

Direct Action

WORLD LABOUR NEWS

Inside—Strikebreaker Martell
CND Conference : Towards
Industrial unions : Postbag

MONTHLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Vol. 4 No. 11 (29)

November, 1963

Fourpence

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 report at Civil Guard barracks or police commissariats if they fail to do so, production is at an extremely low ebb, as many miners are going down the pits, then not working. At the collieries of La Camocha, at Gijón, and Pumarabule of the Langreo and Siero company, only 15-20 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 **Perez**, from Galicia.

On September 3, at 4 p.m. in the police headquarters of Sama

de Langreo, died the miner **Rafael Gonzalez**, 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, 34-year-old miner **Silvino 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 Baranaga, of Lada (Langreo) has been rendered impotent by his genitals being burnt during torture.

Alfonso X, a former mine worker, now retired through silicosis and working for a Bilbao insurance company, was tied up (he is a strongly-built man, who was given the same treatment during the strikes last year) and corporal **Perez** then beat him up in front of his wife. She came to her 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 shaven close to her head, like many other women. Her husband was later picked up by a workmate, who took him to his 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.

Jeronimo Fernandez Terrente, married with one son, **Jesus Ramo Teva** and ten other miners are now in the Carabanchel prison (Madrid), after being brutally tortured.

Everardo Castro, married with three sons, is interned in the provincial asylum of Cadellada, as a result of terrible tortures. He had painted at the pithead of Duro Felguera, "The people will be avenged. Franco, murderer". Caught by the Civil Guard, he was savagely beaten up.

Tina Martinez, who lives in La Jicara, in Sama de Langreo, was tortured and her hair shaved. Her husband has been in jail since last year's strikes.

Juan Alberdi, of Lada, was arrested with another miner, nick-

continued on page 2, column 1

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 larcenies from stock, but also of misuse and wastage of time by employees, mismanagement or laxity of discipline on workshop or stockroom floors, and false/y entered figures on time sheets and vehicle schedule sheets.

In some form or other, this is taking place in your Company at this moment. We specialise in preventing 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 unauthorised happenings.
2. The following of vehicles used by employees during the course of their work.
3. The investigating of thefts, frauds and embezzlement.
4. Reporting on any person who may be suspected of causing dissension or inciting employees to defection.
5. The screening of prospective employees—a search into their antecedents and background.

Our agents are carefully selected and thoroughly vetted and their methods of approach, discretion and loyalty are of the highest standard. 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 Seafarers 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 way back, have every much right to jobs as the upstarts, few in number, who are causing trouble.

The NESUC numbers many Arabs, Pakistanis and Somalis in its ranks and is doing much to help by making public what is happening. So far it has prodded the NUS into action on this subject. The reaction by paid, unelected officials, when confronted about it, is amazing.

All many can say is, "Oh, those 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 would be of great help to these people by spending some of the education money they keep boasting about on making known Union policy on this no longer sticky subject. All seamen are brothers—whether they like it or not.

COLLIERMAN.

named "Chocalatina". 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 escape. 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 ill treatment of police inspectors at Sama de Langreo by claiming she was pregnant. Captain Caro punched her heavily in the belly, shouting, "One Communist less, then."

Maria del Rosario Garcia, 55, was arrested for giving lodging to her brother-in-law, a miner. On asking where she would be taken, she was told, "First to the Commissariat, then to jail".

More than 500 miners among those arrested by the police, have been taken to an unknown place. Approximately 60 of the "Española" colliery, in the Aller basin, have voluntarily asked to be sacked, to avoid further torture and ill treatment.

On September 10, 20 miners were arrested at the "La Concha" colliery, Gijón. They were first taken to the police station, where 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 to him on the following day four coalface workers. When they turn up without the workers, he asks for names of those whom they have instructed to return to work. The supervisors give the names of those who have not reported and the captain immediately has them arrested and starts his torture sessions.

This is only a tiny fraction of what is happening in Asturias. These horrors must be made known, efforts must be made to stop them. The Franco regime, which is behind them, must be ended.

CNT INFORMATION SERVICE.

An unwelcome visitor

ONE hundred Spanish intellectuals recently wrote to the Spanish Minister 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 an 11-page official reply, Fraga Iribarne admits that two women have had their hair shaved—understandably, in view of their "systematically provocative attitude". He claims that the majority of signatories to the letter of protest were being manipulated by the communists—the usual Franquist smear against opposition of any kind.

Fraga Iribarne, according to the Spanish fascist paper, "Ya", is to visit London on Tuesday, November 26, for a lecture to the Royal Institute of International Affairs, at Chatham House, St. James 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 on Tuesdays are generally during the 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 Grimau and the two Anarchist comrades, Joaquin Delgado and Francisco Granados, during the summer.

Alain Pecunia, 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) to run concurrently, for placing a bomb on the steamer, "Ciudad de Ibiza". Guy Battoux, 23, received 15 years for putting a bomb outside the US Embassy, in protest against Adlai Stevenson's official visit to Spain. Bernard Ferri, 20, was sentenced to 30 years, for placing an explosive charge in the office of the Iberia State Airlines at Valencia.

Nobody was hurt by these bombs, which had a purely propaganda intent. Bernard Ferri 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 FUL (Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth) to long terms of imprisonment. Both comrades had been arrested in Madrid at the beginning of last August.

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 and 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 Lopez**, 24-year-old bricklayer, was found "guilty" of placing a bomb at the residence of the Military Governor of Valencia, also 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 movement of Britain has 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 boy preacher for a nonconformist sect, he discarded religious ideas and quickly became an able open-air propagandist for the workers' struggle. The story of those 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—the first of many spells he was to spend in prison—for opposing British policy in India. From his mouth and pen poured a never-ending stream of anti-militarist, anti-parliamentarian, iconoclastic propaganda.

Joined 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 for his invaluable free advice on a wide variety of subjects—from resisting rapacious landlords to struggling against military and industrial conscription. Aldred never, to my knowledge, refused help to those in need—no matter how bitterly they may previously have attacked him. Solidarity had a very 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 Anarchist Federation platform, at an "End Conscription" meeting, called to protest at the sending to Borstal for three years of our comrade 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 meetings closed, their speakers and audiences coming to swell the crowd of well over 1,000 around the AFB platform. The man's command of language and argument was remarkable—far, far greater than the public figures so often hailed as masters of oratorical expression.

His writings, particularly the earlier ones, contain much that is of value. Among pamphlets that should find a place on every rebel bookshelf are his short biography of Bakunin, the two volumes of *Socialism and Parliament*, *Studies in Communism and Pioneers of Anti-Parliamentarism*.

Aldred was a man of paradox and contradiction. A life-long anti-militarist, he supported in recent years the ultra-militaristic regimes of Russia, Eastern Europe and Castro's Cuba. An outspoken anti-parliamentarian, he made several attempts to become an MP at Glasgow bye-elections. A hater of titled privilege, he was a close friend and associate of Sir Walter Strickland (whose bequest helped found his Glasgow press) and the late Duke of Bedford. And during the early 1920's he turned a blind eye to the pitiless persecution of Anarchists and other left revolutionaries by the Russian Bolsheviks. But he wholeheartedly supported the struggle of the Spanish libertarian workers, during the years of war and revolution.

Now the turbulent character is no more. The big man in the knickerbocker suit, with the striking leonine head, the bushy eyebrows, has written his last article for *The Word*, held his last meeting at Glasgow's Central Halls. Despite many and deep disagreements with Guy Aldred, we mourn him as a friend. K. H.

IWW demonstrate

WITH THE DUAL PURPOSE of discouraging Chicagoans from planning a vacation in Spain and arousing public interest in the strikes now going on in the Asturian and Basque regions of Spain, the Chicago General Membership Branch of the IWW last Saturday staged an hours-long rally in front of a loop travel bureau which specialises in directing tourists to Spain and Portugal.

A half-dozen pickets carried banners proclaiming the foul character of Franco's government and economic set-up. Other participants distributed handbills especially prepared for the occasion; still others passed out regular IWW leaflets. With relief workers standing around, the turn-out was more than ample to crowd the sidewalk area in front of the fascist agency. The public response was friendly. The IWW emblem, not too commonly displayed in a demonstration of this kind—came in for a good deal of attention.

Industrial Worker, 25.9.63

THREE of the 22 Spanish comrades detained in France—on trumped-up, Franco-inspired charges of belonging to an "association of criminals"—have been released on bail. They are Cipriano Mera, Nardo Imbernón and Floreal Navarro. Applications for the release of five others—Felipe Martín Armendariz, Bartolome Flores, Agustín Sánchez, José Pascual and Enrique Guinart have been rejected.

INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

New Ford threat

UNION leaders are worried about the decline in union membership among Ford workers. The biggest fall off is in the paint and assembly plant, where the majority of the "17" dismissed militants worked. It is reported that after the failure, earlier this year, to get the 17 reinstated, many workers tore up their union cards in disgust. 13 of the men are still unemployed, informal approaches have been made to Ford's, requesting their assistance to get work for the men. The Company claims to be willing to help, if a formal case is put to them. Comment from one of the 13 was: "How can Ford's help after all the things they have said about us?" And he's right, these workers are well and truly blacklisted.

Now comes the real "dolly", union officials are asking the management for their co-operation in encouraging workers to take up and maintain membership. What a mob! "Please sir, help us and we will keep them in order".

A couple of weeks ago a night shift supervisor suspended a worker and 39 men walked out. They, too, were suspended. After vigorous protest the suspension on the 39 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 at Dagenham is the sack, through speed up and transfer of work to Liverpool or Antwerp. A case in point: one worker was transferred from gear cutting to the blacksmith shop; he could have refused but, if he had, at a time of redundancy in gear cutting, he would have been 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 one plant cannot be played against another. At the moment 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 disputes procedure, whereby seamen's complaints can be taken to the master and then ashore for settlement between the union and shipowner. The union EC approved the new complaints procedure by a majority of only 21-17. 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 of "shop stewards on board ship".

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

A new rank-and-file seamen's paper has appeared on the North East coast. *The Seafarer* issued by the North East Seafarers United Committee. We wish it well.

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 European Management Association has just 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-HOUR WEEK

TALKED about in 1926, this is still having to be fought for in 1963. 70,000 dockers are going into battle for a 40-hour week, when 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 bait.

Employers and union leaders led by Frank Cousins met on October 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.

AN 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 other factories has been good. This struggle is being fought in tactical isolation, to win it must spread—but I don't need to teach AEU members 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 stinks—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 on their route run only once a day.

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 uses has only one bus a day, make the job more attractive. Most certainly an increase in the basic rate, with a 40-hour week, thus getting back the crews who have left. More short journeys covering stations at peak hours, turning the buses quicker. Finally transport as a social service, recognising the fact that it possibly has to run at some 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 blame should be laid fairly and squarely at the door of the London Transport Board. Busmen are fed up with talking, action is the next step—complete overtime ban, work to rule, until the LTB sees 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 the 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 cut the other's throat. 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. 6d.). 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 policy put forward by Syndicalists (c.f. Direct Action 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 or service are members of 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 interest of workers in a responsible and authoritative fashion . . . day-to-day experience in the workplace has taught . . . 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 "centralised" body, for which Syndicalists would substitute the word "federal"—an 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 employers are always confronted with the maximum union strength expressed as the clear will of all the workers involved. There can be no question of several unions expressing several points of view—and very often in front of the employers. Within an industrial union any differences of opinion are argued out among the members and reconciled within the framework of a common policy which can then be pursued with vigour and clarity. Employers are given no opportunity to adopt tactics which enable them to divide the forces of militant trade unionism."

Again a clear and unequivocal statement. The pamphlet is also to the point on the question of the much-discussed apathy within the unions:

"The present structure . . . is responsible for much of this apathy. Members in the workplace are aware—whatever their views—that the policy ultimately advanced to the employers will have been through a sausage machine involving dozens of other unions. In union recruiting across a wide variety of completely unconnected industries, 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

continued on page 6, column 2

STATE SECURITY!

THE EIRE (Southern) Government recently announced the abolition of capital punishment—except in the case of political offences, or, as they put it, "Offences Against the State". Quite a 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 Offences Against the State Act", whose history is quite interesting.

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 tail which went unnoticed by the people who voted, in referendum, for its adoption (even at that it was an actual minority 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, during which the Dail (Parliament) could amend it. 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 provide that, if a State of Emergency is first of all declared, the Government has the power to introduce internment without trial for an unlimited period and supercede the civil courts with military courts, against which there is no appeal and which can impose the death sentence for non-capital charges, such as conspiracy, possession of arms, etc. The sentence in some cases to be carried out within 24 hours of being passed, by a military firing squad.

Within its provisions, the OASA lays down exhaustive means for abolishing all freedom of press, speech, congregation, etc. I have myself been subjected to both internment without trial and trial by military court. By the simple device of never having called off the State of Emergency of the 39-45 period, the Eire Government has contrived to maintain the OASA in permanent effect.

The ordinary citizen is, of course, 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 Referendum the "Third Amendment to the Constitution Bill" (to get rid of the Proportional Representation Voting System and thereby consolidate their regime), not one citizen in fifty could say what had been the First and Second Amendments. In fact, not a few puzzled ones wrote to the press seeking clarification on the point, to the embarrassment of the Government party (their efforts to abolish PR were, incidentally, firmly rejected by the people, who "smelt a rat in Denmark", as a friend of mine said on a notable occasion). Unfortunately, however, their control of all the media of communications (Radio, TV, Press, etc.) has enabled the Eire bureaucrats to pull the wool over the people's eyes. As the OASA has hitherto been used almost exclusively against Republicans (IRA, Sinn Féin, etc.), the public feel that it exists solely for this purpose, but the fact is that it could be used equally effectively against any group or section of the populace which constituted a sufficient menace to the State—e.g., Trade unionists, anti-nuclear activists, etc. When the civil courts have been abolished for one group, their existence for others must be considered very shaky (in fact, at least one Fascist and a number of smugglers were also interned during the 39-45 period). There is also a further and possibly more sinister aspect to the OASA. One section of it specifies that all persons convicted under any of the numerous sections of the Act, will be disqualified from service in State bodies. In Ireland the State is a very large employer, controlling shipping, air, rail and road transport, sugar beet, electric and turf industries. In a State suffering from chronic unemployment, it is not difficult to visualise the power accruing to the State from even the mere 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 gradually being abolished, the bureaucratic state machines will not relinquish one iota of the oppressive powers which make it possible to preserve the present unequal structure of society.

One footnote, however. If anyone in England, reading the above, thinks that it could never happen here (there are no Offences Against the State Acts), consider the following sobering thought. Even with all the coercive machinery I have described at their disposal, the Eire Government did not impose sentences of more than one year through the Civil Courts, until the IRA military campaign had been in operation for four years—and this for men caught in possession of arms and explosives. How long has it taken the English Government to get round to sentencing George Clark to 18 months for merely demonstrating against Foreign Royalty? England may not have an Offences Against the State Act, but with the right goodwill it's amazing what can be accomplished with an "Official Secrets Act".

BILL CONNOLLY.

Direct Action

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE SYNDICALIST
WORKERS' FEDERATION

Yearly subscription rate: 6s 0d

from: Bill Christopher, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17
(cheques and p.o.s crossed and payable to K. Hawkes).

Syndicalist Congresses

AS WE GO TO PRESS, the CNT of Spain is meeting in Congress at Toulouse, France. On November 10, the SWF will hold in London its first national conference for several years. And on November 30, in France, the XII Congress of the International Working Men's Association will begin its work.

Recent events in Spain, reported in *Direct Action*, have once again focussed working-class attention on the Iberian Peninsula. The heroic strikes of the Asturian miners, coupled with the pitiless fascist repression against all opposition elements—particularly the libertarian movement—have shown the error of those who believed that increasing involvement of Spain with Western Europe would result in a liberalising of the Franco regime. Our Spanish comrades of the CNT, backbone of the resistance to Franco fascism, are now debating future policy, in the light of what has happened during the past months. The result of their discussions will have a crucial bearing on the future struggle.

The SWF Conference, too, has many important questions to decide. The present time is one of great opportunity for our movement, in this country, with a breaking-down of old prejudices and a new generation who are showing marked preference for libertarian methods and aims to those of the political parties and sects. One point to be discussed at the SWF Conference is our relations with the proposed national Anarchist Federation; it is important that no split should be allowed to develop between the organised expressions of Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism in this country; the two should be—and must be—complementary.

The IWMA Congress will, we hope, finally resolve the situation that has existed since the SAC (Sweden) and NSV (Holland) withdrew from the International. The IWMA should, we believe, be broad and tolerant enough to include all Syndicalist organisations with libertarian objectives. That includes the SAC and NSV—and the IWW, who have been invited to attend this Congress.

SWF sympathisers wishing to attend the London Conference on Sunday November 10 can obtain details from Bill Christopher, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17.

GROUP NOTICES

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP: Details from Laurens Otter, 5, New Yatt Road, North Leigh, near Witney, Oxon.

EDINBURGH. Would anyone interested in forming a group in Edinburgh, please contact Alasdair Macdonald, Torphin, Torphin Road, Colinton, Edinburgh 15.

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

SOUTHERN FEDERATION. Contact Ken Parlin, Old Tea House, Brockenhurst, Hants.

GLASGOW FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS meet every Thursday evening at 7.30 p.m., 4 Ross Street, Glasgow S.1. (on the Gallowgate).

LIVERPOOL. Those interested in forming a libertarian discussion group on Merseyside, please contact Vincent Johnson, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

BRISTOL FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. For details please contact the convenor, Ian Vine, 3 Freeands Place, Hotwells, Bristol 8.

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

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP meets on the last Friday of each month at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Road (near Notting Hill Gate Station), London, W.11 at 8 p.m.

ROMFORD AND HORNCHURCH ANARCHIST GROUP. For details please contact Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster, Essex, or John Chamberlain, 74 Upper Rainham Road, Hornchurch, Essex.

Martell & Co.—Strikebreakers Inc.

It is reported that Edward Martell has described himself as "potentially the most effective strike breaker in the country". He lives in Hastings and is Conservative Chairman in the Lower St. Mary's ward. The Conservative MP for Hastings is Sir Neill Cooper-Key, who sent a message of support to Martell when he fought Bristol SE bye-election, although, it must be pointed out, there was no Conservative candidate standing. How deep the support goes is a matter of conjecture.

My first contact with Martell was in the East Ham bye-election in May 1957, when he stood as a candidate for the People's League and narrowly missed saving his deposit. The strength of his organisation surprised me; here was no "crackpot independent". I thought this man and his organisation dangerous then, and unfortunately I am being proven correct now.

Martell himself was a member of the LCC (1946-49) and Deputy Chairman of the Liberal Central Association (1950-51), who left the Liberals because their policies were too "left wing". He was an independent for a period, after which he formed the Free Press Society, attacking unions in general and the print unions in particular. Organisation grew around Martell and his original hard-core supporters, until to date the "Freedom Group" consist of Free Press Society, The People's League, the Defence of Freedom, the anti-Socialist League and the National Fellowship, with publications the *New Daily*, *People's Guardian*, and recently the re-appearance of *The Recorder*.

The National Fellowship (NF), which appears to be the parent organisation, started with a flourish of full-page adverts in some of the national dailies in January 1962. It described itself as a "Great New Political Ginger Group"—obviously a ginger group to the Conservative Party. The advert contained the policy of the NF and a long list of 230 "first list sponsors". Of these, 116 were military types (Flight Lieutenant being the lowest rank) and the rest Hons. and Sirs, with a few Reverends slung in to keep the party pure. Most Conservatives could easily support the NF, going by its policy. Martell is, in fact, only saying and acting what they are thinking; the National Fellowship is not in isolation.

The NF attitude to trade unions I quote in full: "Let us be clearly set down that the National Fellowship is not anti-trade union. It recognises and appreciates the magnificent work done in the past by the trade unions in the interests of those who were at one time undoubtedly exploited by their employers. But now the power that brought freedom is turning to shaping its own tyrannies—the tyranny of the closed shop, of restricted practices, of strike blackmail, of demarcation disputes, and of the expulsion or sending to Coventry of individual members. It is the tyrannies of the trade union movement and not the movement itself we oppose."

Take away the patronage and you are left with a militant anti-unionism. Of course trade unions will be tolerated, provided they act only as social clubs or old ladies' knitting circles.

MARTELL IN PRINT

Martell came into print about 1930 as a journalist with *World's Press News*, *Saturday Review*, *Burke's Peerage* and the sports page of the *Star*. In June 1956, *The People's League* placed a full-page advert in the *Daily Mail* (21.6.56) in which one of the "Objects" stated: "To uphold the liberty of the Press by sponsoring a printing undertaking free from trade union dictatorship".

At this time printworkers were in dispute over a 40-hour week and the Free Press Society claimed that, by combining a number of "Open House" printers; more than 20 periodicals, including *The Listener* for the BBC, were able to continue publication. Rank-and-file print workers picketed some of these houses and stopped publication; they were too widespread and addresses unknown to get a complete stoppage.

The May (1956) issue of *The Newsmen* said that the league was: "the greatest threat to organised labour for more than a century" and declared that it must be killed right in its early days by ensuring that everything on which it can feed is ruthlessly withheld from it—paper, ink, transport and, above everything, labour (this para is a direct quote from a People's League statement).

The People's League paper at this period was the weekly *The People's Guardian*, used for organisational and propaganda purposes, which has now been incorporated with the revived weekly, *The Recorder*. 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 vaguely heard of *The New Daily*, but it is mainly read by ardent supporters and "fringers" who think "something should be done 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 a

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 the letter, I am sure that I can rely upon your absolute discretion over this matter. You will remember that some time ago we informed you that the next step in our campaign to bring about trade union reform was to provoke a head-on clash with the printing trade unions by acquiring a closed shop union house and converting it to an open house."

The letter then goes on to outline Martell's plans and asks supporters to guarantee fixed sums of money to back his venture.

The final paragraph reads: "To sum up, you will realise that, if we succeed in this endeavour, important repercussions could follow throughout British Industry. Should you require any further information at this stage, or wish to discuss the matter, please do not hesitate to telephone me. Sincerely yours, Edward Martell".

Undoubtedly leakage of this information forced Martell to speed up his plans. On September 2 it was announced that the Sapphire Press Ltd., had bought the Stoke Newington works of John Waddington with the specific purpose of turning it into an "open house" (union and non-union labour), a direct challenge to the printing unions. Whether Waddingtons knew they were negotiating with Martell is not important, he obtained the plant. On the take-over, all members of the staff at the Waddington plant would get an immediate pay increase of at least 5 per cent. Those with three or more year's service would get three weeks' holiday, instead of the present two. Employees would in future earn what they were worth and not be dictated to by protecting the slowest worker. If after three months some one was not doing a fair day's work, he would be liable to leave (a gentle way of getting the sack). All 75 workers at the plant agreed to the unions' suggestion to pack 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.11. A subscription for six issues is 5s (postage paid), for 12 issues 10s. It is hoped to produce the bulletin every fortnight or three weeks. The second issue contains much important material of interest to the libertarian movement in Britain and elsewhere, particularly in reference to events in Spain. Other reports deal with France, Canada, Uruguay, Venezuela, New York, Japan and a review of "The Chinese Anarchist Movement" by Robert A. Scalapino and George T. Yu (University of California, SI).

● **ANARCHIST YOUTH** (formerly *Anarchist Student*), Vol. 1, No. 3, is edited by Adrian Cunningham (Cambridge), Wynford Hicks (Oxford) and Charles Radcliffe (London). The cost is 6d, plus 2d postage, from 148 Fellows Road, London, N.W.3. The excellent current issue includes a call for national anarchist federation. Violence or non-violence—Protest or Resistance (by Charles Radcliffe), The Revelations (Diana Shelley), Freedom Under Law (Nicholas Bohm), Anarchy Observed (Roger Lewis), a review of George Woodcock's Penguin, "Anarchism", by Nicholas Gould, Approaches to Industry (Adrian Cunningham), Spain and the Anarchist Movement in Britain (Wynford Hicks)—and some friendly mentions of the SWF.

● **FORWARD** (Vol. 1, No. 1) is published at 3d by the National Progressive Democrats, 33 Kildare Street, Dublin. This lively little bulletin includes an illuminating exposure of a line-up between ETU officials and building employers (Dan O'Sullivan), following the sacking of site steward Des Teolin at a new luxury hotel, under construction in Co. Clare. Fourteen militants who refused to work until given proper union representation to fight the case of the victimised steward, were expelled from the ETU—after ETU Limerick branch secretary, Foster, had travelled to Dublin with Dan (employer) O'Sullivan and his foreman, Bill Shannon, and met a Mr. Simmons, from the Society of Irish Electrical Trades at the ETU office, which issued the expulsion orders. "The men now maintain their solidarity", reports Forward, "and a court action against the EC is pending... It is obvious that there is something wrong in this type of trade unionism, maybe in the case of the ETU one of the major anomalies is the fact that members of the EC are elected for life. This leads to obvious abuses and contempt for a membership who have no means of removing them".

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. Geddes, has not joined the new set-up.

What does this mean to union printworkers? It means a step back to the bad old days. One man doing about four men's work—and pre-war printworkers know that means, if carried to its logical conclusion throughout the trade, "Hundreds are waiting outside, if you can't do the job or stand the pace." Negotiations on a personal basis mean confidential chats, one man paid more than another for the same job, blue-eyed boys. In a nutshell, it means "divide and rule", the policy printworkers have fought all their lives. 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 not through confidential personal chats, offering to do the job cheaper than another man and thereby hoping to gain in the long run.

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 union leaders told Hare 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 reply.

Hare said the Government recognised the right of individual workers to join a trade 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 is the answer to Martell in print? The answer was given in 1956 by *The Newsmen*: "everything on which it can feed is ruthlessly withheld from it—paper, ink, transport, and above everything labour".

Members of Exchange Telegraph chapel of the Press Telegraphists 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 Extel and one BUP machines (PA-Reuters will not give him service, as he is outside the Newspaper Proprietors' Association) and, with at best a skeleton reporting staff at his disposal, he would be unable to provide a home and foreign news coverage without agency assistance. Without tape, the *New Daily* would dry up.

FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF MARTELL AND CO.

This must be a matter of rumour and conjecture, but there are declared aims:

1. To press parliament to bring in legislation which will (a) Make the closed shop illegal, (b) Prevent unions from raising a political levy, (c) Outlaw strikes unless more than 50 per cent of the membership of a union vote in favour of 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 of people. This means amending the Trades Disputes Act of 1906, so that unions will be liable for the torts of themselves and their servants.

2. Purchase more printing plant and declare "open houses".

3. Apply to ITA for licences to run ITV stations with non-union labour.

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 will the cash come from for these activities? Obviously Martell is very cagey about this, but the cash is there and will continue to be there. It comes from people on the "Master Index"—and quite a 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 not only condemn the restrictive practices of the trade unions but we condemn the restrictive practices of employers as well . . . It is not in the interests of the nation that peace in the printing industry should be bought at a price which means a reduction in the numbers and variety of organs of opinion."

"We have always argued that all men have the right to combine for their own advantage, subject always 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 positions, put up a case against Mr. Martell, but in the long run the judgment of the public will be against men who try to maintain a completely closed shop and restrictive practices."

"Now that the unions have appealed to Mr. Hare, the Minister of Labour, for help it is hoped that the Government will have the courage to express clearly that it will not approve any situation 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 confident he will—he cannot fail to win."

An Ascot printing firm director, who supports open-shop policy in the printing trade, offered to make his plant available to Martell. Multiply this a few times—and there's the cash and material.

I repeat, Martell says and acts what other people think.

In conclusion Martell and Co., have to be smashed, they are "Strike Breakers Incorporated". Print is not their only field of activity. They have run strike-breaking buses and postal service.

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 use what tactics I consider most advantageous at the time to secure the best conditions and payment for my labour power. I consider the system that we live under demoralising, corrupt and a complete antithesis to personal freedom. Money earned by my labour power is being poured down the drain every day. Until I have some say in determining my own destiny (through workers' control), as far as I am concerned it is a battle with the establishment, employers, etc. Before some bright spark says "live in the Soviet Union", freedom there died with Kronstadt.

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

BILL CHRISTOPHER (printworker)

Towards industrial unions

continued from page 3

unit of industrial union organisation—according to where 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 keystone of the union.

The NUPE pamphlet approaches this solution, without explicitly stating it:

"By increasing membership participation in union affairs, industrial unionism opens up 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 in a workplace where members of twenty other unions may be employed. The spontaneous solution of this problem by the shop stewards themselves is 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 agreed policy of their own, sooner or later this brings them into conflict with their national representatives and gains them the title of 'unofficial', 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 substantial re-organisation of British unions on an industrial, rather than craft 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 mere formal similarity with that proposed by 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. The cardinal point must always be where control rests—the rank-and-file membership, or executive committees. The former is Syndicalism, the latter centralised bureaucracy.

Only when rank-and-file control is fulfilled, can unions carry out what the pamphlet describes as their "dual function": "First, to secure the best possible immediate conditions for union members and their families. Second, to extend and direct their activities so that they operated as a vital social force, constantly advancing to the point where the creation of a new form of society became a possibility."

But, with its shortcomings admitted, this is a welcome and constructive indication of forward thinking among union members. The NUPE pamphlet deserves close study by rank-and-file unionists.

KEN HAWKES

THE SPANISH CONSPIRATORS—after Franco who? by Bob Edwards, MP and Augustin Rea (Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1, 5s.). 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 appear in a future issue of Direct Action.

UNDER THE DIRECTION of Fred Zinnemann, Gregory Peck is making a film, "Behold a pale horse", in Paris, based on the life of Spanish Anarchist guerilla 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 Scilly holiday that we should be living in such a whirl of political excitement—in fact, we all thought things were going to be a bit dull 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 speeches in the evening papers before you were coming up on the TV screen with something else.

Incidentally, Harold, we were very relieved that Transport House stopped Ray Gunter, MP from appearing with that unpleasant Bernard Levin on TW3 and also that Labour men in general are in future not to let themselves be manhandled by these expert TV interviewers. How much wiser you are—I mean in giving a scoop interview to that 13-year-old schoolboy who runs his own newspaper at Hampstead and who, you said, was "a first-class interviewer".

Anyway, as I was saying, it's been a great time for all of us. First there was the Denning Report and you going in, grim-faced, 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 Mac with the Philby hush-up. You did very well, though, afterwards when you kept on saying that Macmillan's integrity was never in question and that Labour wasn't interested in scandal anyway. That was very responsible, I thought.

And then Scarborough! What a triumph! Of course, reading between the lines, like I do, you could see there were a few people who'd have ruined everything if you hadn't such forethought. Though they all knew that they weren't supposed to talk about the thorny problems, some of them still tried to bring up the taboo subjects of defence, foreign affairs and nationalisation, instead of just leaving you to straighten them out when you are PM.

Still, they got nowhere—you saw to that. And how petty they looked when you zoomed into your great scientific speech about the future. You carried everyone with you. Even the Tory papers raved about you and your visions. But, just quietly, you know Harold, though we have the greatest sympathy with them, those old age pensioners tended to spoil it a bit talking about getting their corns done on the National Health and about eating the scrag-ends of meat. I mean, it wasn't very forward-looking was it?

And even George Brown dampened things 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 in the first year of Labour in power we should be able, within our new expansionist programme, to abolish the earnings rule for widows, but not for any other pensioners. We cannot do things in a rush.

Shinwell, however, was the worst of the lot—that remark about how he had attended 45 Labour Party conferences and heard the same speech 45 times. And then saying, "And brother, I'm suffering!" We thought it unpardonable, because your speech outlining the new, scientific, technological, automated socialism was completely without precedent.

We've had our own trials with Grundiman during this exciting time. Just like him to get the Sunday Telegraph and since he read that article about Wilsonia, he addresses us all as Doctor, instead of Brother. He gets up and says, "Pardon me, Dr. 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 Wilsonia with the scientists, computers and the State-controlled robots who were going to replace the workers.

The rest of us, the other six of us at the Ward meeting, finally hushed him, but then in the bar afterwards he kept on asking everyone what those ergonomists were that you were lecturing about—the ones you said practical trade unionists tend to shy away from. He said he was a practical trade unionist and... the annoying thing was that none of us could tell him. Just what are they, Harold? He wanted to know, too, what this Tory Cabal was you said got Home his job. He just can't realise how you are revolutionising the workers' vocabulary, in the same way as you have substituted white raincoats for their cloth caps.

Still, I suppose other Branches have their Grundimans, too. That young Croydon delegate who behaved so badly at Scarborough was one, I'm sure—the one who shouted out, "Are you wage-freezers, or aren't you?" And when Cousins and Ted Hill had been so nice about the whole thing.

We didn't really care for that remark of Callaghan's either, about, "There ain't going to be no quarrel". Well, of course it was his idea of being funny, but some people might think he didn't know any better grammar. The social editor of the *Tatler* was

covering the Conference and such language in cold, glossy print might damage our new electoral image. No doubt about it, you have a lot to contend with.

But fair's fair, and I must say Callaghan made a very good fist of turning the term Wages Freeze into Planned Growth of Wages, though it would have been better, seeing what a winner it was at the Conference, if he had been able to tell George Hitch that same night on TV what it meant. Still, you can't have everything, I suppose.

Anyway, never mind about the others. You made it at Scarborough, Harold. So on to No. 10 and the Great Scientific Britain! Incidentally, that fellow Grundiman wants to know whether the scientists will come up first of all with a robot that will go round the streets and up and down the Council flats collecting the sixpenny dues! Intolerable, isn't it?

Yours fraternally,
JIMMY WIGGINS.

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 these, though frequently indicative of principled differences, were on matters of tactics, often hinging 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, those who held the latter had to force through 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 Unilateralist Campaign or none at all, broadly held that political experience had shown one could not trust statesmen, that negotiations by top people were unlikely to lead to Peace, or—as Alex Comfort put it—"when we are all arse upwards, what's the use of meeting at the summit?" The moral: one is responsible for the Government in one's own country, even where one opposes it, 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 has grown considerably 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 paying for it) would hardly be Unilateralist, but its supporters—with varying emphases—consider it entitles them to talk of partial unilateralist moves ("initiatives"), or at least to designate Wilson as a Multi-lateralist who means it.

So at CND's 1963 Conference last month (October 19-20) this was the real source of division, always apparent and frequently wide 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 "umbrella" concept, never seriously disguised this and my assumption last month that these palace revolutionaries now controlled the Campaign proved false. No tears need be shed over the defeat of the loyal opposition; such a forced union would be a thousand times worse than an open split.

Conference was, of course, superbly stage-managed. Instead of the composing of resolutions being handled by standing orders committee, it was handed to groups named by the SOC. This and the Chairman's address took up the whole of Saturday morning, thus losing one quarter of the Conference's time for debate.

After that, the real Conference was, on the crucial issues, a rout. On a variety of radical issues, Conference supported the Left, without realising what it was doing. It voted to rescind the voting right of non-elected members of National Council; it voted to abolish the Official Secrets Act and in favour of the Spies for Peace revelations (without discussing the revolutionary implications of either of these). Once again having said that we do not want Unilateralist disarmament by other countries—and saving it more emphatically than before—it decided that international contacts should all be Unilateralist. It reaffirmed belief in industrial action, though tying this to the Labour Party—and the only amendment that stood any chance of deleting reference to the LP did so by accident, as its main purpose was to delete a section demanding organisation for such action.

BUT—Conference voted clearly and without any doubt against the two motions—the Witney and Crewe composites—stating that we wish to see Unilateralism all round. Indeed, many cannot have understood what Unilateralism means, for when Broadbridge, of Didsbury, argued against me that by demanding Unilateralism in

each country, I was saying "that the Government of disarmed Britain should negotiate with the USA and USSR that they should disarm unilaterally", a section of Conference took this too seriously.

Broadbridge, of course, surprised no-one. Up to the end of 1959 he used Campaign platforms to propound Multilateralism and attack the whole concept of Unilateralism. This made all the more nauseating his subsequent intervention, attacking Crewe for not having abided by the previous year's decision and claiming that he had always democratically abided by Conference decisions, whether he liked them or not.

Conference having so plainly decided against principled Unilateralism, the Left must reconsider its position. For those—to whom I am one—to whom the Campaign has provided a means of drawing public attention to one of the major evils of society, without making the compromise of advocating an alternate evil, the Campaign is once and for all lost. Until now, we have met in it radical youth, who were attracted largely because it was thought to stand for principle and not play the game of political compromise. Now it has made a compromise of the same order as Bevan's "naked into . . ." speech. Those of us—and again I am one—who believe there is still room for a wide movement, campaigning against the contradictions of class society and leaving, for the moment, undecided the blueprints of the future, had better start thinking hard how to form and build one.

LAURENS OTTER

CANADIAN LETTER

The big, bad boss

APOLOGISTS for the capitalist system would have us believe that, these days, the class struggle is really outmoded: the big bad boss isn't bad any more. (He's just a hell of a lot bigger!) The latest in a long line of gimmicks to be trotted out as the "final" solution to worker-management conflict is "performance centred management". No longer is the worker driven by the "carrot and stick" incentives of money (wages) and unemployment. No longer is he bribed into reluctant acquiescence to his own exploitation by means of phoney welfare schemes, ranging from an annual picnic for his wife and kids to a pension plan that offers him a few dollars a month income, in the unlikely event of his not having been laid-off long before reaching retirement age.

Modern, enlightened management, we are told, regards every employee, from highest to lowest, as performing some task essential to the smooth running of the organisation. Every employee knows the standard of performance expected of him, to whom he is accountable and how his particular activities contribute to the total effort of the organisation. Provided that he performs his particular task to the required standards, he need have no fear for his job; while his wage is strictly in proportion to his contribution to the total effort of the organisation, so that he can have no complaints in this direction. Labour and management are thus one big happy family, co-operating to achieve a common goal.

As the champions of "performance centred management" admit that it is only practised as yet by large firms, it would be instructive to consider the actions of one such as the General Electric Company. GE own a subsidiary company, Amalgamated Electric, in Toronto. Its employees are organised in the United Electrical Workers union. GE feels that more profit can be made by moving the Amalgamated Electric plant a few miles out of Toronto, to a relatively high-wage unionised area, to suburban Markham, a low wage non-union area. Of course, to obtain full advantage from such a move, it is necessary to fire the unionised Toronto workers and hire non-union labour in Markham at the minimum wages legally permitted in Ontario (\$1 per hour for men, 65 cents per hour for women)—a tidy saving of some 59 cents per hour over its Toronto rates.

In fact it was found expedient to transfer 195 employees (all but 70 being office staff and management) and fire 188 long-service employees. Those among the 188 who were over 49 years of age, and who had been with the company at least ten years, were given termination payments of from one to thirteen weeks pay. Many of the workers fired had been with the company for many years and were nearing retirement age, when they would have been entitled to a pension, had they still been working for the company. Hence these termination payments represent only a small fraction 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 \$86 per month on retirement, received termination pay 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 advancing years, are doomed to almost certain unemployment for the rest of their lives, with all the poverty, hardship and misery that this 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 BC and the BC Wharf Operators Association. The main gains in the contract are the protection against unemployment due to automation. Under the contract, lay-offs for technological reasons are prohibited and union members are guaranteed work for a minimum of 1,820 hours per year or 35 hours per week, or equivalent pay as long as cargoes remain at their present levels. If cargoes drop, guarantees will be proportionately reduced. If automation eliminates existing jobs and creates new ones, members are to be retrained at the employers expense without loss of income. If jobs are eliminated at one port, while they exist at another, members are to be relocated at the expense of the employer. Wage increases and better pensions are other features of the contract. Concessions made to the employers in return for these gains include a reduction in the basic gang size and the introduction of a three-shift system.

BILL GREENWOOD.

Postbag

PLEASE find enclosed a check for \$3, to be applied towards a two-year subscription to *Direct Action*. The excess may be applied as your organisation sees fit.

Organisational work in San Francisco is proceeding at an unexpectedly quick rate. The foundation has been laid for an anarchist forum at San Francisco State College. The San Francisco and Berkeley branches will soon be operating over 50 newsracks in the Bay Area, which promise to provide almost enough money to support a hall. Berkeley branch has been picketing un-employment offices in Berkeley and the San Francisco branch will soon follow suit with picketing and leafleting in SF. Indeed there seem to be healthy signs that the IWW is enlarging 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 10, Calif.

A CALL TO ACTION

HERE in the USA, if IWW members will undertake mass distribution of Preamble leaflets to the wage slaves, coast to coast, they will bring many thousands of new members into their ranks. These leaflets 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 sub blank to *Direct Action* at the bottom, they will also get thousands of new members and subs.

Forty-five million wage slaves in this country are ill-housed; don't get enough to eat and are badly clothed and there is great discontent among them. There are over three 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. They, too, are very discontented. The Negro wage slaves are on the march for social, racial and economic equality, coast to coast in this broad land. They are desperately in need of IWW and IWMA education and organisation.

There are over six million out of work and their number is increasing every day in this 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't fight the booze and their capitalist masters at the same time.

Yours for international solidarity of the IWW and IWMA,

SKIDROAD SLIM.

Seattle, Wash.

OUR APOLOGIES . . .

D.A. REPORTER (*Direct Action*, October) says that "Outside the anarchist and anarchic-sindicalist movements in this country only one protest (at the garrotings of Delgado and Granados) was registered and that was in the socialist paper *Tribune*." While not wishing to deny *Tribune's* efforts, I would like to point out that the *Socialist Leader* carried a front-page report on the executions, which it called bestial, and also reprinted a large part of the Notting Hill Anarchist Group's leaflet. Logan Gourlay in the *Sunday Mirror* commented on the hypocrisy of the Franco regime in postponing the murder of our comrades because of a religious holiday. The *Free Thinker* commented on the particular barbarity of the garrote, which, however (it added), eager tourists must not expect to see; they would have to be content with bullfights. Finally the current, and perhaps the last, issue of *The Word* reproduces the Notting Hill Group's leaflet in full, though doubtless this has appeared since DA Reporter wrote.

London, W.10

M.H.