

CANADA

Relief queue grows

EDMONTON, ALBERTA. While the number of people unemployed continues to fall (just under 400,000 in May), the number of people on relief has risen in most centres. This means that many people who were "laid off" last winter have exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits and still cannot find work. They are forced, therefore, to ask the city for food to keep their families from starving. In this country you only get from the unemployment insurance in proportion to what you put in. Which means in effect you must work for at least six months in the summer to be eligible for three or four months' unemployment pay in the winter. Those who do not find work this summer, or even work for less than six months, face another winter with no work and no unemployment pay.

The federal government must take a big part of the blame for this situation because of its policy (or lack of policy) towards the building industry. Until this year the government lent money directly to builders, who then built housing estates and sold the houses to anyone with a down payment and the ability to meet the monthly repayments.

This year, in its wisdom, the government decided that houses were a luxury we could do without and inaugurated a "tight money" policy. They increased the interest rate on loans to 6½%. Refused to lend money to the builders. Would only lend money to the prospective home buyer himself if his income was below \$5,000 per annum. This meant that many people who could afford to buy houses could not get loans whilst most people earning below \$5,000 per annum could not afford to buy houses anyway. The net result of all this being (as anyone but a politician could have foreseen anyway) unemployment for carpenters, plumbers, electricians and a host of other tradesmen and labourers, who normally find summer employment in the building industry.

This fact having eventually penetrated government circles, it has just announced "a sharp easing of restrictions governing direct mortgage loans by the government, aimed at increasing winter employment in the construction industry". This magnanimous gesture on the part of our elected representatives means that, from September 1 to November 30, direct loans will be made to builders and the maximum annual income for eligibility for a loan will be raised to \$7,000. Then presumably back to "tight money" and more unemployment.

A setback for the "gangster unions" in Windsor (Ontario), where the 5,500 strong local of the Teamsters' Union threw out its president, "Casey" Dodds, who was appointed 14 years ago by Hoffa and hadn't bothered to hold an election since that time. Dodds is also president of the 40,000 strong Canadian Teamsters, who were recently expelled from the Canadian Labour Congress for "raiding" other member unions.

B. G.

U.S.A.

Marathon newspaper strike

PORTLAND, OREGON. One of the longest newspaper strikes in American history started on November 10 last year in Portland and, at time of writing, is still going strong. It concerns workers at the two local papers, *Oregon Journal* and *Portland Oregonian*.

The struggle began with the refusal of the managements of the two papers to bargain with the Stereotypers' Union regarding the manning of a new plate-casting machine.

"Union representatives," reports *Industrial Worker*, "insisted they had the right under historical bargaining procedure to influence the number of men to be used, that the untried machine could be a menace, since it used 600 degree metal at high pressure, and that the unilateral bargaining, such as the publishers were using, rolled the labour relations film back 50 years."

The management's reply was, in effect, "Sign or walk out". After 18 fruitless meetings and following a fortnight's strike notice, the Stereo men walked out.

The picket line was honoured by other unions, but "black" publication was started by the two newspapers in the *Oregonian* building. Using clerks and stenographers to get out the first issues, the management then imported blackleg labour supplied by other members of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association: professional scabs who, under the name of "leaners", are prepared to go anywhere there is a picket line to be crossed.

Reaction of the Portland public has been encouraging. Many subscriptions to the papers have been cancelled—an estimated 154,000 out of the pre-strike total of 412,000. Offers of mediation have been stubbornly refused by the publishers, who obviously wanted a showdown with the unions and used the plating machine

episode as a pretext. Oregon unions have called this attitude "the Portland pattern" and warned the rest of American labour similar attacks can be expected elsewhere.

The effects of the dispute have been far-reaching. A conference of printing trade unions in Phoenix, Arizona, agreed to the closest co-operation in the history of the industry, cutting across craft divisions and laying a possible basis for amalgamation into one big union of printing workers. The strikers have produced a weekly bulletin, aptly titled, "The Front Line", which is distributed throughout the U.S.

State strike-busters

SWEDEN—On June 21, 360 oil transport workers were found guilty of unofficial strike action by the Swedish labour court, which ordered them to pay damages to their employers of 200 crowns (about £14) each. The case against the local branch of their union was dismissed, the court finding that it had opposed the strike.

U.S.A.—In compliance with a federal court order, pilots of Eastern Air Lines ended a ten-day strike on June 21. Many pilots of Pan American Airways, one of three other companies affected by the order, circumnavigated this legal obstacle by reporting "sick".

AUSTRALIA—The Australian Seamen's Union was summoned to a compulsory conference by the president of the state Arbitration Court, after it had refused to supply tugs or a pilot boat to service a Dutch naval squadron which arrived at Fremantle on July 12 on its way to Dutch New Guinea. The union protested that the squadron's voyage could lead to war, but lifted its ban after the conference. On July 26, seamen in all the major Australian ports struck work after Mr. Justice Foster had refused to improve an award. Over 3,000 seamen from more than 60 ships were involved.

FRANCE—A 24-hour strike of Metro drivers due to take place on June 24 was called off after the Government had decided to requisition the staff of the Paris bus and tube services. This followed a further spate of surprise strikes by railway and other transport workers, as well as a number of strikes in private industries, including one by building workers on June 13.

JAPAN—When miners from Miike colliery, who have been on strike since January, defied a court order to withdraw pickets from coal hoppers at the colliery loading port in July, 13,000 policemen, armed with tear gas, fire hoses and armoured cars, were mobilised to enforce it.

POLAND.—In the first quarter of this year about 8,800 people were expelled from the Polish Communist Party for drunkenness, theft or corruption.

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.
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BULGARIA—A NEW SPAIN		8d.
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VIEWS AND COMMENTS	(organ of the Libertarian League, U.S.)	8d.

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Power workers—few fight for the many

THREE HUNDRED workers struck at three London Transport power stations—Chelsea, Neasden and Greenwich—on July 10, causing a 30% cut in tube trains and trolleybuses. The men, who demanded "inconvenience money" for dirty and shift work, were inspired by the example of the maintenance men at Chelsea, who, by a lightning strike, had won rises of 29s.—34s. a week.

Lawrence Meehan, the strike chairman, strongly denied any Communist influence on the strike committee and said that he himself was a good Catholic. Union officials and management quickly acted and asked the strikers to return and await the result of a meeting on July 14.

The men refused to return, but the meeting between London Transport and the unions took place and offered the workers a rise of 10s. a week. The union officials urged the shift workers to accept this, but the strikers turned down the offer, which was much less than that won by the maintenance men. That gain seemed to anger the union officials; the men are in six unions, chiefly the A.E.U., N.U.R., T. & G.W.U. and E.T.U.

"A senior official of one of the unions said last night that he and his colleagues had 'disowned' this settlement. 'We did not negotiate the maintenance men's increase; whoever did so can un-negotiate it as far as we are concerned'. He added that the maintenance workers were given 10s. a week extra, plus three paid dinner hours at time and a half. No union could possibly support that sort of agreement. It was a back door agreement." *Daily*

INDIA

State stamps out strike

THE DAY BEFORE unions representing 2,200,000 Indian Government workers struck at midnight on July 11, demanding that the minimum wage be raised from 80 rupees (about £6 2s.) a month to 125 rupees and linked to the cost-of-living index. President Prasad offered to halve his salary of 5,000 rupees (about £375) a month as a mark of his concern at the great disparity between the incomes of ministers and high officials and those of ordinary Government employees. As an altogether more practical measure, the Government declared the strike illegal in advance, granting itself powers of summary dismissal of strikers, mobilising scab labour, including territorial units, and moving steel-helmeted troops into main railway stations and post offices in Delhi. Under the Government ordinance strikers were made liable to six months in jail and incitement to strike was made punishable by a year's imprisonment.

The authorities used their powers with utter ruthlessness. At Dohad, in Gujerat State, 5 strikers were killed by police fire, while reports of lathi charges and the use of tear gas came from all over the country—an ironic echo from the days of serfdom under the British raj. In some places the strikers adopted sit-down tactics, but had to contend with police violence. Altogether 15,000 strikers were arrested. Small wonder that under the threat of legal violence the strikers in some places resorted to sabotage and violence against blacklegs among the railwaymen, post office, administrative and other workers directly affected.

Daily Telegraph correspondent John Ridley charged the Government with deliberately underplaying the seriousness of the strike through its control of broadcasting and in its press announcements. "In this near-conspiracy of silence the newspapers, all of which bitterly oppose the strike, appear to have joined."

He also reported that many "apparently willing workers" helped the strikers by such activities as "deliberate dropping of engine fires and emptying of water tanks".

Nevertheless, despite sympathy strikes by other workers, notably a 24-hour strike of 18,000 dockers which brought the port of Bombay to a standstill, solidarity was far from complete among the Government workers themselves. One report from a fairly sympathetic source put the number of strikers at only 15 to 20 per cent. On the evening of July 16 the strike collapsed from lack of solidarity in the face of violence exercised by a so-called democratic state.

Telegraph, 16.7.60.

On Monday, July 18, the Greenwich men, 56 of the total of 300 strikers, yielded to the influence of union officials and decided to accept the 10s. a week. The remaining strikers decided to fight on and made a new demand: time and a half for Saturday afternoons and double time for Sundays. This is common payment for

SEAMEN STRIKERS JAILED

As we go to press, seamen are again striking on British-owned lines against the NUS agreement with shipowners. The law has been enlisted to break strike and many seamen have been jailed or fined. For earlier report, see page 4.

most day and night workers in industry, but the strikers are "continuous shift workers", doing three shifts, 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., 2 to 10 and 10 to 6, continuing through the week and having week days' rest in lieu of week-ends. For this they are paid time and a half for Sundays, nothing extra for Saturdays.

On July 19, the 60 strikers at Neasden decided to accept the 10s. a week, but the 180 men at Chelsea voted to fight on. The following day, however, they accepted the 10s., with a promise of a working party to bring their wages into line with the general power stations.

A few points to remember: The 10s. a week was granted to 2,500, so that the gallant 300 were fighting for the many. They were scabbed on by technical and office staff—something which should have spread the strike at once. They and the maintenance men were separated, to the grave disadvantage of the strikers—and, ultimately, of the maintenance men themselves.

While London Transport were considering their strikers' claim, a tribunal was giving its verdict on the claim of the men in the general power stations, submitted to arbitration six months previously.

The tribunal was led by Roy Wilson, Q.C., with Ted Hill, of the Boilermakers' Union, and W. L. Clarke, of the Electrical Council. Their decision was given in terms almost identical to the employers'. Wilson went on to say: "No reliable evidence has become available about the actual earnings of manual workers in the industry . . . since the reduction of the working week on February 1". He believed that actual working hours were about 48, not 42, and concluded that, because of overtime, earnings must be higher than the basic £8 18s. 6d.

As in every arbitration case, or any wage claim, overtime is reckoned in with the basic wage to present a swollen average, so that the workers may pay their own overtime. It is extra hard on the men who don't get overtime, but they may take comfort by thinking of the higher average—and the wisdom of arbitration.

BRITAIN

Young miners' militancy

FOR THE SECOND time in six months, young miners, aged from 15 to 22, took strike action on July 13 at Calverton Colliery in the Nottingham coalfield. Their militancy was in support of a 16-year-old worker, who was admonished by the manager for violating a safety regulation because he jumped off a man-carrying train. Said Granville Stone, spokesman for the young strikers: "The train was stopping. There were 20 other miners who jumped off, but this lad was singled out. That is victimisation".

Other complaints—some 30 of them—were put forward at a meeting of the miners. They included: no chance of upgrading is given by the management; boys of 16 are doing work they should not be on until 18; work is done in water with no extra payment; lying reports of lads being sacked are spread by the management. Also at the meeting was leading C.P. member Les Ellis, sent by Nottingham N.U.M. headquarters. His advice: an immediate return to work. Said Stone: "If we do not meet with any success this time, we shall come out again".

Capitalist intrigue in the Congo

THE FIRST WEEKS of Congolese "independence" provided a sorry story of capitalist intrigue and an object lesson in the limitations of nationalist struggle based purely on political, not economic change. None of the conflicting parties in the strife-torn Congo have clean hands and the one set of people with whom none of them are concerned, except as pawns, are the Congolese workers and peasants. In the final analysis, however, it will be these forgotten and long-submerged millions—13,200,000 of them—who have the last word to say.

The role of Belgian capitalism in the Congo has been a study in cynical and calculated self-interest. When the popular rising of January, 1959, which cost the lives of some 200 Africans, made it clear to the Brussels Bourse and Government that its 80 years' domination of this Central African territory of 909,000 square miles—some four times the size of France—was being challenged, Belgian capitalism sought a way to preserve its economic interests, while appearing to concede everything.

The decision last year to grant Congolese independence in 1960 took almost everybody by surprise. The African population of the Congo had always been treated as slaves by their Belgian overlords, who were concerned solely with siphoning off the rich mineral wealth of the country, using the natives as a pool of cheap, unskilled labour and granting them only the most rudimentary living standards and no political rights.

Yet nobody seems to have foreseen the well-thought-out manoeuvre that was put into effect immediately "independence" came into effect, even though an economic map of the Congo would have given the clue. Most of the Congo's mineral wealth—two-thirds of the revenue of £176 million from exports in 1957, for instance—is concentrated in the copper-belt province of Katanga. Copper, gold, silver, tin, cobalt, radium, zinc and—in this nuclear age—most important, uranium are mined there in large quantities.

To separate Katanga from the rest of the Congo would be to amputate the country's economic heart. This, clearly, is what Belgian capitalism decided to do in the situation of internal strife which it was clear would follow the removal of its administration from the whole of the territory. Lest this viewpoint be taken as the wild theorising of revolutionaries far removed from political reality, consider these two quotations:—

"The Belgians . . . judge that the course they are taking is the most likely, in the long run, to preserve their enormous investments in Africa." *The Times*, 19.3.60.

"Katanga is the big problem in the Congo. . . . It is the main source of Congolese prosperity. There is little doubt that the Belgians are behind the movement for Katanga's secession. If they could secure it they would rid themselves of responsibility for the Congo as a whole while keeping the brightest jewel in the crown. The very speed with which they relinquished the entire Colony led to the chaos in which it would have been simple enough to keep a grip on Katanga through their puppet, Mr. Tshombe. This was probably the desired pattern of events" (our italics). *Daily Mail*, 26.7.60.

The financial interests behind the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*, which monopolises the region's mineral wealth, seem to have been blithely unconcerned with what might happen to its Belgian compatriots in the rest of the Congo. Despite the lurid atrocity stories—and atrocities obviously have taken place—the Congolese people generally seem to have behaved with remarkable forbearance. The only cases of violence reported have been by the members of *Force Publique*, the military organisation which, under Belgian rule, had been the means of ruthlessly suppressing all strivings of the masses towards freedom. The first result of "independence" was that the ranks of *Force Publique* mutinied, deposing their Belgian officers. That some of the cruelty and violence they had been encouraged to use against their own countrymen was then turned against the Belgians is one of history's ironies. Nobody wishes to condone rape, but it is worth noting in passing that this assault on human dignity becomes newsworthy only when committed, in a colonial context, by black on white, never in the countless cases where white settlers have their pleasure of unwilling Coloured women.

Moïse Tshombe, the Belgian puppet "Prime Minister" of Katanga, has always been a tool of his country's oppressors. Son of one of the very few wealthy Africans in Elisabethville (he owned a Whites-only hotel there!), and himself a former President of the city's African Chamber of Commerce, he has tirelessly proclaimed his friendship for the Belgians. His reward: the promise by Union Minière of a small slice of the Katanga cake.

Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of the Congo Republic itself, is a good example of the power-hungry, unscrupulous politician thrown up by nationalist struggles. During the first month of his State's perilous existence, he oscillated between threats to call in

Russian troops and the reported deal with the mystery man of American finance, L. Edgar Detwiler, who rapidly switched his attentions from Guinea to a 50-year agreement for the exploitation of Congolese resources.

"The United States Embassy," reports *The Observer*, 24.7.60, "was not consulted about it and in no way sponsored it." The strong possibility, of course, is that Detwiler is a finger man for the American State Department and Wall Street, not the individualist Yankee tycoon of popular romance.

Lumumba, however, clearly wants the Congo to develop on orthodox capitalist lines. He cares little who controls the country's economy, so long as he remains in political control. Like Nkumah in Ghana, Nehru in India, Lumumba is first and foremost a politician. And the politician's primary interest is power.

The last people to be considered by Tshombe and Lumumba, of course, are the workers and peasants. Reports during the first days of "independence" spoke of widespread industrial disputes, based on demands for a living wage by the long down-trodden workers. Since then there has been a virtual shutdown on news of this aspect of the struggle, which to us is the most significant. The Congolese workers have clearly little to gain economically if the nationalist struggle is to result in the perpetuation of Belgian economic control, as in Katanga, or the substitution of American monopoly capitalism. It is with them our solidarity lies, not with careerist politicians.

K. H.

BRITAIN

Anti-Franco demonstration

THE BIGGEST anti-Franco demonstration to be held in London since the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 was organised on Sunday, July 10, by the Spanish Ex-Servicemen's Association and the Spanish Democrats Defence Committee. The immediate object was to protest against the official visit to London, at the invitation of Tory Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd, of Franco's Foreign Minister, Fernando Castiella, which started on the following day. Castiella, who fought in the Fascist Blue Division during the last war, was decorated by Hitler with the Iron Cross and has always been one of the most outspoken purveyors of the psychopathic ideology shared by Mussolini, Hitler and his master, Franco.

Carrying several hundred posters and a number of large banners, bearing such slogans as "Freedom for Spain", "Free Franco's Political Prisoners", some 1,500 people marched from Marble Arch to Trafalgar Square, passing through Oxford Street, Regent Street and Haymarket. Spanish exiles of varying political and social ideas, including many from the I.W.M.A.'s section, the C.N.T.; British anti-fascists, including many youngsters to whom the Spanish Revolution is history from the decade before they were born, marching shoulder to shoulder. An old-timer remarked: "Sad to see so many of the old faces have gone, but good to know a new generation is filling the gap." Badges of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament were much in evidence.

At Trafalgar Square the crowd swelled to over 5,000 and from Nelson's Column speeches condemning the Franco tyranny and pledging support for the oppressed Spanish workers were made by James Griffiths, of the Labour Party Executive; Bob Edwards, of the Chemical Workers' Union and a Labour M.P.; Elwyn Jones, another Labour M.P.; Manuela Sykes, for the Liberals; Agustín Roa, for the Spanish Ex-Servicemen's Association, and Dr. Donald Soper, whose linking of the struggle against Fascism with that against nuclear war evoked an enthusiastic response. The march and meeting were screened by B.B.C. and I.T.V. television and the Press widely reported the demonstration, with Tory papers loud in their condemnation of this affront to their party's honoured guest, Castiella.

During the three-day visit of this unwanted—so far as the workers' were concerned—visitor to London, a picket was maintained outside the Spanish Embassy.

PORTUGAL—The trial of six officers, one merchant navy officer and ten civilians, which lasted nearly three months, ended on July 25. Eight of the accused were acquitted, the others receiving sentences of from 3 to 20 months, which were in three cases suspended for three years. Other people sentenced for political "crimes" include a clerk (2 years), a commercial traveller (18 months, suspended), a bookmaker (2 years 4 months), six workers (16 months to 2 years 1 month, in three cases suspended), and seven others (18 to 20 months, in four cases suspended for five years).

French youth resists the Algerian war

EARLY in April this year, the French police, at the direction of the Minister of the Armed Forces, seized editions of *France-Observateur* and *L'Express*. They contained articles which, said a government communique, constituted "an invitation to desertion". They were reporting on the activities of a new organisation called *Jeune Résistance* (Youth Resistance).

The well-known novelist Georges Arnaud ("Wages of Fear") is now serving a sentence of two years' imprisonment for not informing on others present at a secret Press conference called by Francis Jeanson, an audacious and elusive opponent of the Algerian War.

In July, a priest, the Abbé Corré, together with Diégo Masson, was condemned to one year's imprisonment for communicating subversive literature to one young man and to another a code which would enable him to get assistance in Geneva, if he could cross the frontier as a deserter. Both are members of *Jeune Résistance*.

Henri Cherouze, a pacifist, aroused much public controversy and even sympathy by his prolonged hunger strike in a military prison in protest against the harsh treatment meted out to war resisters.

Outside an internment camp at Vincennes, near Paris, 800 demonstrators were arrested while staging a non-violent sit-down strike as a gesture of solidarity with Algerian detainees.

In 1959, 1,500 to 2,000 deserted the French Army for what could loosely be described as political reasons. This year, to date, the number stands at over 3,000, with more taking to the *maquis* or choosing voluntary exile every week.

What does all this add up to? For so long we have witnessed the inertia of the French Left, the mealy-mouthed justifications for de Gaulle's "pacification" policy for Algeria by the social democrats, the ambivalent attitudes of the French Communist Party and the absolute absence of any co-ordinated opposition from any quarter. At a time when de Gaulle is trying to do a deal with the F.L.N. (incidentally recognising its existence for the first time), it seems that a new awareness is taking a gradual but firm hold, especially on the younger generation of concerned Frenchmen.

In the majority the exposure of the true facts about this incredibly stupid war manifests itself in a vague feeling of disquiet, but an important minority have irrevocably decided that vague feeling is not enough, and that action against the State and the forces of reaction must be undertaken if anything is going to be salvaged from the wreck of Franco-Algerian working class relations.

Jeune Résistance is an underground organisation conceived with the co-operation of young trade unionists, left Christians, communists, pacifists and others to combat timidity of the left and to assist all those who are willing to demonstrate their repugnance for the policies in Algeria by undertaking individual action. They hope that in time this individual refusal, as it assumes greater and more significant dimensions, will become the refusal of a whole generation of potential conscripts with the backing of the revolutionary left.

In the pamphlet *Jeune Résistance s'Explique* (Youth Resistance explains its position), which has secretly been distributed throughout France in barracks and among civilians, the facts of the war are stated quite baldly: "In six years the policy of 'pacification' has cost 20 million new francs a day; it has involved the participation of one and a half million young Frenchmen; it has sacrificed thirteen thousand of them according to de Gaulle himself".

The pamphlet continues: "The young people of France, because they have to fight the war, because they have had direct experience of fascism in the army while serving in Algeria, because they are conscious of the advent of dictatorship in France, have already had the necessary energy to promote a revolutionary movement of refusal. If they can learn how to organise, if they can bring over some of the elders to their side, they will progress from refusal to active resistance and will bring about a re-awakening among the people of France in general".

The situation in 1955 is recalled when young soldiers demonstrated at the Gare de Lyon in Paris, as they were boarding ship at Marseilles and in Algiers itself. At that time the left, after making many promises, broke them and left the rebels to their fate. That same betrayal cannot happen again, because on this occasion the youth of France will organise itself independently. "The time for resistance has come."

The aims of *Jeune Résistance* are as follows: "To be a platform for the French youth which opposes the war in Algeria and fascism; to spread the true facts of the war and the political situation in France as seen by young militants; to co-ordinate all forms of resistance, individual and collective; to organise the reception of resisters who manage to escape abroad".

The pamphlet ends with a plan of action: "Those of you who are returning from Algeria should publicise as widely as possible the real causes of the war, what it meant to you and why you have decided to oppose it. Particularly tell those who have not yet been called up.

"Those of you who are prospective conscripts should learn exactly what is going on in Algeria, what the methods employed by France are really like. You should realise the profound reasons for the Algerian revolt in order that you might have an objective appreciation of the reality of the situation, and that you might make up your minds with full knowledge of the facts when you receive your call-up papers.

"Those of you who are preparing to go abroad should realise that a mass resistance movement is the thing that most frightens the government and those who support militarism.

"Those of you who are in prison have a moral authority which you should not under-estimate. Write as much as possible and get your letters published. Try to establish contact with Algerian prisoners and French resisters.

"You who are in Algeria should take note of all you see and write home often to make known the realities of the Algerian War. Counteract brain-washing. Sabotage the distribution of military tracts and publications.

"Those of you who are abroad should utilise to the full your liberty and do not cut yourself off from your comrades. Establish contact with *Jeune Résistance* groups inside and outside France. Collaborate with *Jeune Résistance* publications and help to spread them. Write to parents, friends and newspapers; to left wing organisations and to youth movements. Find sympathisers, help new arrivals and inform everybody you meet of the situation in Algeria and about the activities of the youth resistance movement. Try to make them grasp the situation. Meet, whenever possible, Algerian emigrants in order to show them another side of the French character. Establish fraternal bonds now which can unite France and Free Algeria in the future".

It can be seen from this self-description that this potentially revolutionary movement has no clearly defined collective attitudes. Many criticisms have been levelled against it from pacifists and anarchist quarters, not to mention denunciations by *Humanité*, the organ of the French Communist Party. Some of these are obviously justified and it is a fact that one or two groups have collaborated to some extent with the F.L.N. In a nation-wide underground organisation with inefficient means of communication between members, a lack of unity is inevitable.

Nevertheless, this is the first time in six years that determined opposition against policies in Algeria has been organised from within Metropolitan France. These young men, although not quite clear where they are going, are willing to challenge the authority of the State and the pressures of rampant nationalism. By distributing their literature and seeking to undermine the morale of the army they run grave risks. They are calling for help outside France and surely deserve our sympathy and support.

S. T.

DEAR OLD PALS DEPT. At T. Wall & Sons, Acton, London, makers of ice cream and sausages, 270 men were in dispute with the firm over the employment of two non-unionists. Previously there had been a short unofficial strike over a question of overtime. When the strike over the non-unionists occurred, the firm called in the Transport and General Workers' Union and stated, on 4.7.60: "It was decided, with union support, to suspend 270 of the factory's staff".

In one London department of Express Dairy Co., Ltd., the firm have made a shop steward of strong Communist sympathies a foreman. With the approval of T. & G.W.U. officials he retains his other position as branch chairman. The bitter comedy is that foremen are expected to—and do—blackleg during strikes, even when they are called by the union.

DENMARK—Work stopped on 125 cargo ships in the port of Copenhagen on July 19, when the number of dockers involved in the strike for a rise of 15 kroner (about 16s.) a week which began on July 14 rose to 1,000. On June 20, 300 milk roundsmen struck for higher pay. Earlier in June 15,000 striking women from the Carlsberg and Tuborg breweries marched through Copenhagen in a demonstration against a 12s.-a-week rise being given to men only. Brewery workers at Aarhus and Elsinore joined the strike.

TRINIDAD—A strike of 10,000 oilfield workers employed by the Texaco and Shell companies ended on July 20 after a wage settlement.

INDIA—The port of Bombay was crippled on June 23 when a six-day strike of 400 workers of the port trust flotilla broke out over the suspension of a pilot boat's stoker for alleged sabotage. In Madras 15,000 workers in the British-owned Buckingham and Carnatic textile mills struck on July 15 to secure full implementation of a rise of 8 rupees (about 12s.) a month recommended by a wages board.

BRITAIN

SEAMEN HALT SHIPPING

AS is so often the case, the immediate cause of the seamen's strike which hit the shipping companies for over a fortnight at the height of the tourist season was apparently quite trivial, but had behind it deep grievances long endured with nothing worse than grouses. Touched off by the disciplining of four ratings who were fined a day's pay for disturbing passengers by playing skiffle music on an electric guitar while the Cunard liner *Carinthia* was steaming up the St. Lawrence at 1 o'clock in the morning, it developed into a vigorous protest not only against poor pay and conditions, but against the failure of an autocratic union bureaucracy to pursue their interests democratically, swiftly and effectively.

The 200 seamen who walked off the *Carinthia* on July 6 were soon joined by large sections of the crews of other ships berthed in Liverpool, including the Pacific Steam Navigation Company's *Reina del Mar*. About half of the catering, deck and engine-room crew of the Canadian Pacific *Empress of England* joined the strike on July 8.

A waterfront meeting of more than 600 strikers at Liverpool voted to stay out until their claim for a 44-hour week, instead of 48 hours, and a £4-a-month rise was met. (There has been no improvement in the wages or conditions of seamen since November, 1958.) They passed a resolution of no confidence in their union officials and decided to withhold their union dues. They were told that their unofficial strike committee was sending delegations to London, Glasgow, Southampton, and Cardiff to seek support from seamen there.

On July 10 the strike spread to the Clyde. Duncan Macdonald, West of Scotland organiser of the National Union of Seamen, was jeered by the 350 members of the crews of seven ships when he tried to persuade them to go back to work, and a spokesman for the strikers said that they were taking matters into their own hands because they had no confidence in their union.

Eventually 24 ports were seriously affected, including Belfast, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Goole, Grangemouth, Grimsby, the Hartlepoons, Holyhead, Hull, Leith, Liverpool, Manchester, Middlesbrough, North and South Shields, Poole, Port Talbot, Stranraer, Sunderland, and Swansea. London and Southampton were only slightly affected. Sailings to and from Ireland were brought to a standstill.

A splendid example of solidarity was shown by tugmen on the Clyde, every single one of whom was dismissed for refusing to move ships affected by the strike.

The feudal laws denying to seamen the rights won by other workers were invoked by two shipping companies. Under the Merchant Shipping Act (1894) Patrick Neary, chairman of the Liverpool strike committee, and William Edward Williams were served with court injunctions restraining them from inciting seamen employed by the Cunard Steamship Company from breaking their contracts. Under the same Act J. & J. Denholm Ltd., of Glasgow, said that they were prosecuting members of the crews of the *Dunkyle* and *Duncraig* who walked off their ships at Middlesbrough.

A return to work started on July 20 in Glasgow and Middlesbrough, and by the following day all the seamen had agreed to call off the strike.

It is noteworthy that the strike was directed as much against their own union as against the bosses. As is the way with union officials generally, the N.U.S. bureaucracy has always acted more as a shock-absorber protecting the bosses than as the spearhead of its members' interests, and from their call for radical reorganisation of union machinery, to give them a greater say in its affairs, it is clear that the seamen recognise this. Two of their demands—for shop stewards to be appointed on all ships and for a new rule that no union official may hold office for more than two years before returning to sea, thus destroying any vested interests in the holy rites of constitutional negotiation—are distinctly Syndicalist in flavour. But the seamen struck against their own union five years ago and, however militant they are, they will not shatter the complacency of their officials until they see that only in workers' control can there be any end to their frustrations.

The attitude of the union leaders was given in a B.B.C. interview by N.U.S. Secretary Sir Tom Yates. Their opposition to shop stewards, he said, was because such shipboard delegates would be removed from the centralised executive control of the union.

SINGAPORE—An attempt by the bosses to introduce scab labour at the Seremban Rubber Estates, where 750 workers have been on strike since March 27 over the sacking of 18 tappers, led on June 27 to a fight in which one tapper was killed.

U.S.A.—In mid-June a patrol aircraft towing a strike banner was used by 6,000 strikers at two Convair aircraft factories at San Diego, California, to discourage workers planning to cross the picket lines by helicopter.

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Rebels with a cause

JUST as the real significance of the swastika-daubings in West Germany lay not in the insignificant handful of Nazi imbeciles responsible for them, but in the influence of Nazi-worshippers in the Establishment itself, so in Italy the recent demonstrations against the fascists stripped bare the rotten foundations of Christian Democratic rule. Without a majority of their own and prevented by their right-wing members and the Roman Catholic hierarchy from effecting a centre-left coalition, the Christian Democrats have remained in power only by the grace of monarchist and fascist deputies and senators.

So contemptuous of the government which has been relying on its support is the M.S.I. (Italian Social Movement) that it scarcely bothers to conceal its fascist wolf's body with sheep's clothing, peddling the same trumpety wares of a corporate state and so on, and even using the same counterfeit slogans and salutes as its predecessor. And this despite the fact that the Fascist Party, under any guise, is banned by the Italian constitution.

The demonstrations began after the M.S.I. had announced that it would hold its sixth national congress in Genoa, under the honorary chairmanship of Signor Carlo Brasile, who as prefect of Genoa under Mussolini was directly responsible for the deportation of many workers to Germany. Condemned to death after the war, he was later amnestied. The workers of Genoa, renowned for its resistance record, came out in their thousands to demonstrate their abhorrence of fascism, "thus subverting", said a Cabinet statement, "the rules of democratic life". On June 30 a demonstration (described by the *Times* correspondent as "quite peaceful") of 10,000 anti-fascists, who had been laying wreaths at the memorial to resistance leaders killed by the fascists, was attacked by the police. Many demonstrators were wounded and 65 were arrested. A similar clash occurred in Turin, also renowned for its resistance record.

The fascists were forced to call off their congress, but retaliated by setting on fire the house of a Communist deputy and former resistance leader at Ravenna (where they left behind a poster saying: "Down with the Partisans. Long live fascism. We shall hold the Congress"), and perpetuating other terrorist acts, including the throwing of a bomb at a car driven by Carlo Levi, author of *Christ Stopped at Eboli*.

The strikes and demonstrations against the Government's collusion with the fascists spread to Rome (where some 600 arrests were made), Milan and elsewhere. In many places barricades were erected and street battles took place between anti-fascists and police. At Reggio Emilia, an industrial city in north Italy, five people were killed by police fire.

Meanwhile police violence in Sicily (where a series of local general strikes against Government neglect of grim economic conditions had begun on June 27) caused the deaths of 13 people. Mass demonstrations took place in Palermo, Catania and Licata, where a meeting of 15,000 people, practically the whole town, headed by the Christian Democratic mayor and aldermen, was broken up by the police. Two demonstrators were killed at Licata, one at Catania and ten in Palermo. Fifty of the 350 people arrested in Palermo were detained for trial, while 114 people were charged at Catania.

Needless to say, these great demonstrations of popular feeling were attributed by the Establishment and its supporters to the work of Communist agitators. But *Observer* correspondent Ninetta Tucker reports: "Many people had noticed that in Genoa and in Palermo, and even in Communist Reggio, the ringleaders among the demonstrators were very young men who belonged to no political party or trade union, still less to any partisan association, for they were too young to have taken part in the war. The Communist and Socialist leaders themselves are disturbed by the presence of so much unregimented youth, for they do not know how far they can rely on young people who refuse to accept trade union or party discipline but are ready to fight if they see cause". **DOV**

SYNDICALISM AND SHOP STEWARDS

SYNDICALISTS are often accused of wanting to form new industrial unions, out of turn, and even of wishing to wait until that event occurs before taking any action. A reading of British labour history during the past 70 years, by almost any author, will prove how false is this charge. We claim, certainly, that Syndicalist industrial unions offer a form of organisation superior to trades unionism and, when trade union branches are addressed on the subject, approval is almost unanimous. But when the workers, through lack of propaganda, do not understand or desire Syndicalism, it would serve them ill to form small, weak breakaway unions, where the existing unions or their members comprise the only defence of the working class, however inadequate that defence might be. Our watchword has always been Solidarity.

In fact, the only organisation ever to adopt a policy of forming micro-unions by artificial insemination is the Communist Party. During the late twenties and the thirties this policy was forced on the C.P. in Britain by Moscow, despite the doubts of Pollitt and others. In 1929, the United Garment Workers was formed as a breakaway from the Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union. The new union soon faded out.

Among seamen, the Minority Movement (a Communist front organisation) was making some progress, led by Fred Thompson, ex-dockers' organiser of the T. & G.W.U. In this case something could be said for a new union, as the Seamen's Union, under Havelock Wilson's rule, was little more than a company union. But the C.P. took control from the M.M. and on Tyneside, where the feeling against Wilson was most promising, declared a strike among Arab seamen in the most confused and clownish fashion, causing a riot between Whites and Asiatics and ensuring the still-birth of the well-planned Red Seamen's Union.

Mining in Scotland held out the best chance for the C.P. to form a red union and a breakaway from the Lanark and Fife Miners' Unions was started under the title of the United Mineworkers of Scotland (all breakaways are called "United"). Within a few years the total income of the red union was insufficient to pay the wages of the officials, as Willie Gallacher wrote, and the union quietly died. Nothing but ill came from these attempts of the politicians to form unions of their own. When new unions are needed, it must be the workers of the industry concerned who themselves form them.

Syndicalism, however, has had a great influence on the development of trade unionism. It is well, before going further, to point out that what historians call "the Syndicalist tendency", as distinct from the formal Syndicalist organisation, should include the old Socialist Labour Party, especially in Scotland, who preached a revolutionary industrial unionism which I have never been able to distinguish from Syndicalism, also the I.W.W. in Britain.

Men inspired by Syndicalist thought were constantly calling for one union for each industry, instead of the thousand-odd which existed 40 years ago. It is generally agreed that it was this propaganda which made possible most of the amalgamations on industrial lines for the greater co-operation of men of different unions in one factory or industry. This may seem natural and commonplace now, but 50 years ago it seemed impossible in the face of sectional prejudice.

The strike methods peculiar to Syndicalism, many originated by the once-Syndicalist French C.G.T., have been used by trade unionists, as well as Syndicalists, in this country, usually with great success. When writing the pamphlet "Trade Unionism or Syndicalism?" in 1941, I included a short list of Syndicalist strike weapons, none of which had been used in this country, except by Syndicalists. Now many are commonplace. The E.T.U. has tried them with success; busmen and railmen have since the war used the work-to-rule strike, previously used in Britain only by Syndicalist railmen in the North-East 40 years ago.

The practice of sympathetic industrial action, too, originated in Syndicalist propaganda. All this and much more is testified by writers of labour history of many shades of thought—capitalist, Socialist and even Communist. But perhaps the greatest fruit of this revolutionary tendency has been the shop steward and works committee movement.

The shop steward movement, as we know it, did not exist until shortly before the 1914 war. Shop stewards existed before that, but they were little more than card inspectors. It was the men of the Syndicalist tendency who changed that. Something to span the scores of unions in the engineering industry was needed and the new conception of a steward, and the works committee which soon followed, did just that, being a primary form of syndicate, embracing all sections, formed at the point of production and ready to combat the employing class on the spot.

With the outbreak of war the movement developed rapidly. Cloaked by patriotism the cost of living soared, wages were pegged,

hours ranged from 60 to 80 a week. Soon unofficial strikes broke out in the big industrial centres, principally the Clyde and the Tyne.

Alarmed, the Government called the union leaders to a conference in February, 1915, where all parties, except the miners, agreed to the abolition of the right to strike, to the dilution of skilled labour, to State fixing of wages and to "leaving certificates." Generally, in fact, to what the Webbs termed "virtually industrial conscription." With military conscription from 18 to 21 years, the effect was "the individual workmen realised that the penalty for failure of implied obedience to the foreman might be instant relegation to the trenches" (Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*). Said the *Herald* (later the *Daily Herald*) of July 17, 1915: "The trade union lamb has laid down with the capitalist lion."

To this State slavery there could be but one defence—rapid extension of the shop steward and shop committee movement, for the trade unions were completely on the employers' side. Strikes and the threat of strikes followed, winning wage increases, especially piece work rates, and controlling workshop conditions. The Government, faced by threats, introduced food control and, forced by the Clyde factory committees, controlled house rents, which were soaring.

After the war the movement was there to stay, but was confused and bedevilled by the development of the Russian Revolution, the formation of the Communist Party and the vast funds it obtained from abroad. The union bureaucrats, too, saw that the shop steward was not going to vanish, so they tried to control him. They are still trying. The employers, after a long resistance in some cases, accepted his presence in the factory and, in very many cases, tried to corrupt him.

Neither of these, however, were worse than the activity of the Communists, concerned not with the winning of a straightforward class battle of the worker, but with the interest solely of "The Party" and with carrying out the latest twist or turn of the Comintern.

Granting the premise that a class workshop organisation is necessary for the protection and extension of the workers' livelihood, it follows that a party concerned only with the welfare of "The Party" and its conquest of power can do only harm to the workers' cause. Its measure of success is its measure of mischief.

The record of the C.P. since its entry into industry is proof enough of this thesis—its thirst for power, its splitting of the workers' ranks, its slander of honest militants, the eagerness of its members to become formen with the necessary double-dealing that goes with that ambition, the calling of "political prestige strikers" and the calling of them off, the twists and turns of Holy Mother Russia's policy, now "down with the boss and strike everywhere" and next day "collaborate, form joint production committees, the striker is a traitor." All this has driven into apathy tens of thousands of good militants and confused and disillusioned millions.

It is true that there have been many Communist shop stewards who tried to be honest stewards and good party members at the same time, but these men are usually sorry creatures, trying to be two opposites at once and unhappy with both. A practising bigamist leads a simpler life. To add to their split personality agonies, "The Party" is likely to court martial them, suspend them or expel them. The men at Comintern headquarters had a proverb about the C.P.G.B.: "The good Communists are bad trade unionists and the good trade unionists are bad Communists."

A good, honest-to-goodness shop steward is worth his weight in gold to the workers' movement—literally if we were still paid in sovereigns—but his is just about the most difficult of all jobs, even without the extra snags thrown in his path by the bosses, the union officials and the politicians.

Yet the stewards suffer from one more difficulty. The present movement lacks the revolutionary thought, doctrine and training of the first wave. The present-day shop steward, when he tries to be consistent, feels very much alone. Ideas are social products, movements are social movements and men will seek to identify themselves with people of like tendency. Now where can our sincere steward look? Leaving out the movement of which I have written, there is nothing for him. Little wonder, then, that so many are fooled by the politicians, grow tired or, in the case of the weaker brethren, are tempted by the boss.

The originals had the benefit of a revolutionary idea and fire, they had training to hand, speaking, industrial history and the study of such works as Mary Marcy's "Shop Talks on Economics." This training made them superior to most of their opponents on the other side of the boss's desk.

They had a social aim, too, making them a movement in their own right, not an appendage of another movement. The Clyde Workers' Committee, the strongest union force in the country at that time, proclaimed this among its objects:—

to obtain an ever-increasing control over workshop conditions, to regulate the terms upon which workers shall be employed, and to organise the workers upon a class basis and to maintain the class struggle until the overthrow of the wages system, the freedom of the workers and the establishment of industrial democracy have been attained."

In the wilder parts of the Lone Star State, Texans used to tell me that when they said "a man" they meant a man and his horse, for a man without a horse was only half a man. A shop steward without a social philosophy in tune with his workshop functions is only half a steward.

That brings me to what Allan Flanders of Oxford University terms "the popular Syndicalist slogan 'Workers' Control'." The desire to alter the Labour Party's "Clause 4" was based on an estimate of the discontent with nationalisation. The rebound which put it back is a sign that social ownership is looked on as a solution of the social problem. But socialisation cannot be reconciled to State control. If the sincere rank and file of the Labour Party and trade unions would look back to the early shop stewards movement, then look forward, their honesty and idealism would find a practical mechanism, in Workers' Control, for the realisation of the social ownership and democratic control of the means of production. They would see, too, that the fashioning of the mechanism begins now, at the coal face, the bench and the lathe.

TOM BROWN

Postbag

CALLING OUR SCOTTISH READERS

THE RECENT lack of revolutionary activity on the industrial field in Scotland points to the urgent need for militants to get together and form a grouping devoted to aiding the formation of an unofficial movement, alongside, but independent of the reformist trade unions.

First, however, clarity is needed about the reformist nature of activity aimed at the seizure of political power. It has been argued that economic conditions are the determining factor in shaping men's minds, that economic classes being the result of how men "earned" their living, then their code of conduct was shaped by how they had maintained themselves. In the light of this contention, different classes, by virtue of their economic position, had differing ethical views. Consequently a modern working class, with organisations reflecting its own ideas of "justice", would be impossible in a society with undeveloped industry.

It is argued, further, that before the rise of the modern industrial capitalist class, many human beings owned and worked on their own pieces of land and were unsocial in the sense that they were concerned solely with their own particular interests. This outlook could be changed only by modern industrial development, with competition for the sale of commodities putting some of these people out of business and forcing them to sell their labour power and swell the ranks of the property-less class—so aiding the advance of new conditions, in harmony with the view of justice held by that class.

The conclusion is that, should industry not be highly developed and the property-less class not predominant, then such a class may have to seize political power and impose their views on those who, through lack of understanding, may be disinclined to accept a new way of thinking.

Without going into the merits or demerits of this argument, the viewpoint has now been cancelled out by the advance of technology and science, since the bulk of the people are now unquestionably those who sell their labour power. There is, then, no need for seizure of political power by the working class, who form by far the majority of the population. According to Engels, Parliament could be used as a barometer to gauge working class feeling, but the bosses are not blind and, being able to read this barometer, would obviously act to suit themselves when the political weather was stormy. Contemporary history, as in British Guiana, illustrates this.

Modern development, then, negates many of the theoretical differences in the working class movement—or rather provides the basis for removing past differences.

Those who accept the logic of this position, that organisation on the economic and industrial field is the imperative need for revolutionary activity, are asked to contact:—

R. Lynn,
22, Ross Street,
Glasgow, S.E.,

with a view to forming a propaganda group aimed at helping the formation of the type of industrial organisation outlined in the first paragraph.

R. L.

Glasgow

AN ARTICLE "Where is the Left?" in *The Observer* (29.5.60) by Liberal Party leader Jo Grimond, following up his earlier suggestion of a possible bridge between Socialist and Liberal ideas in industry by some form of Syndicalism, said: "There is a case for controlling some industries or firms in other ways than under private enterprise . . . it may be valuable to have certain undertakings developed on a modern form of Syndicalism, control being largely kept to their management and workers."

This typically tepid Liberal mildness does, however, seem to show some signs of sanity. Recently in *Freedom*, C.W. wrote: "Our ideas postulate workers' control of industry, but industry . . . is vastly more complex technically and organisationally than it was when Anarcho-syndicalist theories were first formulated. Apart from being a nice idea, is workers' control remotely possible in an advanced industrial society?" Surely this is a time for Syndicalists to let the Liberals know they are talking of an idea of revolutionary implications. Here we have an opportunity to let our ideas be known. Syndicalism is a topic ripe for discussion among the young radicals of the New Left and New Orbits groups.

Now is the time to bring our theories up to date and perhaps one avenue would be the use of social strikes in this country. Workers refusing to touch "black" goods, which are found to be frauds by such bodies as the Consumers' Association, or by encouraging the growing movement against Apartheid by "blackening" South African goods; but above all by refusing to help in any way the development of nuclear missile bases in this country, by refusing to take food or materials to these sites.

R. J. W.

London, E.10.

WISH I could send you a bigger sub, but am living on the "glorious" O.A.P.

K. B.

Southall, Middx.

WHILE reading "Order Without Law" in the July-August W.L.N., I was reminded of passages in Melvin Lasky's excellent "Hungarian Revolution". One is a quotation from Leslie Bain, *The Reporter* (New York):—

"Wherever the rebels were students and workers, there was not a single case of looting. Shop windows without glass were filled with desirable goods, yet nothing was touched. An incident I saw will illustrate this. Windows from a candy store and an adjacent flower shop were smashed and the sidewalk was littered with candy boxes. All these were replaced in the glassless windows, but the flowers strewn about were gathered and placed on the bodies of dead rebels."

Another newsman saw a large box placed in a main street to take a collection for the families of the fallen. To his amazement, the box was quite open and people poured their treasure into it. The box was unguarded.

T. S.

London, W.1.

THE OTHER DAY on the Hoe, a naked, beautifully-shaped boy, full of energy and joy, ran down the stone steps to fling stones at the white crests of the waves. His was the free, spontaneous act of one without care. It was delightful to see him. In a few years' time, will he be a square peg in a round hole, or sold by Macmillan or Gaitskell to America as expendable matter? Trotsky had a doctrine of "permanent revolution". We should have a doctrine of permanent rebellion.

J. M.

Plymouth, Devon.

THANK YOU very much for the first three editions of World Labour News. I found them extremely interesting and wish to continue receiving them. I wish you success.

A. G.

Steubenville, Ohio

Bantutopia

ON JUNE 14 two Africans were sentenced to 21 months' hard labour and 17 others to 18 months' jail and a flogging of six strokes. They were present at a meeting of Africans in Pondoland a week earlier when police fired on them, killing 6 and wounding 13. One spokesman for the Pondo tribesmen said: "Those who died at Ngqusa Hill had not raised an arm. . . . I want to know if nowadays people are numbered like beads in the eyes of the Government". Another declared: "We were killed like dogs, like pigs trespassing in mealie lands. We might as well be dead as alive".

Pondoland is part of the Transkei Territories, where the Nationalists are conferring upon a million Africans the first gift under their Bantustan policy. Riots have been flaring up all over Pondoland against the headman stooges appointed to administer it. "We do not want the Bantu authorities," a Pondo spokesman declared. "Take the paramount chief and his supporters away."

BOLIVIA.—A six-day strike by 3,400 workers at the nationalised Colquiri tin mine ended on June 18 after the payment of wages overdue from the second half of May.

BRITAIN

MERSEY MEN ISOLATED

LIVERPOOL. Once again port workers on Merseyside have given a demonstration of their militancy with a strike that brought work on the river to a standstill. Unfortunately, the lack of response to appeals for support from other ports brought defeat and a return to work after little more than a week.

The struggle started with the unanimous decision of 600 Liverpool men, at a meeting called by the Merseyside Port Workers' Committee, on June 19 to ban overtime, cut out night work, work to rule and observe all safety regulations in support of a campaign for improved pay and working conditions and against the victimisation of committee secretary, A. McKechnie, who had received seven days' notice for going early to breakfast.

P. J. O'Hare, district secretary of the T. & G.W.U., commented: "These people are quite unofficial . . . my advice to all dockers is to take notice of this decision." His unwanted advice was disregarded. On June 20, the dispute grew to a full-scale strike, when 600 men refused to sign on for the night shift, forfeiting their attendance-proved stamps, which entitled them to fallback pay. The following morning, more than 2,000 men struck in sympathy and a lunchtime march along the line of docks from the pierhead to Gladstone brought out thousands more. In the afternoon, only two undermanned ships out of 43 were being worked on this section of the river.

Full support for the strike was pledged by the blue-ticket union, the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, which had been expelled from the T.U.C. for alleged "poaching" from the T. & G.W.U. Area secretary Bill Johnson called mass meetings to explain the situation fully to his members.

On June 22, the employers said the 8,885 strikers at Liverpool had been joined by 1,534 at Birkenhead on the south bank of the river. By then 75 ships were idle at Liverpool; 12 at Birkenhead. Alderman O'Hare issued another back-to-work appeal, with the same barren result, and an afternoon mass meeting of strikers voted to send a six-man delegation to London on June 24, to lobby delegates at the national delegate conference of the T. & G.W.U. on pay, conditions and pensions.

By June 26, the number on strike had grown to 10,775. On June 27 the movement spread to Garston, Bromborough and Manchester, but appeals for support at Hull and London were turned down. At the Manchester meeting, T. & G.W.U. official F. W. Briden was refused a hearing when he made the usual back-to-work plea. In London, a mass meeting of port workers agreed to "black" cargoes diverted from Merseyside, but rejected an appeal for sympathetic action, pending the resumption of wage negotiations on a national level in July. This decision was instrumental in persuading the Manchester men to resume work. Said Manchester committee chairman D. Walsh: "If we come out we want it to be a national strike, and we can't have that without London." At Garston, too, there was a trickle back to work, but the Liverpool figure of strikers was steady at 11,678.

On June 29, a meeting of more than 5,000 strikers at Liverpool's pierhead voted to end their struggle, in view of the lack of support from other ports.

The result of this failure to nationalise the strike means a temporary defeat for the port workers—and will encourage the port employers to be far more unyielding in their resistance to claims for a substantial wage increase and the 40-hour week than they would have been in face of united direct action.

Speaking on behalf of the employing class, *The Times* (29.6.60) summed up: "The failure of the Liverpool strikers to gain support in the other ports, if it continues, is encouraging."

IRELAND

Direct action in ports

DUBLIN. Centre of the industrial struggle this month is the ports. On Monday, July 4, 176 clerks employed by the British and Irish Steam Packet Co. (an Anglo-Irish concern) went on strike in support of a wage increase demand aimed at making yearly rates £275 for clerks of 18, up to £1,000 for clerks of 40. On the following Thursday the clerks refused to accept an increase of 7½% and continued the struggle.

On the previous Saturday, the dockers employed by Burns and Lairds Ltd. stopped work after one of their colleagues had been dismissed. This strike continues at time of writing, despite disapproval from the Union, which has taken disciplinary action against some of the dockers. The walk-out by seamen in support of their claim for a 44-hour week and £1 increase finally crippled shipping in Dublin. These strikes demonstrate the tremendous vitality of workers when they decide to make a stand.

"When will these silly people get sense?" groaned the leading article of our so-called liberal daily press. Suddenly the exploiters and distortionists were filled with concern for the safe return of holiday-makers. These are the same people who add a little percentage to their goods in the summer months to fleece the holiday-makers about whom they now worry.

Following the dismissal of a bus conductor by the management of the Ulster Transport Authority in Belfast on Friday, July 22, the bus workers struck the next morning. The reason given for his dismissal was that he had used bad language to a woman passenger. This solidarity action of Belfast busmen shows that, by fighting the arbitrary action of the Transport Authority, they understand an injury to one is an injury to all.

We have heard a lot about Catholic education in relation to juvenile delinquency—how the rising figures of teen-age crime are due to the lack of this "education", etc. A recent report in the Dublin press casts an amusing sidelight on the effects of this teaching on children's minds. Some juveniles broke into a large mansion house, smashing up furniture, antiques, pictures of ancestral tyrants and everything else they could lay their hands on. The only things left intact were—the holy pictures.

D. P.

IRELAND.—A Jehovah's Witness who was set upon and beaten by two Roman Catholic priests and a layman while distributing literature in Wexford was told by a District Justice that Jehovah's Witnesses were engaged in a calculated and dangerous conspiracy against the peace of the country.

SOUTH AFRICA

The boycott hurts

DESPITE the sneers with which opponents of the world-wide campaign to boycott South African goods tried to minimise its possible effects, a steady stream of press reports of falling foreign exchange reserves and bellyaching industrialists shows that it is hitting the white masters where it hurts.

Since the Sharpeville massacre, South Africa's reserves have fallen by over £40 million. A spokesman for the Exporters' Association of South Africa admitted that manufacturers were exporting goods without the "Made in South Africa" label following the boycott of South African goods by about 20 countries in protest against apartheid. In the independent countries of Africa, the boycott is virtually complete, and they have also agreed to ban South African ships and aircraft from their territory. The Government of Malaya has instituted an official boycott, despite the idiotic notion of Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman that South Africa's 11 million non-whites would be content with ten representatives in Parliament. Most effectively, Trinidad stevedores refused to handle South African cargoes, causing twelve South African companies to finance a mission to convert them to the virtues of good trade relations.

On July 20, a delegation led by Leslie Lulofs, President of the Federated Chamber of Industries, called upon the Department of Commerce in Pretoria to demand that the Government should pay for losses caused to industrialists by the boycott. At the annual meeting of the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg on June 27 the retiring President, Dr. Bussachau, said: "We are much concerned at the fall in capital value of mining shares, and at the extreme difficulty now of raising new capital, especially overseas".

An example of this fall was quoted by the chairman of the huge Anglo-Transvaal Mining and Industrial Group, who told shareholders on June 28 that market values of the company's quoted investments had fallen from £10,200,000 to £7,200,000 since the beginning of the year. In the first 4½ months of 1960 South African share values plummeted by about £625 million, largely through overseas selling, provoking the president of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to comment: "South Africans, whatever their private political opinions may be, must realise that if prevailing policies continue irreparable damage could be done to the Union's economy".

Harry Oppenheimer, who reported to shareholders of De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited that the market value of their investments had fallen by 18.7 per cent, from over £55 million to under £45 million, in the first quarter of 1960, expressed very well the political views of a typical South African industrialist in a speech at Pretoria in June, 1957. He said that investors recognised that there should be white leadership in South Africa and the security this brought, whereas the Nationalists were doing everything to create an explosive racial situation which would destroy that leadership, not sacrifice it to a pedantic, harsh, racial ideology. Its policy was one of social and residential separation, but the non-European must be given a sense of permanency and security. He said that they wanted to build up a property-owning class of non-Europeans who would make a real contribution to native psychology in combating Communism and other bad influences.

For a few lucky law-abiding Africans, we offer—the kiss of the capitalist leper.