

Direct Action

For workers' direct control of industry

Inside—Strike action for shop convenor : IWMA
centenary : Stuart Christie
Parliament & Constitution

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION (IWMA)

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ELECTION—WORKERS CAN'T WIN

"THEY were standing under a tree, each with an arm around the other's neck, and Alice knew which was which in a moment, because one of them had 'DUM' embroidered on his collar, and the other 'DEE'. 'I suppose they've each got 'TWEEDLE' round at the back of the collar,' she said

THE BAD reputé of the Conservative Party is well earned, but there are some who say that the party has changed, that time has mellowed the Tories. It is true that they have

Dockland jungle

DOCKWORKERS could be on the verge of a national stoppage, with the "Blue" and "White" bogey well to the fore. The "Whites" (T&GWU) have just distributed a pamphlet to dockers calling upon them to get together in the T&G and make a fresh start in the docks. The "Blues" (NASDU) are urged to come back "into the real docks union" with the promise of no discrimination.

The whole situation is tragic to say the least. Political pressures are active in both unions. In the "Blue" Trotskyist influence is strong. In the "White" the CP consistently call for unity, but within the "White". The CP have always opposed any widening influence of the "Blue" union. Harry Pollitt opposed NASDU recruitment in the Northern ports from the very beginning, and so the inter-union struggle continues and non-unionism increases. Even the biggest of optimists must confess that this is sandy ground.

The talks between the unions and employers have broken down. The unions' claim is 25s. for time workers; the employers have offered 12/6d. The unions' claim is 5% for piece workers; the employers offered 3½%. It is interesting to note that the employers have cut the time work claim by 50% but have gone more than halfway with piece workers. This piece-work lark is the juiciest of all carrots, employers love it and workers fall for it.

Doug Home is worried about the situation and has had a chat with the Labour Minister. His concern is that industrial trouble in the docks during the election might not injure Labour's vote but might look like Government incompetence. The Labour Party on the other hand doesn't want to be lumbered with a dock strike if it gets into office, so no doubt Frank Cousins has been told to get the situation but-

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learned to tack before the wind. Without dogma, undeveloped by intellectuals, they turn up in new clothes after every defeat.

But they are the same old Tories, the sons of the old oppressors of the working class. Their party is one completely controlled by the old, powerful families of aristocrats and rich oligarchs, with a few middle class persons allowed minor offices. Tories are strong too in the institutions of the State, the command of the Army and the Navy, monarchy, the judiciary, and the higher Civil Service and Diplomatic Services.

Like all other parties they have a nodding acquaintance with reform. Many of them championed the factory acts against the Liberal factory owners. In this century they established widows' pensions, votes for women (refused by Liberal governments), and "council houses". But, by and large, their aim is the preservation of the privilege, power, and wealth wrung by force from the toil of others. They will never change from that.

THE LABOUR PARTY

ANEURIN BEVAN, writing an article in the *News of the World* after the 1959 General Election, said, "It is suggested . . . that the defeat of the Labour Party implies a decisive rejection of Socialism. This certainly would have been the case if the Labour Party had held aloft the banner of Socialism in the course of the Election and before it.

"But it did not do such thing. On the contrary, with the exception of steel and road haulage, Socialism had been put firmly on one side, and the party fought its main battle on

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BEHOLD A PALE HORSE

FRED ZINNEBANN'S film *Behold a Pale Horse*, starring Gregory Peck, due for release this month, is based on the life and death of Francisco Sabater, a CNT guerilla fighter killed in a clash with the Civil Guards in Barcelona nearly five years ago. The SWF have published a leaflet, giving details of Sabater's life, linking his death and the recent imprisonment of comrades Christie and Carballo, and calling for a tourist boycott of Franco Spain, for distribution outside cinemas where the film is showing. Copies are available 1s. 6d. for 100; 15s. for 1,000 postpaid from SWF, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17.

Workers can't win (cont.)

the issues that can only be described as pre-1914 Liberalism brought up to date."

Five years later most readers saw, or read of, the BBC television debate between Tory minister Heath and Labour's deputy leader George Brown in which Brown insisted that the sole issue should be nationalisation. He stated that Labour during its expected five years of power would nationalise only water, long distance lorry transport, steel, and "land ripe for redevelopment". (The first three are already partly nationalised.) He further said that the Tories had nationalised more than had Labour: So much for "Socialism".

The party gains votes from its title "Labour", but each Labour government has been made up of fewer persons of working-class origin and more of the employing class. The Labour governments of 1945-51 enforced labour conscription, used forced prisoner-of-war labour, sent troops to break strikes by conscript blacklegging, sought to jail strike leaders, used the Emergency Powers Act as well as ancient laws against strikers, and, with the help of the Trade Unions, imposed a wage freeze.

The Labour Party Conference has accepted the principle of a wage freeze, to be imposed by the next Labour Government. This year's Trade Union Congress had already welcomed this, led by the persons who, as "Left wingers", had sworn undying opposition to it.

A Labour Government and the Trade Unions will be able to do what no Tory cabinet could do—establish a wage freeze.

THE LIBERAL PARTY

IT IS unfortunate that "Tories" has become equated with "capitalists", albeit the former are by far the most important of the latter. The Liberal Party, too, is a party of capital-

A pregnant question

READERS may have seen reports in some of the papers about conditions in Swazi jails. These have come from a Mr. Kitching, a South African, who was recently detained in Manzini jail. Mr. Kitching is a member of the Swaziland Anti-Apartheid Committee, which like the British A-A is a Communist Party front organisation; however, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his report, which describes kennel-like cells, lashings by warders and other inhuman conditions.

Recently two soldiers in the British occupation force were imprisoned in the same jail. They too found conditions disgusting, but what apparently incensed them most was the fact that there is no segregation in Swazi jails and they actually had to share quarters with the people whose country they had come to occupy.

With good sense that one does not expect of such people they took direct action and tunnelled their way to freedom two days before their sentences expired, and one sent a letter about the conditions to his MP, Bessie Braddock, describing the jail as a "black hole of Calcutta".

Bessie Braddock of course tabled a question in Parliament about the "black hole".

However it subsequently came out that the soldiers with typical British hypocrisy had diverted their tunnel on the way out, into the women's quarters, several of whom are now pregnant.

The question was withdrawn.

ists and as such ruled Britain for many years. The party, greatly diminished since it was wrecked by its most brilliant leader, Lloyd George, in 1918, seeks to rebuild itself on its "great tradition". Those who appeal to Caesar must go to Caesar.

It is true that in the years 1910-14 the Liberals laid the foundations of the "Welfare State" (old-age pensions, sickness benefits, medical insurance, and out-of-work benefit) but this was forced on them by circumstances and was contrary to "Liberal philosophy". This "philosophy", best expressed by such as Herbert Spencer, was one of freedom. The landlord should be free to build slums and warrens without interference from the State. The factory owners' freedom should not be curtailed by factory inspectors. Between this doctrine and the need to stave off the pressure of the masses by something more than circuses the Liberals were caught. But in the class war they knew where they stood.

They did not hesitate, in the persons of the fiery Churchill or the scholarly Asquith, to arm the police against the miners and send troops to fire on strikers. When Syndicalists printed an appeal to soldiers not to shoot their fellow workers on strike, the Liberal Government had them jailed. But when the Tory generals and officers staged an army mutiny against Parliament the Liberal Cabinet did nothing—except that within a few months they promoted the mutinous brass-hats, even the most stupid of them.

Since then the Liberals have always been against strikers, as in the General Strike. The party now is reduced to a small body of the petty middle class who feel crushed between the two big parties, but there is no middle-class road in today's political scramble.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE Communist Party was formed and financed by the Russian Government in 1920; since then it has always taken its orders from that government. For he who pays the piper calls the tune. Today that tune is "Vote Labour". Tomorrow, as yesterday, it may be "The Labour Party is the most dangerous enemy of the working class."

The Communist Party is irrelevant to any discussion of the workers' problems. It is true, of course, that a minority of the CP has started a breakaway, but this is not to show a preference for the British workers before Moscow government. It is to take the side of the Chinese government against the Russian. To those who do not wish to be the subjects of either Chinese or Russian dictators, the politics of the CP remain irrelevant.

DIRECT ACTION

THE workers' strength under any government is formed by three factors, the state of the labour market, the workers' will to exploit the opportunities of that market, and their ability and will to create and use the organisation needed to get the best they can from a class society, which someday they must end by that same direct action.

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.

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A.I.T.

Monthly paper of the IWMA, in French and Spanish.

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STRIKE ACTION FOR SHOP CONVENOR

FIVE MONTHS ago Calum MacKay, convenor at the Remington-Rand typewriter factory in Glasgow, was sacked on the pretext that his work was too slow. It had taken the management fifteen years to discover this fact. Immediately Remington-Rand workers struck in support and were out for five weeks. Clydeside workers expressed solidarity with a half-day token stoppage.

So that negotiations could be reopened the Remington-Rand workers went back; the result of the negotiations was "MacKay Out".

It is to the credit of everyone concerned that MacKay has not been forgotten. On September 30 the District Committee of the AEU is to call out its 630 Remington-Rand workers and is to ballot vote its members for financial assistance. Districts in the West of Scotland are requested to take similar action.

The 6,000 strong Glasgow branch of the Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association has pledged its full support for the reinstatement of MacKay; so have the Glasgow & Paisley Trades Councils.

MacKay must be reinstated, before the sacking of shop stewards becomes too fashionable. In the engineering industry it is all the rage.

NEARLY FORGOTTEN

THE TEN-MONTH-OLD Denby "closed shop" dispute was raised at the TUC Congress. 115 men and women were still locked out. Mr. Jack Peel, the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers assistant general secre-

tary, expressed regret that some unions had left members inside the mill although it had been declared "black". The ETU, the Cloth Pressers (Society), the T&GWU, and G&MWU still had members working inside.

No wonder Denby & Sons are still going strong, with the assistance of imported "scab labour". They also claim to have increased their trade profit by 70%.

Union labour inside must come "out" if the dye workers are to be reinstated on their own terms.

JACKALS WAITING TO POUNCE

THE SITUATION is critical in the general printing houses and provincial newspapers. The printing unions have demanded a third week's holiday for their members, the employers have replied that this can only be considered if restrictive practices in the industry are brought to an end. The terms demanded by the employers were described as outrageous by Mr. J. Bonfield, president of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation.

This situation is right up Martell's street—he is busting for a show-down with the printing unions. In the 1956 print stoppage the Free Press Society claims to have kept scores of journals going, including the *Listener*. In 1959 the number of journals printed by Martell was greater. If there is a stoppage in general print, printworkers will have a fight on their hands. Britain's No 1 "Strike Breaker" does not bluff.

STRAIGHT TALK BY LONDON POSTMEN

IF the GPO introduce part-time labour into the post office, London's postmen will slap on an overtime ban.

They claim, and rightly so, that part-timers will not solve the labour shortage, only a decent wage will encourage new recruits and stop the drift "out".

Their recent wage claim was cut to shreds, even the glamour advertising of the GPO for new recruits has not stopped the run down.

We stated (August *Direct Action*) that the postmen only receive "peanuts". Casual labour would mean economic suicide for postmen.

BOYCOTT

J. K. SWALLOW, one of Chesterfield's largest stores, has been threatened with a mass boycott by the town's Trades Council until they allow 45 of their 70 employees to form a branch of USDAW. Pity more of these "scab" outfits don't get the same treatment.

HANDS ACROSS THE TABLE

THE British Employers' Confederation and the TUC are to make a joint study of 12 strikes over a period of 12 months. The object of the investigations will be to find if there are any patterns in industrial strife which could throw light on the ways in which industrial relations can be improved.

Surely the pattern is obvious, the class struggle does exist, all the flannel in the world won't cover it up. No matter how respectable the trade union movement becomes, or how paternal employers become, the struggle remains, and will have to be waged until ordinary people control their own destiny.

BILL CHRISTOPHER

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, Mddx.

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Direct Action

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

The Brotherhood of Capital and Labour

THE DEGENERATION of the official trades union movement—from a militant working-class organisation to a docile array of wage negotiating bodies, ruled by a junta of salaried officials—is underlined by an arrogant display of careerism and complete contempt for the rights and real interests of rank-and-file members.

The recent series of salary grabs by the top-level leadership, and their cynical performance at Blackpool's dulltest-ever, do-nothing TUC were scarcely needed, considering the black record of strike sell-outs, to demonstrate the existence of a "souped up" machine geared to capitalism, to the preservation of the wages system, and, above all, to the promotion of the vested interest in that system held by the labour leaders.

Today they are the Labour Lieutenants of Capitalism, firmly integrated within the Establishment. They act as the employers' agents and are accepted as the official job-filling agency within the industries. They offer their services to Tory and Labour governments alike. Class collaboration, not the historic mission of unionism, is their guide to action. For their loyalty to the nation in the perpetuation of class rule they are honoured with titles, decorations, and appointments to a variety of government boards, commissions, and other remunerative posts.

Sir Winston Churchill has said that their great power entitles them to be considered a New Estate of the Realm, in company with the other, ancient estates (Clergy, Baronage, and Commons), and has seen them as having developed into a carefully regulated part of the constitutional machinery, exercising their power for the benefit of the country as a whole. Assisted by the trade-union barons, the Government plans to outlaw unofficial strikes and to introduce a new-style pattern of Corporate State.

The rags to riches story of the political and industrial Labour movement, and its final integration into the Establishment as the newest estate of the realm can be authenticated by a glance at some of its leading personnel.

Knighthoods, peerages, and lesser honours proliferate—Sir William Carron (President, A.E.U.; Governor of the Bank of England); Sir Tom O'Brien (Gen. Sec., Theatrical and Kine Employees' union); Sir Harry Douglas (Chairman, T.U.C. Economics Committee), who succeeded the late Sir Alan Birch (Gen. Sec., U.S.D.A.W.); Sir Vincent Tewson (ex-Gen. Sec., T.U.C.); Sir Tom Yates (seamen's union); Lord Tom Williamson, Lord Ted Willis, and Mr George Woodcock, C.B.E. (New College, Oxford; Gen. Sec., T.U.C.; £3,500 p.a.).

In the event of a Labour victory this month those who have used the trade union movement as a springboard for self-aggrandisement will be in line for further distinctions. Like George Woodcock they may find themselves dealing with industrial tycoons and City financiers, sitting with em-

ployers and government on the National Economic Development Council, or on one or other of the *ninety-seven* councils, boards, and advisory committees on which representatives of the TUC General Council so proudly serve (see *ABC of the TUC*).

Labour's Men of Wealth are also hopeful of being called upon. Millionaire Lord Sainsbury (Chairman of Sainsbury's) has been tipped as possible Lord President of the Council, and his colleague, Lord Walston, one of the richest socialists, as Minister of Agriculture.

Another hopeful is Lord Alf Robens (Chairman of the Coal Board, President of the Advertising Association), in the running for the Ministry of Production. His rise to fame and fortune while the rank-and-file miners battle on for better conditions has many counterparts. The miners' union, however, has joined the capitalists by accumulating £86½ million in its Mineworkers' Pension Scheme.

With the help of certain advisers in the insurance and trust worlds, the miners now have investments spread over a wide field, from ground ownership of the posh Café Royal, Piccadilly, to nearly £3 million in engineering companies. Even oil has almost £1 million, helping to earn the miners a dividend annually of £6 million. But with such a hefty dividend, and members' subscriptions at £3½ million for 18 months, the pensioners receive from the scheme less than £1 a week.

The miners' Pension Scheme—miners' leader, Communist Will Paynter, sits on the four-man investment committee—like the TU Unit Trust is a big shareholder in several of the 22 companies named by Labour Shadow Chancellor Callaghan as generous contributors to Tory political funds.

With the Brotherhood of Capital and Labour in control of the system, whoever wins the election the workers must lose. Only by organising syndicalist industrial groups in the workshops, in the mines, at transport depots, at the docks and other places shall the workers gain control of the bases they need to win real freedom.

M CALLINAN

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Parliament and the Constitution

A CONSTITUTION determines the basic rights and duties of citizens between themselves and the State they live under. In Britain we are told that we have an "unwritten" Constitution—i.e. there is no document that we can consult to find out such rights.

Of course, States with written Constitutions are not different from Britain. It is just that here the ruling class has been particularly successful in that it can interfere by legal process with the individual, group or class in one step by simply passing an Act of Parliament etc. In the USA, for example, where a proposed law contravenes the Constitution, then the Constitution must be amended before the law is passed.

It is clear then that no person can in this country defend himself before a Court on *constitutional* grounds that any action he may have taken is a natural right (e.g. the withdrawal of his labour). No judge would be allowed to listen to such a plea.

The sources of rights and duties

If we are not governed by a Constitution, what then are we governed by? "The decisions of the Courts, statutes—including delegated legislation and quasi-statutes and treaties—are the sources of constitutional law in the strict sense of that term"—*Stephen's Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. III.

Note the word "delegated". What is delegated legislation? It is that vast mass of rules and regulations made by the Civil Service, Police, Judges, etc.—"the red tape of the bureaucrats"—which increasingly entangle us in every aspect of our daily lives, and which are never voted on by MP's, or anyone else, or even discussed publicly. Further, unlike MP's, neither we nor Parliament can change the makers of these rules from Brand X to Brand Y every so often. During this century red tape has become far and away the greatest proportion of legislation made. Yet we have absolutely no control over its makers and are just as liable to be fined or imprisoned for a breach of it as of that small proportion which the politicians still make.

How did this situation come about? After 1066 Feudalism became the social system for virtually the whole country. At the top of the feudal pyramid was the monarchy, with absolute power over every person and thing within his kingdom.

Throughout the middle ages the monarch had trouble from the powerful barons, or other royal figures greedy for his power. Occasionally, indeed, a monarch was actually deposed by another *individual*, who had become too powerful to control, though the backing of rich families, the Church, etc.

However, after the Black Death of 1349 the pattern increasingly changed. No longer was it an individual but a *class*, which was seeking to control the state. The slow breakdown of the feudal system, combined with the growth of the towns and world trade led to the development of a

new class, consisting of the nobles, the squires and the burghers: the monied class.

The struggle between the new class with its legal control over production and the absolute monarch was protracted but eventually won with the establishment of "constitutional" monarchy in 1688. This system which continues to this day involves using the monarch completely stripped of real power as a front—sometimes respectable, sometimes not—for the ruling class.

During this period the parliamentary system had developed out of an old Court institution known as "parlement" (Norman French: talking) for making collective decisions which because of their "legal" status would be more easily enforced on dissenting members of the ruling class and the growing population.

The vital point, however, is that the new ruling class did not wish to *limit* the former powers of the monarch, except insofar as he personally was concerned. Their aim as a class was to *take and keep* absolute power for themselves.

The effects of Parliament's sovereignty

Parliament, then, as the original organ of the ruling class has absolute legislative omnipotence, i.e. there is *legally* nothing which it may or may not do. It can, for example, prolong its own existence, e.g. 1910-18, 1936-45; no parliament can be fettered by the measures of any previous parliament; if it wanted to, *and could get away with it*, there is nothing *legally* to stop it ordering that, for example, all persons with blue eyes and owning bulldogs register forthwith or be fined £100.

Seriously though, one's duties include the duty to serve the State if so ordered, and the duty to assist the police arrest any person (*R v Brown* 1841); the duty to give evidence; to serve on juries; to be taxed. (Note the PAYE system, whereby the producing class is automatically robbed without any opportunity of objection.) To ensure that no person can back out, an oath of allegiance is *implied* in every citizen at birth.

What does one receive from the State in return for all this?

- (1) *The Right of Protection* It has been judicially decided that no such right exists. Further, in one case where protection was given, the beneficiary had to pay for it.
- (2) *Free speech* Hostile sections of the press can and have been banned. (See also Public Order Act, 1963, and *Direct Action*, September.)
- (3) *Right of Association* No trespass or nuisance is allowed. In *R v Cunningham Graham & Burns* (1888) it was held that "there is no right to meet in a public thoroughfare, only to pass and repass. Further a place of public resort (in this case Trafalgar Square) is analogous to a public thoroughfare. Although the public may often hold such meetings without interruption, there is no such right."

Examples of the State's power to interfere with individual liberty are:

- (1) Any High Court judge can sentence for contempt. The contempt need not be defined, and is not legally defined. The imprisonment may be for any period and the judge need not give any reason for his sentence.
- (2) The Habeas Corpus Suspension Acts: The passing of these Acts when needed have suspended the right to apply for an arrested person's release if he is not charged within 24 hours. On the repeal of the Act, it is usual to

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pass an Act of Indemnity, releasing officials from liability for their acts while it was suspended.

- (3) Co-ercion Acts—such an Act still forms part of the constitution of Northern Ireland. It gives a discretionary power to imprison to government officials.

Finally "public necessity" is a defence, e.g. where a policeman shoots somebody, but "private necessity" is never a defence, e.g. where a man steals for his hungry family.

"There is, however, *no* direct authority that can be adduced to support the legislative omnipotence of Parliament"—*Stephen's, vol. III*. Of course there is not. As we have stated above, Parliament received its power from the new monied class when the absolute monarch could no longer control them. Its power was gained by *direct action*.

Because of these immense powers and the increasing complication of life in the period following the industrialisation of the country, Parliament found itself unable to cope with the regulation of the widely diverse and intricate society that emerged. Hence came about the first of the ever increasing delegations to the uncontrolled executives of power to regulate the conduct of the community. This trend continues.

Limitations on the power of Parliament

What is to stop a Parliament or the Executives, for example, following in the footsteps of the Nazis, by ordering the liquidation or segregation of part of the population? *Legally*, there is nothing, and it must be noted that the apparatus for enforcing such measures *already* exists. Our MP's are representatives not under our control, and the executive are not in any way controlled, *even* by the MP's. All we may do is to change our MP's when they allow us.

It follows that the *real* limitation of the power of the State can be achieved only by the means which the ruling class used to gain power from the individual ruler of olden times: *direct action*.

P.R.

Threat to CNT militants

JESUS DEL RIO and his son Helios, anti-fascist Spanish refugees in Venezuela, are threatened with deportation to Franco Spain—and have had their Venezuelan naturalisation withdrawn. Jesus is an old and respected militant of the CNT; Helios an active member of the FIJJ group in Caracas.

Reason for their persecution by the Venezuelan Government is that Helios' brother, Paul (alias Maximo Canallas) has been charged with being implicated in the kidnapping last year of the footballer, Alfredo di Stefano. Neither Jesus nor Helios had any connection with this activity, nor have they any sympathy with the political viewpoint of Paul.

On October 12, 1963, Jesus' home was surrounded by armed police units. He and his wife were under house arrest for 28 days and he was then taken to police HQ until December 26. During this time, his Venezuelan nationality was annulled by the order of President Romulo Betancourt.

Helios was arrested on March 21, twice submitted to ten-day periods of "close interrogation" and is now in the Model Prison at Caracas.

Official spokesmen are agreed that the only evidence against Jesus and Helios del Rio is a denunciation made by a known Franco agent, a Spaniard. Despite official assurances that the matter would be satisfactorily sorted out, no action has been taken to restore the Venezuelan nationality of the del Rios.

The National Council of SIA (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity) in Venezuela, asks for protests about this shameful treatment of two libertarian militants to be sent to Venezuelan Embassies abroad, to the Minister of Internal Relations, Dr. Gonzalez Barrios, and to the President of the Venezuelan Republic, Dr. Raul Eoni, both in Caracas.

Centenary of the First International

TOWARDS the end of last month occurred the centenary of the founding in London of the "First International"—the International Working Men's Association. After an inaugural meeting at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre (since demolished), the General Council met regularly at 18 Greek Street, Soho (better known in recent times as the centre of the British Satire Industry). Congresses were held at yearly or two-yearly intervals in different European cities. In 1872 came the expulsion of the libertarians, and the end of the International's effective life.

In its short history, though, the organisation accomplished a great deal. It has been claimed that it emerged as an "international working-class party." This is not true. The constructive work, both in theory and in action, was almost entirely in the economic field.

At the first congress, at Geneva in 1866, the resolution was passed: "The trade unions have unconsciously formed the hearthstones of organisation for the working class, just as the medieval municipalities and communes for the bourgeoisie. If the trade unions, in their first capacity, are an absolute necessity in the veritable guerilla warfare of the everyday struggles between capital and labour, in their second capacity they are far more important still, as organised vehicles for the very abolition of the wages system and of the domination of capital." This resolution was drafted by Marx.

At the fourth congress, at Basel in 1869, a further resolution was passed: "The congress declares that all workers should strive to establish associations for resistance in their various trades. As soon as a trade union is formed the unions in the same trade are to be notified so that the formation of national alliances in the industries may begin. These alliances shall be charged with the duty of collecting all material in their industry, of advising about measures executed in common, and of seeing that they are carried out, to the end that the present wages system may be replaced by the federation of free producers. The congress directs the General Council to provide for the alliance of the trade unions of all countries."

Explaining the resolution, Eugene Hins of the Belgian Federation said that "by this dual form of organisation of local workers' associations and general alliances for each industry on the one hand and the political administration of labour councils on the other, the general representation of labour, regional, national, and international, will be provided for. The councils of the trades and industrial organisations will take the place of the present government, and this representation of labour will do way, once and forever, with the governments of the past."

The prime principle of the First International was that the emancipation of the working class in the task of the working class itself. Syndicalists hold that this can be achieved only by organisation *as a class* in the economic field, independent of leaders or politicians. Democratic organisation based on place of work can combine the three functions of carrying out the inevitable everyday struggle under capitalism, of putting an end to class domination, and of administering the needs of a classless society. Because these functions were so clearly laid down by the International Working Men's Association, the Syndicalist international founded in 1922 bears the same name.

MARK HENDY

BRITAIN'S OLDEST ALLY

THIS is the proud boast of Portugal and Britain is not embarrassed in the least. On the contrary a party of Labour MP's have just returned from a Portuguese government conducted tour of her African possessions. They warmly praised "the progressive development of Angola and Mozambique". One of the party, Bob Mellish, MP, said the British record in Central Africa, notably in Rhodesia, compared unfavourably with Portuguese colonial policies. Of course if the basis that one starts from is nil then plus one must be a little better. Our black brothers must be thrilled at such progress.

The Portuguese press attributed many statements to the British party, in fact they really gave them a "spread". Obviously the Portuguese press is no different from the press the world over. A few words missed out here, a touch of imagination there and, to round off, a few blatant lies—but nevertheless our MP's were impressed. The glasses they wore had just a tint of the proverbial rose.

Portugal is a fascist country, freedom and liberty in Portugal are at a minimum, therefore her colonial administration would be no different; if anything at all, it would be worse.

On the 31.5.64 at the World Conference on Commerce at Geneva the Rights Verification Committee stated that "the Portuguese delegation is not representative of the African people under Portuguese domination".

Eleven Afro-Asian nations and Yugoslavia requested the UN Decolonisation Committee to condemn Portugal for refusing to recognise the independence of the African territories.

FROM THE STATES . . .

WE HAVE received another number of *Views and Comments*, the organ of the New York Libertarian League; the shorter time between issues is most welcome. This one starts by setting forth the libertarian attitude to parliamentary elections. Articles on recent New York Rent strikes, the current integration struggle in the US, and the Russian Revolution—all from the inside—follow. Our comrades are nothing if not activists. Shorter pieces deal with racialism and party politics within the American labour movement. A discussion of popular attitudes to two recent murders, and a joint statement on Dellinger double-think (see recent issues of *Peace News*) by the Cuban Libertarian Movement in Exile and the LL complete the issue.

A recent increase in IWW activity in Chicago has produced, and is reported in, the *Rebel Worker*, of which No. 2 is just out. This is a handsomely duplicated paper, similar to *Wobbly* from Berkley, California, with which some readers may be acquainted. The editorial mentions growing rank-and-file discontent, within the American labour movement, with the unimaginative, careerist leadership, and outlines the IWW's plans to give this radical expression.

One of the longer articles in *Rebel Worker* assesses the present fortunes of the Salvation Army. This dreary but tireless band is an old opponent of the Wobblies, as witness Joe Hill's "The Preacher and the Slave". The words of this song, and of 54 other songs and poems, some of them originally counter-sung to Salvation Army tunes, is in the new edition of the celebrated "Little Red Song Book."

Views and Comments (9d), *Rebel Worker* (1s), and *IWW Songs* (2s 6d) are available from the SWF at 34 Cumberland Road, London E.17. (Please add 4d in 1s for postage when ordering.)

They also called on the Security Council to consider the "dangerous situation" existing in the territories under Portuguese domination (2.7.64).

The Afro-Asian motion condemning Portugal's policies in Africa was approved by 20 votes with four abstentions (Great Britain, USA, Australia and Italy) (4.7.64). Whilst it can be said that most of the accusing countries are "calling the kettle black" it doesn't make Portugal's picture any whiter.

Portugal's colonial exploitation runs true to pattern. The prices of raw materials and foodstuffs imported from Mozambique are well below world prices and in turn the metropolitan country dumps her manufactured goods at higher prices, whereas Mozambique could produce these goods herself for the benefit of her own workers.

Thus, to help meet the perennial trade deficit of Mozambique, 100,000 natives every year "obligingly choose" to emigrate to South Africa, escaping the Portuguese "shibalo" system of forced labour by preferring the gold-mines of Transvaal. In return, the South African government guarantees that 47.5% of import traffic passes through Lourenço Marques.

To this end Dr Salazar revived the Transvaal-Mozambique Convention of 1909, which was ratified and extended by the New State in 1928 (Portuguese-South African Convention of 1928), 1934, 1936 and 1940. As payment for a rise in the permitted maximum of recruits from 90,000 to 100,000 in 1940, the South African government also agreed to export 340,000 cases of citrus fruits annually through Lourenço Marques. The South Africans pay the Portuguese Government US \$5.25 per recruit; permit the Portuguese to maintain tax-collecting posts (*curadorias*) within the Union; deliver about half of the recruits' wages to the Portuguese authorities, for payment only when the labourer returns to Mozambique; restrict the maximum consecutive contract time to eighteen months; and guarantee repatriation.

This is the "progressive development of Mozambique". Our Labour MP's did not even see fit to criticise colonialism in principle. It was just another wine and dine trip for R. Mellish, MP, R. Ledger, MP, E. Wainwright, MP, and J. Robertson, MP.

B.C.

DOCKLAND JUNGLE (cont.)

toned up. So between them a solution has got to be found.

The *Financial Times* calls the situation "The Crazy World of Dockers' Pay". "The Jungle of Dockland" might be a better description. As Vincent Johnson pointed out in the September issue of *Direct Action*, dockers are not opposed to decasualisation as such, but they are opposed to the recent plan drawn up by the employers and the local T&GWU organiser.

For the next few weeks the air will be humming, with promises, pie in the sky, mixed with "backs to the wall", "export or die". Provided the rank-and-file docker doesn't swallow this jazz the dock employers can at least be forced to better their last offer.

Death of a comrade

With deep regret the SWF records the passing of our comrade, Chancha Sukenick, of the London Freie Arbeiter Stimme Group. She died, aged 76, following a heart attack.

Christie and Carballo—the struggle goes on

THE SENTENCES of 20 and 30 years passed on our comrades Stuart Christie and Fernando Carballo have been followed by many protests, some of which are mentioned below. Patrick Gordon-Walker, Labour's spokesman for foreign affairs, condemned Stuart's sentence as "savage". Several trades union branches passed resolutions of protest. The Christie-Carballo Defence Committee organised a meeting in Trafalgar Square on September 5, which was attended by several hundred people. The speakers, Mike Callinan, Ian Dixon, Emrys Thomas (national chairman of the Independent Labour Party), Paul Foot (Young Socialists), George Clark and Philip Sansom, were introduced by Desmond Macdonald. Messages from Bertrand Russell and Fenner Brockway, who were unable to be present, and a statement protesting at the sentences and supported by Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Sidney Silverman, David Ennals, Ernest Davies, Alex Comfort, Julian Beck, Judith Melina and Claud Cockburn were read to the meeting. Afterwards letters of protest were taken to the Foreign Office and the Spanish Embassy, and there was a march to Speakers' Corner.

On the same afternoon, in Paris, a letter of protest was handed in to the Spanish Embassy by French and English comrades. In New York, a leaflet issued jointly by several radical organisations has been distributed. In Bristol, there have been vigils outside the Spanish Vice-Consulate, a public meeting and letters of protest. In Glasgow, various protests including the daubing of the Vice-Consulate with slogans—"FREE CHRISTIE", "FASCIST CONSUL".

In London there were vigils outside the Embassy for several evenings following the trial.

On the day after the sentence was announced, an SWF member, Roger Kingham, threw two half-bricks in a sugar packet through a window of the Spanish Embassy. He was later fined £68.

Stuart Christie and Fernando Carballo have joined the thousands of anti-fascists who rot in Franco's jails. How long they stay there depends on various factors. We are told, for instance, that a Pope's death is the signal for a reduction in prisoners' sentences. We also know that the British Government is capable of having some influence on Franco's treatment of one of its subjects—and that the Government is more likely to act if it is constantly reminded of the issue.

If the Labour Party wins the election we must not let Gordon-Walker forget his protest against the savagery of Stuart's sentence. If the Tories are returned to power we should point out—as Bertrand Russell has already pointed out—that a similar sentence passed on a British subject by a Communist government would not be ignored by our noble rulers, defenders of freedom.

Fenner Brockway has written to the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee: "It is now the duty of all of us to urge that a British Government and other Governments shall bring the utmost pressure to bear for a drastic revision of the sentence. Every candidate in the forthcoming General Election should be asked to pledge himself to this."

In response to this suggestion the Committee is sending an appeal to all candidates. It is also organising a public meeting to be held after the Election. A welfare fund has been established for the imprisoned men. Money is still urgently needed both for the fund and to finance the Committee's efforts to fight for the release of our comrades. Address: Jeanne Smythe, Treasurer, Christie-Carballo Defence Committee, 34 Cumberland Road, London E.17.

For us in the libertarian movement there is no conflict

between our loyalty to our comrades and our struggle to end tyranny. In working for the release of Stuart Christie and Fernando Carballo we focus attention on Franco's terrible regime which enslaves millions of people—and against which our comrades themselves struggled. Whether we agree with their actions or not we remember that the cause for which they acted is our cause. Our tribute to their courage is to continue to struggle for liberty.

WYNFORD HICKS

An open letter to the Labour Leader

Dear Harold,

Just a short note as I must get on with reading Our Great Election Manifesto—there's a lot of it, you know, but I feel it's my duty to try to fathom some of it before the final ward canvass, because, of course, I could always meet the one elector who had read it.

Anyway, I couldn't let you think I'd forgotten to send my last-minute message before the Great Day to encourage you and help you through the strenuous time ahead.

Well, you're through the last obstacles, Harold, that Blackpool TUC was tricky, but I think it was wonderful the way you worked it so that you shut the lot of them up about almost everything the whole week—pity they thought they still had to stay dumb when Sir Tom O'Brien struck up "For he's a . . ."

Grundiman said that if you can keep the whole trades union movement hog-tied like that *now*, what would you do to them if you got elected and you could really put your foot on their necks? Although, of course, he's just trying to be funny, there's some truth in it, isn't there?

I mean, you'll be able to deal with all these critics and malcontents like Grundiman when you get to power, Harold. You know, I've always been a bit scared about that Mikoyan being such a great friend of yours, but I can see now that you've really picked up a few good hints from him.

For instance, I thought that was a splendid idea of yours asking the trades union leaders to give you 100 days if you're elected. After you've had 100 days to get things organised your way, there won't be one of them game to raise a peep. Grundiman—the man's a fool, you know—came marching into the ward meeting on Tuesday in his boilersuit of all things, saying he was getting in training for the Labour camps!

Well, I'm sure it will be a great relief for you, Harold, to be able to start building the new, scientific, technological Greater Britain, instead of having to think up all these election gimmicks—you know, like setting your pocket on fire with your pipe at the right moment, rehearsing a choir that can sing properly about your being a Jolly Good Fellow, and cooking up inspiring things to say like that bit about the fire in our bellies.

However, it'll soon be all behind us—so, now, Let's Go forward triumphantly to the bitter end! Next time I'll write to you at Number 10. Should things go wrong, no doubt Sir Alec will be pleased to forward it.

Yours fraternally,

JIMMY WIGGINS

● 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.

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