

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly 6d

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They that Take to the Sword...

ROBERT KENNEDY in his death effected what he could have never done in his life. He escalated from being a politician to being a statesman. His supporters have seen qualities in him which were notoriously lacking from this smugged carbon copy of his elder brother, John Kennedy. Even the sordid kitchen-sink assassination was a carbon copy by a sick copyist of the Dallas killing.

Robert Kennedy's life and career, composed of double-edged, contradictory, ruthless and 'progressive' in turn, gives the lie to any pretensions that he was some sort of godlike and his assassination was blasphemy.

THE CLIMAX OF VIOLENCE

There has been much talk of the special problems of 'violence', of gun laws, of the social pressures of the US to violence. On the Wednesday morning when the news of the fatal wounding came through, the front-page news in the *Guardian* was of a large-scale Israeli attack on a Jordan town, killing 30 people and injuring 60 and a described harrowing scenes at the hospital.

Earlier in the week we had been treated to accounts of the beating-up of students by the French police in a special 'concentration camp' and of the death of six leading South Vietnamese from a rocket attack by a US helicopter (one of the dead had been prominently photographed months before in the act of cold-bloodedly shooting a bound NLF soldier). This is only a fraction of the 'violence' that occurred that week, much of it was legalised the greater part was 'official'.

'Violence' in modern society is not weather like a freak thunderstorm, but it is the continuous climate of our existence. Violence is usually only condemned when it is private enterprise or retail. Violence is condemned when it is explicit, not when it is implicit as in capitalism and the state. Weapons are only condemned when they are concealed, when displayed they are 'military might', a guarantee of peace or 'law and order'.

Robert Kennedy was born on the side of those whose violence is most vigorous in defence of property and maintenance of the status quo. His ancestors had come from Ireland and by saloon-politics had married into the political power of Boston. In those unashamedly corrupt times it was not unknown for a 'repeater' to vote one hundred and eight times for his employers.

Joseph Kennedy senior (Robert and John's father) made his considerable fortune in property deals, in the cinema industry and by cornering stocks of liquor when he knew that prohibition was ending. For donations to Roosevelt's party funds he was rewarded with an Ambassadorship to London. This (in 1939-40) was not what he really wanted. He made himself unpopular in England by doubting her ability to survive the war.

He backed a policy of appeasement and a remark in 1940 that 'Democracy is finished in England' led to his withdrawal from London but his hopes of a Presidential nomination did not materialise and he seems to have passed on his political ambitions to his sons, Joe Jr., John F., and Robert.

Joe was in fact the one picked out for political glory and Joseph Kennedy was somewhat of an authoritarian family man, it was only when Joe Kennedy was killed on active service that the mantle of politics fell on John F. John F. had meanwhile graduated with a thesis on 'Appeasement at Munich'. Later he wrote a book called *Why England Slept*.

Robert Kennedy entered the navy as a second class seaman aboard the *Joseph P.*

Kennedy Junior, named after his brother. This was obviously no coincidental appointment. Robert Kennedy spent the last months of the war scraping and painting the ship.

After the war, Robert Kennedy graduated from law school to a government position. Continued on page 2



ELECTIONS PROVIDE NO ANSWER

THE PREDICTED RETURN to work of French workers, after the Whit Sunday holiday, did not take place. Instead workers have stuck to their claims and only returned when they have been satisfied. However, the trend nevertheless is back to work.

This of course is essential if the forthcoming general election is to be held. With this end in view, both the Gaullist government, its supporters and all the Left opposition parties, including the Communists, wish to see a return to normality. But this reluctance on the part of many workers to resume work indicates that the unions do not have such a strong hold on them.

The Communists, as the strongest party on the Left, with the CGT as the biggest union, were always frightened of being outflanked on their Left. They did everything possible to contain the revolutionary wave that began with the students and quickly gained support amongst workers.

De Gaulle's trump card was elections and from then onwards workers have been divided up, each taking part in their separate negotiations on wages and conditions. The Communist Party was,

WE ARE TOLD there is a crisis of democracy. And no wonder. For democracy has failed to deliver the goods for mankind—the material goods as well as the social goods. The much-vaunted prosperity of the West has always been a prosperity for some at the expense of the many; the so-called socialism of the East has turned out to be no more than a variation on the same theme—power for some at the expense of the many.

If the purpose of government is to provide the greatest good for the greatest number, then even by its own standard government has failed. Socialism, Communism, Fascism, like Democracy, can survive only by the slavery of the greatest number that will tolerate it. Government equals the greatest suppression of

the greatest number. It is itself the greatest failure of mankind.

Democracy is, we suppose, the highest form of government that has yet been evolved. If we reject any form of despotism or totalitarianism—and any sane person with any concept of what human beings need to grow, to develop, to realise themselves, must reject it—then democracy is the best form of government we have. And it is just not good enough.

It is not good enough simply because it is only a variation on the theme of government. It is despotism disguised by a system of 'checks and balances' to give us an illusion of having a say in our own lives. But it is only an illusion, for in fact we have nothing of the kind: we are subjected to a cunning series of conjuring tricks by master illusionists who express their contempt for us by allowing us to oppose them openly in a wide variety of ways—for as long as we are ineffectual. Democracy provides 'proper', 'respectable', 'constitutional' channels for opposition—why, there is even an Official Opposition!

All of which adds up to no opposition at all because all that is offered is the means to change the personnel at the top. And while there are people at the top—i.e. while there is government—backed up, as Top People always are by the violent apparatus of the State, there is no fundamental difference between systems of government.

CONSENSUS POLITICS

Two-party systems provide no alternative to one-party dictatorships. Even assuming differences in political parties, once they are in power with majorities, they become one-party governments, with the tendency towards effective dictatorship, with government by decree, regulation or committee being merely ratified by Parliamentary majority. We are stuck with them for their term of office—and then offered the great opportunity to replace them with the other lot who will carry on where they left off!

For in fact, just as in the economic sphere the tendency towards monopoly eliminates competition, so in the political field the tendency is towards consensus politics—the broad agreement between parties on how best to govern the people, to run the capitalist economy, to maintain the illusions.

Who can explain for us any real differences between Democrat and Republican in America, between Christian- and Social-Democrat in Germany, between Labour and Conservative here? What fundamental difference is there between De Gaulle's regime in France, the regime of the Colonels in Greece, that of Franco in Spain, or the variations on Stalinism practised by the Communist countries?

All are authoritarian, differing in degree only. The secure governments allow a greater degree of latitude to their subjects, the insecure governments are too afraid to allow any measure of liberty at all. All govern by a mixture of deceit and force. When deceit fails and the people see through it and protest, the violent institutions of the State bash them back into submission.

In every country and under every regime the ordinary people are deprived of dignity and, in varying degrees, of material well-being. Every government, every State, can exist only through the organised and consistent robbery of its subjects by taxation, and the organised and con-

sistent brain-washing which passes for education.

There must be an alternative to this miserable set of alternatives which are no alternatives at all. And there is. It is to break with the concept of government altogether, and to think in terms of human societies becoming self-governing communities. For many people, the crisis of democracy can be resolved only by going in the direction of more government—of resolving the apparent indecisions of 'liberal' parliamentarism by a 'strong' government. In a word, by dictatorship.

For anarchists this argument is laughable. It is like offering to cure your patient of catarrh by injecting him with pneumonia. If we have learned anything from the lessons of this century, with its massive and tragic experiments in varying forms of government, it is that dictatorship, whether of the Right or Left, can be nothing but a cruel perversion of human society, crushing individual dignity and social initiative alike.

ANARCHISM THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE

If the answer does not lie in more government, can we have less? Where is the government that is prepared to relinquish any of its powers? Democracies everywhere are putting more and more power into the hands of their bureaucrats, while dictatorships—including those 'of the proletariat'—show nothing more clearly than their determination to survive. The Leninist myth of 'the withering away of the State' remains a myth.

The answer does not lie in more government or less—but in none! This is why anarchism—the only social philosophy which asserts the concept of no government as a means, as an immediate aim and the long-term end—this is why anarchism presents the only alternative to the crisis of democracy and its attendant threat of dictatorship.

This is why the present student revolt in so many countries is so encouraging. Whether they call themselves anarchists or not, the students are acting anarchistically since they are taking direct action in order to take their freedom. They are not crawling to their authorities and begging please to be taken notice of; they are not asking for something to be done for them—they are taking the control of their immediate environments out of the hands of their immediate authorities. They are establishing workers' control in the only way it is possible to do so—by taking control. It is as simple as that, when it comes down to it.

The politicians among the students should take note that this is happening in countries with a so-called variety of regimes. Not only does this happen in Catholic and authori-

Continued on page 2

ANARCHY 88

Wasteland Culture

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Continued from page 1
appointment where he investigated dis-
loyalty in government service, including
the case of Owen Lattimore, and various
homosexual suspects. Because of his
work in this field, Senator Joseph
McCarthy of Wisconsin picked him to
assist the Senator in his campaign to
'clean the communists out of government'.
In February, 1950, McCarthy made his
famous speech. 'I have here in my hand
a list of 254 known members of the Com-
munist Party in Government employ'.
This was the beginning of McCarthy's
witch-hunt and reign of terror until, in
1954, he went too far, and questioned
the loyalty of the army commanders.
Robert Kennedy had the decency (or
good sense) to leave McCarthy's service
in 1953 but he left on good terms and
neither of the Kennedy brothers have
been known to criticise McCarthy's ac-
tions. McCarthy was a friend of Joseph
Kennedy senior and John F. Kennedy,
declining to condemn McCarthy, said,
'Do they want me to commit hari-kari?'

BROTHERS IN OFFICE

On John F. Kennedy's election to the
Presidency in 1960, he denied he was
going to appoint Robert as Attorney-
General. Subsequently he did so and
denied this was 'nepotism' because Robert
was the best man for the job.

Robert was known in the family as a
'cop' and the ruthlessness necessary to
the Attorney-General's office was dis-

played by him on many occasions. He
has never been able to deny that he
authorised a phone-tap on Martin Luther
King's phone. Also in spite of pre-
tensions of support for civil rights move-
ments, he counselled restraint for even
the mildest moves of Martin Luther King.

One suspects that during the epoch of
John F. Kennedy as President and Robert
Kennedy as Attorney-General, John
passed a great deal of the dirty work to
his brother, which enabled John to keep
up a 'liberal' front; at the same time
Robert was able to excuse all the tricks
he had to resort to by thinking he was
after all only obeying his brother's orders
and 'blood is thicker than water'.

When John Kennedy took office he
inherited, without any demur, Eisen-
hower's project for the invasion of Cuba
by Cuban exiles. Kennedy was elected
in November, 1960. On January 3, 1961,
Eisenhower severed diplomatic relations
with Cuba. On January 20, John F.
Kennedy took office. On April 12, with
absolute truth but with intent to deceive,
Kennedy ruled out, under any condition,
an intervention in Cuba by the US armed
forces.

This not only deceived the United
Nations Ambassador, Adlai Stevenson,
who denied any US intervention in the
abortive invasion when it happened on
April 15, but also deceived the Cuban
exiles who believed they would have
US air-cover for their ill-fated expedition.

Robert's final task in all this was to
negotiate a deal with the Cubans for the
exchange of these Cuban exile-prisoners
for medical supplies. This he did, even
showing a handsome profit in tax allow-
ances to the medical supply firms.

In October, 1962, it was discovered that
the Soviet Union was establishing missile
sites on Cuban soil. Kennedy staged an
'eyeball-to-eyeball' confrontation and
somebody backed down—each claimed it
was the other, so honour was satisfied
all round. In January, 1963, America
withdrew her missile bases from Turkey.
This had been one of the Soviet's de-
mands at the time of the Cuba incident,
but America said she was going to with-
draw them anyhow. Why then the
'eyeball-to-eyeball' confrontation? One
can only conclude that the three Ks had
stage-managed a show again.

CIVIL RIGHTS OR STATE'S RIGHTS

The chief field in which the Kennedys
are given credit by those who see them as
liberals is that of civil rights. The two
acts in this field were passed in 1957,
before Kennedy was President, and in
June, 1964, after Kennedy's assassination.
The latter was an act of piety in memory
of John F. Kennedy. The enforcement
of the 1957 act was carried out by Robert
Kennedy as Attorney-General, but he
only acted in those areas where the civil
rights movement demonstrated and much
of his activity was concerned with en-
forcing the rights of the government as
opposed to the 'State's rights' rather than
a concern for the rights of the individual.

The Kennedys, politicians as they
were, highly intelligent as they were,
recognised the technological and econ-
omic inevitability of the recognition of
civil rights for the negro. Dirksen, one
of the senators who helped the 1964
Civil Rights Act on to the statute book,
said—quoting Victor Hugo—'No army
can withstand the strength of an idea
whose time has come'. A progressive
'liberal' politician is one who can recog-
nise the inevitable and make it law.
Almost a statesman in fact.

The sad saga of the Kennedys went on
until the Dallas assassination. Robert
Kennedy was disappointed in his ambi-
tion to be Vice-President. He bided
his time and did not declare himself on
the Vietnam war or his future political
ambitions until the Vietnam war started
to go badly for the Americans. Robert
then said, ambiguously as ever, he would
end it. He reserved his position on
Presidential candidature until he saw
Eugene McCarthy was making progress
on an 'anti-war' platform with the
younger voters. Kennedy thereupon stole
his platform and entered the fray. Mean-
while, back at the ranch, L.B.J. had pro-
duced out of his Stetson peace talks in
Paris, and seemed to have stolen both
platforms. Into this political maze came

P.S.

IT MUST BE ANARCHISM!

Continued from page 1
tarian France and Spain, in 'per-
missive' and democratic Britain and
America, but it is also happening in
Communist Poland and Yugoslavia.

The latter country is of course
one of the favourites of the 'New
Left' type of socialist who refers to
the degree of 'workers' control' prac-
tised in Tito's State with approval.
We now see that in order to get
workers' control in the universities,
the Yugoslav students have to re-
sort to exactly the same tactics as
those in the capitalist democracies
and fascist police states.

Must we wait for a student revolt
in Cuba before the 'New Left' will
realise that a government is a
government?

All around the world therefore,
the students are showing the rest of
society the simple truths of anarch-
ism: if you want your freedom
you have to take it for yourself. If

you want to run your own life
with dignity and a concept of self-
realisation within a society of your
own creation—then you simply
have to set out to create it yourself.

No authority, no government will
meet your needs. Not even your
material needs, since government
must be a parasite on the economic
productivity of society. Still less
your social needs. Freedom is
never given; it has to be taken.

The way out of the crisis of
democracy then, is through the prac-
tise of still more direct action, still
stronger rejection of the illusions of
government, still more determination
to seize control of our own lives to
run them for our own benefit, not
for the profit or power of the few.

The only alternative that breaks
out of the authoritarian trap is the
libertarian one—it has got to be
anarchism!

Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation
c/o Freedom Press, 84a Whitechapel High Street,
London, E.1

EAST LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP. At Ron
Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, Leytonstone, Lon-
don, E.11. LEY 8059.
LEWISHAM. Contact Mike Malet, 61B Gran-
ville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone:
01-852 8879.
RAISING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into
touch with Ken King, 34 Norwood Road,
Southall.
PINCH'S (PORTOBELLO ROAD) ANARCHIST
GROUP. Contact Pamela Pearce, 271 Portobello
Road, W.11. Meetings every Wednesday evening
at Finch's.
S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS. Contact: 14
Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acre Lane end),
S.W.4.
WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen
Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, London,
E.7. Regular meetings and activities Wednes-
days, 7.30 p.m.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary
Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's
Road), 8 p.m.
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald
and Irene Roome's, now at 13 Savernake Road,
London, N.W.3.
3rd Friday of each month at Dennis Fen's, 314
St. Paul's Road, Highbury Corner, N.1 (above
Roundabout Self-Service).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

SCOTTISH ANARCHIST CONFERENCE is to
be held in Glasgow in late June, at the Trades
Council Club. Groups and individuals please con-
tact Aberdeen SWF. Accommodation inquiries to
Bobby Lynn, 16 Ross Street, Glasgow, C.1.
ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS meet 1st and 3rd
Wednesdays of month at M. Day's, 142 Walker
Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Liz Smith's,
3 Sinclair Road. Correspondence to either address.
ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION (SWF)
local group. Folk Song Workshop and Committee
of 100, Collier Climbing Club. Contact Iain
MacDonald, 15 Colton Street, Aberdeen.
BEXLEY PEACE ACTION GROUP. Enquiries
to 150 Rydal Drive, Bexleyheath, Kent.
BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANAR-
CHIST GROUP. All anarchists, syndicalists,
individualists, etc. Please contact Geoff and
Caroline Charlton, 32 Swindon Road, Edgbaston,
Birmingham 17 (near Portland Road). Note new
address.
BOLTON. Get in touch with Les Smith, 108
Radcliffe Road, Bolton.
BOURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET
ANARCHISTS. Please contact John McCall,
65 Norton Road, Winton, Bournemouth (B'm'th

59509) or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wim-
borne, Dorset (Ferdown 3584)
or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne,
Dorset (Ferdown 3584).
BRISTOL ANARCHISTS. Contact Sue Fisher
and Adam Nicholson at 15 The Paragon, Bristol, 8.
CROYDON and area Libertarians alternate
Fridays from April 26, 35 Natal Road, Thornton
Heath, Croydon.
EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact:
Mervyn Estlin, 44 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware,
Middlesex.
HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South
View, Potters Heath Lane, Potters Heath,
Welwyn, Herts OR Jeff Cloves, 46 Hughenden
Road, Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.
IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74
Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.
KILBURN, LONDON. Contact Andrew Dewar,
16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London,
N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.
LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian
action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
at The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.
NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP.
Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or
Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.
ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt,
Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Green-
and Maureen Richardson. Phone Knockholt 2316. Brian
Next meeting July 21, 8 p.m.
READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact
Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals
invited to associate. c/o Keith Nathan, 138 Penny-
mead, Harlow, Essex.
Group Addresses:
BASILDON. M. Powell, 7 Lingscroft, Basildon.
BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview',
Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House,
Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.
ESPING. John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue,
Espring, Essex.
HARLOW. John Deards, 184 Carter's Mead, Har-
low, and/or Geoff Hardy, 6 Redricks Lane, Har-
low, Essex. Monthly meetings in 'The Essex
Skipper', The Stow, Harlow.
LOUGHTON. Group c/o Students' Union,
Loughdon College of Further Education, Borders
Lane, Loughdon, Essex.
MUCH HADHAM. Leslie Riddan, High Street,
Much Hadham, Herts.
NORTH EAST ESSEX. Peter Newell, 'Maybush',
Maypole Road, Tibberton, Essex. Group meets first
Monday in each month, 7.15 p.m. at 91 Brook
Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tibberton, Essex.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.

Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley,
Lancs.
LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA
GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT. Gerry
Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings
weekly 'Freedom' Sales—Liverpool, Saturdays,
Sundays, Evenings.
MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary:
9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.
Every Tuesday. Informal meetings at 'Tommy
Duck', East Street (off Hale Street), 8 p.m.
Every Saturday, 'Freedom' and 'IDA' selling
outside Central Library, 3.30-4.30 p.m.
MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact
Alex Howie, 16 Devonshire Road, Liverpool 8.
Meetings 1st and 3rd Thursdays of the month,
8 p.m.

SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate. c/o
Eddie Poole, 4 Tibbury, Finden Road, White-
bank, Brighton.
BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP.
Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road,
Brighton, BN1 3HN. 3rd readings, Fish
Market Hall, every Sunday 2 p.m. Meetings
every Thursday, Combination, 7 West Street,
8.30 p.m.
SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.
(See Student Groups)

WELSH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All corre-
spondence to: Pete Raymond, 90 Albany Road,
Roath.
MERTHYR TYDFIL ANARCHIST GROUP.
Correspondence to Huw Rowlands, 16 Cromwell
Street, Mertyr Tydfil.
SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact
Ross, 111 King Edward's Road, Brynmill,
Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and
action projects.
LLANELLI. Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwynnedy
Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2549.

STUDENT GROUPS

EAST ANGLIA UNIVERSITY GROUP (Anar-
chists and Peace). Contact Dave King, 219 Ear-
ham Road, Norwich.
LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact
us at the Bookstall in the Students Union Es-
tate. Foyer every Friday lunchtime.
LSE ANARCHIST GROUP. c/o Student Union,
London School of Economics, Houghton Street,
W.C.2.
OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Steve
Watts, Trinity College.
SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact
Dave Jeffries, c/o Students' Union, Sheffield.
SOUTHWARK COLLEGE (New Libertarian
Front). Contact Dave Bign, Room T/7.
SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHISTS. For
details contact Francis Jarman, 16 Charlotte
Street, Brighton, BN1 1AG. Bookstall every
Monday, 12-2 p.m. Falmers House (outside JCR).
Meeting Friday, June 14, 7.30 p.m. at University
in Meeting House. Bob Barthrop on 'The Decline
of the Socialist Ideal'.

Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, a Jordanian Arab,
a stranger in a world he never made.
Bobby Kennedy, as was the custom
with the Kennedys and all politicians,
courted all minority groupings. He spoke
to negroes of civil rights, to Italians of
pizza and to the Jews of military aid to
Israel. Unfortunately, as a New York
politician once said, the Arab vote in
New York is infinitesimal.
Sirhan Bishara Sirhan voted with his
trigger finger.

JACK ROBINSON

TORONTO ACTIVITY

THERE HAS NOT been an anarch-
ist or libertarian group in existence in
Toronto, the citadel of puritanism since
the 1930s. Even then the group con-
sisted solely of Italian and Spanish
comrades with no representation from
the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of this city.

The Toronto Anarchist Group was
formed in February 1968 with the
intention of publishing and circulating
anarchist opinions, and hopefully, to
undertake direct action where necessary.

The first appearance of the Toronto
anarchists was on an anti-Vietnam war
demonstration which attracted 3,000 peo-
ple, a large number by Toronto stan-
dards. On this march we distributed a
reprint of the FREEDOM article 'Victory
to National Liberal Front' which was
well-received by demonstrators.

On Saturday, May 18, we held a
poster parade at the French Consulate
in downtown Toronto in support of
our French comrades. A larger demon-
stration is planned, together with other
left wing groups at the Consulate on
May 25. The poster parade on the
18th saw the black and red flag of
the streets of Toronto for the first time
since the '30s.

Individuals in the group have been
active in helping young American dra-
ftees and deserters enter and settle
down in their new homeland.

We have just produced the first copy
of the *Libertarian*, and hope to contin-
ue it on a monthly basis.

At present we have about one dozen
supporters, but hope to attract a great
number, as we know the climate of
opinion in Toronto, as in many other
parts of the world, is becoming in-
creasingly receptive to anarchist ideas.

With luck you should be hearing
lot more of the Toronto Anarchist
Group.

117 York Drive, STEVE BARRY
Weston, Ontario, (Toronto
Canada, Anarchist Group)

The first issue of the *Libertarian* has
just reached us. We warmly commend
it to all our readers in North America.
—EDITORS.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter
Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London,
N.7.
VOLUNTARY WORK TEAM. Forwarding ad-
dress: 11 BARWAY ROAD, Manchester
(See contact column for present work
project.)

PROPOSED GROUPS

TAUNTON LIBERTARIANS. Contact Jill and
John Driver, 39 Beadon Road, Taunton, Somerset.
Meetings alternate Friday evenings.
PORTICUANO. Will D.R. (Press Fund, April
27) and any other comrades in Cornwall please
contact Arthur Jacobs, 76 East Hill, St. Austell.
We already have a nucleus for a group and
need more support.
EXETER UNIVERSITY. Contact Dick Hard-
wick, c/o Devonshire House, Stocher Road,
Exeter.
FIFE LIBERTARIANS. Contact Bob and Una
Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital,
by Cupar, Fife.
NORTH LONDON. Contact Allan Harrison and
James Wilson, 245 Alexandra Park Road, Wood
Green, London, N.22.
NEW ADDINGTON AND EAST SURREY.
Contact John Byford, 106 Milne Park West,
New Addington, Croydon CR0 0DP, Surrey.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anar-
chists, P.O. Box A, 185 Sydney, South. Public
meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m.
and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington,
Sydney, 8 p.m.
DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Goten-
borg, 27, Viborg, Denmark.
VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone inter-
ested in forming an anarchist and/or direct action
peace group contact: Derek A. James, 1644
Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C.
Canada. Tel: 987-2693.
USA: VERMONT. New Hampshire Anarchist
Group. Meets weekly—discussion, individual
action. Contact Ed Stearns at RFD 2, Wood-
stock, Vermont 05091, USA.
SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation
Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.
SWEDEN: Libertad, Allmans Vagen 6, Gotten-
borg.
TORONTO ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact
R. Campbell, 219 York Drive, Weston,
Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings
BELGIUM: LIEGE. Provoas, c/o Jacques Charlier,
11 Avenue de la Liberté, Schaerbeek, Belgium.
EAST AFRICA. George Mathews would like to
make contact. Secondary school teacher from
UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.
MELBOURNE. Get in touch with Sebastian Jule,
34 Dorritt Street, Carlton, Victoria 3051,
Australia. Public meetings at Yarra Park,
Melbourne.

SCHEDA BIANCA...

IN THE GENERAL ELECTION held in Italy on May 19 and 20, about 93% of the electorate voted. This percentage is regularly achieved every five years, although there is no postal vote, but it is not remarkable considering the pressure on people. If you are away from home, you get a return train ticket either free or for 30% of the normal fare. Thus many Southerners working in the North or abroad take advantage of the election to have the holiday at home that they would have taken anyway. The only condition is that the return half of your ticket has to be stamped at the polling station. But as well as the carrot there is the stick: if you fail to vote, for whatever reason, the fact is noted in the police records. It is not a crime in itself but if you apply for a government or council job it will count against you as proof that you are an irresponsible person.

In the face of this situation, people who are not impressed by any one of the parties (eight national parties and numerous local ones) have always expressed their electoral judgement by either leaving their ballot-paper blank (scheda bianca) or defacing it (scheda nulla). In the last two elections (1958 and 1963) the blank ballot-papers were 1.5% and 1.8% respectively of the total. During this year's election a furious campaign against the 'scheda bianca' was conducted by the Liberals and the Christian Democrats: people who failed to vote for a 'democratic' party were thereby giving votes to the Communists, they said. Over election posters of the various officially-approved parties, other posters kept appearing. In Milan these

emanated from two groups: the National Scheda Bianca Committee which said 'Choose National Revolution. Vote SCHEDA BIANCA. It is a revolutionary act of civil and moral courage.' The other group, the 'Federazione dei Comunisti Marxist-Leninisti D'Italia', called for spoiled papers: 'On election day we will, annul our ballot papers, writing on them Viva Lenin! Viva Stalin! Viva Mao! Viva la Rivoluzione Proletaria!' This was followed by a detailed analysis of all the parliamentary parties including the Communists and Proletarian Unity and their roles as servants of the bosses. (If this poster had any effect then the Liberals and DC should have been pleased, as by appealing to dissident Communists not to vote it was effectively giving votes to the 'democratic' parties.)

Anyway, when the results came out, certain parties emerged slightly stronger, others slightly weaker, and the overall picture remained unchanged. The totals of blank and spoiled ballot-papers were also given: blank, 2.3%, spoiled, 1.6%.

Footnote: Recently a conscientious objector who had already served 6 years and 10 months in prison for this crime was sentenced to another 12 months. COs are simply asked at the end of their prison term: Are you now going to do your military service? If so, after their 18 months' national service they are released; otherwise they go back to prison for another spell, and so on indefinitely. None of the parties offered anything to the conscientious objectors, except the Radicals, a local party which in Milan collected 774 votes (0.06%), so they weren't much help.

...and PARVA CARTA

AT LAST the ridiculous mouse is born—rumoured to be on the way a couple of years back, the Socialist Charter which Left Social Democrats claimed would demonstrate once and for all the fibre of the Left and its readiness to make a stand against the betrayal of Labour's idealism, has now been launched with no explicit condemnation of Wilsonism and a purely Utopian belief that one can cut armaments, devote the money to social services and an extension of the 'socialist sector of the economy'.

No sign exists that these Leftists have learnt anything from the last few years, so hint that the Capitalists might not allow such reforms and might create the same financial crisis as before, no attempt to understand why workers are leaving the Labour Party in shoals and are not going to rally easily to such a campaign (if it campaigned to have Unions transfer their 'political contributions' to the Charter from the Labour Party—it might have some slight wet-fish like impact). Truly the Left's fibre is demonstrated.

A number of Fabian reforms are advocated such as would at best lead to another dose of Morrisonian Nationalisation and a further step towards Cor-

poratism. No deadline is apparently attached, so even Right Wing critics of Wilson like Brown could, if they thought it worth their while, jump on the bandwagon.

The Charter is to campaign, it is said, in both the LP and the Labour Movement—if words mean anything, that means a hope that non-LP trade unionists may join and as one or two of the Union bigwigs who are sponsoring the Charter were elected with official CP support (even though they left the party over Hungary—Scanlon, Daly, Seabrook), and perhaps one other is in the CP now; there will no doubt be an attempt to get disillusioned party workers who have resigned from the party to join the Charter and so tie them to the LP despite their resignation. Attempts also may well be made to involve Young Liberals, the ILP and the Radical Alliance.

Obviously anarchists will want nothing to do with the Charter—though a little malicious fun might be found if one happens to be in a Union where one's branch secretary in a Tribuneite and supports the Charter by proposing that the political levy be paid to the Charter instead of the LP—it would surely be amusing to watch this fearless chartist denounce the idea.

ALL CREDIT IS DUE to anyone attempting to encourage international solidarity in these days when it is at such a low ebb. To this extent we should congratulate the six Left-wing groups who organised the meeting in Conway Hall on June 6 on 'Reform or Revolution—Lessons of the French Struggle'.

The audience of about 80 people appeared to be the politically committed, and were presumably supporters of one or other of the groups. This was perhaps unavoidable as the meeting must have been arranged at short notice.

All six groups (ILP, SWF, AFB, Socialist Current, Solidarity and Workers' Review) had a representative speaker. Inevitably there was a certain amount of repetition about the speeches as well as some differences of emphasis, dictated by this or that group's political line.

In so far as it dealt with the French events, the majority of the platform seemed to think that it was not a revolutionary situation though it had potential for the future, some speakers insisting that as far as the workers were concerned it was a purely economic struggle.

Here one would have liked to have heard the question asked and answered 'Could they have taken power?'

The role played by the students was acknowledged, but not sufficiently I thought. One speaker said their role was purely destructive and they had no positive policy to offer. In actual fact the ordinary bourgeois press has described their serious orientation towards the working class, and their repeated attempts to get through to the striking workers with proposals for the setting up of workers' councils.

The treachery of the French Communist Party should have been dealt with more thoroughly—it was rather assumed that everyone there understood its role (and they probably did)—but my own feeling is that if we are preparing to hold open (and even mass) meetings, we should get into the habit of treating these questions in a thorough-going, agitational manner.

TOO MANY COOKS?

Apart from the French student, who described his arrest and ill-treatment at the hands of the hated CRS—the most vivid contribution on France was made by the 'Solidarity' speaker, who has just spent three weeks in Paris. He gave evidence of the truly mass, popular nature of the movement, and described the desperate rear-guard measures of the CGT in trying to contain it.

The lessons to be drawn in Britain were described variously as the need to build 'a revolutionary industrial movement' in the case of one speaker—and 'a new workers' political party'—following the smashing of the Labour Party—by another. The call for the building of a new party evoked no response whatever from the audience.

To see a platform of no less than six 'revolutionary' groups (and this is by no means the total roll-call of Left groups in Britain)—all presumably prepared to justify their separate existence—is a fairly painful experience.

The groups seem to proliferate in inverse ratio to their influence among the working class—the less influence the more groups.

Perhaps the student somewhere who said 'ideology is a brain disease' is right. It made me, at any rate, wonder how, if the French events were repeated here, this crazy sectarianism could be overcome to make a common front against the enemy.

Let us hope that the Conway Hall meeting is an indication that the will to try is there.

A final note—a friend with me (a French girl)—when asked what she thought of the meeting said 'I thought it was very undemocratic—so many speakers—and no questions'. Food for thought perhaps. J.A.

FIFTH COLUMN

OK, Let's not Tolerate it!

OF ALL THE responses to the death of Bobby Kennedy the most ludicrous—and the most predictable—was the speech by Lyndon Napalm Johnson: 'We cannot, we must not tolerate the sway of violent men among us. We must not permit men filled with hatred and careless of innocent lives to dominate our streets and fill our homes with fear. There is never—never—any justification for violence that tears at the fabric of our national life.'

The *Evening Standard* in its diary claimed that the word assassin originated with a Muslim sect whose members used to smoke hash before going off to end the days of their enemies.

The *Observer* asserted in an editorial that Bobby Kennedy was a patriot of mankind whose mission was to bring together the classes and races of America and the peoples of the world. The *Observer* contrasted Bobby Kennedy and his brother John with the New Left—and couldn't resist an attack on the politics of involvement.

For a while, the young would not believe that any political doctrine was so divinely authorised that you should assault other people in its name or silence those who questioned it.

This reference to the apathy of post-war Europe and America expresses with precision the middle-aged liberalism of a generation of disillusioned intellectuals. They spent their youth hoping and working for one of the versions of state socialism—and most of them would have killed for it. In 1939 they went obediently to war to fight fascism, or defend the Jews, or protect Bloomsbury from invasion.

But somewhere between 1936 and 1945 their vision of human progress was shattered: they have nothing to put in its place except the suggestion that we should all behave more calmly. We should replace emotion by reason and accept the status quo.

Above all we should avoid violence—unless it is sanctioned by the state. Murder is acceptable if committed by men in uniform; if not, it is the most heinous crime of all.

The *Observer* feels the need to defend America and its politicians from the youth of Europe: 'Those who chant, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" or propound anarcho-syndicalist doctrines or hold shaded-off degrees of these beliefs usually feel confident in using the word "American" as being almost synonymous with "bad".'

But of course the great white ash can on the other side of the Atlantic is under attack from its own rebels who refuse to see John, Bobby—or even Edward—Kennedy as a second Moses. The promised land flowing with gasoline and coca cola is repudiated by an increasing number of its inhabitants.

To them Bobby Kennedy is no loss. He was the man who spent thousands of dollars conning the Negroes, Indians, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, whose political machine was based on the systematic exploitation of the emotional—and physical—hunger of the poor and the oppressed.

Mistake, indeed

The political correspondent of the *Sunday Times*, James Margach, excelled himself recently in an analysis of Jeremy Thorpe's troubles with the Young Liberals: 'It's the small minority at the top who cause him anxiety, and the phrases they use as their new liturgy make him suspect their political affinities and loyalties—slogans like anarcho-syndicalism, non-State Socialism, non-violent direct action—these strike the traditionalists as suspiciously like far-Left Marxism.'

He added patronisingly: 'But it would be a mistake to tar them all indiscriminately with the crypto-Communist and Trotskyite brush.'

It is a wonderful thing that Mr. Margach is paid to tell us what is happening politically. The only possible explanation is that he is a crypto-royalist republican pacifist militarist vegetarian who eats raw horse meat for breakfast traditionally—without using his teeth.

WYNFORD HICKS.

WHAT PRICE Mr. MORTIMER?

ONE OF THE best methods to draw the teeth of the opposition is to incorporate that opposition, to give it a job. The opposite variation is 'if you can't beat them, join them'. Whichever it is in the case of Mr. Mortimer, the traditional left wing must be very angry at his joining the Prices and Incomes Board.

Mr. Mortimer, as a member of the Executive and the editor of the journal of the Draughtmen's and Allied Technicians' Association, as an outspoken opponent of the PIB and legislation against trade unions. His union was the only one to officially defy the Government with industrial action and was always in conflict with the PIB, because of their settlement with the employers. In fact Mrs. Castle, Minister of Employment and Productivity, has to make up her mind whether to use her powers to delay still further the two settlements that a PIB report said were in conflict with the Government's incomes policy.

Why has Mr. Mortimer accepted this post? Aubrey Jones, the Chairman of the PIB, is said to have recommended him and that differences between Mr. Mortimer and his executive had arisen because he had come to believe that the only way to influence Government policy is to get involved.

Mr. Mortimer has said, 'I am still anxious the Government should succeed. . . . The PIB exists and I believe it will continue to exist and that there should be participation by persons with trade union experience in it.'

'I strongly support the point of view of the Minister about avoiding unnecessary price increases and I believe the Board is doing an essential function by subjecting important price increases to public scrutiny. I recognise that in dealing with prices one cannot avoid dealing with incomes.'

However, only a minority of price increases are turned down and if Mr.

Mortimer thinks he can get more rejected, then he is wrong. As for wages, the policy is laid down by the Government and only industrial action, as with the Liverpool busmen, can influence how the PIB reports, otherwise it is a foregone conclusion that all rises have to be paid for by increased productivity.

By joining the PIB, Mr. Mortimer only assists the Government with its policy. One cannot beat them this way. But perhaps he has only taken the logical steps of all trade union leaders. The gulf between him and the membership had widened until the £6,500 a year salary was too good to turn down. Now he can really be against the Government's incomes policy so long as it does not affect his 88 per cent increase.

P.T.

N-West Federation Whitsun Camp

SOME FORTY Anarchists, Syndicalists and friends, enjoyed the fine weather and pleasant surroundings at Llangollen. Joined at times by members of a Y.S. (Labour Party) Group who were camping nearby, some first-rate discussion emerged over the four-day camp.

A spontaneously organised sports afternoon was dominated by Brian Shuttleworth's Partington Group, which won everything but the 'Fell Race' in which Ron Marsden's North Lancashire up-bringing helped him to a well-deserved victory.

Our evenings were enlivened by Liverpool traditional folk-singers Tommy Lindley and Johnny Moorhouse.

As most people appeared to have enjoyed the camp, it was decided to have another one over the August Bank Holiday, this time in the Lake District—actual venue is not yet decided.

B.M.S.

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The political correspondent of the *Sunday Times*, James Margach, excelled himself recently in an analysis of Jeremy Thorpe's troubles with the Young Liberals: 'It's the small minority at the top who cause him anxiety, and the phrases they use as their new liturgy make him suspect their political affinities and loyalties—slogans like anarcho-syndicalism, non-State Socialism, non-violent direct action—these strike the traditionalists as suspiciously like far-Left Marxism.'

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WYNFORD HICKS.

NANCEKUKU DEMONSTRATION

Dear Friends,

May I ask those readers of *FREEDOM* who are interested in demonstrating at Nancekuke in Cornwall over August Bank Holiday week-end to get in touch with me.

Nancekuke is the establishment where germs and chemicals experimented on at Porton are carried a stage further. It is a highly secret place and well protected. For a long time a number of people have felt the need to do more to expose this poison factory. A successful demonstration has just been held at Porton and Nancekuke should be the next step.

I am prepared to call a meeting in

London as soon as possible to discuss the demonstration and to start making arrangements.

Another suggestion has been a Porton-Nancekuke march and anybody with ideas for this are asked to contact David Davies, 6 Folkestone Road, Salisbury, Wilts.

Any other ideas people have would be welcome.

A demonstration during August Bank Holiday week-end will take a great deal of advance hard work and money (which will have to come from donations). It can be done; who will take part?

58 Ireton Road, DOUGLAS KEPPER, London, N.19

LETTER

He added patronisingly: 'But it would be a mistake to tar them all indiscriminately with the crypto-Communist and Trotskyite brush.'

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WYNFORD HICKS.

ANARCHY 89 will be devoted to the May Days in France

MOVING FUND

Target is £500.
Received to date—£411 7s. 2d.

PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.
Received to date—£399 18s. 0d.
Pledges honoured to date and donations—£394 14s. 4d.

Doing Well!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:		£2,070
23 weeks at £90:		
Income: Sales and Subs.:		£1,884
DEFICIT:		£196

PRESS FUND

Leeds: D.S. 1/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 1/-; Woodstock, Vt.: E.S. £5/14/6; Aberdeen: I.M. 3/3; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Glasgow: L.B. 10/-; London, N.W.2: H.M. 14/-; Sheffield: D.J. 5/-; Perth: J.M. £1; Liverpool: J.M. 10/-; Glasgow: A.J. 3/3; London, S.W.3: P. & G.T. £1.

TOTAL:	£10 9 0
Previously Acknowledged:	£397 13 1
1968 Total to Date:	£408 2 1
Deficit B/P:	£196 0 0
TOTAL SURPLUS:	£212 2 1

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

PINTER on Military Service and Politicians

IN THE THIRD SERIES of *Writers at Work* (Secker and Warburg, 42s.), which is the most recent collection of interviews with writers first published in the *Paris Review*, the two following passages appear in an interview Lawrence M. Bensky had with Harold Pinter.

'I was fifteen when the war ended. There was never any question of my going when I was called up for military service three years later: I couldn't see any point in it at all. I refused to go. So I was taken in a police car to the medical examination. Then I had two tribunals and two trials. I could have gone to prison—I took my toothbrush to the trials—but it so happened that the magistrate was slightly sympathetic, so I was fined instead, thirty pounds in all. Perhaps I'll be called up again in the next war, but I won't go.'

'I'll tell you what I really think about politicians. The other night I watched some politicians on television talking about Vietnam. I wanted very much to burst through the screen with a flame-thrower and burn their eyes out and their balls off and then inquire from them how they would assess this action from a political point of view.'

Busmen's Jobs in Danger

FOR THIRTEEN long and useless months the negotiations between the London Transport Board and the London busmen's Negotiating Committee has dragged on. The LTB, with the Government to prop up their backbone, has cynically decided to sit out their hand until the busmen's negotiating nerve broke and it now seems that time has played into the LTB's hands.

In the long ago beginning, the busmen's NC flourished the cost of living figures and demanded a £1 a week pay rise on the basic wage but the LTB waved a tired hand in the direction of the Government's Wage Freeze Policy and stated that the LTB would only pay out if the men would agree to finance the pay rise out of their own pockets. The employers did not state it as neatly and as naively as that but in cold and brutal terms they are demanding a speed up in working conditions that will, it is claimed, mean the sacking of 16,000 to 18,000 men and women and even a primitive understanding of economics would explain that the £1 a week offered by the LTB as a final settlement would be a Judas payment from the wages of the men and women forced out onto the stones. And the busmen's NC publicly ate shit by agreeing to three of the LTB's speed up demands in return for a £1 a week.

For 10s, the NC agreed to work the 500 One-Man Buses that have

been lying idle for months in certain garages and for a further 10s, the NC agreed to a speed up of running times, all day standing (which has already been voluntarily worked by a number of crews) and the use of buses as a casual runabout, thereby eliminating established routes for, like taxis, they will no longer even pretend to act as a social service but simply seek out bulk travelling public.

A defeated NC trailed into, playing lapdog to the LTB, the office of the Minister of Transport, Barbara Castle, and made their Danegeld offer to the Minister but Ginger, obviously acting under advice, told the busmen's NC that they did not have 10s, worth of working conditions to sell and offered them 5s, a week to take back to the men with the usual 10s, offer to work the One-Man Operated Buses.

This then was the position, with the NC left high and dry and the LTB hovering like a mangy vulture waiting for the rank and file busmen to die the death before it alighted to feed off the corpse. The NC could have advised the men to sit it out and to let the One-Man Operated Buses rot in the garages but the LTB have forced the NC into a corner, for in the Brixton area of London the LTB have already put into operation a savage cutting of schedules (and all within the existing agreement) and this has already resulted in the loss of 132 jobs which, because of staff shortages, have as yet only been felt by the travelling public. And all those liberal Public Lovers who publicly bleed whenever a strike is threatened have so far remained strangely silent.

The busmen's NC have now been forced into taking a reluctant action and the 70 delegates at the Delegate Conference examined four methods of fighting back. They rejected a demand for outright strike action, for despite the solidarity and the victory of the Liverpool busmen the memory of London's seven weeks bus strike still brings on late night nightmares among many of the weaker sisterhood. They considered and rejected an overtime ban and the pleasant idea that the busmen should only take the buses out onto the road between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. and unanimously decided to go back to their branches with a recommendation that the men and women should use guerilla strike action

against the London Transport Board.

Guerilla strike action means that with less than a few hours' notice the garage union representative will be informed that his garage has been chosen to strike the following day so that, in theory, garage after garage could be brought out on one day lightning strikes without giving forewarning to the LTB, the police or the Public Authorities. It is hoped that it will be used all over London day by day, swiftly and without warning, until public irritation forces Barbara and the LTB to break bread with the working men and women.

This then is the position. But this is not the end of the matter for thousands of bus men and women, for the myth that no jobs are in danger has been cynically tossed aside and the TGWU and the LTB are already discussing not if, but how and when, to sack those whose jobs will vanish in the LTB's stringent reshaping plan for London's dying public transport.

A welcome and inspired leak by a group of militant rank and file busmen has produced the detailed sell-out of the London busmen that now only waits for the LTB and the TGWU's grubby signature. It refers to Drivers and Conductors becoming surplus to the Board's requirements as a result of the Reshaping Plan and as it spells it out line by line, no one is safe and no one will be guaranteed his job with the LTB, for incorporated in this evil heap of printed crap is the clause that states that if it is held by the Joint Committee that an employee has unreasonably refused to transfer within an existing grade OR TO OTHER AVAILABLE EMPLOYMENT IN THE BOARD'S SERVICE, then that individual shall be given a further opportunity to transfer; failing acceptance of that opportunity, THE INDIVIDUAL'S SERVICE WILL BE TERMINATED and the provisions of the Redundancy Payment Act 1965 will apply.

In every garage there is only one lavatory cleaner and one pay clerk and after that the LTB say that they might even help to pay to shift a man's furniture when he is forced to move to any place of employment dictated by the employer. This is a repeat of working-class history that was ancient when the peoples of Scotland and Ireland were driven from their homes for private profit and now families are to be forced to tear up their roots to please some clerk in office and all in the name of higher man/work output.

Even the LTB's own propaganda sheet has felt it necessary to give prominence to a pathetic letter from some unfortunate conductor whose wife is worried that he 'will get the sack' and the mouthpiece of the LTB in a display of sophistry that would shame a Jesuit have advised the unfortunate workman to attend evening classes or train to be a driver. One hesitates to ask what advice they would have given to the conductor's driver.

This then is the present situation and it is not a healthy one for the London militants, for at least at one particular meeting the union delegate's plea for guerilla strike action was ignominiously rejected by a small group of Overtime Kings who dominated the meeting, for there are, in every section of our society, men who would pounce on their own mothers for an extra shilling and these men are the enemies of the class conscious workers no matter they be classified under the heading of worker or employer.

We must now wait for the LTB to force the issue and to see what methods the militant rank and file busmen can take in defence, for remember this, IT IS THE JOBS OF 18,000 THAT IS THE TRUE ISSUE.

LUMPENPROLETARIAT.

WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY.
LATEST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF
MSS., LETTERS, MEETING NOTICES
IS THE MONDAY IN EACH WEEK
OF PUBLICATION.

PORTWORKER.

Freedom For Workers' Control

JUNE 15 1968 Vol 29 No 18

Elections Provide No Answer

Continued from page 1
used tear gas, while the workers and students threw nuts and bolts, fire bombs and cobbles.

Much of the deadlock in these industries arises because the employers refuse to pay more than the national negotiated 10% by the top union leaders and the employers' federation. As Renault workers were probably the largest section of workers to first occupy their factories, it is thought that the Government (Renault is nationalised) might be trying to teach them a lesson.

All three trade unions have appealed for national solidarity with the Renault workers. The CGT, looking over its shoulder again, has had to give its support, but it has also said that 'wherever the essential demands of the workers were satisfied, their interest is to declare solidly in favour of a resumption of work in unity'. How this ties up with national solidarity with Renault, only a Stalinist could explain. Later the CGT openly declared against any sympathy strikes in support of Renault workers.

However, all through these May days in France, the Communists have been out of touch due to the rapidness of the events. They have been as puzzled and bewildered as De Gaulle himself, because spontaneity is alien to the authoritarians. The upsurge from below, with everyone taking his or her part, gave people, for a short time, the experience of running, of making their own decisions, of feeling a vital part of something worth while and of creating something new from below by their own efforts, instead of being imposed from above. The Communist Party cannot understand this, the full flavoured wine of freedom is far too strong for them.

The French Communist Party has for a long time been working within the system. A *Times* leader quoted the following from a Communist deputy, M. Leroy, which emphasised this point. 'The Communists are not in the process of preparing an insurrection. To imply that they are is a gross untruth. We are not in favour of patching up the Gaullist Government or of anarchy. What we are aiming at is the immediate satisfaction of the basic claims of manual and white collar workers. We aim at replacing a Gaullist Government by a popular government of democratic union'. So the CGT is merely a reformist trade union, working on bread and butter issues, while its political wing wants a Left-wing government with them holding some position of power.

De Gaulle has now really turned the tables on them by casting them as the menace of 'totalitarian communism' and is making the forthcoming election a choice between 'democracy and communism'. With wage negotiations still going on, the Communists have to show a little revolutionary fervour to maintain the party's control over the more militant workers, in order not to be outflanked by what are called 'extremists on the Left' by the capitalist press. The Communist paper *L'Humanité* calls them 'left wing groups' who use 'pseudo-revolutionary phrases' and who are opposing the workers' wish of a return to work and are 'conducting a fight not against the Government and the employers, but against the Communist Party and its policy of union among the forces of the Left'.

These tactics of De Gaulle and M. Pompidou, the Prime Minister, could well be successful. The seeking of Left-wing unity by the Communists does

not seem to be working out. M. Mitterrand's Federation is turning, not to the Communist Party, but to the Centre for support against the government.

A FRENCH LABOUR PARTY

Out of all these diversions, the role of the French Communist Party could be seeking, one which the CGT already complements, is that of an equivalent of the Labour Party in this country. With the social democratic movement in France so divided, mostly by personalities, the Communist Party could fit in very nicely.

Whatever the outcome of the elections the economic gains made by the workers will, by the end of the year, have been lost through higher prices and possible devaluation of the franc. The will be back to the same pre-May position. De Gaulle has promised 'participation', which he has defined as all getting 'together for the common economic task, to set an industry working by contributing either the necessary capital, or management or technique'.

He also said that 'modern society is mechanical, it enslaves man, whoever he is and whatever he does'. The individual, the workers, has no grip on his own destiny any more than ants in an anthep'. Neither 'totalitarian enterprise of communism' nor 'through capitalism' could this participation be brought about.

From these contradictory remarks, what really emerges is that, basically, the workers' position will remain the same: Government-controlled factories, like Renault, were supposed to be the most progressive and enlightened showpieces of the Fifth Republic and yet the workers from the Renault plants were some of the first to occupy their factories and make the most radical demands.

Although a revolutionary situation has been channelled to the ballot box, the signs are that the situation could repeat itself when the wage increases are lost in the ensuing inflation.

The students might be granted reforms, but the gigantic task of providing enough facilities and universities to meet their requirements is an impossible task for some time to come. On top of this, no modern state can give that control of one's destiny that De Gaulle spoke about. The State is basically an 'anthep' and it is this that the students came to realise they were rebelling against.

Young workers are also feeling this and a student-worker alliance is becoming a reality. Both are becoming aware that there is more in life than getting a bigger and bigger share of the goods of a consumer society. A modern technological society can do this, but it cannot provide for the human desire of men to run and control their own lives. People want more than just a say, they want to make the decisions that affect their lives themselves. The cold evil monster, the State, cannot do this.

Our task is to work for a position where there are enough anarchists to make a situation as in France into a social revolution. There is a great deal of ignorance about anarchism, our ideas are not widely known. This is especially true in industry and it is up to us to rectify this and to create a much larger and widespread anarchist movement. With the further discredit of the Communist Party, many party militants could be attracted to our movement. It is up to us to reach them and all sections of the community with our ideas.

P.T.

Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

Lennie Bruce Records Evening. Admission free. Collee Bar, 176 North End Road, W.14. Tuesday, June 18, 8.30 p.m.

Accommodation wanted, flat or sharing. Young libertarian male. W. E. Rogers, 4 Sheldon Road, Dagenham, Essex (work phone 01-247 4311).

Arthur Moyse. Anarchistic folio of drawings, cartoons and collages. 22 prints (10 1/2 x 8 1/2) and index. 6s. or \$1.50 post paid from BB Books, 11 Clematis Street, Blackburn, Lancs.

Student anarchist, going to York University next October, would like to contact comrades in York and around. Please write to: Keith Nathan, 138 Pennyfield, Harlow, Essex.

Planned decentralisation via the anarchist commune. 6d. stamps to Selene Community (F), Rhydcymrau, Llandoilo, Sir Gaerfyrddin.

Voluntary Work Team. Present address: The Day Nursery, Park Lane, Old Kneshworth, Herts.

Lost. Anarchist banner inscribed 'Liberty'. Please get in touch with Paul Weston, Flat 19, 138 Sussex Gardens, W.2 (PAD 5935). We loved it, we lost it at the French demo in Knightsbridge.

M. O'Dowd. Please contact P. Marren, Box 11, FP.

Manchester Arts Lab. Needs £300 for rent, and cash donations, books, furniture, equipment. Premises provisionally taken for June 22. Details Doug Holton, 54 Egerton Road, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.

Interesting and worthwhile work wanted for young male Anarchist/Pacifist. Anything considered. Barry, c/o Beachlands, Honey Lane, Frodsham, Cheshire.

Flat wanted for two girls and two kids. Tired of being discriminated against by rotten landlords because of kids. Prefer Islington/Canonbury/Highbury area. Contact Barbara or Julie at 'Peace News', 5 Caledonian Road, N.1. Phone: 837 4473.

Loving foster home is wanted for boy (3 1/2 years), pacifist family. Box No. 9.

Family with four children urgently seeks unfurnished house out of London. Write 655 Fulham Road, S.W.6.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

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