

# The French: are they Human?

LAST WEEK, with that superb genius for the absurd possessed by the French, six French Mystere fighters crashed at the same time in Spain. It is not known at the moment whose head will roll (indeed if anybody's) for this magnificent exploit but it smacks of the Gallic *panache* for the truly colossal pratfall. For, believe it or not, the planes crashed because they lost their way and ran out of fuel.

You may find it hard to believe that this should happen but with the assistance of Mr. Allen Dulles it becomes a little clearer. In his otherwise dull book about the CIA he reveals, and in this case we can believe him, that Chinese air pilots are deliberately sent out on flights with low fuel tanks so that they will not desert or stray into Taiwan or Japan, or even Russia where they, their machines or their technical information would be welcomed. Such may happen too in the French air force, this is not to say that the Mystere is on the secret list but most probably someone somewhere has had instructions to keep the fuel tanks low.

The French have delusions of grandeur but they lack the capacity to translate this into purposeful activity. Hence their defeats at Sadowa and Sedan, the Siege of Paris, the mutinies of 1917, the *flop d'estime* of the Maginot Line (which was absolutely impregnable but could be by-passed), the disasters of Dien-Bien-Phu and Algeria. They have a reputation for civilization and logic which when it lapses, as it always does, reveals them as hardly human in their efforts at attainment of *la gloire*.

### PRETENSIONS TO GREATNESS

The proposed French tests in the Pacific are another example of France's pretensions to being a first-rate power. One hopes that the accident-proneness of the French military machine will not operate in this instance or the whole world, not just a few 'insignificant' Polynesians, will suffer the after effects.

Perhaps, on these grounds alone, the French should be restrained from making such tests as they propose. The old SF horror of the mad scientists which curdled our boyhood blood gave way to the cold horror of the sane scientists who are infinitely worse. Perhaps the madness of the French scientists is such that they may fail to detonate anything, however their intention is there and it is that we must protest against.

### THE SANE SCIENTISTS

The sane scientists are ready (literally and metaphorically) to blind us with science. They prove, with measurements of their own making, that fall-out does us little harm, that strontium is not increasing, that leukemia has nothing to do with fall-out, that genetic effects are non-existent and too far ahead to worry about, that our food is quite uncontaminated and so contaminated with other things that it wouldn't make any difference. They say that underground tests are harmless, and that earthquakes have no connection with any other phenomena of the same type.

### PICKETING

9.30 am—12.30 pm

JUNE 18

FRENCH TOURIST OFFICE

178 PICADILLY, W.1

Bring your own Placards!

In fact scientists have become a 'they', another Establishment to oppose. An Establishment with its own language, its own loyalties, its own code of honour. To do them justice, if not to show them mercy, 'they' have worked out this problem of how to create the maximum destructive capability at a given point and to 'them' it is another problem to work out. Only the human element is lacking in their calculation.

The French scientists have doubtless welcomed this opportunity to test their work, for a laboratory they have a stretch of sea, a group of islands, and for results they will have radio-activated rock, scorched vegetation, polluted fish, and the possibility of a stray human being to display scarred tissue or fallen hair or strange blood-counts, as a human guinea-pig. We are told that a number of French scientists are signing a petition against the French tests but assuredly enough scientists have been assembled to make the tests.

The bombs that fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki left more than the fall-out of radio-activity, of pollution, of proliferating cells; it left a poisoning of the air of international relations; a sickness from which the world has suffered ever since. The sickness of suspicion, the sickness of the ambition for supreme world-power through terror. 'Now,' said a scientist at Los Alamos, 'we have become lords of all life.' 'Now,' said another, 'we're all sons-of-bitches.' So with the atom race we have become like dogs on heat, for power. And the French now too have joined in the race.

It is said by some that our freedom from nuclear war has proved the validity of the deterrent theory. Look! they say. All these twenty years and no nuclear war. One is reminded of the optimist falling from the forty-floor skyscraper who replied to enquiries on his well-being at the twentieth-floor, 'Okay . . . so far!'

### DETERRENT 'NOT PROVEN'

The theory of the deterrent is rather extreme in that it requires a universal holocaust to prove it wrong. For the moment it remains 'not proven' and one is content that it should be so but the proliferation of fingers on buttons, especially the notoriously instable fingers of the French, make accidental nuclear war more likely.

It may be said by some that the world situation has changed. The French, wise, as all nations are in their proverbs, say 'Everything changes only to remain the same'. The Russians are no longer the menace they were, the Chinese have taken over the role. The French, sacrificing some of their freedom for political and economic stability, have acquired a leader who, being a military man, has reverted to France's old strategy of isolation from the West and alliances with Eastern Europe. Smarting from military defeats in Indo-China (Vietnam) and Algeria, France under De Gaulle has decided to build up an independent nuclear force.

This grand gesture of the French renunciation of NATO has appealed so much to some of the left that they are inclined to overlook such minor faults as the present mad proposal of a French independent deterrent. The CND has no plans of a campaign against the French tests, come to that, their voice was strangely silent about the Chinese test. For obvious reasons, the anti-Americanism of much of the left welcomes any independent gesture by De Gaulle, even to the extent of turning a blind eye to his bomb tests.

JACK ROBINSON.

# Seamen pile on the Pressure

THE SEAMEN'S DISPUTE is now running into its fourth week and, as was stated in FREEDOM a fortnight ago, the strike is being run strictly to the rules. The NUS has broken its back to 'play the game'. It has done a very efficient job of 'containing the strike'.

The rank and file have accepted this to date, but now realise that this is not a gentlemanly game they are playing but a bloody battle, and consequently are pressurizing the EC to take more militant action.

The employers in their turn have pulled every stroke in the book to beat the seamen, in fact, a few weeks ago the *Economist* laid them out a blue-print.

The dispute so far has affected less than a third of the NUS membership, proving that the employers' tactics are paying off.

The ports are still working foreign flag vessels, which means in fact that the back-door is wide open. Many oil tankers under foreign flags are coming in and going out while British flag vessels sneak into other ports.

The *Guardian* (1.6.66) in its editorial proudly announced that the seamen's strike had failed in one aspect already 'the prevention of oil entering the country'. It smugly pointed out the fact that as oil companies are global organisations their ships can fly any flag. Therefore, British manned tankers are switched to the continent and elsewhere, and oil ships flying foreign flags directed to Britain. The *Guardian* goes on to say that the switch is carried out effectively but discreetly. The editorial winds up with the most evil piece of journalism I have read for some time, 'It would be tragic if the seamen were to try, at this stage, to involve others in their quarrel. To stop British ships in an attempt to influence British ship owners and the British Government is legitimate industrial action. To attempt to

stop foreign ships is an attempt to blockade the country. The difference between them is the difference between self-defence and vindictiveness—in this case, a vindictive attack on bystanders.'

It is claimed that the ship owners are anxious to avoid strike breaking. A document circulated by the National Maritime Board (*Financial Times*, 25.5.66) points out that if the Merchant Navy Establishment recruits a non-registered seaman, it could be brought into long term disrepute 'as being a strike breaking instrument in an official strike'.

Of course, the switching of oil tankers is not an attempt to break the strike, it's just to provide foreign crews with the opportunity of looking at Britain.

It is also reported that recently when the *Eban* docked at Tilbury her crew signed off and joined the strike. A 'blackleg' crew was recruited and the ship set sail. A couple of the lock gate keepers tried to persuade their mates not to operate the lock gates, but the lads refused because they had had no instructions from their union the T & GWU, nor had the tugmen who towed the ship out. This rather contradicts the idea that the employers do not want to 'strike break', still, the gesture looks nice in print.

Another very important factor is that a considerable number of British-owned ships still come in and out of UK ports because they are manned by Asian crews who are not members of the NUS.

An appeal must be made to these crews to join the picket lines and a method devised by the NUS whereby they receive strike pay.

In 75% of cases Asian crews work below NUS rates because they are only too glad to get a job. Now is the opportunity for British seamen to spread the propaganda, not only for now, but for the future. All

seamen understand solidarity, it's part of their job at sea; now is the time to express it in wider terms.

The NUS Executive is due to meet on Tuesday (7.6.66) or later in the week when it will have to consider demands from the rank and file to spread the strike. Obviously the EC will have to take some action or risk unofficial rank and file action and the NUS officials cannot take that chance.

What now? The EC may try to stall off intensification of the strike until the Government's Court of Inquiry makes its interim report at the end of next week. Such a policy will certainly not satisfy the rank and file, they are demanding action now in terms of (a) Closer liaison with the T & GWU, with the dockers in particular, but also with road and rail transport workers. Sidney Greene was warned of this possibility very early in the dispute.

(b) Involve international solidarity. According to the *Seaman* No. 1, Friday, May 20, the Finnish Seamen's Union and the Norwegian Seamen's Union are willing to 'black' all British vessels in their ports. The US National Maritime Union (NMU) has offered to ask its members not to sign for voyages to British ports (Bill Hogarth has asked the Americans not to take this action unless requested because five out of ten ships would be carrying foodstuffs). Hans Imhof, General Secretary of the International Transport Workers Federation, writing in the *Seaman* No. 1 expresses solidarity from the ITF, and states that British seamen are among the 'poorest paid in Europe'.

Coming back home for solidarity Clive Jenkins, General Secretary of ASSET, stated that if ship owners attempt to fly in foreign crews for their vessels his members will stop the aircraft.

Full pressure must go on now as *Ludd* No. 2 states in its headline 'Seamen's Cause Workers' Cause'. If the seamen lose we all lose, and as sarcastically stated by 'Observer' in 'Man and Matters' (*Financial Times*, Friday, June 3), 'So now you know'. Mr. Nom de Plume 'Observer', we certainly do bloody know, that's why we must fight, 'pulling out all the stops'.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## Anarchists & Sin

THE SILLY SEASON this year is June and Earl's Court is the place. It is there that Doctor Billy Graham, the well-known American Christian, is trying to deliver us from evil, like public smooching in Hyde Park, in order that we may become moral and upright so that we can, like him, turn a blind eye to the slaughter in Vietnam and instead get all stewed up lest someone is in bed with his girl. Graham believes that it is ordinary people who are the great sinners and that it is rulers who are trying, through laws and censorship, to protect us from our wicked, fallen selves.

Two London sinners, considering that Graham's message would be better directed at politicians, whose sins are so great that the misdeeds of private individuals pale into insignificance beside them, picketed one of his meetings. We carried banners: 'It's killing that's wrong—not kissing' (which is poetic, if euphemistic) and 'Are politics moral?'

Graham makes one good point, however. This country is a spiritual desert and I for one think that some sort of spiritual life comes a close second to a full belly for any full human life. But Billy Graham's 'spiritual message' is not directed to the spirit at all but to primary emotions—fear of death and the pathetic yearning for personal immortality. His whole message is hardly more than a soporific to feelings of inadequacy and unhappiness. One wonders too, whether the £300,000 spent on the one month campaign, would not have been better employed on, say, paying for the upkeep of the Save the Children Fund's family of 100,000 children which it could do for 2½ months.

The picketing was interesting as these things go. The police, in their customary fair and democratic manner, told us to walk up and down by the railings or

else, while the Christian paper sellers and placard holders were allowed to take up pitches in the middle of the pavement.

Continued on page 4

## GREETINGS TO AMERICAN TOURISTS

This is the text of a leaflet available from WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx., England.

THOSE of us distributing these leaflets welcome you personally to our country. We hope you enjoy your stay here.

Because we appreciate the history and traditions of the United States, we speak to you as friends of what your country has stood for in the past. It is because we have respected the United States in the past that we must let you know how deeply we—and most of our fellow citizens here—oppose US policy in Vietnam. It is very hard to see the difference between the role of Nazi troops supporting Quisling Governments during World War II or Communist troops supporting the puppet Government in Hungary in 1956 and the role of American troops today in supporting the Government of Saigon.

It is because we believe the American people—and individual Americans like yourself—do have a conscience that we remind you that it is fundamentally wrong for your Government to interfere in the affairs of smaller nations, and to use napalm bombs, gas and mass bombing of civilian areas in an effort to 'win'. There is nothing which the Vietnamese Communists could possibly do to the people in Vietnam which could match the horror of what the Johnson Adminis-

tration has already done.

And we can ask you a simple question: Is the use of gas, of torture, of civilian bombing evil only when it is done by Nazis or by Communists? Can you expect us to judge the American Government more gently or by a different standard than the standard we used in judging the Russians in Hungary or the Germans when they invaded other countries.

If all the Germans had opposed Hitler the world would not have gone through the horrors of Nazism. If all the Americans opposed Johnson the world will be saved from the mass murder now going on in Vietnam or even World War III.

We would not be acting as friends of what America has stood for in the past if we did not tell you that the vast reservoir of goodwill which your country once had in Europe has now greatly been reduced by the actions of your country in Vietnam. We can tell you that it would now be very difficult for your President to visit any nation in Western Europe without stirring massive protests against his appearance.

We do not ask the Americans to do things which will make them 'popular' with the world. We ask only that you do things that will make it possible for you to live with your own consciences. Is that possible for you—personally—in regard to Vietnam?



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PATTERNS OF ANARCHY, A Collection of Writings on the Anarchist Tradition, Edited by Leonard I. Krimerman and Lewis Perry, Doubleday Anchor, 15/-.

I REMEMBER when I first came into contact with the anarchist movement how bewildered I was by the twin deities, Stirner and Kropotkin, and how puzzled by the fact that while some claimed that syndicalism was merely anarchism applied in the industrial field others were dead against the whole idea. I imagined that a movement had a simple, clear message, consistent in all its parts. I am sure that my reaction was not a peculiar one, and that most people would feel the same.

So I think that probably I would not give *Patterns of Anarchy* to a newcomer to anarchist ideas. It is for somebody who already knows something about the subject.

## ROUND THE GALLERIES

THE TROOPING of the colours, Peggy Duff and Prince Philip, the protest outside the American Embassy and the Annual Royal Academy Summer Exhibition are all part of the rich tradition of these islands. All part of the ancient symbols of our greatness, they float to the surface at their appointed moment and then depart to prepare for their next performance. We love them all. Only the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition is in danger of not having its contract renewed for it has compromised itself too much with the coloured supplements and the liberalism of the age to warrant the support of, we, the Old Romantics.

Time was when the Royal Academy was rightly held to be a bastion of art reaction. When wan-faced genius was refused admittance to its crowded walls and no decent painter who valued his dealer's honour would even consider submitting his work to the Selection Committee. But, and let us pray that it is only for a brief while, those days are gone and the Academy doors are open to all who ply the brush from the Bond Street yob to the hard-eyed primitive with one eye on God and the other on his bankbook. But no sad genius enters Christ-like into this abandoned temple of the arts for none were waiting on the steps. It is all here on the walls of this year's Summer Exhibition. The photographic, the social realist, action, abstract, pop, op and gear all hang from the walls. Well spaced and cleanly hung they give the rooms that pleasant and ordered air of the art department of a wealthy Regent Street department store.

John Bratby, A.R.A., offers the usual painting of the year in size, if not in talent, with his crude and heavy-handed interpretation of the *Feeding of the Five Thousand*. Peter Lewis's *Winterscape* is there with his collage of board and painted sacking, that a few years ago would have had the Establishment howling like curs yet it is now taken in their loping stride. James Neal's feeling and understanding of suburban industrialism offers a welcome counter-balance to Lowry's saccharine views of northern industrialism. Sandra Blow's pleasant abstract and the social realism of Owen James's miners *Changing Shifts* exist in the harmony of the second rate for it must be left to Anthony Green with his contrived primitives to offer the focal point for the cameras of the press. Yet I find much in the work of this art

That is not to say it is not a good collection. It is in fact excellent. I have a passion for books that contain a lot in a little, encyclopaedias with a lot of compressed information in one fat volume, the complete works of so-and-so in one volume, grand, universal histories of the world, etc., etc. This is due to my nomad's life, and my desire to save space in bedsitters, though it tends to lead in the event merely to the accumulation of a large library of anthologies.

*Patterns of Anarchy* might justly claim to be an anarchist library in one volume. It is not the only one of its kind. A veritable spate of books on anarchism pours from the presses of the Western

teacher's two primitive paintings to doubt his intentions, for too many competent passages exist within these naive paintings to make me believe that this is the fumbling hand working at the direction of the innocent eye.

Yet there is good and competent work within this exhibition. Jan Eversen's still lifes cannot be faulted for they are brilliant examples of the painter's craft and John Merton's handling of his flesh surfaces is a matter of envy to the average hack, but Merton is surely an example of a fine artist who has failed to use his gifts to the full and he has squandered his talents on this worthless performance. For my part I would accept William Clayton's *Time to Remember* as among part of the best work of this exhibition. Here is an example of the craftsman's use of *trompe-l'oeil* in that he has chosen to incorporate a number of diverse objects within his canvas and he has rendered them well and faithfully in that they hang like a collage of true parts. One knows, and accepts, that this is a dead and sterile art form left to itself yet here is a truly unique example of basic craftsmanship within an exhibition that has so very little to offer.

One, as always, can only go back to first principles and first principles in art as in all things is a knowledge of one's craft. Whether one be painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel or making a chair one should know one's job before seeking the applause of the Kulture conscious riff-raff. Only Sir Charles Wheeler, K.C.V.O., C.B.E., is left to maintain the true traditions of this circus when in an old-time rabble-rousing speech he cocked a snook at the marriage of Carnaby Street and Bond Street. No longer do we get the Imperial Raspberry from the Throne in matters of public taste. No longer do Prime Ministers and Leaders of the Left throw up before the work of the *avant-garde*.

The doors are now open, and the walls are waiting, and only Charlie is left to defend the paper barricade against the nouveaux riches floating down from the gutters of Bond Street. The old days and the great days when young genius could beat vainly on the doors of this citadel of reaction are now over for the doors are now open and sweet nothing and his framed and painted daub can wander in to find that despite his style and subject matter he is just as mediocre as his long accepted fellow hacks.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

World at the present time. It is most encouraging. But *Patterns of Anarchy* is more than a collection of texts, however central to the anarchist case. It is a collection of writings, past and present, arranged in such a way as to create a dialogue between the various schools of anarchist thought.

The selected pieces are not necessarily from the anarchist classics, though these too are represented. Contemporary writers are also included, Paul Goodman and Colin Ward for example. If there is a tendency to favour American writers this does no more than correct the balance. Europeans usually dominate in anarchist histories and anthologies.

Almost at once the reader is plunged into the scene from Mackay's *The Anarchists*, where Auban the individualist, probably based on Mackay himself, argues with passion, in quaintly stilted, nineteenth century translator's English, against the communist Trupp, possibly Johann Most.

This is followed by *Individualism Means Reaction* by 'Senex'. This is what I meant by saying that this is a book for someone who already knows a bit about anarchism. Somebody coming to the matter for the first time might wonder what anarchism really was, and get the impression that anarchists devote their time to bitter internal wrangles. But for somebody who realises that there is really no such thing as anarchism, but rather a lot of *different anarchisms*, this way of presenting the material gives an excellent survey of anarchist thought in its infinite variety.

There is a concluding section entitled, 'How Sound is Anarchism?' The compilers of this anthology come to the conclusion that the attempt to collect serious anti-anarchist writings has proved surprisingly disappointing. 'In consequence', they write, 'the selections that follow constitute far more than a sample of the serious efforts to evaluate the anarchist position... we could offer them as the only efforts of this sort.' Whether this is a matter for congratulation or not I do not know. Either our arguments are unanswerable, or our movement is so tiny that no one bothers to answer us.

So there you have it; Stirner's 'wheels in the head', Catholic anarchism, adven-

ture playgrounds, revolutionary syndicalism, Josiah Warren, Old Uncle Bakunin and all. There is something for everybody. The revolutionary's *vade mecum*.

A.W.U.

## 'Ludd'

A BROADSHEET which is now coming up to its third publication was born in the present industrial crisis to state the views of rank and file militants. It reflects the views of the workers in their opposition to the present attempts by the Wilson Government to crush the so-called 'unofficial trade union movement'.

The latest issues have all been about the seamen's strike and the issues that this raises for all workers. Reception from the seamen and dockers has been quite good so far. They appear surprised to see a group of people who are willing to help them without attempting to use them. The capitalist press sees it as dangerous. The *Financial Times* (3.6.66) says, '... but the dangerous thing about *Ludd* is its appearance of being in the mainstream of unionism. Kavanagh is distributing it in the docks and its message is clear. "The Strike Must Spread" says the banner headline. "If the seamen fail to win this strike", says the main story "then the whole working class will suffer a setback." So now you know.'

This is not an in group broadsheet. It is intended to be sold where the message is effective—at the point of production.

It is uneconomic to operate *Ludd* on a subscription basis singly, therefore, if someone does want single copies then £1 will cover a year's supply. However bulk order (minimum one dozen) can be sent. The retail price is 2d., and it is assumed to be at least fortnightly (or more if situations warrant it).

Those requiring orders please contact 'Ludd', c/o 283 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

## LETTERS

### Civil Defence Makes a Profit

Dear Comrades,

It's now five months since the Portlethen incident, and in that time we've been assailed by people saying—weren't we lucky, we'd have been shot in Russia/castrated in Spain/had our hands chopped off 200 years ago (apart from the few who would have had us flogged and incarcerated). These well-meaning folk then assured us that we'd learned our lesson and reformed. But it's not this that made me see the light but the fact that, as I notice from the CD minutes in the local library, the damage for which we were fined £300, was not £750 as stated but £134. How then, can all you anarchists say that the law is 'legalised vengeance called justice'? Biased, you are.

Aberdeen

I. R. MITCHELL.

### Debate?

Dear Comrades,

Re Conway Hall, Easter Sunday: The speaker from the floor left a clear impression with me and others present that he was the writer of the article I criticized in *Oxan*, and he did not offer any correction when I suggested he should write to *Oxan* again.

I can readily appreciate why anyone should wish not to be confused with that person, and offer my unreserved apologies to Adam Buick.

My offer to debate obviously concerns that person and not Buick. Yes, I do know the SPGB's rules about debates. These restrictions on utterance apply, however, to SPGB members and not to me or the Anarchist Federation. I repeat, I should be very pleased to meet that person in debate. If the rules prevent him, there is an illustration of one of the points made in my *Oxan* article.

Essex

ROBERT BARLTROP.

## Anarchist Federation of Britain

c/o Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

### London Anarchist Group 1&2

'Lamb and Flag', Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2. (Leicester Square tube) 7.45 p.m. All welcome. Sundays.

JUNE 12 'Digger' Is English Individualism, Anarchism? JUNE 19 Ted Kavanagh (chair) Poetry Reading. Admission 2/6d.

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park, 3 p.m.

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3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

WANDSWORTH LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence to Christine Hutton, 15 Broughton Street, London, S.W.8.

### REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN GROUP. Meets at the Adelphi 2.30 p.m. every Sunday. Correspondence to M. Day, 29 Springhill Crescent, Aberdeen.  
ARLESEY GROUP (N. Herts., 5 Beds.). Meetings on first Friday of month. Correspondence to Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.  
BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence: Martin Bragg, 5 The Drive, Hutton Hill, Erdington, Birmingham, 23. Sales and Committee of 100: Gordon Causar, 27 Upper Gungate, Tamworth, Staffs. Peace Action Centres Project: Paul James, 50 Windermere Road, Handsworth, Birmingham, 21. University of Aston Group: Dave Massey, 5 Gladstone Road, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells, Bristol, 8.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike Crowley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff.

COVENTRY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Richard Vaughan, 19 Sandhurst Grove, Radford, Coventry, Coventry 28146.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, c/o Doctors' Residence, Stracathro Hospital, by Brechin, Angus.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP TWO. Meets 11 Balfour Street every two weeks. Contact Joe Emberton.

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 12 Shawbridge, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

ILFORD LIBERTARIANS. Regular meetings and direct action contact 212 Vicarage Road, Leyton, E.10.

LEICESTER ANARCHISTS. Correspondence, Peter Gibbon, 22 Fosse Road Central, West End, Leicester.

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13, 61b Granville Park. Next meeting, Thursday, May 26.

NOTTING HILL LIBERTARIANS. (Meetings at 7 p.m. on the first Saturday of each month, at the London Free School, 26 Powis Terrace, London, W.11 (off Talbot Road).

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.

PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Regional Secretary: J. Bromley, 44 Doncaster Avenue, Manchester, 20. Buxton: Chris Berrisford, 10 Byron Street, Buxton. Chorley: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley. Manchester: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Road, Droylsden, Manchester. Meetings every Tuesday 8 p.m. Lord Nelson, Chapel Street, Salford. Merseyside: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead. Rochdale: Ian Heywood, 16 Mansfield Road, Bamford, Rochdale. Stoke-on-Trent: Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Avenue, Weston Coyney, Stoke-on-Trent.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WALTHAM FOREST ANARCHISTS. Contact Lionel Donnelly, 322a Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E.17. Meetings every Thursday at above address.

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS. Contact Nick Smecker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7.

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NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middle-

sex. Meetings first and third Wednesday of the month at Jeanie's, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex, at 7.30 p.m.

SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Avenue, Southall, Middlesex.

### PROPOSED GROUPS

FULHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact top floor, 31 Ongar Road, S.W.6.

HULL GROUP. Get in touch with John Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Beverley Road, Hull.

Please contact Bill and Kate Beveridge, 50 Camden Hill (3 rings), London, S.E.19.

MARLOW AND BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. Get in touch with Stella A. Fauser, 33a Spittal Street, Marlow, Bucks.

ALTRINGHAM YOUTH GROUP. Contact: Stephen Richards, 25 North Vale Road, Timperley, Altrincham, Cheshire.

SOUTH WARWICKSHIRE. Get in touch with Eric Harrison, 2 Cottage Aylesmore Farm, Shipston-on-Stour, Warwickshire.

TYNESIDE SYNDICALISTS. Meet every Thursday at 8 p.m. in The Adelaide, Newgate Street, Newcastle, 1.

### ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Sydney Anarchist Group. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain at 2 p.m. Group meetings every Monday at 8 p.m. in the Cellar, 72 Oxford St., Sydney.

DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. 52 Mindevej, Soborg-Copenhagen, Denmark.

NEW ZEALAND. Auckland Anarchist Group. Public Meetings every Sunday in Myers Park at 2 p.m.

USA, ALBANY, NEW YORK. Contact E. Strauss, 230 Washington Avenue, Albany. Discussion group meets about twice a month.



# Libertarian Teachers' Association

THE PROPOSAL for the formation of a libertarian organisation specifically concerned with education first appeared in *FREEDOM* (19.2.66). Since that time an encouraging number of people have made contact with myself or Alec Taylor—who was the first person to respond to the advertisement. We have recently taken a second step with the circulation of a bulletin comprising the addresses of contacts and details of all relevant ideas and suggestions for action known to me at the time of preparation. Up to the present we have advertised only in *FREEDOM* and *Direct Action*; my own feeling is that advertising should not be extended beyond the libertarian papers until we have an inaugural meeting and come to some agreement on aims and activities.

Three factors influenced me towards making the original proposal. First, the high proportion of people in the anarchist movement who are concerned with education either as teachers or students; secondly, the absence, in general, of any groups, small-scale experimental ventures or a regular publication exemplifying specifically libertarian ideas on education; thirdly the recent spate of direct action relating to freedom in education beginning at Ilford and repeated in other areas, and the advantages which might result from coordinating these activities.

To be a teacher in a Local Authority 'State' school, and at the same time, an anarchist sometimes seems to me to be almost absurdly contradictory and I am frankly curious to learn how others cope with the day-to-day dilemmas and moral contortions involved. For example, what do other individuals do when obliged to begin their working day with a communal hymn and a prayer? Opting out is by no means an easy process, in my experience, and is not even a very adequate solution of anything except one's personal embarrassment.

How do persons of anti-authoritarian ideology tackle the policing functions demanded of teachers in a compulsion-based school system? Survival in the dual role sometimes seems to depend on the cultivation of 'a blind eye' which one can turn either on the officially disapproved activities of one's pupils or on the implications of one's principles. Yet I doubt if it would be possible to find a more dramatic and readily available

example of the failure of authoritarian methods than is provided by the average school. Many people other than committed anarchists agree that the traditional methods are no good but do not make the same diagnosis of the cause of the failure, or only go a part of the way in their analysis. There are many teachers, for example, sincerely opposed to corporal punishment who have not realised that it is not a particular form of punishment, but the idea of punishment in itself, which has to be attacked. To an extent, the reason for this limitation of vision is that the case for a libertarian alternative is rarely stated in terms which take into account the actual situation facing the majority of teachers—and when this does happen, as in some valuable issues of *Anarchy*, the considerable number of 'disenchanted' teachers who, in my view, would respond to these arguments are unlikely to get hold of copies or will be too dismayed by the title of the journal to read the articles. One of my hopes is that a Libertarian Teachers' Association would in due course be able to provide a regular journal or bulletin which would go some way towards bridging this gap.

In addition to the production of a journal, projects which could develop, given sufficient support, are discussion meetings at Colleges of Education, study groups (I would like to see a serious critical analysis by anarchists of the writings of A. S. Neill and the influence of Summerhill) also a continuation and development of the use of leaflets directed at school-pupils and students-in-training, taking into account the experience gained in the past with this form of action. It has also been suggested that there is a need for a new pamphlet, making use of recent work in sociology and psychology, which could fill the place left by Tony Gibson's no longer available *Youth For Freedom*.

It is my own intention to compile a bibliography of material (including magazine articles) relating to libertarian educational ideas and would be glad to receive titles and details of suitable items for this, from readers.

A second bulletin will be issued as soon as we have sufficient articles and we are anxious for comments, accounts of experiences, book reviews, etc., for inclusion. I feel that if we can once gather the initial impetus to get off the ground the possibilities for such an association are large and exciting.

102 Stotfold Road, PETER FORD, Arlesey, Beds.

## 'Yard Seeks "Recruits" at Sheep-dog Trials'

—Evening Standard

POSTERS IN CAMDEN TOWN and elsewhere advertised Billy Graham, Bob Dylan and the Rolling Stones as appearing on the Trafalgar Square platform on June 5: this was apparently a hoax, since Mr. Hogarth was appearing on that day and at that place. A BBC speaker in *Today* referred (twice) to Mr. Graham's impending visit to Harringay Stadium, which was converted (but not by Mr. Graham) into a grocery warehouse some time after Mr. Graham's last visit. . . .

PRESIDENT KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA threatened to seek Britain's expulsion from the Commonwealth unless the Rhodesian rebellion were ended by July. British representatives are in Rhodesia for return talks with the Smith regime. The Governor of Rhodesia's phone was re-connected. . . .

AMERICANS WALKED ABOUT in outer space but the British government opted out of the European space programme on grounds of expense. . . .

THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI decided to abandon prohibition, for the last twelve years the state has been collecting 10% tax on the sale of liquor—which was prohibited. . . .

EXEMPTIONS ANNOUNCED to the selective employment tax are children under the age of fifteen working part-time. . . .

A STATE OF EMERGENCY was declared in connection with the seamen's strike. *The Guardian* recalls that three other states of emergency have been declared during industrial disputes since the war—in 1948, 1949 and 1955. [N.B. Twice under Labour government.] In 1948, Attlee used wartime defence regulations to bring in 300 Guardsmen, increasing later to 1,100 Servicemen working at the docks with 6,000 'standing by'. In June 1948 the government acquired further emergency powers but before they could be used the strike was over. Emergency powers were brought in again in July 1949, again at the docks, 4,000 Servicemen were brought in to unload ships. The docks were run by a special emergency committee appointed by the Ministry of Transport. By the end of the strike 11,000 Servicemen were employed at the docks. In 1955 a state of emergency was brought in to deal with a strike of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, however powers were never used because the National Union of Railwaymen did not support the strike. . . .

IT WAS REPORTED in a Greek daily *To Bima* that in support of the seamen's strike, the prostitutes of the London Docks area have unanimously agreed to offer their services to striking seamen at much reduced rates. It is not confirmed that this gesture of solidarity has in fact taken place, but the *Financial Times* waxed sarcastic about the contents of a broadsheet *Ludd* which asks for solidarity with the seamen and further extension of the strike. *Ludd*, an occasional publication, is available (in quantity for street-selling) from CCR Publications, 283 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1. It is issued by a group of anarchists, syndicalists and libertarians. . . .

TAX OFFICERS have been warned by the chairman of the Inland Revenue to continue working whilst negotiations are going on for a production bonus. British prisons are promised a new production and development plan which may make it possible for prisoners to earn enough to send money out to their dependants, it was also thought by the Home Office that it might be possible for them to earn enough to compensate the victims of their crimes. . . .

A MAGISTRATE RESIGNED from the bench in Devon because he said he could no longer trust police evidence, particularly on speed cases. The mayor of Stourbridge, in Worcestershire, has refused to serve on the bench because he supports capital and corporal punishment. . . .

A MAN WAS SENTENCED to three months for attempting to obtain £8 by false pretences from a detective-sergeant. The officer said that another man promised him a show of six blue films and an exhibition by Lesbians. He was met in the passageway by the convicted man who asked for £8; there was, in fact, no show. The magistrate said, 'I don't know

how many people have been defrauded this way. It's bad enough to charge men high prices to see dirty films, but this is a downright swindle! . . .

MR. CHARLES PANNELL (former Minister of Public Building and Works) stated in the House of Commons, 'In the debate on Thursday last on the motion on housing and building policies I said "I say this with great respect to my Right Honourable friend the Minister. The name of the Ministry is itself a misnomer. It has graduated from the First Commissioner of Works, the Estates of Land and Forests and many antediluvian titles. It now has a name which seems to me a hangover from historic buildings and glorified conveniences." I was using the last word in the context of what the Ministry of Public Building and Works does, its care of a great variety of things, including royal residences and parks, embassies, consulates, botanical gardens, grace and favour residences and the like, in the way that the Oxford English Dictionary uses it: "Conveniences: Material arrangements or appliances advantageous to life, personal comfort, ease of work, saving of trouble etc.". There appeared on the tapes in this House on that same night the words "public lavatory" in a substitution for the word "conveniences". And this rather vulgar connotation was taken up throughout the press on Friday, causing some embarrassment to my family and friends. I make this statement because I shall always be proud of having presided over a great Department of State and am conscious of the kindness to me and loyalty of those within that Department. I would wish to say nothing to detract from the respect that I have for them and the respect that I would have hoped to have earned from them.'

JON QUIKOTE.

## Apology by Order

ON WHIT SATURDAY I was standing in the doorway of an unoccupied shop in Ipswich taking my turn at minding our literature stall, and selling our pamphlet 'Official Secrets'. An old boy took advantage of my immobility to tell me his woes. This was not unusual—we often meet old blokes in dirty macs who talk despairingly of the General Strike, etc. But some of what he told me was worth hearing, especially his account of 'a friend's experiences' (which may or may not have been his own).

One night, this friend had a row with his wife and burst out of his house to go for a walk to cool off. After a while,

as it was raining, he sheltered in a shop doorway to contemplate the joys of married life. Who should arrive, but the Law. He was carted off by these 'defenders of his freedom' and charged with loitering with intent. When he came up at Court, he told the Magistrate that he was 'as bad as Hitler', whereupon he was told that this was an 'insult to the Queen's justice', and was ordered to make an apology. Eventually he was released on bail, and wrote his 'apology' on a postcard provided for that purpose—taking care to write in bold letters at the top: AS ORDERED.

T.R.

## LETTERS

## Anarchist Speaker Banned from Park

Dear Editors, The other Sunday afternoon I spent at Speakers' Corner enjoying the meeting. As I was about to leave however, I saw a large crowd moving towards the gate, and upon moving closer saw in its centre was an anarchist speaker being frog-marched out of the park between two policemen.

When later I asked him why he had been ejected he told me that he had seen a speaker being stopped from speaking and enquired why. The speaker had used the word 'Lesbian' and he asked if this was the reason? The police immediately escorted him to the gate, refusing to answer his question, and told him that he must ask their permission before he

re-entered. He later asked to be re-admitted only to be told he was banned for the day.

So much for freedom of speech! Do the police have the right to eject people from the park without giving any reason?

The matter has been reported to the National Council for Civil Liberties, and a complaint has been lodged with the police. I will, with other anarchists, watch for any further developments with interest.

London, N.W.1 SPIKE HOLMES.

## PRESS FUND

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London, N.W.3: D.R. 1/8; New York: S.K. £1/8/-; J.R. £1/8/-; Western Australia: B.S. 7/-; Redhill: A.S. 10/-; Pittsburgh: O.S. £1/9/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; Birmingham: B.J. 3/-; A.C.T., Australia: H.M. 8/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Northolt: Anarchist Group 5/-; Glastonbury: D.P. £1; Aberdeen: J.M. 2/-; St. Paul, Minn.: M.S. £3/3/-; Stevenage: P.M. 5/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; Hindhead: F.F. 9/-; London, S.W.6: M.H. £1; London, E.17: 2/-; London, N.W.3: K.L. 8/-; New York: C.G. 9/-; Belfast: W.G. 5/6; Salisbury: H.J. 10/-; Oxford: Anon.\* 5/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Northolt: Anarchist Group 4/-; Harlow: Anarchist Group 7/9; Ware: E.B. 1/-; Ontario: P.G. £3/3/-; Bristol: C.F. 8/-; London, W.C.1: M.G. £1.

TOTAL: £20 12 5  
Previously Acknowledged: £422 2 10

1966 Total to Date: £442 15 3

\*Denotes Regular Contributors.  
Gift of books—Edgware: M.K.

appropriate. We'll have to use violence when it's appropriate—not against people, of course, but against things. The Welsh and Irish nationalists can do it, so should we. I doubt if we shall win, but we can have a bloody good try.

The reason this change was made was that the BBC lawyers decided the passage in question was 'subversive' and should not be broadcast. Anthony Moncrieff, the producer of the programme, told me what had happened on the telephone a few hours before the broadcast, but he declined to confirm it in writing.

It's the old story. Auntie BBC wanted to be brave, but when it came to the point she got cold feet. She doesn't mind an extremist talking about what happened in the past, but she can't have an extremist talking about what might happen in the future, especially if he means it. After all, the point of the programme was that the nuclear disarmament movement is dead, if not yet buried. So it couldn't be suggested that part of the movement might still be alive, let alone kicking. But it might be, all the same.

NICOLAS WALTER.

## ANARCHY 64

DISCUSSES

## Broiler House Babies

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 2s. on the first Saturday of every month

## BBC Censor Subversion

ON MAY 9 and 17, Ivan Yates of the *Observer* interviewed me, as a representative of the radical section of the nuclear disarmament movement, for the BBC programme *The Rise and Fall of CND*.

On May 25, when the programme was broadcast on the Third Programme, it included five extracts from my interview. One of them, which was my answer to a question about the future of the movement, went as follows:

Well, I'm still against the Bomb, but I'm not interested in protest myself, I'm interested in resisting. I want to see a resistance movement. I think we must struggle against any war that any government gets us involved in. In the meantime, there's plenty of other work to do. We have got to expose the deceptions of the civil defence system. I doubt if we shall win, but we can have a bloody good try.

The reason this passage made no sense

was that the BBC had censored it at the last moment. My full answer, as originally chosen for transmission, went as follows:

Well, I'm still against the Bomb, but I'm not interested in protest myself, I'm interested in resisting. I want to see a resistance movement. I think we must struggle against any war that any government gets us involved in. In the meantime, there's plenty of other work to do. We have got to expose the deceptions of the civil defence system. If we get the chance, we must expose any military secrets we get hold of. We must subvert the armed forces, and help servicemen who want to work with us inside the forces. We must be able to smash the forces. We must be able to smash any attempt to re-introduce conscription, if they try that on. We must encourage any sabotage of military installations and military materials. We'll have to use secrecy when it's

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# The PIB Report on Busmen

THE REPORT by the National Board for Prices and Incomes on busmen's pay is a thorough piece of work. However, in spite of all its facts and figures, it really boils down to the fact that it is the busmen who will be called upon to make the necessary sacrifices in order that the industry as a whole can be made more profitable.

## Contact Column

**Centenary Lectures NSS.** Friday, June 24. Freethought and Law Reform. Anthony Grey and Diane Munday. 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

**Sleeping Accommodation.** Sleeping accommodation required in Central London from August 1-7 for £3. No food required. Write to Robert Halstead, 27 Woodlands Rise, Haworth, Keighley, Yorks.

**Fallex.** Fallex and other Official Secrets sent under plain cover. Sample obtainable, 9d. (including postage) from Ipswich Anarchists, 68 Christchurch Street, Ipswich, Suffolk.

**Bookshop, Glasgow.** An attempt is being made to open a peace bookshop in Scotland Street, Glasgow. Much money is needed to start this shop which will be run on a workers' control basis. Donations please to Larry Hutchinson, 204 Castlemilk Drive, Glasgow, S.5.

**Individualist Anarchists.** Meet the second Sunday of each month at 10 Churton Street, Victoria, S.W.1 (off Vauxhall Bridge Road) at 7.30 p.m. June 12—Michael Woolliscroft on 'Anarchism and the Absurd'.

**Poetry and Jazz.** Ilford Libertarians. Poetry and Jazz. 7.30 p.m., July 2. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Mike Osborne Quartet. Adrian Mitchell, Joe Shearns and Dick Wilcox. Mike Horowitz with Workers' Cast Experimental Drama Group. Tickets 4/- and 6/- from Freedom Press.

**Manchester Poetry.** Northern rendezvous for Poetry, Folk and 'happenings'. Thursdays 8 p.m. Packhorse Hotel, Bridge Street, off Deansgate, Manchester, 2/-.

**Stickers.** POLICE BRUTALITY IS FACT, JUSTICE IS FICTION. ANARCHY IS FREEDOM. 25/- per 1,000. Contact Box 31.

**Accommodation available for girl.** West London Community. Rent £2 10s. Box 32.

**Room and Work.** Woman reader (mid-forties) will need room and work when leaves psychiatric hospital. Offers of either or both to Box 30.

**Accommodation Wanted.** Wanted, large flat, W.2, W.11 for Notting Hill Gate anarchists. Any information regarding a reasonably priced flat will be gratefully received. Please contact M. Fitton, Flat 35, 37 Clanricarde Gardens, W.2 (Nr. Notting Hill Gate underground station) evenings.

**Accommodation Vacant.** Half flat vacant. Phone Bucknell CUN 4576.

**Hospitality wanted.** Sixteen-year-old comrade (male) from Paris would like to stay with family during summer vacation. Write Box 29.

**Job/Girl/Country.** 16-year-old comrade (working-girl, not student) with problem parent (widow) seeks permanent job in country. Preferably near some Peace/Political Activity evenings and weekends. Anything considered. Contact through Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23, urgently.

**Accommodation Offered.** To responsible person in return for taking child to school some days and a (very) little housework. Write 15 Pennine Mansions, Pennine Drive, Golders Green, N.W.11 or phone MEA 1872.

**Accommodation.** Flat or rooms required in London area (preferably unfurnished) by teacher and wife. For one-year period from September. P. and M. Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

**Accommodation Vacant.** One bunk empty—happy, tolerant girl wanted in s/c flat, in lowest Lambeth, details REL 5224.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

Mr. Jones and his PIB recommend that London's busmen get the 6.6% wage increase which has already been agreed upon by the unions and London Transport, providing that they agree to a more efficient use of labour. The recommended wage increase for provincial and municipal busmen should only be 3 to 3½% and anything above these figures being given only where 'there is genuine effective progress in the use of manpower'.

Busmen, like the railwaymen, have had inquiries into their wage structures, the Phelps Brown in the case of the former and the Guillebaud for the latter. The Phelps Brown report recommended that London Transport, in order to attract more labour to provide an adequate service, should pay a wage comparable to other industries in London. The Guillebaud report said that the wages of railwaymen should be based on a dozen other industries. The PIB has dismissed the recommendations of both these reports and it is now the turn of the busmen to be told that they have to be more efficient. In other words they are being told to increase productivity, which is the policy of the Wilson Government, in order to gain higher profits at their expense.

On pay increases, the report has this to say: 'a very large increase in pay in a labour intensive industry such as the bus industry, without an equivalent increase in productivity, would hasten its contraction'. . . . 'The most effective remedy for an undertaking suffering from a labour shortage in an area of general manpower shortage is to make better use of the labour which it already has.' Because of this shortage of manpower, the workers are in a strong position and this is what employers, in general, do not like. The Government is only too pleased to assist the employers with a policy of wage restraint.

**TWISTED REASONING**  
The report has a number of recommendations for ways to make better use of the labour on buses. These consist of meal breaks, speed of buses, using drivers as conductors, having part-time workers at peak hours, more time during which standing passengers would be allowed and the extended use of buses operated by the driver alone including all Green Line routes. All these are made with the end in view of making the industry, as a whole, a profitable one, but only at the expense of the busmen and the travelling public. As far as I can glean from the PIB report, there is nothing about the bus companies having to provide an adequate service. In fact, if anything, the report suggests that services should be cut because of the shortage of staff, and this twisted piece of reasoning will mean that there will no longer be a labour shortage, but only a very inadequate bus service. However, surely this is what London Transport have been doing for years now.

In March this year, the shortage of bus drivers amounted to over 13% and conductors, 12½%, but the PIB report says that these figures are in relation to the services scheduled. 'There is no guarantee, however, that these services are all necessary.' It says that the

## ANARCHISTS & SIN

Continued from page 1  
ment. Scores of passers-by expressed agreement with our slogans and sympathy from the crowds streaming from the end of the meeting was widespread too. A large proportion of the crowd seemed not to be Christians at all but people who are interested in ideas generally and who had attended out of curiosity. It was a pity we had no leaflets to hand out. We heard only one adverse comment 'utterly irrelevant but a good try' from a muscular looking Protestant which lowered our spirits a trifle. But an *Observer* journalist said he thought our main slogan witty enough to be included in the paper's 'Sayings of the Week' and took a note of it and the fact that we are anarchists. On this heady note, our spirits soaring, we took down our banners, the crowds having dispersed, and headed for the nearest pub.

JEFF ROBINSON.

TGWU opposes reductions in services, but this is untrue for the union leadership has given in to these cuts all the time, with the only opposition coming from the rank and file busmen themselves.

The unofficial paper of the busmen *Platform* contained an article in its October 1965 issue on the 'slaughter of London's bus services'. 'Today, 31,000 men and women stand where 48,000 stood in 1948. Today only two buses run where previously three provided service.' While the industry has been unwilling to pay an adequate wage to attract labour, it has not been slow in raising fares. 'Between the end of 1953 and the end of 1964 bus fares rose on average by 70% (89% in London Transport) or over twice as fast as the price of all consumer goods and services and nearly four times as fast as motoring running costs.' From all this not only has the busman had a raw deal, but also the passenger.

The TGWU has, quite rightly, rejected the report. Mr. Jack Jones, acting assistant secretary, has said, 'We are not going to be bound by this report.' He rejected the 'unwarranted' attempt to include single manning and standing passengers into the 6.6% agreement.

While the TGWU did not give evidence at the Board's investigation and opposes the Government's incomes policy, it has said that although wages should not be pegged artificially, they should go up with higher productivity. So in actual fact the union is in a bit of a spot. Its record in the past has been one of virtual acceptance of the employers' offers. It has given in all along the line to cuts in schedules and already the thin end of the wedge has been driven in over the question of single manning and 'standee' buses. While we might hear a lot of talk from the union, what is needed is action to prevent any further 'productivity agreements', whereby you work a lot harder for a little extra money.

### BUSMEN A £1,000 A YEAR

What really shows Mr. Aubrey Jones's report up as the catch it is, is this week's decision by the Coventry Corporation to pay their busmen an average wage of £1,000 per year. Alderman Thomas Meffen, Chairman of the Transport Committee, said, 'Our 1,000 drivers and conductors need a more realistic wage. This is the only way of running an efficient service which the public are demanding. It should also help to reduce our deficit of over £200,000.'

This new agreement was rejected by the National Joint Industrial Council and by going ahead with it, with the agreement of the unions, Coventry Corporation risk expulsion from the Council. This action by the Labour controlled city council should assist other busmen in resisting any pegging of their wages to efficient use of labour. Busmen should not have to work harder on 'standee' buses, single manning or even put up with having standing passengers all day long. This is only further rationalisation of labour in the drive by the employers, both private and the State, to exploit the busmen and to gain profits at the expense of their employees and the passengers.

P.T.

**MORE THAN 200** militants attended a London Shop Stewards' Defence Committee meeting on the incomes policy at Cricklewood on May 23.

It was encouraging to hear speakers tell of their disillusionment with the Labour Government they had voted for. A general resolution opposing the incomes policy was carried unanimously.

The opening speaker was Tony Cliff who gleefully blew up the myth that an incomes law would benefit lower paid workers. The seamen's deal showed this, he explained, and, in any case, high wages created competition for labour which helped the poorly-paid to get more money.

He also pointed out that Britain only had a monetary crisis because of wasteful arms commitments and because capitalists like Clore used up hard-earned (as far as the workers were concerned) foreign currency in profiteering business ventures abroad.

In other words, the workers have no problems that the death of capitalism wouldn't solve.

Cliff argued that the reason the funeral was delayed was because the workers were too often pulling against each other. It was something the bosses never did. Their ranks were solid. If the working class was to prosper, it had to remember that an injury to one was an injury to all.

Then followed a multitude of varying

# Freedom

## For Workers' Control

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## Were the Mersey Dockers Right?

WHEN THE MERSEYSIDE Dockworkers' Committee came down to the Connaught Gate on Wednesday morning and asked for a one day stoppage in support of the Young Socialist Lobby of Parliament, they thought, no doubt, that they were doing the right thing. One must agree with them that the actions of Jack Dash were calculated to destroy what hopes the Liverpool dockers had of a one day national stoppage against the Incomes Policy and, more specifically, the further inquiry into the docks which is taking place to implement the Devlin Report.

However it was very unwise of the Merseyside dockers to ally themselves on such an issue with the Young Socialists who, it cannot be denied, are associated with the Healeyite Socialist Labour League. The average London docker would willingly have supported such a lobby and stoppage, but he is not prepared to be used by any political organisation or groups. This is shown by his preparedness to support the joint Shop Stewards Lobby on June 22, which covers a wide range of political opinion.

The Merseyside dockers should realise that the London dockers have been manipulated by political parties in the past (to their cost), they have learnt the lesson of this experience. Even Jack Dash has learnt that lesson. It was therefore rather foolish of the Merseyside dockers to proclaim their support of the Trotskyist Young Socialist Lobby. It was in effect handing Jack Dash the stick to beat them with.

After all, the YS have been continually plugging away about the 'new leadership' (it might have been slightly more convincing if one did not have the sneaking idea at the back of one's tiny mind that there is a tired old crew waiting in the wings at Clapham to dance on the stage wearing Wilson's boots). If the London Docks is to be made the playground of dissenting political factions then the dockers are going to choose 'the Devil they know rather than the Devil they don't'.

Although admiration must be given to the Merseyside Dockworkers' Committee for their militant stand on the issues of both the Devlin Report and their sup-

port for the seamen, it seems rather sad that they have not learned to bury their differences with the London dockers over politics. What really matters is getting together and forming rank and file groups who are determined to work together throughout Britain.

People are not the sheep that the Left political groups often try to make them out to be. The dumb, inarticulate, stubborn refusal to move or support a political group is often based on the fear of looking foolish and being unable to descend to quibbling in jargon. For instance: slogans like 'Nationalisation under workers' control' mean what they say, that is Nationalisation. The ordinary worker can look around him and see the poverty of such a slogan. Those who support the slogan know what it means and recognise it as an unachievable demand. If they themselves publicly admit that their object is unattainable, how can they then be surprised at the wonderment of the workers when they shout such a slogan. Anyway, why ask for support of an unachievable demand and, secondly, what is the real programme that such a slogan is designed to achieve. The ordinary workers aren't fools and they have had a bellyfull of slogans about the land 'fit for heroes to live in'.

The problems that we face are about the here-and-now—and the work which has to be done, in the main defensive, against the onslaught of the bosses backed up by the full machinery of the State. Forget about the political bitterness; the enemies of the ordinary workers are having a field-day, from the schemers in marble halls of Transport House to the tight-fisted swine of Leadenhall Street.

When we say 'Workers Unite', we do not mean under any political banner, but across Britain in the workshops, factories, docks and ships. There is one common bond that we all share—being exploited, tricked and beaten by the bosses to our dying day—UNLESS WE UNITE. As Benjamin Franklin once said:—'Gentlemen, we must all hang together for if we do not then we will assuredly hang separately.'

SPARKS.

## JUST CHATTING

opinions from the floor. A Socialist Medical Association official jolted the audience with his views on the doctors' £20 a week bribe. He thought the attitude of other workers should be—Good luck to the doctors. Let's all have the same. In any case, he went on, the answer to the doctors' problems wasn't money. It was socialist organisation.

Reasonable thoughts. But hardly a tranquilliser to anyone trying to make ends meet on much less than £20 a week.

Another speaker who was a Labour councillor until he resigned recently in disgust at Wilson's antics coyly said: 'I've been approached by another party. I don't need to say which. And I'm thinking of joining.' Good luck to him. But it's one wedding I don't want to be at.

Another argued in favour of changing the leadership of trade unions—like he and other draughtsmen had in their organisation.

Fortunately, soon afterwards, someone else declared that the real battle was on the shop floor. That's where it was being fought and that's where it would have to be won.

John Palmer, the man Labour refused to have as a Parliamentary candidate at

Croydon, rightly pointed out that what the Government feared most in the seamen's dispute was a spread of the dispute into other industries.

Reg Birch, now an AEU national executive member, doubted the effectiveness of the lobbies of Parliament taking place against the incomes policy. The danger was of being like the Duke of York's men—marching up the hill only to come down again.

Birch also dealt with the Government's declaration that the seamen's strike was a strike against the state. 'Was anyone supposed to be surprised by that announcement,' he said. Of course it was against the state and a good job too.

A collection raised more than £33—half went towards printing costs of the committee's incomes pamphlet and half to the seamen.

It was an excellent meeting and interesting to hear the various points of view from the speakers. But it struck me that already the organisation is in danger of getting bogged down with chat. The most effective way for the incomes policy to be beaten is to help the seamen win their struggle.

This is what the meeting should all have been about. It should have been discussing ways in which to extend the strike. If militants cannot respond to battle signals, then there will be little progress for the working class.

S.T.