

## PORTUGAL

## Salazar's empire cracking

UNMISTAKABLE signs that the efforts (so long apparently successful) of Portugal's rulers to insulate her African colonies from the struggles for liberation of the other native peoples are failing, have begun to seep through the fine mesh of the world's most effective censorship.

The two largest colonies are Angola, or Portuguese West Africa (area 481,350 square miles; population 4 million, including some 80,000 Europeans), and Mozambique, or Portuguese East Africa (area 302,300 square miles; population 5½ million). With a coastline of over a thousand miles, Angola shares common frontiers with the Belgian Congo (to become independent on July 1) to the north, Northern Rhodesia to the east, and South-West Africa (ruled by the Union of South Africa in defiance of its legal status as a United Nations trust territory) to the south.

Mozambique, with an even longer coastline, has Tanganyika (to be granted internal self-government in September) to the north, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to the north-east, Southern Rhodesia to the east, and the Transvaal and Natal provinces of South Africa and the British High Commission territory of Swaziland to the south. A substantial percentage of the labour for South Africa's mines is drawn from Mozambique, and this has sometimes been on a forced labour basis.

Portuguese Guinea (area 13,900 square miles; population 510,000, including 2,260 non-Africans) is adjacent to the French Union country of Senegal and the ex-French colony of Guinea.

Disturbances have been reported from all three colonies. The Portuguese Government has sent troop reinforcements to Angola and announced on March 14 that warships will be despatched to patrol the coast. In August of last year 50 people were killed at Bissau, Portuguese Guinea, in a clash between strikers and police. In December, 57 people, including 7 Europeans, were arrested in Angola and are still, apparently, awaiting trial on a charge of treason. An African nationalist leader is reported to have escaped from Angola under a false name and reached London, where he is trying to raise support for the accused. According to two members of the Board of the American Commission on Africa, who returned recently from a week's visit to Angola, there has been an armed insurrection in the Southern Province.

It is heartening to note that the underground movement against the Salazar dictatorship is actively supporting the struggle of the Africans to throw off the colonial yoke.

In Portugal itself, the continuing spate of sentences bears witness to the widespread resistance to the régime among both workers and intellectuals. Among ten people sentenced in the second half of February to terms of imprisonment ranging from 18 months to 2½ years (with the usual suspension of non-existent political rights) for belonging to illegal organisations, were a bank clerk and two women said to have been engaged in subversive activities for more than twenty years.

In March, four bakers were given 6-7 months, an engineer 2 years 4 months, and seven others sentences of from 4 months to 2 years 3 months—all for subversion. At the beginning of April a former student of the Oporto fine arts school, charged with subversive activities, was sentenced to 8½ years' imprisonment. Two men accused of activities against State security were given suspended sentences of 16 and 17 months' imprisonment; a third was sentenced to 15 months, which had already expired before he was tried.

## EAST AFRICA

## Police fire on Uganda strikers

ON MARCH 4 police opened fire on an angry crowd of workers on a tea plantation in Uganda, following the arrest of two strike leaders. Two of the strikers were wounded and one of them died later in hospital. More than 40 strikers were arrested.

The strike of 2,000 workers on two plantations near Fort Portal, owned by the Uganda Company, began on the evening of March 1. The recently-formed Uganda Plantation Workers' Union had demanded higher wages on their behalf. The lowest wage rates paid are 45s. a month, plus rations worth 25s. and free housing. Many of the strikers were paid off.

H. M. Luande, President of the Uganda T.U.C., commented: "Once again, within the space of a few weeks, the police have opened fire and injured a group of people who have a grievance and are seeking redress".

It was reported on March 22 that of 1,525 people arrested for offences connected with the January tax riots in the Bukedi province of Uganda, 604 had been sentenced to terms of imprisonment, includ-

ing one for life and several for 15 years. There were 245 people still awaiting trial. Besides those convicted by the protectorate courts, it is said that many sentences of imprisonment have been passed by local government courts presided over by the same chiefs whose arbitrary tax assessments caused the riots.

Widespread active opposition to the Government's efforts to reimpose the authority of the local chiefs continues, and on March 3 Bukedi was again declared a disturbed area. Fifteen people were killed in the January riots. An inquiry into their causes opened on February 18.

In Tanganyika, 7,000 sisal workers struck briefly at the beginning of April in protest against working conditions introduced as part of a new wage agreement. The strike was complete on five plantations. The new conditions involve a speed-up of work by about 30 per cent. Cutters must produce 90 bundles a day instead of 70.

The strike of the Tanganyika African Postal Union ended on February 16 and wage talks were begun; but the *Uganda Argus* reported on March 25 that negotiations with the unions representing African post office workers in the three East African territories had virtually broken down.

In its efforts to get the Tanganyika African railwaymen to return to work on its own terms, the management has been issuing leaflets saying: "The way to get money? Return to work. Why not April 1st?" S. J. Katungutu, assistant general secretary of the strikers' union, commented: "This move will never succeed in returning our members to work unconditionally. They will not go back until the union tells them, even if it takes ten years". The strike began on February 9.

In Kenya, the Supreme Court has dismissed an appeal by Lawrence Oguda, a former African elected member of the Kenya Legislative, against his conviction and sentence of one year's imprisonment for sedition following a speech to his constituents, reports *The Times* (7/3/60).

## SPAIN

## MORE POLITICAL TRIALS

POLITICAL TRIALS in Franco Spain continue at the usual tempo. On March 22, sentences from six months to six years were imposed on 14 of the 15 men from Murcia tried at a Madrid military tribunal for "incitement to military rebellion". Their crime was that of distributing leaflets calling for a national one day's strike on June 18 last year. One man was acquitted.

During February, 28 persons were reported arrested in Asturias, mainly at Gijon, as alleged Communists.

On March 25, a worker from Cordoba and two law students appeared before Madrid military courts, on charges related to the June strike of last year.

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## WORLD LABOUR NEWS

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## African workers' strike action will end Apartheid

ONE THING above all others has been made clear by the events of the past two months in South Africa: the blood-drenched Nazi regime of the Afrikaner overlords can be toppled by the economic pressure of working-class direct action, inside and outside that unhappy country.

Verwoerd and his fellow-fascists are worried little by political votes of censure at the United Nations, by the pious, empty platitudes of politicians who, while raising horrified hands at the actions of South Africa's White master race, yet wash those same hands of any practical help to the oppressed millions, born with a darker skin than that of their self-appointed rulers. Economic action, however, is a very different matter.

Only a glance at the headlines of the City columns in British papers during the recent events was needed to see the effect of the stay-at-home by non-White workers. "South Africans share prices crumble," proclaimed the *News-Chronicle* on March 23. "Kaffirs—holed and sinking," reported the same paper eight days later.

As we pointed out last month, the racist doctrine of apartheid is a sham, because the South African Nationalists know full well that the capitalist economy of the country cannot survive without the labour of the native Africans. Consider these facts. Africans make up 90% of the total labour force in mining, 80% in construction, more than half in manufacturing industry and 48% in transport. Nearly half a million Africans are employed by secondary industry, government and municipal undertakings and the wage bill for Bantu workers in the seven main industrial centres of the country is £126 million annually.

African women, too, are helping swell this rapidly-growing proletariat. From 1952, when 9,500 were employed in industry, the figure has risen to 15,000. Wage rates are far below those gained by White workers and the African is denied the right to organise, being refused membership in the White-only trade unions and finding his own organisations made illegal by government edict. South Africa's African and Coloured working-class have no more rights than the slaves of antiquity. But the "wind of change" of Macmillan's Cape Town speech is sweeping away the slave's docility, as he realises his potential economic power in a capitalist economy.

During the weeks of crisis and bloodshed there have been repeated reports of growing unrest among the industrialists with the policies of the Verwoerd régime. These have not been motivated by humanitarian considerations, but by traditional capitalist fear of dwindling dividends. This was reflected in foreign stock markets, causing the headlines quoted above.

The results of the apartheid policy are proving economically disastrous. Even before the present wave of repression was unleashed with dum-dum bullets thudding into the defenceless backs of unarmed Africans at Sharpeville and Langa on March 21, when the Pan-Africanist Congress campaign against the Pass Laws started, the signs were there. On March 15 *The Times* reported: "Durban Corporation has decided to sell or lease the city's transport service, which is at present losing more than £1,000 a day . . . Government apartheid regulations, which require separate buses for White and non-Whites on certain routes, are blamed for a large proportion of the annual deficit of £369,000".

The stay-at-home strike of African labour, which followed Sharpeville, made the situation far more acute from the viewpoint of South Africa's capitalists. Once the African workers realised the power of industrial action, the days of White domination, political and economic, would be near an end. It was this, above all, that prompted the Hitler-style sweeps of Afrikaner storm-troopers into the non-White townships, where all on strike were beaten mercilessly.

Stephen Barber, in one of his *News Chronicle* despatches (April 4), reported: "Backed by tin-hatted troops and naval shore parties in full battle order, bayonets fixed and Bren guns loaded, by armoured cars and Saracens, police possess of the security boss, General Rademeyer, slammed into the native townships of Langa and Nyanga this morning. They laid about them with truncheons and cruel rubber sjamboks—thick whips—at any and every native

they found 'loitering'. The idea was to force the man to go back to work. They have been out on a stay-at-home strike now for ten days . . . The general explained tersely: 'We mean to intimidate the intimidators'. Police then pounced on one house after another—miserable tin shanties set amid the grass-tufted dunes of Cape Flats below Table Mountain. If they found a man at home they simply beat him up. It was all Teutonically thorough."

Hospitals ran out of dressings as the wounded flooded in for treatment. And the object of the exercise, remember, was quite simply to break a strike.

For the moment, the sheer naked force of the Afrikaner fascists has earned a brief respite for their foul régime, whose only open apologists in Britain have been Mosley and Montgomery. But the respite can be but brief. The struggle has been joined between the African working-class, awakened from its long sleep, and the Bible-thumping thugs of Verwoerd. Choosing the tactics of non-violence, the Africans have expressed their demand to be treated as human beings with great and moving dignity. The statement by Mangaliso Sobukwe, President of the Pan-Africanist Congress, on the launching of the anti-Pass Law campaign, expresses human values in direct opposition to the debased thuggery of the Nationalist Party.

"Are we still prepared," it asks, "to be half-human beings in our fatherland or are we prepared to be citizens—men and women in a democratic, non-racial South Africa? How long shall we be called Bantu, Native, Non-European, Non-White or black stinking Kaffir in our fatherland? . . ."

(Continued on page 2, column 2)

## JAPAN

## Miners near starvation

A MEMBER of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community remarked recently: "We are swimming in coal". And naturally the long-suffering, despised, gallant brotherhood of miners must bear the brunt of the decreased demand for coal. Yesterday "the country" was appealing to their patriotism for increased production; today they are cast off on the slag heaps raised by their own labours. We need not wonder at this. In a society obsessed with the profit motive, it is not to be expected that a man should be considered as anything more than an expendable tool of production; and in this respect, as in most others, nationalisation has altered nothing.

In Europe, at least the hardships of redundancy are mitigated by the Welfare State. Not so in Japan, where *The Times* Tokyo correspondent reports 40,000 miners near starvation in Kyushu, the country's largest coal-producing area. All over the country pits are being forced to close or to reduce their manpower in desperate efforts to cut production and costs and bring down the price of coal so as to compete with oil and hydro-electricity.

The 200,000-strong Coal Miners' Federation has accused the coal mining companies of a deliberate attempt to break the union by sacking officials and militants. At the Mitsui mining company's Miike colliery in Kyushu, one of the largest in Japan, the decision to sack about 2,000 of the labour force of 14,000 led to a strike on January 24. The management countered by declaring a lock-out and repeatedly refused conciliation by the Government mediation board.

Unfortunately, there was a rift in the ranks of the union. A break-away union was formed by 4,500 miners at the colliery, and on March 10 a return to work was agreed with the management. On March 28, 2,000 members of the splinter union, armed with clubs, iron pipes, and other makeshift weapons, tried to force their way through the picket lines. About 800 of them reached the pits and resumed work under police protection, but over a hundred miners were injured, more than thirty seriously, in the fight between the rival unions.



## The best of all possible worlds?

**SOUTH KOREA**—On March 15 the citizens of the "democracy", for the preservation of which the United Nations fought one of the bloodiest, bitterest wars of modern times, went to the polls to elect a President and a Vice-President. That great patriot and liberator Dr. Syngman Rhee was returned unopposed (the opposition candidate having died before the election) and the ruling party's candidate for vice-president beat his opponent by 7 to 1 in a campaign marked by such flagrant government pressure, bribery and outright violence that the elections of Hogarth's day would look like a vicar's tea party in comparison.

The bloodiest incident was at Masan, where, the Government-owned newspaper *Seoul Shimmoon* reported, 14 people were killed and 39 seriously wounded when the police opened fire on about a thousand demonstrators. Other reports put the deaths at about twenty. The bodies of some of the victims were thrown into the sea, and the discovery of two bodies (one of a 17-year-old student) in the harbour led to a demonstration of 10,000 people on April 11. They shouted anti-Rhee slogans and a section of them attacked the police headquarters. Two more people died in the riots and eleven arrests were made the next day. There have also been demonstrations in other parts of the country, including the capital, Seoul, and Taegu, and the 30,000-strong police force has been put on an emergency footing. The Democratic (Opposition) Party has petitioned the Supreme Court to declare the elections null and void.

**LATER**—As we go to press comes the great news that Rhee's regime overthrown by popular action. More next issue.

**YUGOSLAVIA**—Svetislav Stefanovic, State Secretary for the Interior, told a parliamentary committee on March 29 that last year 3,452 people were convicted of anti-State activity. He said that there had been a sharp rise in subversive activity compared with 1958.

**INDIA**—Two people were killed and four wounded when police opened fire on a crowd of about a thousand resisting eviction operations at Uttar Barbil, Assam, on March 8. The crowds set fire to a number of houses and tried to scare away the elephants being used in the demolition work.

**NORTHERN RHODESIA**—On April 10, Frank Chitambala, secretary general, Sykes Ndilia, information secretary, Diminico Mwansa, propaganda secretary, and George Nsunge, secretary of the Lusaka constituency, leaders of the United National Independence Party, were each sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for sedition.

**HUNGARY**—*Nemzetor* (*Hungarian Guardian*), a paper produced by Hungarian writers in exile, which recently published the names of more than thirty young Hungarians executed between June 15 and September 1, 1959, in its English-language issue of March 15 tells of the tragic fate of Laszlo Vereb, a refugee lured back to Hungary by the promise of an amnesty. He was arrested as soon as he had crossed the frontier, although his wife had been assured that he would come to no harm. "Shortly afterwards he was executed. He only saw his wife once, and then only from a distance. His last wish, that he be allowed to see his little daughter, was denied."

**GHANA**—A 14-year-old girl has been sentenced to 7 years at Accra Borstal for saying a district commissioner was ugly, reports the *News Chronicle* (5.4.60). She has appealed.

**NIGERIA**—Police opened fire during a disturbance at Obi, a village in Northern Nigeria, on March 8, killing five people and wounding five others.

**ADEN**—Local employees of the British Petroleum refinery returned to work on April 11 after a ten-week strike.

**CANADA**—The Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Department of Labour reported on March 23 that in February unemployment rose by 51,000 to 8.9 per cent of the total labour force.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**—Vladimir Kola and Miroslav Brtva have been sentenced by a Prague court to 5 and 4½ years' imprisonment respectively for "spreading propaganda for the prohibited boy scout movement and its ideology, which is hostile to the people's democratic order", reported *Msada Fronta*, the newspaper of the Czechoslovak Youth Federation. Also at the beginning of April it was reported that a Roman Catholic nun, Sister Pia, had been sentenced by a court at Hradec Kralove, north-eastern Bohemia, to 2½ years' imprisonment for "craftily disturbing the education of school children".

**AUSTRALIA**—The arbitration commission, who tell Australian workers just what treats they can or cannot have, has turned down

an application for an average increase of 22s. in the basic wage of about £11 a week. The Australian Council of Trades Unions has expressed disappointment at not being given the lolly.

**INDIA**—On February 17 a strike of construction workers hit the Russian-built Bhilai steelworks, recently visited by Khrushchev. There were several violent clashes with the police and 60 workers were arrested in the week-long stoppage, which was caused by bad living and working conditions (including inadequate safety measures resulting in a high accident rate) and anticipated dismissals.

### POLAND

## Workers go slow

THE INTRODUCTION of tighter working norms and stricter discipline in Polish industry has met with widespread resistance from the workers. In the best traditions of Marxist naivety, Mr. Gomulka has complained about the lack of class consciousness and understanding of the party's policy by workers who have resorted to go-slow tactics, to force a change in the norms.

Despite the low wages of Polish workers, inflation is inevitable where there are not enough consumer goods, even of the most necessary kind, to meet demand. So, in addition to the effort to raise productivity in basic industries, the policy is a deliberate attempt to cut the spending power of the workers in order to counter inflation.

The loss of wages caused by a combination of the new norms with serious failures in the supply of materials in some industries, has even led to strikes in a number of places. One strike reported by the *Gazeta Poznanska* was in the Z.N.T.K. railway repair shops in Poznan on February 19. The workers' demands were rejected and 30 "leaders" sacked as "undesirable elements".

## Africans and Apartheid

(Continued from page 1, column 2)

"How long shall we starve amidst plenty . . . We are either slaves or free men. Our overall fight is against imperialism, colonialism and domination . . . Let the world take note that we are not fighting Dr. Verwoerd, simply because he is Dr. Verwoerd; we are not fighting against the Nationalist Party or the United Party. We are not fighting against Europeans or Indians or Chinese . . . Our energies and forces are directed against a set-up, against a conception and a myth. This myth: others call it racial superiority, others call it herrenvolkism, others white leadership, or white supremacy . . . We are fighting against the Calvinistic doctrine that a certain nation was specially chosen by God to lead, guide and protect other nations. That is our fight. We are not a horde of stupid, barbaric things which will fight against a white man simply because he is a white man. . . ."

" . . . in this campaign we are going to maintain complete non-violence . . . This is not a game. The white rulers are going to be extremely ruthless. But we must meet their hysterical brutality with calm, iron determination. We are fighting for the noblest cause on earth, the liberation of mankind. They are fighting to retrench an outworn, anachronistic, vile system of oppression . . . WE represent progress. They represent decadence. We represent the fresh fragrance of flowers of bloom; they represent the rancid smell of decaying vegetation. We have the whole continent on our side. We have history on our side. WE WILL WIN!"

Deep sympathy with the oppressed of South Africa is felt by workers throughout the world. That sympathy must be translated into practical forms, as the struggle is renewed.

The boycott of South African goods must be made permanent, until all South Africans—White, Coloured, Asian and Black—are granted equal rights and the present tyranny is overthrown.

The boycott must be made effective, by extending it—as we proposed last month and the South Wales miners and New Zealand Federation of Labour have since agreed—to the industrial field. All South African goods must be declared black. Dockers and transport workers must agree not to handle them—and this applies with equal force to both mineral products and foodstuffs.

The working-class of South Africa is on the march to freedom. It must be helped forward by its brothers, irrespective of race or colour, throughout the world.

### And him a ratepayer!

"The bombing of the home of Mr. Patrick O'Sullivan, manager of the Lee Strand Creamery, Tralee, was condemned by the Creamery Milk Suppliers' Association in Limerick."

*Dublin Sunday Independent.*

### BRITAIN

## Car strikes—the reasons

Recent strikes in the British motor industry, together with the Trades Union Congress decision to hold a special investigation into the reasons for these disputes, have sparked off a series of articles in the capitalist Press about "Communist shop stewards", "Wildcat leaders", and so on. In fact, as the following article from a shop steward in one of the main Midland motor firms shows, these struggles result from conditions in the industry, not from some deep-laid plot.

SINCE THE WAR, the motor industry has undergone a period of continuous expansion, with an ever-growing momentum, right up to the present day and culminating in the plans recently announced to double or even treble output within a few years. This continuous expansion was only once interrupted, in 1956. At a time when industry in general was still expanding, the motor industry had to face sudden and drastic cuts in its sales during 1956.

The panic measures then resorted to by the employers are the reason for the present militancy in the industry. It is a classic example of how the working class learn from experience and the direct lie to the cry of cynics and savants that "the working class never learn".

In 1956 the workers in this industry took a sharp lesson on how thin is the security offered by capitalism. Since then, having absorbed the lesson, they have been struggling on an industrial basis to get security in employment and the rewards from increased productivity that are their due.

At that time, two of the major British-controlled firms, B.M.C. and Standards, resorted to mass sackings to cut their losses. The immediate reaction was mass walk-outs by the workers. They soon learned lesson No. 1: that 100% union membership, right from the skilled men to the labourers, was essential if they were to succeed. This fight for 100% membership is one of the main causes of strikes in the industry.

Lesson No. 2 was that co-ordination between factories was necessary to prevent the bosses playing one against another. From that time, shop stewards' committees have been set up in all the big firms, with a standing committee on which representatives of all the main firms in the industry are represented.

This, in turn, has resulted in a passing round of information about rates of pay, working conditions, etc. Formerly low-paid or backward shops, such as Tractors & Transmissions and Hardy Spicer, who had never previously known strikes, have become hotbeds of militant action, as the workers fight to get the standards of pay and conditions already obtained by other sections of the industry.

Of course, the workers are not the only ones to learn. Managements have fought back by attempting to cut off the leadership. The sacking of shop stewards has been another major cause of strikes.

The workers realise that the only answer to lower production would be shorter hours. This is possible only when a high hourly rate of pay is achieved. The fight for these higher rates is yet another cause of strikes.

Automation and speed-ups have resulted in increased work for "non-productive" workers such as slingers, unloaders, transport drivers, etc. Their struggle for extra pay for the extra work is a constantly-recurring cause of disputes.

It is obvious from all this that car workers have fast learned that only united militant action on their part can improve or even maintain their conditions. They have not yet learned the last lesson: that to take over the control of the industry in all its aspects is ultimately their only safeguard. But it cannot be long before this lesson is learned as thoroughly as the others.

### NORWAY

## Labour Govt. woos capital

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT of Norway has appointed Trygve Lie, former United Nations Secretary-General, as its ambassador to attract capital investment from abroad.

Says Lie: "We should like to see British industry come in. . . . We can offer cheap abundant electricity, plenty of manpower, cheap industrial sites and smooth labour relations, with unofficial strikes banned by law. . . . Already there is a surplus of manpower in some districts, although in general we have full employment. . . . We have a 45-hour working week, with three weeks' paid holiday per year for all workers. Collective agreements valid for two or three years are made with the trade unions. Any dispute over their interpretation must be referred to the Labour Court. Its decision is final. Strikes of any sort are rare in Norway."

Mr. Lie was asked by the British *Daily Telegraph* whether the Socialist Government might ever nationalise foreign companies in Norway. He replied that this would be a matter for the Norwegian Parliament to decide, but he could point to the recent report of the Socialist Party nationalisation committee.

This had examined every industry in the country and come to the conclusion that there was no case for nationalisation, except for pharmacies. A report from the same committee, in 1957, had stated that nationalisation was "no longer an irrevocable principle or inevitable consequence of Socialist development".

## Betteshanger—End of the road

DURING the General Election of February, 1950, an impressive emotional scene occurred in a constituency meeting near the Kent coalfield. As one speaker finished, and before the chief speaker arose, the lights were suddenly dimmed, singing was heard and, from the back of the hall marched a choir of miners from nearby pits, dressed in work clothes, with helmets and pit lamps. Singing "Cwm Rhondda", as Welsh miners have in many a strike, they marched to the platform. Proudly and harmoniously they finished their song and the speaker went on to tell of the new life to the coal industry brought about by the nationalisation of the mines, the dream fulfilled, the promised land after the journey through the wilderness of hunger, toil and death underground.

On February 11, 1960, exactly ten years later, 2,000 miners at Betteshanger Colliery, Kent, struck work when they learned that 140 of their number were to be sacked with, it was feared, many more to follow. The men felt strongly about the issue, for in a mining area, when a pit closes, there is rarely any other work available. Kent, being Britain's youngest coalfield, is largely manned by miners from Wales, Durham and other areas. To these men, it would be especially hard to break up homes once again to seek a living in another part of England.

Betteshanger, however, does not agree that redundancy is unavoidable: "We are selling locally all the coal we produce and have, during the past few weeks, sold 6,000 tons from the stock pile". Further, the national redundancy decreed by the Coal Board is 1,300 and that for Betteshanger 140—more than 10% of the total. "Miners are not prepared to be treated as mere cogs in an inhuman industrial machine. We demand the right to be treated as human beings." Of the 140 men, 79 received not one penny of redundancy pay.

The strike began when 370 of the night shift refused to come to the surface and the day shift refused to descend, after the N.C.B. had refused to discuss the sackings. Food for the stay-down strikers was cooked in the pit canteen by girl volunteers, much of it donated by well-wishers. The men below filled their time with discussion, games and, of course, singing. The N.C.B. refused to allow religious services to be held in the pit by clergy or the Salvation Army on Sundays.

As the strike continued, some men had to come to the surface because of ill-health. The men above demonstrated in Deal, headed by their prize silver band playing the strike song, "We'll keep right on to the end of the road". The Mayor of Deal agreed to act as mediator with two other persons, but the N.C.B. refused mediation.

After a week below, the remaining 126 stay-down strikers were brought to the surface by the strike committee, but the stay-out strike continued. Willing to share redundancy, the miners offered to accept "a four-day week or to take a week's enforced idleness without pay". Lester Magness, the pit union chairman, made an offer to the Coal Board: "Let the Betteshanger Branch of the National Union of Miners take over the colliery. We'll make it among the most economic in the country, or we'll bear the loss".

It is worthy of note that the willingness of the miners to run the pit and the stay-in strike are mild expressions, under different circumstances, of the Syndicalist stay-in, take-over strike, with the lock-out of the boss class. Perhaps some day the miners of Britain will lock out the bosses of the N.C.B. and themselves run the mines for society. The national secretary and president of the miners' union, W. Paynter and W. E. Jones, opposed the strike. Telling the miners that it was "unofficial", the union supported the coal bosses.

A strong force of the 2,000 strikers went to London and demonstrated at the House of Commons. While authority's attention was fixed there, a deputation of six, with 100 others, invaded the headquarters of the N.C.B., opposite Buckingham Palace, and staged a stay-in strike, eating sandwiches and singing, while outside a large crowd of their fellows demonstrated with banners.

Police and union officials Jones and Paynter were called and, after some hours, the men left, formed up with the others, and marched off singing "We'll keep right on to the end of the road". On February 28, the men of Betteshanger, faced by the heavy guns and granite faces of the N.C.B. and isolated by the union bureaucrats, called off the strike.

## Africa and freedom

"EQUAL RIGHTS for all civilised people." Like Cecil Rhodes, who invented this shining slogan, those who repeat it today do not lack an eye for the main chance. Even the apostles of *apartheid* would not quarrel with it. After all, it all depends on what you mean by "civilised". If by civilised one means those with white skins (blotched, of course), Rhodes, Verwoerd and Hitler would qualify.

But let us be fair. Those European settlers in Africa who consider themselves to be liberal in outlook would not support a racial definition, which is something at least. Yet if by civilised is meant having a comparatively high standard of literacy, the same three gentlemen would qualify. So would the American gentlemen who lynched Mack Charles Parker, the British officers involved in the beating to death of Mau Mau prisoners at Hola, the patriots who torture Algerian rebels to convince them of the superiority of French civilisation, and, of course, the white butchers of Sharpeville.

Is it possible to avoid asking oneself which was *more* civilised, the annihilation of Hiroshima or the atrocities of Mau Mau?

These men who presume to teach the Africans the meaning of civilised—not one of them believes in equal rights, even for whites. To Africans they deny even those poor rights granted to poor whites after centuries of struggle—universal suffrage and one man, one vote. Michael Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Group, declared during the London conference on the future of Kenya that his group had no faith in universal suffrage today, because in Kenya universal suffrage on a common roll would immediately dictate that the "common" roll was no longer common, but purely an African roll, in which the element of non-African voters would be in inconsequential proportions. In other words, Africans are acceptable as voters as long as the Europeans are able to dictate policy by constituting the majority. The same "democratic" principles inspire the Progressives of South Africa.

In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland they are enshrined in the cynical system of first- and second-class voters. An Independent member of the Federal Parliament, John Gaunt, told a meeting of a thousand whites who formed a Northern Rhodesia Association at Lusaka on March 4 (with the purpose of "uniting and fighting for our rights"): "We cannot have a black African majority here because Africans are no more democratic than the stones outside".

These "liberals", with their cant of "responsible electors capable of understanding national problems", are contemptible. They are not worth a thought from the African people, even where they are not a small, weak minority of the European electorate, as they are in most of colonial Africa. The South African Liberal Party is an exception to this lamentable rule, but again it is diminutive.

Oh, these arrogant "liberals", with their eternal talk of what the white man has done for the African! The white man has been in Africa for fifty years, where he has not been upwards of a century or more, yet he has not even given the average African the opportunity to read and write. And if this period of time is thought to be too brief "to lead the blacks out of barbarism", as they would put it, it is only necessary to recall the state of education in England a hundred years ago to realise what a little *real* good will do. With lamentably few honourable exceptions—men of courage and integrity, who have in one degree or another defied the taboos of the master race to which they belonged—the white man has done *nothing* for the African but exploit his labour for his own gain.

But what of the Africans' own leaders? It is more difficult to speak of them, for one would not impugn the good faith of men whose staunch leadership has done so much for their own people, that has helped to teach the poorest and most unfortunate of them to look the white man in the eye and demand equality and freedom.

It is only because one wishes to spare them the bitter disillusionment of the workers of the West that one feels forced to remind African workers that there will be other struggles when the white man has gone, or has accepted the passing of the old order of domination by one race of another.

Exploitation is no less exploitation when the skin of the exploiter and exploited are the same colour. It may be that the long-suffering African peoples will have to go through a period of nationalism before they even begin to realise this, but the sooner they learn that national sovereignty and representative democracy (or "choosing one's own boss") are not the same as freedom and equality, the sooner will they put an end to exploitation of all kinds. The workers of the West are taking so long to learn this lesson properly that the Africans may yet be able to show them the road to freedom.

"You can play cricket all over the world by serving in the Royal Navy or Royal Marines."

Advert. in *Wisden's Cricket Annual*.

# WORLD LABOUR NEWS

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## It's your paper!

MAY DAY greetings to fellow workers throughout the world. And the hope that the class struggle mirrored by World Labour News will bring an unbroken series of defeats for employers and oppressors everywhere during the coming year.

Since bringing out the first issue on January 1, we have had a heavy postbag from comrades and well-wishers. All seem agreed that our paper is filling a long-wanted need, as the voice of Syndicalism in the English language. What we aim to do in the coming months is to make it less OUR paper and more YOUR paper.

Unlike the capitalist Press, we have no money to engage a corps of "on-the-spot" correspondents, to send saloon-bar gossip from places far removed from the events they are reporting. But we do need a team of fellow-workers, in all countries, to send us news of what is happening on the job, THEIR job.

"D.J.W.'s" report on the Australian labour scene, in our first issue, brought several letters of appreciation—one from a Cleveland comrade, who remarked how closely the same pattern was being followed in the States. From Argentina we are getting first-hand information of the FORA's gallant battle against renewed boss-class attempts to crush this veteran revolutionary union movement.

But we need much more of this material. And that means we want YOUR help. Don't worry if the idea of writing an article frightens you. A few pencilled notes, a batch of Press clippings, can help us piece together a report of what is going on. The important thing is that you, in the middle of what's happening, can vouch for the correctness of the information.

That is one way you can make it your paper. Another is by taking some extra copies—one, even—for distribution to your work-mates, by discussing its contents with them, by drawing them in, too.

Apart from a few file copies, the first two issues of World Labour News are now almost out of print. Large numbers went to people we had listed as potential subscribers. A fair proportion have replied. Others, whom we have known as convinced rebels for years, have still to do so. If you are among the latter, why not get a postal-order and send it off now? We recommend the example of the Ohio-Kentucky District of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, who showed their confidence in the paper's future by sending a FIVE-YEAR sub.

One way or another, we hope to be hearing from you soon.

## Sacco-Vanzetti opera

THIRTY-THREE YEARS after Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were legally murdered by the State of Massachusetts for a hold-up killing they did not commit, America's Ford Foundation has commissioned an opera based on the story of these two Italian immigrant Anarchists. When shoemaker Sacco and fish peddler Vanzetti went to the electric chair in Charlestown State Prison shortly after midnight on August 22, 1927, the labour movement of the world staged huge demonstrations of international solidarity with them, because the workers knew the two Anarchists were being butchered for the "crime" of fighting for the emancipation of their class.

Those who have seen the New York and London productions of Bertold Brecht's "Threepenny Opera" will be glad to know the new opera is to be written by Marc Blitzstein. If he expresses the same biting condemnation of capitalist immorality that he achieved in translating Brecht's work, Blitzstein will create a worthy memorial to the two comrades, who names are esteemed wherever workers fight for freedom.

"You can easily abolish strikes. All you have to do is to re-introduce slavery."

G. K. Chesterton.

## FIGHTING SEGREGATION SITTING DOWN

THE NEGRO passive resistance movement against third class citizenship is spreading through the United States, North and South. It is often, wrongly, believed abroad that racial segregation, the American *Apartheid*, is limited to Dixieland. In fact it is common to all the U.S.A., though much more severe in the Southern states. In the North it is most rigid in housing and jobs; in the South it is severe in all things, even to separate waiting rooms in bus and rail stations, separate drinking fountains and railway carriages; Coloured folk sent to the back of buses, or forced to use special street cars flying a distinctive flag. Restaurants serving Whites usually exclude the Coloured and snack counters serve them standing, if at all, only Whites being allowed to use the stools.

In North and South, Negro university students are staging an impressive revolt against this humiliating distinction. A few years ago this would have seemed impossible in Dixieland, for there the Coloured student hoping to be a doctor, lawyer or teacher sought to fit into the social pattern. But not now. This is a revolt.

The students are using passive resistance methods—the best in their present circumstances, especially with a turning tide of public opinion in their favour, however small. Negro students appear early at lunch counters, occupying the stools until they are served. This usually means no one else gets served, as the sitting Negroes are ignored. Before taking this action, however, the students hold rehearsals, some playing the part of waiters or police, others that of aggressive White students, insulting the sitters, who, in turn, learn patience and fortitude.

Few Whites care to risk publicly supporting the sitters, though White tolerance is growing and there are daily cases of courageous White witness, as there were even in Little Rock. Authority, however, is being driven frantic by this movement. The Governor of Alabama threatens the Coloured with "all the trouble they are looking for". In Orangeburg, South Carolina, police and the fire brigade were called out to break up a march of 1,000 Negro students, 400 were arrested, 100 others dispersed with a fire hose. Tear gas has been used by the police. Some lunch bars are serving Negroes, then billing them three or four times the White charge. The Negroes refuse to pay and the police are called. In 14 cities of nine states the fight goes on—ordered, dignified, determined.

In San Antonio, Texas, a new tactic was born. San Antonio stands between the West, cowboy Texas, and the East, the cotton, Dixie Texas, last to lay down its arms in the Civil War. There a Negro schoolmistress wrote many times on slips of paper: "Go into places, speak softly, wait your turn, be neat in appearance, use the words 'please' and 'thank you', because they are valuable".

Her pupils delivered the notes to their parents and the fight against *Apartheid* lunch counters was on. Almost without a struggle the issue was won. From a personal experience of San Antonio, just a few years ago, the present writer could not have believed this possible.

In the North the same battle is being fought, but with a very important distinction. There, many White students are openly helping their Negro comrades. The *New York Times* reports that White students of Yale, Harvard, Princeton and the universities of Chicago, Indiana, Wisconsin, Colorado and California are raising money, duplicating pamphlets, manning the picket lines and marching in protest against the segregation of Southern college boys. At time of writing they are trying to assemble caravans of trucks and automobiles, to go South and support the fight there during the long Easter vacation.

This is a new and genuine movement. It is not sponsored by any party and so far none has captured it. It has no pseudo-Bohemian uniform or studied untidiness and no special haircuts. It is inexperienced, but it is sincere and effective and has set the Confederate Senators howling.

Alistair Cooke, of BBC renown, reporting from New York to *The Guardian* (Britain), writes: "By all accounts, these insurgents are spontaneously angry young men, who have no national strategy and are brash and untried in picketing tactics. But the fact that they exist is a novelty unheard of since the war. This generation of college students is noticeably unstirred by politics. Radicalism tends to run to beatnik capers and a vague social protest against conformity".

A word of warning and a word of hope. The thirties saw a generation of young people, whose hatred of Fascism and hope of social justice was captured, exploited and killed by politicians, Communist and Lib-Lab. After six years of slaughter of that generation, youth tended to remain aloof from social struggles, except in colonial countries.

If this present movement keeps out of the grip of politicians it will prove to be the first wave of a flood that will sweep away the disgrace of third-class citizenship. The American students have

started on the right road by realising that Washington's products are empty words and soft soap, and by taking the initiative of direct action. But there are other men of darker skin in the U.S.A.; Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are also denied their social rights. A movement against racial segregation must include these, as well as Negroes. The battle creates its own logic: "All men should be equal; all men should be free".

## Out of work in N. Ireland

THE "never had it so good" merchants always overlook one part of Britain which has escaped the "prosperity wave"—Northern Ireland. There unemployment has increased steadily ever since the war, when it was between 4% and 5%. Now the figure is 7.9%. This compares with the best in Britain of 0.9 for the Midlands, 1.1 for London and the South-East, and the worst, the North 3.3 and Scotland 4.3%.

Shipbuilding in Belfast is among the badly-hit industries. "The shipyard management cannot tell us what the work prospects are, but we ourselves can only see a worsening of the unemployment position," said T. Wilson, secretary of the shipyard shop stewards, following the sacking of 80 men recently.

A mass meeting following this declared a ban on all overtime. A conference of all A.E.U. members in the Six Counties is to be asked to extend the ban on overtime and call on piece workers to limit their earnings to £12 15s. a week.

The Government of Northern Ireland has little to offer to remedy the problem, except to seek to curtail immigration from the Irish Republic. The Irish are almost as much divided as Berliners, and lawyers do a good business arguing: "When is an Irishman not an Irishman?" The Treaty of 1922 between the British Government and the Nationalists established the Irish Free State as part of the British Commonwealth, "independent under the King". A few years later the Irish Government declared a republic, sovereign and separate. The London Government refused to legally recognise this act, though it had no real choice. However, even today Britain regards all immigrants from the Republic as British citizens once they cross the water, with all the privileges of natives and, of course, all the burdens, such as tax and military service.

It is well, in passing, to remember that London keeps this legal quibble in its locker for future use, thinking, perhaps, of a military attack on Ireland by a third power. In such a case it would be claimed that British territory had been attacked. Politicians love legality.

The Northern Ireland Government, however, does not agree with this right of citizenship and is prosecuting those who employ Southern Irish workers, without first securing a permit, though workers from the Republic may go to England and take up work without hindrance.

In one such recent case, a Mrs. Duffy, of Derry, was fined £5 for employing Mary Harkin, a person who was not a Northern Ireland worker within the meaning of Section 1 of the Safeguarding of Employment Act. The defence, claiming that the Government has no power to make such an order, is making this a test case and has obtained leave to appeal to the High Court.

The centrifugal development of capitalism, the increasing centralism of the State as well as the megalomaniac take-over bids of certain capitalists, tend to centre more and more industry and commerce in the London region and the Midlands of England. The extremities of Britain—the North, the South-West, Scotland and Wales—are withering, but Ireland is worst off of all. Eight thousand workers leave the country every year, but 13,000 young persons are annually added to the labour force, fruit of the highest birth-rate in the United Kingdom.

Although Government schemes have since the war attracted 141 firms, now employing 38,000, the position worsens. Insufficient capital is attracted to the province and even native capital is being invested in England.

A sane economy, moved by social needs instead of the profit greed of a few, could develop a good society in Ireland, with plenty for all. But, with a population of 1,250,000, this is not possible under capitalism. In any case a sound Irish economy could be developed only by treating the island as a whole economic region. Even under the present political set-up, some co-operation between Ireland's two governments has been possible, and most agree that these, such as the Erne hydro-electric and drainage scheme and the Loch Foyle fisheries, have been very successful.

But success and amity have developed only on the social and economic plane, not on the religio-political. There seems to be a lesson here.

## EAST GERMANY

## The old technique

STATE collectivisation of farming, recalling the most ruthless days of Russia's first Five-Year Plan, has been enforced by the Communist State apparatus of East Germany during recent months. By the end of the first week of April, it was estimated that 11 of the 15 East German districts were fully collectivised.

"There is little doubt," says *The Observer* (9.4.60) "that by May 1, or by the Paris summit meeting at the latest, East Germany will be fully collectivised and will have become the only European country outside Russia where the peasant farmer is extinct." In Poland, for example, some 90% of the land is still worked by individual proprietors.

An elaborate system of brainwashing, devised by the Communist Party, has been carried out by trained agitators to force this campaign through against the stubborn resistance of the farmers. First, a village finds a band of these party men, about 50 strong, has moved in and is calling on the peasants to relinquish their holdings and labour to a local collective. Then the familiar Communist technique of wearing down resistance is enforced on the individual peasants, by visits to their homes. The East German Communist Press boasts how resistance has been broken down piecemeal.

One agitator reported how a peasant, after having been forced to let him in, listened to the monotonous diatribe "lying on the couch with his face turned to the wall, never uttering a word. But each day a little more of this thick layer of protection he had put on crumbled away".

The arguments are, of course, backed by threats. If the farmer stayed outside the collective, he would have to be considered "an enemy of the State". Arrest and trial would follow—and some have actually taken place, the sentences of up to 14 years' hard labour being widely publicised. Petty persecution, such as withdrawing the farmer's driving licence because of alleged defects in his tractor, is also used. And always the talk goes on.

"The agitators never leave off, keep at it for hours on end and unfailingly return next day, sometimes alternating with each other, sometimes bringing in police officers as a reinforcement, sometimes camping in the house altogether. While a village is under this treatment, the local police are often reinforced from outside and extra precautions are taken against the flight of the inhabitants." *The Observer*, 3.4.60.

As this campaign has been stepped up, resistance has cracked more swiftly and the number of refugees to the West has increased (13,400 in March). These bring stories of suicides and nervous collapse from their villages.

How different from the voluntary collectivisation of agriculture, carried out by the peasants themselves, during the Spanish Revolution of 1936. And how different will be the results. In Spain, the cereal crop in the Province of Aragon was increased by 30% during the first year of social ownership and working of the land. Already, the East German Communist Press admits awareness of the fact that the peasants will hit back against the State policy of intimidation by sabotage and non co-operation, repeating the familiar famine pattern of Russian agricultural collectivisation.

## IRELAND

## Boilermakers stage stay-in

DUBLIN—Engineering workers in Dundalk have been on protest strike against the high-handed actions of company chairman Reynolds, of the Dundalk Engineering Works Ltd.—a firm created out of the old G.N.R. engineering works when that company was merged with the C.I.E. in 1958. Reynolds, formerly with C.I.E., has a notorious anti-working class record. After being kicked out, with compensation, by C.I.E. he was given his present job, since when there has been nothing but trouble. His first action as chairman was to sweep away many of the workers' rights, and this was accepted without a word by the trade union leaders.

On Monday, April 4, however, the boilermakers staged a stay-in strike, which soon spread to the whole factory. Later in the week, two workers were arrested for sneering at scabs and the strike spread to the firm's other four factories. On Saturday, April 9, the T.U. leaders took notice of the trouble, declared the strike official—and made the first step towards breaking it by persuading the boilermakers to call off their stay-in. The union leaders then reached agreement with the management for talks, on the basis of a return to work by the four factories on April 11 and the D.E.W. on April 12. Despite this, the strike continued.

In Belfast, the stoppage of bread workers began when the owners turned down a demand for a 20s. increase with a counter-offer of 8s. Trade union officials tried to get a return to work with a promise of negotiation, if the bakery men first accepted the 8s.

increase. This was turned down by a narrow majority. On leaving the union hall, the workers found three "chancers" and their trucks cashing in on the strike by selling bread from the Republic. The men warned the spivs to move on and, when one of them failed to do so, he found his loaves spread on bus platforms and in the gutter. Since then these sellers have been given police guard. Some firms, who accepted the strikers' demands, were allowed to resume work.

A strike of Dublin city gas workers seems imminent over refusal of the gas company to increase wage rates of clerical employees.

D. P.

## ARGENTINE REPRESSION GROWS

GOVERNMENT repression of the Syndicalist movement in Argentina has now assumed proportions which recall the worst days of Peron's dictatorship. In previous issues we reported the arrest of several members of the Resistance Society of Plumbing, Sewage, Water and Allied Workers, following and employers' lock-out. The latest news from Buenos Aires indicates that 80 members of this FORA syndicate (an IWMA affiliate) have been jailed without charge, many of them being beaten up by the police. Arrests have been carried out at workplaces, homes, in the street and during union meetings.

On February 2, armed police broke into a meeting of Society members at their local, using violence against the workers present, one of whom suffered a broken collar-bone. Of the fellow workers imprisoned, 33 have been on hunger strike in protest. Meanwhile, 75 firms have signed a new agreement with the Society, which incorporates a 40-hour, five-day week and a new wage scale, with an all-round rise of 20 Argentine dollars on May 1. The aim of the Government, supported by a section of the employers, is to smash the militant FORA Society and establish sole recognition for the officially-sponsored union. The various sections of the libertarian movement in Argentina have established a united front to resist this threat.

On February 19, the ruling-class offensive was extended against another Syndicalist union, that of the public transport drivers and conductors. Five members of this organisation—Antonio Rizzo, Queda, Irigoyen, Afas, Suarez, and Musso—were arrested by the police on leaving their local in Dean Funes, Buenos Aires.

## LOOKING BACKWARDS...

## 1. Abadan—and Suez

"MOSSADEQ, the head of the Persian Government, whose fanaticism bordered on the psychopathic, suddenly had the idea of nationalising our Abadan oil wells without negotiation and without any discussion of compensation.

"The Government, of course, considered the Abadan crisis as a matter of urgency and the Opposition was informed of what was going on, though regrettably they tried to make political capital out of our alleged running away and allowing valuable oil installations to be stolen. The crux of the matter was that if military action was to be politically effective, it should be quick.

"My own view was that there was much to be said in favour of sharp and quick action. There were other views. The Cabinet was, however, left in little doubt that the mounting of an effective force would take a lot of time and might, therefore, be a failure. In the end we had to abandon any military project, save that we should have used force if British nationals had been attacked."

The Morrison Memoirs.

## 2. Bevin and Syndicalism

"As a twenty-year-old van driver in Bristol he (Bevin) learned his politics mainly from the dockers, who were regarded very much as the spearhead of the Labour Movement. The dockers' Socialism was of the syndicalist hue. Ernest, however, was always sceptical about syndicalism. The syndicalists wanted to organise power to be able to launch a general strike, which would bring the State to the ground and enable a new order to be set up. This was not what Ernest was organising for. What he wanted was 'not so much... power to attack [as] power to negotiate'. Like the syndicalists, he was interested in a new order but 'I stand for social revolution brought about by a freely elected Parliament'. (Bristol, 1918.)

"Where he was in sympathy with the syndicalists was in his scepticism about what Parliament would accomplish by reform if left to carry on the fight alone, and in his distrust of a Parliamentary Labour Party dominated by middle-class ex-Liberals, pacifists, doctrinaires and humanitarian 'do-gooders'. And like the syndicalists he felt that some sort of major shake-up was required. 'I do not believe that a change of society is possible without a show-down,' he said, and in the period between 1920 and 1926 he certainly thought a show-down inevitable."

Attlee on 'The Bevin I Knew', *The Observer*, 20.3.60.

## BRITAIN

## Labour and Clause Four

OUR READERS in Britain will be familiar with that disputed part of the Labour Party's 1918 constitution, Clause Four, but, for those abroad, we repeat the text.

"To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service."

Apart from the biological monsters, workers who have hands, but no brains, and those who have brains, but were born without hands, the clause sounds pretty good. It sounds like Socialism, with a dash of science horror fiction. In fact, however, it was never meant or taken as Socialism. The passage refers to Nationalisation or State Capitalism.

But that is too much for Gaitskell and many others in the Labour Party, who want a limited amount of State ownership with a great deal of big business capitalism. Gaitskell & Co.'s demand for a revision of Clause 4 led to the executive committee meeting, which reached the curious compromise of retaining the clause, but tacking on an addendum which "explains" it. The explanation is several times longer than the original and talks about "public participation in private concerns" and "recognising that both public and private enterprise have a place in the economy".

The addendum, in fact, sounds like a policeman's oath: "The clause, the whole clause and nothing like the clause". The document is claimed as a victory by the Gaitskell-Jay camp, who want no more nationalisation, and also by those who opposed them. It is claimed, too, as a clear win by the middle-of-the-roaders. This recalls the battle fought by French and British troops, from which both armies marched away. "Some say that we won, and some say that they won, and some said that none won at all, man," ran the 18th Century ballad.

But the supporters of Clause Four are showing real concern for its retention. To them it is the only thing that makes the Labour Party different from the Tories. Small, in truth, are the differences between the two parties. In social reform, attitude to colonialism and foreign policy, the parties are the same. But even in the minds of the Left there is a nagging doubt. They are not happy about the way nationalisation has worked out—as if it could have worked out any other way—and they have not devised any other method. Nor will they admit, publicly, that social ownership can have any other form than State ownership.

At the same time they see other "Socialist" parties denying nationalisation in favour of naked capitalism. They see it unashamed in Norway. In Japan, where the Socialists continue to lose elections, the Right have split away to form, under the leadership of the veteran labour leader Suzhiro Nishio, the Democratic Socialist Party, which shies away from collectivism and seeks the support of shopkeepers and farmers, as well as wage workers, on a programme aimed to appeal to entrepreneurs. This is the road all "Socialist Parties" are travelling.

But Socialism has never meant State ownership. Nationalisation is State capitalism. Let the Left of the Labour Party seek their way to real social ownership and workers' control. We have no space to define further our attitude to this issue, but it has already been given in our pamphlet, "Nationalisation and the New Boss Class" (post-paid 6d. in stamps). This popular pamphlet, rapidly selling out, gives an historical and critical survey of the principle of collectivism—stolen, mutilated, then cast aside by politicians. It is a serious contribution to the discussion which is worrying the minds of the Left.

## INDIA

## Bank clerks show the way

In October, 1958, the State Bank of India Staff Federation submitted a charter of demands. The refusal of the management either to discuss it or refer the dispute to arbitration at last, on March 5, 1960, goaded the bank's 22,000 employees into strike action.

A call went out from the All-India Bank Employees' Association, itself in dispute with the private banks, "to mobilise their full forces and extend their support to the State Bank employees at this needy hour". At a meeting of representatives of various trade unions and political parties a statement was issued on behalf of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, Bhartiya Mazdoor Sabha, Transport Workers' Federation, United T.U.C., and All-India T.U.C. expressing full support for the struggles of the bank employees and adding that it was surprising and painful that the Government, which had itself put forward the principle of voluntary arbitration for the solution of

disputes, should refuse to apply it in an industry which it controlled and where industrial peace was vital to the economic well-being of the whole country.

In a debate in the Lok Sabha (Lower House) the Finance Minister, Moraji Desai, stated curtly that there could be no negotiations while the strike was on. The strike, declared illegal, was called off on March 24, but only after the Government had conceded the unions' demand that the dispute in the banking industry and the State Bank of India should be referred to a National Tribunal for arbitration.

S. M. Joshi, President of the Staff Federation, said there was a strong feeling they had been given a raw deal, but that "the heroic struggle that we have waged for the last twenty days will find a place of honour in the history of the trade union movement. This peaceful strike in furtherance of collective bargaining has set an example worthy of emulation by other unions of salaried employees".

## Postbag

WE CORDIALLY congratulate you on your work and wish you good success. Please go strongly ahead and continue the good paper. In the coming autumn I have been delegated to India, for the 10th International Congress of the War Resisters' International, as representative of the Japanese section. A number of our comrades read English, so please send as many copies as you can.

T. YAMAGA. Chibaken, Japan.

THE ARTICLE on Ireland (March-April issue) was excellent and one of the best summaries I have ever read of this country. Your treatment of the Border was very realistic.

The land war position here in Dublin is very confusing... there is an organisation which publishes a paper called "Lia Fail" and which, incidentally, was behind the Banagher troubles. This paper is from what I believe a Fascist rag. It devotes much of its space to anti-Semitism and anti-Masonic diatribe. The rural people here are very backward indeed and I would be surprised if this is a conscious anti-landlord effort. In some areas I do know that it is a good movement, but I am not certain of the rest.

The Afro-Asian students set up a Boycott Committee and organised a protest march and meeting on Apartheid, to support the boycott of South African goods. It was a good march. Then before the meeting, two days later, another march was held with torchlight, which made it very impressive. The meeting was the best I have been to for some time. Dr. Noel Browne spoke and lashed the Church. A priest who tried to interfere was nearly assaulted.

D. P. Dublin.

DID YOU SEE the film, "The Admirable Crichton", where the Earl asks: "How am I going to get these chaps to work?" The butler replies: "May I suggest, your Lordship, if they don't work, they don't eat?"

I tell the Commies to quit belly-aching and get organised HERE. Considering the Russians have had 43 years at it, they have not made such remarkable progress. Everything they have or use, including Socialism, was already prepared for them.

L. SANDERSON. Southampton.

AM ENCLOSING a few stamps... I'd send more, but I am an 85-year-oldster and my social annuity is so small. With the election coming on next November, we oldsters expect the pollies (politicians) to raise our dole a little. Four years ago we expected 10 dollars, but the pollies only gave us seven.

I did a bit of circus clowning up to a few years ago, but they are all kids (boys) now and work cheap. Their best is the costume they wear... as far as gags and ability, that's out.

We had a fellow here by the name of Foster a few years ago, but the Communists took him over. Didn't amount to much then. "TARD." Corbettsville, N.Y., U.S.A.

THANKS very much for sending me the first issue. I was much interested in the report on Australia—in fact the whole issue was top notch and I wish you all the luck in the world.

J. R. Pt. Washington, B.C., Canada.

## Making room for 'K'

THE RECENT visit of Russian dictator Khrushchev to French dictator de Gaulle was preceded by extraordinary security measures on the part of the French authorities. Some 800 political refugees, many of them from Paris, were picked up and herded off to Corsica for an enforced three week stay. Among the deportees were 30 members of the Spanish C.N.T. in exile (section of the I.W.M.A.), including Juan Ferrer, the editor of "Solidaridad Obrera" (Paris). A number of Bulgarian Syndicalists in exile were also sent to Corsica, as were many East European Socialists. All the detained were allowed to return to the French mainland on April 2, following Khrushchev's departure.