

Direct Action

For workers' direct control of industry

Inside—Tenants' struggle in South-East : Gov't by Banker's Order : Jim Larkin & the 1913 strike

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION (IWMA)

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WAGE FREEZE ON THE WAY

THE relationship between master and man is expected to reach perfect harmony, all because George Brown has obtained signatures for his "Statement of Intent." We all collect autographs. There is absolutely nothing new about this "Statement"—all it has done is to carry class collaboration a step further along the road to a form of benevolent fascism.

The object of the "Statement" is to prepare the way for a wage freeze; all the talk about an incomes policy is so much bull. George Brown's Christmas gift was wrapped in cellophane paper and the signatories to the statement were delighted with the contents. The employers know the score and realise they have nothing to fear from the Statement or the Labour Party policy in general.

When Jim Callaghan spoke to the City, he assured them all would be well. "If you have any problems let me know," he said. Mr. Maurice Laing, president of the British Employers' Confederation had his eye to the main chance when he said he hoped all concerned would now press forward to "harmonise" private enterprise.

Mr Leslie Jenkins, president of the National Association of British Manufacturers, hopes to go on a honeymoon. The

Political prisoners on hunger strike in Madrid

FIFTY political prisoners in Madrid's Carabanchel prison were reported on hunger strike, December 28, in protest against punishments for singing 'irreverent songs' over Christmas. A fascist Ministry of Information spokesman, referring to the prisoners as 'Communists' (Franco's blanket term for all opposition), said he did not know what the punishment was. SWF comrade Stuart Christie, doing 20 years, is one of four British prisoners reported to be in Carabanchel.

CNT MEN FACE APPEAL COURT

APPEALS against sentences on three militants of the CNT and ASO (Workers' Union Alliance) will be heard by Franco's Supreme Tribunal on January 7. Francisco Calle, José Cases and Mariano Pascual were condemned last August to 6 years 4 months, 5 years, and 3 years 3 months respectively for defending the right to strike and organise freely.

Statement, he said, has introduced a new era in management-labour relations."

What of the TUC signatories? If they thought this would bring industrial peace, they would have it, at any price, but they are sceptical . . . they know their limitations with regards to kidding the rank and file.

George Brown's television performance on presenting the Statement is worthy of note, his nationalism knows no bounds. Britain sound, strong, striving to become No. 3 in the power hit parade. From now on the Labour Party's colours must be red, white and blue—with the Union Jack for underpants.

The Labour Party has exposed itself in all its naked glory as a party of the establishment, of compromise, as a bulwark of capitalism. Before the Trots & Commies start bleating about critical support for pensions and health charges, let them be clear where they are going. Their policy to capture or convert the Labour Party would be the joke of the year if we hadn't heard it spewed up so often.

The period of the Labour Government's "thanks to the party voters" is drawing to a close and, if George Brown has his way, will promptly end by Easter '65, then look out. Workers in the nationalised industries will have to set the example in wage restraint . . . how can the Government ask private enterprise to keep its house in order, if they themselves kick over the traces. Railwaymen, busmen, power workers, coalminers, and nurses will have to fight bloody hard in the future.

What does the future hold for all Joe Soaps? One doesn't need a crystal ball to work it out. The heart-rending cry from the gasworks at Westminster will be "export or die."

cont. on page 2, col. 1

OUT ON THE STONES . . .

RAILWAY operating workers, engine drivers, porters, etc. received a 9 per cent wage increase after an argument with the Railways Board, who offered far less in the first place. The Transport and Salaried Staff have been offered 5 and 4 per cent—and are claiming they should get 9 per cent, like the other unions. But one of the arguments advanced by officials of Labour Minister Gunter's former union is that they were good boys in co-operating with the time-and-motion merchants who put 4,500 of their number out on the stones!

Busmen must fight—or seek other jobs

LONDON busmen are due to start an overtime ban on January 1, in opposition to London Transport's scheme to reduce buses in certain areas. The Phelps Brown report meant exactly nothing to the LTB. It stated clearly that the "contraction of services must be halted," yet the cuts for February 1965, are diabolical. A scheme covering West Ham will mean 98 duties lost over a week (i.e. 85 buses short). From a passenger point of view the bus service stinks and from the busmen's point of view it's worse. LTB attempt to justify the cuts by claiming passenger requirements are falling off. Of course they are not the people who are going to have to wait for a bloody bus that may or may not arrive.

December issue of *Platform* sums up the situation correctly: "Only two sensible alternatives face the London busman. He must get ready to fight—or he must start looking for another job. And he must do it NOW." The LTB committed murder in 1964; if they are allowed to do the same in 1965—as is their intention—then the busmen must be a collection of natural masochists.

PRINT WORKERS SEE THE LIGHT

A claim for a 15 per cent pay increase over three years has been slapped in for general printing and provincial newspaper workers. Print unions are getting in quick, before George Brown gets his wage freeze under way, although you can rest assured the employers will use the "Statement of Intent" to water down the claim. They will cry poverty and starvation, but we know a large percentage of general print and provincial newspapers are controlled by the barons of Fleet St.—Associated Newspapers, Roy Thompson and the IPC, who are not short of a few bob.

MARTELL SCRATCHES AROUND

THE "New Daily" is not doing too well, so badly in fact that Edward tried to flog it to *Time & Tide*, but without success. The *New Daily* now costs a shilling—one has to be a real drug addict to pay that price. It is reported that Martell has had to sack four of his editorial staff. It is also reported he paid them two weeks' money; in a TU shop the severance pay is three months. All in favour of Martell's Open House, say Aye!

GREEDY WORKERS

A semi-skilled T & GWU assembly line worker took time off to attend the annual meeting of the Rover Company—Mr L Baker, who holds 400 employee shares and 100 ordinary shares. Mr Baker complained that the assembly lines were too fast, that men were earning 300-500 per cent

WAGE FREEZE (cont.)

"production must be increased." All the jazz about the "Labour Government being a workers' Government, and therefore should have workers full co-operation" will be trotted out ad lib.

As far as Joe Soap is concerned, governments are all the same, they "take you on." The only counter we have is our industrial strength, not one set of workers against the other, scabbing on each other, but a united rank and file industrial strength, which will use its power in support of the lower paid, as well as the higher. If this power is not used, lower-paid workers will be living on peanuts. One thing we must be perfectly clear about—a Labour government will not tolerate unofficial rank and file action. When put to the test, they can make the Tories look like Noddy. Their strike-breakers are in uniform.

bonuses on piece rates and it was beyond a man's capability to do the job.

Brother, piece work is the bosses' best friend, when piece work gets under way the basic wage goes out the window and the weaker man goes to the wall. Besides, under a Labour Government we must be patriots, the good of the country is at stake—off our ruddy backs.

BACKS TO THE BED

ABOUT 50 Italian and Spanish workers staged a brief "stay-in-bed strike" at Geneva, in protest against their insufficiently heated living quarters. That's the best method of industrial struggle I know.

STEWARDS AND STEWARDESSES HIT BEA

THE one-day token strike by stewards and stewardesses knocked BEA to the estimated tune of £70,000. The cabin staff want a review of their salary structure. Class II cabin staff get £671, rising to £791 a year. Class I salaries range from £857 to £987. Seniors of both sexes £1,003 to £1,123 a year.

BEA admits that the hours are irregular and sometimes long. Perhaps the glamour of flying, plus luncheon vouchers, is expected to compensate for lousy wages. These are the workers one thinks in terms of earning a bomb . . . now we know!

BILL CHRISTOPHER

SWF SOCIAL

MORE THAN FIFTY comrades attended an SWF social, held at the Lord Nelson, Carburton St., London W.1 on Saturday, December 12. One particularly popular feature of the evening was the singing of freedom songs by a group of coloured South African comrades from the Pan Africanist Congress and of "Joe Hill" and other songs by Eric Levy. "Direct Action" benefited by more than £6. London comrades plan another social event at the same pub on Saturday, January 30 (see advert).

Libertarian activity in Dundee

EVERY Saturday in Dundee a small group of people meet. It is a nameless group, mainly because the members can't agree on a name, except for specific activities (e.g. General Election "Do it Yourself Politics"). They can, however, agree on actions which all consider necessary, such as campaigning for the release of our comrade Stuart Christie.

On a recent Saturday the group held a public meeting in the City Square, Dundee. Members carried a large red banner with black lettering, "Free Stuart Christie" and placards with slogans such as "Twenty years in a Spanish jail." When one comrade started to speak, a crowd quickly gathered. The audience listened to what was said without catcalls or interruptions. The first speaker was followed by another, and so on until several members of the group (most of whom had never spoken publicly before) had said their piece.

Later on the crowd started asking questions, but they were still largely sympathetic. One comrade made the point that even if Christie had been intending to use bombs against the fascist regime of Franco, those who agreed with the bombing of Germany in the last world war were hardly in a position to condemn him.

The meeting was a success, because the crowd did not interrupt with catcalls. They did not interrupt because they recognised the speakers as respectable people (working-class respectable, not bourgeois respectable). Another meeting was planned just before Christmas, with the same theme, when signatures were to be collected and contributions accepted for the "Free Stuart Christie" Fund.

D. Y. C.

SWF (London) SOCIAL

SATURDAY, JANUARY 30

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

TENANTS' STRUGGLE IN THE SOUTH-EAST

THAT the "tenants' question" is a "burning" one is commonly accepted, even by newspapers, read generally by the kind of people prone to eviction. It has become part of the slime in which grunting politicians wallow, stirring it during elections and resting in it for the rest of the time.

The South-East of England is undergoing a population explosion for which it is totally unprepared. The problem of eviction is getting bigger and the social administration is unable and unwilling to do anything about. There is no "history of struggle" in the South, so tenants wishing to defend themselves have to start from scratch. In an industrial area, where membership of trades unions is general, trades councils could be useful. Here, although these bodies exist, they are about as representative as the local Territorial Army unit. The Tunbridge Wells Tenants' Association, to which I belong, has come into being without help from any "official" bodies and the lessons we have learned are worth passing on.

Tenants in Danger, a recent Penguin Special, is extremely valuable as a guide for tenants' self-preservation, giving basic legal advice, statistics and some addresses of organisations relevant to its subject. That the publishers think their book's potential public justifies its introduction—indicates a belief in willingness by tenants to fight for themselves. This does exist—it is the position to which tenants have been driven by the failure of our "traditional" public institutions to meet their needs.

Although tenants threatened with eviction, or lesser forms of intimidation, may be willing to fight, however, they are not necessarily equipped to do so. In a society as fragmentary as ours, they do not always have even their next door neighbours' support. A Tenants' Association must exist publicly, as an organisation to which people may come. In a town where people commute to London to work, or are employed in small businesses, the lack of community feeling results in incidents such as a recent local case, where tenants banded together to get someone evicted, because they disapproved of her private life.

Our Association grew out of a demonstration held by the Tunbridge Wells Committee of 100 in January, 1964, to form an Association to deal specifically with tenants—and specifically for tenants. One of our first lessons was that there is nothing "specific" about the question . . . its ramifications extend infinitely.

A meeting was arranged in the lecture room of the Public Library, to which everyone was invited, to see whether such an Association would have local support. There was to be a speaker from the Committee of 100 and one from the local Labour Party, with a neutral chairman (i.e. a Labourite supporter of the Committee of 100). That night we learnt two lessons: that with Party members the party comes first and

that, once the motives of such people have been exposed, the public supports the non-party faction.

The Chairman gerrymandered the meeting so that the Labour representative, a local grocer who was a prospective Labour candidate (and, lo and behold, a unilateralist), was not speaking about the local situation, but outlining the Labour Party's projected policy on housing, including bone-rattling about repeal of the 1957 Rent Act. He wasn't speaking about the local situation, because he had done nothing in support of tenants concerned in the eviction at which the Committee of 100 had just demonstrated, nor was he going to do anything in the future, except raise his flabby hand at the odd council meeting (the gentleman was—and is—a town councillor and one-time mayor).

Nonetheless, the Association was subsequently formed and we have had, from time to time, to deal with Labour and Communist party members within it. They have failed to win control because tenants do not want to be used, and the party members do not contribute physically to the struggle. They have shown themselves to be "respectable" people, eternally trying to foist on us a commitment to a "responsible" position. Which means canvassing for Labour, sending deputations to the Town Hall and generally forelock-tugging to no avail. "Formal protests" help tenants about as much as bailiffs—and engender roughly the same response.

Respectability tried to foist on us the constitution of the (Communist) National Federation of Tenants' Associations; our reply was to formulate our own Constitution, which never got further than a first clause, "This Association incorporates Direct Action as a final measure, when other channels have proved unsuccessful." We publish our own paper, *Tenants' Voice*, when the need arises, instead of going into the national (Communist) tenants' paper, *Streetview*. The Labour Party and the Communist Party in the South-East is small and insignificant and tenants in this town have shown they are not interested in Mr Wilson's speeches. Actions—to use a repetitious phrase—speak louder than words.

We have learnt that property interests, not surprisingly, reflect themselves in the Council Chambers—and that the legal firms do not compete. If we are in need of a lawyer, we shall not go to a local one.

An Association such as ours incorporates Syndicalist tendencies by implication. It is developing as an organic growth which will contribute, not only as a protective organisation, but socially as well, towards preventing our town from becoming simply a dormitory of London, which is what property interests want it to be. The tenants most affected by land racketeering are frequently young people with small children, unable to get any more security of tenure than a monthly agreement in an unfurnished flat and prevented from developing a social life by commitment to their offspring.

Our Association unites tenants and involves them in one another's struggles; tenants have the support of their Association as far as they themselves will go. If they barricade themselves in, the Association will be there, along with them. As we grow and our field of action broadens, we are formulating our own policy on how our town should develop, with special reference to the housing question (owner-occupiers, incidentally, are not excluded from membership of the Association) and we shall shortly challenge the Town Council to a public debate.

At present we are dealing with four different evictions, involving ten families. We are growing. . . .

JES D. GILBERT-ROLFE.

Bulgaria's State 'farms'

BULGARIA'S concentration camps now take the form of State farms in the Dobroudja (North Bulgaria), where thousands of "delinquents," both political and common law, are held for an indefinite period without trial or sentence. Among political prisoners, the Communists are predominant. Each internee is "paid" for forced labour a wage of 18 levas (about £3) a month, the equivalent of a pair of shoes. Average monthly wage in Bulgaria is about 70 levas. Libertarian internees were freed from the camps on the twentieth anniversary of the present regime's being set up.

Direct Action

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

Divide and rule

THE British boss class is one of the cleverest in the world. It first started the policy of divide and rule. The idea is simple—if you have any opposition, find out its differences and enlarge on them. If you are successful, you will find that your opposition spends all its time fighting itself rather than you.

The classic example of this is to be found in the working class. We have a common enemy—the boss—but we spend a lot of our time fighting among ourselves. We fight over such stupid things as well. The colour of a man's skin, his religion, and so on. When we forget all these differences and stick together in a common fight, for higher wages, say, we are successful. But all too often, when we win a limited victory, we let the old differences creep in again and then we are back where we started.

One example of our stupidity is the situation on Merseyside, the dispute between Catholics and members of the Orange Lodge. Up to the beginning of the last war, we would have pitched battles on the celebration days of the two sides, fighting among ourselves when what we most needed was unity. The trouble started in the last century, in Northern Ireland, when the rich landlords wanted to split the Irish peasantry. The rest is history.

Later, when Irish immigrants began to pour over to England in search of jobs, the English workers considered them a threat. They fought and fought, until they fought over religion and little else. Meanwhile the rich were getting richer and the poor poorer. When our forefathers forgot these differences, they fought together for better conditions and, as we well know, they had some fights. Who on Merseyside will ever let events like "Bloody Sunday" slip from our memories, even those of us who weren't there?

But today we still say things like "I or O," Irish (Catholic) or Orange, Celtic or Rangers, Liverpool or Everton. Worse still, we call some of our class brothers wogs, spades, black bastards, and so on.

When will we ever learn? Shouldn't we know by now that "wogs" or "rednecks" don't cause unemployment or bad housing? These are part of the system we live under, which is called capitalism. A system under which we as a class still go without. Yes, I know, we all have a nice little telly, some even have a car or their own house. Great—let's all work hard and be good boys. We'll get a telly now and a pension when we reach 65. Oh, yes, if some black bastard comes over here to try and pinch my great life, send him back.

Great life indeed. It's not my idea of a great life. And I don't want better and cheaper tellies either. The politicians all promise us a better life, but we know in our hearts that

they are all liars and cheats, be they Nazi, Labour, Tory, Communist, or what have you. In any case we know that Parliament is a fraud. Though it's only a play, "The Plane Makers" on television shows us this.

We, as workers, produce all wealth, so we should own and control all wealth. If you agree, you will have to stop worrying about your workmate's religion or colour, and fight alongside him for this end. Be as one. Be solid. Let's get together and fight the enemy . . . the boss. It may sound old fashioned, but it still needs to be said: *Workers of the world unite.*

To start with, we must form unions that we control, so that when we strike we control the strike—not some full-time union official. The full-time officials usually know little or nothing about the workers' problems, anyway. These new unions should be based on our places of work. For example, in a firm like Ford's instead of having 22 unions we would have one union, a car workers' union to which we would all belong, skilled, unskilled and office workers.

If and when as a class we start to act along lines like this, we will be well on the way to a society in which we, the workers, have the say.

VINCENT JOHNSON

GROUP NOTICES

LONDON SWF: Open meetings every Friday, except the first one in each month, at the Lucas Arms, 245 Grays Inn Road, WC1 (5 minutes Kings Cross Station) 8.30 p.m.

January 8 Mike Callinan: Experiences in the Australian Labour Movement.

15 Ken Hawkes: May 1937—Watershed of a Revolution.

22 Ralph Rosenbaum: Depression Years in the USA.

29 Discussion: Is the Social General Strike still relevant?

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: Contact Secretary-Treasurer, John Coveney, 34 Banner Road, Bristol 2.

DUNDEE: Meetings every Saturday, 2.30 p.m. at Mike and Alison Malet's, 20 South George Street, Dundee.

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: Attempts are being made to form an umbrella organisation of "left-wing" groups in Birmingham and the West Midlands. A room has been booked in the Digbeth Civic Hall, near the Bull Ring in Central Birmingham for a public meeting on Monday, January 4 at 7.30 p.m. First suggested activity is an Anti-Racist Protest March on Saturday, January 30 from Birmingham to Smethwick, with a rally to follow. Details from Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23.

Vincent Johnson will address Birmingham Anarchist Group at Birmingham University Students' Union on January 22. Subject: "Capitalism and the State."

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.

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

"THE ANARCHIST": Copy dealing with Anarchist ideas and pre-AFB Conference proposals requested by Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23.

Subscribe to DIRECT ACTION

Yearly subscription rate 6s. (US & Canada 90 cents, but we welcome dollar bills.)

From Direct Action, 34 Cumberland Road, London E17. Cheques and p.o.'s should be payable to Syndicalist Workers' Federation.

GOVERNMENT BY BANKER'S ORDER

"It is necessary under the rules of the (International Monetary) Fund for a borrowing request to be accompanied by a governmental programme showing that the national difficulties which have caused the exchange problem are being dealt with resolutely and wisely."

The Guardian (29.7.61)

"This international body (the I.M.F.) takes a hand in political matters that the ordinary elector fondly imagines are vested in the Commonwealth Government. In short, power is exercised without responsibility to the electors—the negation of democracy."

Century (Sydney, N.S.W., 30.10.64)

IN the post-war years a complicated international monetary system that scarcely bothers to conceal its power and purpose has been built up by the world's central banks. With it have grown up sets of initials like the I.M.F., names like the Paris Club and the Basle Agreement, and clichés like the Gnomes of Zurich.

The pamphlets of pre-war years directed against the Hidden Hand of high finance and the bankers' international conspiracy are now of interest mainly to the historian. The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street has been unveiled so often that she lacks all mystery. Government by the banks has never been so blatant, and bankers, like film stars and political leaders, have their press agents and appear on television.

Six weeks after coming to office with his party of modernisation and expansion, Mr Wilson has had to relate his economic policy, his social policy and his defence programme to straight, old-fashioned, traditional economic orthodoxy. **The Economist** editorial last month, observing that in order

to maintain the foreign exchange value of sterling the Labour Government was obliged "virtually to hand over the management to Lord Cromer," notes that this time "the dogs of the left are not even barking." The same editorial suggests that if Gaitskell had been P.M. he would have been "castigated from the left as Lord Cromer's poodle." **The Times** City Editor announced during the crisis "a great personal triumph for Lord Cromer, Governor of the Bank of England." **The Daily Mail** reported that "our future depended on what a dozen of the world's shrewdest bankers thought of 'Rolly' Cromer and his team."

This new benevolent image of the present Governor is in sharp contrast with that of his predecessor, Montagu Collet Norman, mystery man of the bankers' cult, who in the midst of his furtive travels as "Professor Skinner" or "Mr. Collett" sponsored the Berlin Reichsbank with Dr. Schacht, Hitler's financial wizard. He figured largely in the politics of the depression, but behind the scenes. Not only the Socialist Government of Britain, but the politicians of Europe were made the playthings of the bankers. Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden became the call-boys of the Gold Standard farce. The great international banking houses of Shroders, Hambro, Pierpont Morgan, Lazards, Barings and Morgan Grenfell were linked with the Bank of England, under Mr Norman.

His efficiency in the management of the governments and politicians is demonstrated in an article in the **London Spectator** (Oct. 1932) by Mr Philip Snowden, ecstatically describing Mr Norman as "one of the greatest men of our time." He also stated that the relations between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Governor of the Bank of England are "intimate and confidential. What takes place between us is inviolable as if under the seal of the confessional."

Much of the press comment to the effect that Lord Cromer and his deputies were the heroes of the dramatic struggle to save the pound, not Wilson and his team of advisers and bureaucrats at the Treasury, nor Brown and his new Ministry, was really to the point. A **Daily Mirror** cartoon, of course, showed Wilson having gallantly knocked out international "speculators." Clearly, however, Lord Cromer could not have rustled up the 3,000-million dollar credit from the Central Banks, had he not been able to promise compliance with their stringent conditions—the composition of a severe monetary and fiscal retrenchment policy. When Mr Macmillan had to borrow from the IMF in 1961, two of the conditions stipulated were a "wage freeze" and the demand that he commence negotiations for Britain to enter the European Common Market. It is a truism that those who control the credit of a nation dictate to all governments. And they will make further advances of credit as long as the borrower implements *their* policies.

Should these policies be deflationary and therefore hostile to welfare programmes, such as pension increases for the aged, the latter must be sacrificed. How absurd it is to believe that the finance procedures designed to safeguard and enforce the property rights of an evil social system could ever be used for abolition of that system. Capitalist finance and all its working techniques and formulae stand in opposition to genuine Socialist purpose and the ideal of a co-operative commonwealth. It can never be manipulated for schemes of social welfare on any lasting basis within the structure of capitalism, and there is nothing in its history to suggest that it has to face any threat of a revolt by the Wilsons of this world.

M CALLINAN

Striking Wobblies have judge on the hop

IN THE FOUR YEARS that I've sat on this bench," said the judge, "I've never seen a group like this group." But then Superior Judge Joseph Karesh had never seen any Industrial Workers of the World, at least not the 1964-version Wobblies who appeared in his court yesterday.

He quickly discovered a few things about "Wobblies"—mainly that they resent rulings that the IWW is not a labour union which was a finding of the judge in ordering picketing limited in a Wobbly "strike" at a local coffee house.

"If you don't feel it's a labour organisation, I don't feel you're a judge," was the way Robert Rush, secretary of the IWW's Berkeley chapter put it. The words were no soon out of his mouth than:

- Karesh held him in contempt.
- Earl Gould of San Francisco, who described himself as "a wage slave," threw his notebook to the floor and jumped to his feet.
- The judge ordered Gould to come forward.
- Gould angrily started down the aisle.
- The judge held Gould, too, in contempt.

San Francisco Chronicle, 1.12.64.

Headlines in other San Francisco papers at the same time read, "Coffee Wobblies Face Judge" (**New Call Bulletin**), Wobbly Clashes with S.F. Judge (**Examiner**) and an earlier phase in the struggle earned "Wobblies Still Alive, Kicking" (**New Call Bulletin**, 21.10.64) and "IWW Offspring—'Wobniks' (**Examiner**, 22.10.64).

1913—Jim Larkin and the Dublin lock-out

1913—JIM LARKIN AND THE DUBLIN LOCK-OUT (Workers Union of Ireland, 29 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, 5/- plus 1/6 postage)

"AT 9.40 a.m. on Tuesday 26 August, the trams stopped, Union members stuck the Red Hand badge on their coat lapels and struck work." Thus began the 1913 Dublin General Strike, or Lock-out, call it what you like.

The issue was simply that Jim Larkin and James Connolly had organised the unskilled workers of Dublin into a Union. They were influenced no doubt by the emergence of the "New Unionism" of Tom Mann and Ben Tillet in England, by the Industrial Workers of the World in North America, and the Syndicalist movement in continental Europe. The bosses—the new emergent Irish Catholic capitalist class—decided to smash the new union. They were supported in this aim by the British authorities of those days on the age-old principle of class solidarity. The workers of Dublin were also to give a demonstration of class solidarity.

This book will fill you with anger towards the Dublin boss class of fifty years ago. It will fill you with hate for the scabs and the cops and the priests who threw their well-fed weight against the starving dockers and factory girls, tramwaymen and builders, who were locked out, or who walked out in sympathy with those who were locked out, in that terrible struggle of a bare-handed people against the full force of Irish capitalism and the British State.

The Irish bosses, Nationalist and Catholic though they were, imported scabs from Britain—and armed them. Here is a quotation from this terrible book.

"At the beginning of January, 1914, a young girl of 16 years, Alice Brady, was shot dead in a Dublin street. She was walking home from Liberty Hall with her strike allowance of food when a scab shot her with a revolver supplied to him by his employer. Her assailant was charged with murder but was acquitted on the judge's direction."

So far as is known, neither William Martin Murphy, leader of the bosses, nor Archbishop Walsh made any comment on this. Yet, a few months earlier they had expressed great concern for the spiritual welfare of those strikers' children who were evacuated "for the duration" to the homes of sympathetic British socialists and syndicalists. A case of "better dead than red," no doubt.

Even today, in 1965, when we read this in cold print we sicken. We demand—Were there no men? Were there no guns? What other answer is there to the Murphys and Archbishop Walshs of this world than the answer of Revolutionary Justice? There were men indeed, and there were guns. The Irish Transport Union formed its own workers' militia—The Irish Citizen Army. But they came too late to affect the outcome of the strike.

The strike lasted more than six months and ended with the survival of the Union. The Army, which could have

made history, had it existed in August, 1913, protected pickets from police hooliganism and the religious fanatics of the Ancient Order of Hibernians throughout 1914 and 1915. They fought alongside the bourgeois nationalists in the 1916 Rising and their leaders faced the British firing squads.

Then the first workers' army in these islands faded, as R M Fox says in his History of the Irish Citizen Army, "into the grey anonymity of the Dublin slums." They had unwittingly helped to establish the New Ireland of Seán Lemass and Archbishop McQuaid.

The cause of 1913 was not entirely lost however. Dublin today is the most militant trade-unionist city in Europe. Young boys and girls walk the streets where their grandparents and greatgrandparents fought the police and the scabs. They pass street corners where barricades were manned. And they remember. The strikers and Citizen Army men of 1913 have become immortals. Their sacrifice and their revolutionary generosity has left a tradition of working-class solidarity and direct action which is the surest guarantee that a day will come when the Co-operative Commonwealth dreamt of by Connolly and Larkin will be realised.

Read this book. It is the best five bob's worth you will see for a long time. And congratulations to the Workers Union of Ireland for making it available. Every militant trade unionist in the English-speaking world should sit down and send for it *now*. One US or Canadian dollar should be enough to include postage.

SEAN GANNON

CZECHS CASH IN WITH THE HUNTIN' SET!

THOSE who hold hunting, shooting, and the rest of it to symbolise ruling-class cruelty and wantonness had a moment of hesitation some months ago when the leaders of the workers' paradises of Yugoslavia and Russia went out to bag a few together, with the eyes of the world upon them.

A recent edition of *Tonight* (BBC-TV), however, explained the whole business quite adequately. For in another workers' paradise, Czechoslovakia, shooting is not only a highly developed industry, but an **export** industry that earns the nation precious foreign currency.

In the programme we saw a group of wealthy French visitors enjoying a day's shooting in the famous game-fields of Moravia. Though they shot only "utility" game (hare, pheasant, and the like) their sport cost them the equivalent of about £1,000 in francs. (Had they chosen a connoisseur's piece, for example a bear, it would have added another £350 to the bill.)

Beating, a task performed in bourgeois countries only by squire-trodden agricultural workers anxious to augment their miserable pay-packets, was carried out by workers detailed from a collective farm and paid the local equivalent of 12s. 6d. per day. When lunchtime came these patriots abstained from the groaning tables at which the visitors gorged themselves and enjoyed a frugal but adequate meal on the frozen ground.

Lest any readers still have doubts about the matter, let us remind them that had it not been for the generous support given by the French Communist Party to the rebuilding of capitalism under de Gaulle in the post-war period there might be today no wealthy Frenchmen to bring francs to the workers' state.

MARK HENDY

ESSENTIAL READING - IN ANY YEAR

LENIN AND WORKERS' CONTROL

by Tom Brown

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

From Direct Action, 34 Cumberland Road, London E17. Cheques and p.o.'s should be payable to Syndicalist Workers' Federation.

● The SWF has reprinted its leaflet, "A Cheap Holiday", attacking tourism to Franco Spain. Copies are available at 1s. 6d. for 100; 15s. for 1,000, postpaid.

Controversy

Trade unions and unofficial action

Dear Comrades,

I am afraid I cannot draw upon any well known writers to vouch for my adherence to my anarchist principles as Tom Brown does in his reply to my letter, but I will endeavour to answer some of his points.

First of all, he ignores the points I raised on his attack on Malatesta, but instead he makes out that I was attacking Syndicalism, which is untrue. I said in my first letter that these unofficial movements in industry "may be based on Syndicalist and IWW ideas, but I am sure only a very few workers involved in these movements realise this." In the unofficial grouping in my own industry, most of them seem to belong to political groups, Communists, Trotskyists, etc. Tom Brown says that even if they do not know the origin of these ideas, it "does not destroy its efficacy." They may be acting on these ideas, but quite often, because they do not accept them as principles and are tied to their "Party" ideas, these unofficial groupings are inefficient. There is more in it than just forming unofficial groupings and until the principles of Syndicalism and the IWW are accepted by more workers, these failures will remain.

If these unofficial rank and file movements do not exist within the framework of the official trade unions, then I would like to know where they do exist? Tom Brown says, "Here we have two opposites existing in one body" and says I am making the best of both worlds. But I repeat, where do they exist if not within the official trade unions? Trade union leaders know this and are well aware that these unofficial rank and file organisations are a threat to the official unions and hence the attacks and expulsions that the TU leaders indulge in. In fact those workers who are active in rank and file groupings are usually the very people who do so much of the hard work of ordinary trade union organisation.

I think Anarchists, who agree with Syndicalist methods of organisation and action, should work in these unofficial rank

and file groupings. I, myself, am active in such a grouping in my own industry. This is for me—"Work in the unions."

I don't see the point of Tom Brown's diatribe about "Wilson on the eve of election" and Lord Citrine. I am well aware of "those secret passages," but will continue to put forward Anarchist, as well as Syndicalist and IWW principles, in my own unofficial industrial grouping, at work and at union branch meetings.

Yours fraternally,

London, SW3

P. G. TURNER

Tom Brown replies . . .

I did not attack Malatesta. I attacked the writer of an article in *Anarchy* for using an alleged quotation (at best a paraphrase) from Malatesta to oppose Syndicalist activity. In this sort of attack, of which I have heard many, such statements are brought out as though they came from the Pope himself. On the contrary, Malatesta in 1920 approved of the Syndicalists who inspired the seizure of the Italian factories and condemned the TU leaders who were responsible for handing them back.

True, before Malatesta's end in the late twenties, some Anarchists believed that the trade unions could be reformed into Syndicates by revolutionaries boring from within, just as some Socialists have believed that Socialism could be achieved by returning Labour reformists to Parliament. Forty years' bitter experience have proved the exact opposite. Both have gone the opposite way, ever nearer to National Socialism.

I have experienced many unofficial strikes, some by union members, some by non-union labour, others, the majority, by a fifty-fifty crowd. In no case, however, need any of them have been in a union to have struck work without union permission.

As to my diatribe about Wilson and Lord Citrine. What is a diatribe? What about Wilson's diatribe against Home, or unofficial strikers or Anarchists? What about Peter's diatribe against me?

Unofficial, part of the union or not? The crux is the strike weapon. Every year many hundreds of unofficial strikers are reported to the Ministry of Labour, all opposed by the unions, only two or three official strikes. Just now an inquiry is being held into strikes at Morris Motors, the team being led by Carron of the AEU and Blakeman, Labour Manager of Ford's Ltd. The number of these strikes—254 and 750,000 hours in the past 12 months, at one factory! The important factors in this struggle are outside of the unions.

When do we start building Syndicalist organisation and openly propagating its ideas? Why not now? The journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step.

This correspondence is now closed—EDITORS

A.I.T.

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

NOTE TO SUBSCRIBERS ABROAD: When ordering or renewing, kindly remit by money order or in cash. A considerable part of the value of a cheque on a non-British bank is lost in collection fees.

HELP SPANISH TOURIST BOYCOTT

FROM the Spanish comrades of the exiled CNT in this country, the SWF has received the gift of 1,000 two-colour postcards, in aid of our Press Fund. These beautifully-produced cards, 7×4 in., with the CNT imprint, depict four aspects of Franco Spain that Costa Brava tourists usually miss: photographs of a Spanish prison gallery, political prisoners, slums in Madrid and armed Civil Guards on patrol. By using these cards, which have the normal spaces for greetings and addressing, readers can help both the Spanish Tourist Boycott campaign and the SWF Press Fund. They are 6d. each, 6s. for 12, plus postage (2½d for single copies, 6d for 12) from SWF, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E17.

BULGARIAN CENTENARIAN WRITES

FROM FRANCE we have received a stock of UN CENTENAIRE BULGARE PARLE by Nicolas Stoinoff, published by the Bulgarian anarcho-syndicalists in exile. This French-language book is the autobiography of one of Bulgaria's best-known and loved libertarian militants, who died—aged 100—in 1963. It gives a vivid picture of our Bulgarian movements in the years before Stalinism—an inspiring story of militant struggle and intensive educational campaigns. Price 10s. 6d. (post paid) from SWF, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E17.

SWF PRESS FUND-NOVEMBER 18 to DECEMBER 21, 1964
Rochdale, B.B. 10s.; London E., J.P. 14s.; Bristol 8, I.V. 10s.; London N1, J.P. £1; London W14, E.R. £1 14s.; London NW10, A.R. & S.P. 5s.; London SE1, W.M. 2s. 6d.; London W1, T.B. £1; London W2, R.E. 10s.; London Group, £3 13s. 5d.; Proceeds of Social (London Group) £6 18s. 2d.; Sale of CNT Postcards £2 5s. Total £19 2s. 1d.

N.E. Coast seamen call for rank-and-file control

SINCE BISHOP "told all" to the *News of the World* (27.9.64), it seems that he didn't tell even half, never mind all, the facts re ballot-rigging and similar skullduggery in the National Union of Seamen.

Soon after Bishop confessed his sins, a few of the EC mob tried to enlist the aid of seamen's rank and file movement in a bid to oust Hogarth, the present general secretary. As the aim of rank and filers is to make a clean sweep of the whole bunch, the palace-revolution failed. Instead, the seamen have been the prime movers in busting the whole thing wide open, and leading to more confessions from other NUS officials and a few other things in addition.

Details have come to light regarding non-NUS people being handed NUS Union Books and sent to vote at a London NUS Branch Meeting and a written statement from Mrs Scott, widow of James Scott (Gen. Sec. before Hogarth).

ONE LAW FOR BOSSES..

CAPITALIST justice has triumphed once more. A Quebec judge has found the United Steelworkers of America guilty of "fomenting, organising, sustaining and prolonging" an "absolutely illegal" strike against Gaspé Copper Mines Ltd. in 1957. For this "crime" the union has been ordered to pay damages to the company to the sum of \$1,747,645 plus (after all we must be just to the poor company) interest of 5 per cent on the damages from 1957. This interest being a mere \$2,359,319. No doubt the company would welcome another strike like that!

It is of interest to see why this strike was "absolutely illegal." Quebec labour relations law forbids strikes by any association of wage earners that has not been recognised as the group's bargaining agent. The company refused to recognise the US of A as the bargaining agent for its employees and precipitated the strike by firing one of the union members for organising activity. ("Laid off due to lack of work" was how the company phrased it.) How could a strike be legal under such circumstances?

The judge in this case was most upset that striking miners used violence against would-be scabs who wanted to cross picket lines. Of course picketing was illegal anyway. As the judge said, it is "easy to imagine" what would have happened if the Quebec government had not sent in 125 provincial police to harass the strikers, break up picket lines and escort scabs into the struck mine. Of course he did not put it quite like this, he talked of "the police forces who wished only to maintain order and protect individuals and property." But we all know what individuals and what property the police are paid to protect.

Here is yet another example of the fact that laws are made by, and in the interests of, the ruling class. "Justice" is a hollow mockery as far as the workers are concerned: laws are for their oppression not for their protection.

An anarchist magazine is now being published in Canada. The third issue of *La Escuela Moderna*, for December 1964 is now on sale. At the moment it is a bilingual journal in French and Spanish, but it is hoped to extend its scope by adding an English-language section. This, of course, depends on the support of English-speaking Canadian anarchists. Further information can be obtained by writing to the editor, Felix Alvarez Ferreras, 1027-8 Street S.E., Calgary, Alberta.

BILL GREENWOOD

about the ballot-rigging in the NUS in her old man's day, has really "shook 'em up."

The TUC Committee of Enquiry into NUS ballot-rigging, allied to rank and file action (now taking on national status once again), has led to a few more resignations from NUS official posts.

The North East Coast seamen have been 100 per cent organised in their rank and file movement since 1960. In their paper, *Seafarer*, the NE Committee calls for action by all UK seamen, in NUS branches and elsewhere, for:

1. Expulsion of all connected with the ballot-rigging and/or other malpractices in the NUS.
2. Special Delegate Conference to restore democracy and TU principles to the Union.
3. Resignation of all elected officials, including Hogarth and the EC, if the ballot-rigging allegations are proved. (NB This has partly been done already in Liverpool by rank and file action, with the guiding body keeping the old name of the Reform Movement and a capable, intelligent bloke called Chris Ashton as chairman.)
4. Rank and File Committee of Enquiry to really take the lid off the ballot-rigging affair and publish its findings.
5. The NUS paper to report VERBATIM the proceedings of the TUC Enquiry Committee in a special issue.

The Victoria and Albert Docks NUS Branch got on the ball on November 24. Backing up the NE blokes, it called for a Delegate Conference to revise NUS Rules, also for expulsion of all involved in ballot-rigging or any malpractice in the NUS.

A couple of militants have been threatened with libel actions by the EC, to try and silence them, but they aren't being very silent by any means.

Oh—after being kept out of the NUS for long enough, I managed to rejoin the Union about three months back in Newcastle. A month before, the North Shields NUS had refused to admit me into the Union—"because I wasn't on the Pool" (the shipowners' hiring organisation).

GEORGE FOULSER, A.B.

LITERATURE

"Direct Action" pamphlets:—

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE UNIONS?

by Tom Brown

4d

WORKERS' CONTROL

4d

HOW LABOUR GOVERNED, 1945-1951

6d

THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE

by Tom Brown

4d

THE BOMB, DIRECT ACTION AND THE STATE

6d

LENIN AND WORKERS' CONTROL

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