

Direct Action

For workers' direct control of industry

Inside—Apprentices strike
Economics of hunger
SWF Conference : Book reviews : Industrial news

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION (IWMA)

Vol.5 No.12 (42)

December 1964

Fourpence

THE HIDDEN HAND OF COUSINS

REMEMBER the election posters of two months ago, with the slogan "Let's Go With Labour"? When one says "Let's go", an object usually follows—"Let's go and see Chelsea"—but here was a journey without destination, just "Let's go".

From the speeches and press statements of Labour Party spokesmen, we find Wilson is to lead us into a brave new world of mechanical men, with much vague talk of "the space age", "jet age", and "age of automation" and some cloudy references to science. None of it such good reading as Jules Verne and not nearly so precise.

AUTOMAGIC

We are to expect wonders from the Merlins of automation, a word made so popular by repetition that it is fast losing any meaning. Every machine, even laborious hand work, is now being called automation, just as every self-service grocery

shop, however small, has become a "supermarket".

What is automation? After the war a new industrial method developed in the American automobile industry, sufficiently distinct to need a new name, so in Detroit someone dubbed it automation. Some, including Sir Leon Bagrit, head of Elliott Automation, prefer the formidable term Cybernetics, the study of communication and control, animal or mechanical. It is *not* just mechanisation. Machines first took over functions of human beings, acting as third hands or extensions of the fingers, but they were hand or foot driven, like the spinning wheel. Next came power, such as the steam engine, making an industrial revolution. The combination of machine and power gave us mechanisation.

Automation is distinct. Ordinary machines, including automatics, will, so long as power and material are fed to them, go on working; but if the wrong material is fed, or the tool is displaced, they will continue, mistakes and all, or smash themselves.

THE ROBOTS

The cybernetic machine, however, will slow itself down when material is delayed, correct itself if it begins to cut too much or too little from the material and, once it is fed with its instruction punch-card, will "think for itself".

But there is little automation in Britain, or in Europe, and its future development, outside the USA, is likely to be slow, though it will still serve the writers of politicians' speeches and authors of science fiction—perhaps the same persons. What we ought to be more concerned with is a much older industrial development, mechanisation and "time and motion work study".

An offensive against wages by the wage-cut wars of 1921-23, 1925-26 and the early 1930's, is, at the moment, impossible. Instead, Britain's employing class seek to reduce their

cont. on page 2, col. 2

Seamen's union leaders caught in the 'rigging'

MEMBERS of the National Union of Seamen have for some time been concerned at suspicions and rumours of ballot rigging in the election of officials. The matter came to a head when Tom Bishop, former secretary of Tilbury branch, made a statement in the *News of the World* (27.9.64) that, acting on instructions of two other officials, he had rigged votes in four elections.

A special committee of four EC members was appointed by the union to investigate this leak. After four weeks the committee made its report, having heard 20 witnesses, including Bishop. General Secretary William Hogarth said on November 7, "I suppose you might call this report dynamite".

A special EC meeting to consider the dynamite was called for November 12. Hogarth continued: "I cannot say whether the report will be published afterwards". Perhaps they would make only a "statement".

In the November issue of the union's journal, he said that any member who discussed the allegations before the committee reported would be "not only unethical, but also disloyal". He further said that the EC had a "unanimous

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CNT MEMBERS FACE MASS TRIAL

As we go to press, the trial is reported to be imminent of 54 members of our Spanish sister organisation, the CNT. These comrades, many of whom have already spent years in jail, are charged with attempting to re-organise an underground CNT organisation—18 YEARS AGO. Sentences of from one to three years' imprisonment are being demanded by the State prosecutor.

Apprentices: Beware of these politicians

ON November 2, the popular press proudly announced that apprentices were ignoring the strike call (DA, November). The fact is that some of the lads have (as we go to press) been out for over a week.

On November 2, apprentices came out in Manchester, Liverpool, Dundee and Stockport. On November 4 in the greater Manchester area the lads were still out. On November 10, apprentices at AEI factory, Trafford Park, stopped work in support of more pay and shorter hours. Leaflets produced by an apprentice committee inside the factory, condemning the strike, were promptly torn up by the youngsters outside, who claimed that the committee was "management-controlled".

November 11, apprentices walked out of Firth Brown Tools claiming an almost 100% response. November 12, youngsters at the AEI Trafford Park training school took strike action. November 16, 300 Clydeside apprentices did likewise. In other parts of the country, the lads started to drift back to work.

To date (15.11.64) the Manchester area has been fairly solid with 1,000 lads out, and Glasgow threatening to come out.

The response to the strike call has been patchy, but the lads have had a go—and let's not forget that they placed their indentures in jeopardy by their action.

Two factors stand out a mile: 1. The politicians have had their fingers in the pie, the various Trots plugging their varied lines, plus the CP playing its tune. These organisations are first-class wreckers of everything they touch. Many good militants have been through their grimy hands and wound up gardening. Their slogans capture the imagination, but... they are like an attractive label on a discarded wine bottle, useless.

The other factor is the apparent indifference of adult union members. As stated in our last issue, the strike depended on the support of the men, financial or otherwise. The all-important thing now is to ensure that some form of apprentice organisation is left intact after the dispute. *Industrial Youth* is typecast for this very role, provided it is kept out of the hands of political assassins and is written and controlled by the apprentices themselves. So! *Industrial Youth* needs support (4½d postpaid). Write to 15 Neston Rd., Turf Hill, Rochdale, Lancs.

SEAMEN'S UNION (cont.)

desire to get at the truth". But not to let anybody else get at it! That would be unethical.

On November 15, after four days' discussion (the meeting was to have been for one day), the EC thought the report sufficiently explosive to send it to the Director of Public Prosecutions. It expelled four members—Bishop, who had said that as an official he had rigged votes between 1960 and 1963 (the committee accepted as correct his confession); I. M. Jones, recently resigned union official at Tilbury; W. D. Buchan, union docks officer at Tilbury, and A. G. Smith, also of Tilbury.

One of the elections questioned was that in which William Hogarth was made general secretary. Members of the union continue to put on pressure for the truth and nothing but...

SELLERS WANTED: Local comrades are selling DIRECT ACTION outside West Croydon General Library on Saturday mornings, 10.30—1.0 p.m. Help welcome.

Cousins (cont.)

labour force by faster, more complicated machines and by pernicious "work study".

GUM SHOES AND STOPWATCHES

Work study, in contrast with automation—which seeks to give the machine certain attributes of humans—aims at the mechanisation of men. The soft-shoe gang creep about the factory, timing men with a stopwatch, noting all their movements and adding and subtracting them until the sum is the greatest amount of productivity of which a man is capable, if he is treated not as a temperamental human being, but a machine.

This is the offensive of the employers against the wage workers, which so far has had very limited success. It seeks to get more work, without a corresponding increase in its wage bill; to get the same or greater production from fewer workers. As a by-product, it will ultimately increase the wage-competing ranks of the unemployed.

LET THEM EAT BIGGER CAKES

While sections of the employing class, such as professional politicians, may dislike some of the Labour Party's regime, it has much to offer them. During the election campaign no fear of the "October Revolution" was shown in the capitalist press, which at times has a distinctly favourable leaning towards that party, quite apart from the "Labour papers" owned by millionaires.

In addition, the *Economist* advised its capitalist readers to "Vote Labour". The Trotskyist *Newsletter* front-paged an appeal by super-grocer Lord Sainsbury to "Vote Labour," and alongside it printed the Trotskyist appeal to—"Vote Labour".

Capitalism's best chance of inflicting its more-work-for-less-money campaign on the workers is the Labour Government, though they may have to suffer a little from its bureaucratic nonsense.

Already the Wilson Cabinet are on the job with their hangman's propaganda, "Just try this on for size". With a touch of Marie Antoinette, Gunter says "I want to make the cake bigger". We have known times when we got a smaller slice from a bigger cake.

The "Labour" *Daily Mirror* tells readers stop-watching is good for them, while Gunter threatens workers with an attack on "restrictive practices". Harold Wilson, in his TV broadcast of October 27, spoke of talks with union leaders and employers, adding, with regard to higher incomes, "When I say incomes, I mean not only wages but PROFITS, DIVIDENDS AND RENTS".

He also promised war against "overmanning of jobs", "demarcation" and wild-cat strikes.

This is the meaning of Cousins' appointment to the Wilson-created Ministry of Technology... not to lead us to a brave new scientific world, but to lead the attack on industrial workers—and office workers, too—for will they not accept from a trade-union leader what they reject from a Dr. Beeching? Surely workers will submit to Labour measures, which, if imposed by Tories, would cause a revolt?

So runs their reasoning. Fortunately, they reckon without the *bête-noire* of their nightmares—the unofficial strike.

TOM BROWN

SWF (London) SOCIAL

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12

THE LORD NELSON, Carburton St., W.1.

(off Gt. Portland St.)

7.30—11 p.m.

ADMISSION 2s 6d

Gt. Portland St., Warren St. & Regents Pk. stations

An injury to one is an injury to all

FOR a long time, Woolfs rubber factory at Southall, Middx., managed to avoid recognising a union by employing large numbers of immigrants from India and Pakistan. During this period it was apparently impossible for an immigrant to get or keep a job without liberal bribes in certain quarters. Eventually a union was formed.

Recently Woolfs hired a new manager who, it was rumoured, had come from Ford's, Dagenham and was spoiling for a showdown.

The showdown came at the end of October, when an employee was suspended for "threatening behaviour". (It seems that the man, who speaks no English, was gesturing in an attempt to answer a foreman's question). There was an immediate walk-out by the workers, who struck for about two weeks. The result—victory with the worker being reinstated.

ONE OUT, ALL IN

CALUM MACKAY is still left holding the can (November DA). On information available, the 800 workers at Remington Rand were opposed to any further action in support of their former convenor. This returning-to-work lark (after several weeks' of struggle) to resume negotiations certainly pays dividends FOR THE EMPLOYER.

PRAISE FROM THE CAPITALIST PRESS

THIS doubtful honour was bestowed upon Messrs. Les Cannon, President of the ETU, and Frank Chapple, its assistant general secretary.

According to an *Evening News* editorial (5.11.64) the ETU at executive level has become one of the most responsible and enlightened of the big unions. This has happened since the ETU got rid of the Communists.

Les Cannon was praised for his attack on trade unionists who insist on three men for one job, involve themselves in futile demarcation disputes and are guilty of "ridiculous opposition" to new methods of working. Funny, before "Hungary" Les Cannon would not have dared to say such a thing: he would have been whipped up to King St., right smartish. Respectability plays havoc with one's principles.

'Industrial Worker' is back on the job

A TWO-MONTH interruption in publication of our companion paper *Industrial Worker*, Chicago organ of the IWW for many years, has ended happily. It began after the first August issue, when the IW's printer went broke. Attempts to find another printshop in Chicago prepared to handle the paper at a comparable price to the former one failed.

Finally a solution was found, two states and 400 miles away in Duluth, Minnesota, where the IWW's Finnish-language paper, *Industrialisti*, appears three times weekly. The same printer will now produce both papers. *Industrial Worker* reappeared in October, but will, for the time being, be published every three weeks, instead of fortnightly.

We strongly recommend *Industrial Worker* to all readers interested in the American labour scene. Specimen copy 6½d postpaid from SWF, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17.

The SWF is also carrying a varied stock of IWW pamphlets, including *One Big Union*, *The General Strike* and that evergreen favourite, *The Little Red Songbook*. Full details on request.

Frank Chapple condemned unofficial strikes aimed at blackmailing employers into making concessions. This presupposes that Frank was a paragon of virtue when he was "with the tools". Memory fades quicker than roses in a warm room.

The ETU is to throw the full weight of its members behind the Government's incomes policy. It has some reservations, of course. Les Cannon said: "If this Government fulfils its pledges to widen the area of social justice, then we have the responsibility of answering the challenge that Harold Wilson gave at the TUC Conference that such a Government should have the right to ask the trade-union movement to agree to an incomes policy. Our union accepts that challenge".

What a load of hogwash. Callaghan has told the City their contribution to the national economy is recognised and that the City needs to earn its living. He went on to say: "We shall listen to what you have to say with an open mind and see if we can meet your difficulties." So lads, tighten your belts, the City has problems.

ANOTHER CRUCIFIXION

AT the Furness Shipbuilding Company, Haverton Hill (Co. Durham), 400 men decided at a mass meeting to strike in support of a victimised shop steward. This is a prelude of things to come—the "Workers' Government" at Westminster will not stand for kicking over the traces.

TUC CALLS IT A DAY

THE TUC has rejected an appeal for help in settling a year-old dispute at William Denby dye works, Bradford. William Denby declared the works an "open house", 250 struck work and 114 of the workers are still on picket, drawing strike pay.

An appeal was made at last TUC Annual Congress and, in terms of solidarity action, it fell on deaf ears. All through the dispute various unions have kept their members working. William Denby is still in production, Martell is able to say: "Whenever a firm does stand up to the unions stoutly, this is always the result, although most employers will never believe it".

The dispute has cost the union £50,000 and no nearer victory. Solidarity action would have won the battle . . . it is still not too late.

BUSMEN TAKE ACTION

SOME bus garages are to ban all overtime from Saturday, November 21, in protest against winter schedules. Such action is expected to spread. The new schedules involve 898 duty cuts, which will ensure, with luck, one bus a day.

On October 28, the Central Bus Conference discussed a motion from the floor calling for a one-day protest strike on November 21, to be followed by a complete ban on overtime and rest-day working. An amendment called for a further meeting with the LTB. The action demand was defeated by 35 votes to 25, with 10 abstentions.

Past experience has proved talking to the LTB makes no progress. Action has got to be taken. I wish rank and file busmen would issue a leaflet to passengers explaining what the winter schedules will mean in terms of bus service. We are the workers as well.

FORD'S PLAY DUCKS AND DRAKES

FORD tractor workers, 100 strong, refused to move to Basildon, ten miles from Dagenham, they just sat tight in the canteen. After discussion with union district officials, the management withdrew its ultimatum. Most of the men have 30 to 40 years' service and such a move would have meant a cut in earnings of £2 per week.

BILL CHRISTOPHER

Direct Action

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION, BRITISH SECTION OF INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

SWF meets in Sixth National Conference

THE VI NATIONAL CONFERENCE of the SWF was held at the ACTT Hall, Soho Square, London on Sunday, November 15. Well over 50 comrades attended from London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birkenhead, Birmingham, Bristol, Nottingham, Dublin, Tunbridge Wells, Witney and York. Fraternal delegates were present from the CNT in Great Britain, Mujeres Libres and the London Freie Arbeiter Stimme Group, also individual sympathisers from the ILP and London Anarchist Group. Greetings were received from the French AF and Bulgarian comrades in exile.

The Conference successfully dealt with a heavy agenda in two sessions. Reports by the National Secretary and Treasurer were endorsed. The former noted that "The overall picture of the SWF over the past year has been one of steady progress". Membership had doubled, the production of *Direct Action* in a printed monthly format had been firmly established and its circulation increased by 400 copies. One new pamphlet *Lenin and Workers' Control*, and one reprint, *How Labour Governed*, 1945-51, had been printed, in addition to four propaganda leaflets (total print, 14,500). There had been several setbacks, including the imprisonment of Stuart Christie in Spain and the theft of the SWF's stock of printing type, but generally the SWF was moving forward. The treasurer's report noted record income—and expenditure!—but regretted only sporadic payment of dues by many comrades.

Group and individual delegate reports revealed that much work for the development of our organisation and propagation of its ideas was being done, but that there was need for formation of groups in many key areas where activity was virtually non-existent. A new SWF group had recently been established in Bristol, which was holding regular meetings. In Tunbridge Wells, a non-industrial town, a lively group of comrades had made considerable headway in helping form a Tenants' Association to fight racketeer landlords, with whom a showdown was imminent.

Two slight amendments were made to the SWF's Aims and Principles and Organisational Basis. A long discussion on "Press and Propaganda" dealt with practical means to improve the SWF's output of printed matter.

"Industrial activity" brought an interesting report on developments in unofficial activity, particularly on the NE Coast, and the successful use of the newly-sanctioned ship's committees. The Industrial Action Sub-Committee, recently formed in London, outlined its plans for future work. Discussion centred on the vicious exploitation of the largely unorganised workers in Catering and means of helping them fight the employers.

A resolution calling on all SWF members to combat racial discrimination by every active means, moved by a comrade from Southall, was carried unanimously.

The following National Committee was elected: Bill Chris-

topher (secretary), Mark Hendy (treasurer), Marylyn Hutt, Ricky Cook, Roger Ethrington, Desmond Macdonald, Tom Brown and Ken Hawkes.

Agustin Roa, secretary of the exiled CNT of Spain in Britain, complimented delegates on a successful conference and wished British fellow-members of the IWMA continued growth for the SWF during 1965.

W. Country SWF branch formed

SWF members in Bristol have now formed the Bristol and West Country Branch. For some time past the West has had a small but growing number of members, but so far they have existed merely as individuals, not as a body. Thus the West Country has to date been without any organised libertarian workers' movement.

At a meeting at the Old Duke, King Street, Bristol on November 10, however, the new branch was officially formed. Meetings will take place there on the second Tuesday of every month. The fourth Tuesday will be the night for our Left Wing Forum, also at the Old Duke. Members of all organisations are invited to come along with their literature and, of course, their verbal ammunition, to engage in informal discussion with other groups.

JOHN COVENEY

SWF PRESS FUND—OCTOBER 23 to NOVEMBER 17, 1964

London W2, M.C. 17s; Southall, Middx., K.B. 4s; London NW10, J.M. & M.W. 10s; Thornbury, Bristol, S.G. £2; London Group, £4 15s 6d. Total £8 6s 6d.

LEGAL AID TO ADAM NICHOLSON

(See DIRECT ACTION, September)

The balance of £7 12s was met by a collection at the SWF Conference.

AID TO ROGER KINGHAM

As reported in our October issue, Comrade Kingham was harshly fined for his action in solidarity with Stuart Christie and Fernando Carballo. So far £5 15s 6d has been collected to help offset his £68 fine, which has been paid. MORE IS NEEDED.

GROUP NOTICES

LONDON SWF GROUP: Open meetings every Friday, except the first one in each month, at the Lucas Arms, 245 Grays Inn Road, WC1 (5 min Kings Cross Station) at 8 pm.

LONDON: SWF Industrial Action Sub-Committee (London). Readers wishing to help in the work of this committee are asked to contact the Secretary, Joe Ball, 27 Jerningham Road, London S.E.14.

BRISTOL BRANCH—SWF: Monthly branch meeting—2nd Tuesday each month (7.30 pm); Monthly Libertarian Forum—4th Tuesday each month (7.30 pm). Meeting place—The Old Duke, King Street, Bristol 1. Secretary-Treasurer—John Coveney, 34 Banner Road, Bristol 2. Monthly Forum is open to literature sellers of ILP, AFB, Solidarity, Commonwealth, and any other libertarian socialist organisations.

GLASGOW: Contact Ron Alexander, c/o Kennedy, 112 Glenkirk Drive, Glasgow W.5.

LIVERPOOL: Contact Vincent Johnson, 43 Milbank, Liverpool 13.

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

SOUTHALL: Enquiries to Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Ave., Southall, Middx.

WITNEY—Meetings 1st Friday of each month. Contact LAURENS OTTER, 5 New Yatt Rd, North Leigh, near Witney, Oxon.

BIRMINGHAM AND W. MIDLANDS. Contact Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP. Meets Tuesdays (in terms), Q5 Queens. Details, town and gown, Adrian Cunningham, 3, North Cottages, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP: Contact Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland St, Edinburgh 3.

NEW FOREST ANARCHIST GROUP: Contact Ken Parkin, Old Tea House, Brockenhurst, Hants.

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP: Contact the Secretary, 5 Colville Houses, W11. Open meeting 1st Friday each month, 8 pm, British Oak, Westbourne Park Rd, W2.

ROMFORD AND HORNCHURCH ANARCHIST GROUP: Contact Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster, or John Chamberlain, 19 Chestnut Glen, Hornchurch.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS ANARCHIST GROUP meets on 1st and 3rd Thursday of every month at 8 p.m. at 4, Mount Zion, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

SPAIN'S ECONOMICS OF HUNGER

THE REGIME that rules Spain is nothing if not hard-faced. Though committed to a programme of industrialisation, it claimed, when the Asturian miners struck earlier this year, a decline in the demand for coal. Faithfully fascist, it bought coal from Communist Poland during the dispute. And now, by way of a farcical finale, up go the propaganda posters proclaiming 25 years *Paz en Trabajo* (industrial peace).

More serious, however, is the run down of Spain's agricultural resources. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* states, "Until the Civil War, Spain did . . . manage to be self-supporting in many agricultural products and even to produce a surplus for export in some . . ." Since the war, Spain has become more dependent on imported food and this year's rise in bread prices reminds one that wheat has not been the least to suffer. Despite the emigration of workers to better-paying countries, the population is well above that of 1935, yet the resources of essential foodstuffs has declined.

LIVESTOCK (in 1,000 head)

	1935	1939	1950	1955
Cattle	4,215	3,739	3,112	3,011
Sheep	17,526	21,779	16,344	16,312
Goats	4,692	6,692	4,135	3,428
Pigs	5,134	6,942	2,688	unavailable

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION (in metric tons)

	1934-38	1953-55	1957
Barley	2,394,000	1,800,000	1,670,000
Maize/Corn	709,000	691,000	700,000
Oats	670,000	489,000	580,000
Potatoes	5,010,000	3,912,000	unavailable
Rice (paddy)	293,000	394,000	480,000
Rye	551,000	475,000	550,000
Wheat	4,392,000	3,948,000	3,510,000

N.B.—the 1934-38 and 1953-55 figures are yearly averages for the periods concerned.

Little improvement may be expected in years to come, as profits aren't made on cereals, or providing a staple diet for Spain, but rather, as producers in Valencia have discovered, by boxing oranges and other fruits for export. So there we have it. Spain will, in future, be geared to the export market. Fruits which can demand a high price abroad will be specialised in, while other foodstuffs will be imported by this once self-sufficient country.

In Cadiz, to take a backward province where feudalism not only lingers but is entrenched, and many people rely on tips and begging as their sole source of survival, vast areas of land are devoted to raising fighting bulls. Young children roam the bars until late at night in search of food scraps and leftovers. Wages for the most part are very close to the 12-duro (7s 6d) daily minimum. Yet in this province alone three farmers control 100,000 acres.

But the real order of the day for the regime is foreign investment and industrialisation. And we may be sure the presence of Europe's cunning capitalists, who can, as it were,

squeeze water out of a stone, will lead to more, not less exploitation. It has always been a characteristic of capitalism that it attract speople's labours to the market's most profitable prize, not toward human need. In any event, a Spain colonised by foreign finance doesn't recommend itself. Is industrialisation the ideal for an agricultural nation, which even now is failing to feed itself?

BRIAN BAMFORD

Danish militants burn effigy of Franco

LAST MONTH we reported the activities of Danish fellow-workers on behalf of the Spanish Resistance and against tourist travel to Spain. We now learn that militant activity in support of the call for a tourist boycott has been performed by the activist group *Socialistisk Aktion*, which consists of several hundred young persons.

These were the main core of the great protest march held last spring under the four slogans: "against capitalism", "against NATO", "against joint command" (of Danish and German forces), "against royalism". Different left-wing organisations co-operated in this march—SUF (youth group of the Larsen party), Revolutionary Socialists (Trotskyist), the Association of Danish Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War, two apprentice unions, and several members of the DKU, (youth group of the Communist Party). The march ended in a great mass-meeting in Town Hall Square, Copenhagen, with several thousand assembled.

Besides the display of anti-tourist posters and the attacks on tourist agencies arranging trips to Franco Spain, an aeroplane on its way to Spain was "telephone-bombed". The activists responsible for these activities are still unknown.

The most recent development has been a demonstration on the final day of the trial of Alvarez earlier this year. This took place in front of the Spanish Embassy and the residence of the Spanish Ambassador in Copenhagen. Some 500 persons took part, the organisers being the SUF, DKU and their respective student organisations. A dummy of Franco was burned as a protest against the brutality of the Spanish regime. Later in the night an unknown person threw bombs into the Ambassador's residence, causing severe damage.

These events were understood in Madrid, and the Spanish Foreign Minister delivered a protest to the Danish Ambassador, Sigurd Christensen. The Spanish chargé d'affaires in Denmark protested to the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who were forced to ask the Ministry of the Interior to investigate the matter—especially the fact that the Danish police did not stop the burning of the dummy. On November 3 it was announced that a trial against the organisers was to take place on a charge of "insulting Franco".

The SWF leaflet *A Cheap Holiday* has been translated into Danish and reprinted by the Revolutionary Socialist group. It has also been reprinted and distributed by the Chicago branch of the Industrial Workers of the World. Copies are obtainable from 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17. Price 2s. per hundred, £1 per thousand.

ESSENTIAL READING—IN ANY YEAR

LENIN AND WORKERS' CONTROL

by Tom Brown

DIRECT ACTION Pamphlet No. 8 6d.(post paid)

From: Bill Christopher, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17.

A.I.T.

Monthly paper of the IWMA, in French and Spanish.
9d. from SWF, 34 Cumberland Rd., London, E.17.

Book reviews

Men underground

THE HISTORY OF TUNNELLING by Gösta Sandström (Barrie and Rockliff, 45s.)

BOOKS presenting technical history often ignore the social reality of the events described. It is, therefore, refreshing to read a history of tunnelling which also tells something about the men who built the tunnels, sometimes even their working hours and what they earned.

The author, Swedish-born and Scandinavian correspondent of "The Economist", opens with the earliest known underground workings, in historic and prehistoric times, and contrasts the working conditions of the prisoners in the early Egyptian mines with those of the Saxon metal miners, who enjoyed a 35-hour work week in the 1550's. Since then, it seems the pendulum has swung back towards Egyptian slavery for workers—above and below ground—we are still a long way from the 35-hour week.

After chapters on early water and sewage tunnels, early railway tunnels and methods of tunnelling, Sandström relates in detail the history of several of the great railway tunnels of the Alps. He tells of the rock and the water endured by the tunnellers, then quotes, very effectively, the menu at an opening celebration, enjoyed, of course, exclusively by those who had done little or nothing in connection with the tunnel. In general, the workers' courage and endurance had to make up for the technical inadequacy of the engineers and contractors, who planned and led the work. We are reminded that the workers on the Simplon (opened 1906) enjoyed better conditions than those tolerated by Sandström's fellow-countrymen on the first great underground hydro-electric project, the Porjus, built 1911-14.

More chapters tell us in some detail of other technical developments and there is a typical Sandström interlude on John Henry, the man who beat the machine, "everlasting symbol of the dignity of Labour."

We can read of the first tunnels under the Thames, the Lötschberg disaster and "The Channel Comedy." Typical of our own time are the Storrnorrfors power plant, a modern successor to the classical Porjus, and "The Knights of Mont Blanc," whose story is told in the final chapter.

Sandström believes underground work has been, until recent post-war years, technically about 50 years behind the times; this has been uneconomic from a capitalist viewpoint and has meant unnecessary hardship for underground workers. He, like us, knows that modern techniques and construction camps, "like mountain hotels," as he calls them, have not abolished all the dangers and hardships to which underground workers are exposed, though here we could add that many accidents happen just because available safety techniques are not applied.

Those of us who work underground will find this book interesting and realistic, while readers who work above ground will also find enough of social interest to make it worth while borrowing from their public library.

P.G.

A clear-sighted rebel

JEMMY HOPE: A MAN OF THE PEOPLE by Sean Cronin (Scéim na gCeardchumann, Dublin 1s 6d).

THE bi-centenary of the birth of Jemmy Hope was celebrated by Scéim na gCeardchumann (a trade union organisation recently formed in Dublin), who published a

booklet on his life by Sean Cronin and also laid a wreath on the wall of what was his shop in "the Liberties". Jemmy Hope was one of the organisers of the '98 Rising and Emmets Rising in 1803. He was outstanding among the leaders of his period, in that he could foresee the betrayal of the working class, which took place during 1798.

Hope, perhaps alone in his time, could see that while the merchant middle class wanted to free themselves from any trade barriers imposed by the British Government, to maintain British capitalism against its Irish rivals, they were scared that the vacuum created by their Rising, fought for by "their" peasants and workers, might result in the peasantry of Antrim, Down and Wexford and the workers of areas such as "the Liberties" taking power and holding it for themselves. This was the objective of Hope's lifetime; this is what he foresaw as independence, but he realised that the merchant middle class would shirk a Rising that would turn to any radical solutions. Cronin's booklet brings out these facts very clearly.

Jemmy Hope was born in Templepatrick, Co. Antrim, in 1764. His first political association took place in the Roughfort Corps of the Irish Volunteers, which subsequently became a branch of the United Irishmen. He came to Dublin in 1796 as an organiser for the United Irishmen and settled in "the Liberties." He was involved in preparations for the Rising in 1798 and it is at this point where we can clearly see the betrayal by middle-class leadership. The Adjutant General of the Antrim forces resigned on the eve of the Rising and it was left to Hope, with his "Spartan Band"—a name put on the Roughfort Corps—and Henry Joy McCracken to lead the Rising in Antrim. It is important to note that in the North on the day of the Rising, the countryside of Antrim and Down was in the hands of the people, while the towns remained under Government control. The middle class, who controlled the United Irishmen in the towns, had betrayed the peasantry and workers, as they continued to do in the history of Ireland, right up to 1964.

Cronin concludes his excellent booklet by saying that Hope's ideas have outlived his bi-centenary. "They are valid still." This is true. Later in his life Hope wrote, "When I speak of myself, I mean the survivors of the working classes who struggled from 1794 to 1806." This booklet is a fine contribution to the history of the Irish revolutionary movement. It can be obtained, 2s post paid, from the SWF, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17, or from the Secretary, Scéim na gCeardchumann, 17 Curlew Road, Drimnagh, Dublin 12.

PAT KELLY

Christie-Carballo report

A demonstration on behalf of Christie and Carballo, as well as other recent victims of the Franco regime, was held in Bordeaux by the Jeunes Libertaires group early in October. We also have news that Stuart is able to receive any number of letters per week. He would like to hear from friends and comrades, who are reminded that the same rules of censorship undoubtedly apply to letters and postcards as to printed matter. Political matter and matter liable to "stimulate sexual desires" are precluded; which apparently rules out newspapers. There is, as yet, no further news about Carballo or his relatives.

Meanwhile the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee will be lobbying M.P.'s who have pledged their support in working for the release of our two comrades.

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U.S. print strikers still out after 21 months

AMERICA'S longest current strike has become an international issue. On March 11, 1963, 1,700 printers walked out of Kingsport Press, Tennessee, one of the giants of America's book printing industry, with some 10% of total business. Immediate cause of the strike was the company's refusal "to match, or even come close to average wage increases given elsewhere in the industry, to reduce hours to approach industry standards or to better trailing fringe benefits".

Major competitors pay 50 to 90 cents an hour more in many job classifications and offer a shorter working week—37½ hours, against Kingsport's 40. "No direct competitor is giving less than two weeks' vacation after one year's service; many offer three . . . the best offer of the Company was 1 week after 1 year, 2 weeks after 3 years, 3 weeks after 10 years (commonly 3 weeks are offered after 5 years or less), and 4 weeks after 25 years!"

Printing workers at Kingsport have put up with sub-standard conditions for many years. Even now the unions were not demanding parity with more fortunate fellow workers, but merely that the gap between them should not be widened. They had, for example, agreed to the holiday offer, and to a compromise 38½ hour working week. But the company rejected the union demand for 8 cents an hour annual increases (against the average current increases of 10 cents) and refused to improve their offer of increases averaging 3½-5½ cents an hour each year for a three-year contract. It also rejected the union demand to have some say in the manning of new equipment and promotion to senior posts, with arbitration when agreement could not be reached.

The management, in fact, determined to bust the unions. It introduced scab labour, and despite reaching compromise agreements on holidays, manning and promotion, decreed that striking workers should get in line behind scabs if they wished to be rehired.

The strike became a national issue, described by President George Meany in an appeal for support from all AFL-CIO unions as an "assault on management paternalism which attempts to reduce unions to a position of impotence". It could have, he said, "a profound effect on the future pace of union progress in the South".

As the anniversary of the strike approached, the Kingsport bosses thought they saw their chance to smash the unions by depriving them of bargaining rights. Under the Taft-Hartley labour laws, strikers lose the right to participate in elections to determine who shall represent a firm's employees, unless they take place within a year of the strike's start. The unions petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for elections

a month and a half before the deadline, but the company tried to torpedo it by filing objections with the Board and, when these were overruled, with the courts. But the US District Court for the District of Columbia refused to stop the election. Three of the unions retained bargaining rights, but the machinists' local was swamped by scab votes.

The first month of the strike slashed the value of the company's monthly production from \$2,000,000 to \$600,000, but the management says that by the end of this year it will be back at the pre-strike level.

"By not playing dead", boasts President E. J. Triebe, Kingsport Press "has proven it can operate at a profit while on strike". But its claim to have already achieved 85% of pre-strike production sounds like propaganda for kids. Its work force is still nearly a thousand below the original 2,200. It is made up of 130 union members who refused to join the strike, 400 workers who abandoned the struggle, and 750 brand-new scabs.

The union claims that most of the new workers are inexperienced, and their own estimate that the company's output is about 60% of normal production does not sound madly optimistic. "The Company", they say, "although not on the ropes is hurting and its future is far from bright if the Unions continue to keep the spotlight of publicity upon it".

The unions believe they have persuaded some publishers not to place any more contracts with Kingsport, but the company's main customers, the encyclopaedia publishers, Britannica, Grolier, and Field Enterprises Educational Corporation, stidd do a great deal of business with them.

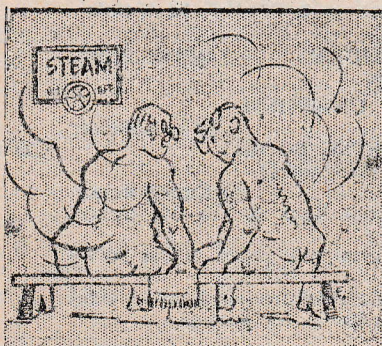
All these concerns have set up outfits in England. News of the great Kingsport struggle reached editorial workers at Field Enterprises' London branch when the management replied to their demand for recognition of their journalists' chapel (representing three-quarters of the editorial staff) by boasting that they had been unaffected by a year-old strike at the works where all their printing was done and that they didn't give a fig for unions.

Perhaps, since nearly all of the 30-odd chapel members are new both to unions and to journalism, they should not be blamed too much for their torpid reaction to the news that they were working on proofs produced by scab labour, and thus were helping to break a strike of fellow workers. And, understandably, they feel somewhat cowed by the giant concern for which they work. (It is the biggest encyclopaedia publisher in America and is connected with one of Chicago's most famous stores. It also owns two newspapers in Chicago, but workers there are hamstrung from striking in solidarity with the Kingsport strikers by the Federal labour law prohibiting sympathy strikes).

But what of the veteran leaders of Britain's National Union of Journalists, who, ready enough to give orders at other times, did not tell the fledgling chapel to stop engaging, however involuntarily, in strike-breaking; and who, following hard on the heels of their failure to fight for recognition at two other British book-publishing houses—Collins of Glasgow (see November's DA) and Aldus Books, the London-based international publishers owned by Doubleday of New York—have apparently decided they can do nothing about Field's refusal to recognise the right to collective bargaining?

Reluctant to take on the terrible book barons, the NUJ bosses rest on their laurels, while the stalwart Kingsport strikers fight to the finish to safeguard the hard-won rights of trade unions. As one strike leader has put it: "We have hold of a tiger which we dare not turn loose".

DOV



"GAD SIR, WHAT WITH ADEN, THESE BUCCANEERS FOR VERWOERD AND THE CONGO, IT'S JUST LIKE OLD TIMES."

An open letter to the Labour Leader

Dear Harold,

I thought it best to let you settle in a bit before sending my congratulations—tell you the truth, what with recovering from the last and getting ready for the next Election I haven't had much time to do anything but read the papers. And haven't they been marvellous? I wonder how you've managed Fleet Street so expertly, Harold? I suppose a lot of manoeuvres behind the scenes like Alun Gwyn Jones of *The Times* that you made Lord Chalfont, Minister of Disarmament, eh?

Anyway, you've done a thorough job on the news boys. Hardly a word of criticism from them, even now, with all this mess you're in! You're going to need them Harold, no doubt about that. I hope you got that fellow sacked from the *Daily Mail*—the one that gave the huge two-page spread to those pictures of the dustmen at No. 10 carting off the 17 cases of champagne empties after the party you had the night before.

Probably, though, the best way would be to give him a job, like you've done with hundreds of others. Marvellous, Harold getting that army of ministers, Parliamentary secretaries and professors and advisers on your pay list. There won't be a squeak out of that lot, no matter what you do now—and, of course, you couldn't have got *them* unless you'd doubled the salaries.

It looks like you'll have to hand out a good few jobs yet, though—there's a lot of ingratitude about, you know, and as Labour Lords become ten a penny you'll either have to jack up the Lords' appearance money to 20 quid a day or think of something else.

I don't like the way this *Evening Standard* columnist has started counting members in the House to see if they're earning their wages. What with them, this EFTA watchdog committee and the Ombudsman you'll be surrounded with spies before the magnificent Hundred Days are up. I don't know how you're going to put up with these foreigners sitting there counting every penny you spend and what on.

And still, after all you've done there are some malcontents left—sickening how those old age pensioners want their pensions backdated like your salaries. Give them too much and they think they're important. Luckily you've got Gunter there to tell the workers where they get off. Of course, he's

Libertarian activity in Manchester

FOR the first time since the war (at least), regular meetings of anarchists and sympathisers are taking place in Manchester. It began at a meeting in the Black Lion, just over the boarder in Salford, last May. The initiative came from young Graham Leigh, who sent out invitations to everybody he knew of within a reasonable distance. About 20 turned up for a talk by Robert McKean about the IWW. It was agreed to hold further meetings and these have taken place at regularly fortnightly intervals.

The practice has been to have a speaker, then discuss afterwards. Among others we have had F. A. Ridley on the dissolution of the British Empire, John McEwan on developments in modern anarchist thought, and Vincent Johnson on syndicalism. Also an excellent speaker on the collective farms of Israel.

Different people turn up at different meetings, but the most recent meetings have had as many as 30 present, mostly aged well under 30. Most of them are thirsting for action and are a bit impatient.

In the North of England there are, perhaps, hundreds of keen anarchists and syndicalists, scattered in towns and cities a long way apart. They have had no central spot where they can go, knowing they will meet others like-minded. Now they have one, and this is a step forward. It is too early to speak of leading tendencies. There are anarchists, syndicalists, anarcho-communists, IWW and others not classified (by the present writer).

JIM PINKERTON

going to have to make strikes illegal and put the troops in here and there like Shawcross did, but Gunter's just the boy to do it better. You wouldn't have picked him otherwise. One thing you can't afford is all these footling pay claims.

After our last Ward meeting I heard Grundiman praising you as a great crisis PM. Then I discovered he was telling Cllr. Blott that there wasn't such a great economic crisis when you became PM but that within three weeks you'd drummed up the worst one we've had for years. The Councillor turned away in disgust, but Grundiman went on and on about how you'd got a European crisis, a South African crisis, and that in a couple of weeks you'd be having an American crisis and an industrial crisis.

However, Harold, hadn't you better hurry up the Election? A lot of people seem to think that things are going to get worse—with pressure on the pound until it's deflated or devalued, and the Bank Rate and taxes going up, and you having to climb down and abolish the import duties to please those foreigners before they retaliate.

And you know, when you start on the slide all those people you've given the jobs to will see them disappearing and they're likely to jump ship. Even now some of the papers are beginning to let some doubtful things through—especially certain cartoonists. I didn't like that bit about Labour Millionaire MP Captain Robert Maxwell being fined for careless driving, shaving and driving his Rolls at the same time.

Yet it's wonderful the way you've built up the Wilson Image since you moved into No. 10—the chips-with-everything, Mum-in-the-kitchen, and organ-in-the-parlour-for-hymns-at-home Image is marvellous. And then the contrast—you in tails at the Lord Mayor's Banquet (fancy George Brown turning up in the wrong pants or tie or something) and at Chequers surrounded with security forces and mounties like a real President or a dictator. Some people think the two pictures don't quite fit or add up to the real you—just in case they're right I hope you're working on your election plans like we are. We've got our local MP to be Santa Claus at the OAP Association's Christmas Dinner in the Masonic Hall. That should do the trick!

Yours fraternally,

JIMMY WIGGINS

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