

Direct Action

For workers' direct control of industry

Inside—Civil Rights struggle
Dockers must unite : From cloth cap to coronet
Freedom under Law

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION (IWMA)

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Fourpence

Young SWF militant faces Franco frame-up trial **FREE STUART CHRISTIE!**

OUR YOUNG SCOTTISH COMRADE, Stuart Christie, is in Madrid's notorious Carabanchel Prison, charged with "terrorism" and awaiting trial by a military tribunal—which unconfirmed reports say will be held this month. Also under arrest on the same charge is a Spanish anti-fascist, Fernando Carballo Blanco. The Syndicalist Workers' Federa-

tion states emphatically that these arrests and charges are a frame-up by Franco's secret police.

These are the allegations made by the Spanish fascist gestapo chief, the Director of Security:

1. That Stuart was arrested on Tuesday, August 11 in Madrid, carrying plastic charges, potassium chlorate and detonators.
2. That following several days of "close interrogation"—it was five days before the Spanish authorities released the news of his arrest, another three before the British Vice-Consul was allowed to visit him—Stuart made a "full confession", giving details of an "underground terrorist organisation and its future plans".
3. That he incriminated 40-year-old Fernando Carballo, a Madrid carpenter, who was subsequently arrested.
4. That advance details of Stuart's activities were known to the secret police through the activity of their undercover agents abroad—including some who had infiltrated the libertarian movement in Britain.
5. That Stuart was under close observation by Spanish secret police before he crossed the Spanish frontier at La Junquera checkpoint and that he was watched and followed right up to the moment of his arrest.
6. That he hitch-hiked to Madrid with the explosives and detonators in a rucksack, to contact "terrorist elements" and that together, in furtherance of an international plot, they were to "carry out acts of violence against official buildings and private residences, in order to create a psychosis of terror."

Immediately Stuart was allowed to communicate with his mother—first by cable, through the British Vice-Consul, to

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STUART CHRISTIE—a Spanish police photograph, released through Associated Press.

Meanwhile in Spain . . .

Three Spanish Syndicalists from Barcelona—Francisco Calle, Jose Cases and Augusto Mariano—have been sentenced to four years' imprisonment in Madrid, for activity connected with the CNT and the ASO (Workers' Trade-Union Alliance).

Stuart Christie (cont.)

his home in Blantyre, Lanarkshire, then verbally, when she flew to Madrid—he asserted his complete innocence. Of that innocence, the SWF and the “Christie-Carballo Defence Committee” are convinced. Consider these facts:

- An 18-year-old boy, on hitch-hiking holiday in a kilt (and therefore conspicuous), is claimed somewhere en route through France to have collected a rucksack of explosives and full details of “the underground terrorist organisation and its future plans”, then been sent to join that organisation in Madrid.
- The police claim that, when they raided Carballo’s flat, they found two suitcases of explosive. If this were true—and we believe it is another lie—further additions to the arsenal were hardly needed from Stuart’s tightly-packed rucksack.
- Stuart’s past activities have centred around CND and the Committee of 100 and his mother, Mrs. Olive Christie, states: “He is against violence of all kinds and knows nothing about explosives—it is absurd to arrest him in connection with such a charge.”
- The underground opposition to Franco is far too experienced for such stupid activity. It is inconceivable that they would ask an 18-year-old Scot, who does not speak a word of Spanish, to undertake such a foolhardy mission.
- If Stuart was under close surveillance throughout his journey, why was he arrested *before* he had made contact with these mysterious Madrid “terrorists”?
- The planting of evidence on prisoners is a widely-used police tactic. In Britain, there were the recent Challenor

revelations, where bricks were planted on pacifists arrested at a demonstration during the Greek Royal visit. *In Britain, bricks. In fascist Spain, explosives.* An obvious method to discredit political opponents: Anarcho-syndicalist = terrorist = bombs.

We believe that Stuart Christie is facing a capital charge in Spain, because he was known to be an active libertarian and a militant anti-fascist in Britain, where the activities of Spanish police spies, openly admitted by the Franco regime, have brought widespread protests, including one from the Scottish Trades Union Congress.

The Franco regime has been angered by the activity of the libertarian movement in this country—particularly by its campaign against tourism to Spain—and has taken its chance to arrest, “closely interrogate” and victimise one of our members.

Throughout Franco’s 25 years of terror, countless thousands of his anti-fascist opponents have been executed, maimed and jailed. Only twelve months ago, our comrades Delgado and Granado were garrotted after another such frame-up. The names of Stuart Christie and Fernando Carballo must not be added to that list. Franco relies on support from America and Britain to prop his tottering fascist structure. A protest here—and in the States—will, if loud and clear enough, wrest our comrades from the bloody hands of Franco’s secret police.

Already the tempo of pickets, meetings, demonstrations, petitions is mounting. Marches and demonstrations to the Spanish Embassy and Franco’s consulates have been held in Glasgow, London and Bristol. A big demonstration outside the Spanish Consulate in Glasgow on August 22 was climaxed with the burning of Franco’s swastika-daubed fascist flag. This had coverage nationally on BBC and Independent TV—and on the French radio.

In London, on the initiative of the SWF, a broadly-based “Christie-Carballo Defence Committee” on a delegate basis, was formed on Friday, August 21. A big public meeting was held by this committee at Conway Hall on Friday, August 28—and a march to the Spanish Embassy organised on the previous Sunday. Offers of help, including much-needed cash for the Defence Fund, should be sent to the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee, c/o Christopher, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17. (Secretary: Mark Hendy).

In Scotland, a “Defence and Aid Fund” has been started. Scottish readers should send contributions to: Zoe Boyd, 214 Hamilton Crescent, Cambuslang, Glasgow.

In Bristol, there is a Committee for the Release of Stuart Christie (West Country). Secretary—Dorothy Clarkson-Smith, Treasurer—Patrick Somers, Address—7 Richmond Dale, Bristol 8.

ACT NOW! Send telegrams and letters of protest about the frame-up of Stuart Christie and Fernando Carballo to the Spanish Ambassador, Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1. and to R. A. Butler, The Foreign Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.1. Join our pickets and demonstrations—and organise others. Get resolutions passed in your trade-union branches and other organisations. **ACT TO SAVE TWO LOVERS OF FREEDOM FROM THE THREAT OF DEATH—OR LONG YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT. And ACT NOW!**

NATIONAL COMMITTEE, SWF.

GROUP NOTICES

LONDON SWF GROUP: Open meetings every Friday, except the first one in each month, at the Lucas Arms, 245 Grays Inn Road, WC1 (5 min Kings Cross Station) at 8 pm.

OPEN-AIR—SUNDAYS, HYDE PARK, 3 PM

BRISTOL: Enquiries c/o Martin Howells, 7 Richmond Dale, Clifton, Bristol 8.

DUNDEE: Contact Roddy Cameron, c/o Stevenson, 44 Peddie St., Dundee.

GLASGOW: Contact Ron Alexander, c/o Kennedy, 112 Glenkirk Drive, Glasgow W.5.

LIVERPOOL: Contact Vincent Johnson, 43 Milbank, Liverpool 13.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP: Contact Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland St, Edinburgh 3.

WITNEY: Meetings 1st Friday of each month. Contact LAURENS OTTER, 5 New Yatt Rd, North Leigh, near Witney, Oxon.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP. Meets Tuesdays (in terms), Q5 Queens. Details, town and gown, Adrian Cunningham, 3, North Cottages, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS ANARCHIST GROUP meets on 1st and 3rd Thursday of every month at 8 p.m. at 4, Mount Zion, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

TYNESIDE ANARCHIST FEDERATION: Contact Dave Wallace, 64 Belford Ave., Horsly Hill, S. Shields, Co. Durham.

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

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT—Contact Jim Pinkerton, 12 Alt Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP: Contact the Secretary, 5 Colville Houses, W11. Open meeting 1st Friday each month, 8 pm, British Oak, Westbourne Park Rd, W2.

NEW FOREST ANARCHIST GROUP: Contact Ken Parkin, Old Tea House, Brockenhurst, Hants.

ROMFORD AND HORNCHURCH ANARCHIST GROUP: Contact Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster, or John Chamberlain, 19 Chestnut Glen, Hornchurch.

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

A.I.T.

Monthly paper of the IWMA, in French and Spanish.
9d. from SWF, 34 Cumberland Rd., London, E.17.

Railwaymen bring up the rear

RAILWAY workers are in no mood to talk about an incomes policy. At their conference in July, Sidney Green explained to them that strict rejection of an "incomes policy" would injure the Labour Party's election chances. Delegates wisely voted 69-7 in favour of "refusal to co-operate with any attempts to minimise or limit the full effects of such awards that trade union industrial strength could win."

With the postmen having won part of their wage demands, railwaymen are further down the wage scale. Nine months ago they had a pay increase of 6%; they are now forced to submit a claim for a further 10% increase.

This was to be expected, because all the demands made by railwaymen have been in line with the Guillebaud Report,

which stated that their wages should be equitable with those in comparable industries.

British Railways have always conveniently ignored the Report, consequently railwaymen never catch up. Obviously there must be a showdown some day and NUR railmen must pick their own time, in conjunction with ASLEF and TSSA. A joint rank-and-file committee, cutting across the three unions, is their only hope. The three leaders will each stand on their own dignity—and British Railways will reap the benefit.

LEST WE FORGET

IN the hubbub of wage demands and strike activity in industry, poorer paid workers get forgotten, or their demands and their rejection get sympathetic lip-service from the well-organised industrial workers.

At the moment I am thinking of nurses, who received a 3% increase on July 15, backdated to July 1. A spokesman for the nurses said it was a very disappointing agreement. And having said that all was forgotten.

Can nurses help themselves? Hardly, since their job is partly a vocation, and the rest of us ponce on the situation. So back to the old slogan: "An injury to one is an injury to all".

BUSINESS AS USUAL

FORTY-TWO weeks ago 250 workers walked out of William Denby & Sons' dye works in Sheffield over a dispute with the management concerning conditions and union recognition.

Since that date the firm has been picketed by strikers, but scabs have been smuggled in and production kept going. The *New Daily* proudly announces, under the column headline "A boost for non-union company", that Denby & Sons have increased their trading profit by 70%.

It is quite possible that Martell's Freedom Group had some hand in supplying the scab labour. It certainly wouldn't be the first time Freedom Group has supplied scab labour to small employers in dispute.

Obviously Denby & Sons are winning—or have won. With the widening of the dispute and sympathetic direct action, this might not have happened.

SHOP STEWARD REINSTATED

IT is possible to get a sacked shop steward reinstated. Thirty carpenters on Tersons site at Victoria struck for reinstatement of their steward—and won.

ENGINEERING EMPLOYERS PULL A "STROKE"

THE Engineering Employers' Federation have told their members to think twice about agreeing to union demands for "no victimisation" after unofficial strikes. They point out that this is not an instruction to members of the Federation, just a statement of position under the "Contracts of Employment Act".

Obviously one employer has got to make the "test case". If and when he does, engineering workers have been warned.

BILL CHRISTOPHER

How Labour Governed, 1945-1951

Forgotten? Too young to remember? This pamphlet is essential reading in election year, for voters and anti-voters. It describes how, in six years, and despite an overwhelming Parliamentary majority for nearly five of them, the post-war Labour Governments betrayed every socialist principle.

Price 6d. a copy, plus postage.

(Bulk orders welcomed—but please send cash with orders if possible. This will help offset costs of reprinting.)

Dockers—National unity is essential

MERSEYSIDE portworkers were presented earlier this year with what was termed by the employers a new deal for dockers; one main point of it was the de-casualisation of labour. The plan was drawn up by the Port Employers and the local Transport and General Workers organiser. The dockers politely told both where to stick their plan.

The "Blue" union (NASD) is opposed completely to the plan and all the local docks branches of the T. & G. rejected it, many coupling their opposition with a vote of no confidence in local organiser O'Hare. The dockers are not against decasualisation as such, if it helps them, but they correctly see the plan as a direct threat to their living standards, already kept low by shocking pay and conditions.

The dockers must formulate their own plan. The blue union is going to fight for a basic wage of £15 plus a 40-hour week, also one or two other things. It seems more logical for dockers to belong to this union. At the same time, dockers should be under no illusions as to its nature—it is just as likely, for all its militant demands, to sell out, unless the rank and file control it.

The dockers are one of the most militant sections of the community, but they should be ready for a hard and bitter struggle with a labour government, should it get to power, for did the Labour Party in their last term of government, not use troops to break dock strikes? National unity is essential: any strike should be national and attempts made to involve other workers.

The most important point is that any stoppage should be controlled by the rank and file docker, not by the union bosses, Blue or White. At the moment, the white union (T. & G.) is trying to poach members from the blue union and vice versa. This is disgraceful, at a time when the feeling of unity is the highest it has ever been. It would be a disaster if this were to be broken by selfish attempts at member-snatching.

All workers must stand by to defend the dockers, if and when they strike. We should have token strikes, make collections among our mates for their strike fund, and show our solidarity in as many ways as we can. The struggle of the dockers is the struggle of all working people—we must stick together.

VINCENT JOHNSON

Transport and General Workers' Union

Direct Action

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

Labour's men of wealth —cloth cap to coronet

THE HISTORY of the British Labour Party and the evolutionary change in character of the official leadership reads like the classic romance of the successful politician, who rises from newspaper boy to millionaire Prime Minister. It is the familiar tale of rags to riches, shop-floor to boardroom, radicalism to respectability.

To date the public relations experts and the Transport House backroom boys, busy projecting Labour's New Image, have not sought to use the columns of D.A., but we think it is only fair that in election year we should play our part in providing publicity for Labour's Men of Distinction, by supplying what may be some less well-known facts concerning the social-democratic élite.

It was Arthur Greenwood, chairman of the Labour Party, who said in the House of Commons (17.8.45): "I look around my colleagues and I see landlords, capitalists and lawyers." We have been taking a similar look around and would add company directors and real estate tycoons, city financiers and millionaires.

Top of the labour league positions, as to the acquisition of wealth, property and hefty bank balances, must go to such rich left-wingers as millionaire socialist and TV boss **Jack Hylton**, **Lewis Cohen** (Chairman of the £120-million Alliance Building Society), **Lord Sainsbury**, **Sir Jock Campbell**, **Lord Longford** (Chairman of the National Bank and of the Trades Union Unit Trust), **Lord Piercy** (of the Industrial and Commercial Finance Corporation), **Robin Brook** (Chairman of the Ionian Bank), **Woodrow Wyatt MP**, **John Diamond MP**, **G. R. Strauss MP**, **Capt. Robert Maxwell** (Labour candidate for Buckingham, wealthy owner of Pergamon Press), **Dr. Joseph Sagall** (City financier who backs the intellectual left-wing quarterly, "Views", edited by his son Sabby, subsidised by industrial, commercial and insurance advertising), "**Socialist Sid**" **Bernstein** (Big Boss of Granada TV) and his friend **Mr. X**, who helped to end the Commercial TV strike, wealthy Labour lawyer **Arnold Goldman**, senior partner of Goodman, Derrick and Co, the firm which represented the Labour Party before the Vassall Tribunal and included among its posh clientele the late Hugh Gaitskell and the late Nye Bevan.

XYZ SOCIETY

Labour liaison with the City was undertaken seriously and systematically by Hugh Gaitskell, and in the XYZ Society, which he founded, Labour's men of distinction and sympathetic City representatives met together. Hugh's close friendship with such City figures as Lord Plowden (Chairman of Tube Investments and Director of the National Provincial Bank) and Lord Drogheda, Managing Director of the Financial Times, had its designed effect.

Harold Wilson continued the good work and in the last few months he has been strengthening the bonds with the City at secret lunchtime sessions with the biggest tycoons. William Davis, alert City Editor of the *Evening Standard*,

reporting these secret sessions (E.S., 15.6.64), advised Harold on ways to woo and not to woo the big boys of Finance.

According to "Catalpa", writing last month in Labour's own journal, *Socialist Commentary*, on "Labour and the City—Burying the Old Bogy", it is the City which is taking the initiative. Jim Callaghan, Harold Wilson, George Brown, Ray Gunter, Douglas Jay, may all be seen "speeding Citywards as the lunch hour approaches."

At a recent City Conference organised by the *Investor's Chronicle*, Labour's John Diamond was a big success and, as the *Investor's Chronicle* summed up, helped "to allay the capitalist devouring socialist bogy" and made it clear that "investment opportunities will exist under a Labour Government."

George Brown's impact on the big tycoons was proved in print in the *Moorgate and Wall Street* review, published by the merchant bankers Philip Hill, in which he carried on a colloquy on planning with one of the directors, Maxwell Stamp. City financiers declare that "Brown made an excellent impression" (*Socialist Commentary*, August, 1964).

Labour's ideas of a State Unit Trust are now accepted as reasonable in leading City circles. On Desmond Hirshfield's advice, the trade unions are busy studying the blue chip market. Baroness Dora Gaitskell has her unit trust directorship, part of the initiative of Robin Brook and the Ionian Bank. Robin was a Labour appointment to the Bank of England.

The Trades Union Unit Trust, embracing 27 unions—including the miners, railwaymen, seamen, bakers and theatrical workers—has invested almost £3½-million. The trust's latest list of investments includes eight of the 22 companies named by Jim Callaghan as big contributors to Tory political funds. They are A.E.I., English Electric, Guest Keen, Ranks, Hovis, B.M.C., Leyland, Great Universal Stores and Imperial Tobacco.

Class collaboration and "togetherness" could hardly go further, but of course Babcock and Wilcox, as generous as Tate and Lyle to Tory funds, were invited to share the same stately home, Congress House, HQ of the trade union movement. They did become tenants, but more of this next month, under the title, "The Brotherhood of Capital and Labour."

M. CALLINAN

LITERATURE

"Direct Action" pamphlets:—

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	by Tom Brown	5d.
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INDUSTRIAL WORKER	(fortnightly organ of the IWW)	4d.
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VIEWS AND COMMENTS	(organ of the Libertarian League, U.S.)	8d.
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All prices include postage

From: Bill Christopher, 34, Cumberland Road, London, E.17.

'FREEDOM UNDER LAW'

UNDER capitalism, or in any form of class society, privilege is inevitably based on property. This is demonstrated in laws governing even those liberties which we take most for granted.

Sir Ivor Jennings remarks in his book *Cabinet Government* that "without freedom of speech the appeal to reason which is the basis of democracy cannot be made". Before we can even speak freely, though, we must at least be able to assemble freely. But where? There is no right of public assembly. Laws against obstruction prohibit any use of the public highway, except for passing and repassing; a person can be convicted merely for standing in the street outside the building he lives in, let alone for attending a street-corner meeting. All open spaces (parks, squares and so forth) that are not part of the highway and to which we normally have access are administered by one official body or another, which may or may not allow its land to be used for a meeting. The only meetings that can be legally held without threat of interference are those that take place on private property.

Freedom of speech itself also exists only within the bounds of law. But from the simple plane of property qualification in the case of assembly, freedom of speech moves on to a higher plane: privilege of office. We may think of the law of defamation, for example, as applying largely to disputes between private individuals; but it is Ministers of the Crown, judges, and others concerned in judicial proceedings, certain members of the armed forces, and MPs who enjoy absolute exemption from prosecution for libel or slander. Far more profound in their effects, however, are the laws against sedition, the Official Secrets Acts, laws against seduction from duty of the armed forces, and punishment for contempt of court.

Sedition can mean any act of disaffection or disloyalty to the State (or to the established Church!), but usually incitement to violence and the publication of defamatory words must be used. However there is no reason why judges should not decide to make the broader interpretation; while under a particularly repressive government incitement to violence is a necessary means to survival.

In theory the Official Secrets Acts exist to protect State secrets, but they go well beyond this and can be used against anyone doing anything that the State considers to be prejudicial to its interests. The State decides what shall be secret, who its enemies are, what are its interests, and what is prejudicial to them.

Seduction from duty need only be attempted. And the law can be used against any person possessing a document that might cause disaffection. This includes any pacifist or anti-militarist literature.

Contempt of court includes any criticism of a court that the court itself considers "pure invective" (no legal definition), or conduct likely to bring the administration of justice into contempt—regardless of how ridiculously or contemptuously the court behaves. You may also be punished for

conduct "likely to prejudice" a pending court proceeding.

Besides these measures, which can be used to keep criticism down to a safe level, there is also a standing body of legislation empowering the government to take extensive repressive measures without reference to Parliament, either to defend its power or to strengthen it. Under the Emergency Powers Act, 1920, when a state of emergency has been proclaimed, Ministers may, by Order in Council, make regulations: "for securing the essentials of life to the community, and those regulations may confer or impose on a Secretary of State, or any other persons, in Her Majesty's service or acting on Her Majesty's behalf, such powers and duties as Her Majesty may deem necessary for the preservation of the peace, for securing and regulating the supply and distribution of food, water, fuel, light, and other necessities, for maintaining the means of transit and locomotion and for any other purpose essential to the public safety and the life of the community, and may make any provisions incidental to the powers aforesaid as may appear to Her Majesty to be required for making the essential exercise of those powers effective."

But under capitalism there is no peace, no public, no community. The Act has been used only against the workers: in the miners' strike (1921), General Strike (1926), London dock strikes, (1948, 1949), and this is the only conceivable use to which it could ever be put under capitalism.

With the heightening of the class struggle which takes place when the State wages war against another State, similar powers are invoked. During World War I, the Defence of the Realm Acts gave extensive powers of government by regulation. During World War II the Emergency Powers Defence Acts gave the government a completely free hand—power to require persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty. The courts were not allowed to challenge the validity of any regulation. Under Regulation 18B British-born subjects of "hostile associations" might be detained indefinitely without trial. In 1942 the House of Lords decided that not only was there no legal machinery that could be invoked to assist persons so interned, but that there was no method known to law whereby the reasonableness of the Home Secretary's action could be tested.

Different laws have different functions, serve different needs for those who make them. But they operate together within a certain social framework. Next month's author will deal with the relationship of legislation to that framework.

MARK HENDY

Canadian workers win fight to organise

ONE OF THE first attempts to organise "white collar" workers in British Columbia has proved successful. Backed up by a seven-week strike, 60 office workers employed by MacMillan, Bloedel and Powell River Company (a huge lumber firm) at their Port Alberni plant have finally won their demands for union security.

The strikers, mainly women, benefited greatly from the solidarity of over 3,000 "blue-collar" unionists employed by the company in Port Alberni, who refused to cross the picket lines. Union security was the main aim of the strike, as it was feared that the company would, by selective hiring

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Election stickers

Why vote? Organise to take over industry

2s.6d—100; 25s.—1,000

from: Bill Christopher, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17

SEASIDE SWEATSHOPS

UNORGANISED, unskilled casual workers and students have always been regarded as fair game by employers of sweated labour (see D.A. Feb. 1964 for what happens at Christmas in the Post Office) and summer has been declared open season. For this is "The Season" in the hotels, restaurants and holiday camps along the coast of Britain, where a great number of people are still working under conditions reminiscent of the sweatshops of the nineteenth-century.

Holiday camps and hotel groups advertise for staff to "live-in" during the season, in areas of high unemployment—Ireland, Scotland and the North of England. Smaller establishments rely on those who take a chance and come to the resorts at the beginning of the season, looking for work.

Wages for unskilled workers, kitchen porters, stillroom- and service-hands are never above £8 a week: Pontin's pay £7 and Butlin's only £6. To earn these great amounts of money, a six-day week is worked, each day divided into split shifts corresponding with the times of meals. Work can start at six in the morning and finish as late as ten or eleven at night. This adds up to somewhere around a sixty-hour week—half-a-crown an hour, perhaps!

Sometimes a contract is offered, with a bonus paid if the time given is completed. If, however, a worker can be sacked a week or so before the end of his contract, this can effect a considerable saving for the management. This

Canadian strikes (cont.)

and firing, take on enough scabs to outvote the union before a contract could be negotiated. Having gained union security for its 60 or so members at Port Alberni, the Office Employees International Union can now attempt to extend its foothold by organising more of the 2,000-odd office workers of the company throughout the province.

Across Canada, in Bradford, Ontario (pop. 2,400), another strike, again mainly by women, won union recognition, wage increases and overtime pay for 400 workers employed by three vegetable packing plants. The strikers, many of them immigrants, were forced to work anything from 40-100 hours per week, with no increase in the hourly rate for overtime, feeder lines were constantly being speeded up and coffee breaks were ignored.

The strike was marked by violence on the part of company scabs, who felt that picket lines were fair targets at which to aim automobiles. Several pickets were injured, one suffering a broken leg due to cars crashing through picket lines. Despite such employer-organised violence, the strike succeeded in forcing union recognition on the employers. After 13 days, the strikers, members of the Teamsters Union, returned to work with a union contract, wage increases, company-paid hospital insurance and a ten cents an hour premium for overtime work. These gains, while far short of revolutionary, at least show that militant action can force improvements in working conditions, even in small town and low wage areas.

More organisation and militancy in these places should serve as a deterrent to big city companies contemplating running away to low wage areas to avoid unionised workers.

BILL GREENWOOD

happened to someone I knew: he had worked for two months and should have been paid £15 bonus, but two days before his contract expired a security check was made and he was found with a half-a-dozen cold sausages "stolen" from the kitchen. The next day we learned that the chef and kitchen manager had, between them, got away with £200 worth of bacon rashers and sold them to butchers.

Accommodation offered living-in staff is usually sub-standard, as the owners want to cram as many people into as little space as possible. I once worked in a holiday camp where staff quarters consisted of shared cubicles in a hard-board labyrinth above an amusement arcade. Sleep was sometimes impossible, because of bats in the roof and mice in the corridors. This season I was offered a job where living-in arrangements for staff consisted of a store-room, still in use, with eight mattresses on the floor and a cold-water sink in one corner.

Conditions are as bad as the pay. Kitchen work is hard, hot, dirty and dangerous. The owners, with an eye open only to a quick profit, pay no attention to safety precautions, or the repair of structural defects. I have seen a kitchen porter slip on a greasy floor while carrying two gallon-buckets of scalding water. Because of a slope in the floor and an open drain, a food-service-hand in the same establishment had to stand ninety minutes at a time, ankle-deep in swill-water.

But at least kitchen staff know just how much they are going to get every week. This can not be said about, for instance, waitresses and chambermaids. In one chain of holiday camps they are paid FOUR pounds a week, the rest depending on their luck with tips.

And then there is, in hotels at least, this business of the ten-per-cent gratuity added to the bill. This, it is claimed, is divided among the staff, but how it is divided is not mentioned. At one of the largest and most expensive hotels in Brighton—one where the ten-per-cent must have been at least £200 every week of the year—kitchen staff never got more than ten bob of it, even at the height of the season. Which makes you wonder how much the manager, chef and head waiter received.

All this chicanery on the part of owners and managers is made possible by complete lack of organisation among the workers. The difficulties of organising seasonal labour are well-known. As well as the time factor, there is, with so many different types of people involved, the problem of finding a common identity and purpose. Students, working during their vacation have an unhappy capacity for working hard and passively under appalling conditions, glad to find any work at all. The same applies to old age pensioners.

But if these difficulties can be overcome and some form of temporary organisation achieved, there would be a chance for some really successful industrial action. The holiday camp I was working in was, at one time, very short of staff and it was announced that all days off would be cancelled and made compulsory overtime at time-and-a-quarter. A group of us, all semi-skilled, decided we valued our time off more than the few extra pennies. We argued it out with the kitchen manager, who told us that if we didn't turn up on the day we would be out on our ears. We didn't and we weren't. Next week we were merely told that if we cared to work our days off, we would be paid double time.

Small things like this show how successful a strike could be. If it was a complete stoppage, the management could be held to ransom and valuable publicity gained. Just a pipe-dream, perhaps, but still worth thinking about. That is the only way we will ever get rid of these pockets of blatant exploitation.

S.W.

CALL BACK THE DEAD

A RECENT report from Moscow (*Moskovskay Pravda*) announced the rehabilitation of the famous Bolshevik, Michael Borodin, whom Lenin sent to China in 1923, as political adviser to the Nationalists. There he taught, among others, Chiang Kai Shek, how to change the loose-knit, semi-liberal Kuo Min Tang into a totalitarian military-style party.

When Chiang found success on the Yangtse in 1927, he rounded on his Communist allies and thousands of them were massacred, many being beheaded in the streets. Borodin, having no illusions about the sort of party he had designed, got out just before the massacre—it may be with Chiang's permission—and returned to Moscow.

Previously, in 1922, Borodin, under the alias George Brown, was in England as the representative of Moscow. To the British CP he gave the order that Palme Dutt, graduate of Balliol, Oxford, should be the real leader, with Pollitt as the shop-window "leader", the worker-figure, like Thorez in France and Thaelmann in Germany. The new organisation plan was adopted by a special conference of the CP at St. Pancras in March, 1922, at which Borodin was present.

During the summer of that year the police, acting on information from inside the CP, arrested Borodin, who received a short term in jail and was then deported.

From 1930 to 1933, Borodin, besides some other tasks, had frequent long spells in Hamburg, where the Communist "Seamen and Harbour Workers' International" operated. From this base he interfered in waterside strikes in Western Europe. Late in 1930, the Seamen's Minority Movement had achieved some success in organising against the National Union of Seamen and the shipowners, who jointly, were operating the infamous "P.C.5.", a document which most shipowners forced seamen to sign before allowing them to sign on. P.C.5 gave the employer power to take the union's cut out of the seamen's wages. As most seamen then regarded the "union" as a company outfit, that was about the only way dues could be collected.

The SMM had an able national organiser in Fred Thompson, one-time London dockers' organiser of the T&GWU and a thorn in Bevin's side. The SMM was strongest in the Tyne port, where it kept the NUS officials on the defensive. But the Tyneside district of the Communist Party, with a handful of members and three full-time officers, decided to take over. Appointing an unemployed miner as secretary of a paper *Minority Movement*, they moved into South Shields, held meetings outside the signing-on place at the Mill Dam and declared a strike.

The white seamen ignored this impudence and crossed the chalk line to sign on. "Only seamen decide when seamen strike", they said. Only one seaman on Tyneside was a member of the CP, "Jock" Campbell, and he, too, signed on and sailed.

But the CP bureaucrats had better luck with the Muslims, a considerable community in South Shields—Arabs, Somalis and Pakistanis. The "Arabs" were convinced that a real

strike was in being and, seeing white seamen crossing the line, tried to stop them. A fierce fist fight started and police reinforcements arrived and at once attacked the Muslims with batons. The Muslims, particularly the Somalis, defended themselves, but were defeated, many being injured.

In North Shields, the Muslim seamen heard of the fight and crowded down to the ferry boats to take part. The police guessed this and, having quelled the Mill Dam crowd, moved down to the landing stages and clubbed each party of "Arabs" as they landed.

Several Muslims received sentences of six months' hard labour. The CP's phoney "MM" organiser went to jail for nine months. His wife and children received no support from the CP, but her parents helped her. On his release, her husband said he was finished with "the Party."

The CP organisers, as soon as the riot started, went to London, headed by the Tyneside organiser, Charles Wood, to "seek advice"—and safety.

Fred Thompson, full of fury, came north. Calling at my house while I was out, he sought me in the Newcastle Socialist Society cafe, where I was talking to an ex-official of the YCL, George Brown (*his* real name, but no relation). In the presence of George, Thompson condemned the local CP officials, "who thought of nothing but finding excuses to draw their salaries", and asked me to become secretary of the North-East SMM. I refused, not being a seaman, but Thompson said that as I was, at that time, a docker, that would do well. I again refused, saying the CP would interfere.

"I've had that out with Pollitt", Thompson replied, "and he heartily agrees that the Party must not interfere." Reluctantly I gave in to the pleas of Fred and George and agreed. I never again saw Fred Thompson, though we had been good friends. The CP did intervene, gaining the help of the anti-Pollitt clique at 16 King Street, and appealing successfully to the Hamburg office of the Comintern.

I later learned what was obvious: Borodin made the decision. George Hardy was the British CP representative in Hamburg and he and Thompson hated one another, a bitter personal affair. There could be no doubt what Hardy's advice would be.

Eventually, Borodin was caught in one of the many Russian purges, accused of being a Fascist, a traitor and a spy, and jailed. Later there were rumours that he had been murdered in prison. Now comes a declaration of his innocence, but, except to those who believe in ghosts, this must seem of little use to him. In 1951, Moscow admitted Borodin had "died" in jail.

TOM BROWN

Circumstances alter cases

"But the workers' aim is to live as well as they can. So they try to get the largest possible wage. Thus the capitalists will constantly try to keep wages as low as possible, while the workers will press in the opposite direction."

Daily Worker, 30.7.64, page 1.

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Daily Worker, 30.7.64, page 4

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Civil war against the American Negroes

Louisville, Kentucky

WHILE America watched the proceedings surrounding the deaths of three murdered civil rights workers in Mississippi, still other forms of terror were being used. All over the state, rights workers were being beaten and jailed, while Council of Federated Organisations (COFO) "Freedom Schools" were being shot into and burned. COFO has reported as many as 50 such incidents over a single 24-hour period. The Federal Government has still remained unable to solve these crimes, or to protect rights workers. The FBI is considered as much an enemy as the Klan by many rights workers.

What is taking place in Mississippi is a full-scale civil war against the Negro people. In the past few months, the Mississippi legislature has passed dozens of "emergency laws" which give state governor Paul Johnson powers unexcelled by Hitler. The scope of these range from one resembling South Africa's 90-day holding law to a law which, in essence, means genocide for the Negro people, for it provides for sterilisation of all Negro dependent mothers.

All this was in response to COFO's "Freedom Summer" plan which has brought over 1,000 students into the state for the summer, to help with voter registration, to conduct freedom schools, to establish libraries and community centres in the Negro communities. The Negroes have formed the "Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party". Much of the rights drive is centring around voter registration, because it is one area in which the federal government *must* provide something more than lip service and because it is getting the Negro people to think in political terms in the broadest sense.

Part of the Mississippi project will deal with the white community. A team of southern white students from the new Southern Organising Committee will be trying to find avenues into the white community and to rally the decent people of Mississippi into some form of protest.

Mississippi is not the only focal point of the Negro revolution this summer. It is proving to be a long hot summer all

over the nation, as Negroes move to test the new civil rights law, which provides for full and free public accommodations for all. As expected, many southern businesses are simply closing down and going out of business, rather than serve Negroes. In many places, Negroes have been driven out of restaurants at gun-point. In other areas of the south, though, there has been peaceful, but tentative, compliance with the new law.

In many northern cities, civil rights demonstrations of a different type are breaking out with increasing frequency. These are based on economic and social demands, rather than demands for public accommodations. Negroes are in the most deprived section of the economy and thus the real thrust is increasingly based on economic demands. Rebel Black Muslim leader Malcolm X is gaining recruits swiftly on a programme of armed violence against the white power structure.

Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama, is picking up many new followers daily, with his die-hard segregationist line. He bills himself especially as the white workers' friend and has been endorsed by many southern union locals.

As the tempo of the demonstrations and the counter-revolution step up, America is being brought to white heat—ready for change.

In Louisville, Kentucky, demonstrations continue at Fountain Ferry Park, where Negroes have tried to gain entrance to the swimming pool. The pool has been closed to Negroes, with the management claiming that it was not a public accommodation, but a "private club". This is a patent lie, since any white person can get into the club, whether they are members or not. The demonstrators are a local group of young Negro students and workers called the "Gandhi Corps" and have been assisted by university student members of "Students for a Democratic Society", a social-democratic group.

The campaign, which began in early May, has resulted in jailing for many of the demonstrators; and physical beatings. The rights workers have also demonstrated at several restaurants and engaged in sit-downs. In early June, at a demonstration at a local restaurant, rights workers sat down in front and back of police cars attempting to carry away arrested demonstrators, and were themselves arrested.

Demonstrators are now under injunction not to engage in demonstrations at the amusement park and pool, but are breaking this and will risk jail.

The city has a so-called public accommodation law, but has refused to enforce it. Mayor Wm. O. Cowger has instead chosen to vilify the demonstrators and pickets as "Communists" and "Paid Professional Outside Agitators."

A new pattern of police intimidation has been revealed in Louisville, where police seldom arrest demonstrators in demonstration, but through the week will pick them up on vagrancy charges, robbery charges or anything else that comes to mind. Demonstrators are under constant police surveillance.

In Kentucky as a whole, the civil rights drive is focussed on a special session of the state legislature to demand passage of a state public accommodations bill. Governor Edward T. Breathitt, following mass demonstrations and hunger strikes, called for a legislative conference which he feels will ask for a special session on the civil rights bill. Frank L. Stanley, Jr., Chairman of the Allied Organisations for Civil Rights in Kentucky, spearheaded the drive.

JIM WILLIAMS

ETU WITCH-HUNT

WHETHER or not we agree with the CP stand inside the ETU is rapidly becoming immaterial. The present executive seems determined to use any anti-executive action as an excuse to beat the militants. It seems that the use of the word "communist" is going to be all-embracing, i.e. anyone who disagrees.

The CP and the Executive have both produced statements denying and alleging communist influence attempting to undermine the union. I don't see what the Executive is moaning about. It is obvious that they came to power because of an organisation inside the union to fight for them—and to me it's all political anyway.

But the danger to the Union is obvious. The Executive is determined to smash any anti-executive policy. This is shown in the reversal of the Conference decision to fight wage restraint, when the executive voted for it in the TUC.

So watch it ETU. If you've a smell of militancy about you, you're going to be called Commie, red, etc., and barred.

These executive officials are ruthless ex-party men, who know all the tricks, and are determined to turn the ETU into a Teamsters mob.

DIGGER