

Direct Action

For workers' direct control of industry

Inside—Barcelona workers demonstrate : Risinghill State steel plan : Krupp moves into Poland

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION (IWMA)

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WILSON'S NUCLEAR FALL-OUT

THE RECENT TWO-DAY DEBATE on the Labour Government's first Defence White Paper was not only one more demonstration that a Labour Party in power may be relied on to betray the socialist principles extolled in its election Manifesto and loudly espoused as the loyal Parliamentary opposition. The speeches delivered by the Government leaders were, in fact, an echo of policies pronounced by the Tory leaders when they occupied the Government Front Bench.

Sir Alec was right in claiming that Wilson is a convert to his Tory defence policy. We are to keep the Bomb, keep an independent nuclear deterrent east of Suez, keep the Polaris submarines (except one), keep the base at Holy Loch and

keep on supporting American policy in Vietnam. The wording of the White Paper could not conceal a complete turn-about by the socialists and a total, sinister surrender to the real rulers of Britain, at the effective power centre of finance and industrial capitalism.

This latest betrayal will come as little surprise to readers of *Direct Action*, or to anyone familiar with the past record of socialist parties in office in Britain, Scandinavia, Germany, France or Australia. Advocating one policy in opposition, implementing another when it appears they have captured power. It is the same story everywhere, because it is part of the legend of social democracy that capitalism can be gradually reformed out of existence by political activity and that militarism may be banished at the ballot box. Syndicalists have always been to the fore in repudiating the belief that there is any hope for the future of mankind in the election of yet another Labour Government.

During the two-day debate, most of the speeches from the Labour side condemned the Government's policy; most of the Tory speeches were congratulatory. It also transpired that the total Air Estimates were to be increased by £46-million for the coming year to a total of £561-million, giving the *Daily Worker* its banner headline, "Bathrooms Before Bombers." But it was the adoption of a nuclear element and the role of V-bombers east of Suez that aroused the left-wing MP's. Mr. Paget, a Front Bench spokesman on defence when Labour was in Opposition, asked why the party's defence policy had been abandoned.

Mr. Zilliacus described the White Paper as "not so much a policy, more a way of death for the Labour Government." He went on to say "We want to support our Government.

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Seamen fight union's backdoor agreement

IN 1960, seamen worked a 44-hour week in port, 56 at sea. Since 1961, we work a 44-hour week in port and at sea. The 42-hour week was due from April 1 this year. The 1964 AGM of the National Union of Seamen mandated Hogarth & Co. to go for the 40-hour week.

Instead, they have signed an Agreement with the ship-owners which puts us back on the 56-hour week at sea, without consulting the membership in any way. The "rise in pay" going with the 56-hour week is more than swallowed up by the overtime we shall lose for weekend working. At present all work after Saturday mid-day is overtime. From March 29, we shall be on a 7-day week, 8 hours a day.

This backdoor Agreement is not even legal. It is a complete reversal of AGM Policy. The 1964 AGM laid down NUS policy as: 1. A substantial increase in wages. 2. A 40-hour week. 3. Increased overtime rates. The 42-hour week, previously negotiated, was to come in force on April 1, 1965.

The EC betrayal has caused more anger among seamen than even the ballot-rigging (unfinished) scandal.

Seamen at Victoria & Albert Docks NUS Branch (London) called a Special Branch Meeting at which no less than 15 NUS officials turned up, but were overwhelmingly outvoted by the seamen. The Branch demanded that the EC reject the new Agreement, and called on the AGM to instruct the

cont. on page 5, col. 1

Strikers take the biscuit!

SHIFT WORKERS at McVitie and Prices' Edinburgh biscuit factory expected a rise for shift work, but were disappointed when they got only 3s 6d a week. They decided to strike at once and 50 men and 200 girls marched from the factory. But an instant strike gave them no time to turn off the machinery. Dough travelled through the mechanical ovens, hot biscuits along the moving conveyors on to the tables. Biscuits piled up and, pushed by more biscuits, fell to the floor and spread out like a flood. There used to be a Scottish saying, "They pay them in broken biscuits there."

BARCELONA WORKERS IN MASS DEMONSTRATION

WIDESPREAD publicity has been given to demonstrations by Spain's University students for freedom of speech and organisation—and the recurring theme of political commentators has been Franco's fear that these heartening signs of open opposition to his fascist regime would lead to similar action by Spain's industrial workers. In fact, such action is already taking place and indications are that it will spread.

One recent example, almost unnoticed by the British Press was the Barcelona demonstration of February 23 by 3,000 workers, mainly from the Catalan city's engineering plants, which was preceded by arrests of many militants.

In November, 1964, the Workers' Syndicalist Alliance, ASO, of CNT and UGT, circularised an appeal by its Metallurgical Federation to all Barcelona factories, calling for a minimum daily wage of 200 pesetas for eight hours, free unions, the right to strike and a sliding scale of wages. First signed by factory delegate members of ASO, it soon obtained the signatures of more than 9,000 workers—those at some factories (ENASA, Hispano Olivetti, Siemens, Montesa) lining up almost 100%. Against opposition by the fascist TU's a meeting of 400 factory delegates was called and this was attended also by delegates of textile, bank and transport workers, who agreed to demand support for their demands from the Barcelona HQ of the fascist TU's and called on workers to accompany them en masse to the Franco labour front building on Tuesday, February 23.

Arrests of militant workers began on Saturday, February 20 and continued throughout the Monday and Tuesday. The following are the names received from ASO of arrested workers, though they tell us that at least as many again are being held by the police:

WILSON'S ABOUT-FACE (cont.)

We are going to vote for it, however much we dislike its policy, in order to keep it in power." This courageous stand brought waves of Conservative laughter. No wonder Mr. Paget said that he was embarrassed to introduce a discordant note into a "phoney" engagement between the two sides.

The Liberals spoke of "perpetuation of Tory policy, with all its indecisions, extravagances and mysticism." Mr. Hooson said he found repugnant the Government's change of mind on an independent British deterrent in the Far East. It was equivalent to switch selling, between the votes being cast and the Government coming to rule.

The Defence Secretary, speaking on Britain's "peace-keeping" role, dropped an imperialist clanger when he stated that "the whole of Western Europe benefits from our contribution to stability in the Middle East. Nearly all Western European countries get their oil from that area." Since the debate, the left-wingers have rallied, therefore, to end the empire myth. The old left of five months ago remain silent in their new-found ministerial security—the Crossman, Castle, Cousins, Greenwood and Wedgwood Benn brigade. And yet some people will have the audacity, the inconceivable Marxist hide, to advocate working for social revolution through the Labour Party. When, indeed, will they ever learn?

M. CALLINAN

"Let no one think we would consider any reduction in our commitment to Berlin."

Harold Wilson, Berlin, March 6, 1965.

Pedro Rico Gonzalez, metalworker at Montesa, (ASO); Elias Martin Luengo, metalworker at Tuperin (ASO—a crippled polio victim, who was savagely beaten by police on his bad foot and stomach until he passed out); Lluís Alvarez Alonso, Central Bank clerk (ASO); Juan Estrada Massip, Pirelli factory delegate (ASO); Lluís Moscoso, transport; Angel Domenech, textile; Angel Rozas, textile; Angel Gracia, bank clerk; Juan Navarro, metalworker; Juan Sanchez transport; Jose Maria Avila, transport; Juan Folch, bank clerk; Llorenç Funes, metalworker at Montesa (ASO); Vicente Linaza Verges (ASO); Angel Alcazar Aznar, Central Credit Bank clerk (ASO); Manuel Linares Bisquet, textile; Jose Luis Martinez, chemical worker (ASO); Jose Antonio Muria, Hispano Olivetti (ASO); Luis Cabrito, chemical worker; Fernando Valladosera, chemical worker; Bernardo Garcia, textile.

But the demonstration took place as planned. In Berenguer Square the armed police moved in to break up the 3,000 workers, though not before the doors and windows of the fascist TU building in Layetana Street had been smashed. The demonstrators reformed several times, to cries of "Death to the vertical unions", "The right to strike", etc.

The arrested workers, mainly in the 30-40 age group and often with 2-3 children, were ill treated and beaten in the Police HQ, afterwards being moved to the Palace of Justice to await trial. Some of the arrested men freely admitted that they belonged to ASO—and their names are indicated on the above list.

Other arrests are known to have taken place in the industrial towns of Cornellà, Tarrasa and Sabadell—and many workers have gone into hiding to avoid arrest. Among the latter are Josep Pujol (metal), Pedro Verdu (technician), Ricardo Claret (metal), Jose Elhombre (council employee) and Angel Peix (metal).

Money is urgently needed for the relief of the families of militants under arrest and in hiding. The SWF naturally fully associates itself with this appeal and calls on all readers of DA to help their Spanish brothers, by taking up collections among their workmates and making individual donations. These should be sent to the CNT Liaison Committee in Great Britain, either to the Secretary, A. Roa, 210 Bravington Road, London W9, or the Treasurer, J. Cabañas, 42 Dalgarno Gardens, London W10.

Give—and GIVE GENEROUSLY for the relief of workers who are fighting for the overthrow of fascism and in the interests of their class, OUR class.

The struggle against Franco tyranny is again spreading throughout Spain. On Saturday, March 13 demonstrators smashed the police station in the industrial town of Mieres, in the Asturias, scene of bitter mining struggles in recent years. Significantly, there were shouts of "U.H.P.", according to Press reports. These are the initials for the Spanish words meaning "Proletarian brothers, unite!"—a battlecry of the UGT and CNT Asturian miners during their 1934 rising.

Spain's workers are on the move again. This time the struggle to overthrow Franco's foul and decadent regime could be decisive. We must ensure that they are not left to fight alone.

KEN HAWKES

SWF (London) SOCIAL

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MUSIC—ENTERTAINMENT—BAR—GOOD COMPANY

LCC bureaucrats threaten libertarian school

● *Risinghill School, co-educational and comprehensive, under the control of the London County Council, is due to be reorganised as a single-sex secondary school at the end of June, subject to approval by the Minister of Education.*

THE SCHOOL lay at the end of a cul-de-sac off Pentonville Road, a short walk from the Angel, Islington. I stopped at the gate, wondering where to find Michael Duane, the headmaster. School had ended, but a group of girls talking together saw me and asked if they could help. One of them took me to Mr. Duane's office, where it soon became clear that he takes great delight in young people and reserves his rather sad, unruffled annoyance for the adults who disturb them.

From his office window one has a panoramic view of the area from which the children are drawn. Streets of rotting tenements, inhabited and festering, or empty shells giving refuge only to a passing tramp or meths drinker. Grime from St. Pancras and Kings Cross stations everywhere. And interspersed among all this, the new London grows—great, harsh, rigid blocks, in which somehow no-one appears to live: chill and inhuman. Almost without exception the fathers are unskilled or semi-skilled workers, many stuck in dreary, debilitating, dead-end jobs. If there is such a thing as an immigration problem, Risinghill should be the place to find it: among the 850 children are 19 nationalities.

Yet the delinquency rate (whatever that means) has dropped steadily and the academic rating (whatever that means) has improved. The story put out by the authorities that Risinghill is always the last choice of parents in the locality must be false, since Mr. Duane was given a very different picture by his colleagues from the other local schools, at one of their regular co-ordination meetings.

He told me of his friendship with A. S. Neill, pioneer of libertarian education in Britain and of the problems confronting libertarian educationists under capitalism: "Either you stay out of the State system, keep your independence and give a decent education to a handful, because you have to charge fees to survive, or you stay in and have to put up with the kind of interference we're suffering from." We discussed the special problems of a tense area like Islington, with bad living and working conditions, conflicting cultures and pernicious influences: I saw more than one design in the art rooms incorporating fascist symbols. "You've got to be a social worker if you teach here, you've no choice. We try always to have somebody at the Court if one of the kids is in trouble—they appreciate this, and so do the parents, that's one of the reasons we've had such good support from an area that's considered as apathetic as this."

By and large Mr. Duane disapproves of academic syllabuses: "People have to learn to live together sometime, the earlier the better." So the emphasis is on English—talking, discussing, writing, arguing, acting; art—painting and pot-

tery: plenty of practical work and games (unfortunately these are limited, as there isn't a blade of grass at the school). The art work was lively, with poster colour applied directly on the walls, pipes and fittings, so the children really feel the room is theirs. Another result, virtually no graffiti in the lavatories: how many other schools can say the same?

The school is divided into six houses, but not because of any attempt to copy Eton. The reasons are simple: the school is in seven blocks and decentralisation was thought essential, so housemasters could get to know each child as a person, an otherwise impossible task. It also makes it easier to get teams for games, but, apart from this, competition has quite naturally died out.

With this short description as background, let us briefly, tiptoeing round the libel laws, examine the current situation. Last year the Head was told that, because of his failure to create a good "image" of the school, it would be "reorganised." Accordingly in July it was visited by Her Majesty's Inspectors and received an adverse report. Some people say the whole idea of "reorganisation" was cooked because a couple of high-ups at County Hall, who "know best," dislike Risinghill methods. They also say the official reason—the school population is getting too small—is an administrative veneer for the imposition of an outside view on the people at the centre of the situation—and in any case the inspectors certainly gave the impression to the staff that they had been hand-picked because of their known personal outlook.

Public opinion was first alerted when a group of the boys received publicity for marching to Downing Street to let the Prime Minister know what they thought. Only then did our "democratic representatives", the LCC councillors, find that proposals to close the school, as it now is, were being worked on by their officials—in their names, of course. The boys are particularly incensed at the closure, because they will have to go to different schools, split up from their mates and their girl-friends. But more than that, they will all have to fight to prove themselves in their new schools—there is no choice, because if you do not fight, you are beaten up.

As a result of the boys' action and the outcry from some parents, the Education Department called a meeting with 200 angry parents present. At one stage things became hectic when an excited Greek father forgot his English and shouted out what he had to say in Greek. When this was translated as "You people ask us here to give our opinions, but you've already decided, haven't you?" there was a great roar of approval.

Mr. Duane thought the local MP might help—he is George Brown's brother—but he turned out to be more of a hindrance. As the Head put it, "He is, unfortunately, one of those single-sex warriors who have little time for co-education." On the other hand, the public reaction has been good—300 letters of support, half from teachers. Mr. Duane has been asked to propagate his views at meetings all over the country for months ahead. This shows how bureaucratic schemes can backfire, with consequences their makers never dream of and which, if known in advance, would probably influence their decisions.

I asked Mr. Duane about his colleagues at Risinghill, to what extent his policies are supported and the outside interference is resented. He could not honestly claim 100% even 75% support: for various reasons, including apathy, a number of the staff were either neutral or hostile, though this was more a case of conflicting approaches than personalities. The Communist Party group, for example, is split down the middle, regardless of age; the rigid authoritarians

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TWO-WAY RAY

"One of the great agonies of a man who is thrown out of work is that overnight his standards of life are diminished and cut by sometimes as much as 75 per cent."

Ray Gunter, Minister of Labour, *Sunday Times*, March 7, 1965

"I have always viewed the closed shop with suspicion because it can mean far too great a concentration of power."

Gunter, id.

Direct Action

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Vietnam: workers must oppose this war

THE Tories are cock-a-hoop about Wilson's stand on the artificially-partitioned country of Vietnam. This consists of support for the American line that US bombings of the North will cease when "negotiations" begin. The U.S. hopes to bring the "negotiations" about by stepping up the raids and using "terror" weapons such as Napalm, gas and anti-personnel bombs loaded with razor blades ("lazy dogs").

But by bombing the North, the U.S. Government has identified the Hanoi state-capitalist police state with the Viet Cong. The dangerous fallacy of doing so is causing alarm to some sectors of the American capitalist class. These elements rightly see that an equivalent step in the Korean war would have been to identify the northern forces with the Peking government, and to have sent MacArthur across the Manchurian border, instead of sacking him for trying to cross it.

In fact, the struggle in South Vietnam is a social struggle brought about by the class nature of South Vietnamese society. Its causes go back to a time well before either the Hanoi government or U.S. support for the Saigon government. The basic issue is landless peasants and small farmers versus a landlord class too weak to stand without imperialist aid—first French, now American. Wilson has admitted that this was the position "up to a few weeks ago", but now the North Vietnamese rulers have said the North is fighting a war, so, according to Wilson, the American attacks are justified. And the Labour "left" seems to be worried only now the U.S. has extended its war. Sidney Silverman asked Wilson: "Does not the Prime Minister agree that this attack by the armed forces of the U.S. . . . deep within the North Vietnamese territory, goes far beyond the hostilities in earlier

days, which we were prepared to tolerate."

History is full of instances of the use of war as a means of diverting the attention of the subject class from their own inferior social position. No doubt the U.S. attacks have consolidated the rule of the North's dictators. The real reason for the raids is that the U.S. has realised it cannot suppress the Viet Cong guerillas without attacking the sources of their supplies in the North. This is, in fact, openly admitted, in alternate breaths with the "negotiate from strength" line.

Whatever policy or stand the U.S. takes, it looks as though it is going to have a ball. Whether it is fighting guerillas or bombing the North, America is consolidating its imperialist position. The same goes for the North Vietnamese government; it is difficult to see how it can lose from the conflict. The war between the U.S. and North Vietnam is at the moment one that neither side can lose—or win.

It is futile to try to take sides with either of the rival imperialisms, from a working-class point of view. No worker has anything to gain from the prolongation of the war, while U.S. policy—a logical one from an imperialist point of view—has taken the world a step nearer nuclear war. **Therefore every worker should oppose the war.**

Workers who are aware of this should spend their time impressing it on their mates. While doing so, they might also point out how, in Britain, the policy of the Labour government has been identical to that of the Tories in yet another matter of life and death. And how, in South Vietnam, the civil arm of the government is entirely at the mercy of the military—just as Wilson would be if he stepped too far out of line, or things got a bit tight.

GROUP NOTICES

LONDON SWF: open meetings every Friday, at the Lucas Arms, 245 Grays Inn Road, WC1 (5 min. Kings Cross Station) 8.30 p.m.

April 2 Tom Brown: Strikes I have known
 „ 9 Ralph Rosenbaum: How the C.I.O. Arose
 „ 16 Open discussion
 „ 23 Inquest on the Easter March
 „ 30 Spain today

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.

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

BRISTOL: Contact John Coveney, 1 Richmond Park Road, Clifton, Bristol 8.

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

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

Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays, 8.00 p.m.

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, Mddx.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: Contact J. D. Gilbert Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

WITNEY: Contact Laurens Otter, 5 New Yatt Road, North Leigh, nr. Witney, Oxon.

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FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS

INDUSTRIAL YOUTH—the voice of militant apprentices and young workers. 2d monthly from 25a, Duffield Road, Salford 6, Lancs.

② "RESISTANCE" for Peace and Freedom, bulletin of the Committee of 100. 6d per copy, 10s a year post free, cut rate on bulk orders. 13 Goodwin Street, London, N4.

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.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP: Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.

S. WALES ANARCHIST GROUP. Irregular meetings held. Enquire Peter Raymond, 300 Whitchurch Road, Gabalfa, Cardiff.

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STATE STEEL, MUSSOLINI STYLE

ANYONE who has received an anonymous letter must have pondered again and again who is the writer, what is his purpose? I have just read a pamphlet, *A Plan for Steel*, which sets the same problem: it is published by the paper *Voice of the Unions*, which publishes other "Voices", including *Steelworkers' Voice*. Is it Trotskyist, Labour, Left Communist? They don't tell us, though one number of "Voice", devoted to its "Steel plan", contains a message from Harold Wilson, appealing for support.

But the many-voiced publishers do not voice the policy of Wilson and the Labour Party; instead they offer a bread pudding, with a little from every doctrine, a little for everyone. *A Plan for Steel* offers: nationalisation of the iron and steel industry, but sugars the bitter fare with a coating of pseudo "workers' control", something the Labour Party will never agree to, even as a fraction.

In the first paragraph the pamphlet says, "The workers must be associated at national and plant level with control decisions and management." Whatever else "association" means, it does not mean control.

Voice wants a Public Board of 12 members appointed by the Minister. "The vice-chairman and four members to be appointed like the other members by the Minister, but from a panel of names submitted by agreement among the various trade unions in the industry." The grand plan does not say whether or not the latter five are part of, or addition to, the

12; is the Board 12 or 17? Throughout, the Plan is thus blurred. Who names the candidates, makes the list from which the Minister, Tory, Labour or Coalitionist, picks his safe bet? A trade union cannot do it, as an inanimate object cannot. It must be done by persons. You may be sure the persons will be trade union officials, but "trade unions" sounds better.

At the very best the "trade union" nominees would be a minority. Certainly they would have to be good little boys to be selected by the Minister, be he Labour or Tory.

Later, the "Plan" speaks of "a significant element of representation of the workers" on "enterprise boards and lower levels of management." How small is an element? Then come "Workers' Councils" and, below them, shop and mill committees, the latter to be elected by ballot. Should not the Workers' Council, too, be elected by ballot? Well, "One half of the Workers' Council to be elected through the Shop and Department Committees, the other half through trade union branches?" Why this dualism, what is behind it?

And what of life under the new nationalisation? Very much like the old, with no new ideas. There is, for the nostalgic, the old "joint conciliation machinery between management and trade unions". This idea, tried for half-a-century, has never been able to conceal the class war that gives rise to talk of conciliation in private or nationalised industry.

Most industries and services are covered by "joint conciliation", yet in February, the last figures issued, there were 177 strikes reported to the Minister of Labour; this follows a yearly average of more than 2,000, but many more strikes are not reported to the Ministry. The vast majority are "unofficial."

Now we come to the shop stewards. They are to be allowed, but their "offices should be kept separate from membership of the Committees and Councils. They should operate a grievance procedure representing their members before the Shop Committees and Workers' Councils. They should 'police' the implementation of working agreements." Police!

Throughout the contrivances of the "Voices" is the bi-cameral theme which, in British politics, has created the House of Lords, as well as the Commons. Split voting is an extension of this principle. It is an old ruling-class dodge of granting "democracy", and, at the same time, creating safeguards against it.

The "Voices" are nearest to revealing their aims in the penultimate clause. "A National Iron and Steel Development Council to be set up (a little NEDDY) composed of representatives of the Government, State Corporations, private employers and trade unions." This must have been cribbed directly from the Italian Fascist Corporate State constitution, which was meant to turn the workers' minds from Workers' Control.

The Labour Party has its own official plan, but if it instituted this "Plan for Steel," a succeeding Tory Cabinet would find it most useful. And a Fascist government would find one plank of its platform already nailed down in position.

TOM BROWN

"We are proud to trade with South Africa. Make no mistake about that."

Lord Rhodes, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, House of Lords, 11.2.65.

Seamen resist (cont.)

Negotiating Committee as follows: 1. £5 per month rise. 2. 40-hour week in port and at sea. 3. Overtime rates of Monday-Friday time-and-half, Saturday-Sunday, Double time. Also that the AGM give this all support, including strike action if necessary. The V & A Branch sent a delegation to the EC demanding the new Agreement be deferred till after the AGM in May.

On Tyneside the Geordie seamen did the same thing, with 200 seamen present at a North Shields Special Branch Meeting. The NE District Organiser is now Clarke, of Tilbury ballot-rigging fame. He has already been rejected by the N.E. Seamen as "Unelected and Unwanted by N.E. Coast Seamen", in their rank and file sheet, "Seafarer".

This new "Agreement" was not made public until too late for resolutions to go through to the AGM.

I paid off the "British Mallard" on February 18 and the NUS officials came aboard to collect union dues. When we learnt that March 29, would see all hands back on a 7-day, 8-hour working week, the officials were chased out of the mess room by the infuriated crowd.

Talk of strike action is in the air, also a new union. Regarding strike action, if it takes place, it will be in mid-summer. Seamen on strike are usually a long way from home and many strikers in 1960 were sleeping out until we got organised.

Direct Action has had a couple of news items about the seamen's struggle recently, and it went down very well aboard the "British Mallard". Even Company's men were coming to me and requesting a copy of "that little paper you get sent to you."

If any reader can put me in touch with someone in South Wales with the means of duplicating quarto-size news-sheets at odd intervals, I'd be very grateful. Drop me a line c/o SWF, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E17.

GEORGE FOULSER, A.B.

Apprentices: Does Dad know best?

THE Engineering Employers' Federation offer to recognise negotiating rights for engineering apprentices has been accepted by the executive of the Shipbuilding and Engineering Confederation. The Agreement allows shop stewards and union officials to negotiate on behalf of apprentices. The lads can raise a problem with the management and, if progress isn't made, the shop steward takes over, and the apprentices drop out. Dad knows best (or does he?).

The Employers' Federation is also to recommend to its members the removal of the paragraph in the apprentices indentures which forbids him joining a union. It's up to adult members to see this recommendation is carried out. The agreement falls short of the Apprentices' Charter. No doubt the AEU apprentices will express their dissatisfaction at the AEU Youth Conference in Brighton at the end of this month.

SEAMEN KNIFED IN THE BACK

ELSEWHERE in this issue, George Foulser exposes the new agreement for seamen. On March 15, the National Union of Seamen held a special executive meeting to consider the opposition to the pay deal. After six-and-a-half hours' 'rabbit' they endorsed their previous decision in favour of the agreement by 27 votes to 8. Included among the majority were the votes of full-time officials; some seagoing members of the EC were unable to attend the emergency meeting. So, all in all, rank-and-file seamen had a 90-1 chance of being 'stitched up'. The employers' body, the National Maritime Board, have issued a statement in defence of the 'package agreement'. They claim that no rating can lose. In fact, they are well pleased with the deal. One thing to be thankful for, George—you should have no difficulty in differentiating between the employers and the NUS.

"IT'S NOT UNUSUAL"

IT'S not unusual for the straw to break the camel's back and this is exactly what has happened in the case of the Underground booking clerks. In December last year, the uniform staff on the Underground received a 9% wage increase, the booking clerks received 4%, making their basic

wage £725 per year (no wonder there is staff shortage).

Rank and file clerks decided to hold a Monday stoppage and immediately the Transport Salaried Staffs Association applied the big stick, by suspending some branch officers. London Transport climbed on the bandwagon and warned the clerks that such action would be in breach of their contract of employment and they would return to work as new employees.

LTB posted up notices stating that the strike was unofficial and not supported by the union. Gerry Manzi, a Leicester Square booking clerk, circularised fellow clerks and got the sack. Immediately, many clerks walked off the job in sympathy on Saturday, March 13.

The Monday strike on March 15 closed half the booking offices on the London Underground. Gerry Manzi was reinstated two days later.

A 'Solidarity' leaflet made one good suggestion: "The implications of this strike could be far-reaching, *for the public will not be inconvenienced in any way.* The tubes will still run, but it will be entirely up to the passenger whether he puts anything in the box provided at his destination. The clerks will be hitting at the LTB only! This method of struggle could even be applied on the buses, with conductors refusing to take fares. Let's be fair. Let the passengers perhaps pay what they think the cattle-ride was worth!"

All transport workers must unite. This is blatantly obvious, with every day wasted meaning a widening of the differentials, worsening of conditions and break down of solidarity.

DOCK EMPLOYERS THROW DOWN GAUNTLET

A MONTH or so ago it was mooted that two port employers—Shaw Savill and Thames Stevedoring—would merge. The immediate reaction of the dockers was opposition. Now the two employers plan to introduce a labour-only merger and are sending out 'contracts of employment.'

The idea of the merger is for dockers to be paid on a weekly basis, interchanging between ships being worked by the two companies. Dock union officials state this will mean less chance of work for casual workers in the pool.

Every day one reads in the national press of dockers being unemployed and sent home from the various ports. To me, an outsider, the whole set-up in the docks appears archaic—and I know some dockers feel the same way. Until the rank and file dockers start to take control in their own hands, it will remain so.

DISCIPLINE

DISCIPLINE is the byword of Mr. Gunter, the Minister of Labour. In an interview in the *Sunday Times* (7.3.65), he stated: "As I see it, the greatest need of the nation at present is some measure of recall to discipline, of recall to a sense of national responsibility. So often in the fields of management and of men we find that sectional interests are emphasised at the expense of the national interest. It is very necessary that we start thinking about our country as a whole."

Asked about the theory of the closed shop, he said that it would lead to *greater discipline* and it was this aspect that bothered him.

Obviously State discipline is very good for our beloved employers, but when workers wish to determine the system they should work under we get the spiel about *freedom*.

Talking about changes, the Government has taken a terrific stride forward—not only will men get three or four weeks' notice after years of service, but also a lump sum to ease their situation. What about work-spreading—shorter working week, same money? I forgot the motherland can't afford it, particularly when Government ministers cop a measly £9,750 a year.

Risinghill threat (cont.)

were backing the LCC, the more idealistic were with him all the way. Incidentally the original decision to abolish corporal punishment, on which the Press seized, was made by a large majority at a staff meeting some time ago, *not by Mr. Duane himself* (although he totally agrees with the decision). Since then, with staff turnover, the balance of opinion has probably changed; this is one cause of disunity.

And what of the future? Will the Minister refuse to rubber-stamp the "decision" of the largest Labour council in the country? Will the school survive in its present form? We can make sure it does by rousing public opinion, particularly that of children, parents and teachers—the people who would run the schools in a syndicalist society. There is more at stake here than one man's job, one school's existence. Risinghill highlights the whole nature of contemporary society. The rights of bureaucracy to interfere with workers in education or any other industry, must be challenged, for bureaucracy in any form represents a cancer gnawing at the social health of the community. This is why we must show our solidarity with Risinghill.

P. R.

BILL CHRISTOPHER

KRUPPS and the shadow of AUSCHWITZ

ACCORDING to the *Daily Telegraph* (12.2.65) the Krupp industrial empire is to build factories in Poland, with the blessing of the government. Krupp will also lay on the managers and technicians, while the main labour force will come from the large numbers of currently unemployed Polish industrial workers.

Krupps have never been worried about the politics of foreign governments with whom they deal. Consistent backers of German reaction from the first Kaiser through Hitler to Adenauer, their fortunes have always been at a peak in time of war.

By 1887, Krupp had sold 25,567 large guns to 21 governments. In 1914-18, when "heroes fell and profits rose", Krupp shell fuses, manufactured under licence by Vickers, must have accounted for hundreds of thousands of German deaths. Krupp exported steel to eager French arms makers via Switzerland and, whoever won the Battle of Jutland, it was a triumph for Krupp gun-laying instruments in both British and German warships.

After 1918 Krupp were compensated for contracts cancelled by the Armistice, but Germany was banned from making arms. However German Army boss General Seeckt, looking East for Germany's future resurgence, put out feelers to the Bolsheviks for the rebuilding of the German arms business in Russia, and the retraining of the German Army there, and got a favourable response from Trotsky, Commissar of war. This was August 1920; earlier in the year Seeckt had crushed a united rising by Catholic, Socialist, Communist and Syndicalist workers in the Ruhr—the centre of German heavy industry with Krupp at its head. They had risen against both the Social Democrat government and the Rightists under Kapp, who had temporarily deposed the Social Democrats. During the Kapp putsch the Berlin Communists condemned the rising and declared "loyal opposition" to the Social Democrats, a line approved by Lenin.

In March 1921 the massacre of the Kronstadt rising by Trotsky and the failure of the German Communists' "March Action" (unauthorised by Moscow) brought a further advance in the deal. Lenin formally applied in secret for help from Seeckt on rebuilding the Red Army. And in early April a plan was forwarded from the Berlin War Ministry to Moscow, proposing the German manufacture in Russia of warplanes, submarines, and guns and shells, the last by Krupp. This was approved by Lenin and Trotsky. The rebuilding of the German military was camouflaged as "concessions" under the New Economic Policy.

The 1923 German crisis saw the Moscow line on Germany changing wildly according to prospects and policies of German heavy industry, the latter always led by Krupp. After the French occupation of the Ruhr, German Communists made a united front with the Nationalists in the "passive resistance" campaign sponsored by the government against the invaders. Asked at this time about the prospects of a German revolution, both Trotsky and Radek (Moscow's German "expert") deemed it "premature". But when later in the year German capital began to look West and tried to buy off the French, a Moscow-backed rising was suddenly on, calling for a united front with the Social Democrats. This was a fiasco, and German Communism went into eclipse.

In 1925 the *Manchester Guardian* exposed the secret military treaty. This was defended by Bukharin as "aiding Germany, despite its bourgeois regime, in its struggle against the imperialist states." Krupp and his class were oppressed Nationalists!

In his memoirs, General Speidel says that the German air-

training base in Russia played a very important part in laying the "spiritual basis" of the *Luftwaffe*.

During the Second World War thousands of slave workers imported from German-occupied territory, including Russia and Poland, and from concentration camps provided labour for Krupp. There was a Krupp factory at Auschwitz (now in Poland). When Alfried Krupp was tried at Nuremberg, witnesses told of the terrible conditions of thousands of men, women and children sacrificed to the war effort. Since his release from prison Alfried Krupp has rebuilt his empire. It has always been a family firm and today he is one of the two richest men in the world.

The present Polish deal must have started when Khrushchev visited the Leipzig Trade Fair in 1959 and drank cognac from a goblet of Krupp steel, the finest that human misery can produce. But nobody should blame him or the Polish government. Dealing with Krupp is in the best traditions of Bolshevism.

MARK HENDY

Casement: a skeleton in Ireland's cupboard

ON a night in the last week of February 1965 they set up floodlights in a courtyard of Pentonville Prison in London. A gang of jailers were set to work digging down through the bones of scores of hanged men. They were under the supervision of Home Office officials. The British officials were closely watched by a group of Irish officials. Ten feet down they came to the bones of Roger Casement. There was still some skin and hair attached to the skull, but the skeleton was not complete.

The bones were wrapped in sacking and placed in a deal coffin, which was then taken in a prison van to Northolt airport. At the airport an aircraft of Irish Airlines-Aer Lingus was waiting to take the bones to Baldonnel Army Air Corps base outside Dublin, where His Excellency Sir Geoffrey Torey, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to Ireland, was a distinguished member of the Welcome Committee.

From that moment the bones of Casement received the full treatment of an Irish State Funeral—with one significant difference. Hundreds of extra cops were drafted in from the provinces and any attempt by members of the general public to follow the cortège was ruthlessly smashed.

It is customary in Ireland that people take part in the funerals of public figures. It is said that more than a hundred thousand marched at the funeral of Parnell. The funerals of such rebels as O'Donovan Rossa and the Countess Markievicz were also great popular demonstrations for the idea of Revolution in Ireland. The funeral of Roger Casement could have been such a demonstration. Without the intervention of the brutalised peasants, who make up Eire's "Civic Guard"—so evocative of Franco's Guardia Civil—it would have been.

But the Lemass-O'Chichester-Wilson Axis said No.

Such a demonstration in 1965 would be an opportunity to examine the state of the island after more than 40 years of rule by local politicians. Two cosy little capitalist states, one of which is effectively ruled, through a facade of parliamentary democracy, by John Charles McQuaid, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. The other by an oligarchy of land-

cont. on page 8, col. 2

NOT EVEN UNO BOMBS!

"IN FRONT OF US a curious figure was standing, a little crouched, legs straddled, arms held out from the sides. He had no eyes, and the whole of his body, nearly all of which was visible, through tatters of burnt rags, was covered with a hard black crust, speckled with yellow pus. A Korean woman by his side began to speak and the interpreter said: 'He has to stand sir, cannot sit or lie.' He had to stand because he was no longer covered with a skin, but with a crust like crackling which broke easily."

PERHAPS surprisingly, this is not a report of the aftermath of Hiroshima, but of the first use of Napalm. As Victor Gollancz said, when he quoted the above extract from the *Manchester Guardian*: "The Napalm bomb, which turns a man into the creature just described, was first used in Korea—used by us, the United Nations. . . ." The Napalm bomb, it appears, is made of jellied petrol, "which unites stickily with a man's skin as it blazes and cannot be detached, so that the man and the petrol burn as one indivisible unit." (cf. *More for Timothy*). It was this same UNO that sent troops to the Congo at Lumumba's request, deposed him, arrested him and later handed him over to his murderers.

This year the CND hierarchy (of course without mandate) has announced that the Easter March is to favour, besides Unilateral Disarmament, the strengthening of that same UNO, with the implication that the marchers favour World Government. If the use of Napalm were the only atrocity it committed in Korea, UNO would still be suspect, but it wasn't. If the record of the UN's role in the Congo were all the evidence that UNO intervenes only to protect the financial and other interests of the Big Powers, it would nevertheless be suspect, but again it isn't. Any unprejudiced examination will disclose that the UN is a particularly ruthless and vicious international strong-arm band, designed to keep the smaller countries down and repress all signs of the emergence of radical movements in the Third World.

As to World Government, there are three ways in which it might come about. It could come with no fundamental change in society, through the extension of UNO. Some people may be enthralled by the idea of a world cabinet including Johnson, Kosygin, Mao, Wilson, De Gaulle, Verwoerd and Franco—and pursuing as policy a compromise philosophy, designed to cover their common power interests—but this has nothing to do with Unilateralism. One has only to pose the probabilities to see it would not lead to universal justice—and there is certainly no reason to suppose that sort of compromise would lead to lasting peace.

World Government might also come from one or other side in the Cold War triumphing—taking at face value the common belief that both sides wish to overthrow the other, which is unlikely, as bogeymen come in useful—and, without significant change to itself, imposing a world order. No doubt some people on the Easter March would welcome this, but like the first case it has nothing to do with Unilateralism.

Finally, World Government might come as a result of revolutionary change throughout the world. Unilateralism in each and every country would bring about such revolutionary change, but if this is meant, what is the point of World Government? Either the change is to be complete and a worldwide society of co-operation will arise, or the change will be partial, with the world getting within sight of abolishing wars and class rule. In the former case there would be no need either for government, or the ruling class on which it is based. In the latter case, it would be ludicrous to reach so far as to force through a change, in a way opposed to the ruling class's interests, then topple back by letting those same rulers back by forming a World Government, which could rest only on privilege.

LAURENS OTTER

Roger Casement (cont.)

owners and industrialists, backed by sectarian and racist groups comparable with the Ku Klux Klan.

In Belfast the workers still live in Protestant or Catholic ghettos. Until last month municipal employees carefully padlocked children's swings on Sundays! In Dublin, the dubious educational doctrine of "equal but separate" is invoked, so that all children are entrusted to one bunch of obscurantists or another, but chiefly to the schools of McQuaid and his accomplices. The trade unions are infiltrated by clericalist dupes of the bosses, and the scene is set for the gradual development of a Corporate State.

This is not quite what the insurgents of 1916 had in mind. It is not what the explicitly secular and anti-sectarian Tricolour flag was meant to symbolise. It is—above all—not what that most significant section of the insurgent forces, the Irish Citizen Army, had in mind. The armed Trade Unionists of 1916 had some idea that a future post-revolutionary Ireland would be a country in which the workers controlled the industries and the peasants owned the land.

So when Casement was buried on the 1st of March, the politicians made damned sure that there would be no reminder of their own betrayals. It was a superb military funeral. Hundreds of soldiers marched and lined the streets. Bands played the funeral marches of Chopin and Handel.

17 foreign States were represented by ambassadors or ministers. A battery of artillery fired a slow salute and a firing squad fired FN rifles across the grave. But the plain people of Ireland were thrown back by the police when they tried to follow the funeral of a revolutionary.

SEAN GANNON

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