

# **Direct Action**

**WORLD  
LABOUR  
NEWS**

**For Workers' Direct  
Control of Industry**

**PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION**

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# First Marham

The East Anglia Committee of 100 were the organisers of the demonstration at the V-Bomber base, R.A.F. Marham, in Norfolk, two Saturday's ago - May 11th. Demonstrators were arriving throughout the morning at the village of Swaffham, a couple of miles from the base, and by the time things were scheduled to start, at two o'clock, there must have been several hundred mingling with the market-day shoppers and plain clothes policemen. (The latter were on the look-out for distributors of R.S.G.6.)

The demonstration started with a mock auction of the base and its contents. After they had been duly disposed of (at derisory prices), and those who wished had equipped themselves with stickers announcing "Reclaimed for Peaceful Purposes", the demonstrators boarded coaches and cars to go to the base to claim their property. This 'motorcade' formed a pretty impressive sight; there must have been something like ten or eleven coaches and as many or more cars, winding their way nose to tail around part of the 10 mile perimeter towards the point at which entry was to be made. Police and R.A.F. men with dogs and walkie talkies' were much in evidence on the perimeter.

The column numbered about 450-500 people - there must have been many who hadn't bothered to go the auction - and as it came near to the main gate, we found a great mass of police and R.A.F. men guarding the entrance and the perimeter on either side, and a considerable length of barbed wire. This hadn't been there three days before, when the defences had been surveyed.

There was very little violence then - most demonstrators got torn clothing and bruises - but the ordinary R.A.F. men were generally pretty calm, and very few demonstrators lost their tempers. After the initial entry, many of us tried to get in again but few managed to touch ground on the other side, and those who did were thrown back almost immediately, for the R.A.F. were standing only arms-lengths apart along a quarter mile length of wire, with plenty reserves, including dogs, in the background. A plan was made to make a concerted attempt on the wire at the sound of a car horn, but this flopped, as the defence was now quite impenetrable.

After what must have been about a couple of hours a meeting was called, and it was announced that a dozen or more of those who had got in at first had been arrested and charged under section 1 of the Official Secrets Act, i.e., "with entering a prohibited place for a purpose prejudicial to the safety and interests of the state". The feeling of the meeting was that we should adjourn to Shouldham, where temporary courts had been set up in a schoolroom, to, at the least, express solidarity with those arrested.

Eventually an impromptu meeting formed at which the view was expressed

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## First Marham continued from previous page

that the authorities had been unjust in arresting only a few of those who had broken into the base, and in charging those who had got in under the Official Secrets Act, for which the penalties can be severe, (evidently in an attempt at a 'policy of deterrence'). An apparent majority of the meeting supported the idea that the best way of expressing solidarity with those arrested was to be arrested themselves for the same offence, i.e. to return to the base. Some promised to return the following Saturday, while others decided to return right then. It was then about eight o'clock at night. 45 or 50 set off in one coach and drove to a spot on the perimeter which was 'defended' by only one R.A.F. man with a radio. This spot adjoined the 'quick reaction centre' in which planes stand ready to make use of the notorious 'four' minutes. The greater number of these demonstrators climbed the fence, ignored the R.A.F. man, and walked across the grass in the direction of a main runway, singing ban the bomb songs as they walked. It was a brave and impressive sight.

They made about 500 yards and were well on to the runway before several coach loads of defenders caught them. They then sat down and were carried off in coaches. As these later prisoners did not arrive at the courts until late in the evening, these were sitting until midnight, and those who had not been arrested were occupied in bailing out those who had. Many people stood surety for more than one person, but even so several prisoners had no-one to bail them out and were sent to gaol, at Norwich, or Holloway. At midnight the courts closed, and the demonstration ended, for that day anyway.

About the composition of the marchers it is difficult to say. They came from all parts, but the two largest single contingents appeared to be those from London, and from Cambridge. Only one banner was carried, that of the Oxford Anarchists.

If the success of the demonstration is to be judged by the publicity it gets, first Marham must probably be judged a failure. The extent of press coverage was pretty poor, and its character execrable. The fact that the demonstrators had gone back to the base later on was scarcely noticed - doubtless the reporters had gone home by then - and the 'Worker' didn't deign to notice that those arrested had been charged under the Official Secrets Act.

Apparently T.V. News gave a short amount of time to the demonstration, and the preparations for the defence of the base were shown on Anglia T.V. on the Friday night.

D.A. Reporter

### Editorial Note

This report had to be cut due to restricted space.

# Second Marham

Why Marham No.2? Quite simply, to defy the Official Secrets Act which to say the least is vicious. But the authorities both civil and military had other ideas

When we arrived at the pub about 3 miles from the base, we were informed that we were to be kept off the base at any cost.

After about half an hour we marched to the base, smelling to high heaven of aniseed, good job that stuff doesn't affect humans in the same way as it does dogs. On reaching the road leading to the base, the march broke up and made its way across the fields to the edge of the base about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile away. We were greeted by a line of police, civil and military, plus airforce personnel standing shoulder to shoulder. As some of the demonstrators went over so they were flung back, police were refusing to arrest them, this performance went on for a considerable time, demonstrators were trying to reason with the defenders but as Albert Hunt wrote in Peace News 17.5.63, "I couldn't find the language."

The grotesque part about the demonstration was the fact that the service police were actually enjoying throwing the demonstrators back, rubbing their hands, entreating them to try again. This was not just good natured banter, but vicious militarism. I make no complaint about this, because it is to be expected, service police could crawl under a snakes belly wearing a top hat without touching the snake, they are so low, one must recognise, you have to be a no-good-bastard to even contemplate such a job.

It was obvious at this stage of the demo, that the authorities didn't want to enlarge the numbers already charged under the Official Secrets Act. Demonstrators began to circle round the base, but through the walkie talkie sets, the defenders were alerted to our every move, reinforcements were rushed from one spot to another. Some demonstrators managed to penetrate about 40 yards into the base on one occasion. One demonstrator was apprehended, actually taken to the blood wagon, then escorted off the base without being arrested. Another demonstrator challenged the police to arrest him, but was pushed back over the wire. A young girl was arrested, charged, then the charge was dropped, charged again, that was dropped and then she was told to shove off.

This backward and forward performance was not only tiring but frustrating, and some of us drifted back to Shouldham to see if any thing was happening at the Courts. By 7.30 p.m., Shouldham was packed. About 20 people were arrested for obstructing the police, plus about 40 who eventually were arrested on the base, also charged with obstruction.

Was the demo successful? From the point of view of solidarity, yes, about 400 people went to Marham the second time expecting imprisonment.

The Marham battle was won by the comrades who went back to the base in the evening of the first Marham, because if they hadn't taken the initiative, the original 12 arrested would have been well and truly 'done'. Marham No.2

Continued overleaf....

# Second Marham

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clinched the matter and the Crown "Swallowed" with a capital S.

When those remanded appeared before the courts at Downham Market on Saturday, May 25, fines and costs totalling £1,200 were imposed by a sundry collection of the local "gentry" on the benches. Eleven of the accused were jailed for terms from 7 days to three months (Terry Standley). No matter what the original charge - obstruction, incitement, or Section 1 of the Official Secrets Act - all the defendants found themselves dealt with under new charges, brought under Sections 3 and 8 of the Official Secrets Act. Sentences for the same charge varied enormously, apparently according to the whim of the particular bunch on the bench. The following details of our own comrades and friends illustrate the point:

- TONY SMYTHE: Fined £20, with £5 costs, bound over for 2 years in the sum of £25. Two months to pay - or two months inside.
- WYNFORD HICKS: Fined £25, with 14 days to pay - or 14 days inside. Bound over for 3 years.
- PETER TURNER: Fined £20 - or three months inside.
- ERIAN RICHARDSON: (five previous convictions): Fined £20, with £5 costs, bound over for 2 years in sum of £25.
- ARTHUR ULOTH: No fine, but £5 costs. Bound over for 2 years in sum of £25.

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Bill Christopher

# Open Letter to Labour's Leader

Dear Harold,

It's a great pleasure to write to you this time, now that we are, in your own words, "riding high" towards the General Election. It won't be long now till you and the Missus are moving into No.10.

First, I must commend your dynamic leadership in the House and particularly your debating skill. This came out wonderfully in the Beeching Plan debate, though I wasn't quite clear after reading Hansard just what our alternative, comprehensive, fully-integrated plan for transport is. But that idea of yours about the use of publicly-owned hovercraft in the remote areas is a winner, and I was with you all the way when you told the railway workers facing the sack to leave their redundancy problems to the politicians in Parliament. They've just got to realise that strikes might hit us at the Elections, and how the Tories would go on about unofficial and political strikes, just like you did, only more so.

At the Local Elections Victory Social we were all jubilant. Our local MP couldn't attend, but sent an encouraging apology and his spokesman, Councillor Blott, got quite a cheer when he quoted some of your jokes at the expense of Macmillan, like when you called him "Mac-Millicent", after you'd referred to the Vassal Case as "That was the Leak that Was." As Councillor Blott said, you'd be a match for Jimmy Edwards any day. Of course, Bro. Grundiman, our troublemaker, had to start talking about "corny comedy" and picked on that bit where you said the Tories were a "discredited group of ideologues". He said he'd heard of dialogues, monologues and synagogues, but ideologues! He's always showing off his bit of knowledge, but quite candidly, Harold, we were all a bit puzzled and, take an old friend's advice and keep a bit closer to the vernacular. You know what I mean, as there are still some ordinary workers who attend our meetings.

And haven't you been getting some excellent publicity lately? That special feature in "Time and Tide", the one called "Harold Wilson's Secret Retreat", about your Scilly bungalow, was really good. Full of information, too. I was very pleased to read about how we've got £500,000 in our Election kitty, three times as much as the Tories. Also that next month we will start your vote winning plan to spend at least £5,000 a week on large-scale, professional advertising and that big spaces have been booked in the national dailies, "angled" for different parts of the country. This angling is important -- I can see that, because what will pull in the Newcastle votes wouldn't always catch this Orpington Man we're out after. And as it says in the same maga-

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# Controversy

\* \* \* \* \* \* THE USE OF MANAGERS \* \* \* \* \*

Laurens Otter's easy acceptance of the myth of the managerial revolution in "Direct Action" (May) will, if he follows this particular course, no doubt end with him declaring to the world that a social revolution was carried out by the Labour Party from 1945-51.

It might be said, for a start, that Laurens Otter has the company of the right wing "Socialist" intellectual C.A.R. Crosland as one of the unedifying bunch of yes-men who accept Burnham's thesis as concerns the managerial revolution theory -- perhaps he might look at Crosland's latest book, "The Conservative Enemy", in which he attacks the New Left with an ugly venom for having questioned the managerial revolution's reality. One wonders why Crosland is quite so nasty in this book to the New Left writers, who claim that control is not with the managers in modern capitalist society.

Some time ago "The Observer" (5.2.61) informed us that the directors of Shell were very much products of the Managerial Revolution. Shall we therefore examine some of them? Take Harold Wilkinson K.M.G., who holds 16 directorships within Shell, or Lord Bicester, who sits on Shell Transport and Trading and also on A.E.I., the Bank of England and six other boards, or Sir Archibald Forbes, who sits on Shell Transport and Trading, English Electric, Dunlop Rubber, Midland Bank, Spillers and other Boards, or the Hon. Peter Montefiore Samuel, M.C., T.D., of M. Samuel and Co. Ltd. (merchant bankers), Samuel Estates Ltd., and half-a-dozen other Boards, one of which is Shell. Managers - or capitalists? Shall we take the chairman of Shell -- John Hugo London, whose father was the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, whose uncle was the Dutch Foreign Minister -- this product of the family which the "Observer" (29.1.61) informs us has "in fact, become a kind of Shell Royal Family."

We might turn to "The Ruling Class" by S. Aaronovitch for further evidence. Here we see how the imperial, international nature of the British ruling class -- an oligarchic power grouping -- has emerged from the capitalist class - a grouping of finance capitalists. As Aaronovitch mentions, "The system is dominated by power-groupings, many of which are composed of a linkage of joint-stock banks, insurance companies, investment trusts and great industrial and commercial enterprises -- the linkage being effected by a small number of individual directors, who may thus be said to preside over a combination of functions and who thereby acquire a good measure of control over a slice of capitalism's sphere of operations." Such men are not managers.

Again we can turn to "The Unholy Alliance" by Rosalynde Ainslie, produced by the Anti-Apartheid movement. How about Tanganyika Concessions: "Tanganyika Concessions performs an important function in southern Africa," writes

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# Open Letter to Labour's Leader

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zine, we have to sell political ideas these days, the same way as Tide and Surf and other detergents.

Then there has been some preliminary publicity about your forthcoming trip to Moscow. All good personal background stuff -- about the many times you've visited the Soviet Union when you were President of the Board of Trade and when, some years ago, you went there as economic adviser to a big capitalist timber firm, a sort of contact man, I suppose. I was also impressed when I read in "Time & Tide" how you became a close friend of Comrade Mikoyan, Deputy Premier and First Secretary for Trade and Commerce. Of course, he's very intellectual, but I'd watch him, Harold, because didn't he personally shoot Beria in the back of the neck at the conclusion of a Soviet Cabinet meeting? Yes, I'd keep an eye on him -- and I wouldn't accept any boxes of sweets while you're there either!

In conclusion, about that thumbs-up gesture you've decided on as our election sign. It's good, but, you know, people are funny -- Churchill didn't do any good in his 1945 election, even with two fingers. And when Bro. Grundiman gives the sign it reminds me a bit of Norman Vaughan and the London Palladium. You see, you can't trust some people to give the sign correctly and it is just possible the whole thing could create a most unfortunate impression.

So just keep little things like that in mind, Harold, and I'm quite confident that soon I'll be writing to you at No.10 and that your name will be immortalised up the spout with the rest of them.

Yours fraternally,

Jimmy Wiggins.

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## STATEMENT

The Oxford anarchists wish to state their belief that

a free society must necessarily be a non-violent society;  
 a non-violent society can only be achieved by non-violent means;  
 violence is by its very nature authoritarian;  
 actions such as pushing through police cordons cannot succeed  
 in bringing home to anyone, and especially not to the police,  
 that violence is unnecessary. They can only strengthen those  
 who at present see themselves as our opponents in their belief  
 that police violence is justifiable.

# On the First of May

## LISBON

It was not possible for the workers of Portugal to strike on May 1st, but in Lisbon the factory workers demonstrated in the evening, as soon as the works hooters sounded. Instead of going home to supper, they gathered in the city centre, where they stoned the offices of the Government newspaper, Diario de Noticias. Semi-military riot police were out and fired at the crowd, killing a young workman.

In the early hours of that day (reports the Guardian) a car with four occupants was chased by one carrying members of the Fascist "Portuguese Legion". One Fascist fired into the car as it stopped and killed a woman passenger. The Fascists took the other persons to police headquarters. All three were released; it seems there was no evidence against them and they were the wrong persons. The Fascists were not arrested.

## ===== TYRANNY UNDER THE SUN =====

## GEORGETOWN, BRITISH GUIANA

In this country, where 50,000 workers have been on strike since mid-April, May Day was celebrated. The strike is against the Labour Relations Bill of the "Progressive" Government, which seeks to abolish the free unions and substitute State unions in the pattern of the Russian State unions and the Nazi Labour Front. The strikers had stayed at home during the first two weeks, to avoid police provocation, but on May 1st the Trades Union Congress held mass meetings.

Premier Dr. Jagan broadcast an attack on "the monsters who are holding back a return to work, few, suspect and hateful." Jagan is the local Stalin. His cabinet admit that they also intend to worsen the conditions of State employees.

## ===== MARCH OF THE ROBOTS =====

## MOSCOW

May Day here was celebrated, not in its old form by the march of free workers, demonstrating against tyranny and militarism, but by a monster military parade, more monster than ever. Even more horrifying than the parade of nuclear missiles were the official photographs of the packed ranks of armed, steel-helmeted soldiers, goosestepping across Red Square, faces set each in the same stony manner, without expression, human or animal. Thus, in the play RUR, Capek's robots advanced against humanity. May Day should be for peace and universal fraternity.

## E.T.U., Please Note

Twenty-five hour work week for electrical workers in New York has not resulted in lots of highly-paid overtime, it is reported today. Instead, more than 800 out-of-work electricians have regained full-time jobs. Daily Express, May 16th, 1963

## Controversy

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Rosalynde Ainslie, "connecting Belgian and Anglo-American groups financially." She writes, "Tanks has more influential British directors than any other (of the companies discussed): Lord Robins; Captain Waterhouse, the chairman (Suez rebel); Lord Selbourne and Sir Ulick Alexander and -- of course -- H. Oppenheimer." Lord Robins is chairman of the British South Africa Company and on the board of directors of Barclays (one of the two most important banks in Southern Africa). Oppenheimer is chairman of African Explosives (owned half by I.C.I., half by De Beers with Paul Chambers, chairman of I.C.I. being its deputy chairman). A director of the British South Africa Company appointed Mr. Macmillan as Prime Minister -- the Marquis of Salisbury. These men are not managers; yet they control and rule.

Might I end by quoting from "White Collar" by C. Wright Mills (a "diseased" Marxist), a man who rejects the "managerial revolution" and who considers companies are still run in the interests of private property. Even in those cases where managers do sit on the Board of directors, they "must feel in unity, politically and status-wise, with the (property owners') class and its source of wealth

"Capitalism", writes Laurens Otter, "has given way to a new class interest." No it hasn't, it has absorbed and used the new class of managers.

J.W.

ALL PART OF THE SERVICE A businessman from Rochdale, Lancashire, had a two coach diesel train to himself yesterday when British Railways ran a "special" from Rochdale to Manchester on his behalf. The man had arrived at Rochdale station to catch a train to Manchester, but the platform indicators were out of order because of new painting...the train arrived and left, leaving him waiting on the wrong platform. He told the authorities that it was essential he should get to Manchester to catch a plane. The Guardian - on the day Beeching's Plan was announced!

# Stop the Stopwatch

Express Dairy Ltd., London has started a "work study" attack on its engineering workers engaged on machinery repairs, using the stopwatch technique to prove that fewer men can do more work. In this firm most of the engineering staff are, like the dairy workers, organised in the Transport and General Workers' Union, which approves of timing by stopwatch.

At the Ruislip (Middlesex) depot, where 10 fitters, 4 mates and two greasers were employed, the watchers "discovered" that the work of the mates and greasers could be done by the fitters, so that 10, instead of 16 men are now employed in that department. The "redundant" six have been given temporary work, as holiday relief dairy labourers. We sadly add that the men collaborated in this stopwatch inquisition.

The electricians, four in number, refused to play ball. For workers to do other than vigorously oppose the stopwatch is like a condemned man collaborating with his own executioner.

Of the 10 fitters at Ruislip who had been ordered to do the work of the two greasers, 8 submitted, but 2 refused. On the 21st May these two were informed they must agree to do so in 24 hours or be sacked. On the 22nd they still refused and were given their cards and a week's wages in lieu of notice.

On the 23rd a lightning strike of maintenance workers hit the firm. The time of the strike was kept secret from the management and the act was a complete surprise. The engineering workers, fitters, mates, greasers, machinists and storemen in five depots, Cricklewood, Morden, Bromley, Ruislip and Wembley engineering shop came out solidly and went on picket. In one case the boilerman joined them, in another an air compressor failure occurred and in another place an electrical failure.

After two hours the strikers threatened to withdraw all boilermen. At Cricklewood a boiler foreman was brought in to blackleg if this happened. The management asked the dairymens shop steward what his attitude would be if a blackleg was brought in, "Oh, bring him in, bring him in," was the answer, "but of course you'll get no more milk when he steps into the boiler room."

After 3½ hours of strike the firm capitulated and reinstated the two fitters. Of course, this is only the first round, but it's good to start with a lead in points.

D.A. Reporter

# Spanish Tourism

General Franco has reason to be very grateful to those tourists that go to Spain for their holidays, for in spite of grand Economic Plans and all that, the only thing that enables Franco to achieve a favourable Balance of Payments is the income in foreign currency derived from tourism. The Spanish economy is run solely for the benefit of Franco and his gang of thieves --- Bahamonde, the brothers Araujo, the brothers Sanchez-Guerra, Rotaecche and others, (mind you there are still some juicy pickings left for foreign capitalists) but this rapacious bunch are so grotesquely inefficient, even by normal capitalist standards, that the only thing that stops the whole ramshackle economy from bursting apart at the seams is the income from tourists.

Since Franco and his collaborators in the European tourist agencies discovered the appeal that the Spanish Mediterranean resorts have for European tourists when coupled with the extremely favourable rate of exchange (the prices don't look so sweet on a Spanish working-man's pay packet) they started to exploit the tourist trade to the full. In 1959 Spain had 4 million tourists, by 1961 this figure had doubled, while this year it is estimated that 10 million people will visit Spain! Franco will spare no effort to bring in the valuable foreign currency. To this end he has employed a P.R.O. - one E.D. (Toby) O'Brien to persuade British people to take their holidays in Spain. O'Brien (who is late of the Conservative Party Central Office) is not a man to take on just any old account, oh no, his accounts all have to be politically 'reliable' e.g. Portugal and Union Miniere. It is a wonder that Mosley, Andrew Fontaine (who after all fought for Franco) and Colin Jordan haven't availed themselves of his services. I'm sure that Toby would offer them cut-rates for the job.

Despite the rationalisations about some of the tourist money filtering down to the Spanish workers the fact remains that the prime beneficiary is the regime. This income enables the regime not only to prop up its economy but to equip and maintain its army and police force without which Franco could not exist.

If 10 million tourists visit Spain this summer every single one of them will be contributing to the upkeep of the vilest regime in Western Europe. The Consejo Iberco de Liberacion asks you to make sure that you are not one of them

TOURISTS  
KEEP OUT OF SPAIN

# Workers Scab on Workers

CRAFT DIVISION PLUS  
NO-STRIKE CONTRACT

According to the Seattle Times, some 10,000 engineering employees of the Boeing Company at the Seattle plant were told by their association they should go through picket lines in the event the planned Aero Mechanics' strike takes place.

About 2,300 of the engineers in the Seattle Boeing plant are members of the Association. About 435 of the 1,200 in the company's Wichita plant are in the Association there.

The Seattle and Wichita engineers have identical contracts, both with no strikes clauses.

The instructions to cross picketlines, "as long as there is no danger of being subjected to physical violence," also contain a provision that they are not to perform any work normally done by the strikers. Is this solidarity?

Skidroad Slim.

Industrial Worker, April 24th 1963

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## ===== MAY DAY IN THE RAIN =====

### LONDON

The Syndicalist Workers' Federation is determined to revive the celebration of May Day on May 1st. Last year, with the aid of London Anarchists and other friends, we held a successful meeting in Hyde Park, flying the red-and-black flags of the International.

This year we agreed to demonstrate again, but from early morning rain fell heavily. "Après moi le deluge", said the 18th Century aristo, not us. The deluge was with us -- all day. But we gathered in Hyde Park, damp but enthusiastic. We'll be there next year - on May 1st.

T.B.