



THE

Syndicalist

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL

Vol. 1 No. 10

Twopence

People Matter More Than Money. Lets Have—

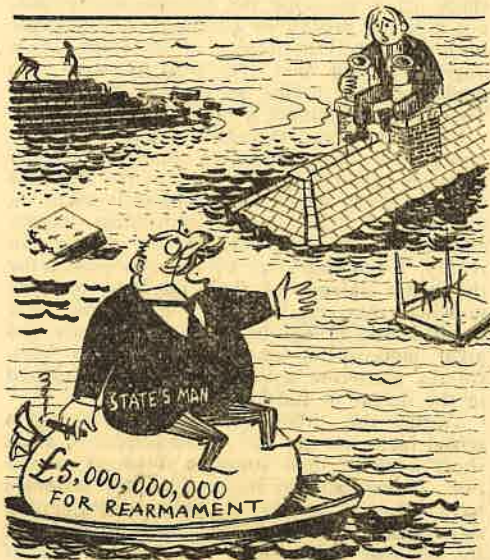
A Floodworkers' Scheme

THE overwhelming disaster of floods in Holland and England must command the sympathy of everybody, yet it would be wrong not to seek a little enlightenment from the catastrophe, otherwise it may just as likely happen again. It was evident after the Lynmouth disaster that something should be done regarding coastal protection, but England, which purchases so many miles of land in foreign climes at such a high price a mile in blood and tears, can apparently never afford to spend anything on its own coastal miles.

It is a disgrace that the people of Canvey Island should have been relying for their safety on dykes built by Dutchmen two hundred years ago, and that elsewhere clay walls built in the time of Henry VIII were relied upon to keep back the relentless sea. Last summer I walked along the front at Jaywick and was amazed at the fact that people lived in bungalows a few feet only from the sea, protected by a very flimsy clay dyke. In many places local people had asked for a sea wall, but the usual cry of "expense" arose. Now, of course, the money will have to be forthcoming anyway, but only to reclaim the land lost.

What is the usual manner of the authorities? Merely waiting for disaster and then bringing the Army in. One might mention in this connection that hundreds and hundreds of soldiers were waiting months on end in enforced idleness in the Benfleet, Southend and Clacton areas during the war. The idleness was deliberate policy, to make them impatient and "raring to go" on D. Day. Nobody troubled then about the sea wall. Why, it had been there since Bluff King Hal.

However, needless to say, as a long-term policy this is not a case for the Army. What



"But we can't afford half-a-million for the sea walls!"

One ten-thousandth part of the sum allotted for armaments would have saved Canvey Island.

is required is a national scheme for flood and tempest. In the first place, it is obvious that watchmen on the sea would at least have

saved many lives by giving warning of the flood to people sleeping in bed. The country can afford to keep a few old men as watchmen for such a job, it is evidently not an anachronism after all—and such an excuse is never raised when it is a question of beefeaters in the Tower—and the possibility of look-out posts, with sirens, on a job modelled on that of the lighthouse-keeper is something that will at the very least help out a few pensioners while remaining a surety for warning if not for safety.

So far as safety is concerned it is a question of building a sea wall and coastal schemes before another such storm. Such a job can go on for ever, strengthening and building walls and protection all around the coast. No difficulty was envisaged when it was a question of putting up pill-boxes and barbed wire to deter the invader, nor should one now. A flood labour scheme could continue throughout the year, but particularly employing unskilled labour in the slacker periods of the year. That there is a vast pool of foreign labour which would be only too anxious to come over and participate in such a scheme is undisputable. But a national scheme is required, and proper rates should be paid, for it is impossible to conceive that Army and volunteer help such as at present exists in the flooded areas can continue indefinitely.

Furthermore in the industries and refineries which were springing up in some of the Essex areas devastated, the workers—had they been organised and vocal—could have insisted that such schemes be supported, and it is to be hoped that when they are working again, with this disaster in their minds, they will not cease from struggle or anti-flood precautions.

Miners A Degrading Offer

A Wage Cut for the Miners

RADSTOCK.

THE officials of the National Union of Mineworkers are recommending to their members that they (the members, of course!) should accept a reduction in wages. Since the last wage increase given to miners at the end of 1951, the cost of living has risen to such an extent as to reduce the purchasing power of the miners' wage packet by over 11/- per week, according to official figures issued by Government Dept.

At the time of writing, miners in all coalfields are being asked by the Executive of the N.U.M. to agree to the continuation of the Saturday working agreement for the coming autumn, if the National Coal Board will agree, in turn, to raise their offer of a 4/- a week increase to 6/- per week for all day-wage miners. This paltry 6/- increase which the E.C. of the N.U.M. are "fighting" for, will, if it is granted, amount to a cut in wages of over 5/- a week!*

In effect, the N.U.M. is saying to the rank and file miner, "We will try to get the wage cut, due to the rising cost of living, halved, if you will continue to produce cheap coal for the other industries of this country." Cheap coal? Yes. The pit-head price of coal on which miners' wages are governed, is only a third of the price asked for domestic coal, and it is the pit-head price which most other industries have to pay, the vast difference between the pit-head price and the price of domestic coal being inflated transport and middle-man charges.

There are miners who still believe that the "leadership" of the N.U.M. seek to protect the miners' wages, but there can be few now who can retain such a belief after witnessing the sorry spectacle of the "phoney fight" put up by Lawther & Co. on the current wage demand.

At the Annual Conference last year, as a result of strong pressure from the rank and file, the E.C. was instructed to negotiate for an all-round increase of 30/- a week. This demand was turned down by the N.C.B.; it went to the Arbitration Tribunal which rejected the 30/- and merely recommended a revision of the wage structure in the mining industry. Legally bound to accept the decision of the Tribunal, but fully realising that such a revision would, if put under way, take many months of protracted negotiation, the N.U.M. was further instructed to press for a 15/- per week increase immediately for the lower-paid day-wage miner.

It was to this fair estimation of the probable rise in the cost of living, that the Coal Board made its insulting "offer" of 4/- per week for only a minority of the day-wage men, on certain conditions amongst which was the continuation of Saturday working next autumn. Even the E.C. couldn't swallow such an "offer", which was rejected and the action subsequently endorsed by every coalfield. Now, however, the union "leaders" want the rank and file to go cap in hand to the Coal Board and beg for a smaller cut in wages.

This is not the real fighting spirit of the British miner, the militant attitude to defend

our wages. We miners must throw this degrading "offer" back in the teeth of the Coal Board bosses and present them with a demand for a real wage increase now! The faint-hearted Jeremiahs such as Lawther & Co. must be silenced, with their wailings of "the industry can't afford it". Let Lawther be told to "shut yer gob" or resign, for we miners cannot afford to pay our hard-earned cash to keep him in comfort, while he continues his efforts which only serve to give strength to those against whom the miners must fight for our just demands.

Remember the much-publicised words of our Sir William, that the miners were serious in making their claim (for the 30/-) and they could, if they wished, bring the "whole caboodle down"? And more recently that the rank and file, in pressing for their demands (for 15/-), could wreck the industry and smash the N.C.B.? Our answer must be, in all seriousness and with the full knowledge of what such action implies, if this is the only alternative to the rejection of the miners' claim, we must indeed "shatter it to bits and then re-mould it nearer to the hearts' desire." If the Coal Board, in fact, cannot afford to pay a decent living wage to the miner, then the sooner it falls the better, so that we may put something capable of satisfying the needs of both the miner and the community in its place.

JOHNNIE MINER.

*Since the above was written the N.U.M. and the N.C.B. have agreed to the 6/- increase.—Eds.

Syndicalism in Italy

ITALY is one of the countries where there was always a strong Anarchist movement amongst the workers, hence it was one of the countries where the rise of Syndicalism on the advanced French model took place in the early days of the century. Despite the founding of a trade union, or reformist syndicalist, movement on the English model, under the influence of the Socialists, a number of organisations remained outside, and finally formed an independent movement in 1912.

This body, the Italian Syndicalist Union (U.S.I.) was quite specifically anarcho-syndicalist in its aims and methods, and took part in the "Red Week" of June 1913. Strikes had been proclaimed in defence of the Anarchist soldier, Masetti, who shot at his Colonel haranguing men to leave for the Tripolitan war, in protest against same. Police fired on strikers and a general strike ensued.

It suffered the inevitable defections in 1914, when dissension arose between the anarcho-syndicalists and certain politically-minded syndicalists who supported the war. Under Alceste de Ambris, the latter seceded from the movement in the Parma Congress (1914). There was a great propaganda for entering the war by various dissident socialist elements, among them the formerly extreme Socialist, Mussolini.

Mussolini left the Socialist Party following denunciations of himself as being paid for agitation in favour of the war. Thus originated the Fascist movement. After the war, the largely anti-war workers moved towards a revolutionary goal. Malatesta arriving from abroad had a tremendous welcome as one of the "Old Guard" of Anarchism.

In 1919 labour unrest was occasioned by the post-war conditions as well as the anti-war and anti-capitalist feelings engendered, and OCCUPATION OF THE FACTORIES was the cry. This was supported not only by the U.S.I., but it was a move in complete accord with anarcho-syndicalist principles. The

workers moved into the factories instead of out of them in the general strike of 1919/20. And by August/September 1920, they were in the factories and running them, as a result of the metal-workers' strike.

In desperation, the capitalists pulled all the tricks they knew. Police suppression, liberal pleadings, fascist adventure in Fiume under d'Annunzio and Mussolini.

The great occupation began in Dalmine (province of Bergamo) when the metalworks of Franchi Gregorini were occupied. "In a certain number of days about a thousand factories were occupied; not a single village was spared. There were about a million occupants. The example of the workers pushed the peasants into occupying the abandoned lands in Latium and Sicily. No *Jacquerie*; not a single act of sabotage; not a single safe robbed; not a single proprietor molested; not a single burning of private houses or of shops. . . It might be said that the workers were too moderate; but events were what they were. There is no argument about that." (Borghi.)

Under, however, the tales of terror that the bourgeoisie fed themselves upon when the factories were occupied, as well as the influence of the Church which looked upon it all as "a mortal sin", the Fascist movement began, culminating in the "March on Rome"—in reality, a handing over by the bourgeoisie for the better defence of their interests, but one in which they, no less than the workers, were crushed first in favour of the aristocrats and great landowners, later in sacrifice to Mussolini's grandiose ambitions which culminated in the defeat of Italy in 1941/2.

During the "liberation" the workers again seized factories, but the Allied liberators made short work of such attempts at social revolution. Subsequent to the war, similar incidents have occurred, such as the great land-squatting movement. The position is now complicated by the rise of Stalinism which came out of the war very well, thanks to Allied help. The

Aspects of Anarcho-Syndicalism

Industrial Unionism

IN supporting one big union, we make a distinction between industrial unionism and the mass unwieldy union like the T.G.W.U. which robs members from all and sundry of its fellow unions simply to build up a large membership which is in general unrelated by its work, and is no more an industrial union than is the narrow craft union. We support the idea of organisation by industry because then effective action is possible in time of strike, and one does not get a division of interest amongst the workers. And it makes possible the ultimate control of industry by the workers themselves insofar as it brings them together in such a way that they can exercise direct control over their production.

Industrial unionism is a tactic similar to that of the strike weapon. In itself it is not enough,

Reading

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SYNDICALISM—THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP

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and the possibility of its being used by a reformist body cannot be ruled out. We therefore advocate not merely an industrial union but an industrial union with revolutionary principles—particularly those of no compromise, no politics and the goal of workers' control.

Such an industrial union is not something in distinction to workshop committees, but instead we would say that it can only arise from same and that in the present circumstances in which we find ourselves in industry, workshop committees arising out of unofficial disputes—with those principles of Workers' Control that are now more prevalent than ever—are the likeliest origin of the syndicalist industrial union, which will come into being as a federation of workshop committees.

At present our task is the formation of purely propagandist groups within industry. The formation of a propagandist body that masqueraded as an actual union itself cannot be seriously considered, because our aim is that the federation of workshop committees (the harbinger of industrial unionism) should be the work of the workers concerned themselves. Only in such a way can it last. Only in such a way can it be libertarian.

Such a body would give the impetus to a drive for workers' control, but it is not that body which we want to see take control of industry, but the whole of the working-class. In certain crises the workers are prepared to take over factories, and by such an occupation of work, social transformation can be achieved. We cannot foresee in what circumstances this will arise, but we do know that without a consciously revolutionary syndicalist movement in being, such a situation could never lead to the classless and free society.

Socialist Party whose defections in 1922 sabotaged the general strike against fascism, has been more or less lost, like the Socialist Party in France. In its place, however, has grown up the Stalinist movement, dominating unions and influencing workers in many places, and creating out of itself the opposition labour movement of the rival Pope, the Catholic unions which in every country are unreliable and untrustworthy.

Anarchism has grown in Italy again since 1942, and the old militants have come out of prison, exile or hiding to reassert their views amongst a new generation. It has been hoped that with the new anarcho-syndicalist influence a new U.S.I. may be formed. The Italian workers and peasants have experience to show them the road to freedom: OCCUPATION OF THE FACTORIES AND OF THE LAND. The task of the libertarian is to insist that never again shall the fruits of such work be handed over to leaders or parties of any sort, even should they have a libertarian name. "The emancipation of the workers is the work of the workers themselves."

A GLOSSARY OF ADVERTISING TERMS Situations Vacant:

- DOMESTIC**
 - Conscientious and reliable essential = *No other help.*
 - Other help = *Large and difficult house.*
 - Comfortable house = *Large and difficult employer.*
- INDUSTRIAL & GENERAL**
 - Above trade union rates = *Wages lower than similar establishments on overtime.*
 - No stoppages = *Under trade union rates.*
 - Pension scheme = *Stoppage from wages.*
 - Permanent position = *No pension.*
 - Opportunities for advancement = *Not permanent.*
 - Might suit ex-Regular Serviceman = *Pension needed to supplement pay.*
 - Lunch vouchers provided = *No canteen to supplement pay.*
 - All facilities = *No lunch vouchers.*
 - Reasonable conditions = *No facilities.*
 - Reasonable hours = *Work Saturdays.*
 - No Saturdays = *Piece-work.*
- CLERICAL**
 - Beginner would be trained = *No Man will take the job.*
 - Male Clerk-Typist (experienced) = *No girl will take the job.*
 - Older man considered = *No boy will take the job.*
 - Married Woman not objected to = *Nobody will take the job.*
 - Present Income Supplemented! = *No job.*
- SALESMEN & TRAVELLERS**
 - With existing connections = *No salary.*
 - Product already well introduced = *No commission.*
 - Additional line = *No hope.*
 - Interesting proposition = *Additional line*
- MANAGERIAL**
 - Able to control staff = *Technical ability not essential.*
 - Technical ability and experience essential = *Position subordinate to member of the family.*
 - Experience secondary compared with good education and background = *Member of the family.*
- PROFESSIONAL**
 - OFFICIAL APPOINTMENT = *You've had it.*

The Syndicalist Anarchist

THE purpose of this outline how this coming to certain basic practical for those it, Syndicalism would the ideas of Anarchism force as well as the of leadership is not

Any group of people syndicalism on the use it for their own to a reactionary party a blatant example where the Union advocating their syndicalism as an alternative socialism. Their obvious, in that they away from other Trade Unions, when attachment to the cases, the Stalinists

The corruption by a handful of people can do little about it has nothing in common by our conception should also like to does not always syndicalism is to be of totalitarianism in Anarcho- as well as point was made clear in the article "Syndicalism pointed out that in World War the syndicalist restricted because it from the Anarchist told us that this syndicalist movement

Bearing this in mind only concerned with their day-to-day struggles, but in ensuring the complete social This can only take place individually. That is individual and social we may well, as we are talking glibly hand and carrying other.

THE other important is, of course, that only be done effectively of those who are THE SYNDICALIST material for public the workshops.

We are fortunate in England and Scotland industrial workers by with good effect. pondents and districts where we are convinced for syndicalist ideal centres in the country

We have no alternative pay our way. So paying our way. The Syndicalist Commission deficit out of their to several pounds a financial appeal refuse financial help circulation to increase of producing this covered so that we the influence of among the worker task?

IF YOU LIKE

The

Who Will Clean the Railways?

The Syndicalist.....

Anarcho-Syndicalism

THE purpose of a paper advocating Workers' Control of industry is, very properly, to outline how this can be brought about according to certain basic principles. But, while it is practical for those who do the work to control it, Syndicalism would be sterile indeed without the ideas of Anarchism to give it vitality and force as well as to ensure that the principle of leadership is not allowed to take root.

Any group of people can adopt the ideas of syndicalism on the industrial plane alone, and use it for their own ends, while still clinging to a reactionary political doctrine. We have a blatant example in Britain at the moment where the Union Movement—fascists—are advocating their particular brand of syndicalism as an alternative to capitalism or socialism. Their reasons for doing so are obvious, in that they hope to attract workers away from other organisations, especially the Trade Unions, where there is still a sentimental attachment to the Labour Party and, in some cases, the Stalinists.

The corruption of the ideas of syndicalism by a handful of psychopaths is something we can do little about, except to point out that it has nothing in common with what we mean by our conception of workers' control. We should also like to warn workers that a fascist does not always wear a black shirt, and if syndicalism is to be kept free from the taint of totalitarianism it is necessary to stress the Anarcho- as well as the Syndicalism. This point was made clear in our last issue where in the article "Syndicalism at Home" the writer pointed out that in Britain before the First World War the Syndicalist Movement was restricted because its advocates did not start off from the Anarchist standpoint—and he has told us that this was true also of the large Syndicalist Movements in other countries.

Bearing this in mind, therefore, we are not only concerned with supporting workers in their day-to-day struggles on bread-and-butter issues, but in ensuring that the main objective—the complete social revolution—is not forgotten.

This can only take place on all levels simultaneously. That is, our emancipation must be individual and social as well as economic. Or we may well, as in the case of the fascists, be talking glibly about Syndicalism on one hand and carrying a rubber truncheon in the other.

THE other important purpose of a paper is, of course, to keep going, and this can only be done effectively with the co-operation of those who are interested in the work of THE SYNDICALIST, by supplying suitable material for publication and distributing it in the workshops.

We are fortunate in having comrades in England and Scotland who are not only industrial workers but can also wield their pens with good effect. But we badly need correspondents and distributors in South Wales, where we are convinced there is a fertile field for syndicalist ideas, as well as in all industrial centres in the country.

We have no advertising revenue to help us pay our way. So at the moment we are not paying our way. The members of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Committee are making up the deficit out of their own pockets and it comes to several pounds per month. We don't make a financial appeal, but most certainly never refuse financial help. What we want is for our circulation to increase so that the modest cost of producing this little paper is more than covered so that we can enlarge it and increase the influence of anarcho-syndicalist ideas among the workers. Will you help us in this task?

IF YOU LIKE

The Syndicalist

DISTRIBUTE IT!

VERY curious ideas about the status of the workers are prevalent among the professional classes, who are keen enough to preserve their own status and could hardly lecture on "restrictive practices" without hypocrisy. In the *Manchester Guardian* there has been a long correspondence—largely from professional people—on the subject of keeping the railways clean. Solicitors and architects and others (who would be very concerned if anyone else infringed their preserves—it has, for instance, been pointed out that Jehovah is making an actionable statement if he claims to be "Architect of the Universe"—he should have a qualified architect to take the credit) have all engaged in the pleasant task of cleaning the railways—on paper. Easy enough, let the engine-driver take a brush and the fireman get a broom while the ticket-clerk uses a mop and the porter has a duster. . . . The railway shareholder is never mentioned, of course, but one bright spark even suggested that the problem of cleaning a Manchester station was easily solved—the Fire Station was just opposite and what could be simpler than for the Fire Brigade to do the job in its spare time!

I do not know what the said gentleman thought the function of the Fire Brigade was, but no doubt he would be the first to complain if when his office was burning he was told that he had better keep the fire going for a

bit, as they were all over at the railway station sweeping up his cigar-ends. The cool impudence of the suggestion, however, is one that sums up the middle-class attitude to such problems perfectly. The Fire Brigade have no more, no less, to do with the cleanliness of the railway than the Stock Exchange. No doubt he regards the first as a service to the community and the latter not—with which we agree so heartily as to embarrass him. But surely if railway cleaning is a "public service", why could not the shareholders do it? The speculators could well afford a few hours from their labours!

But when one considers the question seriously, it is quite obvious where the solution lies to-day, and that is in making the job of a railway cleaner worth while. It is a job that lands itself easily to part-time work and there are no lack of applicants to-day for better-paid work. It is because railway-cleaners' pay is not such as to attract more people that the railways are less clean than they could be. And it is significant to note how much more pleasant the smaller stations are, where the staff has the opportunity for engaging in a little gardening and where flower beds brighten the place. For there the workers have a little more freedom than they have in the larger stations. Which suggests that a great deal will be altered when the workers take control.

FRANK LEECH

TOO late to be dealt with in our January number came the sad news of the death of our comrade, Frank Leech. In "Big Frank" our movement has lost one of its militant pioneers, and a great number of us have lost a good friend. He died in his home at Glasgow, suddenly, aged 53.

Although a Lancashire man by birth, Frank lived for most of his life in Glasgow, where he was an active member of the Anarchist movement, well known to a large number of Clydeside workers. After (as he used to put it) "being mug enough to go into the Navy" (where he was better known as a heavyweight boxer), Frank came out to be an active anti-militarist ever after. He went into the Anti-Parliamentary Communist (council-communist) movement, from which he graduated to Anarchism. Always a protagonist of getting propaganda to where it meant something—amongst the working-class—Frank Leech was tireless over many years in speaking, giving practical aid to unofficial strikers, and issuing papers and pamphlets.

In 1936 when the Spanish struggle came he threw in his whole time, in the intervals between what was necessary to make a living, in an effort to render the maximum possible aid. One also recalls his help to German comrades, and his later co-operation (1939) with those "on the run". Above all, Frank Leech stood for the Anarcho-Syndicalist viewpoint, and it was his constant endeavour that this be popularised. He was delighted when THE SYNDICALIST appeared; it had always been his cherished idea that an exclusively industrial, revolutionary syndicalist paper was possible, and he was from the first an enthusiastic supporter.

The numbers of London comrades who have received hospitality from Frank at one time or another will all testify to the encouragement they felt when walking around with Frank on

his home ground—so many workers knew him, and greeted him, and one really felt that here was a man who was getting the message home. The long years of patient work that have been put in by our Glasgow comrades, both of the past and the present, will not be lost, and in honouring Frank Leech, whom we down here knew so well for so many years as a bulwark for so much (both in propaganda and solidarity work), we salute all those who have with him paved the way to the Free Society which shaped their own lives even if they did not live to see it.

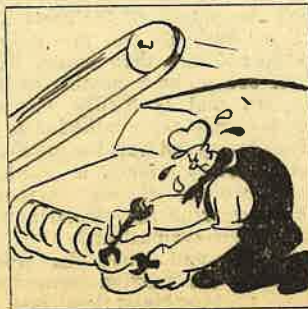
I cannot resist at least one anecdote about Frank. It was when he was summonsed for not obeying the firewatching order during the war at the, then running, Anarchist Bookshop, but he refused to pay the fine. "There is no alternative," said the magistrate, "If you do not pay the fine the police will seize your stock and sell it." "Ah," said Frank, "That means the police are going to sell our Anarchist pamphlets!" Unfortunately, we did not get the spectacle of bobbies going along Sauchiehall Street with our literature! A.M.

Thanks Again, Comrades

IN our issue of last September, we mentioned a reference that had been made in the *Socialist Leader* (organ of the I.L.P.) to the achievements in workers' control of the Spanish workers, with their long syndicalist tradition, during the Civil War period.

Our note was answered a few weeks back by Wilfred Wigham in his *Trade Unionists' Notebook* and we once again say "Thanks" to the *Socialist Leader* for the very generous write-up and double-page spread given to THE SYNDICALIST, including a quote from our first number and an appreciation of the articles by our miner comrade, "Johnnie Miner".

SCISSOR BILL



The Way to Go Home

Solidarity Wanted!

IF there is any one factor that weakens the workers' resistance more than any other, it is the lack of solidarity both inside and outside the place of work.

We Syndicalists never tire of labouring the point that organisation should take place

Painters, Organise!

EDINBURGH.

OF the many tradesmen who look upon slumps and unemployment as a law of nature few hold the unenviable position of the painters. Starting usually a month or so before Christmas, the "pay-off" goes on all through the winter months, the painter who manages a week here and a fortnight's work there considering himself one of the lucky ones. This is nothing new to the painters, strange then is it not that nothing is ever done to put an end to the boss who hires and fires at will?—annually! There may have been an odd comment or two made at branch meetings at some time or other but this seems to be one of the main problems and should have priority in any painters' society. It hardly seems as if discussions re wages, etc., will raise much enthusiasm if the painters are unemployed, but it is up to the painters themselves to bring this matter to the fore and to see that something is done about it.

While not professing to be an authority on house painting it must, I think, be admitted that the equipment necessary to put painters to work could easily be purchased by the painters' societies and a drive made to take over the work from the bosses. The work could then be spread over the year in a manner acceptable to the men themselves. We all know how the painter in hard times goes out jobbing and, provided he has the necessary materials, no boss is needed to tell him what to do, he gets his instructions from the customer. Is it not a fact then that the next step calls for: (1) organisation to cut out the dozens of petty tyrants; (2) for the painters as a body to make direct contact with the customers, and (3) for the painters to prove that Workers' Control is the only way out.

T.O.M.

"Amend" the Rules?

I READ with interest the article by "R.E.M." on "Printing", especially the first part, but am surprised at his closing suggestions that "the model rules should be amended" for I do not think that the mere amending of the rules can ever make a reformist trade union into the kind of workers' association that can transform industry.

The traditional form of organisation called the "Chapel", with "Father" and "Clerk" is a salutary reminder of the persistence of the mediaeval craft guild in modern industry. There is a lot to be said for it as regards pride in craft, but in order to bring one big union for the printing industry, incorporating all those other crafts he mentions, surely a more modern outlook is necessary.

And as regards his point 6—this in fact underlines the difficulty confronting the industrial unionist, in that when he suggests the "Chapel funds" should not be used for sick benefits, etc., he is right as regards revolutionary unionism but the workers do need such friendly societies. Perhaps there may arise a dual unionism which would be entirely for the good—on the one hand the friendly society form of the trade union, on the other hand the revolutionary syndicate for action now and for presenting schemes for workers' control. If revolutionary syndicalism developed trade unionism might not disappear, but would

Read:.....

FREEDOM

The Anarchist Weekly, 3d.
From: Freedom Press, 27 Red Lion Street,
London, W.C.1.

at the point of production, but all too frequently it is the workers in the various industries themselves who allow the boss to use them one against the other—sometimes to the point of stratification of the whole workshop.

To return from the abstract to my own experience. Master bakers are generally agreed on one thing, and that is that there is little or no profit in bread. Other differences they may have, but this is thrust at the worker on every possible occasion, adding, of course, "that if it were not for the cakes and confectionery we should be even nearer the workhouse than we are."

It is common knowledge in the trade, and, I should think outside of it there is far more profit in the fancy stuff than in the staff of life. Employers trade on this and while treating their "doughies" with contempt, the cook on the other hand is made to feel that he is a much superior being.

The bait is offered and I am sorry to say

Insult Money for Seamen!

TOM Yates, general secretary of the National Seamen's Union, has written to the Polish Ambassador in London protesting at the treatment given to seamen in a ship which has put into Gdynia six times in seven months. Sailors have been treated worse than criminals, and not only is the ship searched but so are the crews' effects while they are herded together in a cabin, and even their letters are read, while letters home are sent to Warsaw for censorship.

What with the vicious treatment doled out by the so-called Communists of Poland and Russia, and the treatment doled out by American capitalists, seamen certainly take the can back. Under McCarran's regulations they are cross-examined to know of their "criminal" associations as well as being asked about political beliefs (though Republicanism is almost seditious in England!) The seaman's lot has almost gone back to the days when he was the butt of every despot, every pirate, every freebooter. He faces severe danger in

in a great many cases swallowed, whilst too often the bread-baker accepts himself at the boss's valuation. All too frequently as well he will allow himself to be jealous of the roundsman, and the latter will consider it beneath his dignity to pass the time of day with the somewhat grimy and floury baker.

Or to take another aspect of the matter, somebody on the inside staff will contract an illness and after apparently wearing the doctor down, returns to work half-fit, with the advice that he should find a light job in the factory somehow. Being human—and sensible—he will take it as easy as he can for as long as he can, until he comes up against the remark that "this is not a convalescent home, and I'm not carrying you around all night!"

No, Bill or Jack will not carry his own workmate, who has been ill for perhaps a few nights, but the boss, the parson, the politician, the civil servant, the policeman and all the other encumbrances can be carried around on broad or narrow shoulders seemingly for ever and a day!

In conclusion, I must say that I am aware that there are many who do not act in this way, but how comes the boss class where it is if the number who do is not considerable?

war and the restrictions and insults that go with modern so-called peace.

And yet one has to ask oneself: Where would these two-faced political crooks who bully the seaman be without him? A trite enough remark but true—and it leads one to the next question—where would they be if he decided to let them do without him? By vigorous militant action the seaman can determine a great deal of his conditions. Port-workers sometimes get "dirty" money. Seamen might well press for "insult" money from certain ports. The consequent increase in freight charges would speak louder than diplomatic protests.

DEBATE

"SOCIALISM OR ANARCHISM"

Speakers:

Tony Turner
(Socialist Party of Great Britain)
Philip Sansom
(London Anarchist Group)

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have as little to do, perhaps, with the original purposes of trade unionism as the Freemasons have with building. L.B.

EDITORS NOTE:

Not all articles we publish coincide entirely with the editorial point of view. Many points have to be thrashed out, and we publish views we don't necessarily agree with in order to stimulate discussion and controversy.

Militants or Commies?

ACCORDING to the Hackney Gazette (4th February), the Dalston busmen should not complain at being called Communists by the said paper. "They still glory in being 'militant' and most of us know what the word 'militant' connotes in the trade union world."

This is a fine instance of how the bourgeois press helps the Commies while seeking to condemn them. It seeks to say that every Communist is a militant and every militant a Communist!

A large enough percentage of Stalinists are not and cannot be militants for the simple reason that they do not earn their living. The Red Dean may, of course, be a member of the Church Militant but that is hardly what is meant. And to say that every militant is a Stalinist is absurd—during the war, for instance, the Stalinists dubbed every militant a Trotsky-Fascist! While I wonder if the Hackney Gazette editor has ever read the official Lenin denunciation of anarcho-syndicalism?

He would certainly find what the word "militant" connoted to the Russian hierarchy! London. INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST.