

FREE SCHOOL MILK

THE STATE VERSUS THE PEOPLE

THERE ARE THOUSANDS of elected councillors in England, Scotland and Wales yet only 22 of them—in Merthyr Tydfil—have refused to comply with the decision of the Government to stop the supply of free milk to school children over the age of seven. The Merthyr milk rebels now face State harassment, including surcharges, revolts of their Chief Officers, and possible imprisonment for 'contempt of court'.

Everyone knows that milk is essential for children, that rich kids get plenty of it and the children of poor (or shiftless) parents don't get enough. Many have relied on the free one-third-of-a-pint which Mrs. Thatcher has now snatched away from them. The children will suffer and the State will profit from that suffering by £3 million—just enough to continue payment of the Royal pensions for a couple of years.

Most Labour Councils have protested at this miserable attack on the children and some have managed to keep supplying the milk by exploiting various legal loopholes in the Local Government Act. But

for those Local Authorities which are also Education Authorities such legal get-outs don't exist. For them it is either comply with the Government's orders—or defy them and take the consequences. Only Merthyr, to their eternal credit, have chosen the latter course. All the rest have tamely complied.

What a mockery all this makes of that great local democracy myth. At election times the people are bombarded by appeals to Vote Labour so that the 'people's interests can be protected', etc., etc. Well now what about it? The people's interests in the matter of the school kids' milk can only be protected by defying the Government. Do they defy? Not on your life they don't. Always with the honourable exception of the Merthyr councillors, they run for cover to protect their precious legality. Far better, they reason, that the children should go without milk than that respectable councillors should be seen defying the almighty Law.

ASK THE PEOPLE!

Merthyr's councillors didn't ask

the State to pay for the milk. They paid for it out of local rates. It was a decision which we are sure had massive local support and it is a pity that a suggestion to take a referendum of local people has not yet been carried out. Such a referendum would have demonstrated beyond doubt that the people were prepared to pay for the milk and the Government would then have had to ride roughshod over a decision of the absolute majority of local people.

That Councils have freedom to act in the people's interests is a myth. They are virtually prisoners of the State—indeed, they are in many ways a part of the State machine itself. The State decides, within strict limits, just what money can be spent and on what causes. Those councillors who think that local authorities can spend money just as they see fit are in for a rude shock. About ten years ago the St. Pancras Borough Council (of which I was then a member) decided not to raise the rents of council tenants living in requisitioned property. A State Official—the District Auditor—then moved in and surcharged the councillors, individually and collectively, the sum of the money which he decided should have been charged in increased rents. We appealed against this decision to the High Court and only succeeded in getting about £1,000 court costs added to our surcharge.

The same thing is now happening in Merthyr. They are threatened with having to pay personally the amount they have already spent on free milk (this is the meaning of 'surcharge') and if, after that, they still continue to give free milk to the children they will face imprisonment for 'contempt of court'. In any case, if the surcharge is more than a certain amount the councillors will be barred from the Council for a period of five years.

But the State doesn't want to make martyrs of them if it can help it, so it is now using another legal weapon which it possesses—the power to instruct the Council's Chief Officers not to sign cheques for payment of the milk. This has worked. The officers concerned—the Town Clerk, the Borough Treasurer and the Director of Education—have all refused to sign the cheques and presumably the dairies will now decline to supply the milk if it isn't paid for.

What the councillors will do now we don't know—but they could, of course, sack their Chief Officers and appoint three who would carry out the Council's decisions. Merthyr has plenty of unemployed who would do the job. No doubt this would also be 'illegal' and carry penalties. The fact is that there is no legal way of defying the Government.

STATE—ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

The Merthyr revolt shows the true nature of the State. It is a mindless, impersonal, inhuman machine designed to maintain privilege and inequality. It derives its vast income from the taxes which are levied on us all. It is a sort of legal bandit extorting tribute from the people,

and it uses this tribute to build up great armies of bureaucrats, officials, prison warders, policemen, soldiers and instruments of violence which it doesn't hesitate to use in defence of its privileges. With this machine, paid for by our money, the State shoots rebellious Irishmen, jails innocent black men, persecutes those who won't conform, arrests strikers who don't obey the 'rules', and even harasses councillors who think that school kids should have free milk.

But the real power of the State rests on the attitude of the people who, by and large, believe that society could not exist without this monstrous machine lording it over us all. Once get rid of that idea, once agree that society could run much better and be more just and decent if people themselves controlled their own lives, looked after their communities so that no man had more than he needed and no man had less than society could give him—once let that idea get abroad and the State is finished. But for that there will have to be some real defiance and some real contempt for the State and all its laws.

To those councillors who have capitulated on the issue of free milk we ask them to read the following words of Emma Goldman and then say if they are true or not. They were written 60 years ago:

'It may be claimed that men of integrity would not become corrupt in the political grinding mill. Perhaps

not; but such men would be absolutely helpless to exert the slightest influence on behalf of labour, as indeed has been shown on numerous instances. The State is economic master of its servants. Good men if such there be, would either remain true to their political faith and lose their economic support, or they would be unable to do the slightest good. The political arena leaves one no alternative—one must be either a dunce or a rogue.'

'The political superstition is still holding sway over the hearts and minds of the masses, but the true lovers of liberty will have no more to do with it. Instead they believe with Stirner that man has as much liberty as he is willing to take. Anarchism therefore stands for direct action, the open defiance and resistance to all laws and restrictions, economic, social and moral. But defiance and resistance are illegal. Therein lies the salvation of man. Everything illegal necessitates integrity, self-reliance, and courage. In short, it calls for free, independent spirits, for "men who are men and who have a bone in their backs which you cannot pass your hand through".'

Such men exist in Merthyr. We congratulate them for their stand and fervently hope that the people will surround them with real and practical support in their defiance of the Almighty State.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

The Trial of the Mangrove Nine

AT THE RECENT TRIAL of two senior police officers, Geoffrey Ellerker and Kennett Kitching, who were convicted of assaulting a black vagrant, David Oluwale, the Judge said: 'The verdict of the jury today will add fuel to the fire of those who spend much of their time sneering at police officers and making brash criticisms against the police force.'

It is doubtful that more fuel was really needed to prove that the 'men in blue'

verdict of not guilty for all nine black defendants on the main charge of riotously assembling. Four were given suspended sentences on lesser charges of assault, causing actual bodily harm and possessing an offensive weapon.

The charges resulted from a demonstration in Notting Hill on August 9, 1970. Anthony Carlisle Innis, one of the defendants, said on Day 26 of the eleven-week-trial at the Old Bailey that the object of the demonstration was to make



Eight of the 'Mangrove Nine'

Acknowledgment to Jeff Ratz/'Time Out'

do not just help old ladies and children across the road. However further inflammatory material was added when the jury for the Mangrove trial returned a

'the police feel guilty for the things they have done to black people in the area'.

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Stop that Car!

ON SATURDAY, December 18, a brave band of Young Liberals, Dwarves, Road Runners and Street Farmers of East London, tried to do just that in London's busiest thoroughfare, Oxford Street—with the aim of giving pedestrians some decent air to breathe and freedom to wander across the road at their leisure. It was a sensible and humane idea, and like all such ideas it was opposed by Authority.

The Oxford Street Action Committee had tried hard to get the authorities to close the street to traffic officially. When this failed, they quite properly decided to resort to direct action. The idea was to close off the street with chains, re-direct the traffic into side streets, invite the harassed Christmas shoppers into the road to relax in peace and comparative quiet. A band was standing by to add gaiety to the scene. It was a sensible and humane idea, and like all such ideas it was opposed by Authority.

The demonstration was timed for 11 a.m., and when I arrived at 10.30 the whole of Marble Arch was alive with police—on foot, on motor bikes, in cars and waiting in vans. As soon as the gallant band of demonstrators entered the top of Oxford Street with their balloons, the mighty Metropolitan Police went into action.

They arrested those who sat down in front of the oncoming traffic, they arrested those who tried to re-direct the cars, they arrested those who tried to throw a chain across the road and they arrested the young boys and girls who carried their gay balloons into the street. Finally they arrested the balloons themselves, and hundreds were stamped on by great police boots. The rest were stacked on the pavement, where three foolish looking bluebottles solemnly

stood guard over them until an empty van arrived to take them in charge.

It was all over in a few minutes. The shoppers were bewildered. When it was explained to them what was happening, it was too late. The police had handed back the street to the CAR to continue its noisy, dirty and dangerous passage through the streets.

A BRIEF TRIUMPH

In the afternoon, after sixteen demonstrators had been arrested—others took their place and about sixty young boys and girls actually succeeded in invading the street with their balloons, anti-pollution slogans and mock gas masks, and briefly held up all the traffic. Once again the police swooped, herded the demonstrators on to the pavement and arrested another thirty or so. Altogether 44 people were arrested, and by the time you read this will no doubt have been sentenced by the Marlborough Street magistrates.

Politicians of all varieties were notably absent—although Jeremy Thorpe, the Liberal leader, did at least write to the Home Secretary asking for the street to be closed. The 'revolutionary' groups evidently thought a fight for such elementary things as fresh air and freedom to move about, beneath their dignity. A few anarchists were there and it is to be hoped that there will be many more on future occasions.

I have seen many demonstrations marching down Oxford Street—some with blood-curdling slogans such as 'Victory to the IRA'—'Victory to the Viet-Cong' or even 'Kill the Pigs'—but so long as they have merely marched the police have been quite content to act as

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THE MANGROVE NINE

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THE MANGROVE RAIDS

Another of the defendants was Frank Critchlow, owner of the Mangrove Restaurant. Since the police first paid the Mangrove a 'visit' in February 1969, to search for drugs, there have been several raids. One took place in June of that year and shortly afterwards Frank lost his licence to run an all-night café.

In February 1970, he appealed against this but both the police and the Kensington and Chelsea Borough Council objected. The police brought no real evidence and only stated an opinion that the restaurant was likely 'to deprave and corrupt young people'. Inspector Adritt, later to play a prominent part in the trial of the 'Nine', told the Court that cannabis was found at the restaurant during the raid but admitted that he had not charged anyone. The Magistrate dismissed both the police objection and the appeal on the technical grounds of inadequate fire and sanitary arrangements.

In May 1970, the police raided the Mangrove again, led by PC Frank Pulley, a copper who, over the years, had made himself very unpopular with the blacks in Notting Hill. Frank Critchlow was arrested and charged with assault on Pulley. Between May and July the police raided the restaurant nine more times and, on July 27, a small march was organised to protest about this harassment.

OBSERVATION CAR

On August 9, a second protest march took place, with about 150 people, both black and white. The clashes between the police and demonstrators started after the 25 officers from 'B' Division were relieved by 'H' Division, who had been following the march in a coach. Chief Superintendent Donnelly said in evidence that no sooner had 'B' Division boarded their coach than 'the developments commenced'. Donnelly was also questioned about the special observation patrol which had not been seen by the demonstrators. Pulley, with other officers, was assigned to this observation car.

Radford Howe, one of the 'Nine', defended himself very ably and in his questioning got Pulley to admit that the three coppers in the observation car made their statements in the same room and at the same time. He denied that they had decided together what to say. When Howe asked him if it was possible for two coppers, at the same time, to peer through a slit one inch by six inches, which was the size of the slits in the side of the observation car, he replied, 'It is possible if both look through one eye.' This brought loud laughter from the courtroom.

Radford Howe also made nonsense of Pulley's claim that he (Howe) had been standing on a wall from which he

shouted 'Kill the white pigs.' Radford told the jury that it was humanly impossible to stand on any wall in the posture that prosecution Hill had described to the Court. In fact he had tried to climb the wall the previous day and failed. Judge Clark pointed out that the wall could now be in a different state to what it was in August 1970.

Other evidence that helped to demolish the case of the prosecution was the misidentification of the defendant Godfrey Millet as Roy Caboo, whose photograph had appeared in the *Police Gazette*. On looking at the photographs, the defendants pointed out that they were not amongst the 40 that the prosecution had presented to the Court. The police were further discredited when PC Pulley was seen to be making gestures to PC Rogers, who was at that time being cross-examined by Radford Howe, on how he should answer the questions. The Judge asked Pulley to leave the courtroom.

MAGNA CARTA

One of the defending counsel, Ian MacDonald, went beyond the normal procedures and courtesies of the British courtroom. From the very start he attacked. He fought for an all-black jury, because the defendants had the general right to be tried by a jury of their peers. Ian MacDonald said this was enshrined in the Magna Carta and had been rigidly enforced during the Middle Ages. 'An all-black jury is needed in this case because it is only an all-black jury that can have that sense of community which our law has always demanded. They are the only persons who qualify in the conditions of modern society as neighbours or equals of the defendants.'

'It does not mean to say you cannot find a fair white jury: but in a society in which racial prejudice and discrimination are rife (my emphasis), you cannot guarantee with a white jury that you will not have persons who started off with prejudice against the defendants because they are black.'

The defendants' application was refused, but they successfully challenged and eliminated 63 potential jurors. In refusing this application, Judge Clark was denying the defendants the chance of broadening the trial and placing it in its proper context of police harassment of a black minority. Like Jake and Ian, the 'Nine' were on trial, not for what they did, but for what they are and what they believe in. In such cases, judges are very quick to point out that defendants are not on trial for the political views, but permit evidence that slants that way.

To prove the point on discrimination, a march took place on October 3, 1970, on which 400-500 white marchers retraced the route of August 9, passing the three police stations and chanting similar slogans. On this occasion no arrests were made, neither were there some 500 police on duty as had been the case at

the previous demo.

DPP REINSTATES RIOT CHARGES

Another disturbing aspect of this case has been the use of the powers of the Director of Public Prosecutions, who reinstated the riot charges after they had been dismissed by the Magistrate. The original charge was of incitement and the prosecution had dropped this and substituted riot. However the magistrate committed the defendants to trial at the Old Bailey on the lesser charges of unlawfully fighting and making an affray. Lord Gifford called the prosecution charges 'quite deplorable'.

In July this year, the Mangrove '7' was increased to '9'. The defence agreed to this by accepting a voluntary Bill of Indictment. However this Bill, which had been signed by Mr. Justice Melford Stevenson, quoted the charges, once again, as being that of riot. The defence did not agree with these charges, as they had already been thrown out at the earlier magistrate's hearing.

The trial turned out to be no ordinary one where each played his own part according to the rules. In fact it was not even an ordinary political trial because, as with the Chicago conspiracy trial, the authority of the Court was continually being challenged, although on a smaller scale.

'NAKED JUDICIAL TYRANNY'

In his summing up for the defence, Mr. Ian MacDonald said: 'I believe we have been subjected to naked judicial tyranny.' He told the jury that they must find the defendants guilty or not guilty. They must remember that even if they recommended leniency to the judge, it was still up to him to decide the sentence to be given if the jury found the 'Nine' guilty.

He continued: 'Senior police officers are hopelessly confused and wrong in their identification of Beese (his client—Barbara Beese) and I am suggesting that Inspector Aldritt is lying about who swore at Commander Maggs. His evidence is coloured against any demonstration against police behaviour.'

He laid it straight down the line when he said 'it is essential to prove violent intent and the prosecution must appeal to what is called your white nationalism, your inbred racialism. . . . The prosecution is playing on a stereotyped image that white people are supposed to have of black people. We are brought up to think that just under the skin they are still savages. The prosecution is based on this kind of approach and this could not take place unless senior officials at Notting Hill and at the Department of Public Prosecutions, who are the people who decide what charges there should be, had a stereotyped view of black people.'

TRUNCHEONS DRAWN

Later he said: 'I suggest that there were police officers (in Portnall Road) who were out of control. It has been said that truncheons were drawn to fend off bottles and stones, but try it, try to fend off bottles and stones with a truncheon. You are asked to believe the most absurd rubbish I have heard, truncheons are not for defence—they are used for attack, to hit people, to break up a demonstration.'

In bringing in a verdict of not guilty of riot, the jury have believed the evidence of the defence. This means that one side has lied and that the jury appears to believe that this is the police. In totally rejecting the authority of the Court, those defending themselves and especially Mr. Ian MacDonald, have shown how far the police and the authorities will go in order to discredit black people. They use racial prejudice prevalent in most white people to get a conviction.

The same is true with political issues where all sorts of material are used to create prejudice against sincerely-held political convictions. The stereotypes are created by the national newspapers. They associate blacks with drugs, and anarchists with bombs, and so it is that an image is built up in the mind of the general public which is subsequently used by the authorities to wrongly convict people because of their colour or their political views.

The harassment and vindictiveness of the police continues. Within 24 hours of receiving a suspended sentence at the Old Bailey on the affray charges, Rhodan Gordon was arrested and charged with obstruction and assault on a policeman. He has been granted bail. Rhodan Gordon defended himself during the Mangrove Nine trial and told the Court, when he was given the suspended sentence, that he feared that he would be arrested again. The other three who were given a suspended sentence all run the same risk and they can all expect continued harassment during the coming months.

The Census Saga continues

I WAS LIVING IN . . . [Central England] . . . at the time. I used the first official Census form in pursuit of my domestic toiletries, as no other assistance was available at the time. (One up for me.) I was asked by my friendly enumerator to fill in a second form which I burned. I then received a stereotyped letter, filled with the usual official inanities, from Mr. Michael Read, threatening me with prosecution. I was adamant in my refusal to participate in the nose-poking antics of the government.

I have since left Worcestershire to attend college near my home here . . . [in the West of Britain] . . . I have heard no more of this affair, nor do I wish to.

I hope you will publish this letter in your columns as it may help to show to others in a similar position the feelings which I hold in this matter. I was heartened to read, November 27, of Elsie Gibbs' stand against the "bureaucrat". It is very important indeed that we retain the right to say "No" to government.

We are pleased to publish this, with

omission of the writer's present whereabouts and name, to protect him against being followed up.

Not everyone has got away with it. According to *The Sutton and Cheam Advertiser*, November 25, a Cheam man, Derek Michael Brooker, has been fined £10, with £5 costs. He refused to fill in any part of the form. 'It's the principle of it', he told the magistrate. On the same day a man who failed to fill in 11 of the 34 questions was fined £3 with £3 costs. Evidently the theory is that if you make a principled stand against the whole thing it is worse than if you are for some reason unable to answer all the questions. The chairman of the bench of magistrates said, 'We will take into account that you may have found some difficulty with the questions.' In other words you can have as much freedom as you can afford to pay for. A really wealthy man could avoid the whole impertinent affair by going to the Riviera till it was all over. British justice is a commercial justice!

A.W.U.

Anarchist Classic Reprints

Since compiling the survey of current reprints of anarchist classics which appears on page 3 (and which was first published in *Peace News* two weeks ago), I have come across a few more things which have recently been reprinted. Some of the works of Stephen Pearl Andrews as well as of Josiah Warren and Lysander Spooner have appeared in expensive facsimile editions. More to the point, however, there are two new reprints of the important collections of works by forerunners of anarchism—

G. H. Sabine's edition of *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley* (1941) has been published as an expensive hardback by Russell of New York; and the English translation of Charles Gide's edition of *Selections from the Writings of Fourier* (1901) has been published as a cheap paperback with a new title, *Design for Utopia*, by Schocken Books of New York. I should also like to take this opportunity of thanking Paul Avrich for his kind help.

N.W.

Stop that Car!

Continued from page 1

their escorts (we do, after all, have freedom of speech, do we not). Yet when a handful of youngsters sit down and try to stop the traffic in the interest of the health and sanity of ordinary people, it is treated like an uprising and the full force of the law is brought into action.

I believe that the police did not relish their task last Saturday. They sensed that this could be a popular demonstration, unlike some of the more exotic ones of recent years. But of course they obeyed orders as always, and as one copper was heard to say to a pedestrian who remonstrated with him, 'I agree with what they are trying to do, but if they can close down Oxford Street without permission—where will it stop?' Where indeed!

Had there been more demonstrators and had they been able to hold back the traffic long enough for the crowd to join in, I am sure the police would have had to let it go. But there will be other demonstrations, and eventually they will succeed. The 44 youngsters who were arrested are the first casualties in this new stage of the never-ending fight for a decent, humane life. They deserve our congratulations.

THE CAR VERSUS THE PEOPLE

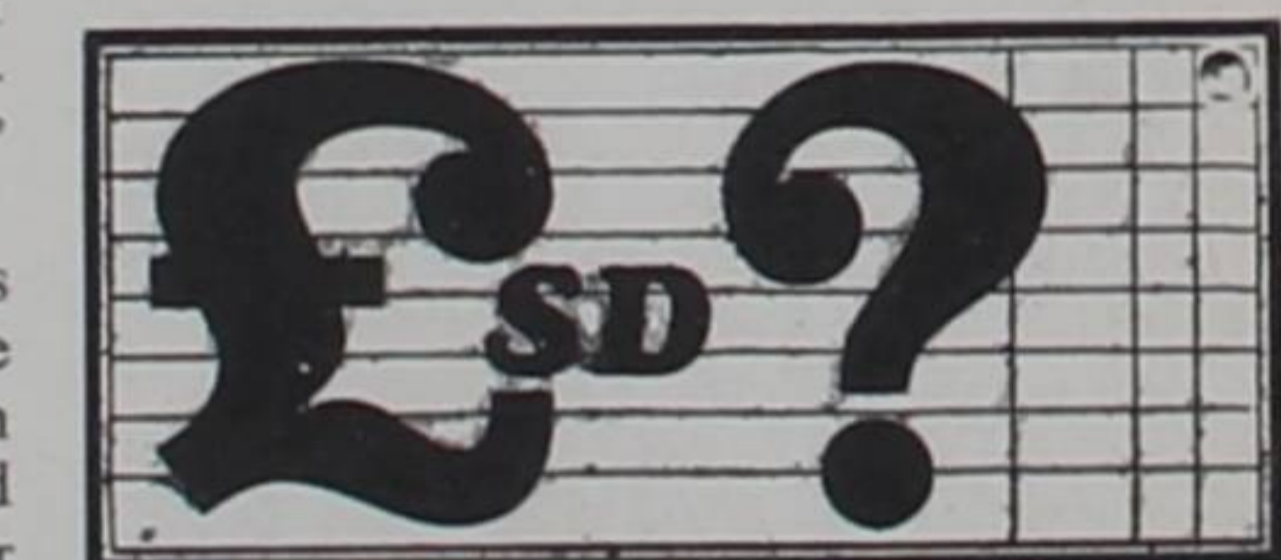
City streets are unbearable even for the able-bodied. For the old and for young children, they are a nightmare. The Great God CAR lords it over the streets—choking us with its foul, polluted breath, deafening us with its ugly roaring voice and threatening us with instant mutilation or death if we dare obstruct its mad passage through the streets in which we all must live and work.

Public transport — on which the majority of us must still rely—is crumbling as more and more of these tin gods are poured out of Dagenham, Coventry and Liverpool to add to the chaos. To meet its demand for more and more space in our already grossly overcrowded cities—houses, shops and even whole communities have been destroyed to make way for the great concrete highways, box roads, ring roads, flyovers and underpasses. Everyone is sick to death of it, and even car owners will admit that there are pleasanter ways of getting round a big city. But nothing is done

to stop it. As with many other things, the people feel helpless.

Huge fortunes are tied up in this evil thing. The oil companies, the motor manufacturers, the glass, steel and insurance combines—to say nothing of the advertisers and the newspapers—all have a vested interest in sustaining this nightmare to which we are all subjected. Pleas to the authorities get nowhere. It is rapidly becoming a question of them or us—the people or the CAR. The young Oxford Street demonstrators have shown that it is possible to fight back. Let us follow their lead.

FREEDOM REPORTER.



KEEP IT UP!

PRESS FUND

December 9-15 inc.
Ilford: P.L. £1.33; Aberystwyth: P.E.D. £2.82; London, W.3: L.Y. 15p; Harvey, Illinois, USA: R.C., A.B. & G.C. £7; Glasgow: A.J. 10p; Cheshire: D.W. £2; Wellington: L.O. 50p; Horsham: W.G.G. 50p; London, E.7: J.R. £7; Driffield: E.S. 50p; Wallington, Sy.: R.J.B. 50p; Coulsdon, Sy.: M.C. £2; Wolverhampton: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p; London, S.W.7: D.L.L. £2; Wimborne, Dorset: P.M. 82p; New York, USA: N.M.A. £2.45; London, S.W.2: M.D. £2; Cambridge: C.P.M. £7; Hove: H.C. 50p; Ilford: A.G. £2; Todmorden, Lancs.: G.B. £3; Bristol: F.E. £2.

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DEFICIT: £925.52

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**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

Address all letters to AFBIB at above address. The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is available for urgent information. Please inform AFBIB of new or changed addresses of groups and federations. New enquirers should write direct to the Regional addresses listed below or AFBIB office in Birmingham.

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There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of Britain. To find your nearest group, write to:—

N.E. ENGLAND. M. Renick, 122 Mowbray Manchester. Matt Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancs.
NORTHANTS. Pete Roberts, 682 Mitcham Road, Croydon, Surrey, CR0 3AB.
Street, Heaton, Newcastle on Tyne.
ESSEX & EAST HERTS. Peter Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester, Essex.
DORSET. Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset.
CORNWALL. Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall, or Hazel McGee, Hillcrest Farm, Hicks Mill, Bissoe, Truro, Cornwall.
HERTS. Val Funnel, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage, Herts.
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NORTHANTS. Terry Phillips, 70 Blenheim Walk, Corby, Northants.
LEICESTERSHIRE. The Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester.
SOMERSET. Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath.
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EAST ANGLIA. John Sullivan, Students Union, U. of E.A., Wilberforce Road, Norwich, Norfolk.
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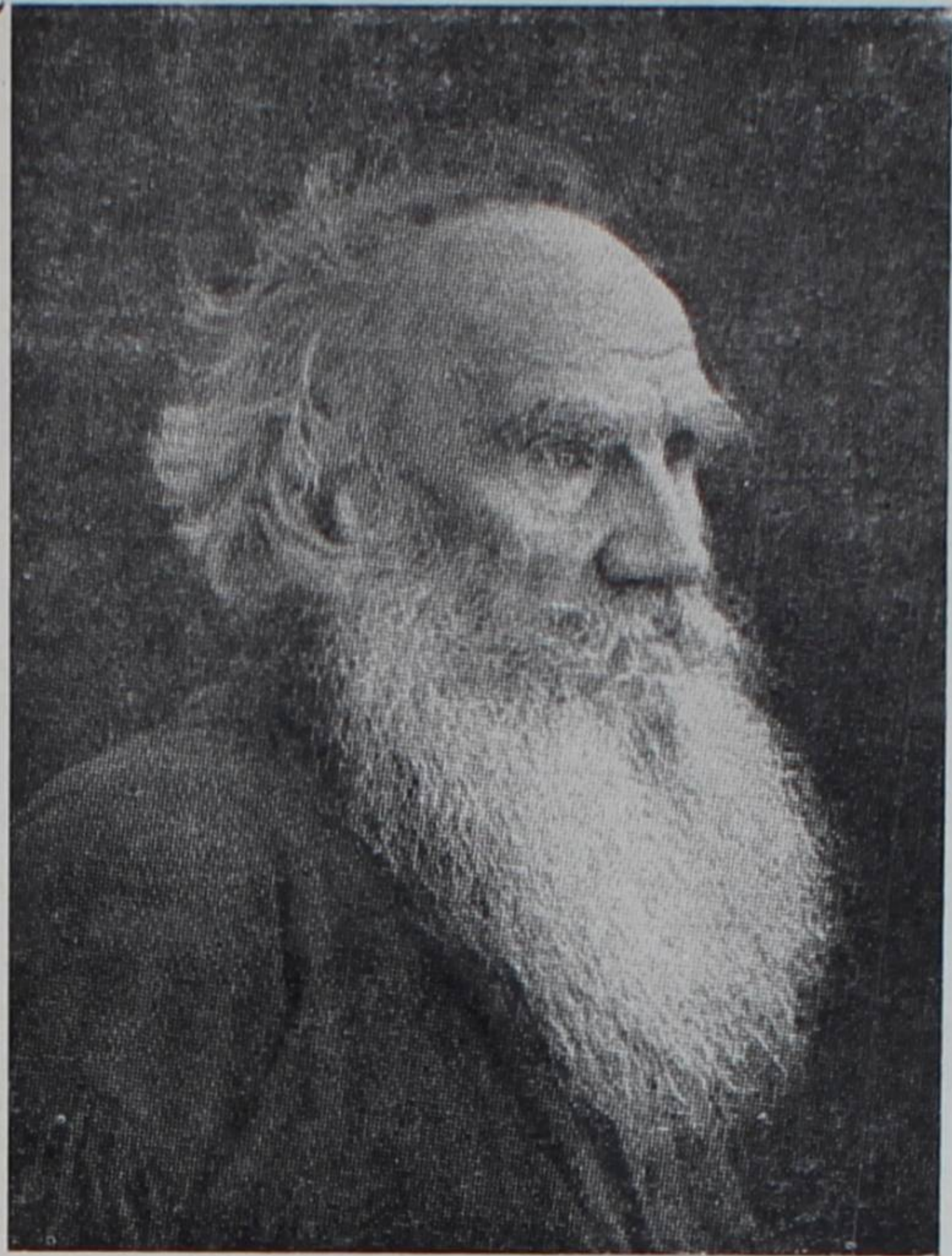
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Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

P.T.

THE ANARCHIST CLASSICS



LEO TOLSTOY

THE STANDARD of the increasing number of new books produced in response to the increasing interest in anarchism is generally so low that the reprinting of the classic texts of anarchism is becoming increasingly important. Unfortunately this is difficult in the English-speaking world, because so many significant anarchist writings have never appeared in English in the first place, but quite a lot of material has in fact been rescued, especially on the other side of the Atlantic. This often involves clothbound facsimile editions with little or no new editorial matter, which may cost as much as secondhand copies of the original editions, produced by specialist reprint publishers such as Benjamin Blom and Burt Franklin; and the Greenwood Press has issued such reprints of whole runs of anarchist periodicals, first American and now British, which are prohibitively expensive. But there are also several reasonably priced hardbacks or paperbacks, sometimes with useful new introductions or notes or both. My object here is to describe the present situation, as a supplement to my general survey of recent anarchist literature in *Anarchism Today*.

To begin with, a couple of basic guides—the old translation of Paul Eltzbacher's schematic analysis of anarchist theory, based on digests of the works of Godwin, Proudhon, Stirner, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tolstoy, and Tucker, with some useful

new material; and Max Nettlau's pioneering bibliography of anarchist publications up to 1896 (this is in French and is rather dear, but it is quite indispensable). Then there are several anthologies containing extracts from anarchist works, but these are unsatisfactory except as elementary introductions for absolute beginners. There is still nothing in English comparable to Daniel Guerin's outstanding anthology in French, *Ni dieu ni maître* (1965; 1969; paperback 1970), but the most acceptable collections are those of Horowitz and of Krimerman and Perry, but there is also some interesting material in those of Fried and Sanders, and of Giffin and Smith, and there are also the specifically American collections of Long, Silverman, and Veysey; those of Hoffman and Salvadori have little value.

Of all anarchist writers the best known is Kropotkin, and by the end of this year all his books which were published in English will have been reprinted in the United States, mainly in expensive facsimile editions. The only easily available titles so far are *Mutual Aid* and no less than three separate editions of *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*. Some of his pamphlets have also been reprinted, new translations of several essays have appeared in *FREEDOM*, and the first item in the new Freedom Press series of Anarchist Classics was a new translation of *The State: Its Historic Role*.

There is a reprint of Roger Baldwin's old selection of Kropotkin's shorter writings, and also a new selection by Martin Miller which does not overlap with it; between them they include two dozen items of varying importance, but they are both badly edited. Coming next year are new editions of both *Mutual Aid* and *The Conquest of Bread* prepared by Paul Avrich, and my translation of Kropotkin's first book, *Words of a Rebel*.

By contrast there is hardly any Bakunin or Proudhon, because hardly any of their works have ever appeared in English. From Bakunin there is a reprint of the old translation of *God and the State* and a new translation of *The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State*, and from Proudhon reprints of the old translations of *What is Property?* and *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century* (the latter being expensive). There are also Maximoff's and Kenafick's digests of Bakunin and Edwards's anthology of Proudhon, which to some extent make up for the lack of proper texts of either, but the absence of full editions in English is a serious gap; in the meantime, an anthology of Bakunin by Arthur Lehning, the editor of the definitive Archives Bakounine, is on the way from Jonathan Cape.

Things are better with Max Stirner, presumably because he wrote less. The old translation of *The Ego and His Own* has appeared in both a complete and an abridged edition, and a paperback reprint of the former is on the way from Dover Publications; there is also a new translation of his essay on education.

Of the early American anarchists, Josiah Warren's main books—*Equitable Commerce and True Civilization*—are available in expensive facsimile editions, as are six volumes of the works of Lysander Spooner; there is also a cheap new edition of the most important of Spooner's *No Treason* pamphlets. There are expensive reprints of Dyer Lum's two books on the Chicago Martyrs, but not of his original works; Philip Foner has collected the autobiographies of the Chicago Martyrs for the first time in one volume. There is an expensive facsimile edition of Benjamin Tucker's *Instead of a Book*. But far too many works remain in obscurity, and most of those rescued still need paperback editions for ordinary buyers.

The forerunners of anarchism are still thinly covered. I published most of Etienne de La Boetie's *Discourse of Voluntary Servitude* in *Anarchy* 63 (May 1966). Gerrard Winstanley is unobtainable, the old collection by Sabine and selection by Hammond being long out of print. So is Edmund Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society*. The old reprint of the third edition of William Godwin's *Political Justice* is also out of print, though there is a new abridgement of it; what is still needed is a reprint of the more anarchistic first edition. There is a new translation of

Wilhelm von Humboldt's *The Limits of State Action*, and Moses Hess's *The Philosophy of the Deed* is included in the anthology by Fried and Sanders. There is a reprint of Thomas Hodgskin's *Labour Defended*, but none of his longer and more anarchistic works. Fourier is still generally unknown in English, though there is a new digest by Beecher and Bienvenu.

The semi-anarchist and quasi-anarchist writers have been much better treated, not because of their anarchistic but because of their literary qualities—thus Shelley, Thoreau, Wilde, Tolstoy, and the rest are always being reprinted, often in cheap editions, and there is no point in listing them.

Few of the later anarchists who wrote in languages other than English are available in translation, even if they once were. Elisée and Elie Reclus, Jean Grave, Sébastien Faure, Emile Pouget, Louise Michel, Fernand Pelloutier, Carlo Cafiero, Camillo Berneri, Johann Most, Rudolf Rocker, Gustav Landauer, Stepanik, G. P. Maximoff, and many others are little more than names nowadays. But Malatesta's pamphlet on *Anarchy* has been kept in print, and Vernon Richards's digest has made his ideas more familiar than ever before; Holley Cantine's translation of Voline's *La révolution inconnue* preserved at least one anarchist view of the Russian Revolution; several fragments of E. Armand have been translated as articles or leaflets, and a few have appeared in a pamphlet.

Later American anarchists, as one would expect, have been better treated. Thus there are paperback reprints of Emma Goldman's collection of essays and her two autobiographical books, and of Alexander Berkman's prison memoirs in two editions (that with an introduction by Paul Goodman being both cheaper and better), and there have been successive editions of Berkman's *The ABC of Anarchism*; a paperback reprint of the whole work the latter is taken from *Now and After*—is on the way from Dover Publications.

Things are worst of all with the British anarchists, who may not be very important but who still do not deserve almost total neglect. Guy Aldred is available in some old pamphlets rather than any new reprints; a few of George Barrett's writings have been reprinted in a pamphlet; part of Joseph Lane's *An Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto* is included in Henry Pelling's anthology of British socialism. But Henry Seymour, Charlotte Wilson, Ambrose Barker, Frank Kitz, David Nicoll, Tom Keell, William Owen and far too many others still have no memorial. To study anarchism as it really is, you must still go back to the original sources, especially the old periodicals and pamphlets; which is why the new books on the subject are generally so bad.

NICOLAS WALTER.

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(Expensive facsimile reprints have been omitted. Dates in brackets are of the editions reprinted. Editions marked with an asterisk are available in paperback, and those marked with an obelisk are pamphlets.)

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State Action. Edited by J. W. Burrow. Cambridge, 1969.
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Max Stirner: *The Ego and His Own* (1907). Translated by Steven T. Byington. Edited by James J. Martin. New York, 1963.*
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Lawrence Veysey (Editor): *Law and Resistance*. New York, 1970.*
Voline: *Nineteen - Seventeen and The Unknown Revolution*. Translated by Holley Cantine. 2 Volumes. London, 1954-1955.
These books and many others can be obtained from
FREEDOM BOOKS,
84b Whitechapel High Street, E.1

The Cult of Pain and Death

THE MISERY OF CHRISTIANITY, by Joachim Kahl, Pelican Books, 35p.

DESCRIBED BY THE AUTHOR as 'A Plea for a Humanity Without God', this book covers the ground covered before by Thomas Paine in the eighteenth century, Bradlaugh, Ingersoll and a host of others in the nineteenth and Chapman Cohen in the twentieth. It is a bit like those American scientists I wrote of recently who made the staggering rediscovery that intelligence and race were not related. But although it's none of it new it is all of it true, and unfortunately it has to be said all over again. We are drifting into an age of mental confusion, and religion and mysticism are acquiring a new prestige.

This is just the right moment for a firm like Penguins, whose books are sold everywhere, and which has been publishing a lot of religio-mystical material in recent years, to bring out a book attacking Christianity. It's true it's given a foreword which says in effect, 'don't take it too seriously, there is something in religion after all', but the book itself pulls no punches.

The author was a Protestant pastor, and is still quite a young man. He has seen through the sham of his religion, and believes that humanity, if it is to get anywhere, must throw aside dependence on irrational cults.

Now this is an unfashionable message today. This is the Age of Aquarius, and great things are expected. King Arthur and Jesus Christ are hovering in a flying saucer over Glastonbury waiting for the right vibrations, while religious hippies perform peasant dances in Hyde Park and Hare Krishna people parade up and down Oxford Street. And here comes this belated survivor from the eighteenth century Enlightenment and says in effect that the emperor has no clothes on after all!

But look what happened last time. The Roman Empire was in decline and there were plenty of people who rejected philosophy and rational thought, which no doubt they considered old fashioned, and turned instead to one or another of the competing cults of the time. Out of this fog of incense and general confusion rose Christianity, the death and misery cult, and it became one of the most tyrannical religions the world has ever known.

Much the same situation seems to prevail today. So it is very good that a book like this should get a wide circulation. It should be widely spread about in Ulster. Everyone, from Mr. Faulkner to many anarchists, agrees that the civil war raging there is not a religious war. It's a war between two groups who disagree about religion. Still even so it might help if one could persuade the contestants that the religion they differ about is based upon nothing but myths and illusion.

I haven't much hope for Ulster, to be honest. But still there is plenty of work for the book even in England. The author covers the Christian attitude to slavery, women, heretics, the Jews, the witches, social reform and so on. It is a sad record. Nor does he excuse it by saying that it is bad because people did not live up to their Christian ideals. No, he makes it quite plain that the behaviour of the Christians was in accordance with their beliefs; their belief in sin, their belief in Hell, their belief in an omnipotent, capricious and vengeful deity on to whom they could off-load all personal responsibility for their actions.

It is quite true that now there are here and there clerics who, inspired by Christian convictions, join South American guerrilla bands, or support the fight against apartheid. But these men will in the end find themselves forced to leave their respective churches to all intents and purposes. The Worker Priest movement of some years ago, whatever became of that? Well, many of the priests ended by becoming workers; some left the church and got married. So the whole thing was closed down.

I would not describe myself as an out-and-out materialist, 'there are more things in heaven and earth' and all that, but in a period such as ours, where violence and mysticism go hand in hand, I must say I welcome Mr. Kahl's book.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Second International Congress

An article by A. Souchy, a German comrade, translated by J. Lohstoter.

ONLY A FEW years ago many people used the word 'anarchism'. Student riots in various countries, demonstrations with violence of every kind, attempts on some people's lives, all this had been said to be the work of anarchists. In 1968, only a few months after the famous May in France, the first International Congress of Anarchists after the World War took place in Carrara. Many international papers informed their readers of this congress. Meanwhile they have recovered from the 'anarchist fright'. The public nearly did not notice the second International Congress of Anarchist Federations, which took place from August 1-4, 1971, in Paris. Only in the French daily paper *Le Monde* could a report be found.

Twenty-one countries sent their delegates, a remarkable number for a movement which wants to destroy the authority of man over man. There were representatives of the Spanish FAI, the organisation of the Spanish syndicalists. They co-operate with the anarcho-syndicalist trade unions, the CNT. The French anarchists were represented by three independent organisations. The most important is likely to be the Anarchist Federation with their paper *Monde Libertaire*. Then we have the organisation of revolutionary anarchists (ORA). They issue the *Front Libertaire*. The third organisation, the Union of Federative Anarchists (UFA) has no periodical paper. Anarchist groups are working in all major and many small towns in France. Although these groups agree in principle matters they differ to some degree. The ORA is based on the ideas of Bakunin but they also tend to the economic theories of Marx. They use Marxist terms such as 'capitalism', 'class struggle', 'imperialism'. The Italian anarchists are still inclined to the ideas of 'classic' anarchism, especially to the theories of Kropotkin and Malatesta.

The delegates from Germany, the Netherlands, the Anglo-Saxon countries and Scandinavia (Denmark and Norway) were, throughout, young people, representatives of groups without any organic connection with the traditional anarchist movement. We learned from the written

report of the Dutch delegate, that his group arose from the 'Provos', the young nonconformists of the sixties, who demonstrated against the 'consumer society' and who wanted to live outside the established society. Their non-acceptance of the establishment led to a conflict with the present authorities and resulted in the acceptance of anarchist ideas. The formation of the young anarchist movement in other countries is similar. But they have no historical connection with the traditional anarchist theories.

There were also differences among the South American delegations, based on the troubles between the generations. The discrepancies started with an attack of the Spanish delegation, FAI, against the Cuban comrades. This attack was supported by the delegates from Costa Rica and Uruguay. Unfortunately there were not only objective but also personal differences. The reason was found in the following declaration of the Cuban Libertarian Movement (MCL):

"We must not repeat the mistakes of the past to generalize problems far from reality. We must fight against every government disregarding the human rights. We must distinguish between a totalitarian regime and those systems acknowledging human rights and allowing anarchist organisations. We must fight, so that technical progress is available for all people. This could be promoted by the foundation of production co-operative societies as well as voluntary federations. In our opinion the period of heroic revolutions belongs to the past. We must finish with the idea of promoting the revolution and therefore "introducing" anarchy. Instead of this we should support those movements propagating more freedom and social justice. At the same time we should fight against governments and movements enslaving the nations and the people, such as totalitarian regimes. Our militants should join the movements of workers, farmers and students to defend freedom and social justice at each occasion. All nations, may they be big or small, have the right to enjoy freedom. But we should not hesitate openly to declare that the so-called underdeveloped countries are more dictatorial than those fought by them."

This declaration caused considerable

fuss. The discussion took two days. When the observers demanded during this discussion to be allowed to take part as the delegates tumult arose. Finally the declaration of the Cuban comrades was condemned as 'bourgeois liberalism'.

In reality the ideas of the Cuban comrades are in full accord with the opinion of Kropotkin, who said in his work *The Modern State*: 'Anarchists tend to found thousands of different organisations, whose aim it is to take over all functions executed by the state.' The Cuban delegation decided to leave the congress considering the principal incompatibility and the hostile atmosphere.

They declared: 'The libertarian movement of Cuba (MCL), which is strongly involved in the traditional struggle for freedom and has fought against the dictatorship of Batista in the foremost front, has sent delegates to the second International Congress of Anarchists in

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

ONE OF THE fundamental differences between Marxism and anarchism is that of the role of the individual in the process of social change.

To the Marxist social change is not the product of ideas created in the minds of men and women, but rather the mechanical reaction of men to the prevailing economic system; we are all deemed to be slaves of an historic process which inevitably drives mankind towards socialism. Slavery, feudalism, and capitalism are seen as inevitable social developments and in their time 'progressive' to the extent that they develop the means of production towards the state of abundance which is seen as the only basis of socialism.

Why it was necessary for one man to exploit and enslave another in order that man's scientific genius could be put to practical use has never been satisfactorily explained. Could not men at any stage in history have decided that mutual aid and voluntary co-operation were saner bases for society than exploitation and antagonism? And could not the resultant free society have utilized the creative genius of its individuals to create a human technology which would serve the needs of all? (When I speak of 'technology' I do not, of course, mean the process whereby 'progressive' capitalism has doomed men to a life of boredom and frustration as extensions of the machine, but rather the sense of usefulness and satisfaction enjoyed by the craftsman.)

Not surprisingly, having elevated the theory to the role of a god who predestines the course of human development, Marxism—like any other religion—treats the individual as worthless, fit only to take a subservient role in the revolutionary party. Like any other Church, Marxism has its god's representatives on Earth, the only true guardians of the sacred scroll: the revolutionary vanguard.

To the anarchist, revolutionary change does not come through political dogma, workers enslaved by inhibiting theories or the power of party leaders, but by the conscious actions of free individuals intent on creating a free society. Men are not the slaves of history, but rather men make history. The ideas of freedom and mutual aid grow in the mind of the individual, develop in the light of experience, and when thought is translated into action this—not any 'laws' of economics—is what causes a social revolution. A free society cannot be brought about by economic causes such as a 'crisis of capitalism' but depends on the development of the individual consciousness of workers which will result in their rejection of all authority and the development of their self-confidence to a point where they will take control of their own lives.

Revolutionary potential can only develop in freedom. The necessary role of the revolutionary individual is not to provide 'leadership' but to encourage the development of individual consciousness and self-confidence in his fellow-workers, and to stimulate it by example. One anarchist prepared to ACT—and be damned—is more effective than a score of Trotskyist plotters hawking their political clap-trap and 'volunteering' for a leadership role!

Start today. Resist authority somewhere, somehow, the best you can. Feel the exhilaration of asserting your in-

order to expose the tragedy of the Cuban revolution, which degenerated into the bloody Castro-Communist totalitarian dictatorship of Stalinist type.

'Considering that our written declaration was rejected and our ideological and tactical ideas refused, we deem our further participation in the work of this congress to be useless.'

The further development of the congress showed no exciting results. The exchange of thoughts amongst the delegates had no social-revolutionary relevancy. The anarchists did not identify themselves with national-revolutionary guerilla fighters, although the delegates from

May the translator add some personal remarks to this report of Comrade A.S. Although I would also never accuse the Cuban comrades of 'bourgeois liberalism', it appears to me that there is a certain kind of resignation in their judgement of our future struggle and our present situation. Of course we should join and support those movements fighting for freedom and social justice. But what about this rubbish that we should differ between totalitarian regimes and those governments ruling in accordance with human rights? Anarchists should know that there are no 'good' governments—only some are worse than others. In spite of the hostile atmosphere I deem it to be a failure of the Cuban comrades to leave the congress. On the other hand it is sad for me to say that a comrade from the militants in Berlin belonged to the loudest agitators against the Cuban declaration. Anarchists should discuss their internal problems without any hostility against each other.

I cannot quite agree with Comrade A.S. overacting the conflict between the younger and the older comrades. In my opinion there should be no disregard of the young comrades as having no con-

Women and Children First

THERE IS A SORT of vague popular feeling that in modern war women and children should be spared. We read with horror tales of the Trojan War or from the Old Testament, where entire cities are wiped out and their populations butchered or sold into slavery. There is an idea that chivalry came in with noble knights and fair damsels, but in fact this only applied to the aristocracy. The common people were not protected by the knightly code.

The belief that non-combatants should not be harmed in war is relatively modern. It dates from the eighteenth century, when commanders would warn a city before they commenced to bombard it. This relatively humane attitude may have been a by-product of the Thirty Years' War, which horrified Europe by its destructiveness. At any rate up to the French Revolution wars within Europe were relatively free from wholesale destruction. Of course when Europeans fought non-Europeans it was another matter.*

After the fall of Napoleon there was again a period of limited wars. Efforts were made to secure humane treatment for the wounded and prisoners. The Red Cross was set up. Again non-Europeans were not included. They could be hunted down like animals.

This period ended with the 1914-18 War, which ushered in a new phase of wholesale warfare. But the civilian population did not feel the full effects until 1939-45, when the new barbarism began to assert itself. Cities became the targets for massive bombing raids, and even attacks with rockets and finally nuclear weapons. The killing of women, children and non-combatants generally became a matter of policy as in Old Testament times.

There was a brief lull, caused by horror, guilt and exhaustion,† which lasted through the late forties, the fifties and sixties. War again was mainly confined to colonial countries, Korea, Algeria and Vietnam.

†Of course the period was one of reconstruction and prosperity also. The two factors combined; guilt + prosperity = apathy.

*The butchery of the Highlanders after the 'Forty-five', or the massacre of 'Red Indians' was all right. They were outside civilisation.

dividuality and demanding control of your life and environment. You're completely autonomous and yet part of a world-wide movement for ANARCHY!
TERRY PHILLIPS.

Costa Rica and Uruguay sympathized with the 'tupamaros'. The proposal to replace the word 'anarchism' by the words 'libertarian communism' has been rejected as a limitation of the anarchist ideology. The idea of a common strategy for the fight respecting the revolution, which would have forced the anarchist groups all over the world to a synchronized tactic, was not approved. Binding resolutions were not taken. It has also not been decided when and where the next congress should take place.

This congress was a meeting of people interested in the social problems of today, and of fighters for freedom, who wished to strengthen their belief in the necessity for future liberation-fights by a mutual exchange of thoughts and experience. The congress could not be more and the delegates had not expected more.

A.S.

nection with the 'traditional' anarchist movement. This is of minor importance for me. I have acted as an anarchist and have actually been an anarchist without even knowing this word, without knowing the existence of an anarchist movement. It is much more important that we recognize the very nature of state and government and fight together for a free and social future. But we young should also learn from the experience of those comrades who have fought for such a society all their life.

The most disappointing result of this congress is that it had no results. As I mentioned in my report of the German scene: We all have the same enemy. The governments, the leaders of industry, the communist party and all the other institutions oppressing the people are united or tend to be. Why should it not be possible for we anarchists to develop a common tactic for our struggle for the future without giving up our individual ideas. It is of no use when libertarian groups in their countries waste their energy to fight against each other instead of fighting against the same enemy.

J.L.

PERMANENT PROTEST

BROADSHEET, No. 66, September 1971, published by the Sydney Libertarians, Box 3015, G.P.O. Sydney, 2001, Australia.

THIS PUBLICATION appears every couple of months or so, and is the organ of the Sydney Libertarians, whose belief is that authoritarianism is a permanent feature of human life, and all that one can do is to keep up a 'permanent protest' against it.

This issue consists of a brief article by Max Nomad on 'Anarcho-Marxism', and a kind of encyclopedia, or series of potted biographies of famous men, with (sometimes) their sayings. They range from Eisenhower to Karl Marx. If you collect the whole series from A-Z you have a little biographical encyclopedia.

In view of the contempt for revolutionaries expressed throughout, it comes as rather a surprise to find on the back page the announcement of a 'Libertarian/Anarchist/Red and Black Conference', since red and black are the colours of revolutionary anarchism, but it is good to see different tendencies coming together, even if one feels it is likely to produce an explosion. Between the pessimism of the 'permanent protesters' and the at least relative optimism of the revolutionaries it is difficult to see how a bridge could be built. Both groups oppose authoritarianism, but beyond that have little in common.

The article on 'Anarcho-Marxism' makes the point that Bakunin and Marx had much more in common than the supporters of either realised, or perhaps cared to admit. Both wanted the rule of a revolutionary elite over the masses during the interim period between the revolution and the final establishment of a classless society.

Bakunin attacked, in a famous polemic, Marx's elitist ideas, but he aimed at much the same thing, a conspiratorial body of followers, headed by himself, who would guide the masses. It is difficult to see how he would avoid setting up a new government in place of the old.

In the event both men were lucky enough to die in the nineteenth century, and did not see the wars and revolutions, which their ideas had at least something to do with inspiring.

The article concludes, 'All that is left to true libertarians is a permanent protest against any old or new elite—whatever its label. For, as La Fontaine says in one of his fables, "Notre ennemi c'est notre maître".'

The expression 'permanent protest' seems to cover at least two quite different attitudes. The most obvious one is expressed throughout this broadsheet. Authority is permanent, and all one can do is protest. (Resist might be a better word. 'Protest' suggests people sitting outside an embassy singing 'We Shall Overcome' in the hopes of helping the Palestinians/Brazilian Indians/American Negroes/Spanish anarchists).

But an alternative and more cheerful attitude was that of Colin Ward and the old *Anarchy* magazine. This point of view was that by permanently protesting, resisting or seeking to develop more libertarian ways of doing things, one gradually improved the quality of daily life.

There was no utopian vision of a sudden overthrow of the old world, nor was there much discussion of remote future possibilities.

The point of view of the Sydney Libertarians is really a Christian one, though expressed in secular terms. In the 'encyclopedia' section the cat is let out of the bag. 'Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880) defined politics in two words, "Quelle saleté!" Yet that saleté (dirt) has invariably attracted some of the greatest men of all time. Is it because, as the Belgian Socialist statesman Emile Vandervelde put it, "man was born between excrement and urine"?

I thought it was Saint Augustine, but anyway this is the traditional Christian attitude. Human beings are born in sin and there is no hope outside Paradise, or outside the Church. The secular Christian removes both, and there is no hope anywhere, until one realises that the whole affair is a matter of words only.

Institutions and attitudes are created by men and can be altered by men. If there are no gods human beings are able to improve their lives, even though they may have to fight other less enlightened humans to do so.

JOHN BRENT.

PRESCOTT-PURDIE TRIAL

THE RIPPLES CONTINUE

IT IS PERHAPS WORTH returning to the trial of Jake Prescott and Ian Purdie, reported in *FREEDOM* on November 20 and December 11, in order to keep our readers in touch with what is being said and done about the case.

The Sunday newspapers have never said anything after the trial, and the daily newspapers have said no more, but some of the weeklies have taken it up. The *Listener* of December 9 included the sentence in William Hardcastle's round-up of the week's news, incidentally describing Prescott as 'a member of the Angry Brigade', which is not quite what was proved at the trial. The *New Statesman* planned an article about reactions to the trial, but nothing appeared. Instead on December 17 there was an article by Professor John Griffith of LSE on the law of conspiracy, including a brief reference to the Prescott/Purdie case as one in which 'the evidence to support the specific charges is thin', but not adding that all the specific charges actually failed, which makes the law of conspiracy completely absurd.

New Society of December 9 printed an editorial observation about the sentences on Prescott and on Pauline Jones (the woman who kidnapped the Weller baby and got three years, reduced on appeal to 21 months), commenting that few lawyers expect Prescott's sentence to be reduced on appeal. But no opinion was given about the sentence itself, except that some 'non-lawyers' may find it harsh, and no connection was made with an article in the same issue by 'Tostig', the social service correspondent, which raised the problem of the obvious criminality of magistrates and judges (a theme familiar to anarchists, especially those who know Alex Comfort's *Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State*).

The sectarian and underground press, on the other hand, has been saying a great deal about the case. David Widgery, who had discussed 'Bomb Politics' in *Ink* before the trial was over, wrote a good report of it in the Trotskyist *Socialist Worker* on December 11: A sentencing judge is a rare glimpse of reality. It is a moment into which is focused the real meaning of power, the fangs behind the smile, the savagery behind the wig and the pince-nez. In the Old Bailey last week Melford Stevenson demonstrated this licensed sadism, to prove that behind the robes and spectacles and upper-class vowels is an implacable cruelty.

Widgery went on to describe how 'the whole trial has shown how fragile are our freedoms, how swiftly "the citizen's

rights" are discarded, how "with an almost sensational lack of facts, witnesses or fingerprints, the prosecution's main positive evidence was two well-rehearsed con-men, Mr. A and Mr. B, whose well-scripted testimony was accurately described by Ian's QC as a "pack of lies".' And he commented that 'the "evil conspiracy" that Melford Stevenson talked of in his summing-up does, of course, exist. It consists of judges like him... plus policemen... and so on, naming a few names, and continuing:

It is a surprisingly widespread conspiracy. And behind it lies a greater evil, a system which cares only for prosperity, profit, and its own authority, a system which when it talks of law and order means crushing political dissent. For the courts and the police and the judges are in fact tools of something even more sinister. And that is the ruling class itself, an increasingly desperate group of criminals now obliged to imprison and intern not professional crooks like themselves but political enemies.

This somewhat simplistic argument demands questions about such things as the class structure of Bolshevik Russia, the distinction between professional crooks and political enemies, and so on, but it will do for a start. And Widgery concluded:

Clearly the only answer that Melford Stevenson and his kind will take seriously is a growing revolutionary movement. But as we build such a movement, a movement that one day, not too long away, will break down the prison walls of Brixton and Holloway, we should never forget for a second our connection to men like Jake.

Of the other Trotskyist papers, *Red Mole* on December 12 printed a good anonymous report, beginning with an orthodox class analysis of the case:

A young revolutionary militant of working class origin is victimised for his political views. The verdict is meant not so much to teach Prescott a lesson, but also to warn thousands of other young workers coming into contact with revolutionary politics that the latter (even more so than ordinary 'crime') does not pay.

Continuing with an orthodox vanguard party line:

The whole manner in which the Purdie/Prescott case was conducted points out to a serious failing on the part of the revolutionary movement in Britain. Because there is no joint activity by the revolutionary groups on the elementary basis of defending all victims of the class struggle, individual mili-

tants are left to organise their own defence. . . . Also it must be admitted that not a single revolutionary group initiated or participated actively in a political campaign even on a propaganda level, to demand the release of Prescott and Purdie (and here *The Red Mole*, as the journal of the International Marxist Group, must share part of the blame). . . . And concluding with an appropriate moral:

The lack of any legal defence network on the part of the left as a whole is an extremely serious weakness which we have to remedy rapidly to prevent repetition. . . . Given the political situation in Britain today an increasing number of political militants will be arrested, tried and sentenced. This necessitates a clear-cut defence strategy on the part of the revolutionary left.

Red Mole promises to 'attempt to outline such a strategy' and also to 'explain our differences with the political concepts of organisations such as the Angry Brigade' in future issues. It will be interesting to see what emerges, at a time when the International Marxist Group, the Socialist Labour League, and International Socialism are exchanging traditional anathemas about all the familiar heresies of Marxist demonology.

The new left-wing weekly, *7 Days*, on December 8-14 printed a long report on the trial by Judith Ferguson and John Mathews which made many good points, in particular referring back to the Wethersfield Trial ten years ago, when six members of the Committee of 100 were involved in an analogous political trial with charges of conspiracy and ludicrous prosecution evidence—though it should be remembered that their activity was open and non-violent from the start, and that their sentences at the end were only one-tenth of Prescott's.

Meanwhile, such underground papers as *Frenz* and *IT* have printed good solid reports, often containing intriguing nuggets of information not available elsewhere; but in general the most interesting material has appeared in *Ink* and *Time Out*. *Ink* 23 (December 3) printed extracts from some letters from Chris Bott, one of the Stoke Newington Six, and *Ink* 24 (December 17) printed extracts from two very remarkable letters from Ian Purdie and Jake Prescott, written immediately after the end of the trial, which are well worth reading in full (they incidentally identified the Mr. A and Mr. B who gave evidence against Prescott in court).

Time Out, which has given the case excellent coverage from the start, and which printed extracts from earlier letters from both Purdie and Prescott on August 20-26, printed long reports of the trial week by week, ending with an outstanding seven-page feature on December 10-16, and adding some extracts from Prescott's letter given in extenso in *Ink*.

Nearer home, *Peace News* printed on December 10 a short comment called 'Hopeless Anger' which put both sides of the case about as well as could be done in a small space. After pointing out that 'Melford Stevenson has committed an outrage even exceeding those of the Angry Brigade and even exceeding that of the sentences he served on the Garden House demonstrators', and so on, it continued:

We can expect the left and hip press to chorus their condemnation of the sentences. But simply to rail against the violence of the forces of law and order would be wrong. The repression which the Angry Brigade has brought and is bringing upon itself and others is giving rise to a polarisation which will be harmful to the prospects of radical social change, for it will not be the polarisation of pro-power and anti-power, violence and non-violence, but a polarisation in which one form of authoritarian politics will be matched against another. The Angry Brigade, with its conspiratorial organisation, its one-dimensional 'us/them' analysis, and its vengeful violence, offers no hope for social change. The way in which the kind of rebellion it demonstrates has already been glorified is repressing. Our politics must emphasise that the oppression and alienation suffered in this society are not something inflicted by 'them' out there and that as long as we behave day by day according to the logic of this society, we are part of 'them'.

There hasn't been much readers' reaction so far to editorial comment on the case. *IT* has printed some good letters attacking its uncritical attitude to the Angry Brigade—'Every fucking or-

ganisation which exists in our society is a continuation of the leader/led oppression. Yes, Conservative Party, yes, Labour Party, yes, IRA, yes, Festival of Light, yes, Angry Brigade, the WHOLE FUCKING LOT OF YOU,' said 'The Dormouse' in *IT* 118 (December 2-16); 'Power to the People (NOT the fuckin' IRA or Angry Brigade),' said R.S.E. of Dumbarton, and 'Today's Angry Brigade, IRA, Panthers, etc., will be tomorrow's Gestapo—assuming they don't all wipe each other out on their petty superiority kicks,' said James Glenthorne of Deal, both in *IT* 119 (December 16-30).

Ink 23 printed a letter from Bernard J. Kelly attacking Widgery's article for being 'ill-timed' and for raising 'ethical and historical quibbles' about the activities of the Angry Brigade: 'Cavilling of this type plays into the hands of the system. A fat lot of good it does those standing trial, however rigged and transparent the evidence may be against them.' Widgery replied that the Angry Brigade had themselves asked for a public debate about their activities in their Communiqué No. 7 last March, and that 'it is about time that the Underground stopped evading ideas and side-stepping politics in the name of a mushy and attitudinising revolutionism' (as opposed to a heavy and dogmatising one, no doubt).

In *FREEDOM* on December 18 Francis Drake took issue with my article of December 11 on two points—suggesting that my statement that there 'has been no political gain of any kind' is contradicted by my statement that the authorities 'are playing straight into the hands of the Angry Brigade'; and suggesting that 'the message of the Angry Brigade is understood and appreciated by a lot of people in our society'. I would reply that there is no contradiction in my two statements—it is no gain to play into the hands of the Angry Brigade, since the only consequence is a contest between two (or more) rival gangs on the basis of force (as in Northern Ireland or Bengal), and in the context of violence, as we have seen over and over again, the social, political, and economic issues are lost. If we fight with guns and bombs we are taking up the weapons of our enemies, and they will beat us every time, if not because we shall be destroyed by our enemies, then because we shall become our enemies. If the fact that we are all getting angry is, as Francis Drake suggests, 'the essential achievement of the Angry Brigade', then it is a total disaster for what we believe in; because what is needed is argument, not anger. And that is even more true

if a lot of people in our society accept the message of the Angry Brigade; because this means that we have failed to get our own message across at all. We agree with Francis Drake that the authorities 'can be taught lessons in other ways'; but it is difficult to put forward other ways when these particular ways are being put forward against them.

Meanwhile the Ian and Jake Defence Group, which operated from the Agit-prop premises in Bethnal Green until police harassment made this impossible, has now reconstituted itself as 'People Seeking Justice for Purdie and Prescott' (PSJPP) and is operating from the premises of *Time Out*, where it needs help in its two current campaigns—to support Prescott's appeal against sentence, and to support Purdie's application for bail on the cheques fraud charge. The address is 374 Grays Inn Road, London, WC1X 8BB (telephone number 01-278 5481, extension 32).

N.W.



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Altruists and Egoists

THERE IS AN ACT of Parliament which permits Local Authorities to install telephones in the homes of the chronically sick and disabled and charge the cost up to the rates. Few Councils have availed themselves of this opportunity to help those of their fellow men who need the telephone as a veritable life-line, so down in Wales the Post Office engineering workers decided that a bit of direct action was needed to get these Councils off their backsides.

By agreement with the Post Office they have started to install the phones in their own time and without pay! Pure altruism if ever was. These workers get nothing out of it—except the knowledge that they have done a bit to help those who need it. Here is mutual aid still alive even after nearly two centuries

of this 'dog-eat-dog', 'sod you Jack I'm alright' system known as private enterprise. It warms the heart. Well done the post office engineers—may your example inspire others.

Of egoism we have had a bellyful but this latest example from the exclusive village of Hawkinge in Kent takes some beating. There the residents have told their MP that they do not wish to have any homeless people housed in their exclusive village. Talk about no room at the inn! No doubt the residents are all Christians and will be celebrating the birth of Jesus this week-end with lots of eats and booze.

Down with this stinking egoism! More power to the mutual aid displayed by the Welsh post office engineers!

J.L.

State Murder

ABOUT TWENTY PEOPLE made up a picket, demanding the release of Valpreda (charged with the December 12, 1969, bombings) and other Italian political prisoners, outside the ENIT (Italian State Tourist Board) and ALITALIA (Italian State Airlines) offices in Regent Street last Saturday. The picket was organised by N. & E. London O.R.A.

Over 2,000 leaflets were distributed, public reaction was friendly—a number of Italians stopped to help, and we met a comrade.

Police presence was very unobtrusive:—'Who's in charge?' 'No one.' 'Which group organised this?' 'None in par-

ticular.' 'How long will you be here?' 'Until our leaflets run out.' 'OK then' (exit).

The trial of Valpreda is expected to start in January (the 10th is the given date). There will be a demonstration outside the Italian Embassy on Sunday, January 16. Marching from Speakers' Corner at 2 p.m. Help is needed, leafletting, fly-posting, and sticking; please get in touch via 68 Chingford Road, Walthamstow, E.17 (donations towards the cost of materials welcomed. . . .)

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COMPULSORY CHRISTMAS

IN ORDER TO ACCELERATE the consumption of the Gross National Product and in order to inculcate those typical English qualities of Togetherness, Charitableness and Kindness to children and some animals, as found in the works of Charles Dickens, it is enacted by both Houses of Parliament that Christmas shall be made compulsory. This shall be known as the Christmas Act 2071.

All schools from that date shall have in their syllabus teaching and promoting belief in Santa Claus. All children must attend this subject unless their parents expressly request otherwise. Non-believers in Santa Claus will not be discriminated against except by loss of marks for Yule studies.

Daily services promoting belief in Santa Claus will be held in schools incorporating carols and display of symbols of the faith in Xmas, e.g. Christmas trees, holly and mistletoe. N.B.—Any reference to the pagan origin of these and other Xmas symbols will be accounted as Blasphemy and subject to penalties under the Blasphemy Act.

Christmas shall be decreed as the State religion and the official church shall be known as the Church of England and Santa Claus. All marriages shall be celebrated in this church with great stress upon the exchange of gifts; baptisms and christenings will also be marked by the exchange of gifts symbolising the healthy circulation of com-

modities, which is the life-blood of commerce and the English way of life. The transubstantiation of these gifts into currency and *vice versa* will take place regularly at the endowed chapels of St. Lombard, beneath the symbol of three balls—the Trinity.

The minister shall cause to be read throughout the country, and on all television and radio networks, the gospel known as the Christmas Carol every December 24. Failure of the congregation to cry at the appropriate passages will result in their expulsion from the body of the congregation, to be whipped with holly and pelted with mistletoe berries.

Failure to exchange gifts of a great value for those of a greater value will result in loss of face and will be an offence under the Exchange Control Order. Failure to participate in the yearly ritual of exchange will result in social ostracism, failure of circulation, consequent unemployment, and will be an offence under Exchange Control Order. It is the intention of the Act to expand the Gross National Product to its grossest ever.

In pursuance of the purpose of the Act it is laid down that every adult shall consume such quantities of turkey, chicken, pork, geese, Christmas pudding, mince pies, etc., etc., as will be laid down in the schedule attached. Failure to consume such quantities of food as laid

down or of such a quantity as shall make the consumer vomit, shall be deemed to be a failure to observe the functions of the national institution, Christmas. Any reference to under-developed countries, War on Want, Oxfam or refugees shall be deemed to be in bad taste and punishable under the Blasphemy Acts.

Furthermore, the consumption of alcoholic beverages shall be such as to make the alcoholic content of the breath sufficient enough to make driving dangerous. Any decline in the number of motor accidents shall be taken as indicative of the decline of the Christmas spirit.

The same standard shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the provision, inhalation and exchange of carcinogenous nicotine products. Failure to produce a density of fug in any party shall be taken as indicative of the decline of Christmas, and punishable accordingly.

It shall be mandatory upon every citizen at least once every Christmas to render some maudlin ballad or carol associated with the festivity. Alcoholic consumption will be found an aid to this duty.

Failure of citizens to increase their decibel output during the season will be subject to penalties. Churches will assist in this, aided by carol singers (amateur and professional); brass bands (amateur and professional); plus cracker pulling, hearty laughter, crackling of yule-logs, etcetera. Any tendency to headaches will

be discouraged.

Under the provisions of the Act, children shall be made responsible for the observation of Christmas. They shall be fed with sweets and cakes *ad nauseam*. Each child shall receive toys and gifts in excess of their capacity to enjoy them. Such toys should (a) be of such a nature that only adults are capable of handling, understanding or enjoying them or (b) with rapid built-in obsolescence in order to accustom the child to his/her responsibilities in this direction in the interest of the adult consumer-society.

No adult shall be allowed to attend the production of pantomime without being accompanied by children who must not be capable of understanding most of the performance. All pantomimes must have at least two instances of transvestism, twelve doubtful jokes, some crude violence, one scene calculated to frighten any child and one patriotic and/or sentimental scene completely incomprehensible to children.

Given under my hand.

By order,

J. SPRATT SCROOGE.

LETTERS

A Jolly Good Show

To the Editors,

Julius's sneering reference in '1789' to a 'triumphant Beethoven (or was it Mahler?) standard middlebrow culture anyway' is unworthy of FREEDOM. You certainly have other readers, as well as myself, who genuinely derive the deepest joy and consolation from the works of these great composers. Julius may, of course, believe in the common delusion that the new is always better than the old, e.g. the H-Bomb, or could it be that he lacks the ability, anyhow, to appreciate these acknowledged masters of music? Can hardly wait to hear, from his superior talent, in what category he would place poor old Shakespeare!

Yours, etc.,

K. LAMB.

Small Mags & Pamphlets

Dear Comrades,

One or two people have asked what became of my semi-regular column on 'Small Mags and Pamphlets'.

The simple answer is that no one has bothered of late to send me any for review—I'm certainly more than willing to continue.

Judging from the 'Plugs Page' in AFBIB and similar publications, there does seem to be a lot of local and national publishing going. So, comrades of the anarchist presses, if you'd like to have your good works mentioned in more detail, send them in to me.

Love,

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

8 Esslemont Avenue,
Aberdeen, AB2 4SL

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Would W.G.G., Horsham (Press Fund) please contact Brighton group, c/o Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton.

Julia Darling. Please phone Chelmsford 71354, Fabian Tompsett.

N. and E. London ORA meets regularly (weekly). Please contact via 68 Chingford Road, Walthamstow, E.17.

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

Revolutionary Workers Forum meets at 170a Deptford High Street, S.E.8, 7.30 p.m. every Monday.

Anarchist and Nihilist Group is being formed in Derby and anyone interested should contact: Gavin P. Lawrence, 63 Uttoxeter New Road, Derby, DE3 3NP.

Any Spare Furniture? Falls Road family squatting in Burrell House, London, E.; now have electric stove and some bedding but still need items of furniture. Please write George Foulser, c/o Freedom Press.

Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme. CIRA membership covers use of lending library in Lausanne and biannual bulletin (annual subscription £1). First CIRA publication in English: Michael Bakunin's 'The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State' (15p post free, £1 for 10 copies). British representative: Nicolas Walter, 134 Northumberland Road, North Harrow, Middlesex, HA2 7RG (telephone: 01-866 9777).

Help! Stoke Newington 6 Fund. Comrades now on remand in Brixton and Holloway need financial aid urgently for meals, fruit, papers, books (which must be new) and cigarettes. Please send donations to the Stoke Newington 6 Fund, c/o Compendium Books, 240 Camden High Street, London, N.W.1, a.s.a.p.

'And this may just be heaven' (poems and collage) by Jeff Cloves. 32 pp. Litho prints, card covers. 20p including postage from 5 Manor Road, St. Albans, Herts.

Proposed Group: Celia & Laurens Otter, 13 Albert Road, Wellington Telford. Meet first and third Tuesday of the month, at other times phone Wellington 54728.

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.

Croydon Group meets first Tuesday of each month at Jacquetta Benjamin's, Top Flat, 4 Warminster Road, South Norwood, S.E.25 (near Norwood Junction Station and 68 and 12 buses).

Leaflets: The Tolpuddle Martyrs, Six Men of Dorset. 15p a 100, plus postage, from Freedom Press. Old Leaflet but still relevant.

This Week in Ireland

GOOD NEWS FIRST. The jubilation when Father Kennedy brought back from London the news that the fishermen of Lough Neagh HAD been able to buy 95% of the shares to run as a co-operative had to be heard to be believed. Their cheers coming over the Belfast wireless nearly shattered my room, especially as Harry West had been engaged upon a dirty little deal to put them all up for the Government.

Meanwhile everyone kills or tries to kill everyone else. Senator Barnhill shot by the Officials in his own house. He was not a nice man, a bigoted Orangeman, but still—as indeed Bernadette said—it should not have been done. At least the Officials acknowledged guilt and said the killing of him was an accident, they had only meant to burn his house in retaliation for all the working class homes burned. Not so the soldiers who shot a simple 16-year-old who was playing a game in the centre of a field with a crowd of 11-year-olds—his own mentality being about 11—with a plastic gun and whom they gunned down, riddling his body with bullets from some sort of machine gun. They, in spite of having issued two totally disagreeing stories, still swear he had a gun and there was no possibility of a mistake. The public must have stolen it and put the plastic toy in its place says the

officer, who wasn't present.

We down here are all certain that the two huge explosions, the one in Shankill Road and McGurk's pub were the work of the SAS. Who stands to gain by them except the British and Stormont? Maudling showed a tiny, very very tiny glimmer of coming towards the road of reason. He said talks must begin before the end of violence. Screams of Lundy and Traitor from Paisley and Faulkner, but it does look as if Westminster was getting a-holt of the idea that it is impossible to have peace EVER unless Ireland becomes OUR land and is reunited as a whole. I call the planters up there 'The Mistletoe People', because mistletoe is a parasite that cannot exist without preying on another tree. When they first arrived completely rootless they lived upon the native Irish. Having killed off that source of income—all parasites kill the host in the end—they now prey on England, but they are getting near the killing point there too. They will have to learn to develop real roots if they are to survive, and the wisest realise this.

A major row is blowing up about Taylor's remarks that we are sheltering murderers and it is our job to guard the border. Lynch offered again to accept a UN force and this was rejected. If 20,000 British troops and UDR and

the RUC can't guard it, how on earth do they expect to put small forces in to do so? Every clump of heather in the bog, etc.?

The men who escaped from Crumlin have given a Press conference and been examined by a famous Dublin doctor, who confirms that they had been burned and had needles stuck into them and been tortured. The British Army says their doctors examined them and found no traces or marks, so I suppose they tortured each other just as the Catholics burned their own houses in the Bogside during the riots?

Sinn Fein having had gelignite discovered at the back of their premises say this is the forerunner of internment down here. They have a persecution complex. The gelignite was dangerous and the Gardai removed it from a shed at the back. Their offices were NOT searched and no one was arrested.

There have been a lot of minor explosions and robberies even in Dublin. I heard the ones that went off in the front of the house where American marines live. So injured to these things have we become that all I said was 'What has gone pop now?' and we all resumed our ordinary conversation. It is terrible to become insensitive to this degree.

H.

Bangla Desh

Dear Comrades,

I must confess myself a little stunned by Jack Robinson's analysis of the Indo/Pak war, and its causes: 'India's eyes are turned more towards Kashmir and her age-old feud with Pakistan. Pakistan, in the same way, is concerned at settling her feud with India.' Kashmir is it? This dismisses out of hand the 9 million refugees from Bangla Desh now in West Bengal; the havoc these refugees are playing with the state of W. Bengal; and the growth of revolutionary activity that such havoc is creating. I would suggest the following analysis as being far more plausible (even if it does 'fall in line' with the 'Left in this country'): East Pakistan has nothing, except religion, in common with West Pakistan, and has been exploited by the West ever since the creation of the two Pakistans. This has given rise to the development of Mujibar Rahman's bourgeois nationalist Awami League. The Awami League's electoral success, based on a demand for independence, threatened the West Pakistan's imperial position, and so West Pakistan sent in its troops. It could hardly have reckoned with either the degree of opposition, or the exodus of 9 million people. Be that as it may, as

conditions have worsened both in E. Pakistan and W. Bengal, the very real possibility of popular revolution has arisen in both these states. It became imperative for the Indians to settle the refugee problem and prevent the rise of a revolutionary Bangla Desh: obvious solution to impose a middle class, independent, Bangla Desh on West Pakistan. Hence the concentration of the main Indian effort on over-running E. Pakistan (not Kashmir); its recognition of the government of Bangla Desh in exile in Calcutta; and its taking over of the guerilla movement by incorporating it in the Indian army's thrust. West Pakistan's assault in Kashmir looks more like a desperate counter thrust to gain at least a few counters to bounce around the negotiating table when hostilities cease.

True, the attitude for Anarchists is a 'plague on both their houses', but for the governments of India and Pakistan the war is most certainly not 'pointless'. For them it must be of fundamental importance in their struggle to maintain capitalism on the Indian sub-continent. I suggest we Anarchists might also hope for the development of a revolutionary consciousness amongst the Mukti Bahini,

and their estrangement from their government in exile. The Indian army will one day have to withdraw from E. Pakistan, and if the guerillas can break free from the co-option of the Indian army and develop themselves as a separate revolutionary force they may yet be able to turn the weapons supplied to them against their imperialist directors, and create a socialist state.

Fraternally,

NIGEL CALDER.

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