

# **—SOLIDARITY**

**FOR WORKER'S POWER** 

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Volume 3 Number 2

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# BOBBY LIAR

TERRY CHANDLER HAS JUST BEEN SENT TO PRISON FOR NINE MONTHS ON THE BASIS OF PERJURED POLICE EVIDENCE.

Five months earlier, in July 1963, the King and Queen of Greece had come to London on a State Visit. The visit was held to cement Anglo-Greek governmental relations which had been somewhat disrupted by Anglo-Greek anti-nuclear activities, and activities concerning political prisoners in Greece.

At Easter 1963 an anti-bomb march in Athens had been smashed by the police. Two thousand people had been arrested. Some British Committee of 100 participants had been beaten up and deported. Numerous repressive measures had been taken against the Greek anti-Bomb movement during the following months. Grigorios Lambrakis, a Greek unilateralist MP, had been murdered by a member of the Greek royal bodyguard. In August dozens of Committee of 100 members who tried to enter Greece from Yugoslavia to join in the Hiroshima day demonstration in Athens had been deported.

In June 1963 the Committee of 100 decided that solidarity with the Greek anti-nuclear movement must be expressed in London. It planned to demonstrate during the Royal Visit. This decision provoked a political crisis in Greece. The Greek Premier resigned but plans for the Royal Visit went ahead. On June 2, Macmillan assured 'the House' that 'the ordinary rights of peaceful demonstration' were 'part of our tradition here' and would be respected.

On July 9, the King and Queen arrived in London to a 'police state welcome' (Evening Standard, July 9). In the evening, despite a police ban, demonstrations took place in and around Trafalgar Square. Mounted police dispersed crowds in Whitehall. Only a few hundred people reached the approaches to Buckingham Palace.

On July 10 the Royals went to the Aldwych Theatre and were booed and hissed as they entered. This was the turning point of Greek week. Henry Brooke (the Home Secretary, of Soblen, Enahoro and Lenny Bruce fame) 'red faced and trembling, said to us: "The Queen of England was booed tonight and I am furious". (Daily Express, July 11, 1963). By the Thursday evening, when the Queens drove to a banquet at Claridges in Mayfair, the police were in an extremely ugly mood. Weeks of hysterical royalism by the government, the press and the BBC had begun to tell.

As dusk fell on Mayfair, unruly gangs of police on horseback, on motor bikes and on foot roamed the narrow streets, obstructing many of them, and attacking or arresting sundry demonstrators, tennis players and soldiers

on leave. The sequel was a rash of allegations, many subsequently proved in court, of police perjury, police frame-ups and police beatings. People were convicted of carrying bricks and iron bars. The mildest pacifists were charged with assault and insulting behaviour. (\*)

Two people, Terry Chandler and Peter Moule (Field Secretary and National Secretary of the Committee of 100 respectively) were singled out for the full vengeance of an Old Bailey trial. The Greek Royal Visit had been a complete fiasco. An angry and thwarted State was determined to find its whipping boys.

### 'VENGEANCE IS MINE, SAITH THE LAW'

The Prosecution sought to get Terry Chandler and Peter Moule tried together on a series of charges, including that of conspiracy. Their plans became unstuck when Terry's initiative forced separate trials. The details are worth recalling.

On Wednesday, November 27, both defendants appeared at the Old Bailey together. Terry appealed for the indictment against him to be quashed, on the grounds of irregularities during the committal proceedings. (He had not been allowed to cross-examine police witnesses.) His appeal was allowed. The prosecution then immediately applied to another judge for a 'Voluntary Bill of Indictment', which legal device would enable the same charges to be brought in the High Court forthwith, without going through the procedure of committal. The prosecution's request was granted within a couple of hours. But Terry, meanwhile, had disappeared into thin air, a free man.

A Voluntary Bill of Indictment is a rarely used legal manoeuvre. But when necessary the State is quite prepared to abuse its own legality, by-passing the committal procedures and the various safeguards they provide for the accused. This little episode reveals the enormous and unsuspected 'legal' powers our rulers have hidden up their sleeves.

Peter Moule - against whom the prosecution had virtually no case at all - was tried first, alone. Although found 'not guilty' on the conspiracy charge, he was sentenced to 4 months on other charges. Terry then turned up, to find that the conspiracy charges against him had mysteriously been dropped. It would have been impossible for the prosecution to sustain such a charge when a jury had found the alleged 'co-conspirator' not guilty only a few days earlier. Had Peter Moule and Terry Chandler been tried together we have little doubt the sentences would have been even more vicious. Terry showed the State that two can play at legal quibbling.

### THE JURORS.

The Chandler trial proper started on Wednesday, December 11. Terry had a card index and list of all 576 jurors on the Old Bailey panel for that

(continued p. 25)

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(\*) For a full account of Greek Week and the events leading up to it, see 'OPEN LETTER TO AN OLD BAILEY COURT', published by the Committee of 100, and available from the Committee or from 'Solidarity' (6d., post free).

# UNWRITTEN HISTORY

## A LETTER FROM A SHOP STEWARD

This article is based on two letters\*, written by an engineering shop steward. As well as a great deal of internal polemic (which we have removed) the letters contain the following vivid and perceptive - if slightly starry-eyed - account of the shop stewards movement in Britain in 1955.

There is almost no historical written material about the Shop Stewards Movement, and there could never be. The history of every working class party is voluminously documented, as is the history of the Trade Unions. They are tangible organisations with headquarters and archives which historians and writers can consult. There are leaders to interview, and writers become parts of their apparatus.

But the Shop Stewards Movement has no apparatus, no headquarters, no documents. The shop stewards publish

no paper. No writer is employed by them. They are anonymous.

The result is that whenever you read a professional political history dealing with events since the 1914 war in Western European countries, not one of them even on the left, has any real conception of the how and why of working class struggle. The press is of no use to these gentlemen; it is notorious that the workers are always led by the Reds, Communist or Trotskyist, and the historians at least know enough to ignore them.

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\* These letters were first published in 1956 as an appendix to the second edition of the pamphlet State Capitalism and World Revolution, which outlined in 1950 the views of the Johnson-Forest tendency in the American Trotskyist movement. This group broke with Trotskyism, making a critique of it from a marxist viewpoint.

## HOW THE YOUNG WORKER LEARNS

A worker cannot learn about the Shop Stewards Movement from books. It is not written. He learns about these things from other workers and from his shop steward. Now shop stewards, knowing very little of the history and aims of the committees, ask questions.

In the factory of the new young shop steward there will inevitably be one or two older men with reputations as militants of the past. Sometimes they are still functioning as stewards, sometimes not. But the new young steward, if he begins to ask questions, is always referred to these older men, who, because of their earlier reputations, have authority on historical questions. They lived it.

These men are very rarely Stalinists.\* Almost invariably they are hostile to Stalinism, or to any "ism", as they say. They are simply and solely for the working class and against all bosses.

The young shop steward receives instructions. He begins to attend the quarterly meeting of the shop stewards in his area from the other factories and listens to the debates. In his own factory every week he attends the Shop Stewards Committee meeting, during working hours, for as long as the stewards wish. He participates in voting on the

instructions to the delegation of stewards which negotiates with the management. He reports every week or oftener on demand to his own men, and transmits their requests to the full Shop Stewards Committee. In the fullness of time, he is elected to serve with the other stewards in negotiating with the management.

He observes rather quickly that the high and mighty directors and works managers are not as high and not as mighty. He sees that here is a struggle for power in the plant. Inescapably he observes that there is absolutely no reason that he can see why the management manages and controls. He finds that in his own section are one or two older men who have been shop stewards in this or another plant. They are very willing to give advice and help. If he wins a concession from the management he is very proud. If he is interested in the wider organisation of the stewards he finds his evenings, two or three a week, are taken up in various committees of joint action with other factories in the industry, the trust, or the area.

All the time, in work time, or in the evenings, meeting in the course of a year possibly hundreds of other stewards, he acquires a detailed knowledge of the history of every factory in his locality, and nationally too. He sees the Stalinist factions at work, and perhaps the Trotskyists, the Labour Left militants, etc. In his union branch he sees how the union is organised. In the course of a year or so, he has received an education in the history, practice and traditions of the working class which it is quite impossible to get from books. It is just not written down. Since about 1942, all factories in Britain have

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\* The writer uses Stalinist to mean Communist Party supporter, and not in its more recent - and misleading - sense of anti-Kruschevite. Ed.

functioning Shop Stewards Committees, and every year, ever increasing numbers of young workers receive their training in this process.

## WHAT THE YOUNG WORKER LEARNS

And let it be quite clear. Each and every one of them, without a single exception, learns, and is shown in action, that the Shop Stewards Committee in his own and every factory, has no other reason for existence except the total ownership and operation of the plant. The struggle is permanent. No matter how many concessions the employers may give, the shop steward must ask for more. It is not a personal question. The shop steward is instructed by the men he represents. It doesn't matter what the personal or political views of the steward are. And it doesn't matter how many concessions the employers make. There is only one possible end to the process: the revolution, expropriation, or call it whatever you like.

This process is quite independent of the level of wages, or reforms such as the National Health Service, or good housing. As a matter of fact, if wages are adequate, and social services and housing good, the tendency is for the shop stewards' demands to proceed even more rapidly into the realm of management.

Any shop steward and any management will tell you that it is precisely in times of full employment and high wages, that the Shop Stewards Committees are on the offensive and the higher the wages and the better the conditions, the more confident and organised, the more demanding become the workers.

The period 1940-1955 has seen the greatest growth of Shop Stewards Committees ever to have been in Britain. In this period, and at an accelerating pace since 1951, the trade union defensive aspect of the Shop Stewards Committees is fading into the background, and their essential role as the organs of workers' power becoming more and more apparent.

Generation after generation of the best young workers have been drawn into the work of the Shop Stewards Committees, and are no longer interested in the political routine work of the Labour Party, Stalinists, Trotskyists, etc. The factory workers no longer bother very much with attendance at trade union branches. Let the trade union leadership negotiate periodically over wages, certainly, but every other question, and more than the unions ever handled, are dealt with very well by the shop stewards. And more often than not, the shop stewards extort higher wages, regardless of the national negotiations.

The mass of the workers, at an accelerating pace over the last few years, have ceased to regard the Labour Party as the chief anti-capitalist force, and protector of the workers. In the factories now the shop Stewards Committees begin to encroach upon even this sacred province. It is clear that the workers in the nationalised industries regard the Labour Party and Parliamentary action as a broken reed, and can rely only on their shop committees to take the place of the Labour Party.

But also, in the broader fields of crafts and engineering and chemicals, and in the factories in general, nationalisation has become only a cumbersome and dangerous

method of getting rid of the capitalists. The Shop Stewards Committees at one stroke can get rid of owners and managers as well.

In the nationalised industries the workers are having to contend with highly organised managements, even more oppressive than before, and the factory workers are very well aware of this fact. Even apart from the notorious similarity of Tory and Labour Party policy, the crude fact is that the broad layers of the workers now can only rely on the Shop Stewards Committees. Thus the famous "apathy" of the workers towards the elections.

The bureaucrat's view of the working class - apathy (because it doesn't attend to Trade Union Branches), its youth who aren't as revolutionary as they were in his day - is shared by every Stalinist, Trotskyist or Vanguard Party type, and is the final confirmation of their bankruptcy.

These people have got to the stage where they have to read the papers to gauge the intensity of the class struggle. Politics and the proletarian struggle for them become accidents of history. The evolution and the reasons escape them.

The Shop Stewards Committees have begun since 1945 to develop an independent form of activity. This was always implied, but awaited the full development on a mass nationwide basis, of the idea of the Committees. It is this factor which is the graveyard of a Vanguard Party in Britain.

The relations between the Trades Unions, the Labour Party and the factory committees have been very complicated, very variable and very obscure in the history of the last

twenty years. But nobody has been under any illusions that three strands existed in the movement. It is clear, however, today, that the shop committees have matured to the position that the official Trade Unions and the Labour Party are regarded as ancillaries. The Shop Committees are the mutual meeting-place of all tendencies in the movement, and in which the discussion takes place which leads to action. Once the phase of nationalisation and statisation became the rule in Britain, the Committees perforce embraced all functions, political, trade union and economic.

## THE MINERS

The most highly paid, satisfied, and apathetic miners, in face of Trade Union and Labour Party opposition, have embarked in the last period upon a bitter war against the State-appointed, Trade Union- and Labour Party-supported National Coal Board. They could not have done this unless there had previously arisen the miners' panels of rank and file delegates, on the pattern of the Shop Stewards Committees.

As you know, there have been 266 strikes in Yorkshire in the first three months of this year\*. And the issue involved is quite simple. The miners say that the local managers should have power to negotiate piece-work rates. The Trade Union and Coal Board bosses say these things are high policy. It is a question pure and simple of workers' control. (The miners know they can control the local managers.)

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\*Written in May 1955. Ed.

Everywhere there is unrest, and a mounting wave of strikes. And in nearly every case, the leadership is in the hands of the committees. The basic issues are always issues of control. Sometimes it is a fight for control between union bosses and the committees, sometimes it is a matter of control in the factory or place of work, sometimes it is both. But throughout, in recent months, in countless strikes, it has been shown that the rank and file, panels, shop committees or in general, the job committees, the committees in general are moving steadily to a position of power. Power meaning the only power position which counts, i.e., power in the management and control of industry...

## LIVERPOOL

These revolutionary militants\* had grown up in the school of the rising power of the shop stewards, and had matured as conscious revolutionaries in the process of the increasing establishment of these committees as independent centres of working class mobilisation against the class collaborationist Trade Union machines, against the employers, and independent of a rotted, moribund Labour Party.

In the shipyards, the railways, the steel mills, the trucking industry, and in industry and factories in general, the united energies of all the workers were pooled in this process. It was the revanche, the revival, the new dawn

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\* The writer has been talking of the Liverpool Dock Strike of 1945, and the militants of the shop stewards committees in the Liverpool area.  
Ed.

after long years of unemployment and defeat.

The Trade Union bureaucrats could not seriously hamper this process. It took place at the machine, the ship, the garage, the goods depot, away from the stranglehold of the Trade Union bosses in the union branches, away from the ward committees of the Labour Party, hidden away from all the demoralising influence of the past.

The best energies of all the most experienced and active workers were devoted to this task. Workers who had been through the school of the early Communist Party, some who were active Stalinists, some Labour Party supporters, some young, some old, united universally in this task.

## FACTORY NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE

No shop steward has any doubts about the ability of the workers to manage industry.

It would be impossible concretely and in detail to show, in the space of a few pages, how the growth in power of the shop committees, in turn enabled the most advanced socialist to begin to see the growing up of a new way of life and organisation (I think this is what State Capitalism and World Revolution means by human relations). But one concrete example is in the very centre of the clash of classes, at the negotiating committees between the shop stewards and the managements.

It can be a shattering and highly formative experience, to observe, week in and week out, that

there are two different ways of life on either side of that table, and that the overwhelming preponderance of all the classic human virtues is on the side of the shop stewards. In an average works committee meeting, the managing director is in the chair at the head of the table. On one side of the table will be the convenor of the shop stewards, and five or six other stewards elected to represent the Shop Stewards Committee and through them every worker in the plant. On the other side will be say the works manager, production manager, a chief of the planning department, the deputy of the works manager, the head of the drawing office, and the sales manager. An amazing dialectical revolution takes place.

## THE SHOP STEWARD IS FREE

The shop stewards, workers to a man, all of them, fitters, turners, production line workers, are no longer employees; they are no longer under the orders of the managers or even the managing director; they are the equals of the managing director.

But the managerial side of the negotiations, they the managers, are the employees. The shop stewards are free and equal men, deriving their authority from the workers they represent. The managers are mere employees hired and fired by the managing director.

The policy of the manager's side is set by the free discussion and free vote by the Shop Stewards Committee. It is usual that there is, as there is always, a majority and a minority, in the shop stewards' debates; always a spokesman of the

minority is included in the negotiations to see that the majority, in negotiating with the management, is not unfair to the minority. No minority in a Shop Stewards Committee ever feels oppressed, there is free discussion, and democratic decision. The management knows there are divisions always on the workers' side, and always try to use that knowledge. But never, in all the negotiations with employers at which I have assisted, or which I ever heard of, has the workers' side ever shown the employers anything but a completely united front.

On the employers' side, there is the unanimity of bankruptcy, because with them they have a boss who alone ultimately tells them what to do. If the advice of a works manager and his policy over weeks or months is accepted by the managing director, the boss, and it turns out wrong, he is sacked. Every individual manager is always under this strain.

But the shop steward negotiators are free men, who are never penalised in this way. There are no bosses, no sackings in the Shop Stewards Committee. The average shop steward glories in the battle in the negotiations, he gives of his best always; there is no boss breathing down his neck. It is a matter of common knowledge that the shop stewards in negotiations are ruthless, never to be satisfied, and can always drive wedges into the artificial monolithism of the management.

If a works manager is a reasonable man, you praise him to the director, and make him suspect. If he is a harsh disciplinarian, you accuse him of provoking strikes.

All these things are difficult to detail; but the total result is that the shop stewards' method of organisation, with everything that it involves, proves itself in every way superior to the way of the management's.

## A MANCHESTER PUB

The Central Committee of the Textile Machine Industry is a meeting of shop stewards from all factories manufacturing spinning machinery, largely one large cartel. It meets whenever a factory committee thinks it necessary, but usually once a month in a small public house in a back street in the centre of Manchester. Now this committee is quite typical of all such committees, which exist in hundreds of different shapes and sizes corresponding with the conditions in the factories and industries for which they cater.

There are only a few informal rules, which can be and are changed to suit the convenience of stewards attending. There are only very shadowy officers and functions, and its decisions are not binding on any individual factory which can accept or reject them. Votes are very rarely taken; when they are, one factory no matter what the size, counts as one vote. Sometimes as many as twenty factories have been represented, sometimes only say half a dozen. Any shop steward may attend, although the committee of a factory will delegate one or two stewards to present any special views it wishes to have discussed.

It is noteworthy that this Central Committee of Textile Machine Shop Stewards has no recognised existence. It is completely outside

any union machinery or jurisdiction, and the employers do not and will not negotiate with it. It is an informal meeting of delegates from factories; yet it is the power which faces twenty boards of directors, and which will tomorrow, with the greatest of ease abolish them (ease in an organisational sense).

This Central Committee always met on a Sunday. Stewards would arrive from all the little Lancashire towns from midday onwards. The landlord allotted the big assembly room for our deliberations. From midday until 2 p.m. all drink beer and exchange conversation about anything and everything. Sandwiches and pies are brought in from the pub, for lunch.

At 2 p.m. on Sundays the pubs have to stop serving beer, although everyone takes the precaution of ordering an extra pint at 2 p.m. to help their throats in the coming session. So at 2 o'clock the chairman opens the meeting.

The agenda is made up on the spot. The Secretary reads any correspondence. The minutes of the last meeting are approved. There is a minimum of business. The whole time until 7 o'clock is taken up with resolutions and discussions. At 7 o'clock the meeting closes, when it is opening time. Thereafter there is informal continuation of discussion in groups, very often political debate until 10 o'clock when the pub closes, when everybody goes home having had an enjoyable day.

Except of course we Trotskyists, who were scandalised at the sloppy way of running things, and we couldn't seem somehow to get the stewards to be organised under our control.

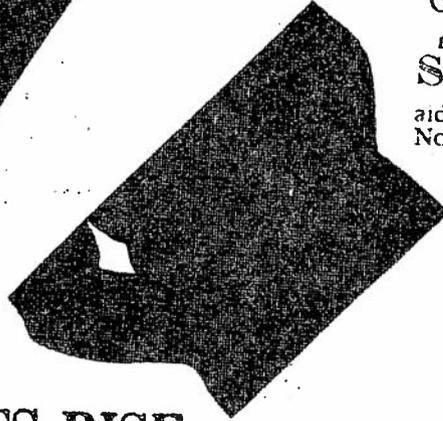
# TWO POLICE CONSTABLES ACCUSED OF PERJURY

DAILY TELEGRAPH REPORTER



## P.C. FINED £5 FOR PHONE OFFENCE

P.c. Norman Trigg, 35, of Oakham, was fined £5 at Rutland yesterday for using obscene language over the telephone. He pleaded guilty.



## TRAPPED P.c. SHOPBREAKER

### GAOL SENTENCE

DAILY TELEGRAPH REPORTER  
SEVEN times commended during nine years as a detective aide and police constable, NORMAN WILLIAMS, 28, believed

## House of Lords

# LORD PARKER WANTS RISE IN POLICE PAY AT ONCE



## POLICEMAN ACCUSED

Sgt. Henry [redacted] of Police House, Frensham, Surrey was remanded on bail until Tuesday at Havant yesterday charged with four offences against a Portsmouth girl under the age of 16. [redacted] said he had been a member of the police for 25 years.

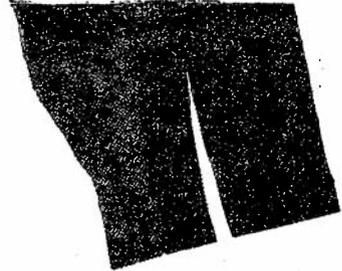
## P.C. FINED £20 FOR KEEPING CASH

## DISMISSAL OF 3 LONDON P.C.S

### IT WAS HANDED IN

P.C. STANLEY BRANT of Hartington-road, Southall.

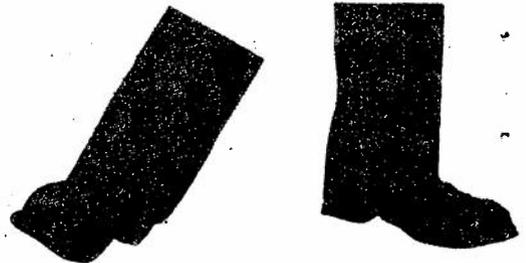
They were accused of various offences against police regulations, including associating with a reputed prostitute and a convicted prostitute. The disciplinary board sat for three days and ended on



**Police  
can be  
trusted**

By our Sheffield Correspondent

## 2 POLICE ACCUSED OF KICKING MAN



# RHINO

**City**  
**Police chief resigns**  
**Sheffield**  
**Four PCs for**  
**on**  
**left charge**  
**Morale of**  
**police**

**Police pay**  
**compensation**  
**to deaf mutes**  
**charge**  
**inc**  
**at**  
**Brick**  
**case:**  
**inquiry at**

**Constable de**  
**on Woo**  
**THE OBJECT**  
**Sheffield police**  
**case: no more**  
**prosecutions**  
**CONFESSIO**  
**'PROBE WEST**  
**END POLICE'**  
**CALL**

**high**  
**CONFESSIO**  
**'PROBE WEST**  
**END POLICE'**  
**CALL**

**Policeman to**  
**pay £500**

**Police Authorities**  
**POLICEMAN TO**  
**SAFE-BREAKER**  
**Ex-officer's worries**  
**A former police superintendent in**

**Thurso case M.P. reads out letter**  
**pay**  
**demonstrators**  
**Rights of**  
**Man**  
**blood**  
**face**

**in damages**  
**in police**  
**assault**

**VICE SQUAD**  
**BRUTALITY**  
**Constable**  
**'Kicked**  
**prisoner'**

**UNHARMED**  
**PRESTIGE**  
**most people did not believe**  
**police ?**  
**The case**  
**of Herman Woo**

**er hopes for who**  
**on 'half-bricks'**

**Police and**  
**Labour suggests**  
**interim report**  
**CID MEN**  
**ACCUSED**  
**Sick**  
**detective on**  
**sick leave**  
**Greek visit:**

**POLICE**  
**ACCUSED BY**  
**'EX-INFORMER**

**LIC SERGEANT**  
**ARRESTED**  
**Sheffield**  
**constable**  
**resigns**  
**POLICE RECORD ERROR**  
**resigns**  
**re-**

**By our Sheffield**  
**detective**  
**recovering**

**DAILY TELEGRAPH REPORTER**  
**A SERIES of letters from**  
**one-time police inform**  
**alleging bribery, corruption an**  
**coercion among Metropolita**  
**P.c.s DO NOT**  
**"SOCK" BOYS**  
**IN STREETS**

**if possible**  
**ings bu**  
**ndant**  
**sub**  
**Daily Telegraph Reporter**  
**A police sergeant of the Surrey**  
**County**  
**Constabulary**  
**has**  
**been**  
**A case was put back at Old Street**  
**yesterday after a defendant denied a**

# about ourselves

In spite of the increasingly irregular appearance of our 'monthly' we have not been idle. We have reprinted both The Meaning of Socialism, by Paul Cardan, and The Workers' Opposition, by Alexandra Kollontai, both of which had been out of print for some time.

We have already sent a number of large orders to the United States. Incidentally, both these pamphlets (as well as a lot of our other material) have now been translated into Japanese; The Workers' Opposition has also been translated into French.

Since the last About Ourselves we have published The RSGs 1919 - 1963 by Nicolas Walter (Solidarity Pamphlet No. 15). It had to be reprinted almost immediately. Only two to three hundred of the 2,200 printed are still unsold. It is still going well.

In the very near future we shall be bringing out a pamphlet about the London Busmen. As well as Bob Potter's article (see page 13) it will include contributions from a number of other busmen. Anyone, particularly anyone with experience on the buses, who can help with sales to busmen should contact Bob Potter.

We have just sent to the printers the first Solidarity Paperback. It is Hungary '56, by Andy Anderson. It will be published in January 1964, and will cost a maximum of 3/6d. (plus postage). It has involved us in a substantial capital outlay, and it would help a lot if we could have orders, with cash if possible, NOW. A sufficient number of orders would help bring down the cost to 3/-d. or even 2/6d. We'd refund any excess paid.

We have frequently been criticised (justly) for failing to back up our disruptive activities with regular theoretical discussions about our ideas. But there's no pleasing some people. At an isolated Sunday afternoon discussion meeting we organised recently we were soundly attacked by one participant as armchair revolutionaries! The meeting, attended by 35 people, took place around a talk by CLR James on "Marxism Today". We hope to hold more such meetings in future; please let us know if you would like to be kept informed.

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## C o n s c r i p t i o n

There is a strong possibility that after the Election conscription will be re-introduced by the "victors".

Lambeth YCND would like to hear from any groups or individuals who are interested in actively opposing it if it comes back. The YATB column in Sanity warned of impending call-up, but gave a solution in five short words - "Give the kids the vote". If you think this is the answer DON'T bother to write to John Bell, 47 Aytoun Road, London SW9, with a view to a meeting in late January.

# BUSES AND BOSSES

No section of the British working class has suffered such a relative deterioration of wage standards, and, more important, conditions of work during the past 30 years, as has the transport industry; the London busmen in particular. In 1939 the London busman stood No.2 in the index of industrial wage rates; by March 1963 he occupied 57th position. \* It is no surprise therefore that with the possible exception of the dockers, no section has created so many headaches for the Labour bureaucrats of the T&GWU as the London bus section.

The real tragedy underlying the fate of the busmen lies in the fact that they have so far failed to find a method of struggle outside the framework of the traditional trade union movement. There has been no movement akin to the shop stewards movement now deeply embedded in industry nationally. Consequently the history of the busmen's struggles for better pay, against the speed-up, for shorter hours etc, have lacked the individual participation so necessary for progress. The busmen have spent the last forty years banging their heads against a brick wall.

## The General Omnibus Company

Prior to 1920 the London busmen had their own small union. Suffice to say that the autonomy of this organisation secured for the members very favourable rates of pay and greatly envied conditions of work. To become a busman the applicant often had to wait six months or more for appointment. It was therefore understandable that dissatisfaction soon followed their union's absorption into the T&GWU in 1920.

London's bus transport was then carried on by a number of companies, the most important of which was the General Omnibus Company. For administrative purposes the Company was subdivided into no less than fifteen districts, and the union structure mirrored the Company organisation. The members in each district elected delegates to the Central London Area Bus Committee.

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\* In 1939 a London bus driver's basic wage was £4.10.0d. a week; by March 1963 it was £11.16.6d. In 1939 the tube-driver also got £4.10.0d. In March 1963 he was getting £14.10.0d. - £2.13.6d. a week more than his colleague on the buses.

The Communist Party

The frustration engendered by the inability of the busmen to build a genuine shop organisation, made the militants very susceptible to Communist Party influence. This was an equivocal influence - arguing for "revolutionary" activity, but at the same time tied to a traditional struggle and to support for TU bureaucrats.

In 1924 the CP launched the National Minority Movement, the task of which was "to make the unity of the trade union movement a real one, to build up the shop and local organisation which should be able to control from below..." \* The London bus sections were the objective of intensive CP work, which met with considerable success.

In actual fact the Minority Movement was never more than a ginger group, seeing its function as one of influencing the trade union leaders.\*\*

The Angle-Russian Unity Committee came into existence at the same time. Stalin had decided he could live in peace with British capitalism, and the communist leaders were determined that nothing should be done by the rank and file to disrupt the Unity Committee - unity between the TU bureaucracy and the Kremlin bureaucracy.

It was a virtually defunct National Minority Movement that was eventually "proscribed" by the TUC. Defunct due to the reformism of the CP leadership, its perpetual kow-towing to the official union leaders, and the recognition of this by its members.

Rank & File Movement

In 1932 the CP reorganised the fossils of the National Minority Movement into the Rank and File Movement. Unlike its predecessor the Rank and File Movement was based in the support of trade union branches and shop stewards organisations and had no individual membership.

One of the most influential trade union committees to affiliate to the movement was the Central London Area Bus Committee, which soon came completely under the control of the London Busmen's Rank and File Movement; i.e. the Communist Party.

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\* Ralf Fox: The Class Struggle in Britain 1914 - 1923, p.82

\*\* Wal Hannington: What's Wrong in the Engineering Industry? (Nat Min Movt 1927)

"... the Minority Movement must be strong enough inside the unions not only to make leaders, but also to break them, if and when they reject the policy upon which they were elected."

Eventually the busmen were to discover that in the last analysis the role of the CP was to discipline the workers into supporting the official union bureaucrats, in spite of their revolutionary hot air and "demands". At this time there was a genuine deep-rooted feeling among busmen to form their "own" union - a demand rejected vigorously in the initial statement of the Rank and File movement on 5 October 1932.

### Busmen's Punch

The Rank and File Movement undoubtedly obtained wide support from the busmen, and by 1937 31 of the 50 London bus branches had affiliated to it. With only one exception, all members of the Central Area Bus Committee supported it. (This does not mean that the CP had this proportion of support in the rank and file.) Such was the nominal power of the CP, and yet its role was to be the same as that of the Party in 1958 - a determined policy of preventing the workers from genuinely struggling against the employer.

It was during this period that the Busmen's Punch was launched, a militant paper that advocated a "revolutionary" policy, while at the same time accepting that the busmen should ham-string themselves abiding by the constitution of the T&GWU. The Busmen's Punch was superseded in later years by the Platform. Its policy remained the same; indeed, today it is respectable enough to be acceptable to the Transport House bureaucrats.

### Coronation Strike

The activities of the London Busmen's Rank and File Movement culminated in the busmen's Coronation Strike from 1 to 26 May 1937. Officially the dispute was for shorter working hours and against the grouping of schedules. (This latter point is still a frequent issue of dispute: by grouping schedules the employer is able to greatly intensify work.) The strike was essentially on conditions of work, and was summed up under the slogan "THE RIGHT TO LIVE A LITTLE LONGER". The Rank and File Movement published a pamphlet under this heading, the sales of which reached fantastic proportions.

Ernie Bevin, then secretary of the T&GWU, was opposed to strike action, and strongly advocated further negotiations with what had become the London Passenger Transport Board. But the mass feeling of the busmen, and the determination of the Central Area Bus Committee, carried things out of Bevin's control.

### Ernest Bevin

In many respects 1937 was the fore-runner to 1958. Bevin, like Cousins later, had been forced to give verbal backing. He refused to bring the trams out in support - and saw the possibility of smashing the Rank and File Movement by an industrial defeat. The Rank and File Movement made no direct appeal to the tram-men to defy their leadership; they thereby doomed themselves. When on 16 May 1937

the T&GWU executive called off the battle, the men returned to work without question, while Bevin entered into negotiations with the LPTB through the Ministry of Labour.

In spite of the "revolutionary" appeals of the Rank and File leaders and of the Busmen's Punch, they were now exposed as being nothing more than a safety channel to defend the T&GWU bureaucrats. Bevin "deliberately allowed the Central Bus Committee to take over control of the running of the strike, gambling on his belief that the men in power in the Committee would over-reach themselves, put forward demands incapable of acceptance, and by revealing the bankruptcy of their leadership would destroy their chance to undermine union discipline in the future." \*

Bevin's hunch was proved correct. The bankruptcy of the Rank and File Committee, its failure to attempt to build a genuine revolutionary base, rather than a recruiting ground for the CP, led to the defeat of the strike, and the virtual destruction of the Rank and File Movement itself.

The End of the R&FM

Bevin wasted no time in reaping the fruits of his "victory", and the following Biennial Conference carried a lengthy resolution, sponsored by the Executive, which declared among other things an end to the Rank and File Movement within the union, disciplinary action against its supporters, no branch to affiliate to the Rank and File Movement and the banning of any unofficial journal. The machinery of the Central London Area Bus Committee was suspended and eight strike leaders were either expelled from the union or suspended from holding office.

All this was accepted with surprising resignation by the CP, and the Busmen's Punch was closed down. Two of the expelled communists, Bert Papworth and Bill Jones, rejoined the union after giving written assurances that they would abide by the new constitution. \*\* The three leading non-communist figures of the Rank and File Movement, bewildered and frustrated, joined with W J Brown to form a break-away union.

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\* Francis Williams: Ernest Bevin, p.115.

\*\* It is significant that Bill Jones is still regarded by many as the leading busman's militant. His determination to retain his popularity with the official leadership was clearly demonstrated in 1958. I was editing an unofficial journal, the Battersea Garage Bulletin, and had published an attack on Cousins which implied that Bill Jones perhaps held the same views. Jones hastened to send Cousins a "personal letter". He sent me a copy of the letter, which read in part:

"On the contrary, without any wish for medals or approbation, I have at all times, at all levels, everywhere, expressed my general support for your policy and leadership of the union."

The open call for co-operation with the union bureaucrats was summed up at a Communist Party Congress in May 1937 by J R Campbell:

"We insist that the trade union leaders stop fighting their own militants and start mobilising the working class to storm the Bastille of unorganised labour... Our demand is for the calling of a conference of trade union executives.

"A growing number of comrades are being elected to trade union executives and to paid official positions."

### Break-Away Union

A break-away union, the National Passenger Workers' Union, was launched on 25 February 1938 by a section of

the Central London Area Bus Committee, with W J Brown, general secretary of the Civil Service Clerical Association (!) \*, as its honorary president. At the most its membership was never more than 3,000 (the union itself claimed 8,000). It existed for eight years, and offered no solution to the busmen apart from anti-communism - hardly appropriate, since the CP policy was by now clearly exposed to the majority of busmen.

Its main activities were litigations for recognition. This was denied, following an appeal to the House of Lords by the LPTB. The T&CWU supported the ruling of the noble peers, and in 1946 the LPTB signed an agreement with the T&CWU to the effect that as from 31 August 1946 only members of Deakin's union would be employed. 176 members of the break-away union were sacked, and from that date London Transport could correctly claim 100% unionism.

### Deakin

Deakin had put the finishing touches to a policy which saw the union as a means of controlling the members for the employer. This he made clear when he justified his suppression of the break-away union and the compulsory membership of his organisation:

"The Trade Unions are... anxious... to maintain the fullest personal liberty of the individual. This, however, does not mean licence to those people who for some selfish motive... seek to destroy organisations already in existence and, above all, that joint negotiating machinery which has served this country so well during the war years."

13 September 1946.

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\* Later an associate of Edward Martell and the People's League for the Defence of Freedom.

For Arthur Deakin and his fellow bureaucrats "that joint negotiating machinery" many have served well. For the London busmen, this was a very dubious point. Between October 1938 and October 1946 the average weekly earnings of workers as a whole increased by 90%. During the same period the average earnings of transport workers increased by 68%, and the earnings of London busmen went up by only 35%.\*

Consequently the London Transport Board was faced with an enormous staff shortage and high staff turnover. The Board's answer to its problem was (and still is) a determined speed-up and intensification of work. The union bureaucracy co-operated fully with the now (1948) nationalised London Transport Executive, and refused to endorse any actions taken by the busmen in defence of their conditions of work. It is most significant that not only were all disputes in the period of the Labour Government unofficial, but THAT MORE THAN 80% OF THEM WERE OVER SCHEDULES AND SPEED-UP, IN SPITE OF THE LOW EARNINGS OF THE BUS WORKERS.

This was the period of McCarthyism in the T&GWU, culminating in the 1948 Scarborough Resolution which banned Communists from holding office.

#### Frank Cousins

The death of Arthur Deakin brought a sigh of relief to the membership of the T&GWU. His successor, Frank

Cousins, had built up a reputation of being progressive - a reputation deliberately fostered by Communist Party propaganda. The CP militants hoped (and still hope) that by collaborating with Cousins they would win his support for a removal of the proscription on their holding official positions in the organisation.

The nauseating praises of Cousins reached their climax in 1958, the year of the first official strike since 1937. Conditions during that period had gone from bad to worse - the effective working day had increased from 7 hours 20 minutes to 8 hours 15 minutes; short journey workings had built up the time that could be spent in the bus to a maximum; the number of passengers carried in a duty had more than doubled; bus services had been slashed to an unbelievable extent. YET THIS OFFICIAL STRIKE WAS PRIMARILY ON THE ISSUE OF A WAGE INCREASE.

#### The 1958 Strike

From the beginning Cousins had opposed the strike, but had been overruled by the Central Bus Committee.

As has been previously stated, his attitude was similar to that of Bevin 21 years before. Unable to resist the pressure from below for some sort of action he decided to "support" the strike - while doing everything possible to see it defeated.

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\* Ministry of Labour Gazette, April 1947. p.106.

As we would expect no attempt was made to enlist the support of the tube-men - like the tram-men in 1937 they scabbed on the busmen. The London Executive of the NUR wished to pull out their members: at Cousins' request Greene instructed them to remain at work. The petrol-drivers voted to strike in sympathy - Cousins told them to stay at work. And once again the London busmen had no rank-and-file organisation that could make a direct appeal to fellow transport workers. Completely isolated the busmen suffered a defeat, and returned to work thoroughly demoralised.

The influence of the Communist Party was by now negligible, but those members it did have gave it their unconditional support. During the strike, while Cousins and his fellow-bureaucrats were doing all in their power to keep the busmen isolated, Tess Gorringe (a woman conductor member of the London District CP) addressed a meeting in Trafalgar Square. She praised Frank Cousins as "the greatest leader our union has ever had". For fifteen minutes she spoke on the one theme: the great Cousins.

### Solidarity - 1958

1958 demonstrated one thing very clearly: the solidarity and determination of the busmen. The men demanded an all-round basic wage increase, for the London men, Country services, garage staff, etc. The LTE offered the London men 8/6d. a week, but nothing for the Country men. Early in negotiations Cousins asked that the 8/6d. offered be shared out, so that all workers received 6/6d. The LTE refused.

So, in effect, for seven weeks, the majority of London busmen struck, not for themselves, but on behalf of their Country brothers. Had the LTE accepted the suggestion put to them by Cousins it would not have cost them a penny more than their own proposal. Not only did it demonstrate the solidarity of the workers - it demonstrated the determination of the LTE to divide one section from the other. (This policy of differentiated wage increases has since been further implemented by the LTE with the agreement of the union. Not only between London and Country men, but also between drivers and conductors.)

### Conditions of Work

The conditions under which the busmen work would never be tolerated in any other industry. The bus job is one where there are as many shifts as there are buses on the road - the hours could not be more irregular - early hours of the morning one week, working ~~until~~ after midnight the next. And while at work, the conductor must push and shove between standing passengers, carrying a heavy ticket machine (and at the end of a duty it seems to weigh a ton!), calculating change from £1 notes, and at the same time responsible to the law for the lives of up to sixty people. The driver must weave and twist through traffic, changing traffic lanes frequently to pull into a bus stop, stopping and starting, subject to a ringing bell that turns him into a modern version of Pavlov's dog.

The average member of the travelling public has no conception of the extent of the speed-up that has been enforced on London busworkers. Every year schedules are tighter: buses must travel faster: there are less buses on the road. \* To give an example of the intensity of work in Central London, take Route 31, on which I was employed as a conductor for four years.

The route is from Chelsea to Camden Town, a distance of eight miles. There are 43 stops, 26 of which are compulsory. The maximum running time is 44 minutes. That is just one minute from one stop to the next, load and unload. On the same route there are exactly 20 sets of traffic lights - get caught at half of them, and ten minutes have to be made-up somehow.\*\*

Road Accidents

As would be expected, this speed-up means danger on the roads. While employed at Battersea Garage I arranged for a survey to be made by colleagues on the inside staff, and we found, that in two months there were no fewer than 66 accidents requiring some kind of repair to the vehicle, out of a total of 80 buses in the garage. On average, each bus was involved in an accident once every three months.

This suggests that once every eleven minutes, from 6 am to midnight, day in, day out, a London bus is involved in an accident bad enough to damage it.

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\* During the past eleven years the number of drivers and conductors has declined by more than 17,000. One bus in every four has disappeared from the streets. Yet revenue received continues to increase. In 1961 revenue increased by £2,558,000 over 1960, and in 1962 it increased by £1,848,000 over 1961.

During these two years the busmen received a 6/6d. pay increase, an annual cost of £676,000. Those who still believe that fares rise because of wage increases, please note: for every additional £1 of increased fares, the bus crews received 2/-d.

\*\* This is no exceptional route, as these figures show.

Route	No. of Stops		No. of traffic lights	Running time (in minutes)
	Compulsory	Request		
72	36	35	18	77
77	25	29	23	58
155	20	21	20	50
157	33	36	11	69

The extensive overtime working (1,000 of the 7,000 buses on the London streets are normally running on an overtime basis) means that often drivers are over-tired, and a danger to themselves and the public at large.\*

Inspectors

It is a fallacy widely believed by passengers that inspectors check tickets to see if passengers override. Primarily, the inspector is checking on the conductor. He is told so quite clearly by his superiors, and, as any conductor will confirm, the inspector generally wouldn't know whether the passenger was overriding or not.

The past years have seen an enormous increase of plain-clothes "spots" travelling about, again spying on the conductor, to see he collects all fares, doesn't steal, etc. The recent installation of BESI (Bus Electronic Scanning Indicator), the "robot watcher", has greatly improved the LTE's ability to keep a permanent check on the buses. The theory is that with a BESI on every street corner each individual bus can be controlled from 55 Broadway.

It is against this background that 90,000 busmen have quit their jobs in the past eleven years. The average length of service of a new recruit is now 12 weeks.

Package Deal

In spite of the low rates of pay, conditions of work is still the main problem facing the busman. That this is recognised by the busmen was shown clearly by their rejection of the LTE's "package deal" in November 1962.

In return for a pay increase of 9/2d., the Transport bosses asked the union to agree to:

- the introduction of 64 seater Routemaster buses, and later a "super" Routemaster carrying 72 passengers, in the ratio of 10 new buses for 11 old buses.

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\* For example, the overtime ban at Merton garage has meant that out of 307 duties (Monday to Friday) 40 have been cut, and out of 161 duties (Sundays) 19 have been cut. (N.B. One duty is on average equivalent to two complete round journeys by a bus.)

As recently as February 1963, London Transport, in an effort to persuade busmen to accept a "package deal", offered to pay bus drivers a "Scarcity Bonus" of 2/-d. per week for the years 1963, 1964 and 1965. Far from wishing to recruit sufficient staff to operate the services, they are, in fact, budgeting for a permanent staff shortage.

- the extension of OMO (one-man-only buses) to more central routes.

- an increase in the bus speed from 30 m.p.h. to 40 m.p.h. on suburban roads.

- the introduction of a "standee" bus, a huge single-deck vehicle taking 35 seated passengers and 35 standing.

The scheme would have meant at least a 5% cut in services and a much greater intensity of work. So far as the busmen were concerned the major issue wasn't cash - it was conditions. The industry has reached the stage where overtime and rest-day working are so excessive that money alone fails to attract.

The Need for New Methods of Struggle Such is the background to the deterioration in the working conditions of London busmen, and to the present overtime ban against yet another speed-up with the latest revised schedules. It seems fantastic that there is no deep-rooted organised resistance to the employer as there is in other industries. I think the main reason for this is the nature of the job.

Unlike the factory worker, the busman spends most of his working time in isolation. Apart from four or five minutes at the terminus, even the driver and the conductor are working individually.

The job tends, if anything, to drive the workers away from one another rather than towards cooperation. By running ahead of time, one crew can avoid a great number of passengers - and Jack on the bus behind must carry them together with his own quota.

I am not attacking my own class, but describing reality as it is. The attitude of "pass the burden onto the bloke behind" probably applies to a good 30% of busmen. By falling for this philosophy they are, of course, playing the bosses' game. They are encouraging disunity - and at the same time aggravating relations with the workers who travel on the vehicle.

Even in the "traditional" sense there are many forms of struggle that have never been tried. The work-to-rule immediately springs to mind. All new employees are issued with a little blue book. As any busman will tell you, if the rules were strictly adhered to, the result would be chaos.

For example, the conductor must be on the platform at every stop. The powers that be know quite well that if this were done it would be impossible for the conductor to collect all fares without delaying the vehicle. Indeed the bosses want the rule to be broken, but it exists as a "safeguard" for the employer. IF the conductor "rings off" from the top deck, or from inside the lower deck, and IF there is a boarding accident, then the CONDUCTOR IS LIABLE - for ignoring the regulations.

A genuine work-to-rule would expose the complete separation of management from reality.

From a practical point of view this action would be most difficult, for the busman would greatly increase his own volume of work. However, it must be admitted that a minority could quite effectively create havoc with the services. \*

It is important that the struggle should be clearly directed against the management and not the passenger. Successful action of this kind was taken by Paris Metro (tube) workers in May 1962, who operated services normally, but refused to collect fares. After 24 hours the management capitulated.

Involving the Passenger

It may be argued that such action would probably lead to a lock-out by the employers. Even if this happened the passenger could clearly see that it was the management, and not the busman, who was depriving him of his transport. A refusal to collect fares, however, could not be countered by a lock-out if it was operated suddenly, without notice, for limited periods only. This again emphasises the need for a form of organisation analagous to the shop stewards committees.

The question of refusing to collect fares underlines a vital factor in the passenger transport industry. Probably no section of the working class has the possibilities of the London busmen for involving large sections of the general public in his struggle. The passenger immediately suffers hardship when services are cut. He can see with his own eyes the conditions of work of the busman. He may not know the details of the speed-up, rates of pay, overtime, etc., but if told these facts he can at once verify them from his own experience as a passenger. A struggle at a power-station, at Dagenham or in the pits can never be fully comprehended by outsiders. The busmen's conditions of work and the reasons for his struggle could be.

The busmen have the opportunity of publicising their case to every bus passenger in London. The spectacle of inspectors leaping onto buses and searching them for subversive leaflets and posters distributed or fly-posted by the conductors would not only be highly amusing: it would in itself emphasise to the passengers the political realities of the busmen's struggle.

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\* Readers will have noticed, no doubt, how, during the recent overtime ban, many crews tended to speed-up, and so, in part, ameliorate the effect of the ban.

Generally speaking, there is a need for new methods of struggle that pose the questions of management. These methods should be positive, leading to co-operation from the passenger, unlike striking and working-to-rule.

Unity on strike \* is highly commendable, but unity at work is of much greater importance. The bus industry more than any other could immediately be managed by the workers themselves. In effect they do it already - and the industry is such that there is virtually no need for the great bureaucratic co-ordinating organisation operating at 55 Broadway.

### Conclusions

The history of the London busmen is the history of struggles without direction. Thoroughly disillusioned in traditional trade unionism they have failed to create a socialist alternative: \*\* local organisations based on the job itself, direct democracy and direct confrontation with the management.

This is a problem that busmen must solve for themselves. Only they can create an effective organisation that can develop them to manage their industry. Until this is done the job will continue to deteriorate, the services will get worse, workers will continue to leave in disgust, and London Transport will continue to solve its problems at the expense of the busman and the passenger.

BOB POTTER

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\* I have already mentioned the succession of disputes where the tube-men have scabbed on the busmen, and vice versa. Today, whenever militants in either section of London's transport suggest support for the other, this history is thrown in their faces. The management has succeeded in dividing the workers to a ridiculous degree, and there is an enormous need for one section (or even one garage or one depot) to take the initial step to break the vicious circle.

\*\* For example, note the leaflet produced early in 1963 by 41 bus branches of the T&GWU. After providing the public with a mass of factual information, the writers can only suggest: "Write a letter to the Chairman of the London Transport Board".

BOBBY LIAR (continued from p.2)

particular session. Any defendant is of course entitled to such a list which can be obtained from the Under-Sheriff of the county concerned. (The Clerk of the Court informed Terry that this right had not been exercised in the last 19 years.) When attempts were made to swear in a jury, Terry accepted 2 jurors and objected to 7 others, without giving a reason. This he was legally entitled to do. He then successfully quoted Halsbury's 'Laws of England' to show that other jurors could successively be asked to 'stand by', reasons for his objections to them being deferred until the panel had been exhausted.

Why was Terry objecting to the jurors? In a statement which no paper saw fit to print, he said: 'The people selected for jury service are by no means a cross-section of the population. As a rule, they are very reactionary in their views. The selection system is based on property ownership and social status, tending to favour people who are opposed to all the Committee of 100 stands for. Indeed, looking at twenty people from one list, we see that twelve are company directors and four others chartered accountants. This is a political trial and these are political charges. They should never have been brought. The political views and tendencies of the jury are obviously relevant in the circumstances, and I intend to show these political charges up for what they are by objecting to jurymen. We have information on their opinions, and the grounds I shall use are that they are antagonistic to the Committee of 100 of which I am a member.'

A total of 46 potential jurors were successfully told to 'stand by' in this way. The judge then ruled that the panel had been exhausted as only those members present in the building could be called. Terry objected, claiming he had the right to go through the whole panel, before being asked to produce evidence as to the unsuitability of particular jurors. He was overruled. A completed jury was then 'chosen'. Terry recorded his objections and refused to participate in the swearing in.

There are obvious grounds for appeal here. Is a 'panel' of jurors what suits the administrative convenience of the Court? Or is the whole purpose of a large panel to provide some safeguards for the accused? Or are the rules perhaps made up as one goes along, like in 'Alice Through the Looking Glass'?

DIVISION OF LABOUR

On Thursday and Friday (December 12 and 13) a number of prosecution witnesses gave evidence against Chandler. Several were policemen who had been in plain clothes during the demonstrations.

It transpired that most charges of 'incitement' during this and during several previous Committee of 100 demonstrations had been brought by men of Sergeant Garnhams squad, attached to Cannon Row Police Station, who attended demonstrations for the purpose of detecting offences. PCs Burr (A 166), Brown (A 288), West (A 605), Buschmann (A 659), Massie (A 429) and Graham (A 159) were specifically mentioned. During demonstrations, each of these men would have a uniformed constable attached to him, whose job it was to stand by in case of arrest.

Sergeant Garnham's squad seemed to specialise in charges of 'incitement', much as Sergeant Challinor's squad (now brickless and disbanded) seemed to specialise in planting 'offensive weapons' on those arrested. Other squads doubtless have other specialties.

Referring to other arrests made during Greek Week on charges of 'incitement', Court Circular No. 7 (\*) stated: 'In the case of George Clark we saw the lies of two (policemen) accepted by the jury against the evidence of a dozen other witnesses'. 'In Frank Adler's case we saw (policemen) testifying under oath that the gates of Admiralty Arch were open when every one, including the press, agrees that they were shut. These men are dangerous. They are the smooth, practiced liars, the perjurers, the deceivers and the framers.' (\*\*)

THE EVIDENCE OF PC. BROWN AND THE LACK OF EVIDENCE OF BENJAMIN DICKENSON.

PC. Brown (A 298) seems to have been Terry's shadow throughout the evening of July 11. From his account he seems in fact to have led the demonstration with Terry! This remarkably agile young man claims he kept within almost constant earshot, following Terry hither and thither wherever he went but never attracting his attention or that of any other Committee supporter. Brown alleged he heard Terry issue 'inciting' orders and instructions to demonstrators. At Coventry Street Brown swore he heard Terry say to Peter Moule 'Take over Peter, and take them to Claridges. I'm going to get the others!'. He duly recorded a number of Terry's alleged statements 'two or three hours later' in his notes. Brown also gave evidence that on the Thursday night the demonstrators marched 'four or five abreast' along the 'fairly narrow' pavement in front of the National Gallery, completely obstructing it. The pavement is in fact about 14 feet wide here. Brown's evidence was the keystone of the prosecution case.

Chief Inspector Dickenson of the Special Branch also gave evidence. After several questions about phone tapping, letter opening, Leaconfield house (Curzon Street), raids on homes and Committee premises, etc., had been disallowed by the Judge, (\*) Inspector Dickenson admitted that certain of his men had received specific instructions to watch Terry during the demonstrations. Terry requested the names of these officers so that he could call them as witnesses for the defence. The judge ruled that as no part of the prosecution's case was based on the evidence of these people they could not be called.

Why were none of them called for the prosecution? After all their specially allotted task was watching Terry. They could presumably give more reliable evidence about him than anyone else. Could it be that they were not prepared to perjure themselves? Or not, as the case may be.

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(\*) These 'Court Circulars' produced by the Committee of 100 give an excellent account of the trial, day by day. The whole series can be had for 1/- (post free) from the Committee, 13 Goodwin Street, N.4.

(\*\*) The conviction of George Clark for 'incitement' could not be sustained in the Court of Criminal Appeal. He was released without so much as an apology for ten unnecessary weeks in gaol. The binding over of Frank Adler is also being challenged.

TERRY'S CASE.

On Monday, December 16, Terry made his opening statement. The trial, he said, was a political trial. It had been brought against those who had dared embarrass the government during its gesture of political solidarity with the Greek government. It was an attempt at intimidating the Committee of 100 through the selective victimisation of its active members. The refusal of the Ministry of Works to grant the Committee the use of Trafalgar Square for a peaceful demonstration before the Greek Royal Visit, and Superintendent Atwood's drastic regulations prohibiting all processions and all demonstrations during the visit itself were both exposed as being in flagrant conflict with the Prime Minister's assertions of only a few days earlier. The police were clearly acting in collusion with the Home Secretary, who had sworn he would clear the streets of the 'so-called Committee of 100'. People waving Greek flags had been allowed to obstruct pavements as much as they liked.

With regard to the specific charges, Terry called many witnesses. They testified - and this was admitted by the prosecution - that most of the obstruction had come from the police cordons. While on the move, the demonstrators had hardly held up the traffic at all. Witness after witness established the fact that in a libertarian organization such as the Committee of 100 there are no marshals or leaders at demonstrations. Committee decisions are collective ones taken by large numbers of people and self-discipline and initiative relied upon to carry them out. Several witnesses established the fact that demonstrators had left Trafalgar Square in small groups, on the Thursday night, to make their own way to Claridges, once it had become obvious that the police would prevent larger groups from moving together.

People who had been with Terry the whole evening denied that he had uttered any of the words of incitement attributed to him. Peter Moule established that Terry could not possibly have spoken to him, in Coventry Street, the words that PC. Brown alleged, for the very good reason that he (Moule) had left the demonstration some time previously. This point had more or less been established in the Moule trial, during the cross-examination of PC. Brown by Mr. Edward Gardner (Terry was incidentally refused the free transcript of this evidence, which would have been of enormous value to him in rebutting the evidence of PC. Brown). Terry even produced as a witness the person to whom he had in fact been talking at this point, one Peter Fenbow. PC. Brown, on oath and under cross-examination, had been emphatic that Chandler's remarks had been addressed to Moule. Moule's evidence, and that of Peter Fenbow, clearly established PC. Brown's evidence as perjured in this respect - and therefore as generally unreliable. If Brown was not near enough to recognize someone accurately, how the hell could he have been near enough to hear what was being said. Or was the whole thing a put up job, for the purposes of the conspiracy charge?

\* \* \* \* \*

The judge then told the jury they had to decide between the evidence of P.C. Brown and that of Terry's witnesses. They chose to believe PC. Brown.

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