

REVIEW

SCIENCE AND WAR

SCIENCE in the latter half of the 19th Century became more than systematised knowledge and the pursuit of truth. Pressed on by the needs of capitalist expansion, it took on a public image of magic, able to solve all problems and even become something of a religion. In the service of capitalism it developed chemistry, physics and mathematics to the neglect of other branches of knowledge. Often confused with technics, it became, to certain unscientific minds, the panacea which would, largely without the intervention of humanity, solve the social problem. Some "prophets" of the H. G. Wells stamp foretold the world being saved by a superman race of technician-scientists who lived far above the general mess of human emotions.

Then, in the present century, largely divorced from liberal learning, humanism and sociology, science became the direct servant of the State, producing, in these conditions, its greatest flower—the bomb. The gods of science, however, to the people seemed still to be divine, far above the human emotions of anger, envy, love and hate—or pity, for why should the dwellers on Olympus be concerned at stepping on an ant.

Now there is published an excellent book which reveals the dwellers on the technological Olympus as being as full of human emotions and the sins and follies thereof as the gods of Greek mythology. By the scientist-writer Sir Charles Snow, *Science and Government* is published by Oxford University Press and is based on his Harvard lectures. The principal characters in the narrative are two one-time friends, Prof. F. A. Lindemann (who became Lord Cherwell) and Sir Henry Tizard. The friendship turned to enmity when both met and quarrelled on the scientific committee appointed by the Baldwin Government a few years before the war. Tizard and the Air Marshals wanted to develop radar; Lindemann opposed and put forward "one crackbrained idea after another." Tizard won and Britain, to its great advantage in the "Battle of Britain", developed radar in advance of Germany and the U.S.A. Lindemann never forgave his erstwhile friend and he had a powerful political ally, Churchill. 1940 proved Tizard correct, but it brought Churchill to full power. Lindemann was in, Tizard was out, sent on a mission to the U.S.A. "When he returned from the mission, Tizard found he was still out. There was no real job for him."

With Lindemann came his pet scheme, the mass bombing of the German working class, opposed by most British military opinion as being dangerously ineffective, but supported by Churchill. Churchill and Lindemann, with a few of the Air Force top brass, had had part of their own way in the mass bombing theory even before the war, for Churchill had been on a government defence committee and preparations, delayed by the rate of technical development, were already—even before 1939—in hand for this wild scheme. But the coming to power of Churchill was the triumph of Lindemann, too, to the dismay of the R.A.F. and Naval top brass. The Cabinet paper on the mass bombing of Germany, prepared by Lindemann, went out to top British scientists. Mass, or largely indiscriminate bombing, it said, was more effective than trying to hit military targets or objects such as power stations or bridges, always difficult to pinpoint.

"The paper laid down a strategic policy. The bombing must be directed essentially against German working class houses. Middle-class houses have too much space round them, and so are bound to waste bombs."

So says the book, but at the time it was also said that it was more important to slaughter German working men, rather than the middle class, because, in a war effort, the working class was more important.

"The paper claimed . . . that it would be possible, in all the larger towns of Germany (that is those with more than 50,000 inhabitants) to destroy 50 per cent. of all houses."

Tizard declared Lindemann's figures incorrect. The possible number of houses that might be destroyed was five times too high. Prof. Blackett said it was six times too great. "The bombing survey after the war revealed that it had been ten times too high."

The effect of concentrating so much labour and capital on mass bombing was to endanger other efforts. Sir Philip Joubert, R.A.F., wrote: "I have known many scientists. Sir Charles Darwin, Appleton, Thomson, Tizard, Hill and Blackett have all been my friends. But I have never met one who, like Lindemann, was 100 per cent. wrong in his scientific judgment on operational matters." "Daily Telegraph", 6.4.61.

"The bomber failed to break the German workers' spirit, but the Royal Navy very nearly lost the sea war because of Coastal Command's shortage of long-range aircraft." *ibid.*

Lindemann became Lord Cherwell. Tizard was ignored, but when Churchill was ousted in 1945, Cherwell, too, was sacked. Tizard took his place as the adviser of the, now, Labour Government. Whether Cherwell was replaced because of his nonsense, or because of his political affiliation, we will never know. After Attlee's recent television statement that he knew nothing of the genetic and other side

effects of the atom bomb (he was Prime Minister when it was used), we may well suppose that politics, rather than science, moved the Labour Premier to his choice.

Present society, riven as it is into conflicting classes, the dominant of which must safeguard their privileges by armed force at home and abroad and must, of their own conflicting needs, swing from spreading knowledge to arrant obscurantism, is unable to produce science, culture and education which are not thoroughly corrupted by fear, greed, class hatred and stupid petty individualism. The tree of knowledge may flower freely only in a classless, undivided society.

T. B.

FRANCE—A 24-hour national strike of more than a million civil servants was called on March 14, in support of a demand for a 5 per cent. average wage increase, an increase in the minimum wage of 350-400 N.F. to 500 N.F. (about £36 10s.) a month, and a 40-hour, 5-day week. The Government's offer of a 3 per cent. rise had been rejected. Among the banners carried in a procession of 12,000 strikers in Paris was one demanding: "Put de Gaulle on retirement." Gas and electricity workers struck for two hours on March 16. Police and prison officers, who are prohibited by law from striking, expressed their support for the campaign. So did teachers in state schools, who, on March 10, had completed the second part of their 5 per cent. rise campaign of "rolling" strikes throughout France with a 24-hour stoppage of more than 80,000 teachers in all state primary, secondary, and technical schools and lycées in Paris and eight surrounding departments.

ITALY—A two-day nation-wide strike of port workers took place on March 28-29. Also on March 28 a 24-hour strike of tram and bus workers for better pay and working conditions brought Rome's public transport to a stop. A 72-hour strike of most of the staffs of the Ministries of Finance and the Treasury began on March 29. The ground staff of the air line Alitalia won a 6 per cent. rise, a bonus, and a special indemnity of from 100 to 200 lire a day by a strike which lasted from March 13 to March 20. Doctors and lawyers have also been on strike. Some 30 workers and 19 policemen were injured in a clash between the police and striking shipyard workers at Monfalcone, near Trieste, on March 2.

U.S.A.—With unemployment at 5½ million, a record figure since the great depression of the thirties, the Labour Department reported on March 24 that 101 of the nation's 150 major industrial centres were now classified as "distressed areas." Chicago, Seattle, San Francisco, Miami, Oakland, New Orleans, and Indianapolis were among the 25 cities added to the list since February.

Literature

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WORLD LABOUR NEWS

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Hitting the boss—with a difference!

SOMEONE, aptly, called the unofficial industrial movements "do-it-yourself movements." Of course in this case "do-it-yourself" has nothing to do with what the old music hall immortalised in the song "When Father papered the Parlour". It is a phrase meant to express the attempt of groups of workers to short-cut the elaborate procedure for settling disputes, contrived by generations of employers and trade union officials, by acting themselves without allowing intervention by a distant trade union official. Such action can be fruitful, as it usually happens at the place and time most appropriate and usually is unhampered by any rules.

We are here thinking chiefly of action by groups of workers. Though one cannot rule out individual action, group or collective action brings the best results. Personal acts often occur where there is no tradition of collective action and are usually acts of despair. One often reads of a cashier, working for half a labourer's wage while handling thousands of pounds weekly, who has sought, in desperation, to redress the balance by taking his own wages from the till. Or one hears the unwise boast of the worker who claims to have practised systematic pilfering, which he makes sound like the exploitation of Capital by Labour.

But the basis of most such cases are the below-average wages and bad conditions of work, which could have been changed by a combination of the workers on the job. Such, most often, is the cause of some worker punching an unjust and bullying foreman or manager. The workers on the job might have combined to remove the bully, or made his life a hell. As it is, most bullies being cowards, the petty tyrant rushes to the phone and yells for the police, knowing that the prejudice of the law is against the worker and for the employer.

While well thought out and straightforward individual action must not be rejected in principle, we repeat that collective action, by large or even quite small groups, has the best result and, unlike the individual who may be fired, does not end there, but leaves some tradition, long or brief, which may cause a boss to think twice the next time. Perhaps most of us know of such group action and maybe each could write his own article on the subject if he turned over the ragbag of memory.

From my own gunny sack, I recall first a small incident. We worked

Direct action in Spain . . .

BARCELONA.—Tramway workers in the Catalan capital, 5,000 strong, conducted a successful strike during April for a wage increase—despite all strikes being illegal in Spain and strike action carrying penalties of up to 30 years' imprisonment. The workers claimed a 20% increase on their meagre wages and, when the company offered only 5%, the drivers replied with a go-slow campaign, causing massive traffic jams in Barcelona. When the police intervened, ordering the drivers to proceed normally, the conductors ceased to collect fares, allowing passengers to travel free. The strike lasted several days . . . and is a clear demonstration that the tactics of direct action, long advocated and practised by the Anarcho-Syndicalist CNT, still live on among the Spanish workers, even after 22 years of fascist dictatorship.

. . . and Denmark

COPENHAGEN.—The biggest post-war strike in Denmark started on April 11, when seamen and transport workers came out in protest against a new two-year collective wages agreement between the Trade Union Confederation—unlike Britain's TUC, a body with collective negotiating power—and the Employers' Confederation. This gave increases of six per cent. and was accepted by all the employers' organisations, but firmly rejected by the transport and metal workers' unions. On April 12, the engineering workers joined the stoppage, bringing the total out to 150,000—one-fifth of Denmark's organised workers. The strike caused a split in the Coalition Socialist-Radical Government, with the Radical wing urging State intervention to end the strike and the Socialists, headed by Premier Kampmann, opposing it.

in a factory where smoking was prohibited and twice I was asked to join a deputation to the management for permission to smoke. I refused, for I thought we should smoke without permission. Although I was a non-smoker, I promised, at a prearranged signal, to join the mass smokers. Each time this idea was rejected, as were the pleas of the deputations. Then, about a week after the second failure, men began to smoke quite openly. The management replied by granting two half-hour "smoking periods", during which men puffed as though they sought a short cut to lung cancer. A few weeks later, everyone smoked whenever he cared. That was 23 years ago and they are still puffing (at cigarettes) more or less contentedly.

In the same shop we had a chargehand promoted to foreman. After a few days he became so arrogant, surpassing even his own bad reputation, that it became impossible to speak to him. An impromptu meeting was called and it was suggested that a deputation to the management ask for his removal. Such requests, however, are usually turned down and enhance the little dictator's reputation with his masters. So it was decided, instead, to practice non-co-operation. A new machine was being developed in its early production stage, which further favoured us.

If a blueprint was wrong, we worked on, mistakes and all. If anything was short, we sought it not. We waited. No one spoke to "Napoleon", even to avert a near-disaster. When he was forced to seek our converse, men were seized by sudden deafness, or stupidity, or had calls of nature which could not be denied or delayed. The dispute was now between him and the management. He lasted exactly two weeks and three days, then went back to being a chargehand in a lower department.

More important was a previous experience in the late twenties, when work was hard to get. I got a job with a firm which, three years before, had sacked all shop stewards and refused to recognise trade unions. It had been a period of sacking and the firm had seized the change to be rid of a good shop committee. It still refused to recognise any workers' organisation at the time I went there, though they paid trade union wage rates, which were still low.

In our section, about 20 per cent. of the personnel, we decided to go to the managing director at 2 p.m. the following day. At that hour he returned from lunch and stood at the glass door of his office surveying the slaves. At the appointed time I laid down my tools and walked towards the office. Without looking behind I walked, wondering if my mates followed, then on each side of me one came abreast. But what of the others? Certainly there was dead silence, not a hammer note. As I came in direct view of the office windows, an amazing sight was reflected there. Workers from all sections, unbidden, were marching towards the office.

Not too fast, not too slow, in complete silence we crossed the last large space of bare concrete. The scared looking office staff pretended to be working, the director stood stuttering in the doorway, demanding an explanation. My nearest mates stood in a tight bunch about

SWF

CABARET-SOCIAL

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BAR AND REFRESHMENTS

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me, our shoulders touching. "We wish you to receive a delegation to discuss wages and other grievances." "No, you know we recognise no unions, receive no delegations. Why leave your work and come to me in a crowd like this?" "Because you won't talk to deputations, you must talk to a crowd." "No, get the men back to work." "Will you talk to five of us?" "Yes, but get the men back to work, there's no need for all to stop work."

We won a first advance of 6 per cent., boosted six weeks later to a total of 14 per cent., a great gain in those days, 1928, of few jobs. We enforced recognition of the AEU and our shop committee. Thirdly, we stopped an act of managerial terrorism in which, "to encourage the others", he sacked one man every day, even though he started another in his place.

That shop committee, at the Gloucester Aircraft Co., Gloucester, is still functioning.

Memory bounds across the water to a Ford plant in the U.S.A. I worked alone on a bench at the side of a conveyor assembly line and, although a foreigner, I was called on to be steward. Twice the production conveyor had been speeded up and the men were getting worried, expecting a third increase in speed. The extra work and the anxiety were affecting health.

On this occasion I opposed consultation with, or appeals to, the management. I was familiar with this principle of management, it was extolled in American books on the subject and appeared in college and correspondence courses. It had been copied in Britain, too. A man is producing ten articles in a day's work. You increase it to 14, he fulfils the new quota, you make it 20 and keep on raising the figure until he cannot do his quota, then you revert to the previous highest figure. The worker has proved his own limit.

I urged my fellow workers to continue at the old pace and when they anxiously asked: "But how can we finish the job, the conveyor will move on?" The answer was, "Let it move on. It costs the firm more to finish off the line than on it. However fast you work, they will speed it up still more. You must, at some stage, let the job pass unfinished. Better now than later."

This method was tried. Machines were leaving the conveyor unfinished. The "snaggers" or finishers could not keep up with them, the clearing area became overcrowded, the production line had to be stopped to allow the finishers to clear their work and the area. Production slumped and we reverted to the previous rate of production.

Many of the workers at this plant had but little industrial experience, some were farmers, nearly all were new to such methods of struggle, but its spectacular success made them almost drunk and a few became quite belligerent.

These are a few examples of methods suited to particular occasions. In struggle it is true that "where there's a will, there's a way." The next thing to remember is not to be rigid. What suits one case may not suit another. There is no magic formula for doing things an easy way, but when an opportunity occurs, coincident with a need, let us jump to it without going through the elaborate and prolonged minutiae of "official procedure."

Now it is for our readers to add further chapters to this narrative, let it be for them longer than a television serial.

TOM BROWN

CANADA

Promises, promises...

THERE has been a joke going the rounds out here this winter that goes something like this: the wife of one of the leading ministers of the Tory government of Canada was not feeling very well, so she went to her doctor for a check-up. After the doctor had examined her, he said "Well Mrs. X, I can find nothing physically wrong with you, but do you realise that you are still a virgin?" To which she replied: "Well you know how it is with my husband. Promises! Promises! Promises!"

And that's just how it is with John Diefenbaker and his fellow-Tories who form the Government—plenty of promises at election time, then nothing until the next election. Of course it is unfair to single out the Tories, as the other parties are just as bad. Yet still people go on voting for one gang of politicians or another. One of the Tory promises at the last election was that no man who wanted work would be without a job. Well, that promise did not make out too well, as in February of this year 719,000 people were out of work, 11.3 per cent. of the labour force unable, through no fault of their own, to learn a living for themselves or their families.

The most depressing point about all this is that, except for the old capitalist stand-by, war, there is little chance of this situation improving. There are several main groups among the out-of-work including:—

1. those laid-off due to automation;
2. those laid-off due to technological change, such as the railway

firemen, who used to stoke the fires on steam locomotives and are now left jobless due to the conversion to diesel fuel.

3. those laid-off due to changing consumer habits, such as the coal miners whose employers used to supply most of the fuel for domestic heating and industry and who, since the development of the natural gas and petroleum industries, have lost a big percentage of their business.

4. those laid-off due to the seasonal nature of their employment, such as loggers, fishermen, farm workers and construction workers.

5. those workers in every trade and profession who are out-of-work because the capitalist system cannot create new jobs fast enough to absorb the new workers coming on to the labour market every year. In other words, the working class is breeding workers faster than the capitalist class is creating jobs for them.

Now it is obvious that so long as we have a capitalist society, most of these people without jobs are going to remain without jobs. As long as automation means less men working the same number of hours and not the same number of men working less hours we will have unemployment. As long as it is socially acceptable for the owner of a coal mine to close it down and turn off thousands of miners to a future of unemployment and privation, just because the owners of natural gas wells can sell fuel a little cheaper, we will have unemployment. As long as the farmer sees nothing wrong in saying to his hired hand every autumn, "Well that's the harvest in, come back next spring and help me plant another one," with no thought as to how the hired hand will manage to support his family through the winter months, with no money coming in, we will have unemployment. In fact, as long as society is organised to make a profit for the few, instead of to provide for the needs of the many, we will have unemployment.

This very simple fact is known to the militant few among the workers. Until they have succeeded in making it known to the great majority of the working class, who still put their trust in politicians and are content to be ruled by them, we will have unemployment. When the working class realise they can rule themselves and when they cease to do the bidding of the politicians and the capitalist class, then will dawn an age of plenty where each gives according to his ability and receives according to his needs.

The phrase "an honest politician" is such a contradiction in terms, that we must congratulate Mr. Fred Colborne, Minister without Portfolio in the Alberta Government, on his recent lapse into honesty in defence of the system of "gerrymandering" electoral constituencies. Mr. Colborne was chairman of a committee of the Alberta Legislature set up to recommend constituency changes made necessary by population shifts in recent years. As was to be expected, the committee recommended small rural constituencies (where the electorate is generally right wing) and large urban constituencies (where the electorate is a little less right wing). In fact it ended up with the cities of Calgary and Edmonton, with about 45 per cent. of the population, having only 28 per cent. of the seats, while the rural areas, with about 55 per cent. of the population, have 72 per cent. of the seats.

What was not expected was Mr. Colborne's justification of these anomalies, "Representation by population is not now and never has been an accepted principle in Canada." . . . "newspaper statements that representation by population is a time-honored method in democracy are guilty of misleading the people." . . . "representation by population is impractical, virtually impossible and not necessarily sound." Bravo, Mr. Colborne!

Of course these facts are well known to Syndicalists, who reject parliamentary democracy as a sham and fraud, but we welcome this confirmation of our beliefs by one of the political fraternity. Those militant workers who still pin their hopes on winning parliamentary elections would do well to ponder these statements.

The shape of things to come. The Canadian director of the United Steelworkers of America has been advocating a government-imposed settlement of the railway wage dispute. . . . "If I had the responsibility of government, I would have attempted to impose some sort of settlement that might not have pleased management or labor." This gentleman, whose waves come out of the pockets of the working class, is one of the leading spirits in the "New Party", to be launched this autumn by the Canadian Labor Congress and the reformist "socialist" politicians and which claims to "represent" the interests of the working class (but then don't they all?) You have been warned!

BILL GREENWOOD

AUSTRALIA—On April 6, the Waterside Workers' Federation was fined £400 for defying a court order forbidding it from engaging in strikes or other forms of industrial action. The fine followed a one-day wharf stoppage in Melbourne on March 15. Since last May, the Federation has incurred a total of £2,480 in fines for contempt of court, and its industrial officer, Mr. N. Docker, has declared that it does not accept legislation which takes away the right to strike. He told the court that if the Federation decided that it was necessary to protect its members' interests, it would call a strike, no matter what the law said.

INDIA—BHAVE AND BHOODAN

Impressions of a recent visit to India to attend and help organise the 10th Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International.

"NEVER look superior at the alms beseeching individual. Remember he makes more money than you do and if you're nice to him he may even give you credit." This is an extract from an Air India booklet for its guests called, appropriately enough, "Foolishly Yours". If only some of the children, many of them with runny-nosed baby brothers and sisters resting on their protruding hip-bones, did earn a wage comparable to my own. Like persistent mosquitoes they haunt every traveller in the town streets whispering huskily, "Sir—baksheesh, please sir baksheesh; no mudder, no fader, no brudders, please sir—" and so on without ever letting up.

The town of Tirukkalkundram, thirty miles out of Madras, sticks in my mind. There are many religious curiosities and temples and the place is a great tourist attraction. The people look very poor. A swarm of beggars gathered and followed Dolci and I to one of the temples. A woman waved her arm, amputated above the elbow, in my face, with a commercial grin. We left our shoes with a legless old grey-beard outside and went through a courtyard into the sombre gloom of the inner sanctuaries. A small group stood before one of the altars, a brightly decorated hole in the wall, while a priest, his forehead smeared with a grey powder, intoned a prayer. As we watched a woman led her two children into the hole and handed a banana leaf, heaped with nuts and rice, to the priest, and then a coconut. To our consternation he dashed the lot on the stone flagstones before the goddess. My companion had just completed a book entitled "Spreco"—waste. "We might almost be in Sicily," I remarked. The priest called us in and tried to give us presents of flower garlands from the goddess. Return gifts were welcome, preferably in the form of cash. We declined. A jam session, a regular New Delhi stomp, was to be heard in another part of the temple but when we went to investigate this unlikely event the musicians had already begun to pack up their instruments.

Outside, under the shadow of the gouged and wrinkled pinnacles, to our surprise we found our shoes still waiting for us with a cohort of guards, including the armless woman. Later I found that begging is a town occupation and that villagers, who are by no means better off, have a fund of natural dignity which prevents them from indulging in it.

The Gandhigram was our destination and it was there that I had the best opportunity of talking to Indians, most of them active workers in the Sarvodaya and Bhoodan movements, the legacy of Gandhi and the present concern of Vinoba Bhave, the spiritual and social leader of India.

The institution itself, founded in 1947, is a centre of social work and village rehabilitation and includes a rural training scheme, a basic and post-basic training school, a teachers' training college, a hospital (financed by the Ford Foundation), an orphanage and facilities for many village industries. The production of paper, soap, khadi cloth and pottery and, in the agricultural sphere, bananas, plantains, rice and sugar, provides a source of income, but the State, commercial firms and private individuals also help out and several government training schemes are housed there. During term time several hundred people are in residence, the instructors often with their wives and families, and building and agricultural workers are brought in from the surrounding towns and villages.

Like all Sarvodaya centres, the Gandhigram is very clean and tidy and communal discipline is much in evidence. Smoking is forbidden to Indians and degenerate Europeans are asked to practice their vices out of sight, in order that they might not corrupt impressionable youth. Prayer meetings, to which everybody is expected to go, are conducted each afternoon with an especially long dose on Friday, the day on which Gandhi was assassinated. Sarvodaya Hindus, being nothing if not tolerant, get the best of all worlds including the next one by celebrating all the main festivals of other religions. Christmas, which fell in the middle of our stay, passed with a celestial swing for the believers among us, but was somewhat dry and meat-less for the pagans like myself (all the meals being vegetarian).

Colonialism, religious and ethnological differences, indigenous feudalism and over-population have all taken their toll of Indian wealth and vitality and, in consequence, this great sub-continent today has problems, problems of such magnitude that one can only marvel at the courage and optimism of all those social workers, even the ones employed by the government, who are trying to solve them.

83% of Indian workers live and scrape a living in rural areas and it is the distribution of land which affects their lives more than anything else. Unemployment, the parasitic activities of the money-lenders, poverty in all its aspects are manifestations of what is known as the land problem. Vinoba Bhave tried, at first almost single-handed, to do the impossible and redistribute land by appeal-

ing to the compassionate instincts of the villagers, so that those with more than their share might consent to give part of what they owned to the landless.

From Siddharaj Dhadda, editor of Bhoodan, the Conference heard how this frail attempt had developed into a nation-wide movement of great economic and social significance. To everyone's surprise, landowners had given up their land and even those who had hardly enough to subsist on themselves were offering to share it with others in worse positions. Bhoodan, or land-gift, has now gone one stage further in certain areas. The inhabitants of some villages are giving up all their property and voluntarily placing it under the direct control of the whole community. This is known as Gramdan. Take this village as an example. In 1955, thirteen of the total 37 families owned all the land and 1,500 rupees (£115) and 700 rupees' worth of rice was owed to the moneylenders. Then Vinoba came. Today the land is under common ownership, but worked separately and divided according to the number in each family. Six acres are worked by the community and from the produce of these the debt has been repaid and the village bank provided with a balance of 500 rupees and 1,600 rupees worth of paddy. There have been other social benefits as well, but the economic improvement has been phenomenal.

Millions of acres have been given over in the Bhoodan and Gramdan processes, but Vinoba will have to walk (he travels only on foot) to many more villages and regions before the subsistence level can be raised. In addition it is as well to remember that many of the land gifts have consisted of waste-land, or that which is still the subject of legal dispute.

Gandhi recommended satyagraha, non-violent civil disobedience, only as a last resort in situations of dire emergency. The land problem, like independence, is such a situation, but Vinoba has not yet chosen to lead his followers for a non-violent take-over of land from the landlords. His achievement is revolutionary—as far as it goes. Rammanohar Lohia, leader of the Indian Socialist Party and chairman of the editorial board of "Mankind", the best political publication in India, has no such inhibitions and has constantly advocated direct action against landlords, the use of the English language and, more recently, against the vast expenditure for the royal tour. He was hoping to come to the Conference, but due to other more pressing engagements or perhaps diplomatic indisposition he did not arrive.

Vinoba as recently as last year decided to use satyagraha, the ultimate weapon, against—indecent cinema advertisements! "The evil presence of the indecent posters does not allow our mothers and sisters to pass through a thoroughfare with their eyes straight . . . I feel the ladies of India should come forward to stop this onslaught on them . . . if the government does not fulfil its duty, it becomes the solemn duty of citizens to remove them from public places." Sarvodaya workers all over India responded magnificently and posters were ripped down and burnt with an enthusiasm which must have rivalled that of Cromwell's troops when they were sacking the monasteries. And come to think of it, on all the posters I saw, the ladies were as well clad and sexless as the Virgin Mary herself, which was a marked contrast to the streets of Madras and Bombay, where the most beautiful creatures abounded. Total prohibition, birth control the R.C. way, a strengthened film censor department and the closing of all cinemas by nine o'clock (they are open until 1 a.m. at the moment) are all part of Vinoba's programme for the creation of a stateless society. Enough to make one want to keep the authoritarian set-up, isn't it?

I asked Dhadda, who I suppose is one of the main spokesmen for the Bhoodan movement, whether he realized that the cinema poster campaign was the sort of activity which would first amuse, then alienate sympathetic opinion abroad. His reply was interesting. "Every generation possesses a small group of men who, by virtue of their exceptional qualities, are natural leaders in the struggle for human betterment. At the moment in India there is one man who is head and shoulders above even this select band of leaders—Vinobaji. He can see above the rest into the future. I do not know exactly why he has chosen to advocate this course. I cannot myself see its relevance. Gandhiji, too, said many things we did not understand at the time, but later he was proved to be right. Vinobaji will be found correct in this instance and I will give my utmost support to him."

This faith in a spiritual leader or guru is deeply rooted in Indian tradition and a factor which must be faced when considering Indian society. Nehru, for instance, is not only prime minister and head of the powerful Congress Party, but in the eyes of the people, including many in the Sarvodaya movement, also the Guru, disciple of Gandhi and father of national freedom. To the western rationalist guruism can only appear extremely dangerous and a blot on the social landscape of India.

T.S.

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ANOTHER MAY DAY

ANOTHER May Day, another year of the workers' struggle, with its usual mixture of victories and defeats. For the International Working Men's Association, it has been a year of encouragement. The international's most powerful section, the CNT of Spain, has re-established unity of its exiled members, after 15 years of a split that greatly weakened the possibility of a successful struggle against the fascist dictatorship of Franco. Now, with news of successful direct action by Barcelona transport workers, cracks are appearing in the fascist façade. In Portugal, too, where before the Salazar dictatorship the Syndicalist General Confederation of Labour was that country's strongest working-class organisation, revolt is again stirring. The insurrection in Angola, Galvao's recent seizure of the Santa Maria are the first breaths of the whirlwind that will sweep away Salazar.

In Argentina, our comrades of the FORA have been subjected to police raids and long spells of detention without trial—but have maintained firm morale and, as we go to press, comes news that the Syndicalist dockers of Buenos Aires are leading resistance to an employers' bid—the Perren Plan—to slash wages. The Swedish Syndicalist organisation, SAC, which separated from the IWMA a year or two ago, over differences in tactics, will—we hope and firmly believe—re-affiliate with our international before the end of this year, likewise the NSV of Holland. In Britain, the past year has brought a definite swing towards Syndicalism among industrial militants and hopes are bright for a resurgence of our movement.

When the IWMA meets in Congress next September, there will be much to be discussed, but this time delegates will have the encouragement of knowing that, after a period of marking time, our international movement is again moving forward towards its aim of a free humanity, in which the workers will have smashed the shackles of State and capitalism.

It is with that goal in mind that the IWMA and its British section, the SWF, send May Day greetings to rebel workers throughout the world... with the hope that the coming year will strengthen the bonds of solidarity for the common struggles that lie ahead.

BRITAIN

Industrial round-up

ELITE WIDEN DIFFERENTIALS

ELECTRICIANS at Fords of Dagenham have given notice of strike action from April 30. They base their claim on the decreasing differential between them and semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

The sooner we forget the word differential, the word electrician, the word carpenter and the word printer, the better it will be. We are all workers with the same enemy.

MOTOR INDUSTRY UNIONS MEET EMPLOYERS

Mr. J. Matthews, President of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, considers that after discussion with the employers they have a better insight into the Trade Unions than they had before. Also the employers and the unions desire to appoint first-class supervisors and shop-stewards. Special training for shop-stewards must be regarded as the concern of individual unions.

One hopes this training does not include class collaboration—though one is entitled to fear the worst.

GLASS WORKERS' TOKEN STRIKE

Five hundred workers brought the General Electric Co.'s glass works virtually to a standstill. Workers feared redundancy in view of reorganisation as a result of the integration of G.E.C.'s glass-making interests with those of A.E.I.

BUS PAY CLAIMS FOR ARBITRATION

Unions representing some 100,000 employees of provincial bus companies were prepared to have their rejected pay claim referred to arbitration. It was agreed to ask the Minister of Labour to appoint

an independent Chairman to a tribunal, of which the two other members will be appointed by the companies and unions. The decision of the tribunal will not be regarded as binding and the unions are reserving their right to reject it and strike after all.

If one is hoping to get "peanuts", arbitration tribunals are the best vendors in the world.

PAY ROLL TAX

This is the Government's method of obtaining mobility of labour. The employers do not like work spreading (four-day workings) as a solution to their over-production problems. Therefore the Government is assisting them, by charging them a tax on all employees, encouraging them to keep their staffs to a minimum and lay men off in slack periods, thus gaining a mobility of labour, so that workers can be directed here, there and everywhere. This will provide ample opportunity for the employers to flush out the militants, therefore it is even more essential for us as workers to struggle for a shorter working day without loss of pay.

VICTORY FOR CAR WORKERS AT ROOTES

The Rootes Group at Coventry announced that it no longer intended to dismiss 720 workers. In February it was the firm's intention to sack these workers and the unions completely rejected the idea of dismissals taking place on a rising programme.

A Union official said in Coventry, "The firm have decided to drop the whole idea of redundancy. They still maintain that there is some surplus labour at the works, but they have agreed there should be no sackings. The position will be reviewed later."

CAR BODY MEN STOP WORK

Workers at the Pressed Steel Car Body-making factory are in dispute after rejection of their demand for an extra 9d. per hour. They claim their earnings do not compare with those in other factories in the motor car industry.

The British Motor Corporation will have to lay off workers, because supplies from Pressed Steel have dried up.

All of which points to an urgent need for a Rank and File Liaison Organisation in the car industry, which will strive to cut these differentials and present all car workers in a united force.

OUT ON A LIMB

The strike of Merseyside ship repair workers was no nearer solution after thirteen weeks. This dispute is being fought virtually in isolation—and any dispute in this position is doomed to failure. It is essential for us, as workers, to link up industry to industry to give strength to an old, but vital slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

SPECTRE OF THE "BLACK CIRCULAR"

Strict adherence to the rule which bans the use of Trades Councils as a platform for proscribed organisations will be required in future. A report to the Annual Conference of the Trades Councils Joint Consultative Committee states that, "Delegates attend Council meetings in a representative capacity to advance the cause of Trade Unionism, not that of some faction from within or particularly from outside the movement."

This is an excuse to dampen down militants and to mould Trades Councils into the pattern of pocket TUC's. In other words bigger and better productivity to make capitalism more palatable.

PRINTWORKERS FIGHT REDUNDANCY

Journalists on periodicals published by Odhams Press Ltd., demonstrated outside the new Daily Mirror building in Holborn.

The demonstration took place during a token strike of 3½ hours. Journalists have put forward a "protective charter" for members who may be threatened with redundancy.

Due to the merger of the Daily Mirror Group and Odhams, it is feared there will be a surplus of periodicals, due to overlapping. While the tripe put out by many of these periodicals is worth less, far less, than the paper it is written on, unfortunately one must work to live and we workers are not yet in the happy position of being very selective in our choice of work.

STORM AT SEA

Mr. J. Scott, General Secretary of the National Union of Seamen was given a rough passage at his first meeting, at Liverpool, of a campaign to explain the policy of the Union to seamen in Britain. He attacked the National Seamen's Reform Movement, which, he claimed, could only lead its followers into another abortive strike. The last one did not result in anything except misery for many union members and their families. He went on to demand improvements for seamen's conditions. One important point was conspicuous by its absence, the demand for SHIPS' DELEGATES.

Obviously if Ships' Delegates are obtained, the NUS will have to look to its laurels, because power will then be in the hands of the rank and file, and the Captain Blighs of some ships will have reason to sleep uneasy in their fancy cabins. It must be remembered that shipowners are one of the most powerful employers in the country and it will need the utmost solidarity of rank and file seamen to make them walk the plank.

BILL CHRISTOPHER

LABOUR PARTY BACKS WHITE AUSTRALIA

CANBERRA, Friday.—The biennial conference of the Australian Labour Party, its supreme governing body, today reaffirmed adherence to its "White Australia" policy.—*Evening Standard*, 6.4.61.

THE exclusion of South Africa from the British Commonwealth, following Premier Verwoerd's refusal to compromise on apartheid, was accompanied by the uneasy but significant silence of Prime Minister Menzies of Australia.

Noted for loquacious utterance at these annual gatherings of Commonwealth Premiers, Menzies merely made some weak murmur about Australia's being anti-Japanese in her migration policy. That there was a strong reason for his reticence was shown in the subsequent debate in the Lords. There the fear was expressed that Commonwealth countries will now proceed to raise such questions as the "very strong colour bar" in Australia. One noble lord said that Australia went "the whole hog" in this matter. "She bars not only what we call coloured people, but yellow, brown or black. Segregation can go no further than that. Nobody seems to object to that policy."

There is certainly little objection to the White Australia policy from within Australia itself. It is, in fact, the creature of the Queensland Labour Movement and is firmly upheld by all the leading parties, politicians and trade unionists. It is at the heart of Australian nationalism and was enshrined in the early objectives of the Australian Labour Party. Now White Australia remains tucked away in Labour's Programme.

The present Federal leader of the A.L.P. is a staunch, outspoken champion of the policy. He enforced it vigorously in post-war years, regardless even of the hardship it caused to Australian servicemen and their coloured wives. He has bitterly condemned any suggestion of allowing a small quota of Asiatic immigrants into Australia. Left-wingers invariably defend the policy on "economic grounds" and point to South Africa, Little Rock and Britain's Notting Hill as grave warnings for those few who favour even controlled admission of Asiatics.

In Australia the platform is Labour's profession of faith and the second plank in the first Federal Platform of 1900 read as follows: "Total exclusion of coloured and other undesirable races." One year later Labour adopted another Platform containing five planks, the first of which was White Australia. In 1902 a Fighting Platform emerged, as well as a General Platform, the first plank of the former being "Maintenance of White Australia" and this was adopted by all states.

There was no objective nailed to the masthead of the Platform until the 1905 Federal Conference, where the following New South Wales proposal was accepted: (a) The cultivation of an Australian sentiment based upon the maintenance of racial purity and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community. (b) The securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and the Municipality.

The Federal Parliamentary Leader at that time, in moving the adoption of the above formula, said that he was a State Socialist and "not a social democrat in the sense in which some understand that term. I do not believe that those engaged in any particular industry should control it." A solitary Victorian delegate, H. Scott-Bennett, took exception to the first paragraph, whose nationalism he found obnoxious and altogether opposed to a recognition that "we are part and parcel of the world-wide Socialist Movement."

The 1912 Conference, meeting when Labour commanded both houses of the Federal Parliament, introduced a new section into the Federal Platform, headed "Planks Made Law". Under it was proudly listed White Australia. Labour had worked hard to bring about the enactment of the 1901 Immigration Act, with its virtual prohibition of Asiatics, though the Act itself was not Labour legislation. A new, re-worded objective in 1919 proved acceptable to the majority of delegates. The term "racial purity" was replaced by the less offensive and more accurate "White Australia".

Even when the famous and controversial 1921 Socialisation Objective was adopted and reference to White Australia was deleted, the New South Wales Branch refused for many years to adopt the new objective, which simply called for "The socialisation of industry, production, distribution and exchange." At this Conference, syndicalist-sounding resolutions were carried and the influence of the I.W.W. was not only felt but condemned bitterly by the leaders. Today the maintenance of White Australia still remains a cardinal principle of official Labour policy, despite the priority given to economic policy and the question of socialisation methods.

So far as most Australians are concerned the issue is settled. It is

national policy. Without it there would not be the Australia they know and are determined to keep. They realise that they must, however, strive to people their continent if exclusion of coloured races is to be justified. "White Australia", for them, was a necessary historical development in the building of their nation.

The earliest immigrants to Australia opposed the attempts of the wealthy landholders to introduce oriental labour into New South Wales. During the gold rushes, Chinese appeared on the diggings and restriction laws were passed. The rushes to Queensland in 1877 brought in a huge stream of Chinese which led to the passing of a Chinese Immigration Act and a Gold Fields Act. The campaign against the Chinese was launched and it ended in the almost total prohibition of Asiatic immigration. When an Australian shipping company employed Chinese cheap labour in 1878, the white crews went on strike. The Queensland Government then declared that it would withdraw the company's mail subsidy and that it would not subsidise any company employing coloured labour. In New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes was returned to power and advocated total exclusion. Uniform restriction acts were introduced in several states. of a wider menace to the building of a casteless and classless society, free from the exploitation and servility of the Old World. Coolies, it was felt, could destroy the development of a Utopia in the antipodes and bring about a coolie standard of living for all. In that sense, support for White Australia was social rather than racial.

Besides the "Yellow Peril", the Australians feared the introduction of Kanakas to the sugar plantations in Queensland and the exclusion of the Chinese must be seen as part of the struggle to uproot the coloured slave-labour system from Queensland. The Pacific was being scoured for boys by a fleet of "blackbirders". Missionary and philanthropic societies denounced this vile trade, carried out with murder, kidnapping and brutality, their opposition being mainly concerned with the welfare of the natives, rather than the wages of the Australian worker. Abolition of the trade was never a remote possibility while political power rested with merchants, squatters and planters. Atrocious crimes went unpunished, because the testimony of heathen natives was inadmissible in a court of law and Queensland had no jurisdiction outside her own waters. Most of these natives never knew the terms of the contract which they "signed".

The election of 1883 was fought on the Black Labour question and resulted in victory for the abolitionists. The indenturing of Kanakas was outlawed by an Act of 1885. The conservatives or Nationalists returned to power and repealed the Act in 1892, claiming that they were trying to save the colony from the depression of the early nineties. In the previous year, 350 Italians brought to the cane-fields as cheap white labour, were persuaded by the trade unionists to demand union rates and thus the way was cleared for the re-introduction of coloured labour from the islands. Finally came Federation and the new Commonwealth agreed to carry the burden of dear sugar as part of the economic costs of White Australia. The Sugar Bounties Act of 1903 provided for rebates on sugar grown by white labour. Australian workers as consumers paid for the liberation of the Kanakas and have continued to believe that the price was well worth paying. The Immigration Restriction Act introduced the device of the dictation or language test as a less offensive means of securing the exclusion of those regarded as undesirable on cultural, hygienic, economic, political or other grounds.

In the early years of the Commonwealth, not a time of prosperity, the trade unions were determined to combat competition with their members, taking their stand on the clause in the Act denying entry to "persons under a contract to perform manual labour in the Commonwealth". Hostility was shown to Italians, whom many regarded as not quite white. Even the arrival of six hatters from the United Kingdom was opposed.

By 1927 several unions and the N.S.W. Labour Council had approved the idea of One Big Union. The Australian Council of Trade Unions was established. When attacks were made on White Australia in 1928, the leaders of the Australian Workers Union, which had wrecked the hopes of One Big Union by attempts to make its own organisation serve the purpose, condemned the A.C.T.U. on the grounds that it was "in open conflict with the declared policy of the Australian Labour Party", as it was affiliated with the Pan-Pacific trade union movement, which had articles in its constitution completely opposed to the White Australia policy. The A.C.T.U. declared that it did not intend the "abandonment of the White Australia or any other fundamental policy of the A.L.P."

Twenty years later Australian workers had moved far from their isolationist attitude and dockers and seamen refused to carry materials to the Dutch imperialists in Indonesia. Under Doctor Evatt, the Labour concept of a harmonious association of democratic states in S.E. Asia was developed. Incongruously, his colleague, the

Minister of Immigration who is now the Federal Leader, at the very same time, was administering the immigration law against Asiatics with extreme harshness.

Menzies was prominent in the development of the Colombo Plan in 1951, and by providing economic assistance and training facilities in Australia for technicians, scientists and students from Asia, he has tried to improve relations with the Asiatic peoples. A bold policy of assisted migration began to operate in 1947, but the trade unions have always been unfriendly to assisted mass migration, fearing that it may create unemployment, or that the employers would use it to undermine the workers' standards. They are especially cool towards Europeans, because they distrust foreigners who lack their tradition of union solidarity, independence and militancy. In addition, opposition stems from the social difficulties created by mass migration. The housing problem, a desperate one in Australia after the war, has been intensified by the flow of newcomers, only six per cent. of whom have gone on the land.

It is true, then, to say that if Menzies were to become vocal in defence of White Australia, he would be merely giving expression to the National sentiment. He would claim the right of Australia to have her own migration policy, just as other nations have theirs. He could point to Canada and the U.S.A. and, moreover, he could rightly claim that the term "White Australia", offensive to coloured peoples, is not to be found anywhere in the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901. Nevertheless, the device of the dictation test in Gaelic, Estonian or Flemish seems likely to remain as an effective barrier to the entry of coloured people into Australia—perhaps even until the achievement of a free society permits the free movement of the peoples of the world.

M. CALLINAN.

Postbag

I AM ENCLOSING you a copy of the American "News and Letters" paper, as it has an article or letter from England from a character who evidently dislikes the Syndicalist idea and makes some cynical and disparaging remarks about the Rank and File Conference held in London.

I just can't understand these politicians who refuse to accept the idea of genuine rank and file workers acting on their own account without benefit of saviours, especially the marxist type. Syndicalism would just put them out of business, I guess.

You know, I must be simple, I just can't make head or tail out of that letter, or any other Trotskyist, Stalinist, etc., articles. They are so involved, obscure, it is like the theologians of the middle ages arguing how many angels can dance on the head of a pin.

I work in a machine tool shop (drill press) and we are in the process of making a machine to be sent to Ford of England, the Dagenham plant. We have a saying in our shop that whenever one of our machines goes out, so many more men will be displaced. Yes, we make automation machinery for the auto industry. It will be a great day for humanity when our machines make things easier for all, instead of posing the spectre of unemployment and its attendant miseries. Fraternally,

Cleveland, Ohio.

T. H.

I AM STILL unemployed. Went after a watchman's job at a local factory—the interview was a pip. I finished up by offering to let him see my birth certificate, mother and father's marriage certificate and also my fingerprints. Believe it or not, I did not get the job.

About the only use I can see for space ships would be to load the whole bloody lot of the Polls (including Brand X) and put 'em in orbit. There would be no need for a propellant, they would generate enough hot air themselves, though there would be a serious risk of the ship bursting while still in the gravitational field and they would return to earth.

To sign off, perhaps you will join me in singing the Red Flag: "Labour's flag is palest pink. Be careful what you say or think. Be certain not to rock the boat. Just pay up and give us your vote."

Holbury, Southampton.

"SANDY".

I MUST CONGRATULATE you on "World Labour News". It is modest in presentation, but I feel must be most effective. I like the line of keeping ideological articles to a healthy minimum and a maximum of news and straight reporting. The linking of the pseudo-militants of the Communist Party with reaction, the exposure of their treacherous tactics and aims, is also a point that can never be over-stressed. I fully realise that it is very easy to fall into the trap of developing what seems to be an anti-Bolshevik obsession and a paper can easily lose its influence in that manner, but if the thing is handled with scrupulous fairness, this can be avoided.

Although in this community I live a full and very satisfying life

from the Anarchist point of view (we take part in many of the local student and workers' struggles here) my heart still beats for the industrial struggle and I felt the necessity to be with you there in London at the industrial conference. Greetings to all in London.

Montevideo, Uruguay.

D. F. W.

LAST YEAR I was transferred, temporarily, to production on a rush order for the military. I told the foreman that I'd look for a new job if I was put on war work—so within half-an-hour I was on my usual job again. Naturally there was someone else to do the work I objected to, but I was glad I raised the issue, as it precipitated a bit of discussion in the shop, mostly sympathetic, in the course of which it came out that another of the workers had been sacked from his previous job for refusing to work on an order for the armed forces, so I was by no means alone.

The engineering agreement (and some other agreements) are up for revision now, and it seems that both sides are ready for harder negotiations than they were last time in 1958, when there was a small wage increase and a reduction of working hours by three per week. This time the Iron and Metal Workers Federation is likely to claim equal pay for women and increased holiday pay (8% of previous year's earnings, instead of 6%). There is no general wage claim. (Our branch of the Federation passed a resolution calling for a further reduction of working hours and equal pay for women).

Unfortunately for the industrial situation, there is a general election coming in the autumn and some politically-interested workers are thinking more of that than of the opportunity of making some valuable gains on the economic level by industrial action. Best wishes.

Sandvika, Norway.

P. G.

PREMIER LEMASS, with a fine anti-Labour record, is determined to neutralise and smash the Labour movement here. There is talk now of a reorganisation of the Labour Court. At present this bosses' front labour farce can merely make recommendations. It seems the bright idea of Mr. Lemass and his trade-union leader friends and, of course, Federation Union of Employers, is to make the decisions of this court binding on both sides. The F.U.E. has recently held a conference at which great praise was expressed for the Labour Court and its proposed reorganisation. This goes without comment.

Some members of the Afro-Asian Society held a protest march in Dublin against the murder of Patrice Lumumba and were beaten up by members of the police when they tried to march to the Belgian Embassy. It was a peaceful march and they wanted to present a resolution to the Belgians. This kind of brutality shows the other side of the Irish coin to Aiken's grandiloquent speeches in the United Nations. Fraternally,

Dublin.

D. P.

BRITAIN

Rank and File report

INITIAL difficulties in building a nation-wide rank and file movement have been overcome and the organisation is now strongly based in London. Representatives of the various forces that gathered in Denison House last January to join the movement have clarified their ideas and stand united on a platform of action, the seven planks of which are listed below.

The first of these has been discussed, but calls for continuous examination and development in the months ahead. The Solidarity Fund has been given a Credit Union operation, so that all members, now organised as shareholders, are enabled in times of economic need to borrow money to tide them over a crisis period. Regular discussions and social evenings will be held to ensure the flow of ideas—the education of the movement—and to strengthen the bond of solidarity among members. The aims and objects are:—

1. Promote financial help to members needing assistance, through dispute, victimisation, anti-nuclear activity.
2. Encourage and actively assist the linking up of various industries in solidarity action.
3. Make available to workers in dispute printing and duplicating facilities.
4. Collate lists of address, available transport, loudspeaker vans, etc., in all the main centres, so that when fellow workers are in dispute and visit other towns, accommodation, transport and other facilities (such as facilities for raising cash) are at their disposal.
5. Work for international support in stoppages.
6. Bring to the attention of other workers the demands and requirements of workers in dispute.
7. Promote the policy and slogan of an International General Strike Against War.

Membership entrance fee is 1s. and the monthly subscription thereafter also 1s. For further information, write: Secretary, N.R.F.M., Room 12, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Rhodesia—settlers trim sails to wind of change

"It is time for people in England to realise that the white man in Africa is not prepared and never will be prepared to accept the African as an equal, socially or politically."

These are the words of Sir Godfrey Huggins (now Lord Malvern), then Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who became the first Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Since they were spoken, the settler statesmen have trimmed their sails to the winds of change; but if the noble lord and his protégé and successor, Sir Roy Welensky, would have them forgotten, it is not because of a change of heart but because they are no longer politic. The idea of federation was sold to the settlers as an investment that would bring them rich dividends; but it was peddled in Parliament wrapped in the attractive package of partnership.

History is the story of rulers doling out, under the pressure of other social forces, such concessions as they calculate will stave off revolution, while retaining as much as possible of the substance of power and privilege in their own hands. It is only fools who yield nothing and, unlike the high priests of apartheid, Welensky and his confederates are not fools. But a policy of concessions is not partnership, in British Africa any more than it was in 19th-century Britain, or for that matter in 20th-century Britain or Black Africa. Concessions can be won even by slaves.

The professed policy of partnership in the Federation is a development of the official policy of every British Government for the two territories ruled through the Colonial Office, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, of preparing their African wards for self-rule. Under the

Workers' Voice

The Syndicalist Workers' Federation is now publishing a weekly, duplicated paper, *Workers' Voice*, in addition to *World Labour News*. This enables us to report and comment on day-to-day struggles of the working class and each issue is packed with up-to-the-minute information. Specimen copy, 5d. post-free, or 12 issues, 5s. post-free, from SWF, 25A, Amberley Road, London, W.9.

franchise introduced into Northern Rhodesia after the relinquishment of power by the British South Africa Company, all male British subjects, regardless of race or creed, were given the right to qualify for the vote. The granting of this privilege was bitterly opposed by the settlers, yet it was not until 1946 that any African was elected to the Legislative Council. Two Africans were then elected under a new constitution. Similarly, as recently as 1958 not a single African was entitled to vote in local elections, although there was no discrimination against Africans on openly racial grounds. They were excluded from the franchise by the same device by which most workers of Britain were deprived of the vote until 1867, by the imposition of educational and property requirements which they were not given the opportunities to meet.

Each new constitution, like the series of Reform Acts in England from 1832 onwards, has been nothing but a "judicious" juggling with such qualifications to keep the dominant voting strength in the hands of the whites. The current franchise proposals are no exception.

If the referendum of whites to be held in June agrees, Africans will sit in Southern Rhodesia's Parliament for the first time since the country was granted internal self-government in 1923; but even so there will be only fifteen out of 65 members to represent over 90 per cent. of the population. In Northern Rhodesia, the Macleod plan of fifteen members elected by an upper roll with an overwhelming majority of white electors, fifteen elected by a lower roll of qualified Africans (Africans constitute nearly 97 per cent. of the population), and fifteen elected by both rolls jointly, could lead to a complete deadlock. Worse still, in the dual-roll elections the preponderant weight of African votes would be wiped out by averaging the percentage of votes cast for each dual-roll candidate on each roll considered separately and requiring a minimum percentage of the votes cast by each roll for election. Welensky, a great master of the politician's art of beating one's opponents with whatever stick comes to hand, has pointed out that it would be possible for African candidates for the double-roll constituencies to receive over 90 per cent. of the votes cast, but still fail to be elected.

Welensky's United Federal Party, which forms the Federal Government, poses as the only truly non-racial party in the Federation. One might have thought that one-man-one-vote, regardless of race, would have been as non-racial as it's possible to be. Welensky, whose reaction to the Macleod plan was to mobilise the Territorials, would quote in reply that priceless gift of Rhodesia's Old Man, Cecil Rhodes, to his white sons, the words "equal rights for all civilised men."

It might have been possible to accept such a reply as the creed

of an honest man, had the whites in Rhodesia striven for the educational advancement of the African, for the white man assesses civilisation above all by knowledge. Here again the foolish frankness of Grandpa Huggins will serve as guide. "It is only by allowing white youth the best education," he once declared, "that the race can survive in Africa." It might have been Verwoerd speaking, and Welensky has expressed the same anxiety. This doctrine of caste-education reveals the grisly truth behind the Federal Government's current impressive propaganda campaign in the British press, purporting to show what the white man has done for the black in Central Africa.

Until 1925 no public funds were spent on African education in Northern Rhodesia. In that year £4,496 was voted for 1,170,000 Africans and £13,325 for 5,100 whites. Ten years later there were still 4,000 children on the Copperbelt who were getting no education at all. The official aim of the Department of Native Education (sickeningly reminiscent of the Victorian do-gooders' charity-school approach to education for the working classes, designed to teach them to know their proper place in society and to be properly grateful to their betters) was "to dispel illiteracy among the masses, without bringing about a change so revolutionary as to dislocate tribal life." As recently as 1938 there were no secondary schools for Africans in Northern Rhodesia and only 99 boys and one girl had completed primary education. Needless to say, in this, as in virtually every other respect, the lot of the African was even worse in Southern Rhodesia.

This discrimination against the African applied not only to education, but to Government spending as a whole. "Despite the fact that from 1924 to as late as 1937 there was little difference in the receipts from African poll tax and European income tax, the Government capital grant for development and public works was so allocated that the amount of public money spent in the European area was four times the amount spent in the remainder of the country, although the latter was vastly larger, and seventy times the amount spent on facilities for African use."—Edward Clegg, *Race and Politics*.

In social matters, discrimination was until recently virtually absolute in Northern, as in Southern Rhodesia, so that the colour bar applied not only to privately-owned shops, restaurants, cinemas and banks, but also to railway stations and post offices, in which in some places Africans were served through a hole in the wall, so that the European customers inside should not be contaminated by their presence. One of the most genial of the colour bar customs was the butchers' practice of selling Africans already-wrapped parcels of bones and scrag ends, which they were not allowed to inspect before buying and which often turned out to be unfit for a dog's dinner. A boycott of European butchers organised by the African National Congress eventually put an end to this unsavory practice.

Pass laws, work laws, residential laws—the list of official discrimination is almost endless, and if some of them have been and are being repealed, it is not from brotherly love, but as a result of the increasing pressure of the great black masses, and because the whites have been hoist with their own petard; they cannot openly defend such practices after using the partnership argument to force federation on the blacks.

Nevertheless, the most formidable bastion of white supremacy, economic power, including a virtual monopoly of well-paid jobs has scarcely even been invested by the Africans, let alone taken. Shorn of its non-essential characteristics, the struggle can at last be clearly seen for what it is, a class struggle in which the upper and middle classes happen to be mostly white and the underdogs happen to be black. This struggle is at its most bitter between two classes of workers, and it is this apparently abnormal feature that I wish to discuss in my concluding article.

D. P.

Anarchists denied mail rights

BUENOS AIRES.—The Argentine Government has withdrawn postal facilities from "Accion Libertaria", an Anarchist paper published by the Libertarian Federation (FLA). The paper, founded in 1933, has carried out a consistent campaign against all attacks on freedom and on all totalitarian regimes, including Peronism (it was published clandestinely during the Peron dictatorship) and Bolshevism. Yet the Government Order (4965/59) under which mailing rights have been withdrawn is one specifically aimed against Communist and Totalitarian activities.

GLASGOW: Readers in the Clydeside area interested in SWF activity are asked to contact R. Lynn, 22, Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.

MANCHESTER: For information about SWF activity in Lancashire, contact J. Pinkerton, 12, Alt Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lanes.