

Naked Babies and Naked Lunches

Who are Scots Against War?

SCOTS AGAINST WAR first appeared on the May 1963 "Peace Ship" demo. at the Holy Loch. Hundreds of demonstrators on the boat were given copies of a leaflet called, *How to subvert, disrupt and sabotage the Warfare State.*

Press, police and Peace Committee reacted in typical manner. The *People* headline ran, 'Sabotage call to CND'. The Home Office agreed that the leaflet was seditious. Gradually, however, the bally-hoo declined and SAW it seemed had returned to their cellars.

But not for long. Back they came on the 1964 May-Day Rally in George Square, Glasgow, handing to infuriated Labourites and mystified coppers, a leaflet addressed to the armed forces. 'We are inciting you to mutiny and desertion, we are asking you to disobey your officers and set up your own authority.' SAW claimed that the leaflet had been sent to serving soldiers, sailors and airmen abroad, using the trick of collecting names from those announced on BBC 'Family Favourites'. The Special Branch began to take notice.

Later that spring, Cdr. W. Lester of Edzell Polaris Communications Base, near Dundee, opened a small brown envelope. So did 50 of his men. The envelopes contained a message from SAW, "Refuse to fight for the politicians of East or West. We know that you would rather be home with your people, leave the U.S. Navy... NOW!" SAW had struck again.

But SAW really became notorious (hunted high and low, by the Special Branch and Scottish CND) during the Faslane march of June 27-28 this year. Soon after the march left Glasgow Green, hundreds of copies of a 3-page pamphlet, *Is sabotage the Answer?*, were circulated among the marchers. CND were furious, who were they, why had they done this to our march? At any rate from that moment on, the march became not only a protest, but a THREAT.

Another 3-page pamphlet was circulated, *The set-up for military rule on Scotland's East Coast.* Mainly concerned with Civil Defence around Aberdeen, Dundee and Perth, it also located the massive shelter (for the commander), near the Edzell base. Telephone numbers, names and accounts of break-ins to official property were given. This was published by another militant group, 'Workers against the Bomb'.

The sabotage pamphlet gave details of how to put anti-setting agents in cement, how to introduce dry rot spores on building sites and ended with this, 'We may not be right, but who'll be left to say we were wrong?' The Special Branch weren't interested, or so it seemed.

A couple of months later, somebody

must have thought sabotage was the answer. The site offices and huts at Faslane were burned to the ground. The SB swung into action. People were followed, offices and houses watched, telephones tapped. Then came the shock. Ardnadam pier, which had been sat on and sung about, went up in a sheet of flame. As dawn broke, detectives wrapped up chunks of incinerated pier and sent it to the forensic labs. in Glasgow. After careful scrutiny, the experts gave their decision... beyond all doubt the pier had been burnt.

The police searched around for someone to blame, while the sabotage rumours grew stronger. At last... they produced a story appealing for a priest, who had been seen near the area in a yacht, to come forward. The elusive cleric failed to appear. Whether the Vatican was called in to help the police I can't say. When this one wore thin, they decided that the fire could have been caused by a spark from the funnel of a wee puffer. There is no truth in the rumour that MI5 are looking for Para Handy!

SAW never allowed the SB time to get over their burnt offering. Within two months, the Army information offices in Glasgow had been attacked with bricks and bottles. The Army office in Sauchiehall Street had five smashed front windows and two at the back. Between the Army and Navy offices, damage was estimated, by an army spokesman, to have reached £1,700.

Who can tell what the anonymous Scots will do next? Certainly not the Special Branch, whose illegal activities, telephone tapping, etc., are getting worse, nor the Labour-Party-orientated Scottish CND. This has been the strength of Scotland's underground gnomes, they have broken the first rule in the political rule book. They don't have a leader. I can only wish the Special Branch 'Good Hunting'. And don't get into your car without looking for bombs under the bonnet.

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

CIRCULATING FREEDOM

AFTER A MORNING of trudging around Central London trying to place FREEDOM on the bookstalls, the following shops, in addition to those we already supply, have agreed to sell FREEDOM:

- E. W. & G. Coleman Ltd., 28 Rathbone Place, W.1.
- C. Freud, 12 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.
- Albert's, 37 Saint Martin's Court, London, W.C.2.

There were many refusals. Miss Dillon of the university bookshop, Torrington Place, said 'I don't want to sell it. We have enough trouble in the world without anarchy. I have freedom to choose, haven't I?'

The manager of W. H. Smith's at Charing Cross Railway Station stall went red in the face and said 'This is not the kind of publication we approve of'. Two or three newsagents have promised to read FREEDOM and will let me know later.

If you wish to help with this, this is what you can do. Visit your local bookseller or newsagent, sell outside factory gates, in your office or to your friends.

Those in London can pick up extra copies at The Lamb on Sunday evenings, Gilbert Place on Thursday evenings or Maxwell Road during office hours, ask for 'Newsboy'.

NEWSBOY.

THE LATE ANTHONY COM-STOCK of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice was depicted by a cartoonist hauling a woman before the courts with the charge 'Your honour, this woman gave birth to a naked baby.' Judging by the recent brouhaha about the *Naked Lunch* in London, *Fanny Hill*, *The Kama Sutra* and *The Perfumed Garden* in Edinburgh; Lenny Bruce in U.S.A.; the magazine *Oz* and the book *The Group* in Australia, we are in for a new wave of puritanism imposed by those who do not know that babies come into the world naked, or indeed who seem not to know how babies come into the world.

THE NAKED LUNCH

When John Calder recently published *The Naked Lunch* he published it at £2 2s. (in order to keep it from the dirty-book trade) furthermore the list of purchasing shops was carefully 'vetted' in order to restrict it to serious readers. This project was of course doomed to failure since the Director of Public Prosecutions had in any case been sent a copy. Scotland Yard sent two of their minions to Zwemmer's and Better Books to buy copies (it would have been useless for them to come to Freedom Bookshop since their copies, all three of them, had been sold) and now it is possible that a prosecution will take place or at least a destruction order. Zwemmer's reaction to this threat, according to the *Evening Standard*, was to fill the windows with *The Liberty of Unlicensed Printing* by one John Milton.

There is some obscurity as to what action will be taken about this book. The course followed with *Lady Chatterly's Lover* of taking to a higher court and resorting to a defence on grounds of literary merit has been short-circuited, not to say blocked, in many cases by local magistrates issuing destruction orders applicable to the area of jurisdiction and not arguing the literary merits, antiquity or depths of depravity of the books concerned. The ludicrous examples condemned to destruction: *Fanny Hill* (the expurgated edition), *Kama Sutra*, *The Perfumed Garden*; and Alexander Trocchi's *Cain's Book* have all been effectively banned in Edinburgh by the simple process of destruction deterring publisher, distributor and bookseller from openly selling the book, on purely financial grounds. This has also served to discourage sales elsewhere. It was thought that Clive Jenkins' new bill on Obscenity would remedy some of the anomalies and injustices in the prosecutions for pornography. It can now be

clearly seen that the reform of a law by another law is no remedy.

In the United States the case against Lenny Bruce for Obscenity has reached the Illinois State Supreme Court, which has confirmed the 'guilty' verdict with the surprising judgement that the definition of obscenity has broadened to include materials which do not arouse sexuality; the basis for this interpretation is found in the statutory phrase 'prurient interest, i.e., a morbid or shameful interest in sex, nudity or excretion'. The magazine *The Realist* defines the word used by Bruce as shown in the *Dictionary of American Slang* to mean '1. Anything inferior, ugly, cheap, or disgusting, especially merchandise that is of inferior material, workmanship, and general quality.' The dictionary goes on to list about twenty common usages none of which have any interest in excretion except in the metaphorical sense. In this case we can see how the law is twisted to fit the prosecution.

OZ

From Australia the notorious land of 'wowers', i.e. 'killjoys' comes news in the *Broadsheet* of Sydney University Libertarian Group, of the conviction with a term of imprisonment (against which they are appealing) of the publishers of Sydney University Students' magazine *Oz* for publishing obscenity—the magistrate is a regular churchgoer, a Catholic, and a member of the Society of the Holy Name, who said that the magazine contained articles that were filthy, disgusting, offensive, libellous and blasphemous. *The Broadsheet* courageously reprints some of the articles and a photograph. They are, it is true, puerile but no worse than some student magazines here or *Private Eye* in a bad week, but if bad taste is to be the gauge of censorship, who shall escape whipping? A book critic is not a censor, one may consider Hank Jansen deplorable, Ian Fleming terrible, *The Well of Loneliness* slush and *Lady Chatterly's Lover* the worst of Lawrence's novels, but one doesn't have to read them or even censor them. As regards *Oz*, it is highly probable that the magistrate was particularly offended by the reprint of Lennie Bruce's story about the priest who enjoyed confessions so much that he kept saying 'Tell me again'.

SOCIAL CREDIT AND CENSORSHIP

Finally, for this week, for there is no end this side of anarchy, to censorship, we come to the blessed state of Alberta, Canada, where the 'Social Creditors' are in office—if

not in power. There, if we are to believe a small opposition paper *Commonsense*, the 'Sacreds' as they are called, exercise a benevolent despotism over what may be read in the schools or seen on the screen. The Minister of Education has labelled Sallinger's *Catcher in the Rye* as 'the sort of junk which is being used in Christian education courses in Alberta', and another Minister criticizes poetry in literary magazines for being about sex. Alberta is, of course, only a minor example of the type of thing that goes on when the most benevolent despots get a chance to transform their function of literary critic into censor, banner, destroyer or jailer.

VIRTUE ON THE CHEAP

It is possible that we, in this country, are due for another wave of puritanism. The Labour Party with Brother Brown, lay preacher, second in command, and its roots in Methodism, may see a cheap vote-catching trick in a few prosecutions for obscenity, in this they will undoubtedly have the support of the Communist and fellow-travelling left who are ready, at the drop of a G-string, to denounce the American importations of pornography and obscenity.

It is true that a great deal of rubbish gets imported but given a fair chance, and not the publicity given by censorship and prosecutions, this would all be forgotten. The fair chance would include a chance to live a sane sex life, for many who publish 'sophisticated' books could be more fairly prosecuted for false pretences than for pornography. Books are no substitute.

THE NAKED WORLD

We live in a world where the obscenity of war is persistently flaunted before us as military glory and the pornography of politics is peddled as statesmanship, yet this debasement of standards and likelihood of corruption which stalks through every headline, goes on without halt or hindrance, yet Ibsen, Shaw, Shelley, Shakespeare, Zola, Ellis, Lawrence, Miller, Durrell, Nabakov, Bruce, McCarthy, Burroughs have all come under the prurient gaze or the abhor'd shears of the censor.

'He who sweeps the dirt out of the corners is sure to be accused of putting it there himself,' complained Zola. This is the sad fate of the artist in society.

But nevertheless whether lunches can be naked or not babies come into the world naked and as Cervantes said 'Naked came I into the world, and naked I must go out'.

JACK ROBINSON.

ANARCHY 47

PRESENTS JAMES GILLESPIE

Towards Freedom in Work

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

Can we help those suffering in Vietnam?

MANY PEOPLE are deeply concerned by the human suffering caused by the war in Vietnam. We wish to demonstrate corrective opposition to the brutalities of this war, and do not want to be silent accomplices to its atrocities. We know that the Vietnamese people are the chief victims of the war, and that it has led to almost unimaginable actions from and upon both 'sides'. There is such a great need for medical help that our primary concern is to find the means of offering it to all affected by the war. We believe that our primary relationship to the people in Vietnam should be a helping one.

A neutral 'ambulance corps' has been suggested: a group which would help all those suffering in the Vietnamese war,

a direct expression of those who cannot sit idly by while governments, most certainly including the U.S., are acting inhumanely.

All of us—individuals and organizations—who feel and believe strongly that the present U.S. involvement in Vietnam must be met with a conscientious alternative should bring together our convictions, our energies, and our experiences. Each of us should find out what others have done and learned in similar projects and with similar concerns. Each of us must take the responsibility for contacting those whom he knows would be interested in such a project if any action is going to result from our concern.

We hope that some group of

individuals will take the responsibility for the co-ordination of such a project as an ambulance corps. There are many who are willing to help. If you are in any way interested, please write to us. If those who are directly involved in relieving this suffering would pass their information along to us, we will, in turn, make sure that you will be notified of any concrete and specific (existing or planned) projects. (We cannot take the responsibility for a general newsletter.)

Please, all who are concerned as we are, contact individuals, groups, and publications. If we do not act now, who will?

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Books!

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- (Mainly Paper-Back)
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FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

- Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
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 Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
 Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
 Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
 Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
 Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
 Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
 Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
 Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street
 Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching

Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6
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E. A. GUTKIND
 The Expanding Environment (illustrated) boards 8/6

GEORGE BARRETT
 The First Person (Selections) 2/6

PICK OF THE NEW PAPERBACKS

SCIENCE FICTION addicts will welcome *Darkest of Nights* by Charles Eric Maine (Panther 3/6). It centres around an old theme, a great plague which decimates the human race, caused in this case by a virulent new strain of virus, mutated through atomic radiation. As the authorities have only a few weeks' warning germ-proof shelters are prepared only for the politicians, top businessmen and their families. When they emerge after the plague has run its course, the survivors of the great bulk of the population, who have had no protective shelters, refuse to accept their authority and terrible civil wars break out in many parts of the world. Reading this book makes one wonder how real-life survivors of nuclear war would react to dictates from the Regional Seats of Government.

Also published is *New Writings in S.F.* (1) (Corgi 3/6, a well balanced collection of S.F. short stories which lives up to its name in that it does not present material already published many times before.

A book which will probably be widely read for the wrong reasons is *Fire Escape* by Susan Kale (Panther 3/6) which is an intelligent and beautifully written autobiography of a prostitute. As well as being a valuable social document it is, in its own way, a little work of art.

Alexei Pisensky's study of power and ambition, *One Thousand Souls* (T.A.B.S. 6/-) is an analysis of human behaviour in the great tradition of the nineteenth century Russian novel. Kalinovich, a talented young man, rises in the official world through marrying an heiress with powerful family connection. As he forges relentlessly ahead he betrays those who love him and, in the end, destroys himself.

(It is intended to make "Pick of the New Paperbacks" a regular monthly feature. All the books mentioned, together with any other paperback in print can be obtained from FREEDOM BOOKS.)

Sound of a Voice that is Still . . .

WHEN THE BULLDOZERS moved into Hyde Park a few years ago flattening and filching much of the speakers' reservation it was not only the physical characteristics which were changed but, judging by a new book about the Park (*The Speakers* by Heathcote Williams, Hutchinson 25/-) also the platforms and occupants known to this writer for over a decade.

Mr. Williams takes up the question O'Casey asked in the preface to Bonar Thompson's book *Hyde Park Orator*: . . . 'where would (the speakers) go when they had said or screamed their say? . . .'

and enters the dismal private world of four of them, which from a writer's point of view is more rewarding than their 'public' existence. Although three of the characters are recognisable Hyde Park types they are not personally known to this writer. With the exception of one, whom old L.A.G. members will remember as an amiable enough 'fellow traveller', the speakers are 'professionals',

in that they try to exploit what oratorical talents they have for a few coppers. Dirty, unattractive, exhibitionistic and sometimes vicious, Mr. Williams' characters arouse our pity, but curiously it is their situations rather than the characters themselves which stir our sympathy.

Mr. Williams has written a good story but it is certainly not the whole one, and it is when he takes us into the Park that it seems incomplete and unfamiliar. One must, of course, state one's interest as an ex-speaker who saw the Park from the inside and always on Sundays! Most speakers would agree that the tone changes on Sundays (or it used to); the pace quickens, the crowd swells and spills over from one meeting to another. There is a feeling that things are moving and being done although one knows they are not!

During the week the Park is inhabited by the loners, the lost and the religious. The little groups dotted here and there seem unrelated to the landscape, quite

lifeless. Mr. Williams has written a weekday book about the Park, or so it seems to this observer.

In passing, one wonders what has happened to the Sunday classics—The London Forum, Dr. Soper, The Anarchists, Ogilvie, the S.P.G.B., the Communists, the Irish and the P.P.U. Fredrick Lohr is dead (a passing reference to him in the book has reduced him to Fred Law!) but surely they can't all be dead? R.M.

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2 (near Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.

SUNDAYS

JAN 17 Max Patrick
 How it was. How it is. How it will be.

JAN 24 Sid Parker
 Individualist Perspectives.

JAN 31 Maurice Goldman
 Happiness through sex.

FEB 7 London Anarchist Group
 Future activities?

FEB 14 Bob Coster
 Subject to be announced.

FEB 21 Philip Holgate
 The Council Republic of Bavaria.

All welcome

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary N.H.A.G., Flat 3, 5 Colville House, London, W.11. Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at above address.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Details of meetings from Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Mike Mallet, 20 South George Street, Dundee. Meetings Saturdays 2.30 p.m.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence Secretary: Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Meetings every alternate Monday at above 7.30 p.m.

GLASGOW UNITED LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE. Correspondence: Joe Embleton, c/o Harris, 22 Holyrood Crescent, Glasgow. Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER GROUP. Contact Graham Leigh, 5 Mere Close, Sale, Cheshire. Meetings: Black Lion Hotel, Chapel Street, Manchester, 2nd and 4th Tuesday of the month, 8 p.m.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION. Enquiries: Vincent Johnson's, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting Sunday, January 17, 2 p.m. at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

SOUTH WALES. Irregular meetings held. Enquire Peter Raymond, 300 Whitchurch Road, Gabalfa, Cardiff.

VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA. Monthly Forum—Last Sunday of each month. Enquiries to Bill Fletcher, 104 West 11th Avenue, Vancouver.

CANADA: S.I.A. (Solidarité Internationale Antitotalitaire) Canadian Section. Anyone interested please write Jan Weryho, Montreal, Station B, P.B. 1145 or phone Montreal 845-2671.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Rd., S.W.6 (off King's Rd.), 8 p.m.

Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

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

JOHN JACK.

AUTOMATION & UTOPIA

Dear Comrades,

In *Freedom*, December 26, A.W.U. writes an interesting and well-reasoned summary of man's development in answer to F.B. on the significance of automation, but I believe he is unduly pessimistic.

I certainly agree with both writers that automation will not necessarily usher in Utopia, as Sir Leon Bagritt seems to believe, but it does, nevertheless, create an unprecedented situation, and is causing a lot of fundamental re-thinking in even the most unlikely, reactionary quarters, and anarchists, instead of pessimistically dismissing it, should, surely, be doing all they can to stimulate this re-thinking.

The development of labour-saving mechanisms has been hindered far too long. Automation has developed despite them, stimulated mainly by the conditions prevailing during the two 'world wars', and its implications have

much by the supporters of capitalism, employers and workers alike, for far been seen as a strong threat to the 'status quo', and the continuance of an economy whose power-structure is firmly based on conditions of scarcity—at first real, but for the last sixty years at least, artificially maintained, with increasing difficulty in the face of a developing technology.

Another aspect: the vast conurbations and concentrations of industry which so many, including most or all anarchists, see as so inhuman, were the result of early mass-production techniques; as automation develops, on the other hand, it makes small units on a human scale more and more possible—the only large units required would be at the actual automatic assembly lines, where normally no human beings would be required.

Yours,

BRIAN LESLIE.

Our new Housing Critics &

THE PRESS, mealy-mouthed enough on most issues, is supremely vindicated as a fearless lance for the people when it deals with (what one can only presume it supposes to be) such major issues as films, theatre and literature. I sometimes think, when looking at the *Evening Standard* how wonderful it would be if the editor went mad, and instead of having Louis Wulff writing syrupy chit-chat about property, and Milton Shulman flaying the poor actors (a friend of mine once congratulated him on the birth of a son, as being a production which for once he would be unable to criticise), Mr. Wulff gave flattering notices of all the West End plays and Mr. Shulman tore hell out of the people who make up the FLATS & HOUSES TO LET column.

It might even be that the Classified Advertisement manager would go mad and put the figures offered as wages in the rents column and the rents in the Situations Vacant column. This might encourage not a few readers who must wonder how it is that there seems no

HOPING that this column will become a regular feature, a brief statement of viewpoint is perhaps in order.

I believe that the Free Society will become a feasible proposition not when we have all become self-employed artisans or leisured keepers of computers; but when our minds have shed the fetters of a segmented social system and learned to range unbiassedly over the whole vast treasury of the world's cultural riches.

Basically a jazz and folk orientated feature, I trust editorial generosity will permit digressions occasionally into the other arts and crafts and assorted happenings that tempt this grossly ill-disciplined mind.

SONNY ROLLINS

January 8 saw the British debut at Ronnie Scott's Club, Gerrard Street, W.1, for four weeks, of the tenorist Sonny Rollins, whose disdain for the conventions of even so unconventional a profession as jazz, have already surrounded him with legends, mostly based on fact.

In 1958, at the height of acclaim as the stylistic leader of the newer school

limit to the number of landlords who are able to request, and apparently get, £12 per week for a flat when the same amount is a fairly average salary.

Until comparatively recent times, the careful father would explain to his son on setting up house how he should always apportion one-fifth of his income for rent. Today it is merely a question of a lucky draw. If one happens to be supremely lucky, and live in a house stabilised at the 1914 rate, one may be paying five shillings a week, while on the other end of the scale, a woman may be working the whole of the week, with overtime, merely in order to pay the rent of the family flat.

Why is it that landlords can play the public for fools in this manner? It is not only due to the law of supply and demand. During the depression there was competition for jobs, but no employer dared offer below a certain figure, low as it sometimes was. (Do school-leavers today know that an average starting figure in 1935 was 7/6d. per week?) When they were offering £3

and £4 per week wages, it was impossible to drop down too far below the average. They would have been exposed to bitter publicity. The landlord going too high up is not very often so exposed. When he is, he has usually very little alternative but to give way.

There is a good case for a Housing Critic. The writer offers himself tentatively in this role, being well aware that the only person who could do justice to the situation is one who has sharpened his claws upon the poor performances of the mummies. As compensation, however, he offers one word of advice as an introduction to his series of criticisms: If the local paper consistently advertised poor quality goods at high prices, it would lose readership, and rightly. There is no reason why housing should be exempt. If the paper is determined to increase its revenue by consistently advertising flats and houses at well above any current reasonable level, stop buying it and tell them why. This will not affect nationals but it will affect locals; and if rooms cannot be advertised in the local paper because it applies some loosely ethical standards, they will not be let and will have to come down in price.

A.M.

Jazz Critics

of jazz he suddenly cancelled all engagements and went into retreat to meditate. Despite endless offers he refused to work until he felt completely prepared, and this took all of two years.

His debut was received with some consternation, as despite the avant garde hipsters' dreams he had not spent his time inventing new 'way out' noises; rather he had perfected his already prodigious technical attributes and securing his artistic roots by prolonged digesting of the works of his older colleagues. So that now we are presented with a mature artist of daring imagination, who can perform outrageously unconventional flights with unquestionable authority.

Initially Rollins' sound is not over attractive to me; the way Hawkins and Webster are, but the portions of the two evenings I have been able to witness to date have held me more than any other performer I have seen at the club. He is visually striking, large, shaven head and the most intense almost

The landscape of freedom

IT IS CONTENDED by some that the problems facing anarchists, and the struggles made by anarchists, have largely been solved and resolved. The problem of war it is said, has been solved by war being so terrible that the states, for their own protection, will not embark on a major war. The struggle for decent social conditions has, it is claimed, been solved by the welfare state. There is much truth in both of these examples but granted the premise, it is not possible to grant the deduction from this that anarchism has no part to play in present day society except as a permanent protest, or as a 'ginger group' in reform movements. This may be granted only if one feels that apart from the problems of war and poverty anarchy's concern is with peripheral problems.

This can be denied with the assertion that anarchism is primarily concerned with the question of the maximum attainment of human freedom and therefore, from an anarchist point of view, war and poverty are in the long run merely peripheral and technical problems soluble, albeit with some difficulty, by states. The problems of human freedom are of their nature different, and indeed solutions to the problems of war and poverty have been found from time to time and temporarily at the price of freedom, and have been thought cheap at the price.

The advent of the Labour Party to power has once more brought into focus this problem of freedom. The publication of a book *The Erosion of Freedom* by Raymond Blackburn, a former Labour M.P., is a useful mapping out of the wearing away of the landscape of freedom, a charting of the cracks and crevasses that opened up years before the 1964 or even, the 1945 election.

Raymond Blackburn lists the fields in which the State has invaded the rights of the individual, starting from the classical case where a man at Clerkenwell was prosecuted for merely refusing, whilst waiting for a bus, to 'move on' when requested by a police constable. The Clerkenwell magistrate could not find any legal 'right' to stand still on the pavement. This leads Mr. Blackburn to an examination of the law against obstruction which seems to have its roots in the Euclidean axiom that 'no two things may be in the same place at the same time'.

In passing, Mr. Blackburn considers imprisonment for debt (which still goes on), the widespread interference in private morals as envisaged by The Street Offences Act, and the Stephen Ward case which, before anybody forgets, was based on the assumption that a person would only allow sexual relations to take place at his own premises if he was 'living wholly or in part upon immoral earnings'. This, in the Ward case, was never proved.

This book points out, which many of us may have forgotten, that although identity cards are no longer with us, we are enmeshed in a whole network of documents, National Health and Unemployment cards, P.A.Y.E. documents, tax codes, passports, etc., which effectively prevent the individual from escaping the bureaucracy, except at an exorbitant price. Raymond Blackburn points out how effectively the discharged prisoner is stigmatised by those tell-tale gaps in his stamped cards. The author touches on the paralysing grip the unions have on some jobs which

makes for an increasing immobility of labour in the interest of job-security. On the employers' side he points out the unchecked growth of monopolies both under a Labour government supposedly hostile to big business and Tory governments supposedly in favour of the 'little man' and the principle of competition.

Ironically the author comments that the obligation of British banks to report to the Inland Revenue on the extent of a customer's deposit has seen the flight of bank accounts to Switzerland—where the gnomes come from. 'So,' says Mr. Blackburn, 'what is repugnant for freedom is bad for business—as is often the case.'

This book abounds with examples of the slow growth of the erosion of liberty, inch by inch, year by year, statute by statute, by-law by by-law. The loss of liberty is usually not by the sudden excesses of totalitarian terror but the slow introduction of restriction by popular consent, or what is worse, indifference, which implies consent.

It has been said that a Hitler could assume power in this country by purely democratic means using all the laws on the statute book. Raymond Blackburn's book does much to illustrate this thesis.

JACK ROBINSON.

THE EROSION OF FREEDOM by Raymond Blackburn, Times Press, Isle of Man, 18/-.

Individualism and Property

Dear Editors,

I welcome the attempt to distinguish between individualist and communist anarchism, but so far the discussions in your paper have been too general. They spend too much time on generalities—on whether an individualist anarchist lacks altruism and whether the communist anarchist needs more self-expression, etc., etc.

I'm wondering whether others would agree that a major need is to discover the differences these two schools of anarchism have—both in philosophy and practice—toward land, money and goods. How do individualist anarchists propose to handle these *basic economic realities*; what plan do communist anarchists have? And is either group anywhere in the world actually implementing some anarchist policy regarding land, money and goods?

My friend Laurance Labadie, strong American individualist anarchist, points out the confusion in thought and practice from loosely lumping land, goods and money under the term "property". Most of us think of property as a *thing*, and we commonly say, "This house, this land, this car, is my property". But property correctly expresses a relationship between persons or between persons and objects. Property expresses a *social policy*, the essential fact of which is exclusion. It is more clear to say, "I have property in this land, in this car or this house". By which I mean I am protected in excluding others from this land, car or house.

Is it true that individualist anarchists stress this right of exclusion—that they do want to emphasize this right to their land, their houses and their cars? And that communist anarchists prefer to

T. S. ELIOT DIED but *Tribune* quoted him on the front page 'I shall not want Capital in Heaven / For I shall meet Sir Alfred Mond. / We two shall be together, lapt in a five per cent Exchequer Bond' as a 'contemporary ditty on the 1928 industrial "peace" conference organised by Sir Alfred Mond'. The poem is called 'A Cooking Egg'. Mr. James Joll and Mr. Hugh Thomas, both authors of books of anarchist interest both failed to spell 'Durruti' right in *The Times Literary Supplement*...

A FIRE RESEARCH OFFICER at the fire research station at Boreham Wood says it was impossible for Archimedes to have destroyed the Roman Fleet at Syracuse by means of burning mirrors in 212 B.C. The *Sunday Telegraph* claims that a major British collection of Egyptian mummies presented to museums 95 years ago by Edward VII when he was Prince of Wales was an 'archaeological hoax'...

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR reveals in his posthumous memoirs that the bomb dropped on Nagasaki was intended for Kokura but the city was obscured by smoke so the plane switched to the alternative target, Nagasaki, where 100,000 died. General MacArthur was convinced that Japan was on the point of surrender before the bomb was dropped. General Leslie Groves said on U.S. television that the U.S. originally intended to bomb Kyoto but altered its plans partly because of the cultural history of the city. Mr. Byrnes, then Secretary of State, said on the same programme that he and the President decided to withhold details of the bomb from Stalin because they did not want to encourage the Russians to join the



war against Japan. Mr. Byrnes was, at this time considering whether to collaborate with the Russians in the early stages of nuclear development or whether to try to outdistance them. According to Mr. Gordon Allport, recording secretary of the committee which handled top-secret bomb decisions, Mr. Byrnes decided against collaboration. According to Mr. Ivan Maisky, war-time Soviet Ambassador in Britain, writing in *Novy Mir*, Stalin went into hiding the day war broke and was *incommunicado* for three days afterward. Mr. Maisky confirmed that Stalin ignored British and United States warnings that Germany was going to attack Russia. A decree by the Soviet Parliament declared that 500,000 Volga Germans who were uprooted and deported to Siberia and Central Asia in 1941 were innocent of charges of collaboration with the Nazis. They had in fact fought against the Nazis...

MR. COLIN JORDAN leader of the National

Socialist Movement was incorrectly described by *The Guardian* as leader of the British National Party. It was denied that Sir Alec Douglas Home had offered to join Mr. Harold Wilson in a Coalition Government; it was also denied that Mr. Wilson's son, Giles, was invited to join his school's new Conservative Association to fight the 'left-wing stranglehold' on the school's activities and societies...

THE FORMER LEADER of the Kenya African Democratic Union (Opposition) Party, has been appointed chairman of the Kenya Maize Marketing Board and Mr. Muliro, formerly deputy chairman of KADU, has been appointed chairman of the Cotton Lint Seed Marketing Board. The Norwegian Labour Government approved a bill which gives workers a voice in the management of State enterprises and a third of the seats on their executive boards. Under the bill, workers will vote on investments and production affecting the labour force...

AN ITV ACTRESS appearing in an advertisement counselling 'Don't Ask a Man to Drink and Drive' was frequently asked about her son's death in a road accident by passers-by in the street who had seen the fictional item on TV... THE SPECULATION was advanced in a new book *Power in Washington* that Richard Nixon's wrong choice of make-up for his television debate with Kennedy was the factor that swung voters over to Kennedy. Nixon's make-up made him look white, tired, drawn and unwell which lost him the necessary votes...

THE NATIONAL Council for Civil Liberties pointed out the dangers of 'having a go' at criminals. It is pointed out that in tackling the law-breaker the police have legal protection that is not afforded to the ordinary citizen. If a policeman has made a mistake in approaching people who have in fact been acting legally, he can simply apologise (or not even apologise) and walk away. An unauthorised person intervening in a similar situation runs the risk of being charged himself. The N.C.C.L. quotes a case of a man who saw his brother thrown into a gutter and kicked. He rushed to his brother's defence just before a policeman arrived on the scene to see him attacking the original assailant, who then escaped. The man who had defended his brother was charged with assault, advised to plead guilty and fined £1. At Marylebone a man who said he had been involved in a street fight, after trying to save another man from being beaten up, was advised by the magistrate 'If there are too many men for you to handle and you can run fast enough, I should do so in future.' He was fined £3 for possessing an offensive weapon—a brick...

THE GOLFING ASSOCIATION has decided that bigger balls are unnecessary. JON QUIXOTE.

Contact Column

Delinquency, Maladjustment and the Community

Homer Lane Society series of Lectures, Conway Hall, 7.30 p.m. Tuesday, January 19, David Wills: 'Influence of Homer Lane Today'. Tuesday, February 16, Mervyn Turner. Tuesday, March 23, Joe Benjamin.

Wanted: Help to sell 'Freedom', 'Resistance', etc. Saturday afternoons 2 p.m.-5 p.m. outside British Home Stores, Cardiff. Cardiff Anarchist Group and Welsh Committee of 100.

Who Took the Berkman? Property is Robbery but Frank Hirschfeld has been temporarily deprived of the use-value of BERKMAN's *Now and After*. Will you please return? No questions asked.

Agony Column Will A.A.G., Melbourne, Australia, send us his ADDRESS? Freedom Press.

The Anarchist 6 Will be produced by Edinburgh Group. Copy to Bill Jamieson, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Copy date, January 23, 1965.

Anarchist International The above to be produced by Birmingham Group for the AFB. Copy for Conference to Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1. Group and International news to Martin Bragg, 5 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

Book tokens Taken for all books at Freedom Books.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

combine with others in the use of land, of goods and of an exchange media? (It goes without saying, of course, that both groups would want an equal access to these things. They would not want a monopolistic or privileged access to land, goods or money, as exists in the capitalist world). But granted equal access, and freedom—is it a fact that communist anarchists prefer to hold property jointly and in combination? Is it true, as some individualist anarchists say, our sense of privacy, our individuality, our creativity and responsibility for our own actions is better obtained if we have individual use of land, property and money?

In either case, we all face the crucial questions: What gives us the right to exclude others from our house, land, car? How is land different from houses and cars?

Most people will agree that if an

BUSMEN ADVANCING BACKWARDS

Continued from page 4

What has worried many of the thinking rank and file is the final paragraph of the LTE draft agreement that reads 'It is a condition of this Agreement that the staff will co-operate in the measures outlined above and that there will be no ban on voluntary overtime or rest-day working, either generally or at a particular garage.'

In the event of such a ban occurring the Board reserve their rights under this Agreement and will introduce measures to reduce mileage or take such other steps as necessary to accord with the situation then prevailing. SIGNED: This issue was never raised at the delegate conference and comes as an unknown addition to await the signatures of the LTE and the TGWU. Resolutions have gone forward demanding an explanation of these paragraphs for the first time. Men, without any prior warning or discussion, are told that if they use a legitimate means of making their voice heard they will now risk being penalized by the LTE or the TGWU. This is a valid point for on the last occasion of a ban on voluntary overtime men of at least two garages were penalised for their slowness in removing the ban. As we go to press a thousand men at Croydon and Enfield have voted to carry on the overtime ban and what began as an academic discussion on reduced bus services has now become an issue of principle in which 'voluntary' is the operative word. ARTHUR MOYSE.

Owing to pressure on space we regret that the next article in the series on Anarcho-Syndicalism is being held over.

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Dockers' ban to Continue

THE EFFORTS by the Transport and General Workers' Union, the Government, and the port employers to get the dockers to resume weekend working last weekend were practically of no use for only a few turned in. The ban on week-end working has been in operation since last July and came about because of the dissatisfaction with the agreement for the introduction of the 40 hour week. It was later used to bring pressure to bear on the employers to grant the dockers' wage claims and is now being continued mainly because the dockers fear that if they discontinue it, there will be periods when there is no work available. This situation arose last week for over 400 men.

The ban also expresses dissatisfaction over the attitude of the TGWU, to which the majority belong, who have done their utmost to get weekend working resumed. The other union, the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, of which about 6,000 London portworkers are members, has officially backed the banning of weekend working and it also supports a ban on working after 8 p.m. The unofficial groupings, the Royal Docks Liaison Committee and the lesser known Tilbury Committee, have also supported the ban.

THE PRESS CAMPAIGN

Over the last month or so, the national press has kept up a continual campaign of attack on the dockers' unwillingness to work the weekends, culminating in the efforts of the *Sunday Mirror* last week, when they called the dockers, 'Bloody-Minded, Selfish, Arrogant'. They followed this up by calling the ban 'A scandal in which the nation's desperate drive for exports is being throttled to death by the bloodmindedness of men who give higher priority to taking the weekend off than to keeping the trade life-lines open.'

Well, the dockers do think their week-ends are more important and it is about time there was some selfishness in this respect. After all, the dockers are now working 50 hours a week on a job which not only is far from easy, but is also damn hard work. Even the *Sunday Mirror* admits this. One docker is reported as saying 'The days of the old seven days a week to earn a decent wage are over and the employers have got to realise that.'

With the recent pay award and the week day overtime, dockers earn around £21 a week and from the comments of the docker, there is some evidence that he feels this is enough and does not need any more overtime, nor does he feel he should work the weekends for the so-called 'national interest', which he knows is another way of saying the employers' interest.

So much has been written about the congestion in the docks, the lorries being turned away and ships anchored awaiting a berth, but in actual fact it is now easing up without weekend working. Of course there are always the pre-Christmas imports and exports, but now, as the *Financial Times* reports, 'This relative lack of congestion—in strong contrast to November and December—has been true for most of the days since Christmas and indicates a quicker flow through of goods.' The volume of goods is expected to lessen in future weeks.

Can the dockers be blamed for this congestion, which is a seasonal one? I think that if certain practices of the employers were ended even this seasonal congestion could be cut. Mr. Nicholas of the TGWU said 'Of the total storage space in the Port of London, it is estimated that only about half is being used. This is because exporters prefer to deliver direct to the ship's side, thus cluttering up the quay, rather than deliver to a dockside warehouse.' This also happens with imports as these are often landed on the quays and left there blocking the way, because the employers don't want to pay for the double handling of the cargo. Then some

employers won't pay for weekend working to have barges unloaded; so, on Mondays when empty barges are needed, there are none.

IS DECASUALISATION THE ANSWER?

I think the reason the docks have been given so much publicity is because the Devlin Committee is soon to start its investigation into the 'causes of dissension in the industry and other matters affecting efficiency of working' which will include 'decasualisation'. Under this scheme most of the smaller employers would be out, with the larger ones employing men in a normal factory way. Not only would this strengthen the employers' hand, but also that of the unions and no doubt they would collaborate to victimise certain militants who are a thorn in their flesh.

With the dockers working for one

Freedom For Workers' Control

JANUARY 16 1965 Vol. 26 No. 2

employer, the solidarity which exists now could be slowly broken down. It is being suggested that the NASD should be recognised and allowed to take part in negotiations. This, I feel certain, would end any militancy it now shows, and it would become another version of the TGWU.

'Tribune', a Left-wing Labour weekly, thinks the answer to the dockers' problem is 'genuine nationalisation with a measure of workers' control' (my italics) and suggests

that there should be only one employer, the State. Obviously we are all for workers' control, not just measures handed down by the State, and this is the direction in which the dockers should be thinking. Although their casual method of employment does have its disadvantages, it does give them freedom from the employers' discipline as well as that of the unions. It is the dockers themselves who should gain control and run the show.

P.T.

Tradition Broken

VAUXHALL CAR WORKERS have broken with tradition. It was the proud boast of this American owned firm (General Motors) that since 1926 there has never been a shut-down. In 1963 5,000 men walked out, but the works kept ticking over.

The company is not a member of the Employers' Federation and all negotiations are carried on with the unions at district level.

Vauxhall's workers are claiming a £5 rise per week to bring them into line with car workers in the Midlands. The management is offering between 11/8d. and 16/8d. At a rough glance one would say that the gap between the demand and the offer is quite wide.

Originally shop stewards took the initiative, calling for a token strike for the night shift at the Luton and Dunstable plants for December 31 last year. The AEU National leadership was choked, but they were at a disadvantage because the AEU executive meeting was not due until January 5. The management posted notices to the effect that if the stoppage took place they would close the works from December 31 to January 4. On Christmas Eve the workers decided to postpone action for a few days. The management then put feelers out to see how many men would defy the strike call, if sufficient numbers were found, they would keep limited production going.

On Monday, January 4, 21,000 production workers walked out of Vauxhall's Luton and Dunstable plants and the management shut down. At a mass meeting there were calls for work-to-rule and an overtime ban. The AEU Divisional Organiser suggested that the men should accept the 4½d. per hour offer and the reply from the meeting was to 'stuff it'. There were calls for strike action but the AEU convenor explained that this course of action would be discussed by shop stewards with members on the shop floor.

Production was estimated to be back to normal on Wednesday, January 6. Union officials met the management but no statement was issued. According to the *Car Workers' Bulletin* published by the National Union of Vehicle Builders (NUVB) the company 'could well afford to pay wages in line with those enjoyed in the Midlands'. Union negotiations have estimated that fringe benefits paid by Vauxhall are worth 1/- per hour which means in gross wages NUVB members are about 3/- per hour behind their counterparts in the Midlands.

Vauxhall wage structure has no provision for piecework. The statement in the *Car Workers' Bulletin* appears to regret this because it states that workers are denied the opportunity of improving their earnings, therefore excess overtime has to be worked. Vauxhall workers are correct in claiming this increase to their 'basic rate', piecework is the badge of slavery. The Company is doing very nicely thank you, 1964 sales were well above 1963 figure. In the nine months of 1964, output exceeded the whole 12 months of 1963, and exports were up 97%.

On Thursday, January 7, shop stewards representing all unions met to consider the situation. The management is 'digging in', they have threatened to close down the plant in the event of a work to rule or overtime ban. Also if the present offer is not accepted the offer will be withdrawn.

This management means business, which could mean non-conventional tactics by the workers. In 1937 in the U.S. auto workers in Detroit had their picket lines battered to death by the police so they decided to seize the factory and stay in the plant, thus locking the boss out. This 'stay in strike' was completely successful in a few weeks. (SWF pamphlet, *What's Wrong With The Unions?*)

The situation at Vauxhall's has now taken a peculiar twist. The electricians have been operating a non co-operation tactic since before Christmas in an attempt to obtain recognition for direct 'pay negotiating rights'. To date the Company only recognises the AEU and NUVB in this respect.

Now we have the AEU and NUVB working normally, whilst discussions on their claim is going on, and the electricians are working-to-rule and operating an overtime ban.

During the one day stoppage the electricians reported for work. This situation proves the complete fallacy of unions on a craft basis; workers divided, with the possibility of causing lasting friction.

The NUVB area organiser claims that the electrician's action has 'raised the temperature of the current wage negotiations'. If the full demand is not met by the management one can foresee the 'sparks' taking the can back.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

BUSMEN ADVANCE TO ANOTHER DEFEAT

WHATEVER THEIR FAULTS, and they are legion, one must admire the negotiating ability of the London Transport Executive. You may stand in the drizzling rain waiting for the overdue overloaded bus after a hard black day and find your evening whittled down because of lack of adequate public transport but turn the LTE loose in the conference room with the elected representatives of their employed staff and the LTE cannot be faulted.

After almost twenty years of protest the rank and file of the bus industry

finally managed to get a public inquiry into the conditions regarding their pay and work. To achieve this they had to struggle against the employer and the union top-brass and after using the weapon of the ban on voluntary overtime they finally won a watered down salve to their long festering wounds. But in 1964 the LTE, having accepted the inevitable, gained time by tossing every reform forward into 1965 and the busmen's leaders signed this agreement over the men's heads.

NO EXTRA DAY OFF

The sick-pay scheme has now come at long last into operation and the inevitable rise in the hourly rate has been paid out, plus, of course, the few odd days added to the yearly holiday but the forty-hour week was to come into operation in April of 1965. This is what all the men believed, that the hundred-and-sixty-hour working month would come into effect and the rank and file would have seven days off each working month instead of the present six days. April was to be the month when out of every twenty-eight days twenty-one would be worked and seven days would be unpaid rest days. The LTE, however, decided that they run the LTE and last December they threatened a major amputation of bus services. This at its most brutal estimate meant that at least one thousand five hundred men would have been declared redundant and the claim that much or all of this would have been covered by already existing staff vacancies is petty sophistry for it has always been accepted that once bus duties are axed from a service rota they are never or hardly ever replaced.

Here was an issue that affects every man and woman who travels, but what public group would come forward to battle against these cuts? The TGWU automatically went into negotiation, if not into battle, with the LTE and a demand for a ban on voluntary overtime, carried at delegate conference by ninety-seven votes to one, forced the

LTE's hand. The LTE still threatened major bus cuts for 1965 plus a new scheme of Traffic Area operation, which, stripped of its phraseology, meant a weeding out of buses when two services overlap. Roughly this means that if you have two services passing the end of your road then one is turned short and you have to travel on the other service until you connect with the other overlapping bus service.

After the usual breast-beating the LTE 'capitulated' stating that the bus cuts would not be put into operation as a fleet issue but 'on a garage basis, due regard being paid to persistent staff shortage'. But the forty-hour week that was believed to come into operation from April has gone by the board and in its place the men are now told that the forty-two hour week will exist in theory but that the extra two hours will not be worked and the two hours money spread over the forty hours. To make up for these two hours the LTE have demanded that the men shall work one day of compulsory overtime each month so that out of the twenty-eight working day month the men must still work the twenty-two days with only the six days off.

NO REPORT BACK

In October the LTE state that they will review the situation but one does not have to gaze into the bottom of an empty beer glass to foretell that there will be the usual staff shortage and another demand for service cuts and will the LTE then honour the long promised five day week? This agreement was accepted without any reference back to the branches by a vote of ninety to eight at conference and the point was made that they were there for the specific purpose of making decisions, not to act as dummies. Again, panic seems to have been the key note and the delegates have taken major decisions affecting the lives of thousands of men without even bothering to consult them.

Continued on page 3

SELLING THE WAGE FREEZE

THE WORKERS AFFECTED by the new three-year package deal for the engineering industry are employed in a number of manufacturing industries such as shipbuilding, cars, household appliances, etc. As these are not self contained, as such, there has been little reaction so far to the package deal. If there has, it has not been voiced nationally.

The deal is now in operation and the process of passing the actual details of the agreement from union executive level to the rank and file is under way. Union officials can expect a hard time of it, in trying to gain the members' acceptance of this piece of negotiated wage freeze. As one of them said, 'It is not going to be easy to persuade our members that what they are going to get out of this deal is more than just a 40 hour week and a couple of five bob rises in three years. It is true that we have obtained the extra day's holiday and improved holiday credits, but what we have been campaigning for is a third week's holiday, which has already

been granted by some non-federated firms.'

Union officials will be meeting at regional and local levels in order to discuss the best way of selling the agreement to the members and deciding which point can be emphasised and which must be avoided at all costs. (A very difficult task.)

No doubt many workers will see how the sweetener of the guaranteed week could in actual fact backfire against them, for it does not operate for them if it is strike action by other sections or factories which leads to their being laid off. These could weaken efforts where some form of action is necessary to increase the loop-hole of piece-work earnings.

What is obviously vital is stronger rank and file organisation at shop-floor level, but this should be linked with those of other factories and firms which produce components for the finished product. Only in this manner will the full effects of the wage-freeze deal be avoided.

P.T.