

WORLD LABOUR NEWS

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ing and selling all crops and fixing prices. Many millions of dollars have been spent on Agrarian Reform, and the costs of production have risen to such a degree that in some cases they have become double the selling price of the crop, as with the peanut crop in Pinar del Rio.

The present Cuban Government is a dictatorship that does not permit the least criticism or disagreement with its policies, under penalty of being denounced as a counter-revolutionist and imprisoned. Jails are overflowing and private buildings have been remodelled to make room for prisoners. Warders make no secret of the fact that prisons are mined, so that in case of a jail-break they can be blown up with their inmates.

Although there is no official censorship of mail, letters are often censored. Military tribunals continue to deny juridical guarantees for political prisoners and there is no right of habeas corpus. As a result, thousands of citizens are held in prison arbitrarily for long periods.

For several months a number of soldiers and officers of Castro's old revolutionary army, as well as civilians who oppose his Governmental policies, have been in open rebellion in the Sierra del Escambray, in the central region of the island, and in the

Belgian workers strike

As this issue goes to press, the biggest strike movement of post-war years in Belgium has paralysed economy of that country. Called by the Socialist unions in protest against the Government's anti-working class 'austerity' budget, the stoppage is general among French-speaking workers and there have been many street battles with the police.

Organos Range, at its western end. There are daily desertions from the army and Government posts by soldiers and civilians who refuse to co-operate further with the Communists. Many have gone into exile. As examples, we mention only army commander Raul Chibas and Minister of Communications Oltusky, rather than giving an interminable list.

To date, the Police and Army are not using physical torture and political assassination as a system, although mental and moral torture are already in vogue. There have been a number of mysterious disappearances and deaths—among the former those of David Salvador, General Secretary of the Cuban Confederation of Labour (CTC) in the early days of the present regime, and Lauro Blanco, a prominent anti-Communist leader of the "Autentico" Party.

Active opposition to the Castro-Communist dictatorship is increasing. Both inside Cuba and in exile, a number of organisations have been formed by people who fought against the Batista tyranny and who now fight that of Castro. The most influential are the *Frente Revolucionario Democrático* (Democratic Revolutionary Front), a bloc of five different groups, and the *Movimiento de Accion Sindical* (Movement of Syndicalist Action), which operates primarily in labour circles and maintains fraternal relations with the FRD.

We have attempted to present as brief and clear a report as possible. If involuntary omissions or lack of clarity is felt to exist, we shall be glad to issue further reports. If the report of any part of it is published, we request that no names of persons or organisations inside Cuba, other than those given in the report itself, be mentioned in connection with it. To do so might cause irreparable harm.

CUBAN LIBERTARIAN GROUP OF NEW YORK, The Secretary

NIGERIA—On November 14, during the eviction of 3,000 squatters at Obosi, in the Eastern Region of Nigeria, police opened fire, killing eight people, including two women and a boy. An administrative officer was shot by rioters.

EAST GERMANY—Frau Lieber, a 62-year-old woman who had served a long prison term for resistance to the Nazis, was sentenced on October 31 to three years' imprisonment for listening to the B.B.C.

Postbag

THE ARTICLE from the Italian comrade in the last issue gave a good example of the way to deal with Fascism. We had some experience with our own variety of Fascists some years back, during the West Bromwich colour bar bus strike, when their psychotic personalities were revealed during a near riot, which the police broke up without arresting anyone—probably because we not only outnumbered the Fascists, but had the crowd on our side.

The recent Labour Party Conference has resulted in me being buttonholed by every type of socialist and communist round here and I've been subjected to the kind of mental coercion that Roman Catholic heretics get. One L.P. member slipped up and said he was afraid that the coming fight would be mainly industrial and would have to be directed back to the parliamentary front, so there was a danger of Syndicalism.

J. G. L.

Wolverhampton, Staffs.

IT IS HOPED that a Libertarian Group will be brought into being in Hull shortly. It will be Anarcho-Syndicalist in character and will be in sympathy with both the SWF and Freedom Press. Could anyone interested please write to: R. J. Westall, 16 Ainthorpe Grove, Derringham Bank, Hull, Yorks?

R. J. W.

Hull.

THERE SEEMS to be no prospect of the lower-income workers improving their lot through the Parliamentary machine—and their only hope is militant organisation on the industrial field at their place of employment. I wish the Industrial Rank-and-File Conference every success.

B. H.

London, S.E.24.

GLASGOW: Readers in the Clydeside area interested in Syndicalist activity are asked to contact R. Lynn, 22 Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.

MANCHESTER: For information about SWF activity in Lancashire, write to J. Pinkerton, 12 Alt Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

Literature

"Direct Action" pamphlets:—

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE UNIONS?

by Tom Brown

5d.

THE HUNGARIAN WORKERS' REVOLUTION

6d.

NATIONALISATION AND THE NEW BOSS CLASS

by Tom Brown

6d.

WORKERS' CONTROL

6d.

HOW LABOUR GOVERNED, 1945-1951

8d.

THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE (now reprinting)

by Tom Brown

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ETHICS AND AMERICAN UNIONISM

by Sam Weiner

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THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE

by Tom Brown

4d.

BULGARIA—A NEW SPAIN

8d.

THE LONDON YEARS (autobiography)

by Rudolf Rocker

15s. 0d

THE IWW'S LITTLE RED SONG BOOK

1s. 9d.

FRANCO'S PRISONERS SPEAK, 1s. 6d. (issued by the Spanish Ex-Servicemen's Association).

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

(fortnightly organ of the IWW)

4d.

SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA and CNT

(weekly organs of the Spanish CNT)

6d.

VIEWS AND COMMENTS

(organ of the Libertarian League, U.S.)

8d.

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WORLD LABOUR NEWS

ENGLISH PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Vol. 2 No. 1 (7)

January-February, 1961

Fourpence

Communist and right-wing trade-union bosses hit shop stewards

THE TRADE UNION bosses' war preparations, in alliance with the employers, against shop stewards, rank and file movements and workers' direct action are now complete in the electric power industry. Moving into action, the five unions in which most power station workers are enlisted have issued a declaration against "the activities of any unofficial body as being prejudicial to the best interests of the workpeople and a serious impediment to the functioning of the negotiating machinery".

Early this year a number of power station stewards, expressing the anger of the rank and file at the long drawn-out negotiations for a wage increase, organised a nation-wide rank and file movement. The National Committee of this movement decided, in August, to call for strike action to enforce a wage increase. However, it was soon apparent that a well-organised force within the movement was working against strike action and, less than 25% of the stations voting for action, the strike did not take place. It was seen that Communists, who had urged on the movement, were now working against any form of direct action.

Now the Communist Party's opposition is public and official. C.P. trade union bosses joined with their so-called right-wing rivals in signing the statement and backing it with personal statements.

Principal backers of the anti-shop steward manifesto are Communist Frank Foulkes of the C.P.-dominated Electrical Trade Union; Frank Cousins, the new "left-wing" Emperor of the Transport Workers' Union; Sir Thomas Williamson, "right-wing" leader of the General and Municipal Workers; and Communist Claude Berridge, of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. We well remember Berridge (and other Communist union bosses) before he was a trade union official, when he was a member of the Minority Movement and other unofficial bodies. Indeed, these movements provided the programme and organisation to get him elected. "Take away the ladder, Jack, I'm on top."

Left wing, right wing and Communist, all the trade union bosses were united against the shop steward movement. The declaration was unanimous. The Electricity Council (the employers) were appealed to and promised the union bosses their support.

Communist Foulkes made a press statement following the issue of the manifesto. "Unofficial bodies are not in the best interests of the industry," he said. He was asked by a reporter "if he thought the shop stewards' organisation would now be disbanded", and he replied "We have given them something to take its place, so we hope it will be disbanded, because there is no need for it".

What they have "given" the workers is an extension of the works councils, formed long ago by the State, the employers and the union bosses. These are tame bodies, which are supposed to represent all interests, and used to be known in the labour movement as "lion and lamb committees". Foulkes and Co. now propose to hold quarterly regional conferences of the union bosses and union representatives on the works committees. It is not suggested that the conferences shall have any power to decide or act; they are only for the purpose of allowing the district officials to make reports. That is what Communist Foulkes hopes will replace the shop steward movement.

The extended organisation which the stewards were building had the primary aim, "To unite all workers in the electricity supply and distribution industry . . . irrespective of their trade union affiliations", but the offensive of the union bosses is directed against the existence of shop stewards as such, and not just against the members of the embryo national organisation.

While the Communist union bosses have for some years been opposed to the national industrial committees of shop stewards, Communists have worked in these organisations and have been national secretaries of the two biggest, power and engineering. What will George Wake and the others do now? it was asked. Leave the

Communist Party, or leave the committees? George Wake has already chosen. Called before an AEU tribunal of two right wingers, Carron and Boyd, and one Communist, Berridge, he was told off and threatened—and capitulated, promising to be a good boy. But there are other Communists on the committees.

The C.P. has a policy for such a situation. It has always been to take over such bodies and make them part of the C.P.; if they could not, then to destroy them—and to destroy from within is the most effective form of murder. Of course, some Communist stewards have their hearts in their jobs and some are amiable fellows, but the C.P. demands obedience and either they toe the party line or leave. In fact, the "decent" ones are the most dangerous, if only because their personalities are split clean down the middle. No man can serve two masters and no man can be loyal to two opposed causes. The friendship of Communism is the kiss of death.

SPAIN

TRIAL OF 99 SYNDICALISTS

A MASS TRIAL of 99 members of the CNT (Spanish section of the IWMA) on charges of activity against the Fascist regime, which was due to open on October 26, has been postponed until February 14-16. No reason was given for the postponement. Franco's police have recently carried out widespread questioning of Syndicalist militants detained and jailed in the years 1944-47.

Aladino Cuervo Rodriguez, an engineer, and Maximo Sanjulian Gulla, a baker, were sentenced by a military tribunal to 20 years' imprisonment on November 21. With sixteen others they were charged with attending a congress in Prague last winter and of attempting to reorganise the outlawed Spanish Communist Party. Five others were sentenced to 14 years, nine to 8 years, one to 6 years, and one (a woman) to 4 years. An English legal observer at the trial reported that the defending officer, an artillery captain, had no legal training, and that the court made no attempt to investigate defendants' allegations that statements used by the prosecution had been obtained by torture.

Five other Spaniards accused of belonging to a Communist cell in the village of Posada, Cordoba province, were sentenced on the same day to from 1 to 8 years' imprisonment. Angel Martin Ferreras was sentenced by the same tribunal to 6 years' imprisonment for subversion.

The trial of ten prominent moderate and monarchist Spaniards charged with criticising the Franco regime and attempting to form political parties was postponed on November 9 while the police searched for two of the accused believed to have escaped from Spain.

A protest against Spain's harsh censorship sent to the Ministers of Information and Education at the end of November was signed by about 240 leading intellectuals, including the writer and former Ambassador in London, Don Famon Perez de Ayala, the novelist Don Camilion Jose Cela, the theatrical producer Don Jose Tamayo, the film producer and director Don Juan Antonia Bardem, and Don Lain Entralgo, ex-Rector of Madrid University.

London Industrial Conference

DENISON HOUSE

Vauxhall Bridge Rd., S.W.1.

Sunday, January 29, at 10.30 a.m. Details on page 3.

CANADA

How to strike—and how not to

THE STRIKE called by the United Steelworkers of America against Dominion Bridge Co. is just about over, with the union having suffered a severe setback. The strike was three months' old and the company showing no signs of meeting the union's main demand, that of national bargaining, when the biggest local, Montreal, went back to work for little more than the company's pre-strike offer. The other plants soon followed them back to work for virtually the terms offered them before they struck. Lack of union solidarity contributed to the company's successful stand against national bargaining. U.S. of A. members in other structural firms had no objection to doing black work from D.B. plants, while erection and transport workers went on handling material from strike-bound plants.

In contrast to this badly-timed and badly-organised strike is the example of the Great Lakes seamen, who picked the right time (just when all the grain elevators were full of grain and the freeze-up only a few weeks away) and struck for 5% increase. The ship owners and grain interests screamed for government intervention, but the seamen stood fast and it was all over in a few days. Five per cent wage increase and shorter hours.

Over on the west coast in Vancouver, grain shipments were being held up by a strike of 325 grain handlers, and once again the farmers' organisations demanded government intervention to force the men back to work. Why is it that these groups never ask the government to force the employers to meet the union demands? However, the workers stayed solid and gained most of their demands.

December 3 was finally set for the "non-ops" strike on the railways, when over 100,000 workers were due to strike for a 14 cents an hour increase. The government did its best to get the union to postpone the strike, and seemed willing to do anything except make the railways pay the increase to avert a strike. At the last moment the government banned the strike and the union called it off. The government bill requires maintenance of the rail service until next May.

In Quebec province, the Catholic Trade Unions (formally grouped in the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour and firmly under the thumb of the Church) recently changed their name to Confederation of National Trade Unions. This is an attempt to organise non-Catholic workers and so increase their present strength of just under 100,000 members. They have been holding discussions for the past few years with the Canadian Labour Congress, main union organisation in Canada with over 1,000,000 members, with a view to amalgamation. But while they want to affiliate as a single organisation, the CLC wants individual locals to join the appropriate national or international unions and hence for the CNTU to lose its separate identity.

The new party to be formed by the CCF (a right wing socialist party) and the CLC is meeting opposition from some unions, such as the Ontario Building and Construction Trades Council and the Electrical Workers and the Carpenters' Union. But this is from a right-wing point of view and there are no signs of opposition to parliamentary activities as such. Like their European counterparts, Canadian union leaders prefer parliamentary manoeuvring to secure piddling reforms of the capitalist system, rather than direct action to destroy it.

B.G.

ARGENTINA

Ten Syndicalists freed

BUENOS AIRES—After months of unjustified imprisonment, ten workers of the FORA (Regional Workers' Federation of Argentina) were freed at the end of September. These were Ernesto Fernandez, Serafin San Miguel, Mario Montaña, Oscar Aramburu (National Penitentiary, Calle la Heras), Jorge H. Hernandez, Felix Torti, Oscar Escobedo, Vicente Giardina, Mario Elizondo and Enrique Suarez (Santa Rosa Prison, La Pampa). Suarez is a bakery worker, the rest plumbing workers.

That they have been freed is undoubtedly a result of the intensive popular campaign, both national and international. Although this augurs well for the rest of the imprisoned Syndicalists, that is no reason to let up the pressure. Still detained are 35 workers: 30 plumbers, four public transport drivers and one baker, while five other plumbers are threatened with deportation.

Like the free workers, these victims of the employing class and State have been charged with no crime. Denied legal aid, they are held at the mercy of the police, like hundreds of other trade union and political detainees of varying viewpoints.

This appalling situation has been denounced everywhere, includ-

ing Parliament. But the government, which promised happiness to the 20 million Argentinians, remains deaf and insensitive to the just demands of public opinion. Having decided to achieve capitalist stability, at the expense of the hunger and misery of the people, it has turned the country into a shameful prison, in which hundreds of honest workers are rotting, while the robbers of public wealth go unpunished.

This Movement of Agitation and Solidarity calls on workers at home and abroad for active aid. This is the only means of freeing these victims of class hatred and political despotism in Argentina.

Secretary, MOVEMENT OF AGITATION AND
SOLIDARITY FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE FORA
PLUMBING WORKERS

BRITAIN

SINGER WORKERS SPLIT BY MANY UNIONS

SINGER'S sewing machine factory at Clydebank, Glasgow, where I work, is a glaring example of the shortcomings of present-day trade union organisation and practice and of the need for a Syndicalist approach.

In the works there are eight different unions: AEU, ETU, ASSET, NUGMW, AUFW, PTU and NUSMW & C. All members of these, together with non-members (Singer's is not 100% TU), contribute to the production of the same commodity: sewing machines. United in production, they are divided by the different unions. Since the economic interests of all Singer's workers telescope into each other, they ought to be in the same industrial union.

Like workers in other factories, however, those at Singer's still cling to an antiquated form of unionism which shackles their activity. The transition of the union movement to a labour bureaucracy is understandable when one considers this. When workers fail to apply their ideas to changing conditions, it is not because they are incapable of doing so, but because of apathy. And where there is apathy, there must be a tendency to let others do the thinking.

That is what happened in the third week of August, 1960, when Singer's workers held a mass meeting in Clydebank Juniors' football ground, in connection with a proposed revision of the firm's grading system. The workers believed any action they might take to realise their claims would have official backing of the unions, as was implied by the Shop Steward's Committee at the meeting—they were "very optimistic indeed". A few "militant" speeches were made by union organisers, which seemed impressive at the time. Later I was told by reliable TU elements, who are strongly sympathetic to Syndicalism, that this semblance of militancy was for ulterior motives.

A resolution carried unanimously was to ban overtime and come out on strike within three weeks, unless the management gave the workers satisfaction. In the interim, as usual, the TU officials opened negotiations and recommended the overtime ban and strike threat to be called off, until matters were ironed out at official level.

A second mass meeting was held for the factory committee to submit this recommendation and, though not stated, it was obvious that the committee agreed with the officials.

At the original meeting, attended by 9,000 workers, there was some sense of solidarity, but this proved vague and short-lived, like men expressing common humanity when some catastrophe such as a huge flood or fire occurs, then reverting to behaviour more "normal" in our society of competition, struggle and mutual strife. By the second meeting, the original appearance of determination had waned and acceptance of the union officials' "paternal" guidance won the day.

Since then the matter has been, and still is being, dealt with piecemeal. Workers in grades 5 and 4 have had their rates increased to a minimum of 5s. 6d. and 5s. 7d. respectively. All other rates remain unchanged. Grades 5 and 4 comprise a small minority—some tradesmen and other time workers who may have reached the top of their grade after ten years or so. Other aspects of the revisionist system of grading are still to be agreed.

Singer's, anxious for increased production, offer the usual slogans: "Intensify output to compete in the world market," etc. If Singer's—and other—workers were aware of what makes our economic system tick: that the profit system is essential for shareholders to survive, but not for the workers; that the rich are rich only because by force of law the worker must sell his ability to labour in order to keep his head above water, there would be no need for disputes about grading systems, for the profit system would soon cease to exist. Again, assuming that an appreciable minority of Singer's workers were wised up to the system of legal robbery, the original solidarity would not so readily have been dispelled and the threat of strike action could have realised the workers' claims. Singer's, more than most factories, is in need of education on real unionism. It has had its quota of the shoddy stuff.

R. LYNN

Unite to fight the employers

A number of socialist and syndicalist organisations and individual workers are sponsoring a Rank and File Industrial Conference to be held on Sunday, January 29th, 1961 (morning and afternoon sessions), at Denison House, London, S.W.1.

WHAT THE CONFERENCE IS ABOUT

The purpose of the Conference will be to enable militant workers to come together to discuss common problems.

In its constant drive for greater profits the employing class seeks by every means to get more from each worker. This leads to repeated attacks on conditions in the workshops and factories. The post-war increases in wages and rates have only been granted by the employers at the cost of increased exploitation and of a strengthening of factory discipline. The methods of production foisted on the workers have resulted in the most abominable drudgery and have reduced the role of men to that of mere machines.

Whenever it suits the employers they resort to sackings in order to "rationalize" production and in the process to flush out militants. Even though most of the workers get a job again, the fact remains that workers are considered mere pawns, expendable objects in the process of capitalist production.

How is the working class to meet this challenge? The bureaucrats at the head of the established trade union movement will at best act only as negotiators for "compensation" and like favours when the boss decides to cut the tea-break, the bonus, or even the labour force. At worst the T.U.C. acts as the employers' agent, witch-hunting militants and assisting the bosses to sack whom they please.

The job of fighting back can be done only by the workers themselves. Many workers already refuse to accept sackings or attacks on conditions as normal or seasonal events.

The development of giant monopolies provides the employers with greatly concentrated financial resources with which to confront workers in struggle. The employers aim at maintaining a certain level of unemployment as a curb on wage demands and as a means of "disciplining" workers. Through their Government the employers plan to introduce legislation to outlaw unofficial strikes. Meanwhile the T.U.C. General Council are actually engaged in collaborating with the employers in forming a new "peace in industry" council.

Nationalisation is no solution to the problems facing the working class. The plans of the employers and the Government, however, which include consideration of the "denationalisation" of certain industries (in particular, railways) are a cover for an attack on nationally negotiated wages and conditions.

WHAT STEPS CAN WE TAKE?

Workers must come together and lay the basis of an organisation which will fight to defend their present interests and, in doing so, organize to enable working people to run industry themselves.

A NATIONAL RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT MUST BE BUILT. This might:

1. Prepare the basis for a national Liaison Committee.
2. Encourage and actively assist the linking up of various industries in solidarity action. The recent dock strike emphasised the need for this type of activity. It showed the need not only for dockers to be united, but also dockers and seamen.
3. Make available to workers in dispute printing and duplicating facilities.
4. Collate lists of addresses, available transport, loud-speaker vans, etc., in all the main centres, so that when fellow-workers are in dispute and visit other towns, accommodation, transport, and other facilities (such as facilities for raising cash) are at their disposal.
5. Work for international support in stoppages.
6. Bring to the attention of other workers the demands and requirements of workers in dispute.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT

SUCH A MOVEMENT MUST BE FREE FROM POLITICAL CONTROL AND FREE FROM THE CONTROL OF THE UNION BUREAUCRATS.

It is a sad lesson that where rank and file movements are controlled by political factions or union ones, they are killed. This is because the politicians and the union hacks seek to use the rank and file movement to their own advantage. For this reason the movement must be independent.

In order to fight for its interests the working class must construct its own independent movement. In every major struggle the trade union officials and the Labour leaders automatically take the side

of the state and the bosses against the working class. This is no accident. The workers require their own independent movement to serve their needs. The labour and trade union bureaucracy require the traditional organisations to further theirs.

INVITE A SPEAKER TO ADDRESS YOUR TRADE UNION BRANCH, SHOP STEWARDS' COMMITTEE, JOB OR FACTORY ABOUT THE CONFERENCE.

We can supply speakers from the following industries: docks, engineering, building, printing, clerical, electrical, paper workers, etc.

If you wish to book for the Conference, fill in the form below and send, with 1s., per delegate or individual, to Conference Secretary, Room 12, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

I (we) wish to attend the Rank and File Industrial Conference at Denison House, London, on 29th January, 1961, and enclose

herewith delegation fee of (1s. per person).

(Name)

(Address)

(Organisation, if any)

(Date)

French Renault workers fight sackings

WITH SACKINGS and short time the order of the day for British car workers at the start of what looks like a long, hard winter; as men are laid off at Vauxhall's, Ford's, Lucas's, the Rootes Group, BMC and other motor works, the experiences of French workers in similar circumstances earlier this year acquires particular topical interest. We welcome, therefore, the pamphlet **RENAULT WORKERS FIGHT SACKINGS**, written by rank-and-file French metal workers ("Agitator", 3 Lancaster Grove, London, N.W.3, 4d.), which gives an account of the events at the Paris and Le Mans factories of the nationalised Renault Company.

Faced with the hesitancy and time-wasting of the three main trade union federations, CGT (Communist), FO (Socialist) and CFTC (Catholic), the sacked workers took matters into their own hands at the Paris works on November 3:—

"At 4 p.m. the meeting starts in the street outside the factory. It suddenly starts raining hard. The workers first take refuge in the bicycle sheds. Then someone suggests we enter the nearest workshops and get the men still working there to down tools. . . . We 'do' the shops one after another, 'to keep dry' . . . and to get the men out. A large number of workers are now standing about in various parts of the factory, at times separated from each other by the giant iron gates, but in no sense locked in. These groups naturally try to join up. The doors are pretty strong. Iron bars prove useless. Someone then has the bright idea to fetch a fork-lift truck and to use it as a bulldozer . . . the locks give."

In face of the management's refusal to receive a direct deputation, the workers occupied the offices in search of the bosses, who, however, had made themselves scarce.

The pamphlet analyses the sell-out of the union leaderships. It shows how French workers, realising the way their struggles have been side-tracked by union bureaucrats, are taking the first faltering steps towards acting as an independent force, relying on direct action. It is recommended as a useful contribution to the interchange of international working-class experience.

BULGARIA—Stoiko Stoikov was condemned to death by a Sofia court on November 30 for running a private business. Sentences of two to five years' imprisonment were passed on members of his family who had helped him.

HUNGARY—Cameras are being used by "people's inspectors" in Hungarian factories to check the efficiency of workers, reveals the Communist weekly *Hetfoci Hírek*, reporting that in the Gauz-Mavag locomotive factory in Budapest 16 per cent of the total production time was wasted.

BRITAIN

MORE CASH FOR THE
'GOLDEN' COPPERS

"RARELY, if ever, has the report of a Royal Commission been acted upon so swiftly as last week's about police pay," trilled *The Guardian*. What have the cops got that no one else has? They belong to that cohort of parasites living off the backs of the rest of the community in company with shareholders, professional soldiers, priests and politicians. Their just reward for services rendered to the ruling cliques is £1,000 a year and £80 back pay, not forgetting subsidised rents, clothing allowances, and free fares to and from work.

Getting back to the question, What have they got?—According to the Committee of Justice, ability at brain-washing techniques (only the 24-hour variety); St. Pancras' tenants would say that brutality was a strong point in their favour; West Indian workers have admired their honest-to-goodness colour prejudice; a healthy disdain for intelligence; big feet—the list is long and notable.

Ambulance men and farm workers also received a shot in the arm for Christmas, but after all their work is of minor importance—hence only the 10s. 6d. and 8s. 6d. respective weekly increases. Who needs food when there are still criminals to be caught and traffic to be directed. Eight pounds nine shillings for the farmers and £10 14s. 0d. for the ambulance men should be ample for them and their families to subsist on.

Workers in cigarette factories at Nottingham, Glasgow and Newcastle belonging to the Tobacco Workers' Union backed each other up with commendable solidarity during the recent dispute over the new automatic machines. Brothers in the Municipal and General Workers' Union fagged on for the employers. The strike ended on December 1.

Bank managers in Derby, backed by their loyal clerks, consider that £951 per annum is not enough and are asking for £975 ranging to £1,250 for the over 40's. Overtime has been banned and strike action is round the corner—quite a new departure for the self-styled middle class union—the N.U.B.E.

One last look at the golden coppers. Ministry of Aviation baggage and freight loaders went on strike at London Airport after alleged third-degree methods had been used on one of their men by the police, following a mailbag theft. The clerical staff leapt to the rescue of the passengers, smearing their white collars in the rush.

Headline we are sick of: "Union Warning to Postmen. Overtime Ban is Breach of Rule."

If you want to know the time, go and ask a policeman—he might give you a watch!

T.S.

PORTUGAL

Salazar calls it 'peace and calm'

"Any person of good faith can see for himself that peace and complete calm reign in our overseas territories without the use of force and by habit of peaceful living in common."—Dr. Salazar, Dictator of Portugal (30/11/60).

On October 14, Joao Cabral, a Goan, told a London conference of African students that he had been informed by Angolans that 30 people were killed and more than 200 wounded when Portuguese troops and police opened fire without warning on a demonstrating crowd at Catete, Angola, on June 8.

On December 1 the Santa Clara military tribunal ordered a retrial of six out of seven people, including a woman doctor, who had appealed against sentences of from three months to three years passed on them by the Luanda territorial military court in Portuguese West Africa for subversion. The tribunal declared that the sentences were not in harmony with the gravity of the crimes proved.

Between October 13 and December 1 more than 30 people were sentenced for subversion in Portugal, including a 32-year-old woman teacher, an office worker, and a glassworker (8 years each), another glassworker and a deserter from the Portuguese Air Force (3½ years each), six artisans (13-23 months each), and twelve printers (13-18 months each). Six well-known Oporto lawyers who have defended political prisoners were arrested for signing a petition for the removal to hospital of a sick woman, in gaol for Communist activity.

AUSTRALIA—A one-day strike of 60,000 Government transport workers in protest against the rejection of a demand for a £2-a-week rise hit Sydney on November 28-29. A ten-day strike of 4,000 Melbourne dockers over loading and leave rights ended on November 21.

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Towards a rank-and-file
industrial movement

ON JANUARY 29, at Denison House, London, will assemble a rank-and-file industrial conference, which the Syndicalist Workers' Federation has joined in sponsoring. Elsewhere in this issue we publish the text of a statement calling the conference, approved by SWF delegates to the liaison committee.

On this committee have sat representatives of other left-wing groupings—the Independent Labour Party, Workers' Party, Socialism Reaffirmed Group, London Anarchist Group, Socialist Advance League. All have concurred that the time is overdue for link-up between the many industrial rank-and-file movements, militant shop steward committees and individual workers who, outside the control of Labour or Communist politicians, are carrying on the day-to-day struggle against the employing class.

The SWF's support for this Conference is a natural consequence of its own stated aims and objects. "To achieve these aims," says our declaration of principles, "the workers must organise. They must replace the hundreds of craft and general trade unions by syndicalist industrial unions. As an immediate step to that end, the SWF aids the formation of workers' committees in all factories, mines, offices, shipyards, mills and other places of work and their development into industrial unions, federated to an all-national Federation of Labour." The SWF's Organisational Basis states: "Objects of the organisation shall be to—(a) Take an active part in the struggle for working class solidarity, shorter working hours, immediate wage increases and improved working conditions; to propagate direct action as the only effective means in this struggle. (b) Oppose all attacks on the working class, whatever form they may take, whether by conscription of labour, strike breaking, drives for increased production and longer working hours; wage cuts or unemployment. (c) Resist the attempts of all political parties and ambitious individuals to gain control or make use of the workers' industrial organisations."

The proposed purpose of this month's Conference is in harmony with these aims and objects. In fact, the current of opinion prevailing in committee meetings has been the most encouraging impetus Syndicalism has received in Britain for many years.

Among industrial groupings supporting the Conference is the London branch of the National Seamen's Reform Movement, which has been in conflict with the hidebound, bureaucratic National Union of Seamen and is striving to build a democratic union of seafaring workers.

Also represented will be engineering apprentices in Lancashire, who publish the monthly rank-and-file paper, "Progress". Delegates from as far afield as Clydeside have accepted the Conference invitation and most of Britain's main industries will be represented.

Already the Conference has attracted notice from the Press and the organising committee has variously—and incorrectly—been alleged to be connected with the Communists, Trotskyists and the Roman Catholic Church.

The stupidity of these claims is shown by the fact that the "Daily Worker" (itself up in arms about ITV refusal to screen advertisements for the Communist paper) refused a paid advertisement for the Conference, the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League refused an invitation to be represented and the "Catholic Herald" has attacked the Conference.

The Conference could be the beginning of a revolutionary turn in the industrial organisation of the British working class. The SWF and IWMA wish it every success.

"PROGRESS"—Monthly paper of the rank-and-file engineering apprentices. 1d. a copy (2d. postage) from Brian Bamford, 39 Alder Road, Rochdale, Lancs., or SWF, 25a Amberley Road, London, W.9.

On the night train to Leningrad

WHILE IN MOSCOW we made an excursion into the country to visit the Zigorosky Monastery, about two hours' journey by motor coach. This gave us an opportunity of seeing the countryside. The country about a large city is usually well cultivated, because of the ready market for fresh produce, as Kropotkin saw to his admiration in the market gardens surrounding London and Paris. But the countryside about Moscow was badly neglected by any standard. Fields were only partly cultivated, often with a cabbage patch about the middle. Wild bushes and trees were about the fields, as though they had been cast there by careless giants.

Old, dilapidated wooden houses were by the roadside. On the grass verge of the road, peasants with sickles laboriously cut the poor, dusty grass, though behind them were fields crying to be cultivated—"The land to the peasants!"

Arriving at the monastery, one which the Government had wished to close, almost causing a peasant rebellion, we looked around the village. Everywhere the rural poverty we had seen by the roadside. In the church of the monastery, a service was in progress. The congregation were mostly women, of all ages, picture-book copies of the peasant women of Tsarist Russia, or characters from the film "October Revolution". The television players, schoolmasters and intellectuals thought it all very quaint and charming. I have known too much of toil and poverty to mistake its signs in the gnarled hands, the stooped shoulders and the despairing look to be deceived. Devoutly, the women knelt in church. They might have hope in Heaven; they had little on Earth.

I was suddenly reminded of the religion of the Dixieland negroes and their spirituals, born of a hopeless slavery. In its struggle against the Church, the Russian Government made use of the Marxist quotation, "Religion is the opium of the people". Opium is a very useful drug—it deadens the pain when it is not possible for one to remove the cause of pain. It makes life tolerable.

We were thirsty and peasants outside the church gave us water to drink from cans they all carried, then told us they had journeyed to the holy well of the monastery and were giving us holy water to drink. With their friendly smiles and cheerful attempts to make us understand, they were the nicest people we had yet met in Russia.

We had one more ecclesiastical experience. We attended Sunday morning service in Moscow's Orthodox Cathedral. The church was packed, not five per cent were seated. Shoulder to shoulder they stood for three hours. In the Orthodox Church the congregation does most of the work, the service is mostly sung and that unaccompanied. Never have I heard such singing, except by top choirs, spirited and harmonious.

Only a few old people and children were present. Most were between the ages of 18 and 40, I thought, and mostly working class, but a different crowd from the country people.

That night we went to Moscow's Leningrad Station. It is good that all Russian stations are called Vauxhall—Moscow Vauxhall, Kiev Vauxhall (Vokzall); it helps one who has travelled on England's Southern Railway. A very old-fashioned train to Leningrad, but very comfortable. It may seem odd, but always I find the old railway carriages more comfortable than the stiff-backed modern stock, in what I heard one rough traveller call the "contemptible style". The Moscow Station, Leningrad; to our left, the famous Nevsky Prospect, once one of the world's famous shopping streets; opposite our abode, the Hotel of the October Revolution—quite a mouthful in Russian, so I always asked the taximan for the Moscow Station and waited the rest.

Inside the hotel we found there had been a minor tourist insurrection. The visitors had refused to eat meals served at the hotel and made a fuss about having paid in advance. We had to eat at the Hotel Europa, others at the Astoria. At the Europa the food, although certainly not first class, was better than that served to us in Moscow.

Of course we saw the Winter Palace, the cruiser Aurora, which fired the signal to start the October Insurrection, the fortress of Peter and Paul, and the rest.

Old Leningrad is a wonderful city. Built on the wide delta of the River Neva by French and Italian architects, its 18th Century buildings and vistas reminded me of Venice, as the Italian architects intended, I believe. Poorly maintained though it is, the beauty is there still, but beyond the old streets Leningrad is drab with blocks of flats looking like poor warehouses.

The people were certainly more pleasant looking and a little less pushing than the Muscovites, but apathetic compared to the street crowds of, say, London or Paris.

Our visit ended, we travelled to the docks to embark on the Russian ship "Estonia", but first the customs. Some of the Communists in our party had several roubles each, acquired on the black market. Buying these at 100 or more to the £1, they now hoped

to exchange them at the legal tourist rate of 26. One Communist, a secondary schoolmaster, was literally jumping mad when told that he could not exchange them at any rate at all. Then followed an excited rush by the rouble speculators, who had to buy almost worthless souvenirs at the dockside shop. Laden with rubbish, they cursed the "know-alls" who had been their financial advisers. A peasant would not have fallen for such nonsense.

With only about 250 persons, the pursers took two hours or more to allocate us our berths and, after being at the dock for four hours, we got aboard. The Soviet Revolution abolished classes, some believe, but when Soviet citizens travel, classes reappear. First and second classes have been abolished on the railways, and "hard" and "soft" substituted. At sea the West has three classes and even, as with the P. and O., a limit of two classes. But Russian ships have three, sometimes four and even five classes, including "de luxe". All men are equal, but not when they travel.

What would the food be like? everyone asked. Readers may think I have a food obsession and that I am a 15-stone glutton, or that I have gone Russian, food being an important subject to Russians. But one cannot consider Soviet society in a balanced manner without talking a great deal about food. Ever since the Bolsheviks gained power there has been a chronic food shortage, not only during the first year or two, or in the terrible famines of 1921-22, when millions died and a world appeal for help was made, or the deadly famine following Stalin's forced farm collectivisation, which caused Stalin to write his famous essay, "Many are made dizzy by success", but in shortages of varying intensity all the time.

One may verify this by a reference to Soviet public statements. The Government frequently promises the people more butter or more bread in the shops next year, or increased food production in the next three or five years. To get this in perspective, imagine Macmillan going on the radio with an important statement, "There'll be more bread in the shops soon". Another sign, during purges or sackings in high places, someone is unusually accused of sabotaging food production and causing acute shortage. This was one of the charges against Malenkov. Optimistic Russian food statistics usually refer to future years.

The stewards were all young women, quiet, pleasant and good at their work. They gratefully accepted the tips of foreign currency—or such articles as stockings from the passengers. The latter now tended to divide, not only into their proper social classes, as by law decreed, but also into groups of Communists, "keep on believing at all costs", and the disillusioned. One Communist, on a trade union delegation, went about the ship buttonholing passengers and demanding in a hectoring tone, "Did you see any poverty in Moscow? Did you see any unhappy people? Did you see ONE unhappy person in Moscow?" He was not whistling in the dark, he was shouting.

Lest it be thought that idolatry of all things Russian is limited to the lily-handed, let me report one case of shipyard workers from Dundee. Communists, they cornered the assistant purser, who spoke English. "It's a wonderful ship this, sir," said one to the murmured applause of his fellows. "Only the Soviet Union could build such a ship. We couldn't build anything like this in Scotland and we're all shipyard workers."

As the puzzled purser escaped from what he must have thought a bunch of escaped madmen, I approached the chief speaker. "Are you a shipyard worker, mate?" "Aye, that I am, a shipwright." "Then go forrard," I said, "look beneath the bridge. You'll see a brass plate that will interest you."

The brass plate, with the name of the ship, said "Made in Germany", with the year, 1960, and the name of the yard. All in German, but the content was clear.

We were leaving the Gulf and Finland and turning towards Stockholm.

TOM BROWN

ARGENTINA—A 24-hour general strike, called in protest against President Frondizi's vetoing of a recently-enacted law raising rates of compensations for dismissed workers, paralysed the country on November 7. Militant trade unionists of every persuasion were joined by school teachers, bank clerks and civil servants in the greatest demonstration of labour's united strength for many years.

CHILE—A state of emergency was declared on November 6, after the death of two workers in demonstrations against the Government's refusal to grant wage increases. Further clashes with the police occurred after a funeral service for the victims on November 7, during a 24-hour nation-wide protest strike.

BRAZIL—Troops and marines were mobilised to keep open communications when dockers, seamen and railway workers joined forces in a nation-wide transport strike on November 8 in support of claims for wage increases to match increases in military pay.

REVIEWS

Franco's prisoners speak

FRANCO'S PRISONER'S SPEAK (Spanish Ex-Servicemen's Association, 1s. 6d. post free from SWF). At the end of November, an international commission of lawyers in Spain to investigate conditions of political prisoners in Franco's jails were refused permission to visit them by the Fascist Government. Among the prisons they had wished to see was that at Burgos.

Now, published by the Spanish Ex-Servicemen's Association in Britain, comes the material they wished to find. Compiled by the prisoners themselves, representing all tendencies of the anti-Fascist resistance, the documents in this well-produced 36-page pamphlet are eloquent testimony of the sub-human and degrading conditions in the jails of Franco Spain.

There are three sections. The text of a letter to the Spanish Minister of Justice from political prisoners in Burgos Central Prison; a letter to the Rev. Mr. Owens, a U.S. parson who had intervened on behalf of Spain's political prisoners with the Spanish Ambassador in Washington, and a list of 379 of the 399 political prisoners at Burgos. The last section includes the full names of prisoners, their date of arrest, term of imprisonment, previous terms of imprisonment and time served on all sentences. The first entry in this section speaks for itself: Fernando Macarro Castillo, arrested March, 1939—and, after 21 years, still behind bars. Of the others, 278 have endured more than 15 years' imprisonment, to which must be added the time spent in detention after arrest.

Burgos Central Prison has no heating, despite winter temperatures reaching 27 degrees of frost. The premises are in "a deplorable state of disrepair: the windows do not close, window panes are broken and not being replaced, only a few badly constructed toilets, badly working showers with hot water provided only one hour a week, corridor floors which are never washed and, despite our efforts to keep them clean, have become sources of dirt and infection, inadequate lighting, etc."

Prisoners are not permitted to read even the government-controlled Fascist Press or to listen to radio broadcasts. No entertainment from outside has been allowed for more than two years. Food is poor in quality, badly cooked and insufficient. Typical meals are listed.

As a result of the first document in the pamphlet, the very moderately-worded petition to the Minister of Justice, reprisals were taken against twelve prisoners: 95 days' solitary confinement. Sanitary conditions, lack of medical attention, the obligation to attend Catholic services ("Last December a common-law prisoner was condemned to 40 days' solitary confinement for saying aloud in church 'I will pray for my freedom' in answer to a suggestion made by the priest in his sermon that we should ask Christ for what we desired most") are all detailed.

The pamphlet, restrained in language, paints a horrifying picture of the treatment meted out to Spanish anti-Fascists. It deserves a very wide circulation.

K. H.

Emma Goldman—rebel

EMMA GOLDMAN, by Charles A. Madison (Libertarian Book Club, P.O. Box 842, General Post Office, New York 1, U.S.A.). Well printed on good paper, this booklet is well, almost excitingly written. It is not a eulogy, but a little biography of our comrade, packed with the incidents of an heroic life. Emma rebelled against the tyranny of her home in St. Petersburg and left it, a girl of 17, to go to America, where she soon was brought into the social struggle by the judicial murder of the Chicago Anarchists.

The story here told is one of continuous struggle. Daily meetings, helping strikers to picket, collect food and find shelter for the homeless. In struggle with the unemployed against a callous State, with the victims of oppression Emma's Anarchism was developed, not from books written in a museum. "Life is stronger than theory," she once said to me, apropos an Anarchist critic, who had complained that the working class did not fit into the theory he had developed from the most expensive books.

The story goes on to her opposition to the 1914-18 war, her deportation to Russia, her bitter disillusion after trying to work with the new State and her departure from the land she loved to exile in Canada, France and England.

The death of her old comrade Alexander Berkman in 1936 struck hard at Emma, but soon came the Spanish Civil War and she, at the age of 67, threw her still considerable energy into rallying aid for the workers of Spain. At every meeting I attended as co-speaker with Emma, the Communist Party organised attempts to break it up by violence. At one of these, in the East End of London, an old Jewish C.P. member came up to her and said, with tears flowing

down his face, "They aren't Communists, Emma, they're YCL'ers". Emma looked puzzled—and I'm still trying to work it out.

But they never succeeded in breaking the meetings and one woman's courage was always greater than the collective courage of howling party-liners. Still a rebel, Emma Goldman died in 1940.

The singing union

IWW's LITTLE RED SONG BOOK (1s. 9d. post free from SWF). I first heard the Wobbly songs from English and American seamen in the ports of Northern England. That was 40 years ago and I have been hearing them almost continuously ever since. At socials and in pubs, at work and on hunger marches, I've heard them sung. In strikes in the Durham coalfield and in engineering shops in the South and West of England I've joined in the cheerful notes of rebellion. I've heard them sung by Labourites, Socialists and Communists—and once by a C. of E. parson.

Once I enjoyed them on a Russian grain boat, where the notes of a balalaika gave new piquancy to the old songs. In Canada, Mexico and the U.S.A. I've listened to them. Some of their phrases, such as "pie in the sky", are now established in the English language. Novels such as Wallace Stegner's "The Preacher and the Slave", owe them inspiration, while Upton Sinclair wrote an excellent play, "Singing Jailbirds", about them.

The parodies were born in struggle. While the IWW was organising hosts of workers, lumberjacks, dockers, seamen, miners and others and running strikes in face of merciless attacks by employers' armed thugs, militia and soldiers, backed by all the force of the State, judges, jailers, money and an utter contempt for their own laws, the parodies, set to well-known tunes, were devised and like prairie fire spread from waterfront to coalfield, from the harvest fields to logging camps, from coast to coast.

And now the "Little Red Song Book" is here before me. All the old favourites, "Solidarity Forever", "Keep on a Tramping", "My Dollar Alarm Clock", "Pie in the Sky" and the rest—except "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum". I asked them in Chicago why they had left it out and they replied that it wasn't a union song. I guess they are right—but I still like it.

T. B.

What is Socialism?

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? and WHAT SORT OF RANK & FILE MOVEMENT SHOULD WE BUILD? by Brian Behan (each 3d. from Workers' Party, 10 Woodquest Avenue, London, S.E.24). These two discussion pamphlets represent one of the most interesting developments of the British left wing for many years. Both mark a clean, incisive break with the outworn old dogmas of Marxism ideology (State worship, centralism, "dictatorship of the proletariat") that have hitherto hindered the emergence of libertarian tendencies in a period of disillusion with the authoritarian jargon peddled by both Communists (Stalin or Khrushchev variety) and Trotskyists (all 57 varieties).

"What is Socialism?", which is anonymous, states an approach in harmony with that of the SWF and international Syndicalism. Quoting from William Morris, that great anti-State Socialist of pre-Labour Party vintage, the author rejects parliamentary and party political activity, seeking the roots of a free socialist society, instead, in the direct action of the workers organised at the point of production.

IWMA world call

THE TENTH CONGRESS of the International Working Men's Association (Toulouse, September, 1958) agreed to support the formation of "Groups of Friends of the IWMA" in all countries where sections have not yet been set up, with the aim of gaining sympathy for our International and of spreading its principles and propaganda as widely as possible.

A group can be formed by five, ten or more members. It will give you the chance to maintain regular contact with the IWMA and of being in touch with the affairs of the international movement.

We address ourselves especially to comrades and sympathisers in Africa, Asia, Australia and the Americas, Uruguay and Argentina excepted.

It is desirable that "Groups of Friends of the IWMA" should keep close contact between themselves in each country and they will receive our Press, propaganda and news of other countries through the international secretariat.

All interested in this proposal should write to the IWMA Secretariat (AIT-CNT), 4 rue Belfort, Toulouse (H.G.), France.

PAKISTAN—Following the murder of a worker by police fire during a clash with labourers at a jute mill at Chittagong, 53 people were arrested on November 28.

Counter-revolution in Cuba

We have previously withheld comment on the situation in Cuba, because it was confused and available information contradictory. Now we have received three documents: a symposium on the Cuban "Revolution" from the Argentine Libertarian Federation; a policy statement from the Libertarian League of the U.S., who gave active support to Cuban libertarian insurrectionists during the struggle against Batista; and the report reproduced here from the Cuban Libertarian Group in New York. We publish the last-mentioned because it is the most detailed, though its content is in general agreement with the other two. Since receipt of these reports, comes news that Castro's Government has suppressed "El Libertario", organ of the Libertarian Association of Cuba, and "Solidaridad Gastronómica", a Syndicalist paper of catering workers.

* * *

ON January 1, 1959, with the flight of the tyrant Batista, there was a rebirth of the freedoms suppressed during the years of his rule. Many factors had combined to bring about Fulgencio Batista's fall. Without exaggeration, the only support he had left was the National Police and higher brass of the Armed Forces, since none of the army rank and file could longer be relied on.

Fidel Castro took power and formed a government based on his own group (the 26th of July Movement), elbowing aside all other forces and organisations that had participated in the active struggle against tyranny. By his seizure of full power, Castro violated pacts with his allies. Even so, these continued to support the Castro regime, as did almost all the Cuban people, so anxious were they to eradicate, to the last root, all remnants of the hated Batista tyranny.

Castro declared his support of every freedom, while proceeding to smother each and every one under one pretext or another. Slightly more than a year and a half after his taking power, the entire press, radio, television and movie news programmes of the country are under absolute State control.

Within the Labour movement, on the pretext of eliminating Batista elements from the leadership, a Government decree (Law No. 22 of January 20, 1959) imposed a new top committee for the Cuban Confederation of Labour (CTC). This new committee, basing itself on the same law, designated leading committees for all Federations of Industry. These in turn called elections in the unions, during April and May, under their auspices and with their rules. In almost every case the Communists had been able to seize control of the committees of these Federations of Industry. With the support of the Government and its forces, they had used every form of coercion on the workers in favour of their own candidates, having already eliminated from the unions elements they thought might dispute the leadership with them. In all the unions, slates were presented in the name of the 26th of July Movement, composed of members of 26th of July and Communists. Many members of 26th of July were also Communist militants. These rigged elections were carried out and, following them, similar ones in the Federations of Industry and the Confederation itself, through special national congresses.

Despite every effort by the Government and the presence of Fidel Castro himself at the Congress of the Cuban Confederation of Labour, recommending a joint slate with the Communists, this Congress elected a CTC executive committee composed entirely of members of the 26th of July, although some were also Communists. In the Congresses of the 33 Federations of Industry, 28 declared against the Communists; only three in their favour.

Following the Confederation's congress, the Government-Communist campaign was stepped up, to the point where today almost all officials elected in these National Congresses have been substituted in one way or another by members of the Communist Party. Many who were removed have had to leave the country as exiles, while others have been imprisoned or otherwise persecuted. As examples, we cite the Federations of Industry of Construction, Public Entertainment, Medicine, Tobacco and Lumber, as well as the case of David Salvador, General Secretary of the CTC.

So much for the labour organisations. Now to the workers themselves. On the pretext of co-operation with the Revolution (which for the rulers means the State, in turn identified with "the People"), the workers are subjected to conditions long since outlived in Cuba through hard labour struggles. Previously between 3% and 5% of the workers' wages had been stopped for pensions, the percentage varying in different industries, with an additional 0.025% for maternity assistance. Today everyone is discounted a flat 5% for pensions, PLUS 4% for "industrialisation", PLUS 3% for income tax (previously applied only to incomes in excess of \$200), PLUS 1% for obligatory union dues (called voluntary, but checked off automatically by law). In addition there are special collections and frequent special levies of a day's wages for every imaginable thing,

such as armaments and aeroplanes, Agrarian Reform, Industrialisation, etc., etc.

In addition, since most industries have passed into the hands of the Government, on the pretext that they belong to the workers themselves, they are often forced to work overtime without pay, wages are reduced and often such benefits as a weekly day of rest with pay and paid annual holidays have been dropped.

Workers' Militias have been organised under the control of the Ministry of the Armed Forces. In the early days participation was voluntary, but now every worker between certain ages and in good health either joins or is fired from his job. Once in the militias workers come under military discipline, and can be kept in line at all times. The Militia Commanders are known Communist Party militants.

There is general and growing discontent among the workers. Formerly the regime had the backing and sympathy of almost everyone, but today only the Communist minority and its followers give it unconditional support.

In general, the present policies of the Cuban Government are openly totalitarian and communist. On the international field it has allied itself with all Communist bloc countries through cultural, mutual assistance and commercial pacts, etc. At home, the methods used in the labour movement were also applied in the professional organisations—the Medical College, Lawyers' and Engineers' Associations and the rest. Recently many professors were expelled from the University of Havana, among them Miro Cardona, one-time Prime Minister of the present Government and Ambassador to Spain and the United States, and Andres Valdespino, former Assistant Secretary of Finance. Both had opposed Batista—and the Communists. Before the expulsion of the University professors, a large number of students had been expelled for opposing Communist innovations in the University. Among these were student leaders in several schools, all veterans of the fight against Batista, having been persecuted or forced into exile during his regime.

Communist Party people now hold the main positions in the Government propaganda machine, which they run with the technical help of native and foreign Communist experts. Through "cultural" departments created in each Governmental Ministry, in the armed forces, etc., they organise courses of so-called "revolutionary doctrine". These are, in fact, Marxist indoctrination courses, since those running them, as well as the instructors and lecturers, are all Marxists. As examples we cite: the "cultural" chief in the military camp of La Cabana (one of the most important in Cuba) is Ramon Nicolau, for years Financial Secretary of the Communist Party. Among lecturers with him are Juan Marinello, president of the party; Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, editor of "Hoy", organ of the party (the well-equipped printshop for which was a gift to the party from the Government, after being confiscated from the former Batista newspaper "Alerta"); Anibal Escalante and other well-known Communist militants. The Cinematic Institute, a State organism directing and controlling the movie industry, is presided over by Dr. Alfredo Guevara, another Communist militant. Through the Film Review Board he decides which films are acceptable for showing in the country. The People's Consultation Library of the National Capitol is another of innumerable set-ups whose sole purpose is to spread Marxist ideas. All these organisms are financed by the Government.

Youth Patrols have been established as an adjunct of the National Police. These recruit children from the age of seven, to receive military training and Marxist theory under the guise of "revolutionary indoctrination".

Outstanding showpiece of the so-called revolutionary Government is the Agrarian Reform. All large estates have been expropriated or confiscated to become the property of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA). This State body has no participation either by the people as a whole or the directly-concerned agricultural workers. The old estates are now called "co-operatives", and to run them a horde of administrators and other bureaucrats have been designated, mostly army men.

The conditions of labour on these old feudal estates are the same as before—the workers continue as wage earners, with wages still the same, or often less. Pay is in script, which can be spent only in the so-called People's Stores, attached to the "co-operatives", and like them the property of INRA. Goods not available in these stores are not obtainable, as the workers receive no cash.

Former tenants farmers have been given deeds to the land they work. This gives them the right of permanent occupancy by an annual payment to INRA, the amount of which is based on the assessed valuation of the property, but without the right to sell or mortgage. Instead of paying rent to the private landlord, they now pay rent to the State landlord. INRA enjoys a monopoly for buy-