

The International

THE INTERNATIONAL Working Men's Association, reformed in 1922 to continue the traditions of the First International, by Syndicalist organisations throughout the world, has recently intensified its activity.

Elsewhere in this issue is reported the bitter struggle that the FORA is waging against heavy odds in Argentina and the continued persecution of CNT prisoners in Spain.

The secretariat of the IWMA in Toulouse, France, published a 12-page supplement to its monthly paper, "AIT", in May. This is full of interesting material, including a historical study of the Spanish CNT's history by Jose Viadiu, and an article examining the present perspective of working class revolutionary action by Gr. Balkanski.

On May Day, meetings were held throughout France by the Spanish CNT in Exile, in some places jointly with the CNT of France. One was at the Eldorado Cinema in Bordeaux, which proved too small to hold the audience who turned up.

At these meetings was read the IWMA's May Day manifesto, from which we reproduce the following extracts:—

"The problem of social justice and well being for the working class has not been solved by liberalism, nor by bourgeois democracy, nor by the different types of fascist regimes with a more or less regulated economy, nor by State Socialism. The experience of Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, the Scandinavian countries, the USA and the Latin-American countries which, like Mexico, Cuba and Venezuela, have made a half-revolution, fully prove this. And the example of Russia and the countries of the Eastern bloc, which—like China—have set up massive, omnipotent State machines by following the practices of Marxist-Leninism, with entire peoples subjected to their monolithic control, shows the inability of Marxism to bring about the well being and freedom of humanity. . . .

"It is direct action, as all the great movements of the international working class have shown, that alone is able to produce effective results. It is to direct action that the workers have to turn whenever they want to obtain tangible gains. This is the policy of the IWMA . . . and it has been proved historically correct."

The same ideas are defended by the Industrial Workers of the World and the Libertarian League in the United States and Canada. A joint meeting was held by these organisations in New York on May 1, with David Atkins, Dick Brazier, Sam Weiner and Robert Owens the speakers.

IWMA publications are: *AIT* (IWMA Secretariat, France), *CNT, Solidaridad Obrera, Cenit and Suplemento Literario* (CNT in Exile, France), *Le Combat Syndicaliste* (CNT of France), *Bollettino d'Informazione* (USI of Italy), *Solidaritet* (NSF, Norway), *Notre Route* (Bulgarian CNT in France), *Organizacion Obrera* (FORA, Argentina), *Solidaridad* (FORU, Uruguay), *Solidaridad Obrera* (CNT, Mexico). The IWW publishes *Industrial Worker* (fortnightly) and *Industrialist* (daily, Finnish language); the Libertarian League, *Views and Comments*, and the SAC, Sweden's Syndicalist organisation, the 14 pp. weekly, *Arbetaren*.

CANADA

Eight per cent out of work

EDMONTON, ALBERTA. Right now, as always, the big issue here is unemployment. At the end of April the Government estimated there were 517,000 people out of work. This is 8.3% of the total labour force of 6,259,000. Actually there were 787,225 people registered as looking for jobs by the National Employment Service, but the politicians reckon that over a third of these only want to change their jobs for better ones.

The only jobs that are always open are as salesmen, where the pay is mainly commission, and most people in this kind of job are in it only because they cannot get any job that pays a regular wage.

On the political scene, the union bosses are all set to make the same mistakes that were made half a century ago by the labour movements in most European countries. They are all ready to launch a new "Labour" party, backed by the CLC (Canadian Labour Congress), with just over a million members in its affiliated unions, and the CCF (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation), a mildly left wing party run by the Labour Party type socialists. It will be financed by contributions from all unions that affiliate with it. You will not even be able to "contract out", as you can in Britain.

There are prospects of a strike on the railways soon, as the "non-ops", a group of 15 unions representing 120,000 railwaymen

who are not actually engaged in running trains, are negotiating with the railways for a 25 cents an hour rise. Of the two main railway systems, the CN (Canadian National) is Government-owned, while the CP (Canadian Pacific) is privately owned. They are both united in refusing any increase, as they claim they cannot afford one. The issue is complicated by the fact that for fear of losing political support in the Prairie Provinces, the successive governments have forced the railways to keep the freight rate on grain the same as it was in 1897, with the result that the railways lose \$70-million per year (£22,500,000) on grain shipments. They try to recoup some of this by charging high freight rates for other goods, with the result that they are losing more and more business to road haulage firms.

The railway unions argue that this is a matter for the railways and the Government to settle and refuse to accept low wages in order to subsidise the Prairie grain interests. Whether it will come to a strike or not remains to be seen.

The CLC recently expelled two gangster unions for raiding other unions in the Congress. They are the Teamsters Union, with 40,000 members in Canada, and the Seafarers International Union. The latter, ironically enough, was brought into Canada just after the war by the CLC's predecessor to destroy the Communist-led Canadian Seamen's Union; it's all right for gangster unions to fight Communists in the CLC book of rules. It is rumoured that the two expelled unions plan to join forces and form another labour federation, with maybe the help of the Communist-led unions (like Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers), which were expelled from the CLC a few years back. Such are the ways of labour politicians.

B. G.

GOVERNMENTS GAG THE PRESS

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC—Nasser's dictatorship has taken over direct control of the press. Under the decree of May 24 the main Cairo publishing houses are to be owned and managed by the National Union, and all other newspapers and journalists were given forty days to apply to that body for licences.

INDONESIA—The left-wing daily *Republik* has been permanently banned by the Jakarta military administration for "enmity towards the state, Government and people of Indonesia". The suspension of the Indonesian National Press Service since February 2 has been raised provided that it does not publish political reports.

PAKISTAN—Field-Marshal Ayub Khan has granted himself sweeping powers to prohibit the printing of newspapers and books and to demand deposits against the publication of "objectionable material", including material that "brings into contempt the Government" or "may discourage recruitment to the army or the police force".

Literature

"Direct Action" pamphlets:—

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE UNIONS?	by Tom Brown	5d.
THE HUNGARIAN WORKERS' REVOLUTION		6d.
NATIONALISATION AND THE NEW BOSS CLASS	by Tom Brown	6d.
WORKERS' CONTROL		6d.
HOW LABOUR GOVERNED, 1945-1951		8d.
THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE (now reprinting)	by Tom Brown	5d.
ETHICS AND AMERICAN UNIONISM	by Sam Weiner	8d.
THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE	by Tom Brown	4d.
BULGARIA—A NEW SPAIN		8d.
THE LONDON YEARS (autobiography)	by Rudolf Rocker	15s. 0d.
INDUSTRIAL WORKER	(fortnightly organ of the IWW)	4d.
SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA and CNT	(weekly organs of the Spanish CNT)	6d.
VIEWS AND COMMENTS	(organ of the Libertarian League, U.S.)	8d.

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Forty hours—or less!

THE MOVEMENT towards a 40-hour week progresses in Britain, though it was achieved in large sectors of industry in the U.S.A. a good many years ago. A week of 42½ hours is now fairly common, also 42, while from the Midlands we get a report of a 40-hour week at Rubery Owen & Co., Darlston. The same report tells us "the paint and varnish factory of Manders, of Wolverhampton, has operated a 40-hour week for more than 20 years". In the South, General Motors are introducing a week of 38½ hours, though, in caution, the hours will probably consist of 60 minutes, not 59, of full work.

It is well to point out, too, that Rubery Owen have made this statement: "After joint consultation with the workers' representatives, the management has been able to reduce hours from 42 to 40 in view of the undertaking given by the workers' representatives that it will be a week of 40 working hours with no tea breaks." That is a prize with fish hooks in it.

In the dairy trade, the Transport and General Workers' Union have been crowing over their great victory, a reduction of hours from 45 to 44. That is where the building trade stood in 1919!

But before we rejoice at the progress of this age and our own cleverness, let us recall the history of our class. In 1834, the British workers, shackled by the tyranny of that period, were organising an 8 hour day strike movement. In April of that year, for example, fighting broke out between the Oldham cotton workers and the employers' thugs and police in an "8-hour day" strike.

In 1870, the movement for a 9-hour day, as a step to the eight hours, started on the North-East Coast. The Newcastle District Committee of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers decided that "the time to strike was not yet" and did nothing, but others were at work and early in 1871 the quiet, unpublished movement spread to Sunderland. On April 1, the engineering workers there struck and, after four weeks, won the 9 hour day.

The alarmed employers of the North-East formed an anti-strike organisation to meet the now certain coming strike of the Tyne-side men. Fewer than half of the men were members of a trade union, so the workers, too, had set up an organisation, the Nine Hours League. The strike was ably conducted, funds were raised, pickets posted, thousands of unorganised men were marshalled, and a propaganda campaign of great dignity and merit was sustained.

Said the Webbs: "The tactical skill and literary force with which the men's case was presented achieved the unprecedented result of securing for their demands the support of the *Times* and the *Spectator*".

Strike breakers, often innocently, were brought from abroad and the Strike Committee appealed to the International Working Men's Association to prevent this, the ASE paying the expenses of the Danish secretary, Cohn, while he was engaged in this very useful work. The International also persuaded many of these foreign workers to join the strike.

After five months came victory, a nine-hour day and a 54-hour week. But the movement had spread and throughout the country building and engineering workers were winning the 9-hour battle. In the Clyde shipyards, a 51-hour week was won, but afterwards lost.

When the historians came to write the story of that struggle in Northumbria, they looked for the "great leaders" of a great victory. They found no name but that of the committee's president, John Burnett. The organisers and agitators were in the ranks from which they had never stepped and, when the strike was won, they went back to the bench, the lathe and the engine room. I can add just one name, John Brown, and that only because he was my grandfather.

And, lest we rejoice too early, in the 14th century the standard working day for artisans was—8 hours! (Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*.)

On to a yet shorter working week, then. There is an urgency now which was not in the 14th century. The technicians are working feverishly on automation plans. BP-Shell tell us of an oil plant in Essex which processes millions of gallons of crude oil, attended by 20 men, five on each shift—and that is an old plant. More important than automation are increased mechanisation, speed-up of new machines and new labour processes, for these are more widespread.

In plain self-preservation, labour must enforce a *real* shorter working day and a higher wage to meet the increased production of the new machines. This is not put forward as a solution of the social problem, but is akin to a man in a river, who grasps a lifebuoy while he thinks out the next stage.

The pioneers did not think of the shorter working day as a cure for unemployment. They knew that without leisure, without time for recreation and development, man is a slave, a beast of burden, even if he were loaded down with a harness of gold and jewels. In their wisdom they knew, too, that a universal long working day does not mean a big wage packet of any real value. Never has a general reduction of the working day brought with it a lower economic standard.

If a few persons work overtime, they may well benefit, economically that is, but if overtime is general, then not only is the eight-hour day threatened, but the extra pay is largely illusion. It is whittled down by tax grabs, by higher prices, by loss of time from sickness and the hourly rate is held at a low level. We should be fighting for a shorter working week with a wage at least large enough to make overtime inexcusable.

TOM BROWN

ARGENTINA

More Syndicalists jailed

LATEST NEWS of Frondizi Government repression against militant Syndicalist workers in Argentina comes from the "Movement of Agitation and Solidarity, for the Freedom of the FORA Plumbing Workers", in Buenos Aires.

The following members of the Resistance Society of Plumbing, Sewage, Water and Allied Workers are being held without charge or trial:—

Caseros and Pasco St. Jail (Buenos Aires): Serafin San Miguel, Maximo Vazquez, Oscar Aramburo, Obdulio Leguizamon, Camilo Bustamante and Jose Ganzalez.

Penal Colony of Santa Rosa (La Pampa): Carlos Jose Valentini, Obdulio Secco, Angel Castro, Felix Torti, Jorge Hernandez, Roque Frissi, Hector Bravo, Mario Lizondo, Lopez Gulda, Jaime Bursuk, Oscar Escobero, Francisco Subias, Reynaldo Smith, Julio Avalos, Marcelino Carbajal, Antonio Herrera, Washington Recabarren, Jorge Rissi, Manuel Correa, Andres Gracias, Ricardo Frinques, Vicente Giardina.

Rawson Prison (Rio Negro): Hugo Somolinos.
Esquel Prison (Chubut): Carlos Kristof, Amado Hamid, Rodolfo Campbell, Alberto Garro.

In addition, the Syndicalist busmen Enrique Suarez (Santa Rosa), Tomas Viri and Jose Torreiro (Esquel) and the bakery worker Angel Yrigoyen (Esquel) are imprisoned and the plumbers Enrique Costoya and Julio Gandulfo, who had been in jail without trial for four months, have been deported to Uruguay.

Meanwhile, 102 building firms have accepted the FORA charter of demands, including the six-hour day, which sparked off the present repression. Only eight companies are still holding out, according to latest reports.

Despite police opposition, the FORA called a mass meeting of workers in the Patricios Park, Buenos Aires, on May 1. Speakers were Comrades Villamayor, Cochopolus, Suarez, Rey and Corrales.

KOREA AND TURKEY

Order without law

THE potency of revolutionary example has been demonstrated again. Just as the revolt of the Poles against their Stalinist oppressors touched off the Hungarian Revolution, so did the Turkish rebels receive inspiration from the South Korean uprising. The affinities between their four rebellions against dictatorship—two in "people's democracies", two in "bastions of the free world"—are striking. In each case the torch of freedom was first raised by the students, and in each the army's sympathy was almost wholly with the rebels and against the hated police, the main arm of repression. And as we go to press news accumulates of an apparently similar popular upsurge in Japan against the Kishi régime.

The revolt of the young Turks broke out on April 28, on the eve of a meeting of the Council of Nato in Istanbul, when 10,000 students of Istanbul University demonstrated against the suppression of freedom of speech and the attempt of the Menderes régime to impose a one-party dictatorship on Turkey.

Istanbul and Ankara universities were closed, but demonstrations continued. Evidence that the students in general were considered to be rebellious was provided by the closure of colleges and universities throughout Turkey on May 22, but unrest was by no means confined to students. In the cities, at any rate, thousands of ordinary civilians took part in demonstrations.

On May 21 soldiers first played a positive role in the rising when 800 cadets of Ankara War College and 100 regular officers staged a protest march against police brutality towards demonstrators and the arrest of officers suspected by the régime of favouring the opposition People's Party.

On May 27 the army seized power under the direction of General Gursel, who had only recently been replaced as commander-in-chief, and the Committee of National Union secretly formed by Gursel and 37 other officers. It has declared that it intends to hold the reins only for a brief period, while the crimes of the Menderes régime are investigated and until free elections can be held, though these will hardly be possible while most of the Democratic Party members of the National Assembly are under arrest.

Almost certainly the People's Party will return to power. For 27 years Turkey was a one-party State under its aegis, until, in 1950, free elections were held and it was, not surprisingly, swept from office. Its leader, Ismet Inönü, behaved like a dictator when he was in power, but he has the great virtue, in the eyes of the army, of having been a victorious general and a close associate of the "Great Father", Kemal Atatürk.

It is by no means so certain that Menderes has lost the support of the still backward peasants, who form the bulk of Turkey's population. Although he is a great landowner, he subsidised them heavily with credits which they were never made to repay. Furthermore, the peasants have never really accepted Atatürk's severance of the State and Islam, and their religious fervour was cleverly exploited by Menderes, notably after his narrow escape from death when the plane bringing him to England crashed at Gatwick last year.

The Turkish revolution is in general a middle class revolution. But while it would be a mistake to think that the students had any far-reaching aims, they certainly did not gamble with their lives in order to swap one dictator for another. It seems to be a reasonable hope that some advance towards freedom will have been made, that the students' passion for free speech will be felt by whoever rules Turkey next as some curb on their powers.

Seizure of power by the army, with its rigid traditions of military discipline, is bound to be a danger to freedom, and in recent years Egypt, Pakistan, the Sudan and Iraq have fallen under the sway of military régimes, though it is true that the governments they replaced were corrupt and autocratic enough. One paradoxical blessing of conscript armies, such as those of Turkey and South Korea, is that this threat is somewhat lessened, for the conscript seldom identifies himself with the military moguls as the regular does. It is reported that throughout the whole period of the rioting in South Korea not one of the casualties was caused by the army.

Perhaps it is misleading to describe the disturbances as riots at all, however, for in general the rebels exercised remarkable self-control. Their targets were almost exclusively police stations and vehicles and the property of prominent Rhee toadies, such as the government-appointed mayors.

On April 26 General Song Yo Chan, the martial-law commander, withdrew his troops from Seoul and, the police having discarded their uniforms and fled after an attack on the East Gate station in which four students were killed and 36 wounded, the city was abandoned to the rebels. "Yet," reported the *Times* correspondent, "it was not a field day for thieves, pickpockets or hooligans." When the great news of Rhee's resignation broke, the

students, as spontaneously and naturally as they had left their studies to uphold in the streets those democratic principles preached to them but so grievously betrayed by their elders, assumed responsibility for the orderly running of the city in co-operation with its ordinary citizens. "Within 24 hours, those same students and school-boys who had paraded through the streets shouting 'Down with the Government', and even 'Down with President Rhee', drove around on loudspeaker trucks telling the people to keep calm and to go home, now that victory was won; and were maintaining the crowds in order and directing traffic, in the place of the vanished police, helping the army to round up gangsters, and clearing the streets of litter. They were anxious that things should revert to normal as soon as possible so that they might go back to their studies. . . . It was a remarkable display of calmness and order."

As with Turkey, it is too early yet to assess what the revolution has achieved. The National Assembly which is operating on the constitution to save the life of government of the people, by the political hucksters, for the political hucksters by removing the cancers on the representative system which make the most stench, is itself a product of the professional politician's contempt for the people. The Caretaker Government of Huh Chung, charged with purging the country of corrupt officials and preparing for fresh elections, is typical of those elder statesmen who bide their time, waiting for the people to act before speaking out on their behalf. Its principal aim, as was that of Nagy's Government in Hungary, is to quietly stifle the people's inarticulate dreams of a new society, dreams aptly symbolised by the demonstration in a Seoul street of 100 labourers who demanded that the fortunes amassed by businessmen in the widespread corruption and profiteering connived at by the Rhee régime in return for political support should be confiscated. The demonstration was broken up by troops with fixed bayonets.

The elder statesmen have already organised Rhee's escape from the country (an action which sparked off another student demonstration). "As time passes," says the *Times* correspondent, "he will be remembered as a great patriot, the abuses of his régime will grow dimmer and attempts will be made to lay the blame for his sudden departure from office on the Americans. Already there are signs of the creation of a Rhee myth. The pro-Government newspaper *Korean Republic* said in an editorial article that 'he had become isolated from the people' by an entourage and political following anxious to spare him. 'Consequently Rhee's world was unreal—a composite of misrepresentations and half-truths which others wanted him to believe.'"

The Korean students are heirs to a great revolutionary tradition. Boys and girls and student youth were the heroes of the insurrections of 1919 and 1926 against the Japanese overlords. They have shown remarkable maturity, not least in their demand that farmers and workers should have representatives at the hearings of the constitutional committee. But South Korea lacks a sophisticated working class like that which, using the workers' councils as its instrument, turned the intellectuals' revolt in Hungary into a real social revolution. Still, Korean youth is at least thoroughly disillusioned with politicians and is unlikely to let them get away with a complete sell-out. South Korea, with its almost universal rejection of communist totalitarianism and its contempt for the politicians, is fertile soil for the propagation of anarcho-syndicalist ideas. May the once-strong General Confederation of Korean Anarchists be built again and, in time, capture the hearts of the people!

D. P.

MEXICO—Jacques Mornard, the Stalinist assassin who murdered Leon Trotsky on August 20, 1940, was recently released from jail and left Mexico for Czechoslovakia with a passport issued by the Czech authorities in the name of Vandendescht, one of his many aliases. Mornard, also known as Frank Jackson, has long since been identified as Ramon Mercader del Rio, a son of Spanish NKVD agent Caridad Mercader, who disappeared from her Paris home at the time of his release from prison.

BAHRAIN—On May 18 two brothers, Ali Abdulla Madan and Hassan Abdulla Madan, were sentenced to 5 and 3 years' imprisonment on charges of possessing pamphlets and of being members of an unlawful association, the National Liberation Front. At the beginning of June the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council rejected an application for *habeas corpus* from Abdul Rahman al Baker, one of five Arabs charged with plotting to assassinate the Ruler of Bahrain and sentenced by a special court to 14 years' imprisonment. At the request of the Ruler of this rich Persian Gulf oil state enjoying the protection of Her Majesty's Government, they were removed by a British warship to serve their sentences on St. Helena.

IRELAND

Connolly crucified—
and canonised

MAY DAY in Dublin is always celebrated on the Sunday nearest to the execution date of James Connolly. This year it was Sunday, May 15, and, as usual, began with the rather more "important" affair of religious services. The parade assembled in order of trade unions—and the majority were seen to march up from the direction of where a mass had been celebrated in honour of Connolly. No doubt mass will be held for Dr. Noel Browne in 100 years' time, when he, too, is safe. It is part of the horrible distortion of Irish history by the clerics that men who were their most bitter enemies during their lives have now been converted into saints. Men like Wolfe Tone, Fintan Lalor, James Stephens and James Connolly are now all national heroes, yet had they lived today, the same Church would outlaw them.

James Larkin gave the oration at the GPO, telling the workers that they now had no excuses, since the unifying of the Trade Union movement, with one Congress to safeguard workers' rights. Well, what is he waiting for? A thunderclap? A roll of drums? Or maybe word from the bishops? Larkin spoke of international solidarity, of the terror to our fellow workers in South Africa. All very nice, but what about some action?

The month's scandal comes from the Catholic, all-truth-telling University College, Dublin. President Dr. Tierney, better known as "The Autocrat", has been exposed in the *Dail* by Dr. Browne and Jack McQuillan as having not only usurped the rights of the Senate in making staff appointments to the University, but also made these on a temporary basis. He thus ensures that lecturers will say nothing "heretical", with the likelihood of loss of livelihood hanging over their heads. And these are the hypocrites who talk of Russia producing intellectual robots.

The Minister of Education, instead of resigning, as might happen elsewhere, promptly introduced a Bill to legalise this crookery—and the Government tried to get it rushed through Parliament behind the screen of the more important Budget Bill. Marathon speeches by Dr. Browne and Jack McQuillan foiled this plan and the crookery was exposed.

But, needless to say, the last word lay with the Government. Browne and McQuillan were suspended from the *Dail* for "repeating their statements during debate on the Bill"! Not one letter of protest from University College students has appeared in the Press, but the struggle to remove "The Autocrat" continues within the Convocation of U.C.D., carried on by some veterans of courage. It is worth noting that Dr. Tierney, President de Valera and Archbishop McQuaid are close personal friends.

Ireland is a paradise for foreign capitalists who want to build factories. The Government gives them every possible aid, tax-free concessions, a very substantial financial grant and, as a result of the unemployment here, ample cheap labour. Recently a number of Americans have availed themselves of this opportunity to use Ireland as a base for their European markets.

Naturally the expansion of American companies in Ireland instead, of within the U.S., puts American workers at a disadvantage. On Wednesday, June 8, workers in the four factories of Kenrose Manufacturing Company, West Virginia, took strike action in demanding a guarantee that the operating of an affiliate company in County Cork would not put their jobs in jeopardy. This action, if it serves as a precedent, will throttle Lemass's expansion plan, or rather his invitation for foreign capitalists to exploit the cheap and abundant labour in Ireland. The Government is asking foreign capitalists to do what Irish capitalists cannot do—invest in Ireland, in order to preserve the sacred cow of private enterprise. The Government, instead of squandering £8½-million on a museum piece of an army, should use this money to build factories and channel the profits back to the people who produce the goods, in the form of wages or social services. Even more desirable, of course, would be that the workers should own and control the factories themselves.

D. P.

PORTUGAL

FUGITIVES FROM 'FREEDOM'

"OUR TWO nations, despite obstacles set in our paths by others, will continue the march towards peace and freedom."—Eisenhower in Lisbon, May 19.

Vigo, Spain, May 3.—A fishing boat, reported to be carrying 27 Portuguese political fugitives to France, put in here at dawn today after springing a leak, and was seized by naval authorities. Twenty-

four of the occupants are reported to have fled inland and to have evaded capture so far.—*Reuter*.

Sentences for political "crimes" were passed during May and early June on a score of persons, including six clerks, five insurance workers, two savings-bank employees, and a 22-year-old designer. The heaviest sentence was of 5 years, passed in *absentia* on one of two men who escaped from prison while awaiting trial.

A trial of 20 labourers accused of "plotting against the security of the State" began on May 2, but was adjourned indefinitely. On the same day the trial opened of 7 officers and 16 civilians charged with being implicated in an attempted uprising against Salazar's dictatorship on March 12, 1959.

SPAIN

Hunger strikers in 'solitary'

PROTESTING against their wretched conditions, 130 political prisoners in Carabanchel jail went on hunger strike for a week on April 12. This followed the appointment, some weeks previously, of a new prison governor, Castro, whose changes in prison discipline included a ban on contact between prisoners and their legal representatives and strict limitation, to one half-day a week, on time allowed for study. As punishment for their protest action, the prisoners were sentenced to a fortnight's solitary confinement.

A group of CNT prisoners, among them several women, were tried before a Barcelona court on April 5—after spending five years in prison. Their "crime" was the clandestine publication of "Solidaridad Obrera" in 1955. The sentences imposed were all of less time than these militants had already spent in jail, so they were released following the trial. Among those on the charge list were Antonio Miracle, killed by the Civil Guards last December, and Manuel Llatser and J. Lamia, who had escaped to France.

Reports reaching us from seamen in June speak of a strike of portworkers in Valencia.

PROTEST MARCH & RALLY

To protest against the Franco fascist regime, whose Foreign Minister, Fernando Castiella, is due to begin an official visit to London on the next day, a march will take place from Marble Arch on Sunday, July 10 at 2.30 p.m., followed by a mass rally in Trafalgar Square at 3.30 p.m., organised by the Spanish Democrats Defence Committee and the Spanish Ex-Servicemen's Association.

EAST GERMANY

Railwaymen jailed

FOUR RAILWAY workers in Dresden (in the Eastern German sector of the Soviet "Workers' Paradise") have recently been sentenced to two and a half years' imprisonment. They received this sentence for misrouting some railway goods trucks at the Dresden shunting yards where they were working. Presumably this savage sentence was imposed with the object of discouraging others from mistakes of a similar nature. The charge was "misrouting trucks and thus endangering the economic plan through lack of labour discipline and deliberate failure to detect mistakes".—*International Transport Workers' Journal*, May, 1960.

RUMANIA—Rabbi Zissu Purtoagal and his son, also a rabbi, who were last year jailed by the Rumanian secret police and released only after the intervention of Mr. Hammarskjöld, have left Rumania for Belgium. He and his son, Hillel, were arrested on a charge of espionage and treason, but were never tried. It is believed, says the *Jewish Chronicle*, that the reason for the jailing was the Rabbi's charitable work among Jews, especially would-be emigrants to Israel. Hillel said a feeling of fear prevailed among the Jewish people in Rumania.

PERU—The CTP (Confederation of Peruvian Workers) staged a national one-day general strike on May 13 in protest against the killing of workers at the Paramonga sugar factory, belonging to the U.S. Company Grace, and at Rancas at the instigation of the U.S. Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation.

BRUSSELS—Latest victims of the "Red Hand" French right-wing terrorist organisation are the Algerian student Aissou in Brussels and Professor Laperches, a supporter of the anti-colonialist movement, at Liège. Another sympathiser with the Algerian Nationalists, Pierre le Grè, and his wife narrowly escaped death in a similar attack.

BRITAIN

SOLIDARITY STRIKES

SOLIDARITY with victimised workmates, a bedrock principle of working-class action, has been brought into operation many times in recent weeks. An outstanding example was the strike of 600 vehicle builders at the Willenhall Motor Radiator Co., Wednesfield, Staffs, which started on May 17. On Friday, May 13, the management laid off 55 men, claiming that restrictive practices in one section of the factory had been affecting output. By a curious coincidence, the 55 included nine of the 11 shop stewards in the factory. "We consider there has been a direct attack on the trade union movement inside the factory," said George Evans, Midlands district organiser of the National Union of Vehicle Builders. It was not until May 30, however, that the NUVB executive gave official recognition to the strike of the 600, in support of their victimised fellows, the strength of the action being shown by unanimous decisions at workmate meetings to continue the struggle. A clash between police and pickets took place after the strike had been in progress for a month.

On June 17 the management capitulated and the sacked men were all re-instated.

Earlier in May, 100 dustmen at Dagenham, Essex, struck in support of a foreman, who was alleged to have sworn at a local schoolmaster when the latter interfered in a boycott of salvage collection, because of inadequate bonus payments, by himself trying to load a sack on a dustcart.

At Swindon, Wilts, 70 drivers and porters walked out of the Remploy warehouse on May 9, following the dismissal of a driver. Immediate result was agreement by the management to reinstate the man unconditionally and to hold an inquiry.

Another man who got his job back thanks to prompt action by his workmates was Frank Troth, a shop steward at Hardy Spicer, Ltd., Birmingham. Women, too, have been active on the solidarity line. More than 1,500 struck at the two Sunderland clothing factories of Hepworth Ltd., in protest against the dismissal of shop steward J. Jefferson.

Work stopped on 13 ships at Tilbury Docks on June 1, when more than 1,700 port workers came out in support of 120 men who were asking for more money to discharge some 700 tons of general cargo from the liner Himalaya. The men claimed that the light cargo, including artificial flowers and toys from China and Japan, meant they could not earn normal tonnage money. The Himalaya left Tilbury on June 3 for a Mediterranean cruise—with the disputed cargo still on board.

Manchester docks came to a standstill on June 3, when 2,000 men stopped work on 15 ships after a crane driver had been killed in an 18-foot fall to the quayside from the platform of his crane. A meeting was held with the management about repairs which, the crane drivers claimed, were urgently needed for safe working.

Angry about lack of solidarity from members of other unions were 190 members of the Boilermakers' Society, who returned to work at the Derby factory of International Combustion Ltd. on May 3, claiming that they had been blacklegged on during a dispute with the management. Similar lack of inter-union solidarity was evident at the Walsall works of the Talbot Stead Tube Company, where 500 members of the AEU struck on May 19 because a fellow member had opted to switch to the Transport and General Workers' Union, following disagreement with AEU officials.

Resolution demanding a "substantial increase in the minimum wage of £8 for a 48-hour week" for land workers was passed by the Conference of the National Union of Agricultural Workers at Chester on May 18. General Secretary Harold Collison said: "I do believe we would be further forward today if the people on the Agricultural Wages Board thought that the agricultural workers would do what the railwaymen threatened to do." A surprising admission from a trade union leader that direct action gets results. Members of the NUAW—and others—please note!

Finally, a pleasing topical lesson. Passing the factory of Craysons, the West London ladies' tailors, recently we saw two pickets at the door, with placards telling how the firm had locked out its workers. One of the women pickets was White; the other Coloured.

New Irish paper

FROM DUBLIN comes to us a bright, fighting little paper called *Forward* (not to be confused with the now-dead Labour paper of that name). It is published by the National Progressive Democrats, a group of courageous rebels in the tradition of Jim Connolly. While we think that the men of the NPD put too much accent on politics, we nevertheless admire, especially in the conditions of apathy and reaction now existing in Ireland, the courage and intellect displayed in their paper. It is worth getting (from 201 Pearse Street, Dublin) and it will make you think!

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The summit myth

THE shooting down on the eve of the Summit conference of the American U2 on an espionage flight over Russia released a flood of cant from the politicians and baloney from the Press fully worthy of the great traditions of those masters of hocus-pocus.

Even in terms of pure power politics, the flight was an act unsurpassed in its folly. Amidst the deluge of sheer rage and indignation of many Americans at being caught with their pants down and then kicked, a single thread-bare reason was conjured up for our bewitching. Russia, unlike our open society, we were told, hides her military secrets, and so reconnaissance flights over her territory are necessary for the defence of the "free world" against surprise attack. We have not forgotten Pearl Harbour! Their fear at least is doubtless genuine. Yet any one of these repeated flights might itself have precipitated a holocaust through the no less genuine fear of the Russians that the aircraft could be carrying a nuclear or bacteriological bomb.

It is a common characteristic of politicians that if they ever learn any lesson at all it is after it has ceased to apply even to their power-obsessed view of the world. (Thus the paranoid Eden, congratulating himself on having learnt the lesson of the appeasement of Hitler, and blind to the fact that Britain was no longer a first-rate power, committed the insane crime of Suez.) They are the dinosaurs of the human race. They have failed to adapt themselves, as such pretentious animals with such paltry minds must of their nature fail. If we do not see to it that this pernicious species dies out—and soon—then the whole human race will probably suffer extinction.

While the world passed through this crisis, Gaitskell and Co. continued to debate the merits of non-nuclear clubs and independent deterrents with the academic detachment of medieval theologians. Asked recently if he could reconcile threatened nuclear annihilation with the brotherhood of man, Mr. Gaitskell replied: "Interpreted in the right way—yes."

The U2 incident of May Day, 1960, was indeed, as Mr. K. said, a provocation of the workers of the world, and the lessons to be learnt from it are the same on both sides of the Iron Curtain, since, unfortunately, K. and his crew show no more signs of withering away than do our own caterpillars. How the Summit meeting has been dangled before our eyes like some juicy carrot, the consumption of which could lead to a solution of all our problems! Politicians do not solve problems, they make them.

"We are asked to watch our so-called statesmen staggering from one conference to another and not raise our voices in protest while our lives are in their hands," remarked a delegate at a recent trade union conference. When the politicians are in a good humour, we may all smile; but when they are in a bad temper, then we can get the coffins ready!

The fact is that international crises are the vested interests of politicians, for without them people might realise that politicians are not indispensable after all. On the contrary, they are grit in the machinery of society. A parasitic breed of ambitious little corporals, they produce nothing but rules and regulations to restrict the creative activities of others. They contribute nothing to the functional organisation of society, which depends primarily on the rational co-operation of ordinary people doing ordinary jobs of work.

The real Summit is the myth in people's minds that order, progress and prosperity depend on the judgments and decisions of political leaders, and that without their paternal wisdom to guide us we should all relapse into chaos and barbarism. It is not a Summit to be scaled, but one to be demolished—by the simple process of realising that it isn't there!

ALGERIA

Class war within a war

"THE WAR in Algeria is not only a political, but also a social struggle. We are a people of workers: our peasants are working land which they do not own, our workers are selling their labour in foreign countries at a price which enables their families to barely survive at home. We cannot be content with formal independence alone. Peasants want to own the land on which they live and work; workers want to find work in their own country at decent wages . . . this above all is what the working class of Algeria is fighting for."

So speaks the Bureau of the Federation in France of the Union of Syndicates of Algerian Workers (USTA), in a pamphlet, "Trade Unionism in Algeria", published on their behalf as "a letter to the Free Trade Unions" by the Socialist Party—SDF of Illinois, U.S.A.

The pamphlet outlines, from the USTA viewpoint, the various attempts at union organisation made by Algerian workers both in their own country and France. They claim that: "Our organisation stands alone in not being controlled by politicians; it stands alone in having no other commitments than the defence of the Algerian working class. We have paid a heavy price for our independence: almost all of our leadership and hundreds of our organisers have been killed or imprisoned."

It is clear, however, that while the USTA may not be controlled by any political faction, its sympathies lie with the Algerian Nationalist Movement (MNA) of Messali Hadj and are in opposition to the FLN, which is carrying on the military struggle against the French Army in Algeria. The trade union wing of the FLN is the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA). And it is against the FLN that the USTA presents a formidable dossier of murder and intimidation.

Defining its relationship with the MNA, the USTA claims: "The MNA . . . has always linked the national revolution with the social revolution and has never considered that the struggle of the workers or peasants should stop at the gates of factories or large estates, just because they were owned by Arabs . . . how can the working class emerge strengthened from a colonial war if it does not organise independently, if it remains content with repeating someone else's nationalist slogans, instead of building its own organisations, if it allows itself to be used as a pawn by rival governments?"

The USTA charges that the rival TU federation (both are proscribed in Algeria) was jointly sponsored by the FLN and the Algerian Communist Party: "It is obvious, especially in the light of later events, that the UGTA owes its existence mainly to Communist support. This support existed from the time of its founding and has steadily increased over the years. Today, it plays a decisive role in the life and policies of the organisation . . . at a recent trial of UGTA cadres (January 13-14, 1959) it appeared that one of the leaders of the illegal apparatus of the UGTA was Amar Ouzegane, the 'technical advisor' of the organisation, a former CP deputy for Algeria in the French Constituent Assembly of 1945. He was also secretary-general of the CP in Algeria during the 1945 massacres in the Constantine region and was one of the most vicious supporters of the colonialist repression."

This last reference is to the authenticated massacre, on the orders of the national front Government in Paris, of 40,000 Algerians by the French Army and Air Force bombing planes. It was supported by the French CP and its domestic TU federation, the CGT, also by the French Socialist Party, who formed part of the administration.

Collaboration, at different times, between the UGTA and the French authorities is also alleged: "The most significant incident . . . occurred at the time of elections for union representatives in the Algiers City Transport Authority (RDTA) (March 31, 1956.) Of the two nationalist unions, only the UGTA was allowed to participate in the elections; the USTA ticket was suppressed by the management of the authority at the last moment." Only two months later, open union activity became impossible inside Algeria, with the exception of the "European" TU's of FO (Socialist), CFTC (Catholic) and a few independent unions. In the following year, however, the USTA claims that it faced a two-pronged attack in France: "The co-ordination was such that it became difficult to distinguish the part of the police and the part of the FLN".

"Arrests ran into the hundreds (by February, 1958, 610 of our members were in prison in the Department of the North alone). Our local offices were searched at frequent intervals (in Tourcoing, five times in one month), our paper was seized as soon as it reached the local sections and federations, union cards were seized and destroyed whenever they were found in our offices or on one of

our members . . . At the same time, however, gangs of Algerians (criminal elements protected by the police and claiming to act on orders of the FLN) attacked our offices. The Roubaix office was sacked three times in July alone; the last time an attempt was made to set fire to it. The police would always come after the attack, search the office and arrest every one of our members on the premises."

The USTA points out, pertinently, that this apparently unnatural alliance between the CP elements of the FLN and the police would not surprise "anyone who has studied or experienced comparable civil-war situations, such as that in Spain".

Militants such as Hocine Maroc (USTA organiser at Renaults), Abdallah Filali (assistant general secretary of the USTA in France), Ahmed Bekhat (general secretary of the USTA in France), Mohamed Ben Barra and Amar Badioune were assassinated during the period September, 1957, to March, 1958. These murders, says the USTA, were carried out by FLN gunmen.

If these facts are correct, and we have no means of checking them, it is scandalous that the FLN-sponsored TU movement of the UGTA should be recognised by the so-called International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to the exclusion of the USTA. This recognition, voted by the ICFTU Executive Committee in July, 1956, was—says the USTA—due to pressure from the government-controlled labour unions of Tunisia and Morocco and to pressure from Irving Brown of America (aptly described as a "cloak and dollar" man) because the State Department was afraid of losing Tunisia and Morocco to the "neutralist" bloc.

Like the SP-SDF, who publish this pamphlet, "we take no official position as an organisation on the complex disputes within Algerian nationalism", but we believe it is a document of great importance for the international working-class movement and, in passing, note that more than 1,500 USTA members are now in French prisons. The pamphlet can be obtained from the SP-SDF of Illinois, 400, S. State St., Chicago, Ill., price 35c (2s. 6d.).

K. H.

AUSTRALIA

Law against the workers

WE HAVE reported before on the docility of the Australian trade unions, bound hand and foot by labour laws and arbitration agreements, but a number of recent strikes have proved that militancy is not dead among the Australian workers.

On May 2 the Waterside Workers' Federation was fined £A500 (£400), plus costs, for contempt of court for failing to dissociate itself from any ban, limitation or restriction on work in the Melbourne docks for the next six months, as ordered by the Commonwealth Industrial Court in April. The dockers had refused to work on Sundays. On hearing the court's judgment, 3,500 dockers struck work in protest, while 400 other dockers did not report for night work.

On May 13 the Seamen's Union was fined £500 for defying a court order by striking on April 26, on which day it had already been fined £300 on a similar charge. Both strikes were in protest at the new wage scales awarded by the Australian Arbitration Commission to coastal seamen. The second court fine brought seamen off 45 coastal ships in all the major Australian ports; 250 seamen marching through Melbourne to the building of the Australian Steamship Owners' Federation clashed with police armed with batons before storming into the offices and upsetting furniture.

Sydney's 1,400 firemen staged a lightning strike on June 7 in protest at the suspension of two station officers who declined to order firemen to scrub salvage sheets. The firemen had been campaigning for four weeks for a 28 per cent. wage increase and five weeks' annual holiday by refusing to do non-fire-fighting duties. The state industrial registrar issued a summons calling on the union to show cause why it should not be struck off the register after the secretary of the Fire Brigade Employees' Union had declared that all permanent firemen in New South Wales would be called out in support. A week earlier the union had been fined £A500 for taking part in an illegal strike.

EAST GERMANY—Prison sentences for political "crimes" totaling 1,440 years were passed on 376 people in East Germany last year, according to the West German Association of Victims of Stalinism, who estimate that there are now about 10,000 political prisoners in East Germany.

BRITAIN

Apprentices get no help from the unions

THE STRIKE of engineering apprentices got away to a promising start. Aimed at raising the low wages of the lads, the strike began at Greenock and Port Glasgow. About 500 of the 2,000 engineering and shipyard apprentices had taken part in a walk-out, to hold a protest march against wage claim delays, on Wednesday, April 20.

On their return, 400 shipyard apprentices were suspended until the following Monday. At this, the men held meetings and decided to strike in support of the boys; 4,400 journeymen and 2,000 apprentices were then on strike. By the next day the strike had spread up-river, between 7,000 and 8,000 apprentices were out on the Clyde and a strike committee of 20 was formed to spread the struggle throughout Britain. By the following Monday the strike had spread to Falkirk, Aberdeen, Dundee and other places, and deputations set off for English towns.

By April 28, apprentices at Sunderland, South Shields and Manchester had joined in. The Scottish strike committee estimated that 30,000 lads were out in Scotland. It is worthy of note that this was almost exactly the figure given by the employers' organisations.

The struggle continued to spread and by May 2, 600 were out at English Electric at Bootle and Liverpool. Strikers from Birkenhead crossed the Mersey, a meeting was held and it was decided to post pickets at all Merseyside firms. At Rochdale, 300 lads came out.

On Tyneside, 2,700 apprentices at 13 yards and marine shops were out, and the movement was spreading to the Midlands. The movement crossed union barriers, strikers being of all unions and some of none. Any hope of official support from the unions was soon dispelled. The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions told them to return to work. At Sunderland, where 700 were on strike, J. W. Loughran, district secretary of the AEU, said: "This strike is irresponsible and totally undesirable. The apprentices who are out must go back to work immediately." At the Blackpool conference of the AEU an attempt to get support for the strike was defeated, the president, W. J. Carron, refusing to accept the motion.

Without sufficient national organisation and starved of support from certain quarters, strikers in some localities began to weaken, though Scotland was still strong for the strike. On May 9 a deputation from the North of England and Scotland arrived at the headquarters of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions in London to ask for support. Officials told them to address their appeals to the separate unions of the Federation (over 40 of them).

While this was going on, feeling for the strike was still strong in the big centres. In Manchester (11,600 out in a 15-mile radius), 3,000 boys met and decided to continue the strike. Said the *Times*: "Only about six boys raised their hands in favour of an immediate return to work."

When union officials addressed the meeting, "several times their voices were drowned by the chorus of shouts, boos and hand-clapping. Many of the boys seemed to be almost as critical of trade unions as they were of employers. . . . Later the boys formed into a long procession to march three miles to the city centre with an equally long procession of delayed buses and cars on their tail. Their arrival in the centre was heralded by a violent thunderclap and heavy rain." It is not clear whether the thunderclap was caused by the strikers.

On May 15, with 60,000 out, an all-Britain delegate conference decided to recommend a return to work and to leave the claim to negotiation. On May 17, work was resumed. More than anything else, the anti-strike influence of the unions had weighed down the scales.

FRANCE

'Our cash, Charlie!'

THE LONG honeymoon between the French workers and General de Gaulle seems to be over at last. As always, stabilisation of the currency has been achieved at the workers' expense; the national wage level has not been raised since 1958, although some groups of workers have received increases of 3 to 4 per cent.

Dissatisfaction has been growing steadily, and has even reached the ears of the trade union leaders. The first industry-wide strike in the history of the Fifth Republic occurred on May 31, when the railway workers staged a 24-hour stoppage. It was called by the Communist-dominated CGT and the Socialist Force Ouvrière

"partly," says the *Times* Paris correspondent, "to show that they are not lagging behind their militants, who have been staging local 'surprise strikes' for some days". The Catholic trade union federation did not support the strike, but many of its members showed that solidarity means more to them than to their leaders. The unions are demanding wage increases of 11 per cent. by October 1 and a gradual reduction of the working week from 48 hours to the 40-hour week once worked by French railwaymen.

Paris bus and Metro (underground railway) services have also been disrupted for several weeks by "surprise strikes" called on routes varying from day to day. The public transport corporation tried to intimidate the workers by suspending 50 or more strikers, due to appear before a disciplinary council. Workers in private industries, including the steel, motor and chemical industries, are also losing patience and resorting to direct action.

On June 10 all three trade union federations called a 24-hour strike of civil servants, including teachers, postmen, airport staff, and other public service employees.

"The chief reason for the strike," the *Times* correspondent reported, "is that real wages have in most cases gone down since 1957, both in the state sector and in private industry. . . . According to a reliable estimate, the cost of living has gone up 30 per cent. in the last 40 months, but the take-home pay of a junior state employee with two children—a postman, for example—has gone up by only 22 per cent. in the same period. . . . the majority have found that the much-trumpeted French economic recovery has brought them nothing but a lower standard of living."

A minimum monthly wage of 45,000 francs (£32), or in some cases 50,000 francs (£35), was demanded, and one of the slogans shouted in mass demonstrations was: "Nos sous, Charlie!" ("Our Cash, Charlie!")

Postbag

SOME may say a mass Syndicalist movement is essentially reformist, but this is not necessarily correct. A mass movement, even a general strike for a limited demand—even an important limited demand, such as a national strike against war, whether influenced by Syndicalist aspirations or not—would be essentially reformist, in so far as it would be action against an effect of the system of exploitation and not a rooting out of that system itself. But a Syndicalist movement itself is not reformist, for it would stand not only alongside the masses, but also retain its independence.

R. L.

Aberdeen

WE ARE getting a lot of crime and all that goes with it and the jails are full of boys all the way from ten years up, so that you can see we have freedom over here—and a lot of unemployment. The unions here are good: they scab on each other. A few of us in Vancouver are going to get the IWW going if we can.

J. B. McA.

Vancouver, B.C.

I HAVE received two issues of WLN, for which many thanks. After reading them, I must admit that this paper is very informative and interesting, as my Japanese friends had told me. I enclose a subscription.

M. S.

Hong Kong

I AM enclosing a subscription. I like the paper and would like to get it when it comes out. I see from a Trotskyist paper that Anton Pannekoek is dead. He died on April 28—I wondered if you had any of Pannekoek's works for sale.

H. McS.

Glasgow

IN REGARD to the item recently published in World Labour News concerning the creation of groups of "Friends of IWMA", I am wondering if such a group exists in Scotland. It is generally considered that Scotland is politically indistinguishable from England; however, attitudes, prejudices and problems are so different in Scotland that it would be advisable for a revolutionary organisation to treat Scotland as a separate entity.

J. M.

Glasgow

YOU HAVE sent me three copies of your World Labour News—I do not know why. The tone of it does not appeal to me and I am not a working man. I'm afraid you are wasting your funds in continuing to circularise me.

J. B.

Derby

I GOT your paper and am enclosing a buck for a few more. I read and re-read it and it's the real McCoy. I worked chiefly in the carpenter line in and around New York City; did a lot of clowning when I could. Now not so hot (can't do any flip-ups, for this month will be 84). Am a charter member of the IWW and was in most of the early fights. And love to think of those early days. Keep WLN coming my way.

W. T. N.

Corbettsville, N.Y.

SOUTH AFRICA

Labour politics and Apartheid

THE South African Labour Party, oldest of the present parties, was founded on trade union interests. As the trade unions were mostly those of skilled workers, they, and the Labour Party, were the front of English speaking labour, organised not only against the employers, but also against the competition of Coloured and African labour. From its beginning the party led a Jekyll and Hyde existence, attracted now by the Socialist ideal of social ownership in the interest of all the people, White or Coloured, and now by the policy of protecting the interests of a privileged minority. As usual in such cases, Mr. Hyde won.

With the notable exception of the Mineworkers' Union, the trade unions had little interest in the Afrikaners, who were mostly farmers or labourers from rural areas. Indeed, many of the unions were simply branches of British trade unions, such as the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

Never coming near winning a majority in Parliament, the South African Labour Party was, nevertheless, able on occasion to swing the balance between large parties and groups, the see-saw between English and moderate Afrikaner conservatism and extreme Afrikaner nationalism.

At the 1920 election, the Nationalists won 44 seats against Smuts' South African Party's 41 and the English-speaking Union Party's 25, while Labour won 21. Smuts fused his party with the Unionists and the following year won a general election with a big majority. All English-speaking parties, except Labour, were now united with the moderate Afrikaners, opposed to extreme Nationalist Afrikanerdom. Labour turned to the Nationalists.

The Labour Party was interested in protecting the privileges of White labour against the capitalists and the competition of Native labour. The Nationalists, too, were in opposition to most of the capitalists, whom they regarded as mainly British, while the mass of their voters feared the competition of African and Coloured labour in the unskilled jobs they sought. In 1924 Labour held the balance and formed a coalition with the Nationalists in the "Pact Government", Labour members taking posts in the Cabinet.

The Labour-Nationalist Government laid the foundations of the present Apartheid policy. The State-sponsored steel company (ISCOR) and tariffs created many new skilled and semi-skilled jobs. The Colour Bar Act of 1926 extended the job monopoly White labour already held in the mines. Two years before, the Industrial Conciliation Act set up industrial councils with wide economic powers, but excluded "pass bearing Natives". In 1925 came the Wage Act, based on the Master and Servant Act and the Native Labour Regulation Act, under which it is a criminal offence for an African to break his contract or refuse to obey an order.

At this time, too, came the symbols and political basis of Afrikaner Nationalism—a second National Anthem, "Die Stem van Sud Afrika", a new flag, bilingual requirements for Government service and others.

The Nationalists gained more than Labour from this political trading, and unrest at the number of offices allocated to Labour developed in the party by 1928. Prime Minister Hertzog quarrelled with Labour's Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Walter Madeley, and forced him to resign. The Labour Convention demanded that all Labour Cabinet Ministers resign and the party then split in two, the minority headed by the party leader, Creswell. At the 1929 election each group returned only two members.

By their exclusive White policy, the Labour Party, with most of the trade unions, left open to the Communist Party the chance to win the leadership of the Native trade unions. The Communist Party of South Africa, founded in 1921, was pro-White. At the 1924 election, the CP supported the alliance of Labour and the Nationalists and the Pact Government which followed, but the CPSA has followed the usual zig-zags of Communist parties, usually imposed by Moscow.

As Labour's influence in the Government declined, the CP turned more to trying to win the Negro trade unions, with moderate success. The largest union, Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, remained with their liberal and missionary allies and in December, 1926, expelled its Communists.

By 1927, Moscow's direction of its Communist Parties was tightened and the CPSA was ordered to go out for "an independent Native republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic". South African Communists were horrified and their leader, Bunting, begged the 6th World Congress of the Comintern, in 1928, to drop this policy. Defeated, Bunting returned to Africa to carry out Moscow's line and, in 1929, formed the "League of African Rights". Moscow zig-zagged and vetoed the scheme. For two years the leadership suffered attacks from their Moscow masters, then,

in September, 1931, they were chopped down, Bunting, Andrews, Solly Sachs and others being expelled from the party for "right deviationism". In 1935 the last of the "old cadres", Roux and Kotane, were demoted.

Soon the Moscow line changed and the CPSA was ordered to form a united front with Labour. Roux left the party, but Andrews was welcomed in Moscow and rejoined it.

In September, 1939, the Communists demanded South Africa's entry into the war "against Fascism". When Smuts led his country into war, the party line changed and the war became a "British imperialist war". Of course, when Germany attacked Russia, the CPSA turned pro-war and called on Coloured and Native Africans to "defend democracy against Fascism", a cry which must have puzzled the Bantus. The Communists called on non-Europeans to join the army (as labourers) and demanded the formation of armed Native regiments to "fight for democracy against Fascism". They were tireless in collecting money from Indians, Coloured and Bantu, despite the latter's poverty, for, once again, the struggle of the noble White democrats against Fascism.

The Communists, of course, never had any interest in the non-Europeans as human beings, seeing them only as political pawns. Such cold-blooded political moves never surprised those who knew South African Communists, for in communist circles, as Solly Sachs has written, there was prejudice against and hatred of the Bantu.

After some years the Labour Party recovered much of the ground it had lost in 1929, but never again won quite the same number of seats in Parliament and is now receding, winning only five seats at the 1953 election. Labour's attitude to non-Europeans, however, is now very much more liberal than of old, being among the most liberal of the South African parties, but it has lost moral leadership to the Liberal and Progressive Parties and to the missionaries.

The party now has very little trade union base, having only two affiliations, the Clothing Workers, with 1,000 members, and the Concession Stores and ATA, with 200. As South Africa has increased its industry rapidly, so have the Labour Party and the trade unions declined.

During recent years the Labour Party has been in alliance with the United Party, operating an electoral pact, the UP treating the LP in lordly manner, checking its broadcasts and allowing it to contest only those seats it would be likely to win in any case.

A sad story of political intrigue and desertion of principle; of a lost opportunity to use one's advantages to aid one's less fortunate fellows and, in human as well as class solidarity, sweep away a system which exploits and curses Whites and non-Europeans, to gain the satisfaction of a fight well fought, instead of the self-defeat and bitter fruit of political ambition.

IWMA world call

THE TENTH CONGRESS of the International Working Men's Association (Toulouse, September, 1958) agreed to support the formation of "Groups of Friends of the IWMA" in all countries where sections have not yet been set up, with the aim of gaining sympathy for our International and of spreading its principles and propaganda as widely as possible.

We hope that you will interest yourselves, in each country where there is still no section of the IWMA, in forming one or several groupings of "Friends of the IWMA" and of seeking to win over, if only through moral support, sympathisers in each locality.

A group can be formed by five, ten or more members. It will give you the chance to maintain regular contact with the IWMA and of being in touch with the affairs of the international movement.

We address ourselves especially to comrades and sympathisers in Africa, Asia, Australia and the Americas, Uruguay and Argentina excepted.

It is desirable that "Groups of Friends of the IWMA" should keep close contact between themselves in each country and they will receive our Press, propaganda and news of other countries through the international secretariat.

All interested in this proposal should write to the IWMA Secretariat (AIT-CNT), 4 rue Belfort, Toulouse (H.G.), France.

EAST GERMANY—The West German Government reports that between the end of the war and May 1, 1960, 24 professors, 69 lecturers and 932 students of East German universities had been arrested, of whom 40 had been executed or had died in prison, while 217 were still under arrest on May 1, 18 in Russia.