ASTURIAN MINERS TORTURED

TEN WEEKS after the first stoppages in the Asturian mining dispute, the situation is still far from normal, according to reports from CNT members in Asturias.

Although the majority of workers have gone back, following written and verbal orders to return to work, Civil Guard barracks or police commissariats if they fail to do so, pressure is at an extremely low ebb, as many miners are going down the pits, not working. At the collieries of La Camacha, at Gijón, and Pumarín of the Langreos and Siero company, only 1520 per cent of the workers are turning up—and these are doing nothing.

The authorities, as after the strikes last year, have launched a sadistic campaign of repression against the miners and their families. In charge is Civil Guard captain Fernando Caro, 28, native of Melilla and son of a regular army colonel; up to recently captain of the Civil Guard in Malaga, he has been transferred to Asturias because of proven qualities as a torturer. One of his subordinates, infamous for his cruelty, is a Civil Guard corporal named Pérez, from Galicia.

On September 3, at 4 p.m. in the police headquarters of Sama, de Langreo, died the miner Rafael González, 36, following torture, including the gouging out of an eye. He was given no medical attention.

On the same day and at the same place, 45-year-old miner Silvín Zapico was castrated and is now in hospital, critically ill. Both this miner and his wife, who was raped, were accused of being “communists”.

Vicente Barriaga, of Lada (Langreo), has been rendered impotent by his repeated beatings during torture.

Alfonso X, a former miner worker, now retired through ill-health and working for a Bilbao insurance company, was tied up (he is a strongly-built man, who was given the same treatment during the strike last year) and thrown in a tank of water, then beat him up in front of his wife. She came to his husband’s assistance and Perez, leaving Alfonso on the ground unconscious, turned his attention to her and beat her up too. She is now at Oviedo, her hair shaved close to her head, like many other women. Her husband later picked her up by a workmate who took her home at Lada and called a doctor (whose name we omit for security reasons). The latter said he did not know how to start treating Alfonso, so terrible was the physical state of the tortured worker.

Antonio Zapico, of Lada, was brutally beaten up. His right cheekbone was fractured and mouth split open. He is in hospital.

Jerónimo Fernández Trastorno, married with one son; Jesús Rame Teva and ten other miners are now in the Carabanchel prison (Madrid), after being brutally tortured.

Evaristo Castro, married with three sons, is interned in the provincial asylum of Castellanos, as a result of terrible tortures. He had painted at the pithead of Daro Felguera, “The people will be avenged. France, murderers”. Caught by the Civil Guard, he was savagely beaten up.

Iñigo Martínez, who lives in La Jocara, in Sama de Langreo, was tortured and her hair shaved. Her husband has been in jail since last year’s strikes.

Juan Albelda, of Lada, was arrested with another miner, nicked.

SNOOPERS UNLIMITED

The following circular letter, which has been sent out to employers, is a direct threat to industrial militants. It has been distributed to affiliated organisations, for their information, by London Trades Council.

From—COMPLETE SECURITY SERVICES LTD,
54-56 Regent Street, (6th Floor), Piccadilly Circus, London, W.1
PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

A share of the Profits

Dear Sir,

Most business concerns however scrupulously managed, lose an appreciable amount of money each year through pilferage. This pilferage takes the form, not only of petty barcades from stock, but also of misuse and wastage of time by employees, disengagement or laxity of discipline on workshops or stockroom floors, and falsification of figures on time sheets and vehicle schedule sheets.

In some form or other, this is taking place in your Company at this moment. We specially emphasise in presenting this unwarranted sharing of your profits. Our services include:

1. The supplying of undercover agents—a man planted among your employees to provide you with a complete appraisal of any unlawful activities.
2. The following of vehicles used by employees during the course of their week.
3. The investigation of thefts, frauds and embezzlement.
4. Reporting on any persons who may be suspected of causing dissension or initiating employees to deflection.
5. The screening of prospective employees—a search into their antecedents and backgound.

Our staff are trained and thoroughly vetted and their method of approach, discretion and loyalty are of the highest order. Our consultant will be pleased to call to advise you, without obligation or cost, as to the most practical method of dealing with your particular problem.

Yours faithfully,

L. DAVENPORT, Manager, Complete Security Services Ltd.

NE seamen fight colour bar

THE North East Staffers United Committee notes that recently some white British crews have refused to sail with some of their Union brothers who are of a different colour to them.

These coloured brothers, who are members of the NUS from back home, have every right to jobs as the upstarts, few in number, who are causing trouble. The NUSC members of the RNAs and are doing much too help by making public what is happening. So far it has provided the NUS into action on this subject. The reaction by paid, unelected officials, when confronted about it, is amazing.

Many can say it: “Oh, these bloody people, what can we do?” And these officials are being well paid by the very people whom they are reluctant to help. The Union is of great help to these people by spending some of the education money they are getting from the government on this no longer sticky subject. All seamen are brothers; whether they like it or not.
named “Chocolatina,” Captain Fernando Caro, to amuse himself, ordered the pair to beat each other. As they only made a pretence of doing so, the Civil Guard torturers were called in to administer the beating they had tried to stop. When they were taken separately before Caro afterwards, he said to them with fatherly humour, “What idiots you are to stick together.”

A woman, whose name is still not known to us, tried to evade the orders of police inspectors at Sanía de Langreo by claiming she was pregnant. Captain Caro punished her heavily in the belly, shouting, “One Communist less, then.”

Maria del Rosario García, 55, was arrested for giving lodging to a political prisoner. On asking where she would be taken, she was told, “First to the Conventual Restaurant, then to the “La Coma” colliery, Gijón. They were beaten so badly that three were seriously injured.

Captain Caro has his own method of selecting some of his victims. He orders mine supervisors to bring him on the following day four coalface workers. When they turn up without the workers, he asks for names of those who have instructed to returns to work. He also gives them names of those who have not reported and the captain immediately has them arrested and starts torture sessions.

This is only a tiny fraction of what is happening in Asturias. These letters must be made to stop the torture. The Franco regime, which is behind them, must be stopped.

CTT INFORMATION SERVICE.

An unwelcome visitor

One hundred Spanish intellectuals recently wrote to the Spanish Ministry of Information. Fraga Iribarne, asking for enquiries to be made into maltreatment of Asturian miners and their wives. The letter cites some of the cases listed above, including that of Rafael Gonzalez. In a 13-page official reply, Fraga Iribarne admits that two women have had their hair shaved—undoubtedly, in view of their systematically provocative attitude. He claims that the injuries were accidental. A letter written by the communists—the usual Francoist smear against opposition of any kind.

Fraga Iribarne, according to the Spanish fascist paper, “Ya,” is to visit London on Tuesday, November 6, for a lecture to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, at Chatham House, St. James’s Square, S.W.1. The director general of the institute is former Labour Cabinet Minister, the Rt. Hon. Kenneth G. Younger. Lectures at Chatham House are generally held at lunch hour.

Franco jails French Anarchists

On Thursday, October 17, the three French comrades who have been in Carabanchel jail since April, appeared before a military court in Madrid. It was the same court that condemned to death the communist Julian Grunin and the two Anarchist comrades, Joaquín Delgado and Francisco Granados, during the summer.

Alain Pecana, a 17-year-old student, was sentenced to two terms of 12 years and one day (the extra day signifies no remission will be granted). For placing a bomb on the steamer, “Ciudad de Iz Antarctica.” Guy Baleste, 23, received 15 years for putting a bomb outside the US Embassy, in protest against Adal Stevenson’s official visit to Spain. Bernard Ferré, 26, was sentenced to 30 years for having a safe charge in the office of the Iberia State Airlines at Valencia.

Nobody was hurt by these bombs, which had a purely propaganda intent. Bernard Ferré was a subscriber to Direct Action.

... and two more Spanish ones

On Monday, September 23, a military tribunal in Madrid sentenced two more comrades of the FLJ (Iberian Federation of Labour) to long terms of imprisonment. Both of them have been carrying on the work of the FLJ from the beginning of last year.

One of them, Juan Salcedo, 23-year-old art student, was found guilty of placing a bomb at the Palace of Justice in Valencia last December. The second was found guilty of placing a bomb outside the Rome offices of the Spanish State Airlines “Iberia” in February this year. He received two sentences of 30 years.

The other comrade, Manuel Borrego López, 24-year-old bricklayer, found guilty of placing a bomb at the residence of the Military Governor of Valencia, last December. He received a sentence of 25 years imprisonment.

“Anarchist International”

GUY ALDRED

GUY ALDRED died in Glasgow on Wednesday, October 16, aged 76. With him passes one of the finest orators the working-class movements of Europe ever produced—and one of its few remaining great “characters.”

Born in London, he was a natural rebel. After spending a short time in his teens as a friend of a reformist society, he discovered theorganising capacity of the anarchist movement for attacking the capitalist order. He became a representative for the workers’ struggle. The story of the early years is related in his autobiography, “Dogmas Discarded.” At Hammersmith he set up Bakunin House, a centre for rebel activity; he went to jail for 13 years, and sometimes spent 45 days in prison for operating British policy in India. From his mouth and pen poured a never-ending stream of anti-militarist, anti-parliamentarian, iconoclastic propaganda.

Aldred again during the first World War as a militant CO, he led free-speech fights in London and Glasgow. Frequent brushes with the law led him to study its loopholes and over the years many hundreds, probably thousands of workers have had good reason to be grateful to him for their invaluable free conscience. He was a wide variety of subjects—from resisting nuisance landlords to struggling against military and industrial conscription. Aldred never found the fullest knowledge of his kind—no matter how bitterly they may have previously had his help. Solidarity had a practical expression in his activity.

The last time I saw Guy Aldred was in Hyde Park, London, on June 15, 1948, when we spoke on the same Anti-Army Federation platform. An “Emergency Meeting” was called to protest at the sending to Borsal for three years to Peter Green, then 18; after his refusal to submit to medical examination for military service. Although Aldred had not spoken in the Park for many years, the news that he was back spread quickly, and one after another, the other speakers closed their speeches and audiences coming to swell the crowd of well over 1,000 around the AFN platform. The man’s command of language and argument was remarkable—far greater than the public figures so often hailed as masters of expression. His writings, particularly the earlier ones, contain much that is of value. Among pamphlets that should find a place on every rebel bookshelf is his short biography of Bakunin, the two volumes of Socialism and Parliament, Studies in Communism and Pioneers of Anti-Parliamentarianism.

Aldred was a man of paradox and contradiction. A life-long anti-militarist, he supported in recent years the ultra-militaristic régime of Russia under Stalin and Stalin’s son. An opponent of anti-parliamentaryism, he made several attempts to become an MP at Glasgow by-elections. A man of divided privilege, he was a close friend and associate of Sir Walter Strickland (whom his request helped get a knighthood). He was a man of divided loyalties. He opposed the USSR in the early 1920’s but turned a blind eye to the pitiless repression of Anarchists and other left revolutionaries by the Russian Bolsheviks. But he wholeheartedly supported the struggle of the Spanish Republican soldiers against the Fascist revolution.

Now the turbulent character is no more. The big man in the nickers’ coat, with the sticking-out head, the bushy eyebrows, has written a last article for The World. Held his last meeting at Glasgow’s Central Church; despite his deep disagreements with Guy Aldred, we mourn him as a friend.

K.B.

IWW demonstrate

With the dual purpose of disseminating Chicagans from planning a vacation in Spain and to protest Chicagans from the serious new going on in the Asturian and Basque region of Spain, the Chicago General Membership Branch of the IWW last Saturday staged an hour-long rally in front of a loop travel bureau while some people were on vacation in Spain, and Portugal.

A half-dozen pickets carried banners proclaiming the four facts of Franco’s government and economic system. Some participants distributed handled especially prepared for the occasion. Still others passed out petitions to Mr. Freeman, President of the Popular Worker’s Club. A crowd standing around, the turnout was more than ample to crowd the sidewalk up front of the fascist agency. The public reception was friendly. The IWW system, not too commonly disguised in the demonstration of this kind—came in for some criticism, especially from the attention.

Industrial Worker, 259, 68

Three of the 22 Spanish comrades detained in France—on charge of belonging to an “association of criminals”—have been released. They are Guirro Menes, Nardo Imbrovino and Pascual Navarro. Applications for the release of other officers—Felipe Martín Armento, Bartolome Martínez, Angel Sanchez, Jose Pascual and Enrique Guirafet—have been rejected.
INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

New Ford threat

UNION leaders are worried about the decline in union membership among Ford workers. The biggest full-on is in the paint and assembly plant, where the majority of the '1' dismissed military personnel are employed. Ford workers are organized, but some say the union's influence is waning. The company is now less willing to negotiate, and as a result, workers feel undervalued.

A few years ago, the 17 represented members took their union cards in disgust. Of the 13 men still employed, informal approaches have been made to Ford's, requesting assistance to get work for the others. The Community Hall is where they often meet, but even here, if a rumour case is hit they have to leave. Comment from one of the 13 was: 'How can Ford's help after all the things they have said about us?'

And it's true, these workers are well and truly blacklisted.

New comes the real 'dolly' union officials who are managing to keep up and maintain membership. What a mob! Please, help us and we will keep them in order.'

A couple of weeks ago a night shift supervisor suspended a worker and 19 men walked out. They too were suspended. After vigorous protest the suspension on the 19 was lifted, but the original worker is still suspended, pending talks with union officials. Ford's still rule with an iron hand.

The major worry of all Ford workers is the possibility of a lock-out. In the paint shop, they could have refused but, if he, a time worker, is not in their contract, it could hold the first to go, because he had turned down an alternative job in the past.

Ford workers in Dagenham, Liverpool, Basildon, Southampton and elsewhere must get together for a joint policy and action, so that when the blacksmith shop, if they should have to close it down, Dagenham workers are the 'patsy', therefore it is essential that liaison be established as soon as possible—NOT a political party tie-up, but pure shop floor rank-and-file organisation.

SHOP STEWARDS ON SHIPS

The National Union of Seamen negotiated a new dispute procedure, whereby complaints can be taken to the master and then resolved. The union and shipowners. The union EC approved the new complaints procedure by a majority of only 21-14. The 17 who opposed must have their ear to the ground, realising the feelings of rank-and-file seamen, who at their annual conference in a few days' time are calling for positive steps to implement their decision on 'how seamen should be treated'.

Shipping employers are strongly opposed to seamen's complaints, seamen have a tough fight ahead—but the rank-and-file may have won and can so do again.

A new rank-and-file seaman's paper has appeared on the North-East coast. The Seafarer issued by the North-East Seafarers Union

P.S.—Sir Thomas Yates, retired general secretary of the NUS, has been appointed a member of the Southern Area Railway Board.

Railway workers, you have been warned.

YOUNG BOSSES GET TOGETHER

The Young Engineers Association has been formed. The association caters for directors and executives under 45, its purpose 'closer international economic integration'. The hon. secretary is a member of the Federation of British Industries overseas directorate, Britain for the Common Market.

FORTY-FOUR WEEK

Talked about in 1926, is still having to be fought for in 1963. 70,000 dockers are going into battle for a 40-hour week, the present working agreement winds up at the end of October. Employers are divided, but are reported to have a package deal up their sleeve, covering de-casualisation with 40-hour week as the basic agreement. Employers and union leaders led by Frank Cousins met on September 9. They are to have further talks on October 22, which is very close to the termination of the present working agreement. If the dockers can break through to the 40-hour week without too many strings, it could lead to a general breakthrough in all industries.

18-WEEK STRUGGLE

Workers at P.A. Marriotts, Wembley, Middlesex, have been on strike 18 weeks, fighting for a 42-hour week without loss of pay and normal trade union negotiating rights. Financial support from the community has been funded. This struggle is one of the few left in the strait, is not far from the point where it must spread—but I don't need to teach AEU how to suck eggs.

TRANSPORT CHAOS

London's bus service goes from bad to worse. 600 men and women have left in the last month. Why? Because the job sticks—lousy pay for lousy working conditions and the result a putrid service. So busmen have to add to their own worries passen-
gers screaming blue murder because it appears to them that the buses are running at a distance from the source of the trouble, packing passengers to a fare within the bus, packing passengers to a fare within the bus.

London Transport has no solution: it has gone to the ends of the earth to get recruits, with very little success.

What is the solution? In the eyes of this mug, who believes that the bus route he used once a day is a daily trip, the job more attractive if it is possible to run at a loss. Higher fares and fewer buses drive passengers away into cars, thus choking the roads. An efficient transport service would ease traffic congestion.

At the moment busmen take the can back for a bad service when the bottle is broken. The London Transport Board. The busmen are fed with talking, action is the next step—complete overtime ban, work to rule, until the LTB see sense.

On October 9, London Transport hired a fleet of private buses to defeat a ban imposed on 'specials' by London busmen. Is this a sign of things to come?

LIAISON THE BIG NEED

The rail unions NUR and ASLEF have had their claim rejected for a 40-hour week, now it goes through union full negotiating procedure. With a 40-hour week demanded by dockers, busmen, railwaymen, this is the time for a three-way rank-and-file discussion on how best to push forward this claim and win. If there is no genuine liaison, each will be the other's throttle. What about it, dockers, busmen and railway men?

B.C.

Towards industrial unions

THE CHALLENGE OF NEW UNIONISM (National Union of Public Employees, Civic House, Aberdeen Terrace, London, S.E.3.) (4th ed.). This pamphlet, which sets out to state the case for industrial unionism as a dynamic solution to the problems facing trade unionists, is one of the most interesting documents to be produced within the official British trade union movement for many years. Its theme, the need to replace the hundreds of craft unions in this country by one union for each industry, forms part of the industrial unionism movement that had its first public expression in the pamphlet No. 1, 'What's Wrong with the Unions?' by Tom Brown.

'The present pattern' says the NUPE pamphlet. 'With many unions of varying types, creates wasteful duplication of effort, it perpetuates antiquated sectional interests, it creates conflicting policies and it provokes unnecessary competition for membership. All the evidence points to the need for deliberate efforts to develop industrial unionism—a form of organisation in which all workers within an industry are united in a single union. The single union is linked in turn with other industrial unions through a centralised body which is able to represent the widest interests of workers in a responsible and authoritative fashion...day-to-day experience in the Midlands taught us that the continuing division of the trade union movement along old-fashioned lines benefits only the employers and the Government.'

Apart from the reference to a 'central body', what Singh and McFadyen call their 'federal' is no important distinction, not a mere quibble about words—this statement is one with which there can be little disagreement on our part.

When a single union operates within an industry or service the employees are always confronted with the maximum union strength. The company, after all, is responsible for much of this apathy. Members in the workplace are aware—whatever their views—that the policy ultimately adopted by the employers will have been through a sausage machine involving dozens of other unions. In union negotiations a multi-layered structure has been built up over the years. It is difficult for members to establish any real identification of their interests with those of the union as a whole. The process seems remote, apathy increases as a consequence and there is an inevitable widening of the gap between the rank-and-file and national representatives.

Here, however, a constructive point seems to have been missed. The pamphlet does not state where it envisages the basic branch...
STATE SECURITY!

The EIRE (Southern) Government recently announced the abolition of capital punishment—except in the case of political offenders—and as they put it, "Offences Against the State". As a result, no number of executions of this nature were carried out during the 1939-45 period, without the formality of what is usually considered a fair trial. They derived their claim to legality from the "Opposition to the Act". In 1937 a new Constitution, which was proclaimed a masterpiece of Christian justice, was ushered in by the De Valera Government. It appeared to guarantee all civil liberties, etc., but had a sting in the tale which went unnoticed by the people who voted, in referendum, for the Constitution. The Constitution was an actual denial of the total registered electorate which secured its passage. The sting lay in a clause which stated that it could not be altered, except by referendum of the whole people, after a period of five years from its adoption. The De Valera Government introduced an Amendment to the Constitution Bill (to get rid of the Preparliamentary Representation System) and immediately succeeded in having it passed by the Dáil (Parliament) created by the Act. This five-year period, with the aid of the European War, was sufficient to give the Government an opportunity to introduce two amendments, comprising the infamous "Offences Against the State Act", which provides for "preventive detention", and has enabled the Dáil (Parliament) to abolish the OASO and to establish a State of Emergency. In 1939 the Government introduced an Act which provided for the suppression of all civil liberties, etc., in the State of Emergency. The OASO has been condemned by all the newspapers and political parties in the country, and it is generally agreed that it is a great danger to the future of the country. The ordinary citizen of the country is kept very much in the dark about all this. So much so that, when some years ago the De Valera Government introduced and submitted to the Dáil the "Third Amendment to the Constitution" Bill (to get rid of the Preparliamentary Representation System and extend the period of the Dáil without the consent of the people), not one citizen in fifty could say what was the effect of the Bill. The First and Second Amendments, in fact, not a few puzzled a name that wrote to the press seeking clarification on the point. In the emissary, however, no efforts to establish PR were, incidentally, firmly resisted by the people, who, in such a manner that it is possible to have a "State of Emergency" even after five years. The OASO has been used almost exclusively against Republicans (IRA, Sinn Fein, etc.), and in the present situation it is generally agreed that it is being used equally against any group or section of the population which constitutes a threat to the State - e.g., Trade unions, anti-nuclear activists, etc., and is being used against enemy civilians. The State of Emergency is not only a threat to the State, but it is also a threat to the State. There is also a further and possibly more sinister aspect to the OASO. One section of its provision states that all persons convicted under any of its provisions will be disarmed from service in State bodies. It is clear that a State which is in the power of the State cannot afford to be exposed to the State from even the most threat of disqualification from employment in any State concern.

It would be pointless to labour this point further. I think it should be plain that even in an enlightened age when capital punishment is rare, the idea of a government committing the murder of its own citizens is one that should be avoided at all costs. This is particularly true when the Government has the power to do so. The State of Emergency is a threat to the country, and it must be abolished at once.

BILLY CONNOLLY.
Martell & Co.—Strikebreakers Inc.

It is reported that Edward Martell has described himself as "potentially the most effective strike breaker in the country". He has been a long-term strikebreaker and is currently the Chairman of the Lower St. Mary's ward. The Conservative MP for Hastings and St. Leonards has also been known for his stance on strikes, regularly attending strikebreakers' meetings and providing them with support. Martell has also been involved in the founding of the Freedom Group, a group of Free Press Society affiliates, the People's League, the Defence of Freedom, the Anti-Socialist League and the National Fellowship, with publications including the New Daily, People's Guardian, and recently the reappearance of The Recorder.

The National Fellowship (NF), which appears to be the parent organisation, started with a flourish of full-page ads in some of the national dailies in January 1962. It described itself as a "Great National Guardian", a group of specially selected, independent workers. The National Fellowship is anti-trade union, and in 1970, The Daily Mail (21.6.56) reported that one of its "objects" was "to uphold the liberty of the Press by sponsoring a printing undertaking free from trade union dictatorship."

At this time, the NF was in dispute over a 40-hour week and the Printers' Union claimed that, by combining a new system of "Open House" computers, more than 20 periods of strike were called, including the "Listener" for the BBC, who were able to continue publication. The NF had replaced some of these houses and stopped publication; they were too widespread and addresses unknown to get a complete stoppage.

The May (1966) issue of The Newsman said that the league was "the greatest threat to organised labour for more than a century" and that its objections were due to being "out of sympathy with everything on which it can feed is ruthlessly withheld from them, whether it is paper, ink, transport and, above everything, labour" (this para is a direct quotation from a People's League statement).

The Reporter for the People's Guardian, which has now been incorporated with the revised weekly, The People's Guardian, in 1960 Martell's organisation really went to town with a daily paper, The New Daily, whose estimated circulation is 40,000. The general public have not been too happy with its main aim being to ostracise and criminalise "textile" unions, who "can be seen with the bloody unions."

In July of this year, Martell sent out a confidential letter which began as follows:

"It is necessary for me to begin by stressing that the contents of this letter are highly confidential. It is only being sent to selected number of our supporters and I am asking each one of them to keep its contents strictly to themselves. You will understand why when you have read this letter. I am sure that I can rely upon all of you to keep this letter under the strictest confidence."

The letter then goes on to outline Martell's plans and asks his supporters to guarantee him a seat at any meeting of the trade union committee. He is to campaign for a national ballot to determine the future of the unions by acquiring a closed shop union house and converting it to an open house.

The final paragraph reads: "To sum up, you will realise that if we succeed in this undertaking, important repercussions could follow through the rest of the country. Should you require any further information or wish to further the matter, please do not hesitate to telephone me. Absolutely confidential."

Undoubtedly leakage of this information forced Martell to speed up his plans. On September 2, it was announced that the Saphe Press Ltd., had bought the Stoke Newington works of John Waddington with the specific purpose of turning into an "open shop", and that the NF was, in fact, only acting to ensure that the new shop remained non-union.

Whether Waddingtons knew they were negotiating with Martell is not clear, but he obtained the plant. Martell himself has stated that he was told by Waddington to get the union out of the way. After three months some of the workers left the shop, but it would be impossible to leave a gentler way of getting the sack. All the workers at the plant agreed to the unions' suggestion to pick up their jobs. The majority have since taken other jobs; those still unemployed are getting full wages from their respective unions.

On September 23, production started at Stoke Newington print continued on page 6

THREE NEW BULLETINS

- **ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL** (Vol. 1, No. 2) is edited and published by Margaret Hart, 57 Ladbroke Road, Notting Hill Gate, London, W.1. A subscription for six issues is £2.50 (postage paid), for 12 issues £6.00. It is hoped to produce the bulletin every fortnight.

- **ANARCHIST YOUTH** (formerly Anarchist Student) Vol. 1, No. 3, is edited by Adrian Cunningham (Cambridge), Wynne Hicks (Oxford) and Charles Radcliffe (London). The cost is £1.50, plus 2d. postage. From 14b Fellows Road, London, NW3.

- **FORWARD** (Vol. 1, No. 1) is published at 131 by the National Progressive Democrats, 33 Kildare Street, Dublin. This bi-monthly bulletin includes an illuminating expose of a top-level letter between ETU officials and building employers (Dan O'Sullivan), following the taking of the site by stewards. The letter, dated February 1961, was written in support of a new method of construction in which all unions are excluded. The letter was sent to the ETU office, which issued the expulsion orders. The men now maintain their "solidarity", report Forward, and a court action against the employers is threatened.
workers from other "open houses" controlled by Martell manning the plant. It is reported that six former Waddington employees have returned. Negotiations would be on a personal basis between the management and all members of the staff. The works manager, Miss R. Giddies, has not joined the union although the whole plant is unionized.

What does this mean to union printworkers? It means a step back to the bad old days. One man doing four men's work—and pre-war printworkers know what that means. It is carried to its logical conclusion. The union is, in effect, saying to workers who don't take a step ahead that they can't do the job or stand the pace. Negotiations on a personal basis mean that one man, who pays more than another for the same job, blue-eyed boys in a nutshell, it means dividing the profits.

Collective bargaining means a united workers front to the employers, who after all, hold the whip hand of "hire and fire". Workers sell their labour power and determine how much they're worth through confidential personal chats, offering to do the job cheaper than another man and take smaller cuts. This is a dangerous trend, which the union must fight.

What action have the print unions taken to date? They have seen the Minister of Labour—although, to be perfectly fair, they are not likely to broadcast their intentions to all and sundry. Print unions leaders state that Martell was seeking a fight with the printing unions and called on the Government to condemn the industrial activities and intentions of Martell and his associates. The Printing and Kindred Trades Federation general secretary expressed "keen disappointment at the result of the negotiations."

Here the Government recognised the right of individual workers to join a union, proper arrangements for negotiating terms and conditions of employment were essential in modern society. A classic parliamentary answer which should have been expected. What does the government do to Martell now? The answer was given in 1956 by the Right Hon. Mr. Attlee that "everything on which it can feed is ruthlessly withheld from it—paper, ink, transport, and above everything labour."

The Members of the Exchange Telegraph chapel of the Press Telegraphist union, who service the tape machines at Martell's New Daily premises (22 Goss Street, N.1), have been urging that this service should be withdrawn by the union, so far without any enthusiastic response from the EC.

Yet Martell's paper relies on the tape service provided by the six Telex and one RUP machines (PA-Receiver and Will not get him service, as he is outside the Newspaper Proprietors' Association) and, with at least a skeleton service in the half disorganised, he would be unable to provide a home and foreign news coverage without urgent assistance. Without tape, the New Daily would dry up.

FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF MARTELL AND CO.

This is a matter of labour and conjecture, but there are declared aims.

1. To press parliaments to bring in legislation which will (a) Make the closed shop illegal. (b) Prevent unions from raising a political levy. (c) Abolish the licensing of printing plants and ship of a union vote in favour of a strike from a strike in a secret ballot held by an independent returning officer. (d) The present laws relating to trade unions to be brought into line with the laws governing other associations. This means amending the Trades Disputes Act of 1905, so that unions will not be liable for the torts of themselves and their servants.

2. The purchase of more printing plant and declare "open houses".

3. To print to ITA for licences to run TVR stations with non-union labour.

4. It is strongly rumoured that Martell and Co. are interested in purchasing a dockyard or shipyard in the north of England, and also printing a youth paper.

Where does and when will the cash come from for these activities? Obviously Martell is very vague about this, but the cash is there and will continue to be there. It comes from people on the "Master Index". In the past few of them must have big cash. Martell's past activities prove it.

Support—quote from the City Press (11.10.63) talking about restrictive practices: "We do not condemn the restrictions practiced by Martell, but we condemn the restrictions practiced by employers as well. It is not in the interests of the nation this peace in the printing industry should be bought at a price which means a reduction in the numbers and variety of organs of opinion.

The government was warned that all men have the right to combine for their own advantage, subject to the right of others to remain out and subject to the discipline of a free market.

The printing trade union leaders must, by virtue of their position, act as a galley for Mr. Martell, but in the long run the judgment of the public will be the only man who tries to maintain a completely closed shop and restrictive practices.

Now that the unions have approved to Mr. Hare, the Minister of Labour's request, it is feared that the Government will have the courage to express clearly that the restrictions practiced by employers in the printing industry is a free market which involves a closed shop or persistence in restrictive practices.

"And, if the unions persist in policies designed to bring about the collapse of Mr. Martell's ventures, they will find that the country as a whole will be behind him. And if he persists as we are content he will—he cannot fail to win."

An Ascot printing firm director, who supports closed shop policy in the printing trade, offered to make his plant available to Martell. Martell says this does not affect the contract.

In conclusion Martell and Co, have to be smashed, they are "Strike Breakers Incapacitated. They are unable to produce the work at the agreed rates and under the agreed terms and conditions."

Restrictive practices? Martell accuses everyone of dodging this question. Here is my personal answer, for what it's worth. While the employers hold the right of "hire and fire", I am prepared to face the collective threat. I will work to secure the best conditions and payment for my labour power. I consider the system that we live under as dehumanising, corrupt and a complete anathema to personal freedom. Money earned by my labour power is being poured down the drain every day. Until I have some say in what I do and how I work, as my basic rights are respected, as I am concerned it is a battle with the establishment, employers, etc. Before some bright spark says "live in the Soviet Union", freedom he died with Roosevelt.

Remember the end of Martell's confidential letter: "important repercussions could follow throughout British Industry" (my emphasis). We have been warned.

BILLY CHRISTOPHER (printworker)

TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

Continued from page 3

unit of industrial union organisation—according to which a man lives, or where he works. In Syndicalism, and this is a bedrock principle of organisation, the factory, mine, mill or other workplace is the nucleus of the union.

The NUPE pamphlet approach this solution, without explicitly stating it: "By increasing membership participation in union affairs, industrial unionism opens the way to the development of workplace organisation and the advance of industrial democracy. One of the difficulties experienced by many unions today is determining the role of their shop stewards. Or, more precisely, the role of a shop steward is completely different in an industrial union than in a workplace where the stewards are the union officials. The spontaneous solution to this problem is that shop stewards themselves are in the formation of joint committees. But these bodies are handicapped because they have to keep a balance between the national policies of all the unions involved. In many cases they give up the attempt and formulate an agreement that suits the officers of their union better, or later this brings them into conflict with their national representatives and gains them the title of 'anarchist', thus reducing their ability to confront management and win gains for their members.

Since this pamphlet was written, the 1963 TUC has rejected the recommendations put forward, with the support of General Secretary George Woodcock, for a substantial re-organisation of British unions into an industrial rather than branch basis. Woodcock's views are several times quoted with approval.

We do not believe the type of industrial unionism wanted by Woodcock and other members of the TUC hierarchy has anything more than a formal similarity with that received from Syndicalists. An industrial union can be just as undemocratic and bureaucratic as any craft or general union. The American CIO and the French CGT, both based on industrial structure, are proof enough. According to the national policies of all the unions involved. In many cases they give up the attempt and formulate an agreement that suits the officers of their own unions better, or later this brings them into conflict with their national representatives and gains them the title of 'anarchist', thus reducing their ability to confront management and win gains for their members.

KING HAWKES

THE SPANISH CONSPIRATORS—after Franco who? by Bob Edwards, Mike and Augustin Munoz Grandes (45 Devons Park Road, London, N.1). A review of this important book, about Augustin Munoz Grandes, the Iron Cross Fascist general chosen as Franco's successor, has been held over, through pressure on space, and will now be published as the first chapter of an article. Munoz Grandes' actions in a series of issues over the past year, under the direction of Fred Zimmermann, Gregory Pack is making a film, "Belchle a pale horse", in Paris, based on the life of Spanish Anarchist guerrilla fighter Sabater, who was killed by the Civil Guards in Catalonia two years ago.
An open letter to the Labour leader

Dear Harold,

I really never thought when last I wrote on the eve of your Society hall meeting, I would find myself in such a whirl of political excitement—indeed, in all manner of affairs that were going on, and so were very much alike, I would not be able to stay up without you. Without you! Why, Harold, we've hardly been without you for a single minute. Half the time I couldn't finish reading your book on the evening papers before you were coming up on the TV screen with some important interview.

Incidentally, Harold, we were very relieved that Transport House stepped in to help George with his campaign on the Sunday Telegraph, and also that Labour men in general are in future sure of being manifestly by those expert TV interviewers. How much wiser were you—a mean in giving a spot interview to that 13-year-old schoolboy who ran his own newspaper at Hampstead and who, you said, was "a first-class interview." Anyhow, as I was saying, it's been a great time for all of us. First there was the Deming Report, and you going in, chin-up, to read the horrid bits that had to be hushed up. Of course, that was a bit of a letdown, because there weren't any horrid bits and you didn't have the chance of showing the responsible attitude we all admired when you helped Makepeace with the World meeting, but I did very well, though, afterwards when you kept on saying that Macmillan's integrity was never in question and that Labour was interested in scandal anyway. That was very responsible, I thought.

And then the debate. What a triumph! Of course, reading between the lines, like I do, you see there were a few who had made everything difficult if you had a tough foresight. Though many knew that they weren't supposed to talk about the party problems, one of them still tried to bring up the taboos of defeat, foreign affairs, and the like, instead of just leaving you to straighten them out when you are PM.

Still, they are nowhere—you saw to that. And how petty they looked when you zoomed into your great scientific speech about the future project of the Labour men every other week. Even the Tory papers were columned about you and your comments, which you really must congratulate, Harold, though we have the greatest sympathy with them, those old age pensioners headed to spoil it all talking about getting their pensions down to the National Health and about eating the sea-ends of meat. I mean, it wasn't very forward-looking was it?

And even George Brown damped down a bit talking about how it was going to take years and all that before we got to the new scientific socialism with all its material rewards. I do agree, however, that by 1955 or so in power we should be able, within our new expansion program—within our new expansion program—within our system to give a reasonable chance for widows, not just for any other pensioners. We cannot do things in a rush.

Shinwell, however, was the worst of the lot—what remark about how he was at your 45 Labour Party conferences and heard the same speech 43 times. And then saying, "And brother, I'm suffering!" We thought it unendurable, because your speech outlining the new scientific, technological, automated socialism was completely lost.

We've had our trials with Grandman during this exciting time. Just like him to get the Sunday Telegraph and since that article about Wilson, he addresses us all as Doctor, instead of Brother. He gets up and says, "Pardon me, Mr. Chairman"—and last time when Councillor Blott, who was chairman for the night, was going to rule him out of order, he said we must all get with it and learn to live in Wilson—the computers and the State-civilization, with no going to replace the workers.

The rest of us, the six other of us with Grandman during this exciting time, just like him to get the Sunday Telegraph and since that article about Wilson, he addresses us all as Doctor, instead of Brother. He gets up and says, "Pardon me, Mr. Chairman," and last time when Councillor Blott, who was chairman for the night, was going to rule him out of order, he said we must all get with it and learn to live in Wilson—the computers and the State-civilized, with no going to replace the workers.

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An open letter to the Labour leader

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CND—not dead, but very sick

THERE have always been issues dividing CND (Voters' Veto). Civil Disobedience, how to organise industrially and work for strike action and internal democracy, but there, though frequently indicative of principled differences, were on matters of tactics, often hinges on whether the time was yet ripe.

Underlying these divisions lay the real difference: Is Unilateralism a mere tactic or a principle? At the Campaign's first Conference since 1962, those who held the latter view won through to the explicit statement of Unilateralist aims, against the wishes of the Executive, who wanted a movement for Unilateralists which was not specifically Unilateralist.

The arguments of those who insisted on a Unilateralists Campaign—or who broadly held that political experts thought one could not trust statesmen, that negotiations by top people were unlikely to lead to Peace, or—as Alex Comfort put it—"when are we all arsewards, what's the use of meeting at the summit? The responsibility is responsible for this Government, even where one opposites them, and therefore one deals with its misdeeds, rather than those of Governments one is not geographically in a position to affect immediately.

Particularly since 1959, when the Communist Party changed its line, support its growing activity for the Executive view that Unilateralism is merely a tactic.

There was a time when this basic difference was of no immediate relevance, while "tactical unilateralists" could be relied on to maintain the tactic. But now we are within a year of another Labour Government, they are within sight of their goal. Such a Government (though ready to give up manufacture of "our" bomb on economic grounds and to take Polaris as a free gift, rather than giving for it would be Unilateralists' and the vague enmities—consider it enables them to talk of partial unilateralist moves ("initiatives") or at least to designate Wilson as a Multi-lateralist who means it.

Particular on 1960, the Conference last month (October 1960) was the real source of division, always apparent and frequently open.

The attempt by leaders of the New Left and CND paid officials to bridge the gap, by proposing an unreal unity based on the "non-initiative" concept, never seriously considered this and my assumption last month that those independence movements new controlled the Campaign proved false. No tears need be shed over the defeat of the loyal opposition, a forced union would be a thousand times worse than an open split.

The Conference was of course, superbly stage-managed. Instead of the composing of resolutions being handled by standing orders committee, it was handed to groups nominated by the S.O.C. and the Chairman's address took up the whole of Saturday morning, thus leaving the Quartermaster in serious trouble.

After that, the real Conference was on the crucial issues, a rout. On a variety of radical issues, Conference supported the Left, without realizing what it was doing. It voted to rescind the voting right of non-electoral members of the Executive. It abolished the Official Secrets Acts, and in favour of the Soviet's For Peace revelations (without discussing the revolutionary implications of all these resolutions).

Once again having said that we do want Unilateral disarmament and an end to nuclear testing and, finally, it decided that international contacts should all be Unilateralists. It reaffirmed belief in industrial action, though giving this to the Labour Party—and the only amendment that was any chance of deleting reference to this was supported by CND. And CND's main purpose was to delete a section demanding organisation for such action.

But—Conference voted clearly and without any count against the two motions by the Winnipeg Committee—stating that we are for Unilateralism all round and understanding what Unilateralism means. For when Broadbridge, of Didsbury, argued against me that by demanding Unilateralism in
Canadian Letter

The big, bad boss

A poloiticians for the capitalist system would have us believe that bad bosses aren’t bad any more. (He’s just a hell of a lot better.) The latest in a long line of gimmicks to be trotted out is “performance centred management.” No longer is the worker driven by the “carrot and stick” incentives of money (wages) and unemployment. No longer is his productivity driven by his objective to bring in a bigger share of the national product in order to earn a bigger wage. Instead, the worker is paid on the basis of potential output, and his performance is measured in terms of output. The worker is expected to produce more. The worker is expected to produce more. The worker is expected to produce more. The worker is expected to produce more. The worker is expected to produce more.

Modern, enlightened management is, we are told, regards every employee, from highest to lowest, as performing a task essential to the smooth running of the organization. Each employee knows the standard of performance expected of him, and how his particular activities contribute to the total effort of the organization. Provided that he performs his task to the required standards, he need have no fear for his job; but if his performance falls short of his potential, he will be judged to have contributed to the total effort of the organization, and for that reason have no complaints in this direction. Nor will there be any complaints in this direction. Nor will there be any complaints in this direction. Nor will there be any complaints in this direction. Nor will there be any complaints in this direction.

In fact it was found expedient to transfer 195 employees (all but 70 being office staff and management) and fire 128 long-service employees. These among the 188 who were over 49 years of age, and 162 of whom had been with the company for at least ten years, were given termination payments of from one to three weeks’ wages. The company fired back, with a large number of the money that would have been paid out in pensions. For example, one worker with 35 years’ seniority, and entitled to a pension of $84 per month, received a termination payment of $375, quite a saving for the company.

GE felt no qualms in firing 188 of its employees: it acknowledged no obligation to them — even though many of them, due to their advanced age, were past the retirement age. The company’s annual report stated, “The company is quite certain that retirement has not been the end of their lives, with all the connotations of poverty and misery that that entails.”

To end on a more cheerful note, we will discuss the contract recently negotiated by British Columbia dockers, organised in the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union, and their employers, the Shipping Federation of British Columbia. The main gains in the contract are the protection against unemployment due to automation. Under the contract, layoffs for technological reasons are prohibited and union members are guaranteed 30 hours per week or equivalent pay during hours per week, or equivalent pay as long as cargoes remain at present levels. If cargoes drop, guarantees will be proportionately reduced. It automates eliminates existing jobs and creates new ones. All disputes under the contract are to be submitted to a three-man board, with the board to decide on the introduction of a three-shift system.

Bill Greenwood

Dear Sir,

PLEASE find enclosed a check for $5.00 to be applied towards a two-year subscription to Direct Action. The excess may be applied as your organization sees fit.

Organisational work in San Francisco is proceeding at an unexpectedly quick rate. The foundation has been laid for an anarchist club, a bookshop, a regular lecture series, and I am told that a weekly newspaper will be published. Already the shop is well stocked with pickets and leaflets in SF. Indeed, there seems to be healthy signs that the IWW is calling its present scope and returning to the organisation of the working class.

Yours for the works,

Michael D. Brown

Branch Sec’y., SF GRU Branch, IWW, San Francisco, Calif.

A Call to Action

Here in the USA, if IWW members undertake mass distribution of pamphlets to the wage slaves, coast to coast, they will be able to link all the new members into their ranks. These pamphlets should be well printed, in large readable type, with a sub-blank to the Industrial Worker printed at bottom of leaflet and space below that for local hall addresses to be stamped on. Now if the International Working Men’s Association will print leaflets with their Declaration of Principles and signs blank to Direct Action at the bottom, they will also get thousands of new members.

Fifty-four million wage slaves in this country are illiterate: don’t get enough to eat, are badly clothed and there is great discontent among them. There are also five million migratory wage slaves, whose wages and living standards are below the poverty level and they need to be educated and organised by a good, militant labour union. The Negro wage slaves are on the march for economic equality, from coast to coast in this broad land. They are in need of IWW and IWMA education and organisation.

There are over six million out of work and their number is increasing every day. The rich and fertile land of Uncle Sam. The larger our cities grow, the bigger the slum districts get. The cost of all phases of living is very high and getting higher all the time. Crime, drunkenness and dope using is widespread. The slaves must be awakened to the fact that they can fight the bourgeoisie and their capitalist masters at the same time.

Yours for international solidarity of the IWW and IWMA,

Skid Road S.L.M.

Seattle, Wash.

Our Apologies...

Da Reporter (Direct Action, October) says that “Outside the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movements in this country only one protest (at the parrot-toting of Delgado and Gramajo) was registered, and that was in the socialist paper Tribune.” While wishing to decry Tribune efforts, I would like to point out that the Socialist Leader carried a front-page story of the execution of which is called Besal, and also republished a large part of the Notting Hill Anarchist Group’s letter. Logan Gradeley in the Sunday Mirror commented on the Praetorian regime in petting the murder of our comrades by the Fascist murderers. The Freebooter commented on the particular barbarity of the execution, which, however (it added), eager tourists must not expect to see today.

Finaly, the current, and perhaps the last, issue of The World LAST, the Notting Hill Group’s leaflet in full, though doubtless this has appeared since Da Reporter wrote.

London, W.10

M.H.