as follows: Absolutely first-rate people, of whose desirability there is no doubt, 560; Retention almost—or even quite—beyond question, 1,590; Not out of the common, but among whom resignations would be regrettable, 1,148; Could be retained "at a pinch" for some months, 279; To go within a few months.

Standing as candidate for Porthcawl (S. Wales) West Ward, Mr. Victor Roberts told electors, "Vote for Roberts, the only lunatic who is chump enough to believe you really want him. . . . Roberts is always hungry and will attend any function at the promise of a free meal."

MORE AND MORE Z-MEN OBJECT

The London Tribunal now has to meet twice a week to deal with the large number of "Z" reservists who have applied to be registered as conscientious objectors. The hearings are public, and are held on Tuesdays and Fridays at 10.30 a.m. at Fulham Town Hall.

At the April 22 hearing, Thomas Nutter, of Maidenhead, said he had been a private in R.E.M.E., and was taken prisoner at Tobruk in 1942 and transferred to Italy. He escaped from prison and, while on the run, was helped by a peasant family.

"They were not at all the type of people I had been led to believe," he told the tribunal.

Nutter added that he did not belong to any religious denomination because he could not see his way to worship in a church where the bishop approved of atomic bombs. He was recommended for 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 they set out to do. The first had been described as the "war to end war" and the second was to "prevent totalitarianism holding sway in the world."

He told the tribunal that he was a member of the Ex-Service Movement for Peace and on the execu-

tive of the Southampton Peace Council, and declared, "I definitely will not have anything more to do with war. I know I am in a minority, but I wash my hands of it." He was refused C.O. registration.

Percy W. Haigh, ex-Gunner of Brixton, now a member of the Peace Pledge Union, said, "I first started thinking about pacifism while watching an R.A.F. thousand-bomber raid on a French town. They were supposed to be our friends."

Asked about his job, he said he was a painter and decorator, and had worked on war damage since he left the Army in 1946. The tribunal decided he "had considerable experience on which to found his views," and recommended him for registration.

Joseph Solomons, a glass beveller of Walthamstow, said he had been in the Royal Artillery from 1940 to 1946, and served in France, Belgium, Germany and Palestine, reaching the rank of sergeant.

In a statement, he said he hated all kinds of war and believed modern war was the ultimate expression of cowardice and the denial of God.

"In the 20th Century we are not allowed to confront our slayers with

DIRECT ACTION

Monthly organ of the
Syndicalist Workers
Federation

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Back again

THIS first printed issue of "Direct Action" to appear since the formation of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation in August, 1950, is proof of the long-felt and rapidly-growing need for a workers' paper that will support the struggles against the employing class on the industrial field.

The printed "D.A." which replaces the duplicated bulletin—organ 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 solidarity 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 involved. Don't bother about literary style... 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'd 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 tricksters who, for this party reason or that, want to exploit the working-class 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 disillusion to offer the workers.

The Syndicalist Workers' Federation is not a political party, nor has it any ambition to become one. Perusal of our Declaration of Principles, printed elsewhere in this issue, will show that we believe the workers' only effective weapon is 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 collaboration.

STINKING FISH

The recent disclosures regarding the restrictive practices employed by the trawler owners to keep up the prices of fish on the home market have had their sequel in the latest fish agreement with Russia.

Everybody concerned seems to have forgotten that there is a "cold war on". It is considered far better to sell fish to Russia than to land 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 interests rather than ideological scruples.

GERMAN NAZIS ARE ON MOVE

by John Andersson

General Secretary, I.W.M.A.

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 try to ally itself with either the Eastern or Western bloc—though just which would be difficult to forecast. It would depend largely on whether Eastern and Western Germany were reunited.

At the Crime Conference of 1945, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill declared:—

"We have decided to disarm and to dissolve all the armed forces of Germany, to remove or to destroy all industry liable to be used for war purposes, to punish quickly and justly all war criminals, to liquidate the Nazi Party, to purge all influences of a nazi-militarist type in the administration and in the life of the German people on the economic and cultural levels. It is not our intention to annihilate the German people, but only when nazism and militarism have been destroyed will the 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 all they are worth to make Western Germany contribute twelve divisions to the European Army. Russia's counter is to announce that she will let a Germany army be re-formed, if the country promises to maintain neutrality. And, the Russians add, all former officers and generals of the German army, with nazis who have not been punished for their crimes, will regain their civil rights.

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 the suffering it has brought on them, 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 Democratic Party supports co-operation with the West in rebuilding a military defence system on the basis

of equality, in view of the threat from the totalitarian forces of the East.

Within the local sections of the party there is a firm opposition to this line, and the same can be said of the trade unions. At a recent conference in Bavaria, where more than 900,000 workers were represented, nearly all the delegates opposed rearmament. Replies to a referendum of six million members of the workers' corporations in Western Germany and West Berlin show the same tendency.

The workers fear that the army would fall under nazi control.

Many nazi organisations, local and national, are openly active—among them the neo-nazi party, S.R.P. Hitler's assault guards (S.A.) have been reorganised by Karl Heinz Neumann, an old nazi officer. Many military associations have

sprung up recently, all with a more or less openly reactionary and nazi character.

These groups will one day form the advance guard of the German army—if it is reorganised. East and West are both showing keen interest in—and tolerance towards—these military formations. In such conditions, it is hardly surprising that the workers are against militarisation. They don't want arms put into the hands of their political opponents.

An enquiry made by the Jewish International Union—results of which were published last year—showed that, in Western Germany, known nazis were holding important posts in the State administration—especially the Foreign Office.

A broadcast by Radio Bavaria in March said 85 per cent of the Foreign Affairs department are former nazis. Of the 19 high offi-

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 among the rest of the leading personnel, 35 per cent were nazis, and of the West German representatives abroad 24 per cent were nazis. His defence was the allegation that it was difficult to find other personnel with the experience for foreign service.

The same can be said of other State institutions, and it is hardly surprising that the workers distrust rearmament.

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 democracy.

Black congress

(Continued from P.1, Col 2.)

The workers of Tarrasa and Sabadell have refused to accept this today 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 Congress.

On the contrary, before, during and after the Congress the fascists and Catholics are trying, and will try, to present the regime which has cost the Spanish people so much blood 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 has some influence, he will work for fascism to obtain the goodwill of other big powers on the international field.

We are sure that, despite this manoeuvre, Spanish fascism will not succeed in deceiving anyone. No-one 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, notwithstanding their ideas or beliefs, defend the human principles of freedom, independence and justice.

T.U. support

All Spaniards—and the working class in particular—hope for international support to end the present situation in their country and, in this respect, the British workers must continue to give their valuable contribution, protesting and spreading the protest against Franco and his regime of terror.

At the time of the recent trials in Seville and Barcelona, a broad sector of the trade unions intervened to stop the executions from taking place.

The movement of protest did not succeed, because the wishes of the workers did not overcome the resistance of the State, but the broad campaign of protest showed the feeling of solidarity towards the Spanish people and of condemnation towards the fascist regime.

This sympathetic action must continue until the protest becomes unanimous, and the co-operation to end Franco's "reign" is effective.

The Eucharistic Congress of Barcelona must receive the reply of all men of good will.

S.W.F.
Aims and Principles

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.F. 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 continue that struggle until common ownership and workers' control are 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, 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 International Working Men's Association, stands firm for international working class solidarity.

Fight the wage freeze now!

wages, keep the pound sterling intact and restore the rate of profit, that is the old Tory cure for all situations. The cure is now to be liberally applied.

We are, on the other hand, still waiting for the T.U.C. to make a statement. Deakin, of the Transport and General Workers Union, who should spend more time looking after union affairs and less in welcoming Tory proposals, has said that he supports "wage restraint". The T.U.C. leaders are still "considering" the position.

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

Not on the staff

Wearing a borrowed raincoat and white gloves, the Duke of Edinburgh took over controls and started a blast furnace turbo-blower during his visit to Port Talbot. He then signed the work sheet: "Philip—turbine-driver—6 to 2 shift." "Direct Action" is in a position to deny reports that the Duke has been given a permanent clock number.

HARD UP BUT INFLUENTIAL

The Eton College Chronicle ("battles are won the playing fields of Eton, etc.") now costs ninepence per copy. Its editors declare that it is "being read by what is probably the smallest, and yet most influential group of readers in the world". They continue, "If everybody who read the Chronicle paid for it, the price would probably fall to a penny."

ment again stalking the streets we have to ensure that there is sufficient money in our pockets to buy back the goods we produce.

In this battle we have to tell the trade union leaders that we expect them to fight with us. The honeymoon period of co-operation with the Tory Government must be ended by them. They must discuss nothing and accept nothing which has as its basis wage freeze. The job they are paid to do is to present to the employers our demands.

Fighting the Tory Government, the employers and the latest political stunts of the Communist Party is a big enough job on its own—without having to keep an eye on the union leaders.

Figgins, of the National Union of Railwaymen, feeling the pressure of his members, has taken a strong line against wage freeze. We expect the other union leaders to do the same—or get out of the way.

DEVOTION TO DUTY!

Reports, from usually well-informed quarters, that Imre Horvath, former Hungarian Minister to London, has "disappeared" since his recall to Hungary were denied by the May 15 issue of the Daily Worker.

They state that, "Mr. Horvath has long suffered with heart trouble. But for his determination to march all the way in the funeral procession of the late King George VI he might still have been here. But after the strenuous march Mr. Horvath collapsed and then spent seven weeks in bed."

Confirmation that the great suc-

DEVOTION TO DUTY!

cess of the Labour Party in local and municipal elections was due, in the main, to a desire "to get the Tories out", rather than to a wave of enthusiasm for the Labour Party, comes from the Tory headquarters.

Quoted by the Daily Telegraph, they claim that, "One established fact is that there has been, broadly, a high Labour poll in Conservative areas and a lower Labour poll in Labour areas. The Labour Party have done best in Tory strongholds."

WHEN YOU HAVE READ THIS ISSUE-- PASS IT ON

As the I.W.W. sees it

UNITY AGAINST BOTH WAR BLOCS

May Day is a day to take stock of the conditions of working people around the world and to extend a fraternal salute to fellow workers.

All the world has been fractured by two powerful and ruthless war blocs this May Day, and the lives 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 led a sort of verbal challenge to Britain's tie-up with the Western Bloc, 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 United Nations survey, has the lowest standard of living in Europe.

New burden

German industry has been getting 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

of the Soviet Union and its satellites, where domestic terror campaigns and preparations for a third world war have been found necessary to preserve the system of exploitation there.

Boiling force

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 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 Korean fellow workers have literally 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

in organisation and understanding of their oppressors. Budding native capitalism and petty dictators (in collaboration with the military, the church, the Stalinists, and domestic and American capitalists) stand in their way.

The most significant change to report in surveying the world situation of labour is in the United 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 unpopular "police action."

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

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

Meeting in London

The 61st anniversary of the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" — New York Jewish-language Anarchist weekly — was celebrated in London on Sunday, April 27, at a well-attended meeting organised by the "F.A.S. (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 Anarchism also found space to express their views—a thing no party paper ever allowed.

He announced that Rudolf Rucker's memoirs, "In the Storm", which the group had taken the initiative in publishing, was now ready in the Jewish language.

The meeting concluded with recitations by Comrades Blacker and Cohen, and songs by Comrade B. Bloom.

May day social

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

Celebration of May Day, said 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 basis—as though that could free the workers.

"We, who have been against war from time immemorial," said Sam Dreen, "have been accused by the 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 Rucker'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 and Chancha II.

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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 Co-op Society, on strike because the management sacked eleven men under the guise of "redundancy."

This action, claims the statement, was in defiance of the Procedure 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 department."

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

SHORT TIME

To give time for talks on the sackings, the workers agreed to work short time while the dismissed men remained on the job. When this was done, however, men were transferred and the state of the jobs 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 honoured—the procedure clause in particular.

2. That all redundancy notices be immediately withdrawn and the E.T.U. permitted to present the men's case.

3. That the Management Committee face up to their responsibilities as leaders of a Socialist Society and encourage assistance from the workers rather than disrupt their efforts as they have done up to the moment.

Direct Action is making history say workers

OVER a period of years there have been efforts to get union organisation at Best Products' Felixstowe factory. From time to time different unions have had some small success—always against the opposition of the management.

Thanks to the work of E.T.U. member J. Hawker, however, the workers there finally joined the Electrical Trades Union.

Brother Hawker's union work—all, 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 no effect, the Works Manager then attempted to establish that Bro. Hawker's work in the factory was faulty, and on May 2 he was dismissed on grounds of "redundancy and inefficiency."

At the beginning of the following week, the management tried to transfer a female operative to the work Hawker had been doing—despite 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 Trades Union, so loyally upheld by the strikers on this job, will be fully understood," says a statement from the Strike Committee. "History is being made in this corner of Suffolk by the direct action that is being taken."

LITERATURE

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