

# Direct Action

For workers' direct control of industry

Inside—Gunter threatens railmen : Labour's rent rises, racist policy, credit squeeze : Warsaw

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION (IWMA)

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## STAND BY THE DOCKERS!

THE Devlin Report, latest in a series that dates back to the General Strike, will be seen as yet another attempt to tame the dockers, but what has not been taken into consideration is that, although the dockers have always been known for their militancy and solidarity, the Dock employers have been just as militant.

Although the Government has always been ready to interfere in the interests of the Dock employers during times of dispute, it has never interfered with the running of the Docks. This Report gives a national directive to Dock employers and Trade Unions to end casual working, as a means to end dissension in the industry and other matters affecting efficiency of working.

Dock employers are told they must reduce their numbers from 76 to 16 in the London Docks; 16 will be able to function as usual, while the remainder join a consortium.

### Beside the fascist seaside

FRANCO's fascist trade unions run a holiday camp at Tarra-gona, 50 miles south of Barcelona. Among the visitors there last month were Labour MP's David Griffiths (Rother Valley), Walter Harrison (Wakefield) and Labour life peer Lord Blyton of South Shields, former MP for Houghton-le-Spring, together with their wives. During their holiday in the country where genuine union men are victimised, imprisoned, shot and garrotted, this group of English "socialists" visited a bull fight. "We all thought it was worth seeing," said Mr. Harrison, quoted by the *Daily Telegraph's* Barcelona correspondent (23.8.65).

Visiting Franco Spain shortly is Cllr. Dan Smith, Leader of the Labour Party on Newcastle City Council (see *DA*, August). He is one of the speakers at an international study conference in Madrid during September, called by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, and will address it on "Public Administration and Economic Development."

Also in Madrid during September will be SWF member Stuart Christie, who is now entering the second year of a 20-year sentence in that city's Carabanchel Prison, for alleged assistance to the underground resistance movement against Franco fascism.

Together they will make available the capital required to end casual working—they must also set up pension fund, and sick schemes.

### HOLLOW PROMISES

Labour would be split up in sections, some employed by individual employers, some by groups of employers, others by employers generally. All restrictive and protective practices must go, including those inhibiting the mobility of labour, except in the interests of efficiency. Overtime must be accepted as part of the norm and, wherever desirable, a staggered five-day shift system operated, to enable Saturday and Sunday to be worked as normal days.

There are promises and assurances that there will be no redundancy, but at the same time it is emphasised that employers must be able to use new methods and machinery and only the Board would decide on the strength of the register—in other words job manning on each job—and they admit there will be a certain amount of natural wastage.

The T & GWU and the NAS & D come under heavy criticism for completely opposite reasons, the former for being ready to sign agreements which were not representative of its members' wishes and the Blue Union for not being able to sign agreements without the knowledge and consent of its members.

### MORE PAY FOR OFFICIALS

The prescription for the T & G is more officials and much higher pay in keeping with the industry. In other words, if you can't beat the workers, corrupt the officials and God knows the T & G officials have become experts at receiving corruption. No doubt this was Bro. Ford's (President of the miners' union and one of the Devlin Committee) advice. They must step up the campaign to restore their authority and influence in the Ports of London, Liverpool and Hull and to educate their members in the issues involved.

The Blue Union must grant authority for its leaders to negotiate in accordance with ordinary Trade Union practice where two or more unions are involved; there must not be any breaches of confidence and the subject matter of the negotiating table should not be prematurely disclosed—although the Report points out that the constitution of the Blue Union stipulates that no agreements may be signed

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## DOCKERS (continued)

without the knowledge and consent of its members, so that a mandate is always required.

The National Joint Council should form a Negotiating Committee, with an independent Chairman and seats for two other independent members and a representative of the Blue Union, providing its members agree to the terms already stated. The T & GWU are already represented. The Report ends by stating that the Government should be prepared to act to impose a scheme for regular employment on the industry, if the Councils and Committees are unable to agree on the terms.

### DE-CASUALISATION OR CENTRALISATION?

The dockers will see that the report is not so much de-casualisation as bureaucratic centralisation, controlled by employers and Union officials in the interests of big business. It aims to take from the rank and file all freedom of deciding what work they do and at what pace, also freedom to decide piece rates and bonus working, with the Board having the right to control mobility of labour and discipline unco-operative workers. This would undoubtedly lead to the break up of militancy.

The criticism of the T & GWU was not so much that it failed to negotiate agreements representing wishes of its members, but that, due to the solidarity of the dockers, the T & GWU officials were unable to enforce them.

This was not always the case. Dockers will remember that during the war Ernest Bevin, General Secretary of the T & GWU, accepted the position of Minister of Labour. The dockers had to be organised to handle more goods, so Bevin introduced the Ministry of Transport Scheme, on the basis of compulsory acceptance. The T & GWU hierarchy signed its acceptance and members were told to accept or get out of the industry.

T & GWU officials were brought in to regulate, regiment and discipline the dockers into a docile labour force. There was voluntary overtime on a compulsory basis, which meant that every gang had to be fully manned and the individual could not decide the terms he would work under. The 12-hour days and nights, 7 days a week were the norm.

1945 brought the return of a Labour Government and another attack on the dockers. Within six days of their taking office, troops were sent into the Surrey Docks to break a strike against a wage cut. (See *How Labour Governed*). The dockers met the challenge, despite the efforts of their union officials, and the militancy and solidarity in unofficial activities shook the very foundations of Parliament and Transport House.

### THE DOCKERS' CHARTER

In 1946 there was an unofficial national strike lasting five weeks. The dockers demanded 25s. per day instead of the 16s, two weeks' holiday with pay, medical centres to be established in the industry, pensions for retired dockers, one muster a day, and a number of other points which together made up the Dockers' Charter. The strike ended with the Charter becoming union policy. And another enquiry concluded by another legal thug, in the shape of Mr. Justice Ha Ha Evershed. Only another 3s. was granted and the Charter ignored. Arthur Deakin will be well remembered as another General Secretary of the T & GWU who believed in wage restraint and no strikes. This policy met with strong opposition from the rank and file.

In 1947 the Regulation of Employment Act (Docks) was created as a fair deal for the dockers. It was accepted by the T & GWU Executive again on the basis of, if you don't

like it, get out of the industry. The scheme was obviously 'Joint Management', with the employers holding all the aces. It has been the cause of many protests and lengthy strikes. This is the scheme the dockers work today.

### AT THE OLD BAILEY

The employers and officials have twisted it to become a complete farce. It does, however, in some instances protect the docker, because of its clause on continuity of employment and many dockers have been able to survive the hire and fire rule. About this time a National Liaison Committee was formed to fight for the Dockers' Charter. Seven of its leaders were arrested in the White Hart, Stepney, under the Conspiracy & Tort Act 1305. The Minister of Labour was that great left winger, Aneurin Bevan, and the State prosecutor another representative of the Socialist movement, Sir Hartley Shawcross. The case was so ridiculous that the Old Bailey jury could not agree and a case of no further prosecution was declared. The seven men were released, though not acquitted.

In 1954, the Blue Union broke up the T & GWU officials' take-it-or-get-out policy, when it started recruitment of ex-T & GWU members. Thousands of T & GWU men began to leave and were snapped up by the Blues. The T & GWU screamed for help and the TUC came in with the Bridlington Agreement. Some of the northern members were suspended and one of them, Francis Spring, put his case before the High Court and played them at their own game. Mr. Justice Stone ruled that the member had not been poached, had left the T & G on his own accord. The Blue Union continued to recruit and the TUC expelled it to the delight of its members.

Its role has been a stonewall one to the T & G, but it has failed to change the conditions that had existed in the docks for almost 100 years.

Recently Barratt, general secretary of the Blue Union, was seen shaking hands with Jack Jones, assistant general secretary of the T & G, claiming that the feud was over and Mr. Barratt promising not to accept any more T & G members, as directed in the Devlin Report. It is very doubtful if he had consulted his members, as per rule, but in 1965 Mr. Ray Gunter makes most of the rules for union officials and they take priority over the wishes of the members.

### INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

There can be little doubt the Government and Transport House are making ready for another all-out attack on the dockers. The rank and file must make ready to support the dockers with all the strength they can command. No section of the British Labour movement can claim the record of militant struggle that the dockers have and we must not allow them to be crushed.

Every trade unionist should study the role of the union officials, particularly in the docks. Tom Mann, speaking to an 1886 dockgate meeting, said: "I desire to make a special appeal. How long, how long will you be content with the present half-hearted policy of your unions? I grant that good work has been done in the past by unions, but in Heaven's name what good purpose are they serving now?"

And they haven't changed much since. Many good and sincere trade unionists have become frustrated attempting to reform the officials, without results.

All hope that the tactics of the Blue Union would control the T & G have now faded. The dockers would consider an industrial union, with all officers subject to recall at all times. And on the clear understanding that the employing class has nothing in common with the working class. Perhaps

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# GUNTER THREATENS RAILMEN

THE rank and file of the footplatemen's union ASLEF, have been fighting a hard battle to maintain their conference decision "To keep productivity bonus separate from the issue of extending single manning of locomotives". The first setback was the decision of the 41 London branches of ASLEF to end their campaign of non-co-operation. This decision was taken by a majority of four votes. So disgusted were some of the delegates that they left the meeting before the vote was taken.

The second defeat was on August 10, when, by a majority of ten votes, the recalled delegate conference reversed its previous decision, but managed to amend the original executive resolution to the effect that union negotiators will oppose any single manning between 12 midnight and 6 a.m. So in effect, the negotiators' mandate is to get maximum bonus with minimum extension of single manning.

On Wednesday, August 18 a sub-committee of the Railways Staff National Council is to start work on a scheme for a productivity bonus for footplatemen. The scheme will be presented to ASLEF for approval, then to the Railways Board.

All through this struggle the footplatemen have had to contend with the mailed fist of the Government hovering in the background, inasmuch as, if they didn't play ball the Government would take the dispute out of the hands of the union.

How many times have we heard the statement that employers or Government will not negotiate under duress, in other words "Go back to work first to allow negotiations to resume"? Here is a blatant example—if one is needed—of workers being forced to negotiate under duress. This bull about work first, talk after has been pushed around so often that workers are beginning to believe it.

Maybe after this classic example the fallacy will be destroyed for all time.

## SPARKS WIN THE DAY

SOME 2,000 Clydeside shipyard electricians have won a pay increase of only 1d. less than was demanded by the workers. The dispute sparked off in John Brown's shipyard, where the ETU were demanding extra payment for increased productivity. After a year's negotiation no progress had been made and John Brown's electricians withdrew their labour. Shipyard employers retaliated by locking out electricians from other yards who came out in sympathy.

A few days later the ETU declared the whole dispute official. This is a victory for the electricians in two ways: first and most important, their demands were virtually acceded

to before returning to work, and second, they won, as near as makes no odds, their full claim. Shipyard bosses are among the least progressive of any set of employers and it is to the credit of the sparks that they beat some sense into them.

## UNION LEADERS PULL THEIR RANK

UNION leaders in the Exhibition Contracting industry are becoming very concerned about the shop stewards unofficial liaison committee. Special circulars are to be distributed throughout the individual unions, for information about the threatened delays to the Motor Show this October. Remembering the International Engineering exhibition last April, when an overtime ban was imposed, the circular states that any repetition of this action would bring disciplinary measures from the unions.

Some members of the unofficial liaison committee are finding it difficult to get jobs with the main exhibition companies, because their cards are marked. Workers engaged on exhibition work are under pressure most of the time because the work has to be done so quickly. Exhibitors who have stands at these various shows expect the quickest job for the smallest payment, obviously exhibition workers do not agree and by their actions have proved their point.

## FORD'S MANAGEMENT DIGS IN

FORD's management at Dagenham have flatly rejected a claim by 22 unions for a wage increase for 48,000 manual workers. The management claim that, in view of the short interval since the last award and the national economic situation, it could not agree to consider the claim until the end of the year.

It is a known fact that Ford's workers are the lowest paid in the motor car industry and yet, according to a recent survey by the *Times*, each worker made a net annual profit of £287 for the company. It does one's heart good to know that Ford's management are so greatly concerned about the national economic situation. I don't doubt that if it wasn't for the country's crisis, they would be only too willing to pay workers their just demands.

The national negotiating machinery for Ford Motors hourly-rated workers, is in a state of turmoil, due to the go-it-alone pay decision by the T & GWU. The other 21 unions have tried to settle their differences in private with the T & GWU, but the latter insist on pursuing their own claim independently. The situation is now that the secretary of the union side of the NJNC would write to the T & GWU Executive Committee, urging examination of the problem.

Obviously, the T & GWU are doing a bit of flag waving, since the big dispute when the 18 men were sacked trade union organisation has gone to the wall and the number of men who have lapsed their cards is nobody's business. So the T & GWU says: "Come into the fold, we will get you what you want". The situation at Fords is 22 unions pursuing varying policies, this can only be classed as a tragedy of the first order. Why not one organisation in Fords, Dagenham? The rank and file have the power at their finger tips, they were on top once and they can get there again and until they do this, Fords management will cut them to ribbons.

**BILL CHRISTOPHER**

## Against germ warfare

AN EIGHT-DAY MARCH from London, organised by the Committee of 100, will culminate on Saturday, September 11 in a demonstration at the government's germ warfare establishment at Porton, Wiltshire. Topical urgency has been given this demonstration by a recent softening-up article in the U.S. *Chemical and Engineering News* by Dr. R. L. Kenyon, Director of Publications for the Chemical Society of America, which advocated the use of "mild" chemical warfare in Vietnam. Coaches will leave London for Porton on September 11, return fare 12s. 6d. Details from Committee of 100, 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4. Tel: APC 1239.

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# Direct Action

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

## 100 per cent Labour: 40 per cent rent rises!

"100 PER CENT LABOUR" is the proud boast of Islington Labour Party, where the mayor, every alderman and every councillor is a nominee of the party. Islington is a large, very old and very shabby borough of North London and has been for many years the preserve of "Labour". Here one might expect contented council house tenants, so that a traveller coming upon a demonstration outside the town hall might ascribe it to the hot weather, or "13 years of Tory misrule". Not so, the people who provide the 100% vote are demonstrating against the 100% elect.

Islington Council has ordained a massive rise in council house rents, ranging from 6s. 10d. to 38s. 1d. a week, with some tenants paying a total of over £5 per week—in a borough that is by no means Chelsea or Mayfair.

Also proposed is a differential rent scheme, the sort where a man pays more rent when he gets a pay rise, or when his child starts work—the principle that caused a rent strike, barricaded council flats, pickets and militant demonstrators when introduced in neighbouring St. Pancras by a Tory council a few years ago. A man supporting his wife and three young children and earning £14 16s. 9d. a week, plus 18s. children's allowance, may pay nearly £3 a week rent.

The rent boost is due to start on September 6 and the tenants have received forms which the council demand they should sign, showing their willingness to pay the higher rents. They were given until August 21 to sign—and after that the threat of eviction hung over the resisters.

On August 11, a demonstration of mothers gathered at the Town Hall, where their spokesmen said that some would be paying from £2 4s. 8d. a week for a bed-sitting room and others £5 14s. 6d. for a three-bedroom flat. As a result

## HELP SPANISH TOURIST BOYCOTT

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

## Subscribe to DIRECT ACTION

Yearly subscription rate 6s. 6d. (US & Canada \$1—dollar bills preferred to cheques, owing to loss in negotiating latter) from SWF, 34 Cumberland Road, London E.17. Cheques and p.o.'s payable to Syndicalist Workers' Federation.

of this meeting, a further demonstration was made two days later, to meet the mayor, Cllr. E. Ward.

Many are returning the forms unsigned and some delegates are collecting the blank forms. Resistance is growing, but it would grow faster against a Tory council. We should add that the council is no longer 100%; councillors Albert Ley and Bob Redrupp have resigned and now sit as "independent Labour."

The Labour Party HQ in Upper Street bears a notice in chalk on a blackboard, "Labour's Pledges Fulfilled." Easy to rub out!

Labour-controlled councils in London and many parts of Britain are announcing heavy rent rises. Waltham Forest, the old boroughs of Walthamstow, Leyton and Wanstead, with 12,000 council tenants, is proposing rises up to £1 8s. 8d. a week and differential rents.

Hackney, Labour for a lifetime, now embracing Shoreditch and Stoke Newington too, with 17,500 tenants, authorised rent rises averaging 40% on August 25.

Haringey, a combination of Hornsey, Tottenham and Wood Green, announces rent increases by degrees, the first instalment not more than 7s. 6d. a week on October 1.

What will the Trotskyists, the Communists and the other "Lefts" who urged the workers to put their trust in Labour votes say to all this? Undoubtedly, "sign the petition of protest and Vote Labour at the next election." The dog chases its own political tail and howls when it makes a bite.

Those hit by soaring rents, Labour or Tory, have the answer in their own hands: 100% refusal to pay the increases and organisation to carry this out through militant tenants' committees, not tied to any vote-catching political parties, or their satellites. Rent strikes have succeeded in the past—they will do so again.

## LAPSUS MEMORIAE

Angry Islington council tenant: "The sooner we get rid of this bloody Tory Government, the better." August 13, 1965.

## GROUP NOTICES

LONDON SWF: open meetings every Friday, at the Lucas Arms, 245 Grays Inn Road, WC1 (5 min. Kings Cross Station) 8.30 p.m.  
Open-air-meetings every Sunday, Hyde Park, 3 p.m.

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

BEDFORD: Contact Doug Holton, 47 Dunville Road, Queens Park, Bedford. Meetings Wednesdays, 8.00 p.m. at above address.

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

BRISTOL: Contact John Coveney, 12 Normanton Road, Clifton, Bristol 8.

DUNDEE: Meetings every Saturday, 2.30 p.m. at Mike and Alison Malet's, 20 South George Street, Dundee.

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

Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays, 8.00 p.m.

HULL & E. YORKS: Contact Rod Baker, 6 The Oval, Chestnut Avenue, Willerby, E. Yorks.

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

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

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

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

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



# SYNDICALISTS IN THE WARSAW RISING

TWENTY-ONE years ago this month, a battle to the death was in progress between Warsaw's population and the occupation forces of German Nazism. The struggle ended in surrender by the rebels and the ruthless elimination by Hitler's troops—themselves already facing final defeat—of the Polish capital city's resistance movement. While the two-month insurrection and the subsequent slaughter went on, Russia's Red Army waited, only a few miles away on the other side of the River Vistula, halted by Stalin's orders, not firing a single shot to help the anti-fascist rebels. Only when the Nazi storm troopers had finished their butchery did the Red Army resume its advance and occupy Warsaw. It was one of history's filthiest acts of betrayal.

What has not been generally recognised, even within the international libertarian movement, is the part played by Poland's revolutionary syndicalists in the underground anti-Nazi resistance and the Warsaw rising itself. News of this reached us in London, 21 years ago, while our fellow-workers were fighting behind the Warsaw barricades, through friends in the Jewish Socialist Labour Bund of Poland, who paid generous tribute to the militant organisational ability of the Polish syndicalists. Full confirmation of these details came after the war from the IWMA, then based in Stockholm.

Although independent Poland was governed by a coalition of aristocratic, clerical, financial and military interests before the war, the workers of that country had far greater freedom of organisation and expression than those of Stalin's Russia or Hitler's Germany. Trade-union membership was little short of a million, there were 1½-million Socialist voters and 65 socialist M.P.s in the Polish parliament. An active co-operative movement numbered three million and several cities, including Lodz, had socialist councils. There was an active Anarchist Federation, affiliated to the IWMA, and the syndicalist unions of the ZZZ organised 130,000 militant workers. A number of Polish comrades—one of whom, a merchant seaman, I met in Glasgow during 1943—fought with the anarcho-syndicalist militias during the Spanish Revolution.

## NAZI-SOVIET PACT

Soon after the war started, following the Nazi-Soviet Pact of August 23, 1939 and the partition of Poland by the armies of Hitler and Stalin, consummated in a treaty of September 29, a message from the Polish syndicalists reached John Andersson, then the IWMA's Secretary. It stated the policy our Polish comrades were to follow during the years of war and occupation:

"At the first external shock the Polish state collapsed. The state is destroyed but the people still exist. The people can be free only when in a collective organisation they enjoy full liberty and material well-being. Therefore we must fight propaganda which says the re-establishment of the Polish state and unity among all Poles for that purpose is desirable.

"The masses who live under the occupation have no particular interest in lifting the terrible burden of foreign domination from their shoulders if it means continued disenfranchisement and exploitation by their own State. They do not want to fight the butchers of the Gestapo to be ill-treated later by Polish policemen and imprisoned in 'National' concentration camps as before. For the class-conscious working class the reconstruction of the Polish State is not the objective of their fight. Our fight is to free our country and people from all oppression and to establish completely new forms of social relationship. The new libertarian Poland must look to Syndicalism for future forms of social organisation. Only the free collective economy of the workers,

peasants and artisans and the co-operative movement and the free associations of culture, science and art, united by means of free councils, can realise Socialism."

Under the German occupation there were two Syndicalist bodies in the underground movement—the ZZZ and another grouping comrades who had worked as a minority within the reformist trade unions. In 1944 they fused to form the Polish Syndicalist Association. There was also an active syndicalist youth organisation.

The resistance movement had two branches: one, the military formations of the Home Army, largely composed of the regrouped remnants of the defeated Polish Army, whose allegiance was to the emigré government in London. Alongside them were the irregular forces of the Socialists, the Jewish Bund and the Syndicalists. The Communists, totally discredited, were a negligible factor. After Hitler's invasion of Russia in 1941, Stalin set up a puppet committee of Polish communists and fellow travellers in Moscow, but this played no part in the resistance—apart from acting as *agents-provocateurs* for the Bolsheviks.

## 'SPARK' OF FREEDOM

In July, 1944, the Nazi armies were in headlong retreat and the Red Army was within firing distance of Warsaw. The threat to the city appeared so great that the Nazis abandoned the Warsaw suburb of Praga, evacuated their citizens from Warsaw and closed down the German-controlled Press. Moscow Radio broadcast several appeals to revolt, the last one, from the above-mentioned "Moscow Union of Polish Patriots", saying: "(Warsaw's) more than a million inhabitants ought to become an army of a million men, fighting for liberation and destroying the German invaders."

On August 1 the Warsaw Rising began. Soon the rebels controlled two-thirds of the city. In the factories, workers' control was established. Home Army commander, General Bor-Komorowski, recalled afterwards: "... everywhere the people ran out to help. The impetus of the opening onslaught was too strong to be compared with that of a regular army alone. It had all the drive of a furious popular rising... clearly the success of the early hours owed much to the civilians' impetuous attack upon the enemy." Barcelona, July 1936... Warsaw, August 1944.

The Syndicalists in Warsaw, like other sectors of the resistance, had their own papers, *Syndykaliści* and *Iskra* ("The Spark"). The former, of September 16, 1944, proclaimed: "A new era is beginning in the public life of Poland. The masses are entering the political and social arena... a new era is beginning for Poland, the era of direct action by the great masses... our job, as syndicalists, is to express the popular will in an organisational form and to bring about, with the help of that organisation, the great social reconstruction based on social equality and political liberty."

It was not to be. Stalin, fearing the contagion of social revolution and determined to let the Nazis eliminate a resistance movement that would have strenuously opposed Bolshevik subjection of Poland, pulled back his armies and gave no aid to the insurrectionaries. Warsaw's workers, many of our comrades among them, died as a result. We shall not forget them.

KEN HAWKES

## DEMAND RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Demonstration Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1.  
Sunday, September 19, 3 p.m.



# Labour's credit squeeze follows Tory line

"The truth is that the only way of putting a real ban on immigration is if we are prepared to slow down the economy."

Patrick Gordon Walker, *Hansard*, 16.11.61.

In opposition and before the General Election, Labour presented itself as the party of economic expansion, the alternative to the stagnating policies of the Tories. When Labour came to office last October sterling was in crisis owing to the poor condition of the country's exports, which was chiefly the result of the previous years of stagnation.

But in office, Labour's policy has been to introduce measure after measure of the kind designed to halt a wild, runaway boom! One restrictive action has followed another, up to the fierce cut in state spending announced at the end of July.

This cut meant not only the shelving of all work on future programmes for building houses, schools, and hospitals (for the neglect of which the Tories were so strongly attacked when Labour was in opposition). It meant also the "postponement" of Labour's promised lower mortgage rates for owner-occupiers and the general cutting by over a quarter of funds for council mortgages. It was accompanied by a stiff measure of hire-purchase control.

## MORE WORKERS NEEDED

All in all, Labour's policy adds up to a continuation and if anything an intensification of those pursued under the Tories. Why?

To be sure, the controllers of the World Bank, to which British capitalism is currently in thrall, are far from being won to the modern policy of controlling the general level of a country's economic activity through the regulation of state expenditure. Therefore they jib at the increased government spending on which Labour was largely counting to get British capital out of its economic rut. But this hardly accounts for the drastic use of conventional "dear money" policies to restrict credit of all kinds.

Two things are vital for the expansion of capital: not only money but also (unless there is to be an equal increase in productivity or in hours worked) a larger labour force. And, late in May this year a government inquiry revealed that from 300,000 to 500,000 more workers are needed in Britain (beyond the expected "natural" growth of population) if the rate of expansion desired over the next few years is to be fulfilled.

At a meeting earlier this year George Brown had said:

## FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS

**INDUSTRIAL YOUTH**—voice of militant apprentices and young workers. 2d. monthly from 25a Dufield Road, Salford 6, Lancs.

**OXAN**—Quarterly bulletin of Oxford Anarchists. Specimen copy 1s. from L. Otter, 5 New Yatt Rd., North Leigh, Witney, Oxon.

**RESISTANCE**—for Peace and Freedom. Bulletin of the Committee of 100, 6d. per copy, 10s. a year post free, cut rate on bulk orders. 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4.

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

**OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP**: Contact H. G. Mellar, Merton College, Oxford.

**S. WALES ANARCHIST GROUP**: Correspondence to M. Crowley, 36 Whitaker Rd., Tremorfa, Cardiff. Lit. selling outside Home Stores, Queen St., Cardiff, Saturdays, 2-5 p.m.

"It is absolutely mad at a time when our labour force is allegedly over used and when our new labour force is going to rise only slightly that we should be talking about limiting the number of people who can be used. It does not make any sense."

Yet there "it" is in the white paper: no more than 7,500 Commonwealth immigrants a year (plus a special concession of 1,000 lighter-skinned Maltese workers).

What is more, Commonwealth immigration was cut drastically at the end of 1963 by the effective abolition of class C vouchers for unskilled workers. (A fact "leaked" at the end of May to forestall criticism of Labour's plans as worse than the Tories.)

## A WAIL FROM WHITEHALL

Having complied with racist pressure to cut coloured immigration, the government (both under the Tories and under their Labour successors) and the capitalists are confronted with a new problem—the shortage of workers. In its progress report last month the Department of Economic Affairs (DEA) said that the current successful demands for, particularly, shorter hours and more holidays, is wrecking hopes of expansion—and that this is aggravated by the smallness of the expected growth of the labour force over the next few years.

In fact, the rate of unemployment was falling earlier this year. This was giving the workers advantages in pressing their demands. And though the British government like all advanced capitalist governments is committed to full employment there can be no doubt that both it and the boss class (on whose behalf it governs) become very uneasy when full employment gets "too full".

As Mr. Andrew Shonfield, well known on television as a commentator on economic affairs, and Director of Studies of the Royal Institute of International Affairs put it in the *Observer* (8.8.65): "Whenever these two lines of vacancies and unemployed intersect, a united wail of sorrow and anxiety rises from the City and Whitehall." The "establishment" view among economists right now, he says, is that, "Above all, unemployment, which has dipped a little below 1½% per cent this summer, needs to be increased to put the economy right."

## UNEMPLOYMENT DOUBLED?

Mr. Shonfield did not hesitate to tie this to immigration policy: "At the moment," he said, "with its policy of over-ally restriction, it [the government] is inflicting economic punishment on the whole nation, in order to conceal the racial prejudice of some of its citizens."

And so it came about that on the very day the DEA complained about shorter hours threatening expansion, it was announced that nearly 4,000 Hoover workers were to be put on a four-day week. On this same day the National Institute of Economic and Social Research anticipated that the continued restrictive policy would nearly double the unemployment figures by the end of next year. The next day the unemployment figures for August showed an increase of more than a fifth over June and July and a drop in vacancies over a half as great again as the normal drop at this time of year.

There is nothing, absolutely nothing, inconsistent between Labour's economic policy since it came to office and the present problems of the British capitalist class. What is inconsistent is the claim of those who persist, after ten to eleven months' experience to the contrary, that Labour in any way represents or can represent the working class.

MARK HENDY



## IWW demand shorter week--and more jobs

THE few hecklers couldn't ask the usual question, "Why don't you get a job?" The picketers' slogans said: "IWW—I Want Work," and their presence in front of the San Francisco unemployment office showed clearly why they had so much time to spend carrying signs.

One demonstrator, a 22-year-old college drop out, scrapes by "as a professional blood plasma seller, getting \$8 a week for four hours with a needle in my arm. I'm getting nowhere fast."

The local IWW branch is agitating for the 30-hour week as a means of reducing unemployment. After a month of leafleting and picketing at the office, to get support from jobless workers, they will demonstrate at business and union locations, such as the Chamber of Commerce, AFL-CIO headquarters, and banks. There may be sit-ins or other civil disobedience. Ten thousand copies of the following leaflet are being distributed:

### SPREAD THE JOBS AROUND

In the twenty years since the 40-hour week became standard industry's output per man hour has almost doubled and is still rapidly increasing. This means that employers need fewer hours of work per available worker. So, they have been reducing the number of hours worked by the "average" citizen—by telling millions of adult Americans, "There's no job for you." Most workers have a 40-hour week, but millions of others are stuck with a no-hour week—and are forced to live miserably on welfare, unemployment insurance, or their relatives.

The California Federation of Labour (AFL-CIO) says: "California now has one out of every ten jobless workers in the nation—The fact of the matter is that there just aren't enough 40-hour a week jobs to go around. Year after year our capacity to produce more and more goods and services in less and less time not only expands; the rate of expansion accelerates. The critical question created by this situation is whether the fruits of automation are to be monopolized by a small segment of the population—stockholders and the like—or shared broadly by society at large."

### SHORTER WEEK MEANS MORE JOBS

Everybody deserves the chance to get a job. Working is not a privilege. It is a basic right. Instead of 40-hours work for some and no jobs for others, everybody who wants work should have a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. By sharing the work everybody will have a chance to make a decent living for himself and his family.

### STAMP OUT OVERTIME!

Another way of spreading jobs around is to get rid of overtime work. It really is selfish for union men who have jobs to work overtime when millions have no work at all—it is scabbing on the unemployed. Union contracts should outlaw overtime except in temporary emergencies.

### WHAT YOU CAN DO—

If you're lucky enough to have a job and a union card, get your union to demand a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay with no overtime in all contracts.

If you're in the civil rights movement, get your organization to work for the thirty hour week. How else can black men get work when there are so few jobs?

If you're unemployed, picket with us at businesses, the unemployment office, unions, etc.

*Industrial Worker*, July, 1965.

## Rose-tinted vodka glasses

FREE HOLIDAY TRIPS to Russia for trade union delegations are still a favourite form of propaganda from Moscow. One such delegation, that of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, recently returned to London, led by the acting president, Lord Hilton, after 15 days in Russia.

The *Daily Telegraph*, 10.8.65, reports Lord Hilton: "It was really impressive. They are completely mechanised." He added that they had seen nothing that could be applied to British agriculture. "Russian farms," he went on, "had already passed a production target set for the present year."

Russian targets are usually far more impressive than their products, so this year there should be a bountiful supply of food in that land of "impressive" farming. But two days later, 12.8.65, the *Daily Telegraph* reported from Ottawa: "The Canadian Wheat Board announced today that Russia has ordered 4,600,000 tons of wheat and 400,000 tons of flour. This is in addition to 700,000 tons of wheat and 20,000 tons of flour ordered last week."

The orders are valued at 450-million dollars, or £160,700,000.

"Today's sale is the second largest in Canada's history. Mr. Sharp, Trade Minister, said the sale meant an assured market for every bushel of wheat that could be moved through Canadian ports in the next 12 months." *Daily Telegraph*.

Who is lying? Not the 5,720,000 tons of wheat and flour.

A few days later, the *Sunday Times*, 15.8.65, headlined a despatch from Moscow: "Russian economy endangered by poor harvest." Among the items of poor harvest cited was a 60% loss in the vast Central Asian Virgin Land. This year's harvest is much lower than that of 1964, which was not good.

It is feared that heavier State extortions from the farms will be made, threatening the seed corn. Pressman Edward Stevens' despatch goes on, "The total result will be a heavy unforeseen drain on Soviet balance of payments," and forecasts the sale of "considerable quantities of gold." The extortions of grain will be like eating one's loaf and keeping it. The drain on gold will affect the capitalisation of industry and Soviet aid abroad.

The *Observer*, of the same date, quoting from the Russian paper, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, forecast drastic changes in Soviet farming, away from the fundamental Bolshevik forced collectives and vast unwieldy State farms, towards smaller and peasant-owned farms. This change of mind is due to the continued muddle and failure of Bolshevik farming. The Russian government should consult that celebrated peasant, Lord Hilton.

Trade union "delegations" to Russia are farcical. From my observation on the spot, they are rushed to this or that exhibit or sporting event, wined, dined and talked at, then given presents and ready prepared reports and propaganda to take back home. Gratitude to one's host and dizziness are apt to produce a report that looks like a view of Russia from the bottom of a vodka glass.

TOM BROWN

## STAND BY THE DOCKERS (cont.)

the railway workers, who are also anchored by officialdom, might be interested. Also the seamen and lorry drivers.

Let's make Transport House redundant and all who sail in her, including the TUC and all other organisations that pose as representatives of the workers, yet act as instruments of Big Business and the State!

E. STANTON



# LABOUR'S RACIALIST POLICY

## "Bare faced open racial discrimination"

Patrick Gordon Walker, Nov. 1961.

## "We bitterly oppose the bill, and will resist it"

Patrick Gordon Walker, *Hansard*, 16.11.61.

## "I beg the government now, to drop this miserable, shameful, shabby bill"

Hugh Gaitskell, *Hansard*, 16.11.61.

LIKE a bombshell, the Labour Government's White Paper on Immigration fell on the unsuspecting population, prelude to the most reactionary bill for many a year. The statements above were made, amongst others, by holier-than-thou Labour M.P.s. Side by side with the present bill, they make me feel ill. They were of course made at the time of the Tory bill on immigration. It would seem that Labour racialism is better than Tory.

And this from a party which claims to be a workers' party. Syndicalists have always held that political parties could never hold the interest of working people to heart. What few morals the Labour Party ever had, if any, it has now lost; this is the final degeneration. Lord (Fenner) Brockway, in *Tribune* (August 13), wrote: "My head is bowed in shame." He went on: "I am writing this article, under a sense of shame, as a member of the Labour Party". If Brockway had any shame he couldn't be in the Labour Party, let alone the Lords. Brockway and his ilk are frauds; they peddle their reformist nonsense, and sidetrack and delude workers into thinking that they are militant, which is a laugh, at least. Many militants think that you can change the Labour Party by working in it. History has shown that all they change is themselves.

## MOSLEY SORRY

The bill restricts new immigrants to 8,500 a year, and has a special deportation clause. This clause is obviously included as an attempt to discourage militant immigrants from activity. What with strikebreaking, the Devlin Report, war-

mongering, and now racialism, Mosley will be sorry he ever left the Labour Party.

It must be admitted however, that racial hatred has a small but growing hold upon the working class, the less class-minded sections. Racialism is nonsense. Racial theories are so fluid that racial supremacy is impossible to prove. To speak then, of the inherent benefits of being, black or white, Indian or Tibetan, brown or polkadotted, is impossible.

Racialism in its modern sense only became known with the advent of capitalism. Racial hatred is the result of the frustrations of working class life under capitalism. In the past the Irish were blamed for unemployment, but not now, so why blame coloured immigration for it in 1965? After all, coloured workers mainly find their way into nationally undermanned jobs, such as public transport. Unemployment is the result, also, of capitalism. Profit is the driving force of capitalism; when one industry stops making a profit, workers are laid off, or the industry is closed down.

## WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

It is true that this is simplification, but it is the basic cause. Some capitalist economists believe that the bill will cause unemployment, by holding back the economy. Another writer in this paper shows that this theory is correct. Immigrants are also blamed for slum housing, yet we know this to be utter rubbish. Many white workers live in slum districts which have never seen a black man. The coloured people who break up houses are to be condemned, but no more than whites who do the same. Such actions are anti-social and not rational and, as such, are again products of the system we live under.

What is the answer? Is it with the reformists, like Foot and Brockway, or CARD? Is it with the racialists of the BNP or RAAS? Could not the answer be to accept racial prejudice as an evil, but integral side of class society, and to work for the destruction of that society? We must build a society based upon Workers' Control of the means of production and distribution. Such a society, being classless, would have no place for race hatred. Is it too much to ask workers to act together in solidarity against this filthy system, that produces so much hate, fear, and misery? We should attempt to build a new and co-operative society, in which the aim is the benefit of the many, not the profit of a well-fed snobbish few.

## INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' CONTROL

Syndicalists believe that workers should organise at our places of work, irrespective of race or colour. Not in the class collaborating hotch-potch we now call unions, but in Syndicalist revolutionary unions. These unions would be controlled by us, the members, at grass-roots level. We have many common grievances at work; such a union would help combat them. They would be more handy for the day to day struggle, also they would be the shell of the new society within the old.

Such unions would fight and check disorder, not only between white and coloured workers, but also between white and white, coloured and coloured workers. In conclusion, an example of our opposition to outdated and timeworn racialism, is our membership of the International Working Men's Association, which stands firm for International Workers' Control. Pious calls for brother love will do nothing, talk of workers' solidarity will do a lot.

VINCENT JOHNSON

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