

# Direct Action

For workers' direct control of industry

Inside—Bolivian miners  
Seamen need national policy : Threat to shop stewards : Ned Ludd

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION (IWMA)

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## DEFEND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE!

**THE** hard-won right to strike is now in danger, not from Tories but from the Labour and Trade Union bosses.

A strike is a withdrawal of labour, an organised interruption of production. This is an inherent right of every worker who has only his labour-power to sell, be it by his physical strength or technical knowledge. A worker is paid to do a job under certain conditions, and it is up to him or her to get the best out of the job. The employer, on the other hand, wants the most out of labour-power, for the smallest payment. Let's put it this way—from the moment you start the job you are being stitched up, because the employer, to want to take you on must make a profit out of your labour-power, and this is the whole basis of the class struggle.

### EMPLOYERS HAVEN'T CHANGED

Without the right or power to strike the worker is a slave. Our fathers recognised this and some of the most hard-fought battles were not for wages or a shorter working day, but to establish the right to strike. For this, men and women starved, were made homeless, jailed and even hanged or shot—these within living memory.

While writing this I can hear many of the intellectuals and worker-intellectuals mumbling, "This is old fashioned. Times have changed, the employers have changed. This is 1965, not the 1920s". The only way the employers have changed

(including the State) is in tactics. Basically the outlook is the same, "To rule to their advantage."

The policy of the Labour and Trade Union leaders has not changed: "Work together as master and man," and "A fair day's work for a fair day's pay." Has not George Brown told us, "The class war is over, brothers"? Just because the trade unions and employers signed the worthless "Declaration of Intent"! Over the past years the class division has been deliberately blurred to such an extent that many many workers record their vote (as useless as it is) for the Tories. While Liberals spout co-partnership, which to my mind is the finest confidence trick ever dreamed-up.

### "WRECKERS"

When the Labour Party took office they expected complete subservience from the organised worker. The Labour Party banner headline was and still is undiluted patriotism, but the workers have not bought this nationalistic mumbo-jumbo. They are prepared to struggle, not only to hold what they have but to progress. The Labour government, in their efforts to make capitalism tick over, are calling for discipline. Wilson said last month (18.8.65), in a speech at Liverpool, that "the wreckers" had to be dealt with and disciplined "The idea that 'it's good for me and damn the nation', whether expressed by a subversive shop steward or a currency speculator, is not only an obstacle to the fulfilment of our national plan, it is an act of treason against our democracy." Unofficial strikers came into Wilson's category of "wreckers".

At the T.U.C. the fraternal delegate from the Labour Party, Ray Gunter attempted to put the fear of Christ into the delegates with his fraternal greetings "from the greatest social democratic party in the world, the Labour Party of Great Britain, which is faced with appalling difficulties at the moment". Gunter several times referred to the shortage of time. He gave warning that if inner discipline was not forthcoming, in a short time, the nation would have to use other means to prevent ultimate disaster.

### WHAT TORIES CAN'T DO

Have no fear; Gunter would have no compunction in introducing necessary legislation—remember his outburst at the London Airport strikers. In a House of Commons speech on July 26, he referred to the stopping of unofficial strikes.

## CAN he read?

BASIL DE FERANTI, only 35 and zooming around putting the country to rights by helicopter.

"No, well . . . you can't sort of READ it—can you? I jolly well approve of it, mind you."

He was speaking to me from his bed at home at Adders Moss, near Macclesfield, Cheshire.

A boss's reaction to Labour's National Plan, reported in the *Daily Mail* 20.9.65.

### AUBREY ADMITS IT

"THE so-called reduction in the working week has been in large measure a fraud and a sham."

Mr. Aubrey Jones, Chairman, Prices and Incomes Board. 21.9.65.

cont. on page 2, col. 1



## Right to strike (cont.)

Much is said of banning "unofficial strikes", but any ban will cover all effective strikes, even official. In any case, the vast majority of strikes, more than 2,000 a year, are unofficial.

The established right to strike is now in danger.

Lord Stonham, Under Secretary, Home Office, talked at a Labour Party meeting (4.9.65), "of the lunatic action of a few workers who, whatever their motives, are as bitter and dangerous enemies of the working class as the most grasping oppressive employer of the 19th century." Lord Stonham went on to say that "wild-catters must be given short shrift."

This is the type of thinking of the Labour Government, who may succeed in doing what a Tory government would love to do but couldn't. Once the right to strike goes and a general election turns out the Labour government, the Tories will find in this "Socialist" measure all they dreamed of but never dared to hope for. One Tory MP has already climbed on the band wagon. Mr. Donald Box (Cardiff North) said that unofficial strikes should be treated as a breach of contract. "Any worker taking unofficial action should automatically have his National Insurance and union cards returned to him." Unofficial action should mean that the worker had automatically discharged himself, and would have to reapply for both his job and union membership if he wished to resume work (20.9.65). Whilst Donald Box, MP might be on the lunatic fringe of the Conservative Party, once inroads are made this could be the obvious tightening up process.

### MARTELL DROPS OUT

The Labour Government has issued the challenge "DO—OR BE DONE!" The TUC by attempting its own "early-warning system" is making a last ditch stand which must fail—is failing. Brown and Wilson will introduce the force of law. The propaganda barrage is on, the call to the nation supported in glowing terms by the Tory press. The shop steward movement must be smashed unless the stewards are tame and company trained—this is what Wilson, Brown and Gunter really mean. No wonder Martell has dropped out of the limelight: the Labour Government has adopted his industrial policy.

Facing facts, all advances of wages or betterment of conditions demanded by the workers are, if fulfilled, gained by a strike or threat of a strike.

Else why should any employer ever give you a rise? Even the most broken spirited slave knows better than to rely on his master's kind-heartedness; he may get a parcel of groceries at Christmas, but it is not, as Tiny Tim wished, Christmas all the year round.

Indeed there are more gains made by the threat than by the action, but only because the boss knows that the workers have the power to enforce their will and believes that they are ready to use it, law or no law.

BILL CHRISTOPHER

### WARNING ALL HEADS!

AT a recent strikers' demonstration outside Government House, Lagos, Nigeria, among the banners carried one bore the inscription: "GOVERNMENT, REMEMBER THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789 AND STOP YOUR NONSENSE!"

Is there a Dr. Guillotin in the house?

**INDUSTRIAL YOUTH**—voice of militant apprentices and young workers. 2d. monthly from 25a Duffield Road, Salford 6, Lancs.  
**OXAN**—Quarterly bulletin of Oxford Anarchists. Specimen copy 1s. from L. Otter, 5 New Yatt Rd., North Leigh, Witney, Oxon.

## Bolivian miners fight on

In DIRECT ACTION, July, we reported the struggle between the Bolivian tin miners and the Army, the latter under strong American pressure to force a show-down. Last month the conflict deepened:

SEPTEMBER 4

The 20,000 miners of Siglo XX and Catavi mines have formed clandestine syndicalist committees, with the intention of fighting for their rights. The syndicalist committee of both mines has declared that such a struggle must revolve round the following points:

1. Full payment of wages and salaries, production bonuses, risk of accident and health bonuses, contract prices and overtime which were outstanding since May.

2. The withdrawal of all armed forces and the National Guard from all the mining centres. (It is pointed out that working centres cannot be concentration camps.)

3. A return to work of all the workers fired for syndicalist and political reasons. (It is pointed out that no worker can be fired for his ideas and for being a syndicalist fighter.)

4. Unrestricted syndicalist liberty, for it is the workers themselves who must always elect their delegates and take whatever action is necessary in the interest of their class. Besides, the government cannot tell them how workers should think and who have to be their delegates.

5. To give back all the syndicalist property to the workers.

6. Payment of compensation to the relatives of all the miners killed in the events of May.

SEPTEMBER 4

Troops were sent to the Huanuni mine. It is feared that the miners will react if repressive methods are employed. The population of Huanuni does not see this invasion with any sympathy, as up to that moment there had been absolute calm in the community.

SEPTEMBER 20

Reports in the British press stated that the military junta had declared a state of siege after an armed rising in Huanuni. The government stated that 11 people had been killed and the revolt suppressed.

JUAN NOVEDADES

### Calling all building workers

SEVERAL people in the building industry in the Glasgow and Edinburgh areas, among them architects, joiners, bricklayers and terrazzo workers, have been discussing the ideas of "workers' control in the building industry", with a view to setting up an informal grouping in Britain to further the case for workers' control among our fellows in the industry.

We are therefore extremely anxious to contact building workers throughout Britain who favour the idea. Would civil engineers, quantity surveyors, tradesmen, labourers, estimators, clerks, technicians, architects and town planners who are interested please contact me at the address below?

George Williamson,  
33 Kelvingrove Street,  
Glasgow C.3.

**MUJERES LIBRES**—Lecture in Spanish, ENERGY AND HUMAN PROGRESS, by Juan P. Fabregas, Sunday, 10th. Oct., 3.30 p.m., at Royal Hotel, Woburn Place, Russell Square London, WC1.

Spanish lessons start Wednesday, Oct. 13, 6.30—8 p.m. at 159, Ledbury Rd., W.11. All welcome.



# SEAMEN NEED A NATIONAL POLICY

**R**IGHT NOW the seamen's struggle is badly handicapped by the lack of a national policy on rank-and-file aims and strategy. There is little or no liaison between the various rank-and-file committees in the main port areas. Any action taken is regional, and on a limited scale.

## 56-HOUR DEAL

The seamen's strike last March arose over the phoney 56-hour week Agreement. This was sprung on us the month before, completely out of the blue. The 56-hour Deal was to come in force on March 29, while our union AGM would take place two months later. A rank-and-file National Committee would have ensured unity among us on our tactics against the March 29 Agreement.

As it was, most seamen looked to Slater, the NE Coast Chairman for a lead. By the time Slater had shown himself a broken reed, it was too late.

The London and Liverpool seamen had struck against the 56-hour Deal, but got no support from Slater. The other UK port areas followed Slater's lead, more or less. What should have been a decisive blow against the phoney Agreement became a fiasco, the strike fizzling out miserably.

Hogarth and Co. were victorious at the AGM. By keeping the 56-hour Deal completely secret from us until February, only one month before the closure of AGM nominations, they ensured that the smaller ports had no time to organise rank-and-file nominations. Having been prepared months previously, the EC got its stooges to the AGM without trouble. It was a foregone conclusion that the AGM would accept the 56-hour Deal, in the light of these facts.

This meant (in my opinion) that the London strike-decision had been correct. It was the only way we could have stopped the 56-hour betrayal at that time. The strike was lost, and the AGM fight was lost. The rank-and-file got no help from Slater on either occasion. Many seamen were badly depressed when the AGM finished. They had relied on an individual, and they were badly let down.

## MILITANT

Seamen soon lost that depressed feeling when they felt the weight of the 56-hour working week at sea. They are in a militant mood: this was shown by the *Crystal Jewel's* crew in a Spanish port in August. The *Jewel* lay astern of my ship. I convened a meeting aboard the *Jewel* at the crew's request, at which they set up their Ship's Committee. The *Jewel's* Committee was a very active and militant one, believe me. All they needed was a lesson in organisation to start with.

The *Crystal Jewel* is a London ship, and the crew are now in touch with the London Seafarers' Committee. The latter is in process of becoming active on new lines.

The Bristol Channel "Seafarer", which I edit, recently asked its readers to send in their views on rank-and-file policy, etc. Two letters among those sent in suggested a National Conference of rank-and-file seamen, to discuss seamen's aims, etc., ensure full unity among UK seamen in the future, and prevent any repetition of what took place earlier this year.

## NATIONAL POLICY NEEDED

The Bristol Channel Seafarers' Liaison Committee, of which I am a member, was set up during the March dispute. It links the South Wales ports, Newport, Cardiff, Barry Dock, Port Talbot and Swansea. The Committee needs to con-

solidate and expand, in order to play its full role. Although the membership is kept in touch by means of their news-sheet, the "Seafarer", we are all semi-frustrated by lack of a national policy, which is the first essential towards national unity. As far as South Wales seamen are concerned, I'd say that the sooner we call a National Rank-and-File Conference the better.

In my experience, a seamen's committee can rely on the backing of the lads at all times, if it is a genuine rank-and-file committee and keeps the boys in touch via its rank-and-file newspaper. Two weeks from the inception of the Bristol Channel Committee, and the distribution of its paper's rank-and-file message to seamen in S. Wales, Cardiff and Newport men were to hold a joint strike meeting in Cardiff. The meeting would have voted overwhelmingly for joining the strike, but the strike was called off on the previous day.

## SUPPORT

Another development has been the offer of financial aid from Trinity House seamen on the lightships, tenders, etc. in the Channel. After the strike, the Trinity House lads notified our Committee it could be assured of their support whenever needed in the future. As fellow-seamen they would show their unity with us, even though they were not involved in our dispute.

The formation of a Seamen's National Liaison Committee will provide a big impetus to our development overall. The only wonder is that we didn't set one up long ago. If readers would send this issue of DIRECT ACTION to any seaman they know, they could be a great help, as we have no national newspaper at the present time, either.

G. FOULSER, A.B.

## Two-million in NUS kitty

**S**EAMEN are hard men. They sleep on shelves at night and call each other bastards.

Maybe the seafaring industry is a bit different; the working week raised from 44 hours to 56 is the Paddy's rise that British seamen got when they asked for a 40-hour week—and this through the proper channels, that is, via the branch meetings to the AGM of the National Union of Seamen.

The 1964 AGM gave instructions for a try at the 40-hour week, and a substantial rise, by 1965.

In the early part of 1965 the EC of the NUS, some of whose members are there on no votes at all (and, it has been said, one or two on phoney votes) put the seamen back to Nelson's days by bringing in or agreeing to the 56-hour week at sea.

Now, it must have cost the NUS strikebreakers a lot of money to bring the officials with fascist leanings to break up a meeting by the rank-and-file seamen on the Mill Dam. The NUS cannot deny that officials from as far away as the Bristol Channel, London, South Coast, Liverpool and Scotland turned up at South Shields.

Bill Hogarth (Gen. Sec. of the NUS) must have a good crew to keep plugging the leaks that keep appearing in the structure of the NUS. They would do the NUS members a good turn by joining the bank robbers with the £2 million in the union kitty. After all, unions are there for the protection of the worker, not to make money out of him. Sixty thousand seamen, and over £2 million in the kitty!

BIG BOB



# Direct Action

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION, BRITISH SECTION OF INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

## Hands off the Shop Stewards!

OVER the past year or so the car industry has been an Aunt Sally. Many wild and woolly schemes have been advocated in the name of industrial peace.

The sole purpose of all the schemes is to take the power away from the shop stewards, and place it into the hands of the full-time union officials.

On August 10, this year the Ministry of Labour stated that the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations requires urgent research into some of the subjects it has to consider. One particular aspect mentioned was research into the methods of selection of shop stewards.

### ELECTED

Shop stewards are elected by the rank-and-file and are up for re-election at frequent intervals. They are on the shop floor at the tools and have *first-hand knowledge of any bother*. It is as simple as that. There can only be one reason for research into the selection of shop stewards, and that is to advocate that the union as such (full time officials) has more say in their selection. Some unions already have powers to withhold a steward's credentials; the general idea may be to recommend they use this power more diligently.

The ETU, under new ownership, is very concerned about the power of shop stewards. The EC of the ETU has put forward proposals for new negotiating machinery for the car industry. It proposes the abolition of the present national negotiating machinery and suggests that each separate motor car factory should negotiate agreement with the unions at national level.

This means, in effect, that instead of arguing at factory level with shop stewards first and then, if the dispute is not resolved, going to national level, every dispute would be dealt with by national officials with the management of the factory concerned. The Ford motor company is quoted as a classic example. Ford are also singled out as the plant enjoying industrial peace. We all know the reason why. Remember the 18 the unions wouldn't save.

### COMMUNIST PARTY PLANS

Another interested party in the shop stewards' movement is the Communist Party. P. Kerrigan, the industrial organiser

of the CP, has had a rollocking from the Party for not making sufficient impact on the car industry. He has been told to get his finger out, get organising a broad front of CPers, left-wingers and sympathisers.

This sounds wonderful until you understand the priorities, the Communist Party comes first, second and third, then the rank-and-file. It is usually a fact that a good Communist steward is a bad Party man—in other words, belonging to the CP is secondary, the people who elected him came first.

No wonder Kerrigan is in hot water. CP tactics have come a tumble in the motor industry. Now I will quote Ford again as a classic example: remember the 18 the Communist Party wouldn't help.

### HEAVY FIRE

The dispute over the Friday-night working in the motor industry has convinced the union leadership that they **MUST TAKE NOTICE OF THE RANK AND FILE**. So much so, that the EC of the Confed. of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has been advised to call a mass meeting of shop stewards to discuss the Government's proposals on the motor industry.

In the months to come the Shop Stewards Movement is going to come under heavy fire. It has its faults, its little bureaucracies but, nevertheless, the cry should be "Defend the Shop Stewards Movement."

## GROUP NOTICES

### SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION 7th NATIONAL CONFERENCE

London, Sunday, November 14

For further information contact the Secretary, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17.

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

- October 8 — Discussion: Kashmir
- 15 — J. McKie: ASSET's Role in Industry
- 22 — Subject to be announced
- 29 — Vincent Johnson: Wage Labour

Open-air-meetings every Sunday, Hyde Park, 3 p.m.

**LONDON:** SWF Industrial Action Sub-Committee (London). Readers wishing to help in the work of this committee are asked to contact the Secretary, c/o 34 Cumberland Rd., London E.17.

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

**GLASGOW:** Contact R. Lynn, 2B Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1. Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays. 8.00 p.m.

**HULL & E. YORKS:** Contact Jim Young, 67 Sandringham Street, Hull.

**MANCHESTER & DISTRICT:** Contact Jim Pinkerton, 12 Alt Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

**POTTERIES:** Contact Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Ave., Weston Coyney, Stoke-on-Trent.

**SOUTHALL:** Enquiries to Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Ave., Southall, Middx.

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

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

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### ESSENTIAL READING—IN ANY YEAR

## LENIN AND WORKERS' CONTROL

by Tom Brown

DIRECT ACTION Pamphlet No. 8 6d. (postpaid)



# THE TRUE TALE OF NED LUDD

IT is now fashionable among politicians, journalists and trade union bosses to shout "Luddite" at any worker who wishes to safeguard his health and livelihood on the introduction of some new machine, or who declines to fall flat on his face before the mythology of automation. To call a man a Luddite is, they hope, to brand him as an activist who opposes all new machinery and is ready to smash it. Such a view is the product of malicious ignorance.

This lie originated in the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, 1812, which said, "the disposition to combined and disciplined riot and disturbance . . . seems to have been first manifested in the neighbourhood of Nottingham, in November last, by the destruction of a great number of newly invented stocking frames, by small parties of men."

## WAGES DOWN, PRICES UP

The truth is, there was no new machinery in use or intended, but the rulers of those days had a second culprit. I recall a song of that period, reproduced in one of my school books, which chanted the sapient words, "Who makes the quartern loaf and Luddites to rise, Who fills the butcher's shop with big blue flies—Napoleon!"

The Luddite movement was manifest in Nottinghamshire, Lancashire and Yorkshire during the time of the Napoleonic wars, when wages were being reduced and food prices were soaring. It was preceded in these counties and in Cheshire by strikes, and, in the cases of Lanes and Yorks, was active at the same time as strikes and food riots, when workers stole farm produce and sold it at the old prices.

There is a vast amount of documental information of those times, so there is no excuse for ignorance. Of these many evidences, my favourite is one of 1808 when the weavers of Rochdale, on strike, removed the shuttles from the mills, but the constables found two unguarded bags of these vital parts and locked them in the local prison. Word was sent to the strikers, who marched on the jail, meeting on the way the constables who had arrested five of their comrades. Freeing their fellows, they continued to the prison and, being refused admission they broke down the doors, took the shuttles, and burned down Rochdale jail.

But, to understand Luddism, we must temporarily consider it apart from these other related events. It started in Nottinghamshire among the stocking frame knitters. As well as these narrow frames there were also broad frames, less refined, which were used to make pantaloons for the Continental trade. This trade was knocked out by the wars, so unscrupulous loom owners used the old machines to make stockings. True hose was knitted to shape, then finished around the top with loops which formed a selvedge. The owners of the broad frames, instead of scrapping them, made "pieces, which are cut up into gloves, socks, sandals or stockings . . . which articles, through their being cut and shaped with scissors, are deprived of proper loop selvedges, and of the means of being stitched with a lacy seam, and instead thereof are stitched together in the same manner as a tailor stitches a garment."—*Nottingham Review*, December 6, 1811.

## DAWN OF FREE TRADE

Of course, the stockings soon came apart from the top down and all hosing got a bad name. But the socks which soon turned into balls of thread were cheaper and, as there is a tendency for the bad to drive out the good in a free market, the good weavers and their employers were being driven to paupery. They appealed to the magistrates, as the old law allowed, but their case was ever thrown out.

They looked to Parliament, as they had before (with some little effect), but that assembly was uninterested. The age of freedom of free unfettered capitalism had dawned. Now, neither law nor Parliament must again interfere with trade. What was left? Only Direct Action. Luddism was born.

Why Ludd? The workers did not want to take the name of some great man, living or dead; so, as first mentioned by the *Nottingham Review* (December 20, 1811), they took the name of a boy frame knitting apprentice, who liked neither confinement nor continuous hard work. Because of these traits he was taken by his employer to the magistrates, who had him whipped. Returning to his job, young Ned took a big hammer and smashed the frame. There is no recorded sequel to this historic act.

## SKILFUL DESTRUCTION

The workers decided to follow Ned Ludd's example, so they used his name. Threatening letters and ultimatums were despatched bearing the title, "Ned Ludd's Office, Sherwood Forest." One sent to the Home Office is still there, marked: "This letter cannot be answered."

Some of the frames were in factories, some were in the cottages of workers, hired out to these workers by the owners. Owners were given the opportunity to cease their malpractices; when this failed Ned Ludd's men skilfully destroyed the frames, in mill or in cottage. Many reputable hosiery merchants and others sympathised with the Luddites, as did even cottagers who had rented frames destroyed in their homes. They were all fellow victims.

For the poor cottagers, generous collections were made and food and money, often substantial amounts, distributed to them. Criminals began to appear, robbing in the name of Ludd, but these were soon treated, without mercy, by the Luddites; there is a record of a reward of £1,000 being offered for their capture.

## DRAGOONS

Of course, soldiers were sent and that should have been the end of the story, for every intellectual knows that workers are powerless before the armed forces of the State. But the workers did not believe the wise men; they entered premises at night while, often, soldiers stood outside, and, destroying the frames, left before dawn.

In the town of Nottingham the magistrates asked for soldiers and a squadron of the 15 Dragoons arrived, while the Sheriff called out the local militia and shouted for more. By December, 1811, 900 cavalry and 1,000 infantry had arrived, to little avail. Frame breaking continued, though frames owned by a cottage worker were always spared. Luddite inspection of looms went on, often quite openly.

The government then brought in a Bill to gain more power to suppress the movement. In the Commons it was opposed by the witty dramatist Sheridan and many others, in the Lords by Holland, Grosvenor and Lauderdale, among others, while Byron made his maiden speech opposing it—"These men are convicted of the capital crime of poverty."

And the Luddites sang:

The guilty may fear, but no vengeance he aims  
At the honest man's life or estate.  
His wrath is entirely confined to wide frames  
And to those that old prices abate.  
These engines of mischief were sentenced to die  
By unanimous vote of the Trade;  
And Ludd who can all opposition defy  
Was the grand Executioner made.

TOM BROWN



# The new treason

SEPTEMBER, 1965, must prove a significant date on the calendar of Labour's betrayal of the workers. The abject performance of the TUC at Brighton in adopting an unworkable voluntary system of pay-claim vetting was stage-managed by top officials to prepare workers for legislation on wages and prices by December.

The Government, as General Secretary Woodcock explained, will legislate for power to require by Order in Council notice of intention to make claims relating to pay or working conditions. The prices and incomes policy which they had accepted had to be made to work, he said. And the alternatives to the TUC voluntary plan "are really frightful". He wanted the TUC to prove that there was no need for the imposition on us by the Government of these legislative measures."

## STOPPAGES

And at Whitehall the bureaucrats of the Department of Economic Affairs put the finishing touches to George Brown's five-year National Plan. The keynote of this document is a planned onslaught upon the union and the right to strike. Wage increases are to be pegged at 3-3½% annually; and with the Orders in Council now being prepared, such pegging will be compulsory and free collective bargaining abolished.

Government control of the unions is implicit in Brown's unified economic plan. Such centralised planning entails continuous surveying and directing of policy. This, in turn, leads to an increasing amount of State intervention in industry to prevent stoppages of work caused or about to be caused by parties refusing to compromise for a settlement of their disputes. The wider interests of "society" and "the nation" will be invoked to justify pains and penalties for all the "wreckers" in industry who threaten the National Plan. Strikes become "treason against our democracy".

The logical step after compulsory notification of wage claims is compulsory conciliation. After that comes compulsory arbitration. And at present the Royal Commission on the unions, of which Woodcock is a member, is making a close study of the position in Australia where the first steps towards arbitration in labour disputes were taken 60 years ago.

## CLASS COLLABORATION

When the original Conciliation and Arbitration Bill of 1904 was introduced in Australia, the Protectionist leader in Parliament there, Alfred Deakin, appeased those employers who disliked the idea of State interference by declaring during the second reading that the central idea of the Bill was to outlaw strikes and protect employers and investors from the growing power of organised labour.

The Labour Party was already converted to the idea, believing that it would gain more support outside the ranks of manual labourers and tradesmen by setting its face sternly against strikes. Thus the system in Australia is the product of class collaboration, and as the instrument of class collaboration it functions to this day.

The syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World in Australia assailed, of course, both the parliamentarian and the arbitrationist. In his pamphlet "The Way to Win", Tom Mann criticised the delays and technicalities of the arbitration court and held that Labour politicians were little interested in trade unionism. Mere parliamentary or Arbitration Court activities, he warned, would end in disaster for the unions.

In 1917, Percy Laidler, follower of Tom Mann, wrote "Arbitration and the Strike", a brilliant pamphlet pointing

out that "The great evil resulting from the era of Arbitration in the last twelve years or so has been that the working man has been deluded into regarding the Court as a substitute for strikes. Thus he has been encouraged to rely on what this pamphlet proves is a broken reed. And inasmuch as he does this he fails to rely on what is reliable—his union's capacity to strike."

## WAGES DEPRESSED

Today, the Australian Council of Trade Unions is fighting for the removal from the Court of its present powers to impose crippling penalties on unions and their members, suppressing their struggle for higher living standards.

These iniquitous penal clauses were introduced when Menzies's party gained office 14 years ago and have been described as a "union busting device for an anti-worker Government of anti-worker parliamentarians controlled by the faceless men of big business enterprises." (*Century* newspaper, Sydney, 29.5.65).

The same labour journal reports that Menzies-appointed judges bled the unions white at the very mention of the word "strike". Since 1950 the penal clauses have cost the unions more than £43,000 in fines, plus £33,023 in costs. Singled out for special punishment are the organised dockers, the militant Waterside Workers' Federation.

## FINES—GAOL IN PENAL POWERS

These penal powers include:—

- De-registration of unions.
- Registration of breakaway unions.
- Cancellation of awards.
- Discrimination against one union and in favour of an opposition union on preference in employment.
- Fines on unions when members refuse to work in accordance with orders or awards of the Court or Conciliation Commissioners and Committees.
- Fines on unions for strikes, overtime bans, black bans, go-slow strikes and every other form of direct action.
- Fines on unions for stop-work meetings.
- Jail sentences on union officials and executives for the above "crimes."
- Fines on individual members for these "crimes."
- Fines and jail sentences for contempt of Court.
- Fines for non-compliance with routine provisions of the Acts.
- Fines for writing or speeches bring a Conciliation Commissioner into disrepute.
- Fines and jail sentences for creating a disturbance near a Court or Conciliation Commissioner.
- Placing a Receiver in charge of a Union for failure to pay fines imposed on it, freezing Union funds and the destruction of a Union by a process of winding-up.
- Over-riding by the Court of Executive and rank-and-file decisions.

## DIRECT ACTION OUT

The Menzies Government in 1951, amended the Commonwealth Arbitration Act extending the penal powers of the Court and providing heavy penalties for failure to submit claims to Arbitration and abide by the result whatever it may be.

Section 78 of this Act now provides a penalty for every time any "officer, servant or agent or member of a committee" of a union or branch of a union "encourages, advises or incites" a member:—

- To refuse to "accept employment, offer for work or actually work in accordance with an award or with an employer bound by the award."

cont. on page 7 col. 1



# MISPLACED 'MILITANCY' ON TYNESIDE

AN INSIGHT into bureaucratic unionism was given recently by the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. George Blackburn a labourer for Boldon (Durham) Urban District Council refused to pay the increased weekly subscription (up from 1s. 3d. to 2s. a week). The Council sacked him, under union pressure. He got a job with Durham County Council and joined the National Union of Public Employees (sub. 1s. per week)—an industrial union for all public utilities employees.

Four months later he lost this job and went back to Boldon UDC. Yes, you've guessed it—the NUGMW is trying to get him the sack again. This surely is a case for George Blackburn's fellow-workers in the NUGMW telling their officials where to put their misplaced militancy.

## ENGINEERS FIGHT DIFFERENTIAL

Two hundred alert engineers shocked the management of Churchill Gear Machines, Blaydon, Durham, on August 27. They walked straight out without approaching the management and giving no indication of when they would return. This happened when one man was offered more to operate his machine "to fuller advantage" to boost productivity for their export drive.

This kind of action has more than local significance. Approaches of this nature, made either individually or collectively, can be expected more often in the future. These workers will not tolerate differentials of this kind and realise that once a standard wage is reached other things count for more than the extra odd shillings a week for a few.

## PORTWORKERS DIVIDED

It cannot often be that criticism can be made of dockers' rank-and-file organisation. But something went wrong with the unofficial strike by 30 Newcastle dockers over payment for handling timber and they are all back at work currently, while union officials talk.

A bad national press, interference by the union (NUGMW), political interference by Alderman Cunningham (NUGMW district secretary), interference by white collar portworkers—all have played their part and morale is now very low.

The papers said food was rotting in the ships—a slander on the dockers, since the *Rosemarkie* carried onions (which store well) and the *Primula* (with 1,500 tons of bacon and

butter) is refrigerated.

White-collar portworkers unloaded and portered for holidaymakers off the Danish boat at weekends. The dockers said their dispute was with management alone.

As it is, action may have to be taken again. And in the docks industrial action *must* interfere with supplies of food, etc. So, despite the dockers' courteous concern for the public at large, everything argues for pulling out all the stops of militancy to win in the shortest possible time. Less wages would be lost (£90,000 so far), and also less interference could take place.

## "LIKE WHAT WE ARE AIMING FOR"

Newcastle's Lord Mayor, Alderman Mrs. Theresa Russell, has just returned from her holiday with her husband and daughter in Fascist Portugal. They spent a lot of time seeing the Lisbon exhibition of rehousing and development, at the invitation of the Mayor of Lisbon. By Portuguese law, this official must be a fascist. Mrs. Russell described him as "a wonderful man, utterly dedicated to giving happiness and homes to those of the lower income groups." He "elects 12 aldermen—all very competent big businessmen—and they run the whole thing."

Mrs. Russell says the Lisbon system is "rather like what we are aiming for with a City Manager."

## SECRET POLICE IN SEABOOTS

According to a local press investigation, a secret international organisation is smuggling economic and political refugees into Britain from "Communist" countries through North Shields. The biggest problem for refugees from Poland is the "political advisers" on board Polish ships. These used to be officially appointed, but now they are secret agents indistinguishable from any other scamen.

## OOPS!

"Mr. W. E. Garrett spoke about the gas industry in the House of Commons in July."

*The Journal*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 9.9.65.

DIRECT ACTION REPORTER

## LITERATURE

## THE NEW TREASON (cont.)

- To "retard, obstruct or limit the progress of work to which the award applies by 'go-slow' methods."
- To "perform work in a manner different from that customarily applicable to that work."
- To "adopt a practice which would limit or restrict or tend to limit or restrict output or production."
- To refuse employment or refuse to work for any particular employer or on any particular work.

This means a penalty upon a union and every officer, including shop stewards, for every time resort is had to any form of action outside the Court in relation to an award.

Australian workers have learned that the only justice to be obtained from the Arbitration Court is capitalist justice. Today the only vocal advocates of the Court are those whose incomes are *not* determined by it—employers, politicians, judges, barristers, editors of the right-wing press, and trade union bosses.

M. CALLINAN

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# CIA FANS KASHMIR FLAMES

THE big-booted secret agents of America's CIA have been busy in the Indian sub-continent, according to a sober and careful despatch from Victor Anant of the *Daily Telegraph* (13.9.65), who had to leave New Delhi to get past the censor. It seems that the Central Intelligence Agency and presumably the US government, which owns, but doubtfully controls it, were angry against Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, because of his indifference to India's trouble with China. During the three years since China's military attack the CIA has attempted to oust Ayub Khan.

## CIA's HOPE

They told India that Ayub was shaky and would soon fall, and in September 1963 they went hard to work in Pakistan. Ayub decided to call a general election and CIA had to withdraw two of their agents for allegedly supplying funds to the opposition candidate, Fatimah Jinnah, sister of the first leader of Pakistan. Ayub won his election, but the CIA went on from its headquarters in Lahore, from which one more leading agent was shifted to Delhi.

According to Anant, the CIA's hopes were then shifted to Gen. Azam, who was out of favour with Ayub, but the General would not "play ball". Next, they tried to win over Shoaib, Minister of Finance, and another minister—no luck.

It seems that the rapid deterioration of relations between USA and Pakistan began in the middle of 1963. It is sure that ex-President Harry S. Truman would not be surprised to learn that General Motors then became involved. This industrial giant "had been advised to sell out" its holdings in Pakistan. It was bought out by a firm on whose board

of directors sat Ayub's son, Capt. Gauhar Ayub. No wonder things got worse.

## "HAWKS" AND "DOVES"

Last May, Indian and Pakistani troops clashed in the Rann of Kutch. Where there is trouble, there is the CIA—and vice versa. It had been reported that the Pakistani generals were divided into two factions, the "hawks" and the "doves". The hawks wanted to attack India, the doves to be restrained—so the story went. About July, CIA seems to have passed on to India military intelligence that Pakistan was preparing to renew a push in Kashmir. In August, infiltrators were sent across the border and the Indian government was convinced.

Victor Anant goes on, "The first major CIA error seems to have been made around August 23. It was reported that the 'doves' were ready to oust President Ayub. Again CIA was wrong."

American Ambassador Chester Bowles returned to New Delhi, and America postponed the Aid Pakistan Consortium meeting from September 9 to September 23. Ayub was again "about to fall". India seems to have been encouraged and decided to cross the cease-fire line. Anant says, "I have not been able to ascertain whether this vital decision was taken with the approval of the USA. I am certain, however, that American sources in New Delhi were aware of it."

## NOTHING TO GAIN

There seems to be firm ground for the statement of Victor Anant: "I have reasonable grounds to believe that Mr. Chester Bowles, American Ambassador, also had advance knowledge of India's intention to open a secret front." So the CIA with heavy tread follows the labyrinthine path of intrigue and story buying. If it has a secret battle flag, it may add to it, alongside Singapore and the Bay of Pigs, the beautiful but tragic name, Kashmir.

The workers and peasants of Pakistan and India have much to lose and nothing to gain from this struggle of two power groups, the menace of a third beyond the Himalayas and the meddling of a fourth from the West. The only gain can come from a realisation of their common lot.

Fortunately, in Britain, we observe a general tendency for Pakistani and Indian workers here to continue to get along together without the bitterness of war; and in India, it seems, Moslem and Hindu are not indulging in riot and massacre, as was forecast. Given the opportunity, peoples usually show more sense than do governments; they certainly show more preference for peace.

T.B.

## Release Iberian prisoners

THE demonstration at the Spanish and Portuguese Embassies, on Sunday, September 19 in Belgrave Square, London, called by the Committee for the Release of Spanish and Portuguese Political Prisoners, can be termed as a success. About 100 people took part, and we proceeded to march around the Square, each demonstrator carrying a poster with the name of a prisoner and the length of the sentence being served.

The police were particularly bloody—deliberately provoking individuals and finally a total of seven were arrested. Charged at Bow Street, one was fined and the others remanded until September 30.

As the protest ended there were mixed feelings, whether we should march to Speaker's Corner and hold a protest meeting or whether to move over onto the pavement in front of the Spanish Embassy, which the police throughout the demonstration had refused to let us do. But, as the majority of the marchers opted for Speaker's Corner, the column moved slowly out of the Square.

Although this was a successful meeting, it was not enough and, as with everything, we could have done better. In the future we must do more than just picket against the oppression of our Spanish and Portuguese comrades. This is one fight we cannot afford to lose—it may be our turn next; not all fascists are called Franco or Salazar and not all of 'em wear brown shirts.

MARYLYN HUTT

## HELP SPANISH TOURIST BOYCOTT

FROM the Spanish comrades of the exiled CNT in this country, the SWF has received the gift of 1,000 two-colour postcards, in aid of our Press Fund. These beautifully-produced cards, 7x4 in., with the CNT imprint, depict four aspects of Franco Spain that Costa Brava tourists usually miss: photographs of a Spanish prison gallery, political prisoners, slums in Madrid and armed Civil Guards on patrol. By using these cards, which have the normal spaces for greetings and addressing, readers can help both the Spanish Tourist Boycott campaign and the SWF Press Fund. They are 6d. each, 6s. for 12, plus postage (2½d for single copies, 6d for 12) from SWF.

● The SWF has reprinted its leaflet, "A Cheap Holiday", attacking tourism to Franco Spain. Copies are available at 1s. 6d. for 100; 15s. for 1,000, postpaid.