



..... September 1952

# THE Syndicalist

## FOR WORKERS' CONTROL

Vol. 1 No. 5 ..... Twopence

When We Discover Our Own Strength--

## Do We Need Leaders?

FREDERICK the Great of Prussia is reputed to have once said, "If all my soldiers could think, not a man would remain in the ranks." The function of soldiers is most certainly not to think—not to reason why, but to do and die—and in modern industrial society, is the position of the worker very different?

How often are workers told "You're not paid to think, you're paid to do as you are told?" But how often do they themselves stop to consider just how contemptuous a remark that is? It places a human being in the category of an unthinking beast of burden, incapable of taking responsibility for his own actions, fit only to be a servile tool for others.

Is this how we think of ourselves? Ask any fellow worker *personally*, and he will hotly deny it, and yet on the political, industrial and social levels, his actions imply a confession of his own feebleness and inability. After all, when we vote for a politician, we are in fact saying, "We are a bunch of mugs who don't know how to run our own affairs—please come and run them for us." And in Trade Union matters, in voting for and paying the multitude of officials to run our organisations for us, we are admitting that we are incapable of even approaching our own boss to ask for a just demand!

In fact, of course, it doesn't work out quite like that. Workers just do not pass over all responsibility to their leaders—the great mass of unofficial strikers are testament to that. But when they do use their own initiative, take responsibility into their own hands, and act in their own interests—then what a squawk goes up from all sides against them—and not least from their own "leaders".

The real danger in the unofficial strike, from the employers' point of view, is not that the workers may win whatever the dispute is

**Unionism .....**

### E. T. U. Leadership Lets Down the Meter Readers

AS a sequel to the introduction of snoopers last January, to check on alleged slacking by London Electricity Board meter readers, the LEB has sacked 26 men.

At a meeting of the London Shop Stewards Committee, a vote was taken to give the necessary seven days' strike notice (to meet the 1875 Public Utility Act) in protest against the dismissals. But the London District Council of the Electrical Trades Union sent telegrams to the Depots forbidding strike action pending a meeting of the District J.I.C.

Why? At the ETU's conference this year, President Foulkes pledged support for any sacked meter readers, but when it comes to it, the Executive of this Communist-led "militant" union prevent rank and file action. Can it be because among the 26 selected by the LEB for first dismissal were some non-Communist militants that the Executive were quite pleased to see out of the way?



"But SOMEBODY must tell me what I want!"

about, but that they may discover their own strength—and that it is their *own* strength, not the strength of their union official. This same danger is apparent to the union official

himself, whose very job is at stake. If the workers find out that they can get on as well without a go-between, they very naturally ask themselves why they should keep another parasite on their backs?

Thus it is that both unionists and bosses unite to condemn the unofficial striker and make appeals to his honour and decency in keeping the agreements made for him by his "elected and accredited representatives." *Because they both want the worker to look to somebody else to tell him what is best for him. They want him to follow a leader.*

There are plenty of signs, however, that workers are becoming impatient with those who tell him what they should and should not do. The growing apathy and discontent with the official unions, the emerging of unofficial and semi-official committees, the increasing number of "nons", these are all indications that there is something rotten in the state of Transport House. So far it is almost entirely unconscious, indicating more a discontent with what is, than a conscious effort to make something better. But dissatisfaction with the present has always preceded social change for the better, and the real danger lies in an insufficient grasp of what is wrong with the present.

It will not be enough, for example, for the workers to merely change their unions—as dockers have done in swinging over from the "White" to the "Blue". Nor will it be enough to think in terms of new political parties to

Continued on p. 4

The Mines .....

## The Sell-Out

RADSTOCK

IN spite of substantial increase in coal production per man shift since 1947, the standard of living of the average miner in this country has suffered a fall of about 10/- per week. While the British miner's output of coal per shift has been rising—up by 13 per cent. compared with 1947, he has become worse off, for his wages in terms of actual purchasing power are down by almost 10 per cent.

How this state of affairs came about—to have happened to one-time militant workers who "enjoy" 100% union membership in the industry is a mystery to those miners who see nothing wrong in submitting tamely to the continual sell-out of the miners' true interests by their union "leaders".

From the time that N.U.M. officials scuttled the five-day agreement by persuading the rank and file miner to work the "voluntary" Saturday shift, with the conclusion of the totally inadequate pension scheme, to the more recent fiasco of obtaining two week's holiday for the miner and then pledging in advance the word of the mining community to only take one week's actual holiday, the sorry record of such leaders is coming to stink in the nostrils of an ever-growing number of the membership of the N.U.M.

The rot must be stopped in the mining industry if working conditions and wages are to be protected, not to mention improved.

The lip-service now being paid by some union bosses, of the need to defend the miners'

standard of living against the encroachments of rising costs and direct Tory cuts has a hollow ring when it is remembered that the rot first set in when "our" Government was in power. The duplicity and chicanery of the well-paid "servants" of the membership must be repudiated if the lost ground is to be regained. The current demand forced upon a reluctant leadership for a wage increase of 30/- a week must be pressed with vigour and backed by direct action, if the loss in real wages is to be offset and a share in the rewards of increased production obtained. With this must go the demands to put an end to the annual drain of wealth in the form of compensation payments to the old coal bosses, no more concessions to the arrogant ex-owners on the National Coal Board. No more overtime working while miners fail to receive a living wage for the five-day week.

In the hard fight that undoubtedly lies ahead, the mineworkers of Britain must needs regain the spirit of militancy—of direct action, not only to struggle to defend and improve their standard of living, but also to proclaim the revolutionary aim of taking over the control and management of the mining industry into their own hands.

For the final emancipation of the miners of the working-class, of the whole of humanity, revolves round the important question of workers' control of the means of production and distribution—the means whereby they live.

JOHNNIE MINER.



# Workers' Control and the Wage System

WHEN we declare our opposition to reformism, we do not mean that we oppose reforms, and obviously any crumb is better than no bread at all. What we oppose is the devotion of the labour movement to the reformist principle, thus gradually taking over from the middle-class do-gooders, and even (as has happened above all in England) letting those people in turn take over the direction of the labour movement politically, on the grounds that they will thus manage to achieve a few parliamentary and other reforms here and there. The result of this action is that in the end we get some reforms, but no social change-over such as the labour movement was originally created for.

The new labour movement we hope as syndicalists to achieve is one that will help to bring about that new society, and will therefore not be one concerned with political reformism. At the same time reforms can be obtained without recourse to parliamentary action. The fact of the matter is that the ruling-class, when faced by its subjects in a revolutionary mood, is only too prepared to give them reforms in an effort to appease them. Through industrial action social amelioration can be obtained, not only in wages, but also in many other concessions—compare some of the strikes in and since the war made for liberty rather than economic gains (railwaymen's and dockers' strikes against police action, for instance). When we call ourselves anti-reformists we do not believe we should not act to stop such action. What we say is that a Society for the

Prevention of Police Snooping on the Railway will waste a lot of time and achieve nothing. The action of the railwaymen can do the job in one quick strike.

Similarly, although we believe that in the capitalist system it is necessary to achieve wage increases, this does not mean that we believe in the wage system. Whatever we think, the wage struggle continues in the factory in any case. The organisms that arise in the workshop are created mostly on this issue. What we claim is that these organisms should be freed of political control altogether and made instead a movement by which workers' control of the place of work might ultimately be achieved. As they represent the people doing the job, in them lies the possibility of control being carried out by the workers themselves. Workers' control can only go hand-in-hand with the abolition of the wages system. The idea of different wage rates operating if workers were controlling different places of work is unthinkable. It is impossible to decide which job merits which rate. Instead we put in its place

the principle of common ownership—each taking from the community what he needs and giving to the pool of work what he is able.

Syndicalism is therefore the system of workers' control which is operated by the workers themselves, and created by the organisms which they build spontaneously in order to fight the wages struggle, but which take over when the wages system ends and the employing caste are no longer dominant. Because, however, we are alive to the dangers of political control, which might replace the capitalist order, we take our stand against all forms of authority, whether it claims to be representing the masses or not. This, of course, is anarchism ("no governmentism") and explains the name "anarcho-syndicalist". Syndicalism, like socialism, has been used as a name by a great many people to cover a great many points of view, but the name Anarcho-Syndicalism has this plain meaning of workers' control of the places of work, absence of government, and the decentralisation of social affairs to the commune. A.M.

THE Post Office is an industry that can be taken over by them if they wished to do so. It believes that the capitalist didn't finish the Post Office would entertain the equal claim that it is run by the State.

It is certain that the Post Office, but you will be delivered by morning coat or politician has given telephoning. The collection and distribution of telegrams, parcels—vices as telephones, communications—is workers on the job of a higher caste than out doing any work.

In short, while the Post Office, it is readily be dispensed with as with other anything into the way, of course, of so they possibly pretend fold work that is which by and large One, the man who lecting and delivering and re-distributes; t engineer connected broadcasting or te knowledge to allow

A variety of union may be lumped together and they have never demands felt in a vi in which nevertheless in the so-called low principle is precisely pivot of it all—viz., to put a sack on letters—is to be the The syndicalist pr combine in the one to betterment of co should be no less industry. Postal w anyone else in the c not necessary, and remedy. Unlike the out flags when th nationalised—it was

## The Docks

### Voluntary

WHAT is called being kept ve the London docks, has assumed alarming last few months. T keeps all statistics a dockers on the pool but it is unofficially per cent. of London on" some days.

In fact the reduction is so great that many of the threatened "pu declaring themselves industry. In the S estimated that between men are handing in

In Manchester, too ring. Since the be 500 dockers have Salford docks out o Workers with lar more from national guaranteed basic u casualisation scheme

### IF YOU LIKE

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## History • • • • •

### Syndicalism in Spain

OF the various syndicalist movements created by the workers in many different countries early in the century, the one which had the most far-reaching consequences was the Spanish. This was because the Spanish workers in the main had adopted anarchist principles already. The reason for their forming a syndicalist movement was to put those anarchist principles into practice. Thus, Spanish anarcho-syndicalism never came into the hands of reformists, as French syndicalism did to its cost.

Like all other revolutionary labour movements, the Spanish workers in the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labour) adopted both the industrial and the social strike. Not only did they use lightning strikes in the struggle for wages increases, but they struck in defence of elementary social principles: for instance, against the war in Morocco. They sabotaged the building of the great prisons Spanish reaction needed to oppress its people—one famous instance is the women's prison in Barcelona whose bricks and mortar vanished nightly and which was finally only built by imported labour protected by soldiers.

While in some countries the Anarchists are accused of advocating "breakaway unions", "splitting the workers", as if it were a crime to advocate anything other than putting a few bigwigs in office, in Spain as in some other Spanish-speaking countries, it was the Socialists who started the breakaway movement, by forming the U.G.T. to express the "orthodox" lines of pure-and-simple trade unionism, class collaboration, "industrial peace". However, the anarcho-syndicalist movement remained independent and the preponderant working-class organisation.

Most of the time it was illegal, since both the monarchy and the republic persecuted the opponents of capitalism. But being based on the federalist idea—no centralised leadership, no paid bureaucracy, relying upon the workers in the workshops and factories, the peasants on their land—it was impossible for them to wipe it out. In Catalonia, the strength of the C.N.T. was most marked and here the workers were able at the time of the outbreak of civil war in 1936, to take over practically the whole of the economy, and administer it themselves, directly, in some parts achieving the revolutionary ideal of a free society. This was naturally opposed by the bourgeois Republicans and even more by the reactionary Stalinists who were afraid that this would be contrary to the interests of the Kremlin's foreign policy. Here they showed themselves in their true colours by a violent struggle against workers' control, by breaking up collectivised undertakings by force, even at the cost of letting Franco win.

Since the victory of Franco, the workers have perforce returned to clandestine organisation, but one thing the fascist police cannot wipe out is the memory of the time when great undertakings—transport, for instance—were under workers' control. Not State control nor private enterprise, but run by the workers in the industry. Since then, in reply to the question, "Is it possible?" the answer has been "Spain."

## Workers of Britain

*Workers of Britain, why crouch ye like cravens,  
Why clutch an existence of insult and want?  
Why stand to be plucked by an army of ravens,  
And hoodwinked forever by twaddle and cant?*

*Think of the wrongs ye bear, think of the rags ye wear,  
Think of the insults endured from your birth,  
Toiling in snow and rain, rearing up heaps of grain,  
All for the tyrants who grind you to earth.*

*Your brains are as keen as the brains of your masters,  
In swift and strength you surpass them by far,  
Ye've brave hearts that teach you to laugh at disaster,  
Ye vastly outnumber the tyrants in war.*

*Why then like cowards stand, using not brain nor hand,  
Thankful like dogs when they throw you a bone,  
What right have they to take, things that you toil to make,  
Know ye not workers that all is your own?*

*Rise in your might brothers, bear it no longer,  
Assemble in masses throughout the whole land,  
Show these incapables who are the stronger,  
When workers and idlers confronted shall stand.*

*Through castle court and hall, over their acres all,  
Onward we'll press like the waves of the sea,  
Claiming the wealth we've made, ending the spoilers' trade,  
Labour shall triumph and Britain be free.*

JIM CONNELL.

[We print the full text of the above poem on the special request of our Glasgow comrades.]

## Politics • • • • •

### Crime Doesn't Pay?

THE news about the Allies' compensation to Alfred Krupp, chief armament manufacturer for the Nazis, must have come as a bit of a shock for those who believed Churchill's blood and thunder during the war.

Krupp was sentenced at Nuremberg in 1948 to twelve years' imprisonment as a war criminal for the savage exploitation of slave labour in his vast industrial empire. He was released last year and has now been handed back the means of controlling his—once confiscated—industries again, and shares and money totalling £55,000,000!

Now the Western Powers want to use Krupp to produce arms to defend "democracy"—which will also have the very important function of diverting German industry from the production of consumption goods in competition with British industry.

When wars start they are always for "freedom" and "democracy"—so the governments say. And the political parties of the "Left" have led the workers to the slaughter just the same as the "Right". Afterwards, however, we see just what the war aims were worth—a fortune for the merchants of death. Who said crime doesn't pay?

## Reading • • • • •

### COLLECTIVES IN SPAIN

By GASTON LEVAL

*The only accessible account in English of the economic and social achievements of the free collectives established by the Spanish workers during the Civil War.*

16 pages

1d. (50 for 3/-)

### SYNDICALISM—THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP

By PHILIP SANSOM

48 pages

One Shilling

FREEDOM PRESS

27 Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1



# The Postmen Could Do It

LONDON.  
THE Post Office is a very good instance of an industry that could without difficulty be taken over by the workers the moment they wished to do so. Nobody at least even believes that the moment the wonderful capitalist didn't finance his idle workers the Post Office would collapse! However, they entertain the equally fantastic notion that it is run by the State.

It is certain that the State controls the Post Office, but you will very rarely see the mail being delivered by a Whitehall bureaucrat in morning coat or find that a well-known politician has given you the number you were telephoning. The whole of the work of the collection and distribution of mails—letters, telegrams, parcels—and such subsidiary services as telephones, broadcasting and overseas communications—is entirely carried on by the workers on the job without any real pretence of a higher caste that gets the job done without doing any work.

In short, while the higher executives do boss the Post Office, it is very clear that they can readily be dispensed with. There is not the pretence as with other industries that they put anything into the industry—which is another way, of course, of saying profit by it—nor can they possibly pretend to supervise all the manifold work that is entailed by postal services, which by and large come down to two things: One, the man who walks or rides around collecting and delivering, and the man who sorts and re-distributes; two, the man who as an engineer connected with either telephones, broadcasting or telegrams, uses his trade knowledge to allow the work to proceed.

A variety of unions cover the industry which may be lumped together as the postal services, and they have never combined to make their demands felt in a vital key-service of society, in which nevertheless wages are extremely low in the so-called lower grades, since the State principle is precisely the fact that the final pivot of it all—viz., the one who is prepared to put a sack on his back and collect the letters—is to be the least-considered of all.

The syndicalist principle is that all should combine in the one organisation, with a view to betterment of conditions, but that its aim should be no less than the control of the industry. Postal workers know better than anyone else in the country that capitalists are not necessary, and that nationalisation is no remedy. Unlike the miners, they did not put out flags when the postal services were nationalised—it was then considered as neces-

sary to capitalism, and the political hooey that went with the similar principle applied to coal-mining has never been applicable. But if the postal worker has had no possibility of a faith in nationalisation, all the more reason for him to consider WORKERS' CONTROL as the solution.

He knows he can control the industry, and that nobody else can. Then he can cut out the red-tape and the myriad capitalist and State schemes that are run by the Post Office, which will be unnecessary in a free society, and give the essential service of inter-communication to the community. X.Y.Z.

## Direct Action

### Hit Them Where It Hurts

KINGSTON.  
THERE is nothing like a little direct action by the workers to show them who their friends really are. Recently, in T.U. congresses, and in speeches by politicians, there has been more anti-syndicalist propaganda than there has been action on the syndicalist pattern. Bevan, who for all his rebellion, is no more than a professional politician, stated some time ago that syndicalist tactics were all right until the workers had won their rights. By this he presumably meant the right to elect Bevan to a cushy job. He shows by this remark the typical politician's outlook on direct action by the workers. These men, the professional politicians, regard working-class action as a mere helping hand for them in their aspirations to power. Once they are in power, they have no further use for it, except to show the old possessing classes now and then the spirit of revolution is not quite dead.

This is very valuable to these men of the new controlling class; they can pose before the workers as their representatives, the defenders of the workers, and to the old possessing classes as moderators of revolution. Their success so far can be attributed to their ability to do both these things.

But if the workers demonstrate their ability to do themselves a bit of good without the assistance of "their" representatives at Westminster, or the "successful" T.U. leaders, a frightened squawk goes up from all quarters, appeals are made for moderation, the workers find themselves opposed, not only by the old possessing classes, and the usual State machinery, but also by this new class, whose very existence is threatened by the workers deciding to do something for themselves.

Also, if the workers are organised federally, that is, with no official leaders, there is nobody to negotiate with, nobody to buy over, the whole thing is a revolt, pure and simple, and the T.U. creepers, the Old Wykehamists, the literary and sociological gents of the *New Statesman*, all the do-gooders who are in favour of reform, suddenly find themselves redundant. Just as now it is difficult to really get to grips with the causes of war and wage-slavery, so the directing classes are completely unable to get to grips with solid working-class action.

The politicians who imagine working-class direct action is designed for their assistance in making a good thing out of the revolutionary feeling of our time, find that the true purpose of syndicalist action is not that at all, but the creation of new social patterns to entirely replace the middle class idea of reform through parliamentary channels, to build up new social units on the basis of the factory, fighting organisations, with the eventual aim of the taking over of these factories by the workers. Naturally, even Bevan is not going to like that. It looks as if he is going to have to

do something useful, instead of talking rough in Parliament, the institution which was historically the weapon used by the middle-class in their seizure of power, and which has nothing whatever to do with the workers.

Meanwhile, why is there no solid working-class action (with a few honourable exceptions)? First, for generations the workers have had their attention distracted from the one place where they can get at their enemies, the point of production, by the harmless little ballot box. Second, as a result, solid working-class action has to overcome party allegiances, and most of the Leftist parties spend their energies entirely on pulling one another apart. Third, all the workers with any sense know damned well they are liable to be used by these parties in their efforts to secure power.

With all this in mind, what can we do? We can turn our backs on the electoral machine, as it is only an illusion of having some power over our lives, and on the political parties, whose activities are pulling the labour movement to pieces, and concentrate our activities on the place where we can get at our enemies, where we can hit them hard and often, and where it hurts them most—the place where we work. D.J.

If you don't like

Wage Slavery  
War  
Unemployment

then don't trust

Politicians  
T.U. leaders  
ANY government

but stand solid, organise and strike

Where it hurts  
Where you can get at things  
WHERE YOU WORK

## Read:.....

### FREEDOM

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

### PORTWORKERS' CLARION

*Organ of the Merseyside Portworkers' Committee*, 2d. monthly.

From: Bill Murphy, 25 Harding Ave. Bidston, Birkenhead, Cheshire.  
*Freedom Bookshop*, 27 Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.

## The Docks .....

### Voluntary Redundancy

WHAT is called "hidden unemployment" is being kept very much out of sight in the London docks, where in fact redundancy has assumed alarming proportions during the last few months. The decasualisation scheme keeps all statistics about the lack of jobs for dockers on the pool out of the official records, but it is unofficially reckoned that nearly fifty per cent. of London's dockers are "bumping on" some days.

In fact the redundancy has been so consistent that many dockers are not waiting for the threatened "purge", but are voluntarily declaring themselves redundant and leaving the industry. In the Surrey Dock it has been estimated that between fifty and a hundred men are handing in their books every week.

In Manchester, too, the same thing is occurring. Since the beginning of this year some 500 dockers have left the Manchester and Salford docks out of a total of 2,400.

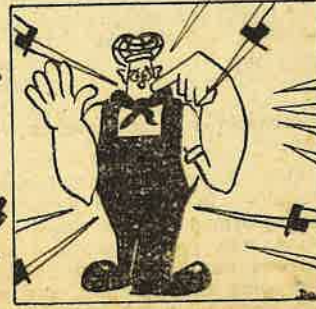
Workers with large families can often get more from national assistance than the £4 8s. guaranteed basic under the marvellous decasualisation scheme.

IF YOU LIKE

**The Syndicalist**

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### SCISSOR BILL





## Why Reject the Unions?

WOULD the Editors please explain their reasons for rejecting the structure of the trade unions? Is it not the case that the rank and file of the unions could control them if they were consciously revolutionary enough, and that it is merely the mental laziness of the majority of workers which is at fault? Glasgow. C.E.

P.S.—I am not a Communist: I am honestly confused regarding tactics.

★

### The Editors' Reply:

Syndicalists criticise the structure of the trade unions because they consider that it is quite impossible to achieve the aims of syndicalism through organisations with that structure. This may seem unfair—it's like criticising sailing ships because they didn't use steam—because in fact the two forms of organisation have been developed by the working-class for two entirely different purposes.

The syndicalist purpose is a revolutionary one—we aim at a classless society with the workers in control of their own jobs, operating production and distribution for the benefit of the whole of society. The trade union purpose is a reformist one—as far as one can see, they have no long-term aim affecting the structure of society as a whole and have no ambitions other than to be wage-bargaining institutions within capitalism. For that purpose their structure is admirable. They have all their machinery for class collaboration, negotiation, arbitration etc., all worked out, and we have to admit that it works pretty well. But then so did sailing ships, according to their standards.

But the syndicalists don't want the workers to remain servile under-dogs in a capitalist society, but want them to take more responsibility and more power over their own circumstances; therefore we have to forge weapons for that purpose. Can the unions be used for that? We don't think so. The structure of the trade unions tends to divide the workers at their places of work; in any factory you may find workers belonging to a dozen different unions, and any common action they take is taken in spite of their union structure and not through it. In any industry there will be many more different unions—in the railways, for example, there are about forty! And they all carry on their little sectarian business irrespective of what the others are doing.

### Do We Need Leaders?

Continued from p. 1

take the places of the useless old ones. Nothing less than a complete rejection of the leadership principle and a building up of the workers' confidence in themselves and their own strength is going to meet the circumstances that are mounting against us.

We can prophesy quite safely that the leaders of the Labour Movement are preparing to sell us out. We are writing this before either the TUC conference at Margate or the Labour Party conference at Morecambe, and the feverish preparation for these events are indications of the confusion which reigns behind the scenes. Only one thing is absolutely certain, and that is that no good will come from either conference for the rank and file of the workers. Both the TUC and the Labour Party have shown themselves only too ready in the past to sell out to capitalism and the British Constitution, for us to have any illusions about either.

Only the workers can remain true to the workers. In order to fight the wage freeze, unemployment, the sacrifices rearmament will bring, and prevent a third world war, the workers must build militant organisations at the point of production, and make sure that they never again fall into the hands of leaders.

Now the syndicalists want one organisation for each industry, not for each craft. Whatever a man works at in a factory, whether he is a fitter, electrician, bricklayer, foundry worker, draughtsman, lorry driver, labourer or messenger, his interests are bound up with that factory and with all the other workers in it. Syndicalists want to see all those workers controlling that factory together—therefore we reject any form of organisation which tends to divide them rather than unite them. Craft organisation does just that, and the permanent officials who run the various unions are jealous of any merging of functions which might render them redundant and fight against any move to draw the workers together.

It cannot be denied that any real militancy that has been shown by workers since pre-war days has been unofficial, and whatever we may think theoretically about working within the unions, those workers who are carrying on a militant struggle have learnt—the hard way—that the structure is too much for them. Constitutional procedure and the Rule Book too often put all the trump cards in the hands of the Executive, and the militants can be steam-rollered.

So we find to-day many militant workers leaving the unions—at Euston Station a whole branch of the NUR withdrew, and formed

### The Good Union Woman

AS a follow-up to our last month's article "The Good Union Man," readers may be interested to read the following trade unionist point of view. As our Edinburgh correspondent says, it is a good example of the mentality being fostered by the T.U. leaders and could equally well have been written by an employer, Attlee, Churchill or what have you.

It is a letter published in the *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch* (16/8/52):

#### A WOMAN'S COUNSEL.

May I, as a trade unionist, say this to all members and other workers?

After much struggle you have got the ball at your feet, but for the sake of all that's worth while in life and conduct, don't kick that ball too hard!

Hold on and look back and be thankful for what has been gained in the last thirty years. You cannot all judge for yourselves the true course to take, because you have had no leisure to acquire what is essential to balanced judgment—a mind stored with diverse knowledge to evolve wide principles of tolerance as well as fair play and fair shares—but do not betray and embarrass your leaders by hasty, ill-considered pursuit of material gain.

All classes in this "middle-aged" democracy of ours are still so closely inter-dependent that all will go down together if wage increases are demanded too impatiently without regard to world, as well as British, trade economy.

The younger generation of the working-classes must be shown how to find out for themselves all that is at stake, so that the succeeding generation will desire above all things, the common weal.

We want no more "What's yours is mine," but "Do as you would like others to do to you."

Hold your demands for pay increases and work harder, and as sure as night follows day, you will reap what you have sown—tolerance, sacrifice for the good of all, and fair dealing. Edinburgh, 12. E.J.D.L.

It hardly seems worth years of struggle to get the ball at our feet if we are not going to kick it! Imagine building a ship and then leaving it to rot on the stocks, or cooking a dinner and then not eating it!

But this pitiful wail is so full of fallacies we have not space to deal with it. We think there must even be a few supporters of the unions among our readers who will squirm at that. We leave it to them to think over.

their own organisation on the job—and it seems to us a much more realistic attitude than the Marxist idea of "boring from within". Supposing the rank and file did control the unions more, what then? They would only be controlling sailing ships in an age of the gas turbine.

"Mental laziness"? Well, yes, maybe the majority of workers are mentally lazy, but it's the intelligent and militant ones who are beginning to look our way—and there has to be a beginning somewhere.

We can tell you are not a Communist. The C.P. is not interested in the rank and file controlling the unions—they want to do it! But your question is not one of tactics—it's one of fundamentals. On the purely tactical level, it may be necessary to belong to a union merely in order to get the boss to give you a job! But don't think workers' control can come through it.

### Thanks, Comrades!

AT the ILP Summer School, Don Bannister of Common Wealth, gave a lecture on "Workers' Control in the Modern World," in which he referred to the syndicalists in Spain.

The *Socialist Leader* (23/8/52) in reporting his lecture said: "One of the best examples of workers' control in practice had been the running of transport in Barcelona during the early period of the Spanish Civil War after July, 1936, and there the Catalanian workers' long syndicalist tradition had helped them to be ready to run the city's transport themselves, which they did with great efficiency. . . . John McNair, who was in Barcelona at the time, gave further facts about the successful experiments in workers' control during the Spanish Civil War."

It was, of course, not only in transport, but in engineering, textiles, agriculture, communications (telephones, etc.), printing, and in fact all the industries in anti-Franco Spain in which the Spanish Anarchists and Syndicalists showed how workers' control could work.

But we are gratified to see that our non-syndicalist comrades of the ILP and Common Wealth have to turn to syndicalism for examples of workers' control.

### Meetings

The Anarcho-Syndicalist point of view can be heard in:

GLASGOW—

Maxwell St. (Argyll St.), Sundays at 7 p.m.

BRADFORD—

Broadway Car Park, Sundays at 8.30 p.m.

LONDON—

Hyde Park, Sundays at 4.30 p.m.

Manette St. (Char. X Rd.), Saturdays at 6 p.m.

Tower Hill, Fridays at 12.30 p.m.

THE SYNDICALIST is on sale at all meetings.

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