

# Ireland: IGNORE THE BIGOTS

NOTHING COULD illustrate the divisions that exist in Northern Ireland better than the meeting of 23,000 men and women who cheered the speeches of Mr. Paisley and Mr. Craig. This massive turnout was to register discontent with the Stormont's handling of the present situation in Ireland. Last spring, when a policy of internment was called for, a similar display of Protestant feeling was followed by the resignation of Major Chichester-Clark, the then Prime Minister. Protestant feeling has still not been appeased in spite of succeeding changes of government.

Stormont and Westminster can no longer be seen to give in to Catholic demands without bringing about an armed conflict between the two religious faiths. Protestants have formed their Loyalist Workers' Movement and Mr. Paisley's announcement of the formation of a new Civilian Defence Corps has been met with great approval. The Stormont Government has little room to manoeuvre and it is difficult to

see what further concessions can be made without bringing armed Protestants onto the streets.

## PROTESTANT FEARS

Faced with strong pressure to give the Catholic minority more power in Stormont, the Heath Government is unlikely to make further concessions to Messrs. Craig and Paisley. The British Government would rather rule direct from Westminster and intern Protestants if they become a threat to security than allow either of these two to form a Government.

Very real fears do exist among Protestants that they will be dominated by a Catholic State and this is understandable in view of the privileged position that the Catholic Church is given in the constitution of Eire. Its doctrines are part and parcel of the legislation of the South which also includes extremely authoritarian laws that can be drawn on if and when its people clash with the authority of the State. Both the North and South are



authoritarian regimes.

All the heads of Governments and Opposition parties are trying to work out solutions which will not compromise them. The past week has seen the political leaders to-ing and fro-ing in an effort to clear the ground so that the tripartite talks can take place. Obviously something will be worked out pretty soon to give the political leaders of the Catholic minority a greater say in the Government.

While all these efforts are taking place, the battle between the Provisional IRA and the British Army goes on. Certainly both sides in this conflict are equally brutalised by now and the shootings and killings are becoming an end in themselves. 'Throw Away the Guns... Extend Civil Disobedience' is the only answer to the present situation.

Some unity has to be created out of the divided communities that exist at the moment. Working class Catholics must understand the very real fears that exist amongst their

fellow Protestant workers and should not try to reverse the situation, or seek to dominate on religious grounds themselves.

## REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

The bombs and bullets of the Provisional IRA and the British Army will not create a free, just and humane society. Both Protestants and Catholics should forget their religious differences and realise that the Governments of the North and South have similar repressive legislation on their Statute Books. Both have an unhesitating police force to back this up. (In fact there is a possibility that the police in the North might be given back their guns.) If Faulkner starts interning Protestants they will then see that even their own Government is prepared to repress the very people who put it in power if they become a threat to that power.

Protestants and Catholics have more in common with each other than with those who lead the respec-

tive religious groups. These leaders seek only power and privilege and not the well-being of the whole community. The people must disregard bigots and power-seekers and come together in a campaign of civil disobedience to end internment, get rid of the British troops and the Provisional IRA and to show the State that they can no longer rely on religious differences between people in order to divide and rule.

Such a campaign can bring people together and give them the confidence from which a feeling of solidarity and strength can emerge. This can replace the hatred and bitterness that exists at present and bring about a realisation that the politicians, religious leaders and the armies of the British and Provisionals are the real enemies who are dividing man against man. When this lot is pushed aside then something humane and worthwhile can be built.

P.T.

## State turns Screw on Census Rebels

STATE PROSECUTIONS against people who refused to fill in census forms last April have now begun. There will be an estimated 500 to 750 of these in the coming weeks.

The mask of benevolence behind which the State likes to conceal its naked domination is removed—and it is forced to operate in the open.

After the last national census in 1961 there were only 88 prosecutions. A Somerset House official told the *Guardian*: 'I don't think there is any one factor responsible for the big in-

crease this time. I think there may have been a latent suspicion of computers, which people didn't know much about in 1961. People are much more concerned with secrecy and confidentiality today. Another factor may have been that there were a lot of strikes and demonstrations and challenges to authority generally at this time.'

Somerset House is still anxious to avoid prosecutions if people will comply even at this late date—which is a fair indication that they take the opposition seriously. J.A.

## INCLUDE ME OUT!

As will be seen above many people have been approached and fined for failing to fill up their census form. Our contributor, Jack Spratt (whoever he is) has received a letter too. Here is his reply.

Dear Mr. Jones or may I call you H.C.D.I./H.J.M.J.?

I am devastated to hear of the sorrow of the Registrar General (has he stopped calling himself Michael Reed?) but his sorrow appears to be somewhat duplicated. I see I am allocated a number B3/B6/7/372 which seems to indicate that at least 371 other tears have been shed: or is this just in group B3/B6/7?

As putative but highly reluctant computer-fodder I must reiterate that despite the sorrow of Mr. Reed—which no doubt you share—I am still declining to add to your data-bank.

You appeal to me to lessen your sorrow at this mass of statistics which are incomplete without me (and those 371 others) but at the same time I am threatened with the possibility of fines. An appeal to mitigate the sorrows of Mr. Reed or yourself (not that you express any) or even to save a computer from short-circuiting through lack of information about B3/B6/7/372 alias Spratt might have moved my stony heart but threats comport oddly with talk of 'sorry'. 'This,' you seem to say,

'will hurt you more than it hurts me.'

Nothing I have seen in the last few months of 'the never-ending audacity of elected persons' makes me inclined to add to their data store of information. It is not the isolated gabbiness of indiscreet enumerators which frightens me, this is testimony to their human, all too human, humanity; it is the prospect of man becoming computer-fodder. The mantle of divine right has descended on the bureaucrat and statistician, you have not even the excuse that you were elected in office. Your only excuse is that you are acting under orders and by the Census Order 1970 under the Census Act 1920. This is the usual excuse of the faceless bureaucrat. It did not wash at Nuremberg.

You may feel I exaggerate but I echo a friend who said, 'Resist the beginnings'. You say that information will not be 'passed on'. What happens if a totalitarian (fascist or communist) government takes power, will you or Mr. Reed or my local enumerator refuse to hand it over? Who wishes to know what my parents were? Who (in Northern Ireland) wishes to know who is Catholic and who is Protestant?

Finally, I am not convinced of the ability of governments to make good use of this information. Will it build houses? Will it find jobs? Will it preserve peace? Will it end poverty? If this could be done by the accumulation of statistics it

## The Blackpool Show

EVERY YEAR in September at some popular seaside resort the Trades Union Congress has its annual meeting. Its deliberations are widely reported in the national press, many of the debates are televised live, the leading participants are interviewed and then, about twenty-four hours after it is all over, nobody can remember anything about it—least of all the ten million working men and women it is supposed to 'represent'.

The delegates return home and preparations are put in hand for a repeat performance in one year's time. The only thing all this has to do with trade unionism is that trade unionists pay for it.

The Conference is guaranteed to be 'responsible' and is usually chaired by a

would have been done already, all that has been perpetrated is monstrous errors of official callousness and complacency. No computerization is needed, just some decent human emotions.

Not yours.

But my own

JACK SPRATT.

Lord or a Knight. This year it was Lord Jack Cooper of the Municipal and General Workers' Union. Also guaranteed is what the press calls a 'hard-hitting debate' in which well-fed, well-paid, well-satisfied trade union leaders try hard to think back to the days when they worked on the shop floor before holding forth about what 'this great movement of ours' demands.

## THE BILL IS AN ACT

This year's 'hard-hitter' was on the Industrial Relations Act—or rather whether the unions should register under the Act. The General Council wanted to 'advise' the unions not to register, Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Jones and lots of others wanted to 'instruct' the unions not to register, while Mr. Flynn of SOGAT wanted to 'expel' all unions that registered.

In the end the delegates passed the motion of Mr. Scanlon, but they also endorsed the line of the General Council. Mr. Flynn got a few laughs—and a jolly good time was had by all.

Of course, none of it is meant to be taken seriously. Last year the TUC held a 'Special' Conference on the Industrial Relations Bill (it wasn't then an Act) and they decided at the top of their

voices to 'Kill The Bill'. So they organised a huge march on Trafalgar Square with bands and banners and much speech-making about the infamy of the Tory Government. The only snag was that the march was on a Sunday so that nobody had to stop work for the demonstration. Then, with this touching concern for the sanctity of production, the 'campaign' ended.

Not surprisingly, the Tory Government was not impressed and the Bill went on to become an Act and is now the 'law of the land'. That being so, and the TUC being the most law-abiding bunch of citizens in the land, we can safely say that the Act will be operated by the unions in due course. Whether ordinary workers will allow this piece of legislation to prevent them exercising their rights is quite another matter about which we shall have a lot to say in the coming months.

What the wage-slaves do to get rid of their slavery has got nothing at all to do with the goings-on in the TUC. There they have made a profession out of wage-slavery and when that slavery goes they will go as well... and the sooner the better.

J.L.



# Nearest thing to Anarchism in Asia

THE GENTLE ANARCHISTS by Geoffrey Ostergaard and Melville Currell (Oxford University Press, 1971, £5.50).

IT IS TWENTY YEARS since we first reported in FREEDOM on the Bhoodan campaign of Vinoba Bhave, and sixteen years since we discussed the first English book on the subject, which appeared around the time when the Sarvodaya movement was moving from the attempt to persuade landlords to give a proportion of their holdings to landless labourers, into Gramdan which seeks to induce whole villages to surrender property rights to the village community. So it is certainly time for the appearance of a full-scale study of the Sarvodaya movement from the point of view of Western anarchism.

Geoffrey Ostergaard has given us a foretaste of the present work in the Indian issue of *Anarchy* (No. 42, 1964) and in his contribution to the recent paperback *Anarchism Today* (edited by Apter and Joll). Now comes a long and impressive book sub-titled 'a study of the leaders of the Sarvodaya movement for non-violent revolution in India' which is primarily a sociological study of the movement's full-time workers—who may number between 5,000 and 10,000—their social, religious and political origins, their motivation, relationships and commitment, their organisational theory, decision-making procedures, strategy and tactics, and their own perceptions of the movement's achievements, the obstacles in its way, and their proposals to increase its effectiveness.

## BOOK REVIEW

In the sociologist's library the book belongs on the 'social movements' shelf, but for the anarchist, the book's interest lies in the fact that Sarvodaya is the nearest thing to an anarchist mass movement in Asia. The authors point out that it could be seen as one of the Indian variants of populism, with distinct similarities to 19th century Russian populism. Or it could be seen as a kind of Owenite 'communitarian socialism'. But, they say, 'we have chosen to conceptualize it as an Indian version of anarchism' and since the label 'anarchist' is not one that the Sarvodayites would adopt themselves, the book sets out the similarities and contrasts with the mainstream of Western anarchism which justify their being numbered among the anarchists.

## COMMON GROUND—THE STATE

As common ground with the anarchism of the West, it can be said that 'both see the modern state with its claim to a monopoly of the legal instruments of coercion as a great obstacle to a free, co-operative social order in which men really practice self-government. . . . For both the anarchist and the Sarvodayite, the duty of the individual to obey his own conscience is the supreme norm, taking precedence over the state's claim to obedience. Neither envisages a society without some restraints on the individual, but both demand that the restraints necessary to maintain an ordered society be submitted to voluntarily.'

In their concept of a society of free self-governing individuals, both oppose private ownership of the means of production, both accept the principle: to each according to his needs, from each according to his capacities. The important point stressed by both Sarvodayites and anarchists is the need to

recognize the equal value, moral, social and economic, of the various kinds of work performed by different individuals. Echoing Kropotkin's plea for integrated work and Tolstoy's insistence on "Bread Labour", Gandhi and Vinoba call for the abolition of the distinction between mental and manual labour and for the recognition of the dignity of work done with the hands.'

Both stress social and economic decentralisation. 'The present generation of Sarvodayites, like most nineteenth-century anarchists, do not see economic decentralization as an attempt to put back the clock. Less ambiguously than Gandhi, Vinoba does not reject modern technology as such. On the contrary, like Kropotkin, he welcomes it as a means of avoiding drudgery and increasing production: he insists only that technology should be humanized and applied for the welfare of all instead of being used to bolster a system of social exploitation.' Finally, both reject orthodox political action and the parliamentary system.

## RELIGION THE DIFFERENCE

The most obvious difference, say the authors, is in attitudes to religion. In spite of one religious strand in anarchist thought—Tolstoy, etc.—Western anarchism is fundamentally secular, while Sarvodaya anarchism is fundamentally religious, though no special status is accorded to the local religion, Hinduism. The consequence of their difference of ethical approach is seen in the central moral principle of Sarvodaya. 'For the Sarvodayites, Non-violence is not something one argues for or against: it is something one either accepts or rejects. It is not, most certainly, a matter for utilitarian consideration' while relatively few Western anarchists would be prepared to accept it as an absolute moral injunction. This leads to a further difference. Western anarchism works on the assumption 'not only that it is possible for men to live an ordered existence without the state but that it is possible for them to do so now. . . . The Sarvodayites, however, are convinced "gradualists": they see the anarchist goal in much the same way as Godwin did, as something to be reached only after men have become more perfect than they are now. . . . Vinoba's gradualism is apparent in his visualization of three distinct stages of political development: first, a free (i.e. independent) central government; second, the decentralized self-governing state; and third, pure anarchy, or freedom from all government. . . . There is thus to be no direct frontal attack on the state, but a progression from free central government through the decentralized self-governing state to the condition of pure anarchy. . . . Like the Marxists and unlike the anarchists, the Sarvodayites believe that the state will—under certain conditions—wither away rather than be abolished; but like the anarchists and unlike the Marxists, they believe that action must be taken now to dispense with the institution of ultimate and organised violence.'

However, the concept of stages of development disappears in practice, since the Gandhian must act now in accordance with ultimate ends. Hence the emphasis on constructive work which the authors see as another difference. 'It would be incorrect to say that Western anarchists have shown no interest in constructive activity. . . . But, in the main, Western anarchism has been content to echo Bakunin's famous dictum: "Destruction is itself a form of creation!" In

historical retrospect, classical anarchism—including syndicalism, now that the unions have proved broken reeds in the revolutionaries' hands—appears essentially as a movement of protest: a protest against the whole social and political structure of modern industrial society.

## ASCETICISM

'Yet another difference is the severely ascetic character of Sarvodaya. Western anarchism has its intellectual roots in the puritan tradition and has always had its "simple lifers". Indeed, from one perspective, all anarchism may be seen as a plea for the radical simplification of life—a plea symbolized in a bureaucratic world by the passionate slogan: "Incinerate the documents!" But the asceticism of Indian anarchism extends far beyond anything found in the West. The loin-cloth figure, carrying all his worldly possessions in a small bundle and without a penny in his purse, is the Indian ideal.'

Finally there are differences in revolutionary strategy. The appeal of Sarvodaya is to individuals: 'The Sarvodaya rejection of class appeal and any form of class struggle rests on the explicit belief that the "real" interest of any individual, or group of individuals, are never in conflict with those of the rest of mankind.'

All this results, as Ostergaard has pointed out elsewhere, in Sarvodaya being unique as a legitimate anarchist movement. 'Despite its revolutionary aims, it is permitted to operate openly, it is not denied access to the established channels of communication, recruitment of members is not inhibited in any way by official actions, and its programme receives the passive, and on occasions the active, support of the governing

authorities.' This legitimacy, the authors believe, may have two important consequences. It may help to account for whatever success it may be thought to have achieved, but at the same time may help to account for its lack of success. It has had 'to pay a price for its respectability' being seen by some as simply an offshoot of Congress, while, 'its apparent unwillingness to challenge directly the existing power-holders has led it to adopt what even some of its own supporters see as compromising stands on important issues.'

## SUCCESSSES AND FAILURES

Though their main concern is with the Sarvodaya leader, and their final chapter is a sensitive attempt to draw a profile of the kind of person who dedicates themselves to the work of *Sarva Seva Sangh*, the casual reader will be interested in their conclusions on the success and failures of the Bhoodan and Gramdan movements. In the course of the text they cite the different attempts of hostile and friendly observers to evaluate the Sarvodaya movement as a whole. Their own conclusion is given in their opening chapter:

'Perhaps the fairest summary comment to make in 1970 is that the movement has some substantial achievements to its credit, but that it has not yet fulfilled the expectations it has aroused. No more than a few bricks have been laid in the foundations of a non-violent social order. And only a rash observer would confidently predict that the building which eventually arises in the new India will conform, even approximately, to the canons of Sarvodaya social architecture. For the movement the next few years are likely to prove crucial. Much of the initial public interest in the Bhoodan campaign stemmed from the fact that

it appeared to offer a possible non-violent alternative to a Communist-directed revolution. In the politically confused, crisis-ridden situation that India finds herself in as she enters the 1970s, the forces of Communism appear stronger than they have been at any time since 1951. Bitterly divided among themselves though these forces are, they have gained substantial ground in recent years, especially among the poor and landless peasants of West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamilnad. The forcible seizure of land and the temporary establishment of a "red base" in the Naxalbari district of West Bengal in 1967 has inspired similar attempts elsewhere to promote a Maoist type of revolution. The recent breakthrough in Indian farming has brought greater prosperity to the upper strata of the peasantry, but it has also created new social tensions which nurture the "Naxalite" movement. In this situation, the Sarvodayites find themselves faced with the need to demonstrate with some urgency that a non-violent social revolution through Gramdan is indeed a realizable concept. Constituting as they do the vanguard of non-violent revolutionary forces throughout the world, their success or failure is likely to have a significance extending far beyond India.'

This invites a comparison, not so much with anarchism but with Maoism. And the authors make such a comparison in their chapter on strategy and tactics. Sarvodaya can be seen as a non-violent equivalent to Maoist strategy. But the authors of this painstaking and thoughtful study emphasise in a footnote that a major assumption of non-violent action is that all power ultimately rests on the consent, active or passive, of the people. 'The problem therefore, is to get the people to take back the power they have given to their rulers. *Pace* Mao Tse-tung, political power does not grow out of the barrel of a gun. As Talleyrand observed to Napoleon: "Sire, one can do anything with bayonets, except sit on them!"'

C.W.

# Bombs & Hippies

Dear Comrades,

I used the expression 'civil war' because the growing struggle all over the world seems to be so confusing that I doubt whether it can be called a revolution. In the Sudan it takes the form of a religious/racial war between the Moslems, supported by Great Britain, and the mainly Christian and Negro population of the South. In Ulster it's Protestants versus Catholics. The Vietnam war is a war of national liberation, hardly a revolution. There was nothing revolutionary, in the anarchist sense, in the struggle in Biafra, and nothing in the Bangla Desh war either. Wars of national liberation have been raging since the end of the eighteenth century. It is disturbing to see religion reviving as a cause of conflict in what is supposed to be a scientific and secular age.

In the US and in the European countries the movement of youth revolt seems to be something quite apart from the movement of the working class. In America construction workers have even attacked hippies. The slogan of some of the French youth, 'Don't trust anyone over twenty-five!' was hardly helpful or sensible if it was seriously meant. Out of all this seething turmoil it is difficult to see anything emerging except more confusion. Perhaps the only way to look at it is that here are all these different groups, movements and causes fighting for their own advantage regardless of everyone else.

Of course the histories of past revolutions show something similar, Girondins and Jacobins and Enragés and all the rest of them in the French Revolution for instance. I can't help feeling that if we were heading for an anarchist revolution the picture would be somewhat different. I cannot imagine an anarchist, even a fighting anarchist like Makhno (though he may have for all I know, but it does not seem in character), saying something like his aim being to kill as many enemy troops as possible, as Joe Cahill gives as one of the aims of the Provisional IRA. I should have thought the main purpose of anarchism was to convert people, not destroy them. Most people respond better to argument and to persuasion than to threats. It may well be true that 'the capitalists and the State are [not] going to relinquish power without a fierce, bitter struggle'. But one must remember that they are men and women, not devils, and most human beings are open to some degree of persuasion.

I have no doubt that for some people power is an intoxicant they would find hard to give up, but many cling to it because they are afraid of what would happen to them if they gave it up. I would not be dogmatically against any form of violent action, anywhere or at any time, but I would strongly oppose the dogmatic assertion that the struggle for a free society must inevitably involve violence. The anarchist ideal of freedom and violence are so totally incompatible that it is difficult to see a violent struggle leading to a free society.

The 'mistakes' of previous revolutions may simply be this one mistake by itself. They have all relied on violence. It is difficult to imagine the organising of any kind of armed force without the giving and taking of orders, but it is just possible I suppose it could be done. I believe some anarchist militia units in Spain used to vote by show of hands whether or not to attack an enemy position. And I believe that some of the American Indian tribes fought in a very anarchistic way and were quite successful for a time at least.

I do find it difficult to imagine the anarchists I know organising themselves into a fighting unit of any kind. But as I say I would not be dogmatic about it. There aren't enough facts to go on, or at any rate I haven't enough of them.

With regard to the 'irresponsible hippies', I don't include people who are building up communes of agriculturalists or craftsmen, I think this is the very thing we should all be doing. I suppose producing FREEDOM is to some extent creating a bit of the alternative society. The people I find disheartening are those

## LETTER


who just exploit those who are not necessarily part of straight society, but are prepared to be friends and to be helpful, only to be robbed or mucked up in other ways for their pains.

With regard to the Swedes I agree their fears are irrational. In most countries of the world there is an irrational prejudice against nudity. Really we should all go about naked in the summer months when the sun is out. It would be far more healthy, and middle-aged people would not let themselves run to fat so readily. But if I was to put this idea into practice I would never be out of jail. I compromise, because other things seem more important. I think it's the same with drugs. Ideally people should be free to take them, and should defy authority, but having a refuge from the US army is more important it seems to me.

Speaking more generally, it is unpleasant to criticise people who are putting up a fight against an unjust social order. One reads the papers and learns a little of what is going on in this country and in the world in general, and one feels either furious or despairing. But the fact is that throughout history men have tackled social injustice with the greatest of courage, and the best of intentions. The Christians opposed the brutality of the Roman Empire. As the result of their actions they created one of the world's sickest religions and a religious tyranny the effects of which are still being felt today. And it has so often been the case with other movements. Bravery and good intentions are not enough.

Fraternally,

A.W.U.



Secretary:  
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,  
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

AFBIB—To all Groups.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

Next AFBIB Meeting and Production, Sunday, October 3. Please send a delegate. (Accommodation provided if necessary.) Address all letters to:

95 West Green Road, London, N.15. Material that cannot wait for the bulletin to be sent to R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heston, York.

The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information. Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham.  
Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (OM, FL.)  
Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.  
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9L.  
Manchester Anarchist Syndicalist Group: Matt Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancs.  
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.  
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).  
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.  
The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.  
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.  
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.

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by Peter E. Newell,  
Biographical Notes and  
Historical Background

## 'FREEDOM'

'Freedom' will not appear on September 25 because of Jewish holidays of our typesetter. Our printer is also moving from 84a to 84b and we should appear on October 2 if this move is carried through successfully.

## VOLINE

The Unknown Revolution  
(Kronstadt 1921 : Ukraine 1918-21)

We have had a great many enquiries for this title since it went out of print. We recently made the find of some of the sheets which we have completed and bound (hardcover, rexine).

A few pages have damp-stained margins.

This makes a very limited edition, and with a view to helping our own finances and making sure that people who have been asking for it get first chance, we are offering it at the price of £2.00 plus postage (inland 10p, abroad 15p), ONLY TO READERS OF 'FREEDOM' OR-

All profits from these sales will be put into the Press Fund.



# Postal Workers begin to move

EXCEPT FOR AN appearance (for the benefit of the TV cameras no doubt) of Tom Jackson at this year's TUC conference, very little has been heard of the Union of Post Office Workers recently. All is not quiet, however. The rank-and-file are beginning to stir again, much to the annoyance of the 'leadership'.

Readers may remember that, after the defeat of the Union's seven-week strike, the UPW put in for a further five per cent increase. The Post Office has, however, rejected this point-blank. And a leaflet issued by the rank-and-file libertarian National Alliance of Postal Workers comments: 'Bill Rylands—remember him—has once again put Jackson in his place by turning down the five per cent the UPW had demanded as compensation for humiliation in the seven-week strike'.

Joe Jacobs of *Solidarity* says that the Union has not been keeping the membership very well informed about its proposals. In such circumstances, therefore, there is considerable dissatisfaction with things in general and the UPW in particular.

## COUNTER ORGANISATION

But it would be wrong to think that Postal Workers have accepted the situation. Immediately following the strike's

collapse, many of the members became dispirited, and others ceased their membership of the Union. One group of workers particularly retained their militancy. Merseyside continued the strike one day longer than the rest of the country—just to show the Post Office and the UPW 'leadership' that they hadn't really given in!

Moreover, in co-operation with the Liverpool-based anarchist organisation, 'Big Flame', they formed the Merseyside Postal Alliance. And shortly after the return-to-work, 'Big Flame' published a detailed pamphlet, *Lessons of the Postal Strike*, for the Alliance. The pamphlet discussed the Post Office as an employer, why the UPW could not have won, how the Postal Workers, however, could have won if they had used different tactics instead of the conventional strike, the forms of activity (the self-management strike, the stay-in strike and other forms of direct action) that should be used in the future, and the need for greater autonomy of local branches. In the view of the Alliance, the UPW is a typical bureaucracy. The Merseyside Alliance has also published leaflets dealing with specific issues on the job.

Since the formation of the Merseyside Alliance, other groups in London (Fara-

day House and 'The Mount'), Swansea and elsewhere have emerged, and have now become an embryonic National Alliance of Postal Workers. Moreover, the NAPW has recently issued a leaflet in which it says: 'If Postal Workers are genuinely concerned about their living standards—and they should be—then they dare not let matters rest. Rylands' insult has to be fought by the rank-and-file. There should be demands for concerted action raised in the branches NOW. These demands for immediate action should not be seen in isolation, but linked with the demands for a 35-hour-week, and no productivity deals or redundancies which are already being raised'. The NAPW says that, presumably, the Union will leave things as they are—'IF WE LET THEM'. 'After all,' asks the Alliance, 'what are the UPW doing about the wholesale cutback in staff on walks and inside which is going on at present?' 'Nothing!' says the Alliance.

## WITCH-HUNTS

The Union leadership (which comprises mainly *Tribuneites* and long-standing Stalinists) has become concerned about the increasing militancy of numbers of rank-and-file members. There is already evidence that they will attempt to stamp out and destroy such organisations as the libertarian Postal Workers' Alliance. Anarchy must not be allowed to raise its ugly head among the Postal Workers!

Both *Solidarity* and the *Socialist Worker* (21.8.71) report that the UPW leaders (bullyboys Lawlor and Styles again?) have threatened to crack down on militants who refuse to toe the line on Union policy. However, if the Alliance is not to be suppressed, or just fall apart, it must have the support of as many Post Office workers as possible, irrespective of grade. Will all Postal Worker-readers of *FREEDOM*, therefore, who wish to assist in the work of the Alliance and a militant rank-and-file movement among Post Office Workers, write to Joe Jacobs, 29 Troutbeck, Albany Street, London, N.W.1, or 'Big Flame', 78 Clarendon Road, Wallasey. The struggle must continue!

RANK-AND-FILE TRADE UNIONIST.

# SELL FREEDOM!

REPRESSION increases. Trade Unions, and particularly active trade unionists, are under attack. Repressive legislation is heaped upon repressive legislation with indecent haste. Almost one million workers are now unemployed. The so-called Underground press is being continually harassed and prosecuted. In Ulster, the People's Democracy paper, 'Free Citizen', has been closed down and its equipment smashed. In various parts of the country, immigrant workers' homes have been attacked and burned by right-wing fanatics. Individual freedom and privacy is becoming increasingly eroded. The employers, the Government, the State are—and have been for some time now—on the offensive. Capitalism staggers from one crisis to another.

Many trade unionists have, through industrial action, attempted to fight back. Marches and demonstrations have been held up and down the country with, it must be admitted, little effect on the employers, Government or Authority. Groups such as the National Council for Civil Liberties are doing their reformist best in attempting to expose and publicise certain abuses, and a number of small organisations have, more in desperation than in hope, resorted to violent minority action instead of engaging in the much more difficult—if less glamorous—task of winning the mass of the people to freedom and the establishment of a classless, Stateless and Government-less society.

We libertarians and anarchists must, therefore, take the offensive! And one very important way that we can do this

is by improving and increasing the circulation of our own press. We must reach far more people than we do at present—and quickly! We MUST sell more *FREEDOMS*. Recently, there have been increases in subscriptions, but unfortunately there have also been numbers of subscriptions which have not been renewed, in some cases because the subscribers just cannot afford to. There have also been some increases in the number of bundles taken for selling at meetings and on the streets. But sales in London particularly have been disappointing. When it was almost possible to count the number of active anarchists in this country on the fingers of one hand, there was always one, and sometimes two, comrades prepared to sell *FREEDOM* for most of the day on Sunday at Hyde Park. Now, with presumably many more comrades, this has not been possible during the last twelve months or so. Regular volunteers would be more than welcome! Indeed, during the summer months more *FREEDOMS* have been sold on the streets of Plymouth than have been sold on the streets of London! So, comrades, how about it? Are we going to allow the powers-that-be to trample us down? Or are we going to fight back? Will you help to increase the circulation of *FREEDOM*—the only anarchist weekly in this country? Take 10, 20 or 50 copies NOW! Rates for *FREEDOM* are: 40p for 10, £1.75 for 50 and £3.50 for 100, post or BR carriage free.

PETER NEWELL  
(Circulation Manager)

# Your Light is my Darkness

## ANARCHIST ACTIVITY IN THE SOUTH WEST

ON MONDAY NIGHT, September 6, the Reverend Paul Tucker addressed hundreds of people at an anti-pornography rally at Bath Abbey. The North Somerset Anarchists and the Bath Arts Workshop demonstrated against him and heckled him.

This rally was part of a campaign called the Nationwide Festival of Light, which is aimed at suppressing what little freedom has been won in the last few years, the so-called 'permissive society', which I believe hardly exists, except as an excuse for reactionaries.

At all events the demonstration received a good coverage in the *Bath and Wilts Evening Chronicle*, and the anarchist arguments are reported at length.

The Festival of Light has disturbing resemblances to Nazism, the same romantic mixture of paganism, Christianity, repressiveness and nationalism. Beacons are to be lit at various prominent places all over the country on the night of September 23. Ironically, one of the targets of this campaign is 'violence'. The lighting of beacon fires is a form of symbolical violence, so this is to fight fire with fire with a vengeance! The Nazis made bonfires of books, and maybe we are on the way to that. The Reverend Tucker claims that we are in danger of entering a new Dark Age, and one can only agree with him. He is trying to lead us into it!

Said Mrs. Janet Emery, described by *The Evening Chronicle* as the 'wife of a

leading anarchist'. If events of this kind are held all over the country without any voices being raised in opposition, then people will be led to believe that the principles of the Festival of Light are the opinions of the whole nation. I'm a teacher—I'm a mother—and I feel that pornography is no more harmful to my child than a rally like this which seeks to censor. We raised our voices for freedom!

## FINE TUBES

The Fine Tubes national day of picketing on September 17 has been cancelled. This is due to Barclay who finally stepped down and agreed to an enquiry into the strike. The change of attitude may have been due to police pressure, because after the last picket nine people were arrested. After lots of reports in the local press and TV about police brutality, there will be three hundred police lining up, so some of the strikers can pick out four of the most brutal—some hope!

M.H.

# Buddy, can you spare a Dime?

WE BELIEVE it was Stephen Leacock, the Canadian economist-humourist, who wrote a sketch of the progressive ease with which one could borrow money if one worked up from a dime—or say, twenty pence, to tens of millions. To borrow a dime one had to hem and haw and break the subject gently. If one goes out to borrow millions you are either a government or a large corporation and you get the red carpet treatment.

In a period like the present disinflation—mark it, not deflation, the double negative breaks it gently—credit has been more difficult to dispense. You or I might find it difficult to get enough to keep afloat, but the banks and building societies have large quantities of the stuff for which they can find no takers. Such is the shortage, if we believe the building societies (and who cannot?), that they cannot reduce the interest rate for the money they do loan on mortgages. Why do they not then reduce interest rates and recoup on the quantity of mortgages? Then they'd be able to loan out much more money. It just doesn't work that way.

Mr. Heath made a speech the other day in which he said 'the Government's measures were of the kind that took time to work through the economy, but the country was now in a position where the prospects for growth were brighter than they had been for a very long time—and substantial growth at that'. . . . 'The Government has reduced taxes, including

taxes which bear directly on prices. The Government has set in hand the expansion of the economy. The major employers have agreed to work for steady prices and have taken practical steps, jointly, to hold prices down'. . . .

This optimistic picture was gilded by the Government 'freeing' the banks to compete for deposits and loans by offering competing interest rates. Since the banks are almost a monopoly, this will not make as much difference as it seems. We are not likely to witness the hoopla that went on in America with banks making free gifts to customers in order to attract deposits. Barclays Bank's recent gifts to student customers were really evidence of the success of the anti-Barclays campaign waged by student groups in respect of Barclays holdings in Portuguese East Africa.

This profligacy of the banks will, as usual only affect the larger borrowers. The humble overdraft will, in fact, cost more. The banks are rather like the insurance companies in that they never take risks. If you desperately need the money, or there is some danger of your making a loss, neither banks nor insurance companies will take you on. Lame ducks need not apply, even if they may turn into swans!

In any case if you have borrowed money you are in thrall to the lender. Next to a property-owning democracy the most stable form of society is (from a Conservative point of view) a money-owning society. Mortgage debts and hire-purchase agreements make for industrial peace and, with a slight *souçon* of unemployment, will make for stability. Unfortunately this stability is apt to decline into stagnation, so it is necessary to make money 'freer'—that is to say more readily borrowable at lower interest rates.

The introduction of decimal coinage was one of the means of inducing inflation plus confusion. No one is prepared to say that prices did go up when the coinage was changed and without strenuous effort of thinking back and re-converting everything into the old prices it is impossible to say. But the inflationary tendency still continues.

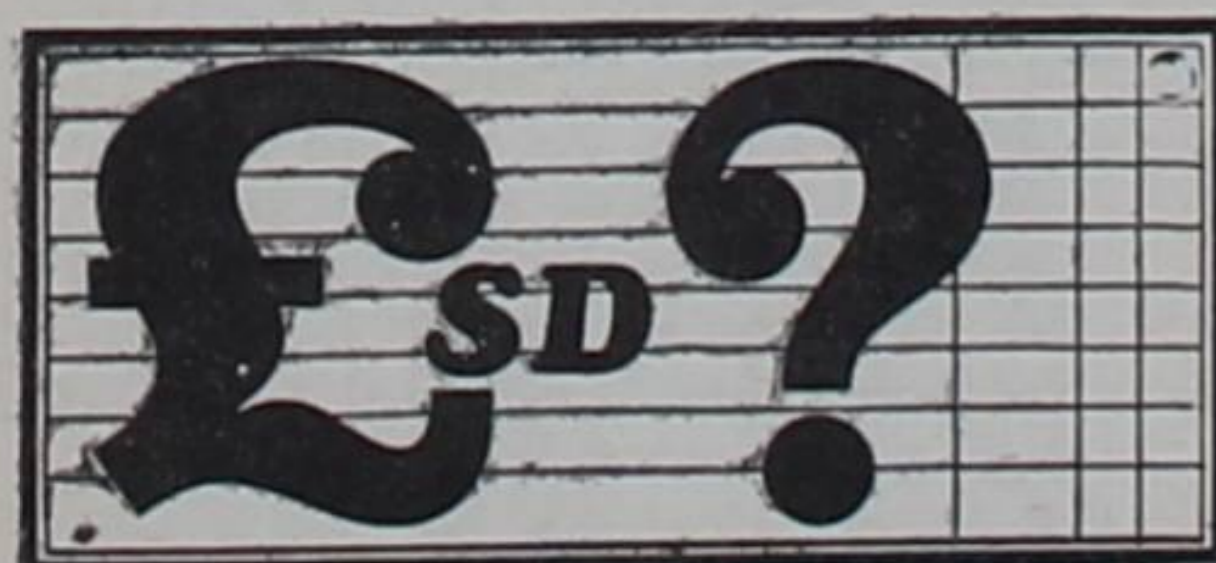
Such tax measures as have been introduced are minimal and will have little effect especially if one considers that eventually purchase tax and SET will be replaced by the complicated, bureaucratic, and snowballing value-added tax.

In order to soak up some of the money in which we are assured we are afloat the authorities can (according to the *Guardian*) aggressively sell Government stock—that is, the Government can borrow money, 'even if this depresses the price'.

This tinkering about with the monetary situation goes on, and meanwhile unemployment rises.

Mr. Heath made his optimistic speech in Glasgow near the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' yards with workers from the yards clamouring to see him. Perhaps they wanted to borrow a dime.

JACK ROBINSON.



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# WHY INTERNMENT?

FOR FIFTY YEARS Northern Ireland has had a Tory Government elected at each General Election and each time with a thumping majority. This arises not because there are no social problems in the country—far from it; the place is one great social problem! As a result of having a Tory Government for this length of time, local authorities were elected on the same basis as in the rest of the UK up to 1944—only ratepayers had the vote—more than that, they had as many votes as they had premises. This was the situation up to the time of the upheaval in 1969 when the Civil Rights Movement got under way and forced the intervention of the British Labour Government which in turn extracted a number of concessions from the local Tory administration. One man—one vote in local authority elections was one of these concessions, which the local Tories granted under pressure from the Labour Government very reluctantly and indeed to this day not a single Council has been elected under the principle of universal suffrage. The Stormont Tories were biding their time until their political kith and kin were elected to Westminster. In June 1970 their wishes were fulfilled and Heath formed his Govern-

ment of Tories. The Stormont Tories then set about to undo all that had been gained in the previous few months, with the collusion of their Westminster Tory friends.

As soon as the Tory Party was elected to Westminster the Army's tactics in keeping the peace between the two sectarian communities was seen to change. There was a substantial increase in the number of arms searches in the Catholic ghetto areas and these searches were not unnaturally resisted in view of the abortive pogrom in August 1969. Indeed on the first weekend of the new Government a number of people died in fighting in Belfast. The scene was set for the task of side-tracking the civil rights campaign into the age-old sectarian channels in order to ensure the continued survival of the Orange-dominated Conservative and Unionist Party at Stormont. Thus the conflict, instead of appearing as a class struggle involving both Catholic and Protestant workers against both Catholic and Protestant bourgeoisie, would appear to the Protestant working class as a Catholic plot to abolish their 'freedom and laws' while to the Catholic working class it was an attempt by Protestants to maintain their privileges.

In this situation Stormont would survive behind the protection of the bayonets of the British Tory Government. The civil rights campaign would be forgotten about—lost in the sectarian morass.

We can see now that this strategy has met with a considerable degree of success and while it is not yet a total success it has succeeded in polarising the two communities and in bringing Northern Ireland to the brink of a sectarian holocaust. Of course the success of this policy would not be possible without the active participation of the Green Tory elements—those who want a united Ireland à la the present 26-County State; in fact 26-County expansionists. For them the class struggle is an irritating distraction and their fear of a united Catholic-Protestant working class is as great as that of the Orange Order. If this does not appear to be the case at the present time, it is because, in Northern Ireland at least, it is the Orange Tories who are 'in' and the Green Tories who are 'out'. If we take a look at the 26 Counties though, we can see very clearly the effects of the Green Tories being 'in'.

On August 9 in a so-called security swoop the British Army detained 300 men of whom 70 were later released. This swoop has been defended by the crypto-Orange hypocrites not to mention the avowed Orange Tories who of course scarcely apologise for anything as an 'evil necessity'. Evil because it deprives a man of his liberty without trial—a necessity because of the terror campaign

building up in Northern Ireland. We can see that in this respect it has failed; only recently the BBC announced with an irony that must stick in the guts of even the most gullible Tory that 'Belfast had a quiet night; there were 15 explosions'.

I need not show here the extent to which internment has failed as readers will be aware of it themselves. What about the 230 interned—were they all from the IRA Provisionals, who are responsible or so they claim for the campaign of terror against all and sundry in the Six Counties? One would of course think that if they did all belong to this organisation the British Army had taken a justifiable step under the rules of war. If they did not belong to the Provisional IRA, were they official IRA? This faction of the IRA has condemned the military campaign of the Provisionals as sectarian; while they admit that their units had been in action alongside the Provisionals during the internment hunts. Those interned certainly were not armed Orangemen for, despite the ample evidence of activity by these elements during the gun battles following internment, not one of their number has been arrested. So much for the denials of the Tories both in Westminster and Stormont that the internment policy is not one-sided. Let the British Army have a word about their political credentials. At a press conference on August 16 Brigadier Marston Tickell claimed that of the 230 interned 80 were officers in either factions of the IRA while an even greater number were volunteers. Hence an admission that not all of those interned belong to an armed organisation. It is interesting to note that the Provisional IRA claim that only 35 of their men have been interned.

However, although the bombings did not stop, the *Free Citizen*—paper of the People's Democracy—did. This is the most salient point in considering the results of internment. Among leaders of the PD interned are Murphy, Farrell and McGuffin. John Murphy published *Free Citizen* so he was interned. The

People's Democracy has always opposed a policy of violence. John Grey their representative in London, speaking at a meeting in Hyde Park on internment, said that he never thought that he would appear on the same platform as the Provisional IRA. The members of People's Democracy along with other members of the Civil Rights Association and members of Bernadette Devlin's Party—Independent Socialist Party—were interned solely because of their political opposition to Orange Toryism. The Stormont Tories recognised very clearly that the policies advocated by Bernadette Devlin, by People's Democracy, by elements of the official IRA and by others of this political orientation presented the greatest challenge to their sectarian shit-heap. This policy of identifying the real enemy of the Catholic and Protestant working class would lead to the downfall of the Orange squararchy—what has been called 'that languid class of British aristocrats' represented by O'Neill and much more typically by Chichester-Clark and Brookborough. This class could only survive by the continued success of their policy of convincing the Protestant working class that, far from having anything in common, they had everything to fear from their Catholic fellow-workers. The People's Democracy, etc., was having a reasonable measure of success in driving nails into the coffin of this myth—that is why they are interned. The bombings, the shootings, the explosions, these the Tories can understand; the British Army has more and better trained men and guns and the conditions are not suitable to guerrilla warfare without a mass base and not a third base. They know that they can handle the bomb-men any time they want to. But a united Protestant-Catholic working class acting as the workers on Clydeside are doing would present them with innumerable problems. Hence they seek to nip democracy in the bud with internment.

DAVID PICKETT.

## This Week in Ireland

**DOOMSDAY.** At the stroke of midnight between Sunday and Monday, the Forcible Entry Bill came into force. On Tuesday it was challenged in the Supreme Court by Mrs. Deirdre Kelly, a young married woman with no political affiliations. Now we wait. Sinn Fein complain they are being harassed, but they have a complex. As Americans see reds under every bed, they see special branch under every bed. Anyhow the Dunlaoghaire Housing Action Group held a public street meeting on Monday evening and a benign garda sergeant stood by smiling.

Admittedly some of the collectors 'For the North' have been taken to court and fined for illegal collecting (I was collecting for something else on the very same occasion and no one has been near me). I think it was obvious they were collecting for guns rather than relief.

Joe Cahill is on his way back to Dublin. He knew of course exactly what would happen. It was a publicity gimmick on his part.

Heath and Lynch have shown themselves to be incredibly stupid and in-

transigent. Do either of them understand one single thing about the six counties, or is the only thing either of them really care about their own political positions? Faulkner is caught between the Scylla of Westminster and the Charybdis of his own hard-liners. Heath refuses quadripartite talks and still tries to pretend what happens in the six counties is no business of Dublin's. The SDLP will not discuss anything with anyone until the internees are released. Stormont refuses to admit that internment has been a monumental failure and escalated violence.

Meanwhile babies and little children get shot by both sides. Down here Saor Eire resumes its maverick role of armed robbery which led to Lynch's threat of internment last December. The daily number of armed robberies with menaces IS a disgrace, and I cannot disagree more strongly than I do with the Sinn Feiner who said there was no harm in robbery if it helped Socialism. The remark of a fool.

I have not as yet really studied Wilson's manifesto. In fact although he does

seem to have a glimpse of the evils of Orangism it is all too little and too late, and we who are living it feel something akin to utter hopelessness, but the darkest hour is the one before the dawn. Stormont IS unworkable. Why try to prop it up? The Orange men are desperate to maintain their Herrenfolk tendency and to hold Nuremberg Rally-style marches. When these are not enough they scream for an armed third force (alias the resurrection of the B-Specials) and the re-arming of the RUC. Ivan Cooper and Hume are fined £20 each for sitting a crowd down and stopping a bad riot, but Paisley and Craig can incite violence and rant to their hearts' content. Yet among ordinary people there is sense and longing for non-sectarian non-political peace.

I was picketing in Newry last Sunday and the response of the passer-by was colossal. They are all sick of it all and bringing up children in such conditions is too much. Truly our six counties are England's little Vietnam.

H.

### Contact

Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

Help Fold and Despatch 'Freedom', Thursdays from 2 p.m.

**Drug Dependents Care Group.** Meeting Thursday, September 23, 7.30 p.m., 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. Speaker: Mollie Craven, General Secretary, Association for the Prevention of Addiction.

**Jumble Sale.** Saturday, September 25, 2.30 p.m., 47 Rochester Road (first floor), Kentish Town, N.W.1. Jumble and help needed.

**Conference of Southern Anarchist Groups** in Oxford, September 25/26. Contact Mike O'Neill, 1a Woodstock Road, Oxford, or 124a The Avenue, Kennington, Oxford.

**National Federation of Claimants Unions Conference.** September 25/26 in Oxford. Contact 65 Ifley Road, Oxford.

**Croydon Group** meets first Wednesday of each month at 4 Warminster Road, South Norwood (near Norwood Junction), top flat. Contact Pete Roberts, 682 Mitcham Road, Croydon, CR0 3AB (684 5723).

**Dr. Martin Coles'** film 'Growing Up' will be shown on Sunday, October 10 at 2.30 p.m., Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square, London, WC1R 4LR. Tickets are free but priority will be given to young people. Apply at above address. Scripts of the film and further details, Peter Cadogan, General Secretary.

**Change of Address.** A. Meltzer now at 123 Upper Tollyington Park, London, N.4.

**Eco-Action Group** being formed in S.W. London. Contact R. Alexander, Flat 7, 202 Worpole Road, London, SW20 8PN.

**Would anyone** knowing anything about British anarchist movement 1880-1920 and its personalities, please contact Jeff Mandler, 7 Menelik Road, London, N.W.2.

**Danish schools activists** want information/communication from British activists. Please write c/o ORA, 138 Pennymead, Harlow, Essex.

**Full details** of the evening classes of the Workers Educational Association,

Central London Branch, are available from Sidney Billson, 33 Compton Road, N.1. Subjects of particular interest to readers of FREEDOM:—'European History, revolutionary thoughts in the 19th and 20th centuries', tutor: Miss Rowbotham, BA; 'USA and its people', tutor: Owen P. Stearns, MA, PhD; 'Sociology', tutor: Mrs. Stewart, BA; and 'Conservation', tutor: R. S. Clarke, BSc. Classes begin in the week of September 27 at 32 Tavistock Square, W.C.1. Fee: £2.25 for 24 meetings.

**AGITPROP**, 248 Bethnal Green Road, London, E.2. 739 1704. The BOMB SQUAD has been to see us three times—they need a warrant, you don't, so come and see our selection of books, papers, pamphlets, badges, posters and leaflets, or send an aae for list.

**Nurses, Social Workers and Medical Students** in London area wishing to form discussion and action group write: Thomas Layden, 37 Grand Avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N.10.

**Three places** open for proposed small group to learn Spanish by direct teaching method. Contact Freedom Press.

**New Address—Plymouth Group:** John Northey, 16 Adelaide Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth. (Greg is moving.)

**Black & Red Outlook No. 3.** Paper of the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance. 5p plus postage. Subscription £1 per 10 issues. In bulk multiples of 10 at 40p a time. All cash to treasurer (cheques and POs made out to Black & Red Outlook, c/o T. Anthony, 29 Eskridge Street, Salford, 7).

**Proposed Group—Edinburgh.** Tony Hughes, 55 South Clerk Street, Edinburgh. 031-667 3534.

**'South West Conference.'** Will any group or individual in the SW who would like to attend, please contact Brian Shuttleworth, 51 Barnardo Road, Exeter, Devon.

**Proposed Group:** Celia & Laurens Otter, 13 Albert Road, Wellington Telford, Salop.

**Bangla Desh—Operation Omega.** Contributions needed in cash, help or kind. We need nurses, doctors, mechanics, office workers, sponsors (individuals or groups), medicines, vaccine guns, high-protein foods, inflatable boats, generators, outboard motors, spare parts. Send details of help you can give, or goods you can offer, or cash to Operation Omega, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1 o' phone London 837 3860 or 485 1103 or Manchester 881 1788.

**Proposed Group—Exeter Area.** John and Jill Driver, 21 Dukes Orchard, Bradninch, Exeter, EX5 4RA.

**Anyone interested** in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group contact John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge.

## YES, THE WORLD IS ROUND AFTER ALL!

**TWO PSYCHOLOGISTS**, working independently of each other, have just discovered that differences in intelligence test scores between whites and other racial groups are due to social and economic conditions.

I noticed the other day that the steam in a woman friend's kettle was so strong that the pressure of it was pushing up the lid.

'Look,' I cried, 'the power of the future! Steam! All one needs to do is to harness it to an engine, and one could pump water out of mines, or even use it to drive railway engines. It is free of the drawbacks of electricity, diesel or atomic power.'

My friend pointed out, without amusement, that I was a couple of hundred years too late.

Dr. Jane R. Mercer of the University of California and Dr. George W. Mayeske of the US Government's Office of Education have just rediscovered something that has been known and proven for at least half a century, namely that the different races of mankind are the same in their abilities.

I don't wish to seem to be running down the work of these two scientists. They have said something that needed to be said yet again, but how alarming that their work should be hailed as if it were something new!

'These papers refute Shockley and Jensen,' says Dr. Edward J. Casavantes, a member of the US Commission on Civil Rights, 'they will give ammunition to the other side for the first time.'

For the first time! What about all those books published by Victor Gollancz

and other progressive publishers in the 1930s? When I first came into politics in the late 1940s they sat in yellow and orange rows, gathering dust on the shelves of the second-hand bookshops.

Written to debunk the Nazi racial theorists, they were already outdated. No one by then with any intellectual pretensions believed in racial theories.

These books had all the arguments and statistics. As if they were not enough, in the late forties I remember a book was published by E. J. Dingwall, *Racial Pride and Prejudice*, which summarised all the racist theories and debunked them. And then, years later in the mid-1950s, UNESCO brought out a series of pamphlets on race. I was told they were excellent, but never bothered to read them. I felt I knew it all already, thanks to Gollancz and Dingwall. The subject bored me. To me the idea of innate racial differences was on par with the belief that women can have intercourse with devils.

That presumably serious scientists like Dr. Arthur Jensen and Dr. William Shockley, of the US, and Dr. Eysenck, author of *Sense and Nonsense in Psychology*, of Great Britain, whom I had always regarded as an arch-sceptic and rationalist, can come forward and seriously propose ideas which are not different in principle from those of Nazi racial 'scientists' I find astounding and frightening. It looks like a new Dark Age. For if one superstition is accepted why not others?

I always understood that racial differences were nothing more than a fiction, a convenience-for scholars, rather

in the same way that the lines of latitude and longitude are a convenient fiction for navigators. They appear on maps but not on the ground. In the same way we can say that certain physical types appear mostly in some countries, and less frequently in others. By means of these physical differences we can study the migrations and settlements of ancient peoples, but these differences are only a rough and ready means of classification. People have been travelling about and intermarrying for thousands of years.

'This new evidence,' says Dr. Casavantes, 'from two separate and independent studies is the strongest ever presented documenting that environmental and social factors affect test scores. Many social scientists have always felt there were no basic intelligence differences between racial and ethnic groups, but until now there has been an absence of scientific data.'

What! No scientific data! What about all those UNESCO pamphlets, written by a team of scientists?

I was quite excited to find that Dr. Mayeske reached identical findings by completely different methods,' said Mrs. Mercer. Good for her! Now we know that Galileo, Copernicus and Newton were right. The earth is a sphere. It goes round the sun, as do the other planets. I was beginning to believe, with Eysenck and other champions of modern thought, that it was flat and rested on an elephant, who stood on a tortoise, who stood on some other creature *ad infinitum*.