

Direct Action

WORLD LABOUR NEWS

Inside—Union shelves ships delegates: TU's in India: A report from Bolivia: Asturias

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Vol. 4 No. 9 (27)

September, 1963

Fourpence

FRANCO MURDERS ANARCHISTS

Two comrades garrotted 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, 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 kinds 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 Valencia daily paper (4.8.63):

"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 activist cadres are run by Jacinto Guerrero Lucas. To this dissident group of the FAI-CNT, in reality the illegal 'apparatus' of that organisation, also belong the

● IN PROTEST against the Franco terror, 20 Uruguayan Anarcho-Syndicalists occupied the Spanish Embassy in Montevideo for two hours on August 14. Franco's portrait was hurled from the window.

In London 50 comrades joined in protest demonstration at Spanish Embassy on August 20 and marched to Spanish Consulate. On August 24 nine SWF members staged sitdown at London offices Spanish state airline Iberia: 20 others poster-paraded outside. In Bristol, August 17, comrades held protest Spanish Consulate.

Italian miners, dockers held protest stoppage of work.

three Frenchmen arrested last April, who were the authors of acts of terrorism in the boat 'Ciudad de Ibiza' and in Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid.

"These groups of anarchist action are mainly composed of young elements coming from the Communist Party and partisans of direct violence. They have their headquarters in Paris and dispose of funds from Marxist organisations functioning in France.

"Federica Montseny, the well-known anarchist leader, runs a bookshop in the French capital, which in reality is a cover for her illegal political activities. Her husband, Germain Egleas, heads the activist faction of the FAI-CNT."

It would be difficult to cram more lies into one short report. The details about affiliation of our two comrades are incorrect; we know of no "Federica Montseny" Group in the FIJL; the "Communist Party" smear is the usual one used by Franco propaganda to discredit all anti-fascist activity and completely without foundation; the Marxist funds which subsidise anarchist action are, of course, fictional; Federica Montseny edits the monthly magazine, "Cenit", in Toulouse, and has no bookshop in Paris; Germain Egleas is

general secretary of the IWMA. And these are only the most blatant of the many deliberate mis-statements.

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 garrotting—strangulation 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 protuberance against which the victim's neck is screwed manually at the speed dictated by the particular sadistic whim of 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 Anarcho-Syndicalist guerrilla fighters against Franco's fascist regime, was shot dead in a clash with civil guards at Berga, about 55 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 concerned in the blowing up of television masts in Catalonia recently."

The *Daily Telegraph's* Madrid correspondent (August 8) added that: "Ramon Vila Capdevila, 56, 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, 1953):

"Spanish dictator Franco does not lack influential friends in Britain. Among them are those who control the policy of the ultra-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 and his wife at Col de Tosa, 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, belonged to the CNT and had played a heroic part in the French Maquis during the

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 despatch, reporting that Dr. Peck, confronted with an official photograph of Ramon Capdevila by the French police, stated categorically 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 alleged 'bandit attack' took place on a main road, near the frontier, at a spot infested by Spanish officials, in 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 Croix, Spanish refugee, whom the Franco authorities claimed was Capdevila's accomplice, has been interviewed and found to have a watertight alibi by the French police.

"The murderous outrage took place a few days after fascist police had made many arrests and shot down a number of anti-fascists, 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 frontier guards. This edition of the paper was immediately withdrawn.

"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, our good comrade Capdevila, whose life was devoted to the struggle for freedom from oppression, joins the tens of thousands of Syndicalist militants massacred by Spanish fascism. We honour his memory as a fearless fighter for the working class and the free society.

Asturian miners strike

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The miners' demands in the present strike include an end to victimisation 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 relation to the last demand, it is interesting to note that, following the advice of the Syndicalist Alliance (CNT-UGT-STV), the majority of miners at the pits currently on strike abstained from voting in the recent union elections.

Among pits closed by the Civil Governor of the region on August 7, because of strike action, were: Mosquitera, Fondon and Maria Luisa, of the Duro Felguera company; Pumarabule of Langreo and Siero, and Sarriego and Oscura, of the Nespral Company.

Promises of support for the Asturian miners have been made by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and by the Italian Miners' Federation, who sent the following telegram to the Secretariat of the CNT in Exile: "Italian workers express their fraternal 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-Franco struggle and for the restoration of democratic and trade union freedom."

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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 fight against the Bomb.

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 young militants, who resisted and fought the police on the platform for 25 minutes, before being pushed off to continue the struggle about the exits. The meeting started 90 minutes late. But the young students are winning the support of the workers.

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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.

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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 Economic League, Lt. Col. Eric Dawson, as director of a Mayfair firm which specialises in class collaboration, employer-worker co-operation 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 spokesman, 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 per year for his infamously services.

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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.

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BABBLING 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 bestial racial propaganda, Her Majesty's own blue-eyed pin-up 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 in the House of Commons on July 30, is aimed not 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 for 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 royalty—"our" royalty—had been booed in the streets of London. His strictures against the Committee, Anarchists and Communists was echoed by magistrate E. G. H. Robey, who, on fining a woman demonstrator 40s for disregarding police regulations, announced in court that Parliament was considering measures 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.

The pattern is not new, of course. The 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. Then, as now, the cry went up for legislation "against the fascists". The National Government provided legislation all right with the 1936 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-hatred and Hitler worship.

Not to be outdone, the Labour Government of 1945-50 was similarly obliging when a post-war cry went up for a 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.

Well-meaning reformists, like Fenner Brockway, only provide the State with rods to use against militant anti-fascists, nuclear disarmers and others, when they raise the old cry. The way to combat morons who peddle anti-Semitic, anti-Colour filth is by direct action. Experience teaches that the State will never do the job for us. They 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.

Under the cut-price counter

FOR THE SIXTH TIME on the trot in as many years, Marks & Spencer have reduced the prices of some goods. It would be pleasant to assume from this that big business isn't so beastly after all and that it is because M&S has its customers' interests at heart that price-cutting has taken place.

But in announcing the price cuts, *The Observer* states: "The firm is giving nothing away; past experience has shown that increased turnover more than compensates for reduced prices." Two days later *The Times* gave this foresight a pat on the head by proclaiming that Marks & Spencer's net profits for last year had soared from £21,334,000 to £22,455,000. This "profit statement", raves *The Times*, "can only be described as excellent." "Excellent" for whom? In the last ten years sales haven't quite doubled, but profits have trebled (these shareholders aren't going to suffer from malnutrition).

Now a rat can be smelled among all this price-cutting and profit making. Capitalists are no more akin to conjuring than Anarcho-Syndicalists. The small firms who sell their stuff at the M&S stores have to do as Big Brother Marks tells them. If M&S say prices must be cut, this must be done at the expense of their workers—otherwise M&S may refuse to sell their goods. So, either wages must be reduced or output and production increased.

Workers at textile firms supplying M&S must have been particularly hard hit in this way, as 1s 6d in the £1 was knocked off clothing prices a year ago. Corahs, with a branch in Rochdale (Lancs), does much to cover the counters of Marks & Spencer with articles of clothing. It made only £543,123 in profits last year, after paying

its subscription to the State in the form of taxes. Not a patch on Big Brother Marks, but enough to keep the investors happy.

Corahs employ teenage girls, rather than middle-aged women, because the work wrecks the eyesight. Since the girls are often straight from school and haven't much experience in how to stick up for themselves, the management fancies its chances at getting away with murder. Smoking is forbidden, even in the lavatories, although all the cotton mills and paper mills about allow their workers to smoke in the lavatory. Late comers for work may get sent home if they are more than 15 minutes late. The girls are tackled by the personnel officer if their hairstyles and dress aren't to her liking.

Pressure from M&S to produce a cheaper garment has led to a tightening up on piecework timings. This means the girls must work harder and faster to get the same wage. Being pushed for time, the machine operators can't do as good a job on the jumpers and cardigans, etc. But this suits the profiteer, who wants to sell and profit. If the clothes are shoddy they soon wear out and new ones must be bought. Such firms often try it on, by paying workers less for Waiting Time during shortages of work or materials. This was done at Corahs; disguised under a new scheme of payment for Waiting Time, wage cuts were introduced. Savings are also made by taking it out of the workers' pay when a machine breaks down, or needs maintenance. While bosses behave like this, trade union bigwigs usually turn a blind eye, or agree with the management.

Labour leisurely while the Time and Motion blokes are breathing down your neck! But piecework will always be a menace in the hands of managements. It encourages bad workmanship and enables the boss to tamper freely with wages. Let's face it: beneath their price cutting, the profiteers and factory owners are out to do us. Workers and shoppers alike! No matter who wins the next election, our loss will still be their gain.

JOAN and BRIAN BAMFORD

Salmon sales boost Canadian strike funds

SATURDAY, August 3, found me selling salmon. Six thousand fresh salmon, averaging 5½ lbs., were sold here in Edmonton at \$2.50 each, the proceeds going to the strike relief fund of the United 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 11½ cents per lb. to 10 cents per lb.

If woodworkers go on strike, the bosses can call on the armed might of the State to prevent them from cutting trees; 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 striking fishermen from catching fish. The striking fishermen then, have been catching 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 has enabled fresh salmon to appear on working-class tables, while still providing over \$30,000 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 sales. Their stooges in city hall, together with the RCMP, have tried to prevent the sales of fish by demanding licences. The result was that several UFAWU officials were summoned to appear in court on charges of selling fish without a licence; but the sales went on.

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 sockeye salmon arrived in Edmonton on Saturday morning and went on sale at half-a-dozen outlets throughout the city.

Volunteer salesmen from the labour movement were run off their feet trying to meet the demand for the salmon. People crowded round 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 in the prairie provinces.

As this is 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 Seamen's Reform Movement.

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An open letter to the Labour Leader

Dear Harold,

As usual, you have travelled 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 Rachman Empire! But Harold, we didn't at all like that New York Newsletter report in the *Evening Standard* about how the Yanks were puzzled by the look in your eye and that they were wondering if you were trying to win the British elections from American soil. We all considered this to be very crude and agreed that 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, what with 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. Grundiman had to try to spoil things by asking all the time when you were going to be photographed with your counterpart, the Leader of the Russian Opposition. He went on until Councillor Blott 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 cavorting about with tyrants 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 to put up with!

Mind you, Harold, I was a bit relieved myself that that chap Mikoyan wasn't at his best—inhospital, or something, wasn't he? I told you last time to watch out for him, you know. Now don't be

NO PRIZES—The Hare is running, the Sandys have run out, who now plays with Marples?

offended, because I know he's a close friend of yours, but since he did for Beria I've always thought him 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 shut 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 take care of them between you. But you should have heard Grundiman. 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 that you were well qualified to lead the debate, being a landlord yourself and he kept on pretending that he didn't know how many houses you have—counting them on his fingers and that sort of silly carry-on. Councillor Blott was very patient with him and went over it all in detail, quoting from that report in the *Evening Standard* that showed your shrewdness as a landlord. He pointed out that you had rented out the house you used to live in at No. 10, Southway, Hampstead—prophetic, that No. 10, eh?—when you moved next door to No. 12, the one you bought with the 90 per cent mortgage you told us about on telly. (I did think that made you seem really one of us, Harold) and which is now worth more than £10,000, though when you bought it in 1953 from that Tory MP, Sir Gurney Something-or-other, it was an offer for £6,000.

As the Councillor pointed out, we're lucky to have a Leader who can go into the attack on the Rachmans with a first-hand knowledge of the property market. And then, of course, there's your Seilly bungalow, isn't there? And, after all the Councillor's trouble, all that Grundiman could say—trying to be funny, as usual—was that he supposed that when you moved into No. 10, Downing Street, you'd probably buy up No. 12 and rent it out to Mac and Lady Dorothy.

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

Yours fraternally,

JIMMY WIGGINS.

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

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP—meets on the last Friday of each month at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Road (near Notting Hill Gate Station), London, W.11 at 8 p.m.

Direct Action

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION

Yearly subscription rate: 6s.0d

from: Bill Christopher, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17 (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 escaped comment; few people seem disposed, however, to recognise its implications. The signatories 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 let-out clause amounts to a virtual admission that 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 resumed, we shall, of course, hear that there are other interests than national ones; this was the basis of American and British protests over the Russian resumption in 1961. Meanwhile, Russia, America and Britain will continue underground testing, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the building of submarines, and the development and mass-manufacture of chemical-biological weapons. The arms industries in all countries remain unthreatened.

However, Kennedy and Khrushchev have stage-managed this whole empty charade 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.

But 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, while the Committee of 100's joke offer of honorary membership to Hailsham 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 arming of India. What is definite, however, is that 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 Laurens Otter, 5, New Yaff Road, North Leigh, near Witney, Oxon.

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 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

GLASGOW FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS meet every Thursday evening at 7.30 p.m., 4 Ross Street, Glasgow S.2. (on the Gallowgate).

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. Adding those employed in plantations (1.2 million), mines (0.5 million), construction utilities, 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 primarily directs its appeal.

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 300 members, and are organised on a plant or firm-wide basis. 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 TUC with 910,000 members in 1958; the Communist All-India TUC with 537,000; 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 industrial interests of their members. Strikes and demonstrations are more commonly directed against the Government than against the employers; and electioneering 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 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. India is a country of 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 Telegu 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 Indian social 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 revolve round political personalities, for whom there is a good deal of hero worship; rival unionism is rampant; and political divisions within and between unions are stimulated.

More important, the presence of outsiders results in a lack of self-confidence and self-reliance on the part of the organised workers themselves. 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 and compulsory arbitration, rather than voluntary collective bargaining, is the dominant pattern of industrial relations—a system which puts a premium on briefless lawyers, anxious to make a living off the movement.

In a capitalist industrial society, unions perform two main social functions. One is to express the wage and welfare ambitions of

the workers and the other is to help maintain a disciplined labour force. In India the tendency is for the first function to be performed by the State, through the complicated machinery of conciliation and arbitration that has been set up.

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, unaccustomed 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 the trend appears to be 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's economic life. Labour will be serving itself best by the observation of greater regularity, discipline and meticulous care in the discharge of its duties . . . In an economy . . . organised for planned production and distribution, aiming at social justice and welfare, strikes and lock-outs have no place."

In keeping 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—as in all underdeveloped countries the gap between promise and reality is glaring—but the intended effect is the same as 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 posing 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 oust the outsiders and take control of their own unions before they begin to think in such terms.

Meanwhile, the pressing problem of all industrial workers, as of most of India's teeming millions, is a full belly and adequate shelter. Industrial workers earn on an average twice as much as agricultural workers, but this largely means that it costs more to starve in the towns than in the country. (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. £18.13.6d and £9.1.6d respectively).

A recent estimate by the Indian economist, S. A. Palekar, suggests that average real earnings did not rise at all between 1939 and 1950; rose by 33 per cent in the period 1950-55; but have declined by 7 per cent between 1955 and 1959. With the inflation consequent 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 is not receiving a starvation subsistence wage, let alone 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, squalor 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.

● 8½d for single copies or 6s (postfree) per dozen
From: Bill Christopher, 34, Cumberland Road, London, E.17.

More about managers

Dear Editor,

A 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 control 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 its parents in thinking, hoping and language, but 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 is after all a worker as well. I'm no lover of the managers, nor of the TU'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, therefore, is insufficient. 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 redundancy.

Publicity in the form of literature may be costly, but why do workers always 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 wage earning, especially with a shorter working week, they will always remain cut 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 for industrial relations, is the theme of "Strike Out or Strike Bound", an industrial pamphlet published by the Conservative Political Centre.

Starting by taking a look at "Management", i. hasn't a lot to say, apart from plugging the co-partnership line, management advisory committees, etc. Underlying 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 their opinions, 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 rabbit will pass across the table, but underlying it all "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 TU leaders" condemn the militants. Increased contributions are suggested—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 Poundly 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 normally the shop stewards on the spot who decide when to press for wage increases and who look after the workers' interests." The pamphlet would not be doing its job if it failed to mention the Swedish set-up.

"Smaller firms", it states, "sell the pass to the shop steward and in doing so upset local differentials and damage the unions as well as themselves". Unions and employees are solid on this issue: we will decide when you 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 flouted", we are told. 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 their attractions for the new emerging working and middle-class and that, to survive, they must rid themselves for ever 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 temerity to know what they want and how best to get it.

On shareholders 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 role Government should play in the "Friends and Neighbours" policy. In the past, claims the pamphlet, it has failed to set an example in nationalised industries. When industrial relations were bad before nationalisation, they are still bad, and where they were good, they have remained good. It goes on that if the TUC can increase their power, they should try to enforce a collective agreement between themselves and the British Employers' Confederation, which the Government would make legally binding. This is part of the process of attempting to get unofficial strikes disciplined within 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 Knockholt, instead of Hailsham, proved quite the wettest, 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 quagmire that had been Brian Richardson's back garden. The large increase in the number of people attending seemed to prove the contention that the growth of interest in anarchist ideas that first became apparent 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 devoted the available time to discussing the need for 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 amity, as might be expected at what turned out to be the first major anarchist meeting for some years. 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 pointless 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 take over the administration of the "Sit Down or Pay Up Fund". (Contributions to go to 126 Lollard Street, Kennington). To facilitate the exchange of ideas it was decided to issue an internal bulletin edited by John Chamberlain of the Romford and Hornchurch Anarchist Group, and Margaret Hart, of Notting Hill 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 at which, amongst other things, the national federation 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 NICHOLLS.

PRESS FUND, June 19—August 15, 1963

Morongo Valley, Calif., A.R. 9s; London NW3, K.H. £3; London SW9, J.R. 4s; E. Molesey, Surrey, J.W.B., £1; Los Angeles, S.S., £1.15s; Wolverhampton, J.G.L., 5s 6d; Winslow, Ariz., F.J., £1.7.6d; Chicago, T.C., 1s; M.M., £1.2.6d; Rochdale, B. & J.B., £1. Total £10.4.6d.

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, 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 don't care much about transistors. They have their own music, without commercials 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 communities dispersed all along the valley, 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 forbade the shooting of a documentary film to show to the world the peasants' effort, 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 when everything was in a fine state. They got tired of becoming nomads and being progressive for others, so they migrated to the bare mountain, where no greed could reach them. The Revolutionary Government came along. It shouted at them: "Come down! We have the Agrarian Reform for you! The land is yours!" They shouted back: "Stick your Reform up your arse! We stay here!"

In the salt lake of Uyuni, peasants called the Tomavis live. They are Aymaras and nomads, and they are considered the poorest peasants of Bolivia. Poorer than the community on the bare mountain. They walk for months carrying salt to sell in the city of Potosí. 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 Achacachi, four years after the Agrarian Reform had been made a law, government officials went to hand deeds and tell what plot of land belonged to whom. 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 a bigger speech while a platform was 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, the five hundred and more of them. It was very impressive and it was nightfall by the time the last one had had his say. No shouting, no angry voices. Firm voices making statements.

The man who acted as interpreter never bothered to interpret. He turned to the officials and said: "They all say you have to go. 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 wanted. 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 and the white man. The only difference now is that first they take care of their needs.

The peasants of Collana are considered the richest of the country. They have lorries and tractors and are very progressive. Nobody is allowed to stay more than ten minutes in Collana. You can go through, but not stay. That is during the daytime. At night, one bullet past an ear is a warning. The second bullet never misses. Their riches come from work after they bought the machinery with gold. It was the gold the Spaniards were not able to take with them centuries ago, when knives acted on their throats one night. It was hidden, to be unearthed after a sleep of centuries after the Revolution, when the peasant armed himself. In 1952, they wanted tractors and lorries—and they knew of no other community that had received them from the Revolutionary Government.

A community living near the frontier of Perú 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 a few hundred yards away from community land. 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 peasants were working.

The miners are also peasants. They consider the mines their own to exploit and that annoys the Americans. American Aid is now creating three motorised divisions in the Army. It is the remains of the Army entirely destroyed by the unarmed Bolivian people 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.

Warisata was one of the biggest latifunda of Bolivia. During fifty years, the peasant community built a schoolhouse for themselves almost yearly. When the landowner came back from his holidays in Paris, the Vatican and London, he dedicated himself to arsonic orgies. With each burning of the newly-built school, peasants who resisted were killed. After the Revolution, Warisata, already a symbol of educational evolution in man, became a model school for peasant teachers. Four years later, the Revolutionary Government ceded Warisata to 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 the landowner's bed for a week at the age of fifteen. The revolts 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 country's history, since 1825, the year of Independence. "Indian" was the derogatory term. Their revolts were always against the enemy of the community. The peasants one day decided that the battle was not against isolated private individuals but against an evil system: Army, Church and Government.

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 Mausers of 1909 at an army bombing them with mortar and artillery fire. 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 round. On the third day of fighting, with 15,000 dead, they were discussing terms with General Seleme. The deal would be: if they gave General Seleme the presidency, he would give them the Army, betraying the other Generals. They agreed, but it was too late. The Army had already been destroyed by the working-class, the miners and the agricultural peasants. It had never happened before in the whole history of South America.

The most surprised ones were the politicians of the future Revolutionary Government. They got over it soon; they kicked the General out of their hideout and took power. The working-class half-caste believed in them. The miners and the peasants did not. They took hold of the mines and the land, despite pressure from outside, without any shootings à la Castro. All was forgiven because the fighting was over and now the real Revolution had to begin. They continued it, they are still continuing it. But now, eleven years later, the Army has Sherman tanks. But can one kill the taste of real freedom with tanks?

Bolivia is divided into three regions: Altiplano (cold), Valleys (semi-tropical) and plains and jungle (tropical). The Aymaras are of the Altiplano, the Quechuas of the Valleys, the Creole of the plains. The Creole of the plains is like the Paraguayan and he usually behaves like an anarchist. But the biggest influence is the Aymara civilization. There is the communal system, called the "ayllu". It has been so for 2,000 years, adopted by the Incas, of the Quechua race.

When a peasant does his "sirwinacu" (a trial marriage for one year), all the community helps him build the house. If the trial is successful, the couple marry. The community gives them more help. Now the children will come, as during the trial they use the rhythm method of contraception. They become solid members of the community, with the freedom to leave whenever they want, to other horizons.

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 Aymaras was using quinine long before an Aymara gave it to a Frenchman to give to the world. A Bolivian doctor spent twenty years compiling a list of medicinal herbs used by Aymara medicine men, a community in itself called the "Callahuayas". They are as cunning as the fox and cure mostly by

psychology. A Peruvian plagiarized the Bolivian's work and the plagiarized version is now used as textbook in the Sorbonne for pharmaceutical students. These are a few of the characteristics of Bolivian peasants. The Aymara is stern, the Quechua is jolly and softer.

The Aymara language has the same prosody as Greek. For love, they have four denominations: love in general—munaña; to love irrevocably—munjaña; everlasting love—munawi; love with caresses, physical love—munartaña.

In the XV century, Spanish bishops gathered to discuss in a high-brow manner whether the "Indian" of South American was or was not a human being. The attitude of mind still clings.

JUAN NOVEDADES.

Life in a kibbutz

KIBBUTZ MAHANAYIM is about a mile off the eucalyptus-lined arterial road 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 previous attempts failed through lack of water. It is small, though there have been additions to the sixty or so original members, all still only in their early thirties. They are one of a large group of kibbutzim affiliated to the left of the two major political labour parties. The farming is mixed, they have citrus, apple and pear orchards, grow cotton and cereals, maintain a Friesian herd, an egg farm, battery poultry and a fish-pond.

In common with other Kibbutzim, money is not used internally, the children sleep away from their parents, meals are communal, etc. 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. Various odd 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 a school 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 departmental managers, unpopular work such as catering is done by rota. General meetings to decide major issues are held monthly, committee meetings, covering all aspects of ordinary requirements, held when called for. A firm interest is shown in the development of the commune at these, not without sometimes heated arguments, although even minority opposition to any issue leads to its being shelved.

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 manufactured pipes and fittings, a neighbour runs a Motel and a group of us once attended a concert, in a concert-hall built by a Kibbutz. They demonstrate very convincingly, in fact, the acumen that we are told will disappear when "private enterprise" is superceded.

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. Toilet and sundry necessities are made available in a weekly "shop", 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. Everyone has their own small garden and most are very well looked after. Most members have excellent bookshelves, many follow diverse pursuits. One, an artist, is given time off work to paint.

The Kibbutz movement is a unique example, in its scale, of a non-authoritarian way of life, and there is no indication of its "reverting 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 establishing, by settlement, a 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, border kibbutzim bearing the brunt. The kibbutzniks, however suspicious of their political leaders, have the awful example of a *Judenrein* Europe as confirmation of the reality of the continually stated intent 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 libertarians have long said was possible.

DAVE WADE.

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 Ave., Detroit, Mich., 50 cents). This new 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 they moulder 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 contradicts the economic determinist view of Northern capital development being the propellant in the American Civil War. Thus, out of filial piety, it endorses Marx's conditional support for Lincoln, even to the extent of setting aside his cardinal doctrine in the process.

Though talking of criticisms made of Lincoln 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 and allowing the election of McClellan. It also ignores the 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 "miscegenation was inevitable in a slave-owning society and so slavery was a menace 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 achieve freedom within seceded Confederate states 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 begat us."

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 the South. Segregation was introduced to the South only after the collapse of slavery. So one must judge in this light the fact that, later in that century, popular Southern movements stood opposed to segregation. The "Southern Way of Life" was then a Yankee innovation. Even so, reading between the lines of "A.C.T.", one finds the record less admirable than do the authors. The pamphlet exalts that the National Coloured Farmers' Alliance numbered one million members and, although separately organised from the White Agrarians, waged their class battles as one. From a paper that has so often poured 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 fleeced of your earnings. You are made to hate each other, because on that hatred is rested 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."

"A.C.T." attempts to trace a consistent undercurrent of radical resistance to racialism. It therefore argues that CokE and other Negro organisations only followed spontaneous evolving movements. This works if one begins one's study of recent events in 1956, but long before Rosa Sparkes in December, 1955, sparked off the Montgomery bus strike there had been that first post-war Freedom Ride, which integrated the inter-state buses. And earlier that same year Montgomery had considered boycotting its bus service. This pattern of trying to demonstrate a radical undercurrent fits with the Marxist-Humanist belief in Spontaneity. No doubt there is a considerable element of truth here, but the pamphlet magnifies it without justification and in so doing spells a pessimistic message. For, if this radicalism has always been there and we have advanced so little, there is little hope that we shall ever advance farther.

At times the pamphlet is excellent, providing useful material, and a useful critique of demagogues who have ridden to prominence on an alleged opposition to racialism. But at times it is the sort of history that records W. Brian's "thou shalt not crucify Mankind upon a cross of Gold", without mentioning that it was not against Capitalism as such. It is, therefore, at times disappointing.

LAURENS OTTER.