FRANCO MURDERS ANARCHISTS

Two comrades garroted after Madrid frame-up

FRANCISCO GRANADO GATA and JOAQUIN DELGADO MARTINEZ, two active comrades of the Spanish CNT, were condemned to death by a Madrid court martial on Tuesday, August 13. The charge against them was of having planted two bombs in the Spanish capital, one of them in the police headquarters on July 29, where 22 people were injured by an explosion in the passport office. The unusual speed with which our comrades were arrested and brought before a military court and summarily condemned to death has all the marks of a frame-up by the Franco authorities—similar to that by which they sought to pin all sorts of atrocities on another comrade, Ramon Capdevila, shot dead by the Civil Guard on August 2.

The methods of Franco fascism are shown by the following report from Levante, a Valencian daily paper (8.5.33):

"MADRID, 3—Francisco Granado Gata and Joaquin Delgado Martinez, the two dangerous terrorists arrested by the Social Brigade, belong to the Federica Montseny Group of the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth, whose activities are carried out by Ignacio Guerrero Lucas. To this dissident group of the FAI-CNT, in reality the illegal 'apparatus' of that organization, also belong the general secretary of the IVMA. And these are only the most blatant of the many undeniable misdeeds.

The report could be taken as a comic parody, were it not for the fact that on this sort of evidence two comrades have been sentenced to death—and four others to jail terms. This, remember, is what the Franco authorities say in the open. The court martial in Madrid was held behind closed doors and, according to the responsible Paris paper, Le Monde, journalists were excluded "because there was no room." No foreign observers were present.

Our two comrades were executed at dawn on Saturday, August 17 by garroeting—stangulation and breaking of the spinal column by a refined instrument of torture, consisting of a metal collar (known as the 'necklace of death') and a metal column, with a protrusion against which the victim's neck is screwed manually at the speed dictated by the particular sadist whom the State's paid assassin.

Those innocents who help Franco's filthy regime financially by spending their holidays in Spain can think on these things, while they enjoy their cheap meals and hotels at the expense of the underpaid Spanish workers.

CAPDEVILA SHOT—AN OLD LIE IS RESURRECTED

RAMON CAPDEVILA, for years one of the most active and daring Anarchist-Syndicalist guerrilla fighters against Franco's fascist regime, was shot dead in a clash with civil guards at Berga, 28 miles north of Barcelona during the first week of August. Reuter reported:

"A (civil guard) headquarters spokesman said Capdevila was killed in an exchange of fire between civil guards and a group heading towards the French frontier in an apparently suspicious manner. Two automatic pistols and ammunition were found on his body. The group was believed to have been conciliated in the blowing up of television mast in Cadiz recently."

The Daily Telegraph's Madrid correspondent (August 8) added that: 'Ramon Vilà Capdevila, 36, known as 'burnt face', was wanted for questioning concerning the murder of a British tourist, Mrs. Dora Peck, 10 years ago.'

As the Telegraph has seen fit to resurrect the lying allegation that our comrade was connected with the brutal killing of Mrs. Peck, a crime almost certainly committed by the civil guards themselves, we make no apology for reprinting part of an article, 'Franco's Friends in Fleet Street' which appeared in Direct Action at the time (September, 1933).

'Spanish dictator Franco does not lack influential friends in Britain. Among them are those who control the policy of the daily reactionary Daily Telegraph. This paper loses no opportunity of attacking those who oppose alliance with Spanish fascism. A recent example was the armed attack on Dr. Peck's wife at Col de Tossa, near the French frontier, on July 25. Within two days of the incident in which Mrs. Peck lost her life, the Franco authorities put out a story that the doctor, badly wounded in Puigcerda Hospital, had identified a photograph of one of his attackers.

'Just by coincidence, the man they named, Ramon Capdevila, was a well-known member of the Spanish Resistance, belonging to the CNT and had played a heroic part in the French Maquis during the
**DIRECT ACTION**

**INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK**

**Ships delegates shelved**

The campaign to establish shop stewards on British ships is having a very checkered career. The demand was made some time ago by the “unofficial” National Seamen’s Reform Movement, when it was rigorously opposed by the then General Secretary, Jim Scott.

However, W. Hogarth, the existing General Secretary, agreed in principle with the demand and 100 members of the union attended a course at the NUS headquarters for special training.

Pressure by the employers, understandably opposed to shop stewards, appears to have blocked out Mr. Hogarth to have a change of mind. On July 5, NUS leaders succeeded in getting the union’s executive to agree to postpone their plans—much to the annoyance of the more militant members.

Agreement has now been reached with the employers for a new grievance procedure, under which an officer will be appointed to be responsible for all complaints received from the crew while at sea. If his demands are unacceptable to the men, they can revert to the method of reporting to the union officials, first at port level and later at the national level.

We are assured, however, that plans for shop stewards on board ship have not been abandoned. But such militant demands, if popular, never are abandoned. This is not how trade union bureaucrats deal with embarrassing situations; they kick them around, in the hope that in time the idea will be forgotten.

**MATTHEWS RUNS TRUE TO FORM**

Only two weeks after retiring as national industrial organiser of the NU. G&MW, James Matthews went into partnership with a top official of the Economic League. Lt. Col. Eric Davson, as director of a Mayfair restaurant and a class collaboration, employer-worker cooperation and all that jazz.

Big Jim should be well suited for the job, employers love him like a brother. The aim of this ratbag outfit is, according to their official spokesmen, to get rid of the employer-worker complex. Employers call them in when they run into trouble, at a price of course. Someone has to pay if Matthews is to cop in the region of £2–£3,000 a year for his famous services.

**THE “13” STILL ON THE TILES**

It is now more than four months since the 13 so-called “troublemakers” were sacked by Fords, and so far only four have found alternative work. victimisation by the Dagenham management is now apparently being extended by other firms in the area. Union officials admit that there are plenty of suitable jobs around, but these are mysteriously filled whenever any of the 13 apply.

Ironically, one of the men has just received a £75 “ideas award” from the Dagenham management for improving productivity in the plant more than a year ago. Now he is out on the tiles, he will have ample time to reflect on this reward for his services.

**A MONSTROUS BASTARD**

A Nother bastion organisation has been battered by the big bosses of British capitalism. It has not yet been chiselled, graphically or editorially in paper and ink, a year designed for its members and has correspondents throughout the world. Annual subscription for members is £1.

**JAPANESE STUDENTS PROTEST**

The 18th anniversary of the dropping of the first atom bomb marked at Hiroshima by the 9th World Congress against Nuclear Bombs, was marred by the manoeuvres of politicians, exploiting the natural human revulsion against this criminal act.

The Russian delegation walked out when a Chinese delegate rose to speak. The Russians were dutifully followed by the delegates of other Communist states and by the neutral Indian delegation.

Our comrades of Zengakuren (All Japan Federation of Student Autonomies) were excluded from the Congress by the politicians, although Zengakuren, by its sincerity, courage and energy, has led the Japanese to the Rights.

The students refused to let this pass in secret and demanded the right to state the facts to Congress. Police had been called to expel the journalists, who resisted and fought the police on the platform, for 25 minutes, before being pushed off to continue the struggle against the exit. The meeting started 90 minutes late. But the young students are winning the support of the workers.

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BABBING BROOKE'S BILL WON'T HIT FASCISTS

UNDER THE PHONEY PRETEXT of introducing legislation to meet Labour MPs' demands for the banning of fascism's worst racial propaganda, Hor. Maponya's own blue and green boy, Mr. Henry (Rent Act) Brooke has conjured up, with his customary sleight of hand, the Public Order Bill.

Unfortunately, while producing the rabbit from the hat, babbling Brooke also let the cat out of the bag. The Bill, given an unopposed third reading on the Floor of the House on July 27 against the fascists, but—as was made clear—against those who dare to disturb "the peace" at fascist meetings and who practice such heresies as civil disobedience.

The penalty on the former "offence" will be raised from a fine not exceeding £5 or a month's imprisonment, to a fine not exceeding £100 or three months inside.

During the demonstrations, organised by the Committee of 100 against the State visit of the Greek royals, Brooke publicly foamed at the mouth at the fact that royally, Mr. Maponya's Government, with the henchmen of the Ministry of Defence, was considering means to increase penalties for "that sort of offence."

And Brooke has explicitly named the Committee of 100 as one of the groups against whom the new Bill is directed.

This same thing happened during the 1930's, when Mosley's thugs were terrorising Jewish residents in the East End of London with their strong-arm methods. Now, as now, the cry went up for legislation "against the fascists." The National Government provided legislation all right with the 1956 Public Order Act—and for every fascist jailed or fined under it, twenty anti-fascists were dealt with by the law," whose uniformed officers provided protection for Mosley, William Joyce and the rest of the rabble at their meetings of race-hated and Hitler-worship.

Not to be outdone, the Labour Government of 1945-50 was similarly obliging when a post-war cry went up for ban on fascist activities. There was a ban all right—on ALL political processions. And for two years no May Day march was permitted London trade unionists.

Already free speech in Britain is hedged in with restrictions and police regulations. Increasingly, only demonstrations acceptable to the authorities are permitted, to play the Establishment's game by calling for legislation "against the fascists" is to hand over the rights our pioneers fought to establish—because the law and the profits are as one, united against non-conformists like ourselves.

Normalist, or babbling Brooke, can only divide the State with rods to use against militant anti-fascists, nuclear disarmers and others, when they raise the old cry. The way to combat muzzles who peddle anti-Semitic, anti-colour filth is by direct action. Experiments have been tried to do this other way, to know their real enemies and are only too grateful when given the chance, without a whimper of opposition, to hammer us more heavily.

K. H.

Salmon sales boost Canadian strike funds

SATURDAY, August 3, found me selling salmon. Six thousand fresh salmon, averaging 54 lbs., were sold here in Edmonton at $2.50 each, the proceeds going to the strike relief fund of the BC fishermen and Allied Workers Union—Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. The BC fishermen went on strike in the middle of July to resist efforts of the Packing Plants to reduce the price paid for pink salmon from 114 cents per lb. to 10 cents per lb. or nothing. Workers went on strike because the banks can call on the resources and accuracy of the State to prevent them from cutting wages; similarly most other workers can be prevented from producing unless it is for profit for the exploiting class; but the State has not yet found a way to stop the BC fishermen from catching fish. The strike of fishermen then, have been hanging salmon and selling it direct to the public in the Vancouver area. Without the middlemen and the greed of the Packing Plants for profits, the fish have been sold at a price that is more than double from the selling-class tables, while still providing over $50,000 for strike relief.

This direct action by the fishermen really hits the bosses where it hurts and they have done all in their power to prevent the fish sale. Their spies and glops have been turned loose to try and stop this fish sale. The RCMP, who are the Right wing of government, have also been helping the bosses to make life as difficult as possible for the fishermen, who are carrying on the battle of the people.

Encouraged by the popularity of the sales in the Vancouver area, the fishermen decided to bring salmon to the prairies. Despite the efforts of the Packing Plants to intimidate trucking firms, and Edmonton city hall to block the sale by refusing permits, six thousand fresh salmon arrived on Friday and went on sale at half-dozen doz. throughout the city.

Volunteer salesmen from the labour movement were run off their feet trying to meet the demand for the salmon. People crowded around the trucks and, by noon, every single salmon had been sold and people still clamoured to buy. Our comrades from BC took back almost $15,000 to help feed the families of striking fishermen, while the people of Edmonton were shown that fresh salmon need not be an expensive luxury.

As this was written the outcome of the strike is in the hands of a Government arbitrator. The Union and the Packing Plants agreed to a return to work, with both sides to accept the price for pink salmon as fixed by the arbitrator.

BILL GREENWOOD

JOHN THOMAS DORAN, 35, was arrested as an alleged stowaway when the Queen Mary docked at Southampton on August 13. It was alleged that Doran was a leader of the National Sentinels' Reform Movement.
war. This lie... was repeated for several days by the ‘Telegraph’. Then the matter was dropped. The ‘Telegraph’ did not, of course, print the Associated Press dispatch, reporting that Dr. Peck, confronted with an official photograph of Ramon Capdevila, by the French police stated enterprisingly that he had never seen him in his life, though this appeared in the French Press and was repeated a week later, by the ‘Daily Express’. Here are some other facts that the ‘Telegraph’ found it convenient to ignore.

The ‘attack’ took place on a main road, near the frontier, at a spot Infested by Spanish officers, and out of uniform.

Nothing was taken from Dr. Peck but his camera (use by tourists of cameras in Spain is rigorously controlled).

Dr. Peck has repeatedly stated that he thought he was being ordered to stop by police or customs officials.

Juanito El Croox, Spanish refugee, whom the Franco authorities claimed had been interrogated and found to have a waterlogged alibi by the French police.

The murderers continued to take a few days after fascist police had made many arrests and shot down a number of anarchists, in an all-out attack on the Resistance Movement in Catalonia.

According to a reliable report, a Spanish fascist paper in Barcelona published, on Monday, July 27, a news item that two British tourists had accidentally been killed by border guards. This edition of the paper was suspiciously uncensored.

The only people who could benefit from the attack were the Spanish fascists, who attempted to use it to discredit the Resistance Movement, in particular the CNT, and as a pretext to persuade the French Government to take repressive action against anti-fascist exiles.

Now, ten years later, one good comrade Capdevila, whose life was devoted to the struggle for freedom from oppression, joins the thousands of syndicalist militants murdered by fascist fascists. We honour his memory as a fearless fighter for the working class and the free society.

**Asturian Miners Strike**

THE ASTURIAN MINERS have again raised the banner of revolt against Franco fascism. As we go to Press, more than 15,000 workers are on strike, or locked out, in the biggest industrial stoppage since big strikes last year. The miners refuse to work and demand better wages and improved conditions for Asturian miners to other regions of Spain and, when the present conflict started, many had not still been allowed to return home.

The miners' demands in the present strike include an end to the exploitation of their deported brothers, immediate wage increases and longer paid holidays, together with the right to elect their own delegates, instead of officials from the State-controlled trade unions.

In addition, the last demand, is based on the advice of the Syndicalist Alliance (CNT-UGT-STV), the majority miners at the pits currently on strike abstained from voting in the new union elections.

Among the picks by the Civil Governor of the region on August 4, because of strike action, were: Mosqueria, Fonfosa and Maria Luisa, of the Duro Felguera company; Pumarabue of Langreu and Siero, and Sarriegue of the Nazpial Company. The promise of support for the Asturian miners' movement has been given by the International Confederation of Fine Trade Unions and by the Italian Miners' Federation, who sent the following telegram to the Secretary of the CNT in Exile: “Italian workers express their solidarity with the heroic Asturian miners, who, by their united strike for better working and living conditions, are making a precious contribution to the anti-fascist struggle and for the restoration of democracy and trade union freedom.

**Japanese Students Protest**

THE 18TH ANNIVERSARY of the dropping of the first atomic bomb, marked by Hiroshima by the 9th World Congress against Nuclear Bombs, was marked by the manoeuvres of politicians, exploiting the natural human revulsion against this criminal act. The Russian delegation walked out when a Chinese delegate rose to speak. The Russians were dutifully followed by the delegates of other Communist countries and the Indian delegates.

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Pressure is now being put on the employers, undoubtedly opposed to shop stewards, to appear to have encouraged Mr. Hogarth to have a change of mind. On July 5, NUS leaders succeeded in getting the union's executive to agree to postpone their plans—much to the annoyance of the more militant members.

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ONLY two weeks after retiring as national industrial organiser of the NU GMW, James Matthews went into partnership with a top official of the Egonite League, Mr. Eric Dawson, as director of a Mayfair firm which specialises in class collaboration, employer-worker co-operation, and all that jazz.

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**A MONSTROUS BASTARD**

NO OTHER bastard organisation has been fathered by the big bosses of British capital. It has not yet been christened, but there's a little doubt that when that day comes the ceremony will be joyfully approved by Mr. John Hare, Tory Minister of Labour, who has done much to nurture the infant monster.

The new organisation has arisen out of a permanent union between the Federation of British Industries and the British Employers' Confederation. amalgamation has been accepted in principle by both groups and a third employers' organisation, the National Association of British Manufacturers, is also expected to join.

If this fusion goes through, the new body will be one of the most powerful ever known to this country and that much more effective in combating the demands of workers. These and similar advantages were stressed at the unity talks.

**BILL CHRISTOPHER**

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Case Postale 25, Geneva-Phlegy/Ste. Switzerland (CCP Geneva 1 13099)

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Direct Action

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(cheques and p.o.s. crossed and payable to K. Hawkes).

THE GREAT ILLUSION

The extremely limited nature of the recent test-ban agreement has hardly been commented upon in the press, however, the implications of the signatures agree to stop poisoning us and our descendants with atmospheric and underwater tests for as long as their national interests are not thereby jeopardised.

Bearing in mind the history of nuclear testing, particularly the breaking of the last moratorium, the virtue of the agreement has been reached only because Russia, the United States and Britain have once more reached parity in their nuclear weapon technology. This reasoning is reinforced by De Gaulle's refusal to sign the treaty and its outright condemnation by the Chinese. When sufficient further research has been carried out, or enough secrets captured by their spies, the three signatories will be able to join France and China in atmospheric and underwater tests, without even abrogating the treaty.

When such tests are abandoned as they should be, we shall, of course, hear that there are other interests than national ones; this was the basis of American and British pressure over the Russian resumption in 1961. Meanwhile, Russia, America and Britain will continue underground testing, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the building of submarine-launched and nuclear-fuelled strategic forces. The armaments industries in all countries remain untouched.

However, Kennedy and Khrushchev have stage-managed this whole showcharade well enough to fool even those who should remain most sceptical. One would expect Macmillan to make all the capital he could out of the affair, by claiming that the agreement was signed only because of the British bomb, or Gordon Walker to insist that he and Wilson paved the way with their Moscow visit.

The spectacle of CND, too, climbing on the bandwagon, and insisting that their policies have forced the leaders' hands only goes to confirm that the leaders of that organisation are as closely committed as ever to the methods of power-politics. The failure of ILO's putative opponent, the Committee of 100, to offer any fierce opposition to the Committee shows that even the Committee has not yet come all the way towards direct action; considerable vestiges of its days as a political protest movement still remain.

In fact the healthiest comment came from George Brown, who said: "We have had pieces of paper waved at us before." (Since then the party line has changed of course, and Brown has not cared to repeat this sentiment.

It may well be that the timing and nature of the Moscow agreement were determined by considerations other than technology and public opinion. It certainly seems to reflect the growing struggles within the Western and Eastern power blocs, manifested in the current tariff war between the United States and France and in Khrushchev's attempt to use the Hangzhou conference in Indonesia to pressure the West. The treaty is dedicated to the maintenance of the Great Illusion. As long as people continue to think of peace and freedom in terms of politics they will only suffer for it; treaties will be signed and broken at the convenience of the politicians concerned.

M.H.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP—Details from Laurence Otter, 5 New Vatt Road, North Leigh, near Witney, Oxford.

ROMFORD AND HORNCHURCH ANARCHIST GROUP—for details please contact Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster, Essex, or John Chamberlain, 74 Upper Rainham Road, Hornchurch, Essex.

BRISTOL FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS—For details please contact the convenor, Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells, Bristol 8.

LIVERPOOL—Those interested in forming a libertarian discussion group on Merseyside, please contact Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbrook, L15 1QZ.

GLASGOW FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS meets every Thursday evening at 7.30 p.m., 4 Ross Street, Glasgow N2 (on the Gallowgate).

An open letter to the Labour Leader

Dear Harold,

As I usually travel far, in every sense of the term, since I last wrote. Really, these days we hardly know round at the Ward meetings (how that name keeps creeping in, doesn't it?) how to keep up with you at all. After that wonderful American tour, the Russian triumph! And now, the Fall of the Reds in the Afternoon! But Harold, you didn't say anything like that New York Newsletter report in the Evening Standard about how the Yanks were puzzled by the look in your eyes and that they were wondering if you were trying to win the British elections from American soil.

We all considered this to be true, and as such I never mind what sort of soil you use—American, Russian or wherever you turn up next—just so long as you win, Harold.

We followed your Russian tour in every detail and, with what the millions of pounds of stuff you seem to have sold them and the way they fell all over you, we were very proud. Of course, Bro. Grundman had to try to spoil things by asking all the time when you were going to be photographed with your counterpart, the Leader of Bera. I've always thought it was going to be on until Councillor Bott lost patience and explained the matter to him fairly sharply. But did that stop him? Not at all. He kept on asking everyone what the Leader of the great, democratic British Labour Party was doing. He always asked you who would allow no Opposition Party and would shoot on sight anyone who stood against Khrushchev. I don't know the awful ignorance you have put up with!

Mind you, Harold, I was a bit relieved myself that that chap Mikoyan didn't win this time. Sometimes it wasn't him! I told you last time to watch out for him, you know. Now don't be offended, because I know he's a close friend of yours, but since he did for Bera I've always thought it was a bit too quick on the draw for safety. Anyway, you looked very cheerful talking to him at the hospital and I was most relieved that nothing of an argumentative nature came up.

We were all very glad when you got back and, with that uncanny diplomacy of yours, helped old Mac to shift down on the Philby business. Everyone was getting embarrassed about it, what with the Lord Privy Seal saying things one day and having to wriggle out of them the next and then having to admit, like Mac, that no one had told him anything, either. And, of course, any loyal Labour Party member should be quite content when you tell him that there are things that it's best for him not to know and that you and Mac will all know tomorrow. But you should have heard Grundman. I tell you, that man's only a burden on the Party.

He was at his worst—would you believe it?—when you were at your best in the Rent racket debate. Saying things like you were thinking of selling a lorry—looking as if Grundman knew what you were thinking about—wasn't there? And, after all the Councillor's troubles, all that Grundman could say was—it was, as usual, that he supposed that when you moved into No. 16, Downing Street, you'd probably buy up No. 12 and rent it out to Mac and the old lady.

Well, Harold, I'll be addressing my next letter to your Scilly bungalow, where no doubt you'll be during the Parliamentary recess and by the time you get back from that, I'll be just about time for me to send you my usual Christmas card.

Yours, as usual,

JIMMY WIGGINS.

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT—Contact Jim Pinkerton, 12 Alt Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP—meets the first Friday of each month at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbrooke Road (near Notting Hill Gate Station), London, W11 at 8 p.m.

Oxford Anarchist Group

Details from Laurence Otter, 5 New Vatt Road, North Leigh, near Witney, Oxford.

Romford and Hornchurch Anarchist Group

For details please contact Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster, Essex, or John Chamberlain, 74 Upper Rainham Road, Hornchurch, Essex.

Bristol Federation of Anarchists

For details please contact the convenor, Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells, Bristol 8.

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Trade unions in India

Despite the increased pace of industrialisation in recent years, India remains a predominantly agricultural economy. 70 per cent of its population derive their living from agriculture, a proportion that has hardly changed in the last fifty years.

According to the 1951 Census, the total number of workers in modern manufacturing industries was about 2.5 million. Among those earning less than Rs. 1 per day (Rs. 45 million), construction workers, transport and communications, the total comes to about 7 million in a population of what was then 356 million and is now nearly 440 million. It is, of course, to this fraction that trade unionism is somewhat slow to react.

As an organised movement, trade unionism in India dates from the end of the first world war. Today there are about 9,000 unions claiming a total membership of 3.5 million. Most unions, however, are small, 65 per cent having less than 500 members. Almost all are poorly organised and badly financed; paper membership is common and membership turnover is high.

Led by Politicians

At the national level the movement is divided along political lines into four federations: the Congress-sponsored Indian National Trade Union Congress, with 910,000 members in 1958; the Communist-affiliated All India Trade Union Congress with 357,000; the Socialist-sponsored Hind Mazdoor Sabha with 192,000; and the Left-Marxist United TUC with 82,000 members.

This political split is no accident; politics was in at the birth of the movement and has remained there ever since. The original impetus to the growth of unionism came not so much from the workers themselves as from nationalist politicians, anxious to enlist the newly-emerging industrial proletariat in the struggle against British rule.

The British rulers have gone, but the politicians remain. The movement, especially at the national level, is still led by middle-class politicians, who see their organisations primarily as adjuncts of the political parties to which they belong, rather than as organisations to defend the legitimate interests of their members. Strikes and demonstrations are more commonly directed against the Government than against the employers; and militancy is a major trade union activity.

Compared with trade unionism in Britain, the predominance of "outsiders" in the leadership is the most striking feature of Indian trade unionism. There are several possible explanations of their presence, apart from the historical one arising from the struggle for national independence.

One is the fact that the complicated labour legislation and the work of industrial tribunals is in the English language—knowledge of which is confined to 2 per cent of the population, mostly middle class.

Another is the fact that a lack of finance means that few unions are able to employ full-time professional organisers; they rely, therefore, on financially independent outsiders, who offer their services in return for a particular political commitment.

Unions and the State

Yet another is the linguistic and ethnic gap between management and workers that exists in many industries. Indians are divided into many peoples and many languages. The set-up, therefore, may often be British managers versus Indian workers, Marwari managers versus Bihari workers, Tamil managers versus Telugu workers and so on—a situation which encourages the workers to rely on spokesmen of the middle class, who can use the lingua franca of English.

Perhaps the most important reason, however, for the continued presence of outsiders is based on status considerations. Caste has been "abolished" by the Government, but it remains an omnipresent fact of life. Status considerations make it difficult for low caste factory workers to deal directly with higher caste managers and government officials.

Whatever the true explanation may be, the dominance of outsiders is a serious source of weakness in the movement. Unions tend to regard the political personalities of whom they are so often in awe as the real leaders, while the workers themselves are little more than spectators. This in turn is reflected in the attitude of unions to the State. Instead of relying on their own industrial power, they tend to look to the government to achieve their objectives of better pay and conditions. Adjudication appears compulsory in arbitration, rather than collective bargaining, the dominant pattern of industrial relations—a system which puts a premium on quick fixes, rather than on the long-term interests of the workers and the other to help maintain a disciplined labour force.

An informed foreign student of Indian unions has observed that for the last 25 years practically every significant wage increase, every arrangement to keep step with the cost of living, and every major standardisation of worker relations has been granted through the agency of the State and as a result of the intervention of the State.

The trade unions' role has been largely limited to accepting the official awards. In this situation, the disciplinary function of unions has become the more important. They become agencies for transforming a non-industrial labour force, accustomed to collective factory work into the equivalent of a human machine responding to restrictive regulations.

In Communist countries, this is the major function of trade unions. In India the unions are not yet reduced to this level, but that trend is evident in that direction. The general tone of Government policy in this field is ominous.

"The working class," declared the authors of the First Five Year Plan, "performs functions vital to the maintenance of the community. Industrial workers are not to be deprived of their due by the observation of greater regularity, discipline and meticulous care in the discharge of its duties..." An economy...organised for planned production and distribution, aiming at social justice and welfare, strikes and industrial action have no place. But with the spirit of this declaration, the State has the power to declare strikes illegal and is fully prepared to break strikes that threaten the discipline established by judicial decree.

The Pressing Problem

Also in line with it is the much-publicised policy of workers' participation in management, outlined in the Third Five Year Plan. Little progress, indeed, has been made in setting up Joint Management Councils—so far as any results are visible in the underdeveloped countries of Asia or anywhere else. The gap between promise and reality is glaring—but the intended effect is the same in all such schemes: to ensure a "responsible" work force, which feels it "belongs" to the enterprise, while retaining the basic structure of the wage-system.

By co-opting a few union leaders or workers into management, "industrial peace," it is hoped, will prevail. Welcomed by the INTUC, the other federations have been more restrained about workers' participation. Nobody, however, appears to be pressing the radical alternative to such a policy: workers' control. Given the conditions in present-day India, this perhaps is not surprising. The growing force of industrial workers will have to outwit the outsiders and take control of their own organisation before they begin to think in such terms.

Meanwhile, the pressing problem of all industrial workers, as of India's teeming millions, is a full belly and adequate shelter. Industrial workers earn on an average two-thirds of the agricultural workers, but this large difference in income costs more to survive in the towns than in the countryside. (For India as a whole in 1956 the average annual per capita working class family income was Rupees 249 compared with Rupees 121 for agricultural families, i.e. Rs. 18.13.6d and Rs. 9.15.6d respectively).

A recent estimate by the Indian economist, S. A. Palekar, suggests that average real earnings did not rise at all between 1939 and 1959; rose by 33 per cent in the period 1950-55; but have declined on the present "national emergency" over the conflict with China, the situation is not likely to have improved since the latter date.

After a decade and more of "socialist planning," a large proportion of Indian workers live on welfare. The "welfare" system is a living wage. The planners in Delhi see the industrial workers as "the principal instrument in the fulfilment of the target of the Plan and in the achievement of economic progress generally"—but the workers continue to be submerged in increasing poverty, squall and misery.

G.N.O.

Resistance Shall Grow

Full implications of the spies for peace disclosures

A joint pamphlet by the ILP, SWF, Federation of London Anarchists and Solidarity.

8d for single copies or 6s (postfree) per dozen
From B. S. Christopher, 54, Cumberland Road, London, E17.
More about managers

Dear Editor,

Your recent letter from Laurens Otter, referring to a remark in a letter of mine to him, says "we are likely to talk in jargon terms." I mention this in connection with his article in May issue of D.A., "The Root is Still Man" and the reply from "J.W." in June issue, "The Use of Managers". The point in conflict may be only one of terminology.

But if I might quote from Burnham's book "The Managerial Revolution", at the end of the chapter on who are the Managers, he refers to the "separation of ownership and control" meaning "separation of the decision over access, from control over preferential treatment in distribution." In this distinction perhaps lies the crux of the issue, for the latter function will ultimately be dependent on the first. The examples J W cites are to my mind often individuals fitting into the second category—the figureheads. H. Wilson on the other hand, strikes me as a prime example of the first. For in another chapter in his book—Managers shift the focus of sovereignty—Burnham refers to the fact that Parliament, an Institution of capitalist society, has lost sovereignty. Most laws issue from administrative boards, which require a different type of leader—"it is specifically the managerial type."

J.W.'s last point that Capitalism has absorbed and used the new class of managers only strengthens my first point that we may only be arguing on terminological differences.

The dangers arising from the system under which we now live are quite clear. The last war did see a weakening in the "proletariat". It has also seen a young generation grow up which is so cut off from industry and from working people that it has grown and became internationally united through a desire for unilateral nuclear disarmament, that to define what has happened is not alone enough. In D.A. we should seek positive methods of providing this generation with a broad social perspective, in which nuclear disarmament is only one facet. Arguments on terminology are insufficient.

In the article "Stop the Stopwatch" you make no positive suggestion. Should fewer men be needed for a job, this is good economics—i.e. should make production cheaper and therefore benefit the consumer, who in all industries as well as managers, or of the T.U.'s, but if the workers are to move towards even co-partnership in industry, let alone control, then they must learn to talk with their present managers.

A strike alone is not therefore, is not sufficient. But must be used as part of a campaign aimed at securing the sympathy of the public in the area and the ear of the managers to listen to what all of us consider a justifiable grievance—sudden redundancies.

Publicity in the form of literature may be costly, but why do workers not think they are alone? Consumers councils exist, and local branches of sympathetic political parties—e.g. Plaid Cymru, Scottish National Party, Common Wealth, Fellowship and so on could also perhaps jointly help.

If workers forget they are human beings with functions other than earning, especially with a shorter working week, they will always come off, having the same problem as Albert Hunt noted at Marham—quoted by Bill Christopher—"I couldn't find a language".

Yours faithfully,

RICHARD EHLERS

Friends and neighbours?

"Friends and Neighbours", now becoming the recognised slogan of industrial relations, is the theme of "Strike Out or Strike Bound", a new pamphlet published by the Conservative Political Centre.

Starting by taking a look at "Management", it's a lot to say, apart from plugging the co-partnership line, management advisory committees, etc. Underneath all the flowery phrases about workers and management working together, is the all-important statement, "However such committees cannot take the place of management, they are advisory, not directive, and although managers would take heed of the suggestions, the power of decision would be theirs alone." (my emphasis).

Some employers might be prepared to discuss the sack, wage reductions and compensation with the workers, much rabble will pass on the suggestion, but the underlying issue "Management have the right of hire and fire"—and that is the all-important key.

Trade Unions are next for review and the emphasis is tighter centralization. Shop stewards get the usual hammering and quotes from responsible T.U. leaders are played up. The militancy, increased contributions are suggested—such as trade union leaders are paid inadequate salaries, and there are too few full-time officials. The suggestion is also made that unions should invest their savings in industry, through Unit Trust, as part of the "Friends and Neighbours" policy.

Obviously, the class struggle is powerfully condemned. The most pressing need is for recruitment of white-collar workers, says the pamphlet, because they can provide future leaders and professional advisers on wage negotiations and planning. Ford's are quoted as an example of the problem of multiplicity of unions, where "it is normal for the shop stewards on the spot who decide when to press for a wage increase and who look after the workers' interests." The pamphlet would not be doing its job if it failed to mention the Swedish setup.

"Smaller firms", it states, "sell the pass to the shop stewards and in doing so, leave the workers themselves as well as themselves. Unions and employees are valid on this issue: we will decide when we should have a wage increase and by how much.

"The TUC General Council is the government of the trade union world, but it is a government whose decisions can be frustrated, we are all aware." The answer is, of course, that the TUC should be "the governor in the hardest sense", thus being able to crush any rebels (i.e. NASDU in 1961). This section concludes that since the war unions have lost much of their power to the shop stewards and a lot of "middle-class" workers and middle-class men and that, to survive, they must rid themselves of the charge of the class stigma. In other words, the unions are expected to assist in (a) running capitalism and (b) disciplining the rank and file, who have the right to work when the union leaders decide they can get away with it.

On shareholding the pamphlet is understandably brief, but the appeal is for workers to get in on the act—on the assumption that, having invested, they will stand the three-card trick.

The final section covers the other point that could play in the "Friends and Neighbours" policy. In the past, the TUC has failed to set an example in nationalised industries. When industrial relations were bad before nationalisation, they were still bad and where they were good, they have remained good indeed. It goes on to say that if the TUC, instead of agitating for nationalisation, should try to enforce a collective agreement between themselves and the British Employers' Conference, which the Government would make, legally binding. This is part of the process of attempting to get unofficial strikes disciplined under the law. Such action would be welcomed by some trade union officials, though they would not dare say so.

B.C.

Towards Anarchist Federation

THE Summer School organised by the Federation of London Anarchists, this year at Knockhill, instead of Halnaby, proved quite the wittiest, as well as the biggest, this writer has ever attended. Delegates were present from groups in Durham, Glasgow, Bristol, Oxford and the Southern Federation, and by the Sunday over one hundred people were crowded into the quad area that had been Brian Richardson's book garden. The large increase in the number of people attending seems to prove the contention that the growth of this country's anarchist movement is proceeding at a rate during the "Easter Rising" on the last leg of the Aldermaston March this year, was more than just a momentary expression of dissatisfaction.

In view of the growth of anarchist groups outside London the FLA decided it was necessary to set up a National Federation and the form it should take to cater for the needs of regional groups. These discussions were not held in an atmosphere of complete unity, as might be expected at what turned out to be the first national anarchist meeting for many years, and there were the clashes of personality that appear to be inevitable at such gatherings; there was a noticeable conflict between age groups; some individuals felt strongly about the danger of a centralised bureaucracy; others felt it possible to set up a paper organisation.

The difficulties were largely resolved through the spontaneous working committees that sprang up in the camp, and it was finally agreed to appoint Jack Stevenson as a national co-ordinating secretary. Jeff Robinson agreed to chair the Selection of the "Set Down or Pay Up Road". (Contributions to go to 125 Loddon Street, Kennington) To facilitate the exchange of ideas it was decided to issue an internal bulletin edited by John Chamberlain of the Rotherham and Hornchurch Anarchist Group, and a North London Anarchist Group agreed to act as a clearing house for international news. Finally a provisional date, the first weekend in the new year, was set for a national conference to be held in London. For this conference the National Federation structure would be set up. Direct Action readers wishing to contact groups anywhere in Britain should write to Jack Stevenson at 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

JOHN NICHOLS

PRESS FUND June 9—August 15, 1963
Morgan Valley, Calif. A.R. 9s; London NW3, K.H. 81; London SW9, J.R. 4s; E. Moleyse, Sarrey, J.W.B., 15s; Los Angeles, S.S., £1.15s; Wolverhampton, J.J.R., 6s 6d; Winslow, Ariz. F.J., £1.76d; Chicago, T.C., 15; M.M., £1.26d; Rockdale, B. & J.B., 8d. Total £1.04.6d.
BOLIVIA—INDIAN OR PEASANT?

THE peasants of Bolivia are no longer called “Indians” by government officials. Except when the officials get drunk and they can’t control their tongues.

“The government is a revolutionary one, says it does a lot for the peasant. There is even a Ministry of Peasant Affairs. There is also a big Alphabetization Campaign. Big funds for a campaign on the radio. The pity is that peasants have no electricity in their houses and they can’t even make their own radio sets. They have their own music, without commercial or political slogans.

In a region near La Paz, 10,000 Aymara peasants get together to build a dam to hold badly-needed water for irrigation purposes. They belong to community groups called “wharly,” gathered in a joint effort, beneficial to all. The dam is built without machinery of any kind, each man, woman and child carries a heavy stone. The Revolutionary Government fortately shot a documentary film to show to the world the peasants’ efforts, without State or American Aid. The peasants did not ask the Government for help. They had done that before for other things. Like asking for glass panes to buy for their windows. It is very cold up there, 13,000 feet above sea level.

ON THE BARE MOUNTAIN

The highest living peasant community in Bolivia is the happiest. They live on the top of a bare mountain, in self-inflicted poverty. They were a very progressive community when they lived below the mountain. So progressive that they were rewarded with eviction by landowners without reason.

They got tired of becoming nomads and being progressive for others. They decided to go to the bare mountain, where no greed could reach them. The Revolutionary Government came along. It shouted at them: “Come down, and help enact the Agrarian Reform for you! The land is yours! They shouted back: “Shuck your Reform up your arse! We stay here!”

In the salt lake of Uyuni, peasants called the Tomasis live. They are Aymara, as nomads, and they are considered the poorest peasants of Bolivia. Fierce than the community on the bare mountain. They walk for months carrying salt to sell in the city of Petosi. They sell it, buy seeds and walk back to Uyuni to plant their seeds in the little land they have. They never beg and will grow violent with anybody who looks upon them as beggars. Their faces are like rocks, but they have a fine sense of humour.

In the canton of Acharacchi, four years after the Agrarian Reform, they had been a law, government officials went to hand deeds and sell patent plot of land belonged to them. All legal and proper. There was to be a party to celebrate. The Aymara community, over five hundred men, met the officials. They are polite and they listen to anybody intently. The officials smiled and one of them made a little speech as an introduction to the brief speeches that were set up. He stopped to regain his breath for the big speech. A peasant got up and spoke. The peasant sat down and another rose. He spoke. They all said something, one after the other, loud and more and more until it was nightfall and it was nightfall by the time the last one had had his say. No shouting, no angry voices. Faint voices making statements.

The man who acted as interpreter never bothered to interpret. He translated and they all say the same thing. They say they have no need for you or your little papers. They say they have no need to be given the land, because there is no land to give. They have already taken it and distributed it among themselves as they saw fit. They know what they want, they have known for five hundred years what they want. They have it. The officials went back to La Paz to drown their sorrow with imported whisky.

HELPING THEMSELVES

The peasants of Jesús de Machaca are considered the most ferocious ones. They have a tradition: priest hanging. Their community will not allow half-caste or white men in the region. They suffered too much under them. But they grow food for the half-caste children. The only difference now is that first they take care of their needs.

The peasants of Colanca are the richest of the country. They have lorries and tractors and are very progressive. Nobody is allowed to have more than ten hectares. The Spaniards don’t want them to have more than ten. They have known it since the days of the Inca. In the 1950s, they wanted lorries and tractors and the community that had received them from the Revolutionary Government.

A community living near the frontier of Peru is very ferocious. They guard the entrances to their land with heavy machine-guns. A politician, revolutionary, one day went to win them over with smiles. He was told: “If you come, we shoot you.” He went. He was shot, but he died standing. There was a beautiful funeral in La Paz. The bands of the Police, the Municipality and the Army touched hearts tenderly with their sad music. It was very moving and office-workers thought of their girl-friends.

The miners are also peasants. They consider the mines their own to exploit and that annoys the Americans. American Aid is now creating three motorized divisions in the Army. It is the remains of the Ponce division, which is a long way from community land. There are 25,000 miners in 1952. Tanks are the only reply to the expert handling of dynamite sticks by the miners. The Americans want to help Bolivian economy like the Russians helped Budapest.

Warsata was one of the biggest highlands of Bolivia. During fifty years twenty years combated with mortar and artillery from community land. There were 25,000 miners in 1952. “Indian” was the derogatory term. Their revolts were always against the enemy of the community. The peasants one day decided that the battle was against isolated private individuals but against an evil system: the Church and American Methodists. The word of God spells money.

AGAINST THE SYSTEM

From the Spaniards until April, 1952, Bolivia was a feudal country. The peasants lived in serfdom. Virgins had to honour their betrothal. The Revolution started in 1952. The workers were suppressed with massacres. Revolutions were only blows of frustrated, repressed and ambitious half-castes, wanting to behave like Europeans. There have been 156 of these bloody blows in the last 30 years, since 1925. The Bolivians are called “Indian” because they were the derogatory term. Their revolts were always against the enemy of the community. The peasants one day decided that the battle was against isolated private individuals but against an evil system: the Church and American Methodists. The word of God spells money.

For years they silently prepared themselves for a full-scale revolution. But two weeks before they were about to attack, in 1952, the working-class half-caste spontaneously came out to the streets. They threw stones and fired rusty Masuers of 1909 at an American Embassy. They burned them. Two hundred unarmed men would follow one armed man, to pick up his rifle when he was killed. The miners, all peasants, joined in.

The opposition, claiming to be revolutionary, got in because there was no other way. The third day dawned, already a symbol of educational evolution in man, became a model school for peasant education. Four years later, the Revolutionary Government ceded Warnata to American Methodists. The word of God spells money.

PIONEERS IN MEDICINE

An Aymara never locks his door. When he is not in the house he places a stick across the door. Nobody goes in while the stick is there. The Aymara was using quinae long before an Aymara gave it to a Frenchman to give to the world. A Bolivian doctor in Madrid tried it. The quinae is used by Aymara medicine men, a community in itself called the “Calakhuas.” They are as cunning as the fox and can cure most by
The Negro struggle

“A League with Death and a Covenant with Hell”
(William Lloyd Garrison, writing of the USA Constitution)

American Civilisation on Trial (News and Letters, 8751 Grand River Avenue, Detroit, Michigan) News and Letters pamphlet is well worth reading, for it contains useful material. It has, however, some serious weaknesses—as, indeed, has any worthwhile pamphlet. If I dwell overmuch on these latter, it is not because I would belittle the whole pamphlet, but because the chief author is a personal friend, and when reviewing one’s friend’s works, one should err on the side of severity.

“A.C.T.” is so eager to praise the Abolitionists and argue that they held a central position in American history, that it exaggerates the economic determinist view of Northern social development being the propellant in the American Civil War. Thus, out of filial party, it endorses Marx’s conditional support for Lincoln, even at the extent of setting aside his cardinal doctrine in the process.

Though talking of criticisms made by Marx, Abolitionists and leading Negroes, the pamphlet ignores the fact that the abolitionists refused to endorse the Civil War at its beginning and, at its height, nominated Fremont for President, thereby risking splitting the Republican vote, the bombshell that killed McClellan, it along before this fact that, until two years before the Civil War, Lincoln supported slavery—four years before he had campaigned for a Presidential candidate who boasted owning 3,000 slaves—and that his conversion was on the hardly ethical grounds that “inseekgregation was the final, decisive, inevitable and unconditional acceptance of the Negro race to white supremacy” (he is quoted to this day by extreme white supremacist Southern politicians).

Worse still, it ignores Garrison’s belief that slaves would more easily be freed by freeing them themselves than in a falsely united whole (even under the conditions of the war, the South did, in fact, abolish slavery in all its states before the war ended, while the North did not). “Let us now praise famous men and our fathers that brought us up,”

History has generally recorded the Civil War as a war of Slave Liberation. It is worth recalling that the slave trade had been a Northern monopoly and that the first Abolitionist society was formed in 1832. Segregation was introduced through local laws only after the collapse of slavery. So one must judge in this light the fact that, later in this century, popular Southern movements stood opposed to segregation. The “Southern Way of Life” was then a Yankee involution, even so, reading between the lines of “A.C.T.” one finds the record less admirable than do the authors. The pamphlet extols that the National Coloured Farmers’ Alliance numbered one million members and, although separately organised from the White Agrarians, they were suspended by one with the same title. It is a paper that has been often poohed scorn on the American CP for having segregated branches, this is inexcusable.

It quotes Tom Watson, later to turn white supremacist: “You are kept apart that you may be separately fed of your earnings. You are made to hide each other behind a fence or a wall. It is the keystone of the arch of financial despotism. . . . Sounds wonderful, until one realises that the Populists were talking not about Capitalism, but the Gold Standard—and until one finds that Watson went on to say: ‘We are determined that in this free country that the humblest white or black man, who wants to talk our doctrines shall do it, and the man doesn’t live who shall touch a hair on his head without fighting every man in the People’s Party.”

The pamphlet mentions a “consistent undercurrent of radical resistance to racism. It therefore argues that C.o.L. and other Negro organisations only followed spontaneous evolving movements. This work if it begins one’s study of recent events in 1965, but even without this knowledge, the work is worth reading. The Montgomery bus strike had there been that first post-war Freedom Ride, which integrated the interstate buses. Earlier that year Montgomery had considered boycotting its bus service. The power of trying to demonstrate a radical undercurrent is that with the Marxist-Humanist belief in Spontaneity. No court there is a considerable element of truth here, but the pamphlet magnifies it without justification and in so doing spells a poisonous message. This pamphlet is farther from the truth than its attempted by advancing so little, there is little hope that we should ever advance farther. At times the pamphlet is excellent, providing useful material, and a useful critique of demagogues who have ridden to prominence, but at times it is disappointing. But at times it is the sort of history that records W. Brian’s “thus shall not carry Mankind upon a cross of Gold,” without mentioning that it was not against Capitalism as such. It is, therefore, at times disappointing.

LAURENS OTTER.

Life in a kibbutz

KIBBUTZ MAHANAYIM is about a mile off the express-line a three-mile path through the well-colonised rift valley in Galilee, in the very north of Israel. It is a young kibbutz and has succeeded on a settlement where five original attempts failed through lack of water. It is small, though there have been additions to the sixty or so original members, all still living in their early thirties. They are used to hard and sudden necessities are made available in a week or two to major political labour parties. The farming is mixed, they have citrus, apple and pear orchards, grow cotton and cereals, maintain a fruit and dairy farm, and a fish-pot.

In addition to other Kibbutzim, money is not used internally, the children sleep away from the farm, and meals are communal. The houses and kindergartens are pleasantly set among regularly maintained lawns and gardens, with a noticeable lack of fences. The dining-hall is the centre of activity, with kitchens and communal laundry behind. Villas and buildings relics of past settlements, are used as stores and workshops. Care of the children, laundering, and repair of clothes, maintenance of the gardens, cooking of meals are all full-time jobs carried out by members. Another is a trained nurse, and there are regular visits from a doctor, a dentist and a barber.

A feature of this kibbutz is the “youth movement”, a volunteer group of forty boys and girls, aged 14-17, some from broken homes, who live in and attend school a managed by members, helping a little in the various departments, but otherwise leading wonderfully unrestricted lives.

An 8-hour day is worked six days a week, exceeded at time of harvest and other special demands, one of the shortest agricultural working weeks in the world. Work is distributed quite informally by elected department managers, unpopular work such as cooking done by rota. General meetings to decide major issues are held monthly, and the members have a few days in the summer for rest. Unpopular aspects, such as building and cooking, are more likely to be allotted to the youth.

At the time I was at Mahanayim, there was talk of starting a factory. The Kibbutzim are well established in a wide field of industrial and other ventures; one I visited had a shoe factory, another a bread bakery, and there is a small factory producing tins.

And a group of us once attended a concert, in a concert-hall built by a Kibbutz. They demonstrate very convincingly, in fact, theueness that we are told will disappear when “private enterprise” is superseded.

An allowance is given for clothes, apart from working gear, which is obtained freely, and there are facilities for dressmaking. Dress is casual, with suits and jackets only ever seen on visitors. Toilets, which are communal, are available outside each base and there is a monthly distribution of tea, coffee, biscuits, etc. The Kibbutz has a good record library and a pool of gramophones; there is a weekly film and a folk-dancing and singing evening every Friday.

Kibbutzim are still handled in a very informal way; when a baby is born, for instance, the whole community is involved, and a “recerting” back” from the basic tenets. It is impossible, however, to disregard their salient involvement in the emergence of Israel. They were conceived and generated by Zionists as the principal method of starting the modern Jewish State. They proved vital to the defence of Israel during the war following the declaration of independence, and still are.

The Arab countries are persistently hostile, incidents are common, borders are constantly under attack. The kibbutzim, however, are full of political leaders, the swizel example of a Jewish State as an example of the reality of the continually staked need of Arab leaders to destroy Israel. As far as it is possible to consider them apart from this unhappy frame, the kibbutzim demonstrate that people are capable of living in a way that libertarianism have long said was possible.

DAVE WADE.