

UNION MEN TO BE TRIED

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Direct Action

SYNDICALIST WORKERS FEDERATION
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

DOCKLAND IN THE SHADOWS

Threat to labour scheme

The tragic shadow of mass unemployment, that hangs heavily over dockland, is receiving added solidity as the result of protracted negotiations now in progress between the Ministry of Labour, the port employers and the National Dock Labour Board.

The Minister of Labour, Sir Walter Monckton, has refused to disclose the nature of these negotiations, and has told the House of Commons, "I have no statement to make about my meeting with the National Dock Labour Board, the purpose of which was to exchange information."

REAL PURPOSE

Portworkers throughout the country, however, know the purpose of these "exchanges of information." The employers, faced with the provision of a "fall-back" wage of £4 8s. 0d. a week for under-employed portworkers, are demanding the total abolition of the entire Dock Labour Scheme.

A month ago the levy paid by the employers to maintain the scheme, was 16 per cent over and above the net wages bill. Today the levy is 21 per cent and amounts to £70,000 a week.

The cost to the employers is, however, in no way comparable to the real hardships which the portworkers concerned are suffering. Of 80,000 men involved in the Dock Labour Scheme, an average of 16,000 a day are without work.

In the port of London, nearly 8,000 men are "bumping-on" each day. At Liverpool, 6,000 of the port's 17,500 dockers, stevedores and lightermen are idle. The "fall-back" wage is being paid to 1,000 of Hull's 4,000 portworkers; while 600 out of Glasgow's 3,000 men are unemployed.

Even worse, from the portworkers' viewpoint, the actual composition of the daily 16,000 unemployed is constantly changing, and nearly twice that number are working only part of the week, earning a sum equivalent, but not in addition, to the "fall-back" wage.

UNNECESSARY RULE

An extra burden for these men is the bureaucratic regulations of the National Dock Labour Board. One rule, for example, requires men to attend the call stands twice a day—even when there is not the remotest possibility of further work—or face suspension. If they have already earned a sum equivalent to the minimum, not one extra penny is paid for these attendances.

From the "fall-back" wage, portworkers must pay their normal 5s. 9d. National Insurance contribution, leaving £4 2s. 3d. to meet all other expenses. These include fares to the docks, a midday meal while waiting the second call and additional money for innumerable cups of tea to while away the wasted hours.

Proposals advocated by the Communist dominated London Portworkers' Defence Committee, on the other hand, do nothing either to clarify the issues involved or to provide a sound working policy to tackle the present disastrous situation. Their first proposal is a purely political one, calculated to further the interests of Communist Party policy: "More trade with Eastern Europe."

The committee's second demand is for the raising of the "fall-back" wage to £6 a week. Since any attempt

to implement such a claim would necessitate a revision of existing agreements with the National Dock Labour Board, portworkers correctly regard this proposal as demagoguery of a highly dangerous character.

With unemployment affecting two out of every five dockers, any fresh agreement negotiated by the trade unions with the board would tend to worsen rather than better conditions. At this stage it is a victory even to maintain the present agreement, and prevent the employers carrying into operation their plans for destroying the very basis of the entire Dock Labour Scheme.

Portworkers fully appreciate that, while there is little prospect of additional work for the general cargo ports of London and Liverpool in the immediate future, the position will tend, as the result of the younger men leaving the industry, to become less acute.

The employers, needless to say, have set their face against such a partial solution to the problem. They would prefer to throw on to the scrap heap of labour the older men, who would find it almost impossible to obtain alternative employment. Portworkers are, of course, united in their determination to defend their older brothers.

NEED FOR ACTION

A more practical, though partial, solution, from the workers' point of view, would have been the introduction of a 40-hour-week on the basis of a 44-hour-week's earnings, together with a sliding scale of hours agreement to meet potential future redundancy.

Unfortunately, the only conceivable method of gaining such an objective is by the very type of industrial direct action which, for the portworkers, is now out of the question.

It is to be hoped that workers in other industries will take note of the experiences of the portworkers, and take action to secure the 40-hour week and the sliding scale agreement before the full blast of the partial trade depression knocks at their door. Obviously a job for Syndicalist action—and organisation.

Peron imprisons portworkers

WIDESPREAD publicity, on the radio and in the Press of neighbouring Uruguay, has led to a slight improvement in the position of the imprisoned and tortured portworkers of Buenos Aires, members of the Argentine Regional Workers' Federation, section of the I.W.M.A.

They are now in the National Penitentiary of the Argentine capital, but the tortures have ceased.

CAMPAIGN OF PROTEST

An energetic campaign in favour of their release is taking place throughout Argentina, despite the repressive measures of Peron's police. During an intensive distribution of leaflets, denouncing the police methods, a plumber and four dockers were arrested. The four dockers were released after several hours' detention.

Dockers of Britain, show your solidarity with your brothers of Buenos Aires by refusing to handle Argentine boats until your brothers in Buenos Aires are freed!

Unesco admits Spanish fascists as Franco prepares death sentences

THE DECISION by the recent UNESCO assembly to admit representation of a fascist State has produced widespread indignation and protest by men of liberal and humanist ideas, shocked at the negation by so-called democratic States of what they have previously proclaimed about fascism. We can at least rejoice that there still exists a spirit of revolt at the harlotry signified by this aid to a foul dictatorship, hatched by Hitler and Mussolini, of whom Franco is the heir.

This UNESCO decision should not, however, cause surprise, as it was inevitable from the time UNO voted diplomatic recognition of the Spanish fascist regime. Such recognition itself implied a moral about-face by the great majority of the powers represented in that international organism, born in the heat of the victory over the Nazi-fascist States.

From that moment, only four years after the end of a war in which Franco's State had discreetly taken part on the side of the Axis, Spanish fascism has been loaded with rewards for its jibes and jeers against democracy.

These four said NO

Pablo Casals, world-famous Spanish 'cellist in exile, has resigned from the music section of UNESCO in protest against the admission of Franco Spain.

M. Marcel Florin, Belgian delegate, also announced his resignation following the pro-Franco vote.

Others to take the same action include French author Albert Camus and Spanish exile philosopher Salvador de Madariaga.

Although not openly represented at UNO, Franco has been able to build up his world trade (thus finding the means to lessen his economic problems), he has renewed diplomatic relations with his "enemies", and has received most effective support from American "democracy".

And when fascism is recognised and aided economically in such high political spheres, what does it matter that it is not directly represented at UNO?

The wartime propaganda of the Western States against their rivals was just a tactical convenience to keep their peoples war-minded. It lacked any social basis or moral compromise.

This propaganda proclaimed that the "Democracies" would fight on until the final elimination of the last vestiges of nazism and fascism, and until freedom was secured for the oppressed peoples. Nothing could have been more false.

In practice it was the moral aspect of nazism and fascism that concerned the democratic States least. Within their own frontiers the systems of Hitler and Mussolini could have continued for a thousand years without let or hindrance: only when these regimes—which the democracies had recognised and aided—began to initiate their expansionist plans, and other States found their own interests endangered and world hegemony at stake, was it found necessary to announce that fascism was socially degenerate and had to be wiped out for the future health of civilisation.

Even while they condemned—correctly, certainly—the crimes of the Italian and German dictatorships, however, they exalted the "Glorious Soviet", a totalitarianism no less cruel and vile, of which they now have such a different story to tell.

Once the political power of Mussolini and Hitler was destroyed, the enemies of yesterday became the good collaborators of today—no matter if they were fascists, that was of secondary importance if they could be put to some use.

As long as the fascist regime under which the Spanish people suffer limits itself to carrying out its slave policies inside Spain, and restricts itself to imprisoning or murdering Spaniards—a question without importance when one does not feel another's pain—Franco will continue to be considered a "Christian Gentleman", a Crusader against Communism, and with the right to every assistance.

Phalangism, militarism and the "Holy Catholic Church" are now represented in UNESCO, to the greater glory of education and culture: One can only hope the "educational" and "cultural" methods of phalangism are not taken as a model. (Continued on page 4, col. 3)



FRANCO

The Fascist dictator of Spain whose crumbling regime is now being boosted by the 'democratic' western powers

No supplies for this black firm

THE STRUGGLE of the workers at Rival Lamps factory, Weybridge, reported in our last issue, continues. It has now been in progress more than seven months, and the 81 union members (77 women and four men) are determined to hold out until the following terms are accepted by the company:

1. The Company honours the Agreement they signed with the Trade Unions (A.E.U. & E.T.U.) on April 30, 1952.

2. That the Company will rescind all notices of discharge.

We have received two letters from the Strike Committee since our last issue. In the first, the Secretary writes:

"The dispute has been a long drawn-out struggle for trade union principles in this establishment. We have had the co-operation of many trade union organisations throughout the country. G.E.C. works at Wembley, on September 26, 1952, sent the following resolution to their management:

"Mr. Britton: In the matter of the dispute at Rival Lamps, we the organised workers of No. 11 Factory regret that we find it necessary in order to defend Trade Union conditions to refrain from handling orders from this firm whilst the dispute is in being."

"This resolution should bring about the early conclusion of the dispute as G.E.C. are the only suppliers of tungsten wire needed for the production of lamps."

No more gas

The second letter, dated November 11, reads:

"We would like to extend our thanks to you for the printing of statements re Rival Lamps Dispute. I have enclosed an appeal sheet which is the latest statement. Further to this we have obtained the full support of the B.O.C. at Wembley, to the effect that all supplies of gases to Rival Lamps have been stopped. When it is ascertained what effect the stopping of gas and wire has at the factory, consideration will be given to approaching the Labour Conciliation Officer re talks."

Meanwhile, to help bring the dispute to a successful conclusion, the courageous strikers of Rival Lamps need continued financial support. Donations should be sent to Rival Lamps Strike Committee, 71 Byron-road, Addlestone, Surrey.

AFRICAN WORKERS FIGHT COLOUR BAR

Attention is focused on Africa to a degree, and in a manner, unknown since the establishment of colonialism on that continent of 80 million inhabitants. The old generation of African Chiefs and Elders, who saw the path of progress for their people along the road of petitions to the throne, has disappeared. In its place has risen a generation of men and women who are beginning to appreciate the necessity of direct and concerted action.

In the Union of South Africa, co-operation is, for the first time, taking place between the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress in their common struggle against the economic and social colour bar.

Since the beginning of the passive resistance campaign, directed by the two organisations against the Malan racial segregation laws, 7,546 Bantu and Indian workers have been arrested for deliberately breaking those laws.

These arrests have not only placed a terrific strain on the capacity of South African prisons; they have created a realisation, among white South Africans, of the tremendous potential fighting capacities of the African workers.

The South African Government of Dr. Malan recently hit back at the African workers in the most barbaric manner conceivable. At East London, Cape Province, police broke up an African meeting, which was about to begin, with baton charges. Some small boys, however, started to throw stones at the police, who replied with rifle fire.

Official figures put the casualties at seven killed. Unofficial calculations, which have in the past proved more reliable, bring the number of dead up to 80, and the number of injured to 100.

At Kimberley, thirteen Africans—including two women—were killed in similar police massacres. At Port Elizabeth and in Johannesburg police have opened fire on the least pretext, with the same deadly results.

All accounts of these "riots," as they are officially described, speak of "heavy and indiscriminate firing" by the police and of African workers shot, not only in the streets but in their own homes, hours after they had been cleared off the streets.

The reason for these police atrocities is not hard to find. Speaking at Klipkoppies on November 1, Mr. C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice and an old admirer of Hitler, said, "We will not play with them, (the Africans). My instructions to the police are that they should act and act drastically. As Minister of Justice I will support them."

Mr. Swart did support the police in their shooting expeditions. Referring to the two whites killed in the massacre, the "Observer" of November 16 writes, "One inescapable fact remains; in every case where Europeans were murdered, Africans had first been killed by the police."

(Continued on page 3, col. 3)

In U.S., too...

Mack Ingram, 45-year-old Negro, was convicted by an all-white jury at Yanceyville, N. Carolina, on November 11, of having assaulted a young white girl by "leering" at her from a distance of 60 feet.

Ingram, father of nine children, was given a six-month suspended sentence and put on probation for five years.

NO TIME TO LOSE

If outstanding wage claims are to be won by workers

The recent flat rejection, by an arbitration tribunal, of the mine-workers 30s. a week wage claim reflects the critical situation with which the working class of this country is faced.

Not since pre-war years have the employers thrown aside so contemptuously a pay demand by a major sector of the industrial workers.

The very fact that the employers have thought it possible to behave in this high-handed manner, combined with the acceptance of the decision by the executive of the National Union of Mineworkers, provides cause for anxiety among all class-conscious workers.

Added gravity is given to the situation by the fact that this rejection is not an isolated incident. Only a week before, the engineers' £2-a-week claim was finally whittled down to 7s. 4d. a week, later raised to 7s. 6d., and accepted by the executives of the engineering unions "under protest".

Lock-out discussed

Throughout the negotiations the employers had refused to consider any increase of wages at all. In a questionnaire sent by the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation to their members, the possibility of a lock-out was seriously discussed.

Individual employers were asked if they were prepared to resist a wage increase even if that resulted in a dispute, and whether they were prepared to call a lock-out in answer

to any ban on overtime and piece-work. A large majority of the employers answered with a definite "Yes".

The final agreement was largely due to the intervention of the Tory Government who, to prevent "bad blood" being created in a defence industry, forced the employers to come to an agreement.

This "let-us-have-a-showdown" attitude was adopted by employers in an industry that could well afford to pay. In 1948 it was calculated, by the Amalgamated Engineering Union, that every worker in the industry produced an average of £205 a year for the bosses.

Since then gross profits have risen by over 100 per cent, and many engineering firms, in order to evade taxes on distributed dividends, are being compelled to resort to "bonus share issues".

Turned down

In nine months from July, 1950 58 large "Federated" engineering concerns paid out "bonus share issues", over and above their normal high dividends, ranging from 5 per cent plus 100 per cent to 300 per cent.

In the case of a firm paying a 300 per cent bonus share plus a normal 30 per cent dividend, a shareholder would receive in one year £3 6s. 0d. for every £1 share held and pay tax at 9s. 6d. in the pound only on the odd 6s.

In other sectors of industry a similar hardening in the opposition of the employers to wage increases is taking

place. Since January a large number of workers have had pay claims turned down by the employers, or rejected by arbitration tribunals.

They include contingency pay of 1s. 6d. a day for London lightermen, introduction of the equal pay principle for Civil Servants, 6d. an hour for clothing workers, £1 a week for firemen, and varying amounts for local government employees, electrical contracting workers, private bus company employees and others in secondary industries.

Profits soar

The individual employers and limited companies have had their increases. While wages and salaries increased from £6,990,000,000 in 1950 to £7,735,000,000 in 1951—an increase of only 10 per cent—profits increased from £1,576,000,000 in 1950 to £1,992,000,000 in 1951—an increase of 27 per cent.

Even more significant is the fact that, while wages and salaries increased from £4,925,000,000 in 1946 to £7,735,000,000 in 1951—an increase of only 57 per cent—trading profits of companies during the same period increased from £1,155,000,000 to £1,992,000,000—an increase of 72 per cent.

Even these figures do not fully represent the increases in profits. Since 1946 coal, gas, electricity, transport and iron and steel have been taken over by the State and figures for these industries are published separately.

Yet despite the fact that industries accounting for £100,000,000 a year have been removed from the private sector of the economy, private profits still amount to 72 per cent more in 1951 than in 1946.

These figures show that, if the criterion is the ability of individual employers and companies to pay wage increases out of their profits, then they can well afford to do so.

But if the criterion is the ability of the capitalist class, as a whole, to pay wage increases and at the same time engage in overseas competition, then certainly they cannot afford to grant a single penny.

At expense of wages

The economic basis of the capitalist system requires a relatively high rate of profit and a constantly expanding volume of profit, for where profit declines capital is taken away.

Where economies have to be made—to reduce prices in overseas trade for instance—then these must be made at the expense of wages. That is the basic tenet of the capitalist system.

It has been argued, in reputable journals of the employing class, by writers who should know better, that wages have increased to an extent that makes a future reduction in real wages inevitable.

The facts are that, until 1951, wages had been fluctuating around 40 per cent since 1938, but when figures are available for 1952 it is expected that they will show that the percentage of the national income taken up by wages is on the decline.

The standstill in wages at a time when prices are continually rising is equivalent to a cut in real wages.

The other major aspect of the present situation, where the employers consider themselves strong enough to reject wage demands out of hand, is the attitude of the union leaders.

Their policy over the past twelve years has been to present wage claims on behalf of their members, allow the claims to be whittled down to perhaps a third of the original claim, and then return to the members with cries of a major victory.

For every penny

That period is now at an end. From now on there will be no easy-to-get small wage increases. Every penny increase will have to be fought for—seriously.

Even to maintain present nominal wages, quite apart from real wages, is going to require ability to fight by workers—and a lack of sabotage by union leaders.

In the present twilight period, between the "easy" claims of the past and the hard fights of the future, this or that concession may be possible, but the period is going to be very short.

Workers must use this period to re-orientate their movement to the problems that lie ahead and to build a real fighting machine in place of the present gadgets of compromise.

FRANK ROWE

BY GERMAN

PAGES FROM LABOUR HISTORY PART TWO

BLOODY SUNDAY AND 'MOB' MONDAY

by GEORGE CORES

In the Socialist League was John Turner, a grocery shop manager, with two or three other Anarchistic shop assistants, he started the first National Shop Assistants' Union which, after some years of existence, was merged into a larger body, of which John Turner became a paid organiser and, finally, General Secretary.

I remember Turner debating in favour of "Anarchist Socialism" against Herbert Burroughs of the S.D.F., in the Patriotic Club on Clerkenwell Green. How enthusiastic he and a group of us young ones were! Of course, in our view, Turner had the best of the argument.

Our enthusiasm, I hold even now, optimistic though it was, was justifiable. Everywhere, in this country and throughout the world, a great awakening of the peoples on social and economic problems was taking place. Politically, only France and Switzerland, in Europe, were republics. Centuries-old monarchies began to fall, and have been tottering ever since.

But to return to the movement itself. The great agitation which was carried on (it should always be borne in mind that it was of a voluntary character; no State department anywhere pioneered in such efforts) led to some startling developments, in which the Anarchist Socialists took their full part.

There was the "New Unionism" which organised the "unskilled" workers into large bodies, like the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union. Incidentally, they were the first to win an eight-hour working day by strike action, instead of waiting for it, as part of the S.D.F. programme, to be brought about by Act of Parliament.

He organised carmen

One of our people, a member of the Socialist League and an Anarchist, was Ted Leggett, a man with a powerful voice, who became an organiser of the Carmen's Union. A very effective speaker to the carmen.

Another kind of man, and a valuable worker, was William Wess, only recently (1946) passed away, aged 84. He formed, and served as secretary, etc., to a number of workers' unions in the East End of London. He belonged to the Socialist League, and also to the "Freedom Group" when Kropotkin came to this country.

The Socialist workers' movement opposed "red herrings" such as Emigration and Sugar Bounties. This led to the first great sensation of the movement in modern times. The paid anti-Sugar Bounty agitators at Barking took advantage of the general Socialist activity on the unemployed question by calling a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on February 8, 1886.

The S.D.F. organised active opposition, and when the Anti-Sugar Bounty appeared, an enormous hostile crowd, who had been listening to John Burns

and other speakers, violently attacked them, smashed their platform, and marched through Pall Mall and Piccadilly to Hyde Park, rioting and looting shops and rich people's carriages on the way.

One of the orators on "Mob Monday" was a well-known navy, Andrew Hall, a somewhat theatrical speaker, throwing off his cap, jacket and muffler as a preliminary to his oration. He joined with the Socialist League workers.

John Burns, Hyndman, H. H. Champion and Jack Williams were prosecuted at the Old Bailey, for alleged responsibility for the rioting, and they narrowly escaped conviction.

But daily unemployed meetings continued in the Square. The young men speakers displayed wonderful rhetorical capabilities. Amongst them were Jim and Jack Allman, of the Socialist League.

The police force was re-organised on a semi-military basis, under the command of General Sir Charles Warren, who served in the war against the natives of South Africa. The unemployed were finally forbidden the use of the Square, which was closed to all public demonstrations.

This action by the Tory Home Secretary, led to what has been known as "Bloody Sunday," in November, 1887, when a combined demonstration from all parts of London was opposed and broken up by organised force at strategic points. Batons were very freely used against the people in every direction, and the hospitals announced that they dealt with over four hundred casualties.

One man, Alfred Linnell by name, was fatally injured by the mounted police and died within a few days. On this occasion John Burns of the S.D.F. (not yet an M.P.), broke through the police cordon and was arrested and sent to prison for six weeks.

MARGINAL NOTES

Education, violence and poverty

NOT LONG AGO I wrote in these columns of what, in my view, were the main causes of anti-social criminal activity, and of the constant desire to deal with such cases by the rigorous application of corporal punishment. Such "solutions," I said, were nothing more or less than a simple analysis of effects. As there seems to be a popular idea about—judging by recent statements and public resolutions—that psychological disorders can be cured by means which only aggravate them, I feel that it is convenient to return to the subject, presenting a few new aspects of it.

The tendency to use force as a factor and element in suppressing violence gives the impression of mental laziness in failing to consider more practical and useful means to solve the problem which occupies us. On the other hand, it is often said that those who recommend more humane and progressive methods are more concerned with the delinquent than with his victim.

Starting from the premise that no person with normal faculties (education and mental state) is predisposed to delinquency in general, it is not hard to reach the conclusion that those who debase themselves and society at the same time are victims of their own moral and social conditions. This pathological state and its immediate remedy is the point of departure for solving the problem of violence.

During the recent campaign to

resume the flogging of delinquents, there were many contrary opinions expressed which should be made known.

It is often said—and generally accepted—that poverty is a bad counsellor. If we add to that a deficient education and cerebral poisoning by death-dealing toys from an early age, the consequences must surely be fatal.

The family, home, hygiene—moral and physical, are important elements in the development of the individual. It is by broadening the means of diffusing a rational culture and, at the same time, by raising the economic standard of workers' families, that the way can be opened to finding a remedy—with the exception of rare cases—to the problem of delinquency.

ATTACK THE CAUSES

It will readily be understood that a high percentage of criminal acts come from families whose sons lack the most elementary means; in many cases it is the vice of betting, converted into a national business, envy or the desire to get into a higher social class for reasons of enjoyment, that convert young people into the raw material for the jails.

Resumption of flogging may, doubtless, intimidate intrepid temperaments and physically tame delinquents, but if the use of violence is to be encouraged, in the name of a popular justice, the first object of attack should be the primary causes of the birth and development of delinquency. The campaign against "gangster,"

military and aggressive toys is highly satisfactory. I am convinced that the trouble of "sacrificing" this immense reservoir of childhood battles for more instructive toys is well worth while.

It may be said that women have a different temperament to men, but human qualities are developed in childhood and we may suggest that the male tends more to violence than the female because the spirit of battle and war which permeates boys' playthings is not present in girls' toys.

If editors and story-writers who help awaken aggressiveness in childish minds would change their "lessons", the cases of criminal violence would probably be lessened; if film-makers would concentrate on more healthy subjects in place of their present leaning to cruelty, gangsterism and sadism, and would study the interests of humanity and, particularly, youth, the newspaper columns might have more space to deal with subjects of general interest, rather than armed hold-ups and coshings.

But the real cure of hatred and violence can only be found in the solution to the social problem, and by developing cultural and educational methods along progressive roads.

That is the human ethic, and the most fruitful to be carried out for the benefit of all.

As an immediate step to this end, let the birch and the cat o' nine tails stay in the museums along with the prehistoric relics.

POLITICS IN THE UNIONS

INDUSTRIAL ACTION by the workers calls for the greatest possible degree of solidarity, the gathering of every available ounce of strength and the throwing of it into the struggle. How, then, can we achieve the greatest degree of agreement?

It is curious but true that men most easily agree about that of which they know the most—that which is nearest to them. They disagree most over that of which they know the least—that which is most remote.

Who has not seen a gang of workmen—I am thinking at the moment of shipbuilders—faced by a mechanical problem, tackle the question without partisan hatred and reach a solution quickly and amicably without a new party being founded. It may be that within this group there are a Tory, a Labour man, a Syndicalist, a Catholic, a Protestant, and an Atheist. For the moment such problems do not divide them.

SEEDS OF DISUNITY

But let such a group discuss something of which, by the nature of things, none of them can have much experience, and in a moment a heated, wordy warfare will break out and burning hatreds will develop. Men have tortured to death their fellows because they could not agree about the topography of Heaven.

I have seen two Communists, of different brands, punch one another until blood flowed because they could not agree as to the truth of certain obscure features of life in Soviet Russia. To their shame, it must be said, the comrades were, with great trouble and expense, separated by a Liberal and a right-wing Labourite, and one of them possibly saved from a charge of manslaughter. Yet neither had been to Russia or had the slightest intention of being lured to that delectable land, and the Russian knowledge of each was, to put it kindly, more than a little suspicious.

THE REAL ISSUE

In the unions, in the workshops, let us keep to the main point, the wages and working conditions of all. That is not to say that at our work we must not discuss religion or party politics. Of course not! But these sectarian divisions and political theories should not form part of trade union, trades council and shop steward business, nor should we allow the political ranters to attempt to make them the basis of collective action. If we do, we shall get the least degree of solidarity.

Further, if we desire the greatest degree of solidarity, we must seek it on issues which are the concern of all. Surely those issues are ones of wages and working conditions. If we seek to make union battles on sectarian issues, then all we have are unrelated and mutually hostile social fragments.

This is not to say that the union struggle must be limited to "2d. an hour on the pay" or getting rid of a bullying foreman. That would be an over-simplification. The labour union struggle on honest union principles and issues can develop a deeper intellectual life and more developed ethics than could ever be produced by the political sects.

MEMBERS FED UP

Trade union membership is tired of party politics. In some unions the discussion of labour conditions has been entirely dropped, to be replaced by lectures on China, Russia, People's Democracy in Czecho-slovakia, sales of the "Daily Worker", and such like.

A stranger wandering into one type of trade union branch might think he had strayed into a meeting of Siberian trade unionists, so remote from the life he knows will be the business of the meeting. I recall an A.E.U. branch meeting in N.W. London at which a worker was trying to explain some breach of trade union agreement at a local factory. An impatient politician at the back interrupted him with a cry of: "What about the Soviet Union, comrades?"

It transpired that the Commies had rallied that night to vote in favour of a large donation from branch funds to one of their pro-Soviet societies.

We are not, of course, opposed only to Communist sectarianism in the unions. That is only the worst form of the disease. We would just as strongly oppose Roman Catholic or Primitive Methodist sectarianism.

TOM BROWN

An open invitation

READERS who find themselves sympathetic to the viewpoint expressed in "DIRECT ACTION" and who wish to have further information about the Syndicalist Workers' Federation are invited to write to the Secretary, S.W.F., 25a Amberley Road, London, W.9.

Our declaration of principles and organisational basis is available on request. Membership is open to all who accept our aims and are prepared to work actively for their realisation.

S.W.F. meets in Conference

THE THIRD Annual Conference of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation was held in Manchester, on Sunday, November 9. Delegates gathered from Manchester, London, Ashton-under-Lyne, Dukinfield, Stalybridge, Northwich, Altrincham, Middlesbrough and Nelson. Also present was a fraternal delegate, representing the Commission of the exiled National Confederation of Labour of Spain in Great Britain. Apologies for non-attendance were received from comrades in Liverpool, Nelson, Argyll and Gosport.

Greetings to the Conference were read from the General Secretariat of the I.W.M.A. in Stockholm, the West European Subsecretariat of the I.W.M.A. in Paris, the Spanish C.N.T. in exile (Intercountry Secretariat in Toulouse), the Spanish C.N.T. in exile in Great Britain, the C.N.T. of France, the underground C.G.T. of Portugal, and a comrade in Switzerland.

The morning session was taken up by the reports of the retiring secretary and treasurer and of the groups, covering the organisation's activity over the past year. The aims and principles of the organisation were ratified, and the organisational basis ratified after one amendment.

In the discussion on industrial policy it was resolved that a campaign should be developed against overtime and piecework and for a general 40-hour week, also in favour of equal pay.

The S.W.F. re-affirmed its solidarity with all workers striking for objectives in conformity with its declared policy. It was further agreed that the technique of unofficial strikes should be studied and developed.

Other resolutions were passed on the inadequacy of Old Age Pensions and against direct and indirect taxation.

During the afternoon session the policies in connection with the S.W.F.'s organ, "Direct Action" were discussed, as was the forthcoming Congress of the I.W.M.A., to which it was resolved that an S.W.F. delegation should attend.

After the election of a new National Committee, the conference closed by passing the following resolution:

"This third annual conference of the S.W.F. in Manchester, November, 1952, sends its revolutionary greetings to all sections of the I.W.M.A. and affirms its solidarity with those comrades suffering under brutal dictatorships in Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Argentina and in all lands where the hopes of the people for an equalitarian and free society are being suppressed."

Report from Spain, where workers starve AND EACH CAVE IS A HUMAN DWELLING

The letter we reprint below, sent to us by two English friends who have been hitch-hiking across Europe, gives some idea of conditions in the country of Franco fascism. It should be read in conjunction with the leading article on the front page.

Eds.

WE HAVE done almost 1,000 miles through Spain, hitch-hiking and living "off the land" and, for the most part, sleeping in depressions in the olive groves. It has been very rough going. At the moment we are resting in a little village between the mountains and the sea, halfway between Malaga and Granada.

Hitch-hiking is hell—it is virtually unknown here, but the big advantage has been that lack of lifts has forced us to walk through small villages . . . and of course the inevitable close contact with the people.

For sleeping we were lucky to find a mountain, but every hole and every cave is occupied, every innocent looking haystack is a "house." My great regret is that I haven't carried a camera. Every anarchist should visit Spain, but not as an ordinary tourist—one must suffer a little to see more. As one looks, things fit into the pattern of theory that we are more familiar with.

Unholy marriage

The whole atmosphere is mediaeval, with a complete marriage of Catholicism and modern fascism holding it down. One thing surprises me, and that is the lack of viciousness in the people. I expected something of "Los Olvidados." Also hardly any cruelty to animals. Especially in the country the people work very hard, and the women work very hard indeed—each one having at least ten children. . . .

There is evidence of the Revolution everywhere, still bullet and shell marks and remnants of houses which could be repaired.

Outside Madrid is a large area of such houses, and every house is occupied—even one wall or a heap of rubble serves as the base of a dwelling, with a few sacks, a little oilcloth and a few tin cans; bad poverty through all this area, and as far as one can see no sanitation. . . .

Here and there, of course, there are a few large constructional jobs in progress, but they appear to have been in progress an awful long time, and one suspects that they are Franco showpieces, as are many of the hospitals—very lavish, but in inaccessible though conspicuous mountain places and seem to function only for propaganda purposes.

All for officials

A large block outside Madrid did appear to be destined for future use by workers, but the many lavish buildings nearly finished outside Seville—large blocks of flats and whole new villages—are all for officials, police and the army. In fact all the best buildings in all the smaller towns and villages are occupied by the police and the army. Much labour has been expended on monuments to Franco and the dead,

and on huge crosses and other such. Near Saragossa the earth is red in long flat stretches—dry, baked mud. On some of these flats smoke is seen rising out of little holes—underneath is a whole village carved underground out of the clay.

In Seville two little boys aged about seven came begging and said they had no fathers, and that they slept under bridges. Instead of giving them money we bought them bread, and their story was confirmed by the woman in the bread shop. I looked under the bridges over the river, and the arches were made into habitations.

Before I came to Spain I heard tales of laziness, and that if the people worked they could be richer. That is all rubbish. . . . Every inch of land, for instance, is cultivated and irrigated.

The only neglected irrigation that I have seen can be blamed on a few rich landowners, who have criminally allowed ancient Moorish irrigation schemes to rot and decay because they were no longer interested. Big irrigations near Cordoba seem to be on hand for the large combines.

One good meal

In the big towns like Barcelona, Madrid, Cordoba, Seville, there is a large section that says, "Why work?" A labourer earns between 15 and 25 pesetas (2s. 6d.-4s. 2d.) a day, if he is lucky. Twenty-five pesetas is enough money to buy one good meal in a moderate restaurant. We have been spending about 20 pesetas a day on food and wine between us, but that is living on a very low level and one's hunger is never satisfied.

The police are absolutely corrupt, of course. We had a lift in a car full of contraband owned by an Arab from Algeciras. He was coming from Gibraltar with English cigarettes and coffee. In two miles he "squared" over a dozen police to escape a £20 fine. . . . Contraband is good business, especially for the police. English and German boats come in all along this coast with contraband. A few

weeks ago police fired on a small party and killed one policeman who was helping land the stuff.

This police is something terrible. . . . In a little town called Chiclana a drunken b . . . asked for our papers in a very insolent manner . . . he ripped D's passport and behaved even more boorishly. By this time a crowd of 200 had gathered, and we were angered by the delay, which was preventing us finding a secluded spot to sleep before dark.

He was scared

I grabbed the passports, took hold of his tunic, made a motion of slapping his face and told him to clear off. He went, but the crowd had increased to about 500, practically the whole of the village. . . . Two priests came along and more police and tried to disperse the crowd. . . . Finally we were taken by the police into a building until the crowd dispersed a little. We discovered later that the whole thing had been observed by another Englishman who was a newspaper correspondent in Gothenburg, Sweden, but he had been too frightened to intervene.

Another time at La Linea we had been prevented from staying on Gibraltar by the British police because we had insufficient money, so we took a very cheap room for the night, only to find around midnight that it was lousy with bugs. We got out and wandered down to the beach to sleep. Of course we were stopped by the police, but we indicated that we wanted to sleep and made to go past them on to the beach.

They barred our way, so we laughed at them. This infuriated one, and he brought up his gun and roared: "This is the gun of Franco, understand, the gun of Franco." We wandered off, but spent the night propped against the wall with two other guns standing over us.

In Barcelona the police are the thickest—about one to every five yards—but everywhere they can be found, creeping through olive groves,

hiding behind rocks and on every prominent point, sometimes miles away from a house. They stop lorries and search cars. . . . And, of course, apart from individual police there are various control points all along the road.

The other day a solitary policeman stopped a lorry in which we were riding and demanded a lift of some 20 kilometres. The lorry was full, with four of us in the cab, so thinking to ease the situation for the driver, we offered to get out. The driver said no, and told the policeman to hang on to the running board. The district was very mountainous with severe hairpin bends, and the driver took tremendous delight—and we all quietly laughed our heads off—in making every effort to dislodge the policeman, who was hanging on, with heavy gun, for dear life.

Shot by Franco

Met a charming boy in Malaga. He worked in a pension for food and four pesetas (8d.) a day. Age 13. His father shot by Franco in 1940. He was a catholic and, when we queried this, said he believed in one God but not in the priests.

Met a man with 10 children who thought I must be seriously ill if I could live with D. for 7 years without having children. Told him he could have 5s. for each child in England, and he thought England must be a paradise.

It must be said that everywhere we find the people here very kind and generous, with a fine dignity . . .

In 700 miles I have seen only three tractors on the land. There is a factory here for cracking and sorting almonds. We inspected it yesterday, and found a crowd of women bashing the almonds with stones.

There seems little enthusiasm for Franco—large slogans "Viva Franco," etc., painted on walls, rocks and buildings seem officially inspired and, in fact, the character of the letters indicates a professional job.

Colour fight in Africa

(Continued from page one, column four)

In the British colony of Kenya, African workers have established an organisation broadly representing their interests, and particularly strong among the Kikuyu tribe.

In association with this organisation are health services, schools and cultural foundations, set up and paid for by the people themselves.

The authorities have, in the last fifty years, done little to provide facilities of this kind for the 5,000,000 African people of the colony, and so far as the majority of Africans are concerned, the services in association with the Kenya Africa Union are the only ones available.

Several months ago a story was published in a sensational English Sunday newspaper, describing a mysterious secret organisation called "Mau Mau." The Kenya authorities acted with haste, and began to take the steps that resulted in the rounding-

up of thousands of tribesmen, the imprisonment without trial of leading members of the Kenya Africa Union, including Jomo Kenyatta, the imposing of curfew restrictions, the threat of Nazi-style mass punishment, and the despatch to Kenya, by the British Tory Government, of Sir Percy Sillitoe, ex-police strong-arm man.

It is evident that the white authorities are using the alleged "Mau Mau" terrorism as a pretext to break up the developing social organisation and consciousness among the tribesmen, just as they previously destroyed the libertarian system of communal land cultivation among the Kikuyu.

The introduction of "chiefs" to the tribe is the work of the white ruling-class, for whom these headmen more often than not act as quislings. Formerly the truly democratic tribal organisation had no such "leaders."

It is significant, too, that the fascist methods of the Kenya authorities have included the closing of native schools, associated with the Kenya African Union.

Remember, too, that in Kenya the fertile highlands have been appropriated by the white settlers, that the natives are forbidden to grow the two most profitable crops, coffee and sisal, and that more than 100,000 Africans are employed by the whites at basic wage rates of less than £36 a year.

In Northern Rhodesia, African copper miners, organised in their own trade unions, have been on strike for an extra 2s. 8d. a shift. If the demand was granted it would about double their money wage, as in addition they receive an apology for what

is termed "board and lodgings." Commenting on the strike the "Economist" of October 25, said, "If profits were the sole criterion, the companies could afford the full 2s. 8d., but they assert that the Africans are already being paid all that is justified by the work they do."

The "Economist" continues, "It would be truer to say the work they are allowed to do, and it is taken for granted that the Africans are really striking for the right to do more skilled work which would justify higher wages."

The revolt of Africa can be summarised in the struggles of the peoples of these three territories. The outcome is obvious, as is the outcome of all struggles where workers are opposed to the boss.

Providing the workers are capable of building effective class organisations and clearly understand the road it is necessary to take, their numerical strength will decide the result.

'HOUSEWIVES' AND FLOGGING

Flogging machines to administer corporal punishment are advocated by housewives of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire.

In a letter to their M.P., the local Housewives' League suggests that this would remove the responsibility of applying the cat or birch from prison officials, who dislike doing it. They ask him to pass the suggestion to the Home Secretary.

RED & BLACK NOTEBOOK

CABLE WORKERS GET INCREASE

MEN WORKING in the electric cable-making industry are to get a rise of 2d. an hour, women 1½d. an hour and juveniles a proportionate increase. This brings the basic rate for men production workers to 2s. 10½d. an hour.

The rise, 7s. 4d. for a 44-hour week, comes just over a year after the last award made by the Joint Industrial Council, which was 10s. 1d.

This ten-shilling jump, as reported in "Direct Action" at the time, came after things were boiling up, with wildcat strikes and work-to-rule, and a strong movement among cable workers towards calling a general stoppage throughout the industry.

If a bit more muck was stirred this time, no doubt a more substantial award would be forthcoming. The cable industry is still busy and this provides a good opportunity to force a substantial increase in basic wages, and abolition of the production bonus system by banning overtime and restricting output to the "no-bonus" value.

BEFORE the seventh A.G.M. of British Insulated Callenders Cables Ltd., chairman Sir Alexander Roger, K.C.I.E., circulated a state-

ment showing that profit on trading had risen by £1,352,629 to £4,585,668 "mainly due to the substantial increase both in the volume and value of our output for 1951, the advantages of a full order book, and the benefits of a constant improvement in methods and machines."

So the company's profits during 1951 leapt up by some 41 per cent while the cable workers' wages went up by less than 9½ per cent over the same period.

THE EMPLOYERS' side of the Optical Industry's J.I.C. has agreed to the unions' demand for a reduction of the qualifying period for the annual holiday from two years to twelve months.

Workers at British American Optical Co., Watford, are joining U.S.D.A.W. in increasing numbers, and an approach has been made to the company for union recognition.

SHOP ASSISTANTS, organised in U.S.D.A.W., successfully nipped in the bud an attempt by Attwoods Ltd., of Kidderminster, a branch of the Great Universal Stores, to intro-

duce later closing. The company decided to remain open until 7 p.m. on Fridays instead of the usual 5.30, and the workers replied by picketing the store, appealing to the public not to encourage later closing, and to support shop workers in their struggle to maintain reasonable hours of work.

Branch committee officers and members turned out to provide a strong picket, wearing posters and distributing literature. Rival pickets from the Union of Small Shopkeepers also appeared on the first Friday, issuing counter-propaganda in favour of later closing.

On the second Friday, however, these rivals had disappeared from the scene. The local Trades Council declared their full support for the union's case against later closing, and this was of great assistance in winning public sympathy.

A two-week, well-organised campaign brought results. The branch was informed that the firm would revert to the previous closing time. So was checked in its early stages something that might well have led to longer working hours for all shop workers in Kidderminster.

DIRECT ACTION

Monthly organ of the Syndicalist Workers Federation

Subscription rate: 4s. 6d. for 12 issues.

Please fill up the form below and return it with P.O. for 4/6 to "Direct Action" 25a, Amberley Road, London, W.9. All P.O.'s and cheques should be made payable to M. Hawkes.

NAME _____

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H-bomb is censored

ON SATURDAY, November 8, the news agency teleprinters, over the space of an hour, were giving news that America had exploded a hydrogen bomb. As this happened early in the evening it was expected that the Sunday papers would splash it across their front pages, for Sunday papers are always short of the material of headlines. But the Sunday papers did not mention the bomb. On Monday a few papers had a small paragraph mentioning a rumour of a hydrogen bomb having been set off, but treating the news as a vague rumour and tucking it away, almost out of sight. It was ten days later when the papers admitted the report as news. Now, when every paper suppresses a news item which its editor must be bursting to publish, it is obvious there must be some common source of censorship. That can only be a government department. As no official censorship exists, there must be one which is hidden from the public, but which has sufficient influence with newspapers to be, itself, very effective. This is, in a way, more dangerous than an open censorship, for it is not responsible to any public body, and cannot be abolished—for its existence is never officially admitted. We remind readers of how the Edward VIII crisis was kept from the public for four months in 1936. Important news can be suppressed in the same way. At the same time, we cannot understand the need to curtail the news of the hydrogen bomb, or the motive behind it. The news was out on a global scale in any case.

LABOUR ORGANISATION AND THE U.S. VOTING

AS MOST persons seek to explain the political institutions of other countries in terms of their own, the popular British habit is to identify the American parties with British parties. So "the Republicans are Tories and the Democratic Party is about the same as the Labour Party." But the development of politics in the U.S.A. has always been different to British political life. In the U.S. the outstanding political feature was, for long, the federal nature of the country. Each of the 48 states is a separate entity with its own governor, senate and house of representatives, and each with its own flag and laws. From the founding of the U.S.A. to the Roosevelt era the fierce independence of each state and its suspicion of federal power formed the issues on which political battles were fought.

BY OUR AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT

that any one or any number of states had the right to secede from the Union, for each was a sovereign state. It was the Republican President Lincoln who resisted this right to break away. It was the Democratic Party which led the rebel south in the forming of the Confederate States of America.

That is how Dixieland became known to the Democrats as the "solid south." Even in this year's elections, the nine states which supported the Democrat Stevenson were all civil war rebel states.

NATIONAL GUARD

Even the victory of the Unionists over the Confederates did not reverse the strong federalist sentiment, but only modified it. From 1866 to 1916 the National Guard, the militia raised by the government of each state, was collectively stronger than the regular army raised by the central government.

The second favourite argument for more centralisation used by the Republicans was the difficulty of law enforcement in a country where a fugitive had 48 frontiers to hop over, and America was without a national police force until the founding of the F.B.I. a couple of decades ago. Even now the U.S. government cannot proceed against a Chicago gangster for murder—a state offence—but only for such an offence as evasion of income tax.

FEDERALIST PARTY

The Republican Party had always wanted to modify this federalism, to give more power and initiative to the central government in Washington. Their chief argument was to show the slowness and clumsiness of federalism in case of a sudden war, to which the Democrats would reply that the U.S.A. were unlikely to be involved in war. For the Democratic Party was the party of federalism, resisting all attempts to strengthen the central government.

The issue on which was fought the American Civil War of 90 years ago was the claim of the Dixieland states

relief measures ensured the success of this method. Every part of the Union was dependent on government aid. If the party machine in, say, California was hostile to the President, then it might get less federal aid than if it were "co-operative."

Thus, under the traditionally anti-centralist party, America was forced into a centralist system undreamed of by the most extreme Republican. Swiftly the states lost their independence. The last stand was made by the Dixiecrat breakaway from the Democratic Party in the south during the 1948 election. The Dixies won only two states and the revolt died.

Organised labour in America—the C.I.O., the A.F. of L. and the independent unions such as the miners and railmen—had always been suspicious of regular political alliances. In one state they would bargain with the Republican candidate, in another they would support the Democrat. Even in one state or city their vote would often be divided between the two parties. If a candidate of either party was very anti-labour, his opponent was likely to get the "organised vote" in return for certain pledges.

The Taft-Hartley anti-union act of 1947 helped to solidify the labour vote behind the Democrats, but did not erase the old pattern. For example, in the 1948 election the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. in the State of Iowa successfully supported the Republican nominee for governor and the Democratic nominee for President.

IKE IS ASTUTE

Eisenhower is astute enough to see the value of this and will try to win organised labour, or a lot of it, away from the Democrats, and the unions seem nearly ready to bargain. But Ike, like F.D.R., won the nomination but not the party. He won the election as a "left-winger" and anti-isolationist, but the main weight of the party is conservative and isolationist.

For twenty years American politics has moved towards a deadlock. Radical Presidents, Roosevelt and Truman, obstructed by a conservative majority, both Republican and Democratic, in both houses. The deadlock is still there. There will be no change of tendencies.

In this situation the C.I.O., the A.F. of L. and, more so, the miners, steelmen and railmen, will be tempted to return to a full policy of political bargaining. More important still, they will rely more than ever upon industrial action.

Political action has never been very popular in American labour unions. They have never, like many British unions, given up the strike weapon; it always lies handy in American wage discussions.

The unions are now suspicious of Eisenhower's allies. They are half-ready to support him, but they are more than half ready for industrial action. In any case, the old wage struggle for the "next round of wage advances" will continue and the old lesson of the necessity of industrial direct action and the instability of political alliances will be taught to labour once again.

HOT TIME FOR TITO?

ROMAN CATHOLICS in England are planning a demonstration against Tito during his visit to London next year. The proposal is to mass a few hundred thousand Catholics with anti-Tito slogans on the route of the Yugoslav detainer's State drive with the Foreign Secretary. The protest is to be against the Yugoslav Communist persecution of the Catholic church and the imprisonment of its bishops.

The plan now has the support of the Catholic bishops, who are threatening to "make it hot for Tito." Slogans are to be shouted, but no violence used.

Although more than 3,000,000 Catholics live in Britain, their leaders find difficulty in shepherding them into political action, so there is a danger of Tito's reception being not quite so hot as expected.

The archbishops of King Street have not yet announced their plans, however. Perhaps they, too, will stage a demonstration against their fellow-communist, whom they describe as a murderer, traitor and spy.

If they do, and join with the Catholics against Tito, he might get that warming-up he's been promised.

On the other hand, if the Catholics combine their demonstration against Tito with one against the Stalinists for their persecution of the Church, while the Stalinists are shouting against Tito, then there sure will be a hot time in the old town that night.

Against ALL dictators

From Barcelona we have received four clandestine leaflets, published by our brothers of the underground C.N.T. We reprint, below, the text of one.

DEATH TO THE DICTATORS!

Totalitarianism is the negation of human life. The dictatorship of a caste, calling itself Phalangism, Bolshevik or Nazi, signifies oppression of the people and national ruin.

No matter what the colour of the tyranny, it creates a climate of terror and death. That is what Franco has done, servilely imitating Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini.

But Spain, bled white by the abuses of this retrograde and inhuman despotism, cannot passively watch its own bankruptcy. It has known freedom and wants to regain it, no matter what the cost.

And for this we can thus resume the sovereign will of the Spaniards:

NEITHER MILITARY DICTATORSHIP NOR CLASS DICTATORSHIP!

NEITHER THE POPE OF THE VATICAN NOR THE POPE OF MOSCOW!

NEITHER GENERALISSIMO FRANCO NOR GENERALISSIMO STALIN!

NEITHER THE PHALANGE NOR THE "COMMUNIST" PARTY!

National Federation of Labour, Local Federation of Barcelona.

TEA BREAK

THIS MONTH'S booby prize goes to Dr. Kenneth Hutton, chemistry master at Winchester College. In a paper which he read to the Eugenics Society, on November 18, Dr. Hutton claimed that "Wykehamists" (scholars of Winchester College) are the most intelligent schoolboys in the country.

Intelligence tests conducted by Dr. Hutton at Winchester College, together with tests at another major public school and a well-known State grammar school showed, according to the paper, that "Wykehamists" were in the most intelligent 50 per cent of the population; that 90 per cent of them were in the top 15; and that 40 per cent were in the top one per cent.

While Dr. Hutton made no mention of similar tests being conducted among scholars at ordinary council schools and students at evening classes, he claimed that no other school has produced such high figures.

He also alleged superior reproductive abilities on the part of "Wykehamists" in comparison to other non-manual "workers." Whether this is to be condoned or deplored seems open to question.

The paper, however, takes a more tolerant view. It says, "The Wykehamist family size is 2.12 compared with 1.7 for non-manual workers in Britain as a whole. In a few years the scholars will be more than replacing themselves, while the commoners (those who pay, but are accepted only

after an entrance examination—a nice bit of class distinction) are no worse than the population as a whole. The Winchester scholar, generally pale of face and serious of countenance is often mocked by the commoner, but evidently his long black gown is a mark of more than intellectual prowess."

We might add that since the mental qualities of "Wykehamists," so well-known among themselves, reach such heights, they might consider applying their talents to the field of industry at a workshop level.

AN AFRICAN correspondent sends us a story that is circulating widely among Negro workers, to the annoyance of the inhabitants of the "white highlands" of Kenya. A member of Her Majesty's government was addressing a mass gathering of Kikuyu tribesmen in Kenya. He made the usual promises of more land, more work, more food and greater freedom. Each promise resulted in wild excitement among the tribesmen and great shouts of "N'Gomba, N'Gomba."

After the meeting, the Minister congratulated the local chief on the intelligence of the tribe; and asked the purpose of a building in the distance. He was told that it was the local temple, and that the Sacred Bull was kept in it. On asking if he might visit the temple, the chief said this might be unpleasant for the Minister. "How is that," asked the Minister. "You see," said the chief, "the Sacred Bull has been in there continually for the last six months—and he's up to his knees in N'Gomba."

FAIRY STORY for children of all ages might be the description of the following story. It concerns a North Korean General who was discussing a possible United Nations attack on his positions, with his Intelligence Officer.

"What troops have the enemy in the line; what is their equipment like; and what is the composition of their units?" asked the General. The Intelligence Officer, a young man, replied briskly, "The troops, sir, are the British Commonwealth Division; their equipment is first-rate; and I believe they are mainly engineers, by trade, in civil life."

"Hell," said the General, jumping out of his seat, "let's get out of here fast. If they are engineers, and they take 2d. an hour, they'll take anything."

IF THE Civil Defence authorities wish to avoid publicity from this column they should keep their "Hush-Hush" atom-bomb-proof air raid shelters a little more hush-hush. The latest "Bomb-proof Special" is situated below Holborn, London; is 130 feet deep and has a natty colour scheme.

A correspondent tells us it contains a number of improvements on the existing 139 feet deep "Bomb-proof" under Whitehall. He has not yet been able to inspect the private, and nearby, Cabinet "proof-against-anything" shelter.

WORLD DEPRESSION

The general pattern was changed when Roosevelt became President in 1932. Faced by the world's greatest depression, he was able to force through the House and the Senate sweeping measures of government assistance.

But Roosevelt won only the nomination, not the Democratic Party. Strong sections of the conservative wing of the party remained hostile to his plans, so that F.D.R. had to build up within the party a political machine sympathetic to him and his plans. Not that this drastic step was in any way repugnant to F.D.R., he always seemed to thrive on it.

The new sweeping measures of farm assistance, work schemes and

education and culture still merit a limited respect. If one takes into account the principles on which, at least in theory, the educational and cultural organisation of UNO is based, one must admit that UNESCO has suffered a heavy blow by incorporating elements in direct opposition to those principles. The moral triumph of the fascist regime is thus turned into the moral rout of the democratic representatives, who connived at this discredit. And once more the Russian dictatorship has been given the opportunity to extract propaganda advantage from a situation which differs not at all from its own methods.

While the doors of UNESCO are opened wide to Spanish fascism, the courts of Franco are preparing another scandalous trial of 27 workers, already in prison for several years, against some of whom the death sentence will be demanded. The thousands of orphaned children whose fathers have been wiped out by the fascist repression, and who have become victims of the regime through lack of food, shelter and education, will be increased, thus giving added "prestige" to UNESCO, the "protector of childhood".

These prisoners, all members of the National Confederation of Labour, Printed and published by the Syndicalist Workers Federation, 25a Amberley Rd., London W.9

UNESCO & FRANCO (Continued from Page One, Column Four)

(C.N.T.), underground union organisation of the anti-fascist resistance against Franco, and anti-Stalinist by principle and conviction, are accused of sabotage, of "crimes against the State."

FRANCISCO ARAGO, LUIS RUIZ COSTA, JOSE ASENCIO, FABIAN VILLANUEVA, CRISTOBAL CASTELVI, MANUEL RUIZ, FRANCISCO QUESADA, JOAQUIN LLOPIS, MIGUEL HARO, SATURNINO SANZ, PEDRO CIPRES, JUAN PEREZ, JOAQUIN CARMONA, JOSE IBANEZ, AVENIR MARGET, MANUEL ANDRES, FELIPE LANGAS, JULIAN NUNEZ, MAGIN SALA, SANTIAGO FERRAGUT, FRANCISCO SANCHEZ, ANTONIO VICENTE, PEDRO GARCIA, TOMAS SANZ, FRANCISCO CANADA and AVELINO ROSELL will appear before a Barcelona court to answer to the "crime" of being anti-fascists and enemies of the regime. Eight months ago 31 members of the C.N.T. were condemned in Barcelona for the crime of conspiring against the regime: five of them were shot, despite an international protest, and many of the others condemned to 20-30 years in prison.

During October four more death sentences were pronounced, also in Barcelona and for the same reason. These proceedings are repeated daily, for they are the only way in which Franco can control a situation which brings him increasing difficulties, despite the support he receives

from States which are more or less related to him.

The 27 men who are waiting to appear, at any moment, before the court, are at the mercy of their accusers, without practical means of juridical defence and under the threat of being murdered or condemned to long prison terms.

Only an international protest can lessen the risks they are running—a protest that can hope for no support from official institutions of the Western States, who tolerate and flatter the dictator Franco.

But the organised workers, who have best developed the feeling of solidarity for those in need of it, can do much to avert the carrying into effect of the proposed crime; so can all those liberally-minded people who consider themselves enemies of all dictatorships, and understand the long martyrdom of the Spanish people, subjected for 14 years to a ferocious State that deprives them of all their rights in order to continue in its role of slavedriver and executioner.

A. RUIZ THE Libertarian Bulletin of the N.E.London Anarchist Group No.1 (December) now obtainable Price 3d from "Direct Action"

BILL ORGAN