## Anarchist Weekly @

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## The Law Not Justice

MONICA FURLONG, feature writer for the Daily Mail, exposed in their edition of 30.11.65 the tragic story of Michael Brooke Baker.

This nineteen-year-old youngster lost his wallet; unfortunately for him, it was found and handed in to the police station. The police, on going through the wallet in an endeavour to establish its ownership, found a letter which suggested to them that Michael must be a

Subsequently Michael was questioned by the police and in all innocence told them the whole tragic story. A boy without a father, he was educated by Roman Catholics, one of whom, a priest, had introduced him to homosexual practices. The priest explained to Michael that there was nothing wrong in this, it was purely an expression of love.

As time went by Michael began practising homosexuality, after all a Roman Catholic priest would not lead anyone

This youngster was dragged before the court and received a three year sentence in Wormwood Scrubs. As the law stands, Michael could not be sent to Borstal because they do not cater for sexual offenders. Under the Criminal Justice Act of 1961, there were only two courses open to the judge sentencing a person under 21, either a sentence up to six months or one of three years or more.

A month or so ago, Michael's appeal was dismissed by the Court of Criminal Appeal. It was reported that the Lord Chief Justice stated that this was 'a tragic case'. Nevertheless three years was 'by no means excessive'

The law's excuse for this travesty of justice is 'that youngsters must be protected from people like Michael Brooke

What about Michael, is he to be written off as expendable? A psychiatrist who was present in court suggested that something could be done to help this young

As Monica Furlong states in her article, it is possible that the mere fact of appearing in court, coupled with outpatient treatment at a psychiatric unit, might have met the case.

To be frank about it, the majority of people do not know and do not want to know about the problems of homosexuality, they have been conditioned to regard it as pure filth, and the law, in its lack of wisdom, ensures that these thoughts continue.

Monica Furlong and the Daily Mail are to be congratulated on exposing this diabolical injustice. One wonders how many other cases there are, which go through the courts unnoticed, treated by all and sundry as 'unclean'. Civilization in 1965 is still barbaric, and will continue to be, so long as the present 'system' BILL CHRISTOPHER.

#### **Action for** the Homeless

King Hill hostel for Homeless Families run by the Kent County Council at West Malling, near Maidstone, has been described by Eric Lubbock, MP, as 'a concentration camp'

After a year of Labour in power, the homeless can still be put out into the streets from local government premises in mid-winter. Families can be broken up by bureaucratic decree and husbands sent to prison for wanting to be with their wives in their hour of greatest need. This is a public scandal, it is a denial of every principle of social justice and humanity which the Labour members like to talk about.

Mr. Kenneth Robinson, Minister of Health, has the ultimate responsibility for such proceedings. He cannot pass the buck to anyone else. Mr. Robinson has promised to do everything he can, but sympathy is not everything.

We call on you and your friends to join us next Sunday, and on succeeding Sundays outside Mr. Robinson's house for a 'progress We don't want to be fobbed off with promises and double-talk. Meet Sunday, December 19,

2.45 p.m. at Kentish Town Underground Station. Joe Gibbons (Residents Committee King Hill Hostel)

#### THE KARIBA DAM has become Rhodesian the focal point of all the talks that have gone on about Rhodesia One cannot help likening this dam, controlling, as it does, the chief source of power in the area, with the H-bomb. For it is in its way a deterrent to violence and war Focal Point Smith's Government holds the dam, which is the source of electricity for Zambia's copper industry, which in turn is a source of raw material for Britain's industries. So

Mr. Smith and his racialist friends. This, however, is some way off and a great deal can happen before then.

I am still of the opinion, however, that some kind of agreement will be reached before this happens. If Smith does intend to hold out, his best hope is for an early election in Britain and the return of a Conservative majority, but this is unlikely to say the least, or failing that, to hang on till the fuss dies down and then make a deal that will save everyone's face. Let it be remembered that Wilson has no intention of scrapping the 1961 constitution, so that things can remain the same for quite a long time. If one can believe the 'right wing' Daily Telegraph, Wilson would not be opposed to a government even if Mr. Smith was part, provided Sir Humphrey Gibbs remained in charge.

The Africans want one man one vote but everyone is agreed that they must wait for education (that will be handed out by their political enemies) before they are ready for this. Wilson has said again and again that he does not expect the 'white' Rhodesians to accept majority rule straight away, only to give assurances that it will come one day. When that day will arrive

is up to the Rhodesian education authorities, i.e. the 'whites'. So it looks as if the Africans in Rhodesia will have to wait a long time for the vote whatever happens.

If Mr. Wilson succeeds in economically starving the rebel government to submission, they will leave for South Africa with some of their supporters and the rest would carry on as they have in Kenya for example. The Africans will still not have the vote, though the government will be more liberal (whatever that means); they could then advance to democracy, or rule by African bosses slowly over the next 50 to 100 years. So much for socialism under Brother Wilson.

#### **A Statement** in Support of Freedom to Read

WE THE UNDERSIGNED are totally opposed to police censorship, and attempted suppression, of works of undisputed literary content. We consider most arguments advocating such restriction, to be founded upon emotional prejudice and irrational opinion. It is our conviction that ignorance, rather than knowledge, is potentially corruptive and that the official restriction of books of serious social intent, realistically concerned with sexual attitudes, is partly responsible for much illogical guilt, and unnatural repression, in the minds of bewildered adolescents.

Furthermore we are deeply disturbed by drastic police action against a nonprofit-making literary and avant-garde poetry press. We suspect that it was not essential, to routine police investigation, to incapacitate this small publishing group by removing all their files and most of their book stock during a recent raid on their premises, and it is surely outrageous that the police should seize various personal documents, including books from the publisher's private collec-

Finally we are most concerned about the threat, to the post-Chatterley liberalisation of our literary climate, implicit in the Director of Public Prosecution's decision to proceed with a prosecution against the publisher of The Golden Convolvulus, a limited edition anthology of literary erotica. We regret, and unreservedly oppose, all police censorship and erosion of what is, after all, our most cherished freedom; the unrestricted

communication of ideas. John Arden. Martin C. O. Bax, Editor, Ambit. Jim Burns, Editor, Move. John Calder. Peter Drinkwater. Dr. Albert Ellis. Paul Evans & Paul Matthews,

> Editors, 11th Finger. Lawrence Ferlinghetti. Roy & Barbara Fisher, FREEDOM Editors.

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Tom McGrath. Cavan McCarthy, Editor, Tlaloc. Dr. Dennis J. McGarry. Bob Ovary. Christopher Perret. Rod Prince, Editor, Peace News.

Jeremy Robson. Alan Sillitoe Fr. Brocard Sewell, Editor, Aylsford Review.

Kent Taylor. Money still needed to pay off legal fees. Send to 11 Clematis Street, Black-

Adelaide Simon.

## The Lost Leaders

TT IS RECORDED of an old Greek cynic that he said, 'I have known nine and twenty leaders of revolt'. Far be it to equate anarchism with cynicism (anarchists, to paraphrase Oscar Wilde on cynics, know the price of everything. but they have their values), but we have seen a new quota of leaders of revolt thrown up in the progressive and Labour movements in the last few months-William Warbey, Bertrand Russell, Ken Coates, Tariq Ali (to name only a few who have sprung to public prominence in the last few weeks)-and as if it needed a ghost to illustrate the theme, the death is recorded this week of Henry Wallace, one-time wonder-boy and would-be leader of the American left.

during the past few weeks.

over the Rhodesian affair.

the rebel government holds a trump

card. But though they hold this

card, it is one which they cannot

play. For should they destroy the

dam, the wrath of the British

Government would fall in the shape

of paratroops, and no doubt Smith and Co. would then really be 'strung

up' to placate the feelings of the

that Smith will in desperation

destroy the dam and cut off his

chief industry from its main need,

and this is why he is crying for

moderation and caution to the other

African States that are talking of

armed intervention, and one can

certainly sympathise with him. After

all, why should Zambia go to the

wall (economically speaking) to advance the political hopes of

Nkruma or Nasser who stand to

We are told (by certain sections

of the British press) that the sanc-

tions against Rhodesia are expected

to work. That the Rhodesians will

have to tighten their belts before

long (say, by February), and the

final crunch will come in May,

should no one want to buy the

tobaco crop. Then the 'Whites' will

start to trickle away into South

Africa and this will be the end for

lose nothing in comparison?

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda is terrified

Britons who will be unemployed.

All these yet-to-be-found leaders of mislaid causes have one thing in common a desire to attain power, power for the best possible motives, of course, to reform what has gone wrong with the party in power, the party which has

'betrayed' all their hopes. At the same time one finds a reluctance to destroy the apparat; they wish to keep the power of the Labour Party intact and at the same time change the direction of that power. They hesitate at the brink of action, like William Warbey; declare (like Ian Smith) their undying loyalty to the real party whilst engaged in treasonable activities-in the eyes of the Labour Party; many cling to the party, setting up organizations within the party to change the party from within; many have dedicated themselves to a policy (the French turn) of boring from within, and usually succeed in being boring from any angle; and others take refuge in that last infirmity of a noble mind-a Popular Front.

The myth that the real Labour Party is hidden away somewhere is one that sustains many waverers. The Russian peasants persecuted under the Czar created for themselves a comforting myth that it was the false Czar who was on the throne and when the real Czar got back on the throne there would be some changes made. 'Trotskyism', nebulous as it may seem, is just a state of mind and the illusion that if only the real leaders of the working-class were

in charge things would be better, is probably the only thing that Ken Coates has in common with Gerry Healey.

It is claimed by some that Ken Coates has only been expelled from the Nottingham Labour Party for his opinions. Did he then succeed in keeping his actions separate from his opinions? What then did his opinions mean? Did he never vote against the official party policy? It is, unfortunately, quite possible for a man to remain in the Labour Party without any need to act on his opinions. Thus the layer of radical, educated opinion in the Labour Party, conceals, even from the radicals themselves, the reactionary, fossilized, powerdrunk bureaucracy the party has become.

This leads to the Great Illusion, which is that the Labour Party can be reformed from within. This is an even more potent illusion than the attempts of the 'enterists' to capture the commanding heights of leaflet distributing or resolution-passing.

Among the 'nine and twenty leaders of revolt' in the Labour Party can be listed Aneurin Bevan, Stafford Cripps, Harold Wilson, R. H. S. Crosman, Oswald Mosley, John McGovern, Fenner Brockway and John Strachey. These took the paths of cabinet office; of a grosser betrayal because they had been idealists; of cynicism and death of the body that followed the death of ideals; of rank reaction and a fierce denunciation of all those values for which they and they at one time thought the Labour Party stood.

Eventually the machine captured the man and the shrewd Cabinet makers dove-tailed their most vociferous critics into the most onerous offices and tamed them by forcing them to taste the bitter responsibility of power as well as the pleasant fruits. As long as Bevan and Co. stood on the sidelines they could not believe that a Labour Government would, having substantially the same task, be just as reactionary in office as a Conservative Government. The idealists made the best Cabinet Ministers for they could carry out the most odious tasks and radiate the conviction, which they still retained, that they were doing it all for Continued on page 3

THE SCANDAL OF THOMAS ST.

descended on a small street of terraced houses in Cardiff. The street is Thomas Street, with neat little houses where people in 1959 purchased their houses from the council and had no difficulty in getting a mortgage. Now, after an inspection by government officials, the houses have been declared 'unfit for human habitation'. Evidently they did not satisfy certain scruples of the law in facilities for hot water, sanitary conditions, food storage space in kitchens, etc. The council, of course, is 'legally prevented' from paying the present market price therefore after the compulsory purchase the present householders will not have enough money to buy a comparable house. Added to this they are also 'legally' committed to paying back the remaining mortgage on a house they no longer possess.

Not surprisingly the people in Thomas Street are up in arms. They are asking some very pertinent questions. Did the council know in 1959, when they granted 15 year leases, that the houses were scheduled to be pulled down? Either

scandal. Or they did not-in which case there was an astonishing lack of foresight.

A typical case is that of a lorry driver. He paid £750 in 1959 with a mortgage that will net the building company £1,500 by the time it is paid back by 1974. He is compulsorily given £400 from the City Fathers, which if it is used as a deposit for another house (if he can find one), would land him in the position of paying back on two mortgages. He earns £15 a week. His wife said: 'I'll not shift until I get my money'. Another man said: 'I'll rather go to prison than move. There is nothing wrong with these

A councillor said: 'You can't blame the council. We are only human. Our hands are tied by stupid laws',

That is no excuse. The inhabitants of Thomas Street should not be at the mercy of stupid councillors, hiding behind stupid laws. The tenants should post the mortgages to the City Fathers. They were sold these houses on false pretences.

## Anarchy58: on Homelessness

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## ROUND THE **GALLERIES**

THEY DANCED like moths above a

glow of death until each in his turn sank

into the black and bitter ashes. They were the gay people, the divine and

naughty people and they danced their

pretty dance of death to the music of

Ravel and Tea for two and they laughed

with Noël, applauded with Ivor and

crooned with Cochran and were giggly

sick on the cross-Channel ferries. They

were the children of the twenties seeking

their escape with the key of wealth from

the prison that the world was building

around itself. Fitzgerald wept for them,

Waugh laughed and envied them,

Cocteau primped for them, Arlen wrote

their shallow philosophy and Kit Wood

painted for them. They asked nothing

of life except to be amused and these

harmless little people played out their

unimportant lives harming no one, not

even themselves. But minor talent de-

mands wealth or lasting youth for, with-

out these, there is always another pretty

boy forcing his silken snout forward in

the mouse race. John Christopher Wood

died on August 21, 1930, and his death

became the epilogue of that charming

little light comedy that the middle classes

called the twenties. He was Kit Wood

and he painted the backcloth for their

shrill laughter, and in a world that knew

hunger and death he painted the propa-

ganda posters for these tourists hurrying

through life forever seeking the next

moment of escape from a world they did

not create, understand or desire. Year

by year the paintings of Christopher

Wood appear in the London galleries but

the dealers have been false to his

memory in that they have chosen to

show but one facet of his limited talent.

or Cornish harbours that turned each

gallery into an adult nursery, for there

is a childlike naivety about the work of

this overtalented amateur. Left to him-

self, he offers a world of crudely

fashioned two-dimensional figures posing

like second rate actors against a never-

ending backcloth but on exhibition for

the first time is the body of Wood's work.

Seurat, van Gogh, Picasso, Modigliani

and the primitive work of the Cornish-

man Alfred Wallis flood the walls of

the Redfern at 20 Cork Street, W.1, yet

the saving grace of this exhibition lies

as always in Wood's own inspired, lyrical

paintings seeking confirmation from no

Truly he held up his tiny mirror and

for a few moments caught a brief image

of a world of tatty innocence. Card-

board cottages white in the Brittany sun,

of soilless peasants and church interiors

waiting for a Godfrey Winn to read a

benediction, with a gay Christ resting

upon a painted cross, while tourists seek

postcards rather than salvation. But the

tragedy of this exhibition lies not in

these sweet and pretty paintings acting

out their record of a sweet and charming

people, but in the death of Christopher

Wood. Within this exhibition there is

on public sale the official life of Kit

Wood and the late Eric Newton wrote

of him that 'later in the same day he was

killed by a train on Salisbury station'.

Max Wykes-Joyce carried on from there

by stating in Art News that Wood

fainted, fell beneath a train and was

killed instantly'. Why must they falsify

Kit Wood's death? What is gained by

pretending that, like Rupert Brooke, he

passed into the J. M. Barrie world as an

one but his own heart.

Sad and gutless pastiches of Braque,

Always it was his Brittainy peasants

burning world gilt in the golden

The facts are harsh and bitter and they demand to be told.

Kit Wood was born on April 7, 1901, at Yalding Cottage, Knowsley, and was christened John Wood and he died on August 21, 1930, at Salisbury and the cause of death was recorded as 'Shock following injuries sustained owing to his throwing himself in front of a train at the Southern Railway Station Salisbury on the 21st August, 1930, whilst of unsound mind. The County Press on 23.8.1930 summed up this tragedy with this brief report, 'as the express drew in he fell onto the metals and received shocking injuries, his legs being severed from his body. Dr. Butters was called, but could do nothing. The body was taken in the Salisbury Fire Brigade ambulance to the city mortuary'. It was left to the Daily Express to play the Levite and walk away from the body for, when the news of Kit Wood's death came over the wire, they wrote on 22.8.1930 'Artist killed by train. Station tragedy of noted young painter. Brilliant young artist who was discovered by Augustus John was one of the painters whose work attracted great attention at the "Daily Express' Young Artists' Exhibition three years ago . . . in a grey flannel suit . .

the late Mr. Hugh Walpole and Mr. Eddie Marsh' yet when the findings of the inquest were given out he was no longer the Daily Express young artist but a suicide whom the Express record as follows, 'Leap in front of train. A verdict of "Suicide while of unsound mind" was recorded at an inquest at Salisbury yesterday on John Christopher Wood, age 29, an artist, of Minton-Place, Fulham Road, London, who jumped in front of an express train at Salisbury Railway station on Thursday afternoon. Wood left an unintelligent message written on an envelope'. So Kit Wood was swept into the garbage bin of minor history and in his place we are offered this varnished myth of the golden boy of the twenties. The Daily Express spoke of an unintelligent message that Kit Wood left so, for the record, the BLOODSTAINED message read 'ARE YOU SO POSITIVE?' and 'THROWING AWAY IS NOT BIG ENOUGH PROOF'. That and a bundle of paintings were all Kit Wood left for posterity. His bloodstained message is forgotten and ignored and his paintings with their nostalgic echoes are still being hawked by the art hucksters. When I was sixteen years of age, shabby, ill-kempt and unemployed, I would tramp week by week to stand on the pavement and peer into the window of Julian Trevelyan's smart studio in Chiswick Mall. There within that window was a single painting Dancing sailors by Christopher Wood For those brief moments of escape I owe Kit Wood a debt for he gave without knowing and this is the glory of the artist that despite himself he is truly the hand of god.

and buy a book costing 8/6d. His

pictures were collected . . . Lord Berners,

ARTHUR MOYSE.

THIS REGULAR MONTHLY column in a leaflet that he was harbouring is intended not so much to create activity but merely to record it. It is open to all groups who wish to show a sign of life, not merely the tombstone inscriptions that appear in FREEDOM each week and take up so much space.

ANARCHISTS!

This was the headline in the Aberdeen Evening Express on November 24 over a long article by a Meg Johnson. 'How active are Aberdeen's anarchists?' she asks. She found plenty of pertinent reasons for taking a look at their activities. It is pointless to quote chunks from her fumbling attempt to tame the beasts who paint slogans, break civil defence windows and who took part in an ill-timed (?) demonstration on Remembrance Sunday. Nevertheless she was 'impressed by their arguments and 'But gathered in such their sincerity'. strength' says Meg, who reports that YCND through which Aberdeen anarchists work has a local membership of 120, 'with only a secretary, but no committee or chairman they could get out of control'. J. R. Mitchell who sent me the press cutting comments: 'No committee! No chairman! And in such numbers! Let's hope we do get out of control, and then we will smash the state once and for all.'

NO LICENCE

The Glasgow group are looking for new premises for their meetings. The proprietor of the 'Horseshoe Bar' noticed

anarchists and told them to go as he 'was not licensed for such activities'.

STRONG NUCLEUS IN LIVERPOOL

Barbara Renshaw writes: 'As an introduction. I will give a general picture of the group. There is a strong nucleus of roughly 12 comrades of anarchist and syndicalist tendencies and a growing number of sympathisers nearby, stretching from the Wirral to North Wales. We have had sporadic meetings and hope to consolidate this into a regular fortnightly gathering in the near future. . Our aim is to provide a sympathetic ground for people of common convictions, and to realize as far as possible on Merseyside a constant flow of libertarian and anarchistic ideas.'

WHITE BIKES

Judging from a letter and leaflet from Dutch Comrade, Martin Lind, Dutch anarchism seem to show signs of surrealist influence. The little group, 'Provo'. he belongs to in Amsterdam has grown to 'an enormous protesting movement which does tremble Holland in its fundamentals'.

Very important is their propaganda against the marriage of Princess Beatrix to the German aristocrat with former Nazi connections. The 'Provo' group meet every Saturday midnight near a little statue in central Amsterdam. The police immediately appear and arrest them. Nobody quite knows what the demonstration is about and why the

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 19, SAME TIME AND PLACE.

M.W.

VISITING MINISTERS

ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12, families

the refugees of the various political

shades of the Rent Acts decided to visit

one of the Ministers responsible for the

chaotic mess called a hostel. Accom-

panied by a hundred supporters, they

marched from Kentish Town Station to

Mr. Kenneth Robinson's home to ask

him what has happened to all the broken

The Minister, as often seems to be the

case, was not in and so a public meeting

was called for about an hour near the

house. The demonstrators marched off

in an orderly fashion to the Kentish

been taken in support of the homeless

families at West Malling, 'A concen-

tration camp', as it has been described

by Eric Lubbock. Since this is a basic

issue, it is extremely important that we

support such campaigns. It is therefore

highly disappointing to see only a

hundred people turn out on such a

favourable day. This IS the day to day

struggle. These are the 'people'. And

this is the sort of thing we can win. It

is better to remember that the two men

who went to prison on this issue wore

CND badges. Why? Because those who

are supporting them wore them, and so

when they stood in the dock they wore

the CND badge for Solidarity with their

comrades and no one had attempted to

make any propaganda to them about the

anti-war struggle. So there's your lesson,

comrades. Pay more attention to the

bread and butter issues and there is the

bed rock of the Free Society. That's

what propaganda by deed really means,

AND TURN OUT NEXT TIME

This is yet another action which has

promises of the Labour Party

Town tube.

from the West Malling Hostel for

police should react in such a way.

More to the point is what they call the 'White Bike' project against 'the tyranny of car traffic' in Amsterdam. Thirty comrades painted their bicycles white and let it be known that anybody can use them. All they asked was that people should leave the bicycles in the street after they finished their journey for use by the next person. This idea spread very quickly until the bicycle manufacturers, the insurance companies and the police stepped in. The police confiscated the bicycles under the pretext that they were 'liable to be stolen'.

NEW ZEALAND CONGRESS

A congress of anarchists is taking place in New Zealand and it is expected that about 50 people will attend. The meetings in Myers Park are moderately successful and a fairly wide range of people are becoming interested in anarchism.

GET THEE TO SAFFRON WALDEN' (Shakespeare)

Robert Baltrop writes: 'The prospects for the Group here look rosy. We are having our first full meeting this Saturday, and we should have a good gathering. The nicest surprise came last week when my wife went into a shop in Saffron Walden. As soon as she gave her name the couple who keep the shop said they were readers of FREEDOM and asked eagerly about the group; they are coming

#### **Anarchist Federation of Britain**

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirsh field, 4 Albert St., London, N.W.1

#### 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.

DEC. 19 Social in aid of 'Freedom'

DEC. 26 NO MEETING. Pub closed

JAN. 2 Tony Gibson Prejudice

eternal Peter Pan.

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park 3 p.m. Correspondence to: D. Bell, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

#### 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 Rooum's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

#### REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN GROUP. Meets at the Adelphi 2.30 every Sunday. Correspondence to I. R. Mitchell, 137 Faulds Gate, Aberdeen.

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Details of meetings from Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23. BORDER FEDERATION OF ANAR-CHISTS. Correspondence: John Stark,

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

39 Scott Street, Galashiels.

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

DUNDEE GROUP contacts: (1) Bob and Una Turnbull, 44 Peddie Street. Dundee. Meetings at 44 Peddie Street, Dundee, every Saturday at 3 p.m. (2) Sheila Whittaker, 64 Polepark Road, Dundee.

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

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Get in touch Road, Droylsden. Meetings alternate Burns Avenue, Tuesdays, 8 p.m. at the Lord Nelson, Chapel Street, Manchester.

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

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION. Enquiries: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Meetings on the first Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert Barltrop's, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Waldron.

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.

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Meets second Tuesday of month at Friends' Meeting House, Church Street (off London Street) 8 p.m. Correspondence: Phillip Lord, 160 Castle Hill, Reading.

SURREY ANARCHISTS are invited to meetings on the first Thursday of every month at Chris Torrance's (63 North Street, Carshalton, Surrey—please ring three times). Meetings 7.30 p.m.

Burns Avenue, Southall, Middlesex. WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Mr. Karl Taylor, 98 Clova Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7. Meetings on Wednes-

#### PROPOSED GROUPS

along, too.'

LEICESTER TOWN & GOWN. Get into touch with P. Gibbon, c/o Students' Union, Leicester University.

EDINBURGH (Revival). Get into touch with Ian Healey, 47 York Place, Edinburgh, 1, if interested.

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Projected formation of group contact Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middle-sex or Miss Jean McLean, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex.

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E. Have baby. Can't travel. Seek sympathisers/ comrades in area. Mike and Alison Malet, 61 Granville Park, S.E.13.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP TWO. Anyone interested contact Joe Embleton, 11 Baliol Street, Glasgow.

#### **ABROAD**

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

### JOHN MACLEAN

ber 1923-John Maclean died. Death cut short a turbulent life during which, before and after the first World War, Maclean taught the need for revolution.

The auspices under which he spoke or taught meant little to him, for it was the Labour movement as a whole that held his allegiance. He was a thorn in the side of the authorities and was hauled before the courts on four occasions.

His career as a schoolteacher ended abruptly in 1915 when he was dismissed the Education Authorities after being charged with offences against the Defence of the Realm Act. Allowed bail, he threw himself into the famous Rent Strikes in which industrial workers, by striking in solidarity with other sections of the working class, forced the government to rush through the Rent Restric-Act, preventing Factors from evicting tenants who could not meet the high rents.

On this court occasion he was fined. Thereafter he received prison sentences. He never taught school again but he did teach in the more important school

of life and the social struggle,
Maclean was convinced that if you patiently explained the true political and social situation to the workers they would reach an understanding and respond with

a positive contribution.

As he said: 'The very antagonisms in society that called into being the cooperative organisations in production and distribution, the Trade Unions and Socialist Groups, make it equally urgent that the workers should forge their own educational machine for their own class

Maclean's great contribution to the socialist movement was the Scottish Labour College. In the course of his work towards that end he made the Scottish working class aware, for the first time, of socialist ideas.

For his own teaching purposes he drew up a series of lecture notes in which he compressed the whole original scope of socialist thought and formulated a special method of teaching. These notes, with the passing of the years, were polished elaborated with illustrations drawn from the struggle taking place round about him—the struggle which was his whole life. These then became the perfectly suitable instrument to be used by the school of teachers Maclean himself had instructed. In this manner socialist ideas vere first conveyed to large numbers of the Scottish working class.

Hundreds of classes were held in all the industrial wards of Glasgow, in every coal-mining village in Lanarkshire and Fife. The result was the founding in 1916 of the Scottish Labour College.

Although life was a serious business for this man-who was to die at the age of 40 years-it was not a life devoid of Maclean could laugh with the best of them. One hears that he was bursting his sides as George Lansbury pleaded with him to stop the workers breaking down the door of a Town Hall which had been barred and bolted in an effort to stop Maclean holding meeting. Usually uncompromising, Mac-lean decided to hold the meeting in the street. And the frightened Lansbury— later to be a Cabinet Minister in the Labour Government—sighed with relief.

There is not the space here to recount all his trials. Probably the most dramatic was in 1918—while the war still raged when he was charged with offences under the Conscription Act.

Using the court as a platform, Maclean made one of the most stirring speeches of his short life.

In part he said: 'It has been said that they cannot fathom my motives. For the full period of my adult life I've been a teacher of economics to working men and women. And my contention has always been that Capitalism is rotten to its foundations. It must give place to a new society. Not so long ago I lectured under the title: "Thou Shalt not Steal,

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Thou Shalt not Kill", and I pointed out that as a consequence of the robbery that goes on in all civilised countries, our respective countries have had to keep armies and inevitably those armies must clash together. On that and other grounds I consider Capitalism to be the most infamous, bloody and evil system that mankind has ever witnessed. I am not here, then, as the accused-I am here accuser of Capitalism dripping with blood. I for one have squared my conscience with my intellect.'

They sentenced him to five years. But this was not the end of the story. For after the war a campaign among workers' organisations resulted in him receiving a Free Pardon from the King.

Characteristically, he returned the Pardon to the King and pointed out that it was not the King who had brought about his release but the agitation by the British workers.

When Maclean died, Lansbury wrote: He was impatient because all around him he saw little children wasting away and perishing because of a brutal, callous system which man had built up. Let us respect the honesty, courage and sincerity with which he pursued his way through

But we, who do not have to be so mealy-mouthed as the politician Lans-bury, can see that although Maclean's 'impatience' brought martyrdom to himself and untold misery to his wife and children, the road of revolution was the right road and was only blocked and defeated by the temporising of such 'comrades' as Lansbury and his like.

PETER KEARNEY.

#### Pope Pius had 'no fear' of Concentration Camp

in space, in fact, it didn't get off the launching-pad. General de Gaulle failed to get the 50% votes necessary to avoid a second ballot.

A REPORTER IN Sanity said that the YCND conference 'rejected the escapist view that "all supporters of unilateralism" should dissociate themselves from the Labour Party,' Mr. David Mercer wrote an open letter in Peace News to Mr. Wilson complaint that although he wrote an opening for the Labour Party. wrote an oration for the Labour Party victory rally at Wembley, when Mr. Mercer wrote to Mr. Wilson about Viet-Mercer wrote to Mr. Wilson about Vietnam he received no oration in return but an acknowledgement from Mr. Wilson's secretary. It seems that Mr. Mercer, after licking Mr. Wilson's boots, is surprised when he is licked in the teeth. On the other hand, a batch of voters from Hull, including supporters of The Centre for Socialist Education and The Week, wrote to Tritune expressing their loyalty to the official Labour Party candidate for Hull saying 'We shall work for the return of a Labour candiwork for the return of a Labour candidate without for one moment muffling severe criticism of Government policy' and furthermore 'We shall work for the and furthermore we shall work for the return of Labour because the alternative is Toryism, and because the Labour Government must have no alibis for its failure to carry out Socialist policies.' The Guardian reporter believes that support in Hall for the Radical Alliance port in Hull for the Radical Alliance candidate, Mr. Richard Gott, will only amount to a few hundred votes. . . . .

THE VATICAN COUNCIL closed its delibera-tions but failed to give the expected

dispensation for Friday meat-eating confining its dispensation to New Year's Day and Christmas Eve only, which happen to fall on a Friday. However, the Pope annulled the excommunications (made in 1054) of the Orthodox Church, for his part the Patriarch Athenagoras, annulled his church's excommunication of the Catholic Church. A letter writer in the Irish Sunday Press regrets that the Irish hierarchy have not yet 'annulled excommunication orders pronounced on Irish patriots for their part in the struggle against British occupation of our country (c. 1916-1922). . . .

JAMES CAMERON, WRITING an admirable series of articles from Hanoi in the Evening Standard, describes the war thus: What is taking place in Vietnam, both South and North, is an offence to international decency, both disgusting and absurd, and one of its chief wrongs is that it is corrupting both the assailants and victims alike'. Adam Roberts in Peace News repeats Cyril Fall's assessment that as many as 13,000 minor officials have been killed by the NLF in South Vietnam. The National Guardian (US) reprints from the New York Daily News an account of the accidental dropping by the US of a load of napalm bombs near US marines in the battle of ladrang River Valley which reads, 'The jellied, flaming gasoline—impossible to shake or scrape off once it hits the skin—abacket along the scrape of once it hits the skin splashed along the ground in a fiery dragon's tail. Screams sounded. Two men stumbled out of the inferno. Their hair burned off instantly, their clothes took not much longer . one man was a huge mass of blisters. Another has sucked the flames into his lungs and wheezed for breath. . . One medic asked me to help get the men into a

#### -Irish Independent

medivac helicopter. Tenderly we picked them up. I held the leg of the most seriously burned man. A big patch of skin came off in my hand. The National Guardian further quotes from Raymond Coffey in the New York Post, (Nov. 19) 'Suddenly a few yards away a wounded enemy soldier lifted one arm weakly and an American sergeant poured a long burst of M-16 rifle bullets into him "Was he trying to give up, Sarge?" a man asked. "I'd like to find more of man asked those bastards trying to give up," the sergeant said bitterly. No one disagreed with him. Neither side was taking

THE LETTER COLUMNS of Newsweek carry the following, 'As a young serviceman who takes pride in serving his country, I feel justified in saying that it is a shame that there are red-blooded Americans dying in Vietnam. What are they dying for? They are dying while defending freedom against the world-wide threat of Communism, but they are also dying for scum, vermin and good-for-nothing slobs who protest and demonstrate. (Signed) A/2C Gary B. Clark, Malmstrom Air Force Base, Montana.'

PRESIDENT MIKOYAN, President of the Soviet Union retired, as did Mr. McGeorge Bundy, President Johnson's special adviser on international affairs, he is to become president of the Ford Foundation. A Mr. Henry Smith of Dallas is President Johnson's double. He says of his resemblance to the President, 'People have been telling me this for years. But I don't mind.' He is by profession a garbage (refuse) collector.

JON QUIXOTE.

#### PIN-STRIPE VIETNIKS?

The problem of 'alienation' raised by 'Nobodaddy' in his interesting article on the American Peace Movement (FREE-DOM, 27.11.65) is a crucial one, but I don't think dressing up like businessmen carrying anti-war placards stuck on their umbrellas' will radically advance the movement for peace in Vietnam. The reason for this is that a good many American businessmen have direct financial interests in the perpetuation of the horrible war and no amount of humanitarian appeals-even registered on their own terms-is likely to influence A report by Alistair Cooke in the Guardian (9.8.65) entitled 'Vietnam a boost to US economy' puts it in a nut-

One truth, ruefully conceded in the Department of Commerce, the Treasury, and the Labour Department, and uncomfortably enjoyed by Wall Street, by Pittsburg, and the steel industry, is that

the war is wonderfully good for business. It is having a noticeably good effect on unemployment, it may bypass or postpone another nasty row between the steel industries and the Government; and it has pacified the fear that an unprecedented rate of industrial plant expansion would go beyond demand.

Both labour and business were privately disappointed . . . in the very small increase planned in defence

As Cooke aptly summed up at the end of the article, 'a logical world, if a mad

Added to this, I have always been against the attacks launched against non-conformists et al which have periodically broken out in peace movements on both sides of the Atlantic. The struggle for peace is not merely a struggle against some aspect of government foreign policy; it resolves itself essentially into a struggle for a complete transforma-tion of social attitudes and values within society. The American peace movement, unlike its British counterpart which has been deceitfully, cynically, and regrettably courted by the Labour and Communist Party bureaucracies, pseudoleftists and political tricksters, has acquired both the admiration and envy of many anarchists and humanitarians because it has stressed social, as opposed to political, revolution; the umbrellas, bowlers, pin stripe trousers, etc.—most probably bought by dividend shares in the toxic chemical industries—must go! Sincerely yours,

Manchester BILL JAMIESON.

REVIEW

How Did you Become an Anarchist?

WAS AMONGST a group of anarchists the other day who started talking about how they became anar-chists. After a while we decided this was of more than academic interest, in fact it could be a matter of some importance to those who would like to see more Anarchists.

Anyone who buys a book on anarchism or one of our papers is already intrigued enough to want to know more, but the majority of people are just not interested or merely put off by the very word. The essential thing therefore is to try and create that ferment of thought which might lead in the direction anarchism. In other words it is not the actual moment when a person says 'I am an anarchist' which is important, but the original stimulus which provoked the

During our discussion we discovered various sources of stimulation. The chief one seemed to be another person, either older, more intelligent, or more cultivated than ourselves. The age-old custom of wise men in the market place talking to the younger generation and making them think, discuss and argue had certainly influenced us. Not, we insisted, someone talking from platform to audience, but

the personal, social approach. We discovered this reluctantly (anar chists don't like leaders or heroes), but nevertheless each one of us had to admit that someone started us thinking and reading and questioning. We found out that the sphere of fermentation which predominated was the cafe, the pub and the club (in all its varieties), and only last of all came the public meeting.

Other beliefs have long since discovered their answer to this problem. The Salva-tion Army goes into the pubs, the worker priests into industry, the do-gooder into the Boy Scouts or the youth clubs, the fundamental Christians knocking on doors. All these activities are really but an effort to stimulate and influence by direct personal approach.

The reason for this, of course, lies in the destruction of our cities as living the destruction of our cities as living creative communities. They are too unwieldy and depersonalised, the supermarket has replaced the market place. Time was when the philosophers, poets and artists were available to be seen and talked to, now they have retreated and address us merely through their works—and this is not enough. Theirs is the responsibility to be flesh and blood as well as the printed word and the paint or stone. or stone.

Why was Paris for so long considered to be the most cultured city in the world? Partly because thinkers of all nationalities were available in the cafes and bistros to

stimulate whoever passed by. Why was Greece so far in advance of other countries of the time? For roughly the same reason. And as little as 20 years ago this was true of Soho and Chelsea, before the strip-tease and the smart set overwhelmed them.

Of course to a certain extent this is still true. The type of people I am talking about are there all right—but modern conventions are such that strangers hesitate to butt into private conversations and the clique is formed

and perpetuated.

But what about an anarchist's responsibilities to society—even the one he rejects? Our meetings are too much like affirmations of solidarity amongst the converted to attract some of the best minds who call themselves anarchists. But could we not encourage them to come out with us into the modern equivalent of the market place—the cafe and deliberately argue, discuss even pontificate amongst ourselves? with the intention of involving anyone at all. This is an activity to be taken just as seriously as organising meetings with speakers or writing articles for our news-

And don't let's wave the anarchist flag and sell propaganda, let's be people-groping and thinking and wondering-not all that much different from the other customers. After all we are always saying we haven't got a blueprint of a libertarian society.

B.McD.

#### LOST LEADERS

Continued from page 1

the best of possible reasons.

The other illusion that persists is that of the Popular Front which has raised its hoary head in Fulham (of all places) as the Radical Alliance which plans to put up a candidate against Michael Stewart, the incumbent. It plans a pro-gramme combining the best features of nuclear disarmament, anti-racial dis-crimination and war against poverty. Accepting the fact that the candidature is only a 'symbolic' act and brushing to one side the thought of a 'symbolic' candidate, one wonders what this melange of disapproval will accomplish and how long this alliance will last.

If, on the other hand, by some divine intervention (and this is the only thing that could do it) Mr. Tariq Ali became my member is there any intermediate line between impotence and corruption for an independent member?

The trouble with a Popular Front is that it has to be popular and can only remain popular by not getting power. But the getting of power is its reason for existence.

JACK ROBINSON.

#### **MELLY & ALL THAT JAZZ**

'Owning Up' by George Melly, pub. Weidenfeld & Nicholson at 30s.

MOST ANARCHISTS in and around London will have heard of the Mick Mulligan Band and George Melly, if for no other reason than that they performed at the two 'Anarchist Balls' at the Fulham Town Hall. This book is more or 1258 the story of George Melly's association with Mick Mulligan and the various musicians and 'characters' who were in and around the band during that twelve years. It is full of sharp yet good natured portraits of his associates with candid descriptions of their

personal attributes and peculiarities. Though in some cases they may seem to be harsh, in fact George Melly is portraying very well the atmosphere of quick sharp backchat which exists not only among jazz bands but among other very close groups (as the editors of FREEDOM know only too well). The recounting of the 'points' system for seeing people who were maimed or deformed

added to the 'family' atmosphere.

The anecdotes about the different halls and digs must apply to most of the halls and digs must apply to most of the jazz bands of the period but, as George Melly mentions, Mick Mulligan was known as the 'King of the Ravers' and the band had a similar reputation. I did not see the Mulligan Band until it had been going for some time and I quite liked them because they seemed to be enjoying themselves when playing, and my impression was that George Melly had more 'personality' than talent as a

What sort of 'personality' George Melly has I don't know, but a friend of mine claims that it must certainly be 'dual' or it would be impossible for him to use so much 'foul' language in social conversation and change to an entirely different style when compering on Radio and 'Telly' or taking part in 'The Critics', without ever 'dropping a bollock'. His book, also, is written in two styles. When recounting stories of the Mulligan Band four letter words abound and he manages a very good rendering of 'uninhibited' conversation, but when giving us a bit of social history of 'serious' information his style changes to his BBC voice and personality. I think the book is an entertaining romp.

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BY POST:

## Tragic Defeat for Painters

Euston Centre has finally been broken. Last week Jenners, the painting contractors, moved in their regulars and these, I'm afraid, crossed the picket line. After rejecting the recommendations of the last Commission, the painters were really up against it, but when the final crunch came, the Federation Steward, Bro. Scafardi, didn't even request written approval from the union, but just let these regulars start on the job.

The whole dispute has been a betrayal of the principles of trade unionism. We expect this sort of thing from union executives, but it comes hard when it occurs on a job which is organised, has shown solidarity with other sites who have been in dispute and has downed tools in support of the London Joint Sites Committees wages and hours campaign. In fact, this is a site which has been to the fore in the struggle to defend and improve the lot of the building workers.

How and why were the painters let down so tragically? When the strike first started, the painters' steward was a member of the Communist Party. There was some dissatisfaction in his handling of the dispute and regardless of the pros and cons of electing a new steward while in dispute, they took this step, because of their complete lack of confidence in him. In his place they elected Bro. Hehir.

No doubt, Bro. Scafardi, who is also a member of the Communist Party, didn't like this very much. He might have genuinely thought that the best way to win the dispute was through the official procedure, but this line does not tie up with previous action taken on the job. The union rule book has been ignored before, why not this time? Was Bro.

#### **Contact Column**

Contacts Needed. Long Beach, California, USA area. Get in touch with Charles Levy, P.O. Box 743, Long Beach, California, USA. December 17 to 19.

Community. Wanted: young communityminded persons to share house in respected). Box 17.

French, Anybody? Comrade finding his French rusty would like a pen-pal (sex immaterial) in French Libertarian movement. Esperanto speaking and interest in contemporary poetry if possible. Would like to contact Soriano Joseph of CNT. Met in Paris, 1963. Write David Stringer, c/o Freedom Press.

Individualist Anarchists. Second Sunday of month at 10 Churton Street, S.W.1 (off Vauxhall Bridge Road),

Pilgrimage of Concern. Starting King Hill Hostel to the Embankment. Details Simon Community Trust, 129 Malden Road,

Accommodation. Couple wishing to 'legalise' quite soon; must find accommodation before doing so for selves and 2½-year-old daughter as soon as possible. Cheap rent perhaps in return for some work in house, garden, etc. Town or country; anything, anywhere considered. Please contact Stella A. Fauser, 242 Amesbury Avenue, London, S.W.2. New Poster

Waste

Why? Politics!

3½d. each plus postage. Orders to Bill Sticker, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

New Zealand Federation of Anarchists. First Annual Congress, December 26 to January 6. Enquiries Box 5455, Auckland CI, NZ.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

Federation of Building Trades Operatives? Did he think they would discipline him or did he want to avoid any action which might bring the job out for more than just a day's token stoppage? If the job organisation cannot defend their own brothers on the job, then it isn't worth much. Wimpeys have taken note of this and already the bonus payments for both labourers and craftsmen have been cut without any opposition from the Works Committee. No doubt Wimpeys will press this advantage home even further in the future.

I have heard that Jenners were willing to take back all the painters but that Wimpeys disagreed. This shows the way that the latter and their agent, Mr. Anderson, were thinking. They do not mind Bro. Scafardi and the Works Committee, for they can be handled, but it is a different story as far as the painters are concerned. Mr. Anderson is quoted as saying to the painters 'If you want trouble that's all right

COMPANY UNIONISM

The painters' union has an agreement with Jenners which, to put it bluntly, is company unionism. Any new painters taken on who are not union members are immediately given a union ticket. They do not have to be proposed and seconded by members at a branch, no questions are asked and, in fact, they just sign up. These new members do not have a union branch to go to and Jenners, by agreement with the union, kindly deduct the weekly dues and send them to the union headquarters every quarter. This agreement was never put before the members and in fact the whole thing has been kept very quiet. I think it should be broadcast as much as possible to show it up for the rotten agreement it is

Bro. Scafardi has said to me that the 'anarchists have jumped on the

wagon, then we have, and will do so tended as a term of abuse. I'm sorry Party and so this has led to the

Of course, the union members on the job have accepted the lead of the Works Committee on the strike. I know a number of workers were not very happy over this, but there were not enough to outvote the Works Committee's recommendations and those who did support the painters did not feel strongly enough about it to join them outside.

From this a number of lessons emerge, which have been pointed out before in this paper. There must be a consciousness, at rank and file level, of where their interests lie. On Wimpeys job, they followed the lead of the Works Committee. The basic principle of solidarity was either forgotten or not even thought of. Many strikes, which deserved full support, have been lost because those on strike have been isolated. This happened to the painters.

They have certainly learnt this lesson the hard way. They put up a determined struggle from which example of solidarity which, I think, we all must pay tribute to and

Donations are still welcome. Send to D. Hehir, Sec./Treas. Strike Fund, 75 Blomfield Road, Paddington, W.9.

again in the future. Because we did this, the painters have been labelled as anarchists, which is no doubt into say that they do not hold these views. I think the painters at the Euston Centre have been sacrificed for the sake of the continuation of a CP leadership on the job, for the CP members see their Party and themselves as the vanguard of the working class struggle. It has always been a policy of the Party to try to break up an organisation if they are unable to control it themselves. I think this outlook has shown itself in the actions of Bro. Scafardi, for his judgement has been clouded by the outlook of his

defeat of the painters' strike.

they have learnt much. They set an

#### bandwagon'. If writing in support of strikers is jumping on the band-Glasgow Bus Workers Break with T&GWU

THERE HAS BEEN talk in many industries recently of forming 'breakaway' industrial unions. In the docks, this step has been taken by the National Union of Port Workers, a union whose principles of democracy, immediate recall, and workers' control, ring like music in the ears of all lovers of freedom. Further evidence of this trend is the formation in Glasgow of the Bus Crews' Association. The BCA has grown from the deep dissatisfaction of bus workers with the Transport and General Workers' Union. The TGWU now faces 'breakaways' on two fronts-the docks and corporation

The TGWU is notoriously bureaucratic and anti-democratic. In Glasgow it has so consistently opposed the bus workers in their struggle for better conditions that they have now taken the big step of forming what is in effect a 'breakaway' union, the Bus Crews' Association. This does not mean that all Glasgow bus workers are now in the BCA. but support is widespread through the various garages in the city. Leaflets are circulated to those workers who have not yet joined, and a 6d, pamphlet. which may become a regular journal, is being produced. This work is being done for the BCA at cost price by Glasgow Solidarity Group.

Basic wages at present are £12 7s. 9d. for drivers, and £11 19s. for conductors. A six day week is worked, with one

Saturday off in 12. One big grievance is 'spreadover'. A maximum spreadover of 11 hours 59 minutes would only pay 9 hours 40 minutes. These are of course poorer conditions than those of the London bus workers. though the first aim of the BCA is to consolidate its strength in Glasgow and wage a determined struggle for better conditions there, they hope to link up with fellow workers throughout the country

For those who have eyes to see, it is clear that 1966 will bring an intensification of the 'Labour' Government's on the working class. The established trade unions will either support the attack, waver, or oppose half-heartedly. There can be no doubt that, in this situation, the word 'breakaway' will be on many lips. Now some people don't like this word, as it describes something which destroys 'unity', and after all that's what union means. But when a union becomes a bureaucracy, an integral part of the state machine, when its own members denounce it, then 'unity' is a hollow sham. To those who set out to destroy the sham and create the reality, we should say 'more power to your arm'! And as for the unions that we belong to, we should regard them as tools of the struggle, to be discarded like any other tool when they cease to cut.

DAVE COULL

# Freedom

## For Workers' Control

DECEMBER 18 1965 Vol. 26 No. 39

# Bakery Workers Fight on Two Fronts

are fighting on two fronts, the employers and the Government.

Because the workers are trying to raise basic wage above the measly £11 10s. a week, George Brown, scratching around on £185 per week plus, had the audacity to threaten them against 'pushing' the Government towards legislation on incomes policy. This is not the first time Brown has rattled his paper sabre, one day someone will wrap it round his neck in a tidy bow.

The Master Bakers are hiding very effectively behind the Prices and Incomes Board, which three months ago had twisted their arm to hold back a price increase for three months. Time is up and the main companies want to up prices irrespective of the wage negotiations.

The Government intervened in this dispute right at the beginning, endeavouring to coerce the bakery workers to let their claim go before the Incomes Board.

The Bakers' Union leaders put forward a compromise of a £1 interim agreement and the remainder after the Incomes Board has studied the case. This was turned down by the employers, the excuse being, of course, 'What would

the Incomes Board say if we agreed? Gunter got into the act, persuaded the union leaders to suspend strike action, on the promise that the Incomes Board would study their case and issue an interim report before the end of the year. It is reported that George Brown said the £1 will be okay. Which raises the point, since when has the Incomes Board been in a position to make a pay award, or arbitrate? This very question was raised by the Bakers' Union from the very beginning when they refused to put their claim to the Incomes Board.

The Bakers' Union is now under fire from their rank and file who threaten unofficial strike action. They state that the union leadership should never have agreed to suspend the claim for the basic £15 a week whilst it is being examined by the Board. One Midlands branch of the Bakers' Union has stated quite clearly it has no faith in the PIB.

If the PIB recommend less than the interim £1, the strike will be on again, the rank and file will see to that. Wages are not the only point in dispute; hours and conditions are included.

George Brown has been having a chat with the employers, Associated British Foods, Ranks, Hovis, McDougall, CWS and Spillers, these are the boys who are doing rough on the 'bread line' so to speak. Brown has persuaded them to continue the price freeze whilst the issue is before the PIB. We can rest assured that when the review is over, up will go the price of bread, etc., by at least a penny, and the excuse, the usual-'increased wages'.

Bakery workers really have stood the three card trick in these wage negotiations, now it is up to the rank and fileno more soapy commercials from Brown and Gunter, pay up or no bread, it's as simple as that.

GEORGE IS OUTRAGED

GEORGE WOODCOCK is having a fair old row at the meetings of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions. During the session with the Confederation of British Industry (employers) he really blew his top.

Usually, the general secretary of the TUC is recognised by the employers as one who understands their problems, and is noted for his statesmanlike qualities. For George Woodcock to get upset, the employers' suggestions and contributions must have been really vicious.

They were discussing unofficial strikes. shop stewards, etc. The employers were pressing for de-registration action against unofficial strikers, and integration of stewards in union constitutions.

Woodcock 'steamed in'. He said the

employers wished to place limitations on unions as bargainers for their members, without giving equivalent concessions He also reminded the employers that according to Ministry of Labour survey, many disputes were union struggles to win recognition.

The Industrial Society, formerly the Industrial Welfare Society, recommended to the Commission that all shop stewards should have written credentials issued jointly by the management and trade union and signed by the steward himself. Also both management and union should agree on the qualifications for election as shop steward. Finally the best suggestion of the lot, that the shop steward should only be called in if the management and the employee couldn't agree.

All these suggestions, if carried out, would make the shop steward a first class company stooge, which is what the employers want, of course. The less the rank and file have to do with the election of shop stewards, the better the employers will like it.

Reading the various suggestions and evidence so far, the Royal Commission's report should read like a first class horror comic as far as the workers are concerned. If anyone expected any different, they must be living in cloud cuckoo land.

SIR KEITH MAKES HIS POINT

SIR KEITH JOSEPH, 'shadow' Minister of Labour, outlined Tory policy when he opened an Institute of Personnel Management conference. Joseph wants a registrar of trade unions whose function would be to handle prosecutions under legislation outlawing unofficial strikes. The Conservative Party, he said, was committed to a 'three tier hierarchy or local regional and national labour courts'. They would be chaired by a lawyer assisted by one trade union nominee and one employers' nominee. There would be no need for legal repre-sentation before such courts. He foresaw a system of fines designed as a stimulus to improve communications with members, would sting without bankrupt-

Les Cannon, General President of the ETU, was one of the principal speakers. I suppose he was invited to give a sense of fair play. One can always listen to a speaker in the best school tie tradition and then give the reverse two finger victory sign when he's gone

Life is becoming very difficult. I don't know which is worse, the Tory Government we have in now, or the one to come, who is at the moment poised waiting in the wings. BILL CHRISTOPHER

#### PRESS FUND

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