THE PRESENT STRIKE of coalminers is the first national official stoppage since their memorable stand both during and after the General Strike in 1926. As in that year, the coalminers are not just in dispute with their employer, but also with the Government itself. Although the coalminer has changed his master from the private company to the State, he still has to resort to industrial action to achieve justice.

As in 1926, the Government of the day is fully behind the employer, wishing to make an example of the coalminer and to safeguard its 'incomes policy'. Make no mistake, the Government has an 'incomes policy' just as was the case with the previous Labour administration. It is determined to keep wage increases down to 7% and now has the law, in the form of the Industrial Relations Bill, to back up its stand.

The last time a large section of workers took on the Government they were defeated. The Post Office workers fought a lone battle which really belonged to the whole trade union movement. The same struggle is taking place now and the Government is prepared to sit it out as it did with the postal workers.

The National Union of Mineworkers are claiming increases of between £7-£9 per week. The National Coal Board replied with an offer of between £1.90-£2 which was withdrawn just prior to the strike.

more and it is only the power cutters who get £30 basic. Further increases have been promised if productivity rises, but time and time again miners have pushed up production only to see closures and wages lagging behind those paid in other industries.

The national strike has been in

have taken unofficial action both last year and the preceding one.

IMPORTED COAL

The Coal Board and the Government, for their part, have prepared themselves. According to David Wilson of the Observer, 'coal stocks stand at a peak of 32,400,000 tons,* with half already distributed to power stations—enough for nine weeks' winter consumption'. Gasworks have nearly three weeks' stocks, industry over five, while domestic stocks vary between 3 to 7 weeks according to the type of coal. Stocks have also been imported from America and Australia.

This is a bleak picture for the coalminer to be facing. The union has decided not to pay any strike benefits, since this would soon exhaust their funds, as well as affecting the amount that can be collected by the miners in social security benefits.

It is apparent that a long-drawnout struggle is envisaged and this type of dispute usually ends in a victory for the employer and the Present wage rates are low and Government. They are well preafter stoppages many miners take pared for these 'set piece strikes'. deserting a just cause.

the offing for a long time and, in whole trade union movement. They Government fear this kind of action, fact, was preceded by a ban on over- are taking on not only the Coal from the rank and file workers, most

time. It would not be untrue to say Board, but also the apparatus of the of all. The TUC will not concern duced by this paper during a coalthat this struggle has been building State. If these strikers stand alone, itself with organising support, but miners' strike around the turn of up for two years because miners like the Post Office workers, then will be worried about the effect of the century are still relevant today. the chances are that they will lose. the strike on the jobs of other The large stocks of coal that have workers. It will be up to the ordinalready been delivered will mean ary trade unionist to take unofficial that the effects of the stoppage will action in sympathy with the miners. not be felt for some time. It is vital that other workers give their support.

Mr. Daly, General Secretary of the NUM, has said that 'given the co-operation we expect and have asked for from railway, transport and power station workers, distribution of coal and other forms of fuel will be stopped overnight' and power supplies could be affected 'within days'.

SUPPORT FROM UNIONS

However, I should be very surprised if the union leaders call upon their members to give such active support. Leaders of the National Union of Railwaymen have said that their members will not move coal from the pit heads, while the seamen's union is refusing to operate coastal traffic and will prevent imports. Such support is welcome and important, but the damage has already been done in that huge stocks of coal have already been delivered.

The most important active suploss in revenue of £10m.-£12m. could the Transport and General Workers threaten the viability of some pits, and the General and Municipal should not be ignored. Employers Workers, on the spot. There is no always use these arguments and doubt that if this sort of solidarity when all else fails they use the threat was given, the coalminers would of lost jobs to coerce men into soon gain a victory over the Coal Board and the Government. Both The coalminers' strike affects the the trade union leaders and the

Such action will be illegal by the end of February when the Industrial Relations Act, outlawing sympathy strikes, comes into force. However, there are other clauses, which are in operation now, whereby such action could lead to prosecution.

Although the demands are economic, the strike itself is political and affects all who work for wages. What must be borne in mind, however, is that although this dispute may end in gaining the demands of the union, such increases will be lost later in higher rents and prices.

STILL TRUE TODAY

'Miners, how long do you intend to work for wages under the control of a master? How long do you, grown men, intend to have your work arranged for you like school boys? How long do you intend to have all you produce taken right away from you and a pitiful sum of money, worth half or a third as much, given you in return? How long are you going to be made fools of by the wage system?

'Strike, not for any petty gain; not to maintain or even slightly increase your present wages; strike for the abolition of wage-slavery. Until workmen are their own employers there must and will be a constant recurrence of industrial war.'

The points raised in a leaflet pro- *Others have put this figure at 21m. tons.

APRENA home between £13-£15 for a flat week. The basic wages range from the Coal Board, Mr. Ezra, emphasising that the strike would be a gangs' could refuse to move the fuel stocks. This would put their unions,

THE TRIAL will shortly take place, in Rome, of the anarchists accused of having planned and executed surprise terrorist attacks in Italy, on December 12, 1969, which killed 16 people and wounded more than 100.

rages, obviously fascist in origin, which culminated with the attempted massacre prosecution witness had been recognised of April 25, 1969, at Milan. The blame for these outrages was to be put onto the anarchists (those who were chosen were eventually discharged after two in an affair concerning anonymous and years of detention).

tinually more provocative, leading to The counsel for the defence charged battles with workers in Turin and Milan. Calabresi with suborning the witnesses Result—one dead.

August 1969, this time in trains, new one of the men came out from inaccusations were levelled against the terrogation with a fracture, one can anarchists (Pinelli, an anarchist railway- understand how these confessions were man, was also to be accused; it has extracted. The examination of defendsince been proved that the outrages were ants was led by the same policemen perpetrated by fascists but those res- who had previously been involved with ponsible have been granted provisional Pinelli.

ploded in Milan and Rome. A witchhunt ensued. The bourgeois press and parliamentarians helped to whip this up. days of illegal interrogation, Pinelli mediately after was announced the

apprehension of the 'wild beasts' and 'assassins', the anarchists they had chosen.

We would do well to remember, however, that the investigation was conducted by the same Commissioner Calabresi with whose help Pinelli 'killed In 1969 there began a series of out- himself on December 15. It should also be made clear that the principal by the public prosecutor himself as 'a hysterical and inveterate liar'. This man, Zublena, had already been involved defamatory letters and the judge had The attitude of the police was con- then described him as a 'mental deficient'. and Calabresi with false evidence. More-The Right hysterically pleaded for over the prosecution took its stand on the 'confessions' of the defendants. A new series of outrages began in but if one thinks about the fact that

When one of these gave himself away Finally on December 12 bombs ex- during the trial, the presiding judge (a right-winger), sent him from the court.

It should also be mentioned that on December 7, 1969, the Guardian and It was in this climate that, after three the Observer published the famous secret documents which were reports of Greek committed 'suicide' (read 'thrown') by espionage revealing that the outrages means of a window on the third floor of April 25 had been planned by the of the Milan police headquarters. Im- Greek Government and carried out by Continued on page 2

The Sickness of the State

communicate the most fatal diseases.

Like a hypochondriac fearing the onslaught of germs, the terrified State isolates itself from all possible contagion, shrinks away from suspicious contacts, its activities.

in a sweat.

pected to recover, but every illness of some day! this kind renders them never quite the

IF THERE IS such a thing as peace in Ulster. For some months now, it has told, a blazing torch to kindle once and the world (war of some kind seems to been obvious that the BBC has been subbe going on between States constantly) ject to pressure on the presentation of for the States it is a condition of para- news and views from Ulster [see 'Censors noia or, at best, hypochondria. States at the BBC'-FREEDOM, second issue of are always worried by the fear of being January]. Whether with this in mind, or brought low by some attack, of some whether the BBC did not realize how far virus wreaking havoc with its complex the mere hint of a germ of truth was unsystem. For these drastic diseases it only desirable, the BBC pushed ahead with severe. The germs of truth about the knows drastic remedies, surgical oper- its idea for a 'Tribunal' on Ulster. Know- Vietnam war had scarce abated when a ations and purges. As in the human ing the usual absurd gift the BBC has new plague of the truth about America's body, the body politic known as the for balancing a subject so thoroughly attitude in the Pakistan-India war hit the state has its greatest enemy in the that no impression of truth remains, it elected government and their non-elected minutest organisms which it fears can was forecast that this programme would advisers. It was disclosed that America be the usual on 'the one hand this and favoured 'Pak' (to use their usual unthe other hand that' chat.

great all-time neurotic of the newspaper one can think of is a pin-ball machine, world, went wild about the prospect of so much for international diplomacy). and a prophylactic barrier surrounds all such a TV programme. This was taken This story was leaked by Jack Anderson up by the more psychopathic press and of the Washington Post, whose stories, The deadly germ it shrinks from is eventually the Unionist Government said we are told, are generally to be found 'the truth' or 'the disclosure of official they would have nothing to do with it, on the same page as the 'funnies'. It was secrets', which amounts to the same thing. and anything Mr. Faulkner had recorded such a bombshell that Mr. Anderson One attack of this disease, even in its about Northern Ireland had nothing to made the front page. mildest form, is sufficient to send up the do with the programme. The IRAs (Pro- It is easy to see why States hate the temperature of the State, agitate its visional and Official) were, of course, truth. A full dose of it would be fatal to heartbeats, chill its blood or bring it out excluded. Mr. Callaghan, that well-known them. They prefer their usual state of Welsh-Irishman, was ill and unable to sickness, of paranoia, of hypochondria. We have seen in the last fortnight two take part, so a compromise was reached, the attraction of war is that it makes it major States, Britain and the US, in the and the voice of Harold Wilson was possible, legal and seemingly morally throes of such sickness. They are ex- heard in the land, it could be an alibi justifiable, to suppress any outbreaks of

This partial glimpse of 'the Truth' was totalitarian states need enemies, in order same again. Indeed the fear of such an enough to send the lethargic Mr. Maud- that they may justifiably suppress this attack recurring is a sickness in itself. . . . ling into fits of deploring the BBC's disease of liberty. War is the health of With Britain the attack was brought relaying such a programme, which would the State. It is our function to see that on by the mild proposal of the BBC to not help matters in Ulster. But this pro- the State is not too healthy. have a 'Tribunal' on the situation in gramme was not, so we unviewers were

forever the revolutionary flickers that are Ulster. It preceded no Protestant or Catholic pogrom.

But the mere hint of a germ of truth was sufficient to bring on Mr. Maudling's sneeze (or is it sleeping-sickness?).

The United States' bout was more dignified reference) in the war and would However, the Daily Telegraph, the 'tilt' toward Pakistan (the only reference

the truth that may happen. That is why

JACK ROBINSON.

State Murder!

PINELLI MURDERED . . .

VALPREDA INNOCENT . . .

Demonstration outside Italian Embassy on Sunday, January 16. March from Speakers' Corner at 2 p.m. Help needed for Leafletting, Fly-Posting, Stickering. Contact ORA, 68 Chingford Road, Walthamstow, E.17.

The Morality of the Ruling Class

Marine Scheyka really happened at the end of World War I. It is a story which repeats and will repeat itself over and over again, sometimes in this, sometimes in another version. World War II saw the same stories taking place the world over.

Scheyka in that of the Dutch Sergeant- was crawling. He just didn't know what Major and the name of the highest to do with it, fed up as he felt with German in command to that of a certain everything, sick of the lice, the gas, Dutch General, about whom, some years the gunfire, of the shooting at boys from ago, some rumours spread . . . in this East Ham or Manchester whom he matter, names don't mean much. What never met and who hadn't done him any really counts is the morality of the harm. He threw the rest of his warriorrulers, of those who speak so much belongings in some latrine, changed his about the morality of others. It is also pointed helm for his cap, and got on an old and sad story, but always fresh his way on a venture across the trenches in this way as long as there are rulers and shell craters right to the north, and dominated and wars carried on by the direction of the Holland - Belgian the latter for the benefit of the former.

The story isn't long in time. It began

of Berlin.

On that day Marine Scheyka threw his rifle in the mud of Flanders' fields, in It is up to you to change the name which he, God knew for how long, frontier.

On the whole German west front line

THE FOLLOWING STORY about the on October 21, 1918, and ended at the there would hardly be found any soldier sentenced to death. The spoken verdict same moment in which the rebelling or marine damning Scheyka for so was confirmed by the Commanding Admarines of Kiel in their red-flagged doing. If one had asked their opinion miral of the 1st Marine Corps. The trucks rode at the break of dawn through about it, they surely would have shrugged the 'Brandenburger Tor' right to the heart their shoulders, answering that anyway the war was lost. And surely many of them would have secretly envied Scheyka, nursing the same thoughts of following Scheyka's footsteps. Didn't they do so a fortnight after that just the same as Scheyka did at that particular

> It's obvious that Scheyka didn't care all the others. at all about the honour and glory of the monocled officers and the class-status of the Prussian Junkers. It didn't occur to him that he was committing something exactly the same hour that Scheyka died, by which that class-status could be that Kaiser stood on the same spot endangered, having other worries on his where Scheyka some days before had mind during the days and nights he tried to get over the frontier. There marched through the bombed areas, was one difference, the Kaiser got over sleeping in shell craters, and everywhere it, accomplishing in this what Scheyka begging for food.

> And during the last night of that period of Prussia and Emperor of the German he must even have been very close to Empire got quite a lot of cursing behind his aim. He must have seen at a him on his way to Holland. distance of a hundred yards the Dutch of them discovered Scheyka, called him with it. a deserter and arrested him.

On November 6, 1918, Scheyka came up on trial before the drumhead courtmartial and the same day he was

execution of the verdict was ordered for November 9 and the next morning, very early, Scheyka died somewhere in Flanders' fields before a firing squad.

Apparently Marine Scheyka, whose life story ended so suddenly, became one of the millions of victims of imperialism, but on the other hand there was one little thing that distinguished him from

At the top of the verdict, read to Scheyka before he was shot, was printed: 'Im Namen des Königs und Kaisers'. And had failed to do, paying for that failure For a fortnight Scheyka was lucky. with his life. And His Excellency, King

With the verdict spoken in the name guards, thinking that after all he would of His Excellency, was also the verdict make it. At that moment fate fell on spoken over the King and Emperor and him. Here near the frontier he wasn't of the whole social system of which he alone in these fields, there were still was the exponent. At the same time others who either didn't want to give it was the verdict over every system their lives to more glory and honour based on power, over every ruling class of the Prussian Officers' Corps but rather and its arrogance. It's a pity the verdict preferred that others die for it. They was executed on the person of Scheyka were called 'Feldgendarmen' and one and that the ruling class got away

> Translated from the Dutch ('Daad en Gedachte' -Amsterdam, Nov., 1971) by Antoon Brenders.

'Ooooooo Bop Sh'ham'

given. My appeal for magazines and pamphlets for review was answered by Comrade Jeff Cloves, who promptly sent to me his new magazine, '0000000 BOP SH'BAM', a magazine of poetry and rock music-well produced, intelligent, lively and literate.

can't comment overmuch on the rock/pop music scene and, quite frankly, I loathe loud, electrically produced noises. For my own part, I would have liked to have seen a bit more on folk music and on politics, art, etc.

But, of the poetry content, I can have no great criticism. Poems by Jeff Cloves himself include the simple and moving 'girl who fell in love with scott fitzgerald' . . . 'there was this girl / fell in love with scott fitzgerald / just by reading / "tender is the night" / who wept / at the thought of his death'. Dave Cunliffe delights with his 'Five Turned-On Pigs', of whom my favourite is the hilarious Inspector Gaylord who 'frequents public lavatories / on duty in full regulation blue suited drag'.

first edition, then Jeff has got, in this reviewer, a reader for life.

The same post brought Jeff's newest contribution to the world of lively literature—his book of poems, songs, photographs, drawings and collage. Entitled, 'And this may just be heaven',

A SK, THEY SAY, and thou shalt be it's a collection of material previously published in a wide range of revolutionary and underground journals. For pleasure given—at a derisory 20p—this is one of the best things I've come across for many moons.

> 'Can there be harm,' asks Jeff, 'in a man who sings to the moon / who falls to his knees / to speak to the shadow of a cat.' I sense a genuineness, a warmth, in Jeff's work . . . the simplicity of his poems leaves a lasting impression.

'they are going to have a party / at the old poets home / but some of the poets refuse to attend / and have taken to their beds / they complain of tiredness 7 and can no longer face the world / of songs and celebration / we think the change of routine / upsets them / but they are ashamed to admit

If issue No. 2 is anything like this Although produced on the inevitable gestetner, this little book's appearance enhances the work within. One of the nicest Xmas presents I've had this year.

Available at 20p (including post) from Jeff Cloves, 5 Manor Road, St. Albans, Herts., or from Freedom Bookshop.

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

WORKERS FIGHT POLICE

A T CASTELLAMMARE (near Naples) 30 were wounded, one fatally, in clashes occurring when workers rioted because the local council reduced their pay. A car was set on fire, stones were thrown and a youth, wounded in the eye by a tear-gas bomb, is dying. Police arrested 23 people.

The dying boy (killed by the police) is 16. His name is Gaetano Rapicono. Police fired a gas-canister into his left eye, blinding him and fracturing his

Riots began when police attacked workers employed by the corporation

protesting because the 'public assessor' cut their pay for the second half of October from 3,500 lire per day to 2,100 lire, because it was impossible to find the money.

Police fired tear-gas to disperse a crowd, which replied by setting fire to corporation vehicles.

Eleven police were wounded and three local-government officials, and one policecommissioner.

> La Stampa, 4 November, 1971. Translated S.M.

We ain't no Supermen

backs, New York).

were all 'nihilists' and denied the value of life. It was really an attack on the a gentle puritan, like Godwin, you are point of view of a man of the Left.

are cranks, poets, adventurers and aristo- Henry Morgan and Genghis Khan for crats. They do not care about the all I know, why not? At this rate everycommon man and his need for security, thing is like everything else, and we and consequently they are doomed to wander away into a fog. All is maya, failure. The common man knows how illusion. . . Om. . . . Om. . . . his bread is buttered.

which are bound to be defeated.

Marxists who have set up murderous ascetics nor supermen. We are most of tyrannies in various parts of the world. us not all that keen on Nechayev or Their practicality and concern for the Rubin. We are not Dostoevskyan 'Idiots'. common man resulted in millions of saints or martyrs. We have no illusions times more deaths than were brought about human behaviour, which we prefer about by anarchist idealism and anarchist to speak about rather than 'human bombs.

crankiness.

'Anarchism speaks no simple dialect;

SUPERMAN AND COMMON MEN, it rants, in the language of the possessed, Freedom, Anarchy and the Revolution, of redemption through nihilism, rebirth by Benjamin R. Barber (Praeger Paper- through sacrifice. It commences mildly enough with the ascetic rationalism of a Godwin asking only that men contain IT IS DEPRESSING to read this book. their passion and "propagate their All the old attacks on the anarchists species, not because a certain sensible are trotted out all over again. Some pleasure is annexed to this action, but twenty years ago or so a popular writer because it is right that the species should called Robert Payne published a book be propagated", and that the "manner attacking 'nihilism', and it was given a in which they exercise this function . . . sarcastic review in Freedom. He attacked be regulated by the dictates of reason the anarchists, the Nazis and pretty well and duty". It culminates in Nechayev's everything, even the ancient Romans renunciation of everything save the were dragged in, on the ground that they revolution: "Surpass Thyselves O Men!"

You can't win either way. If you are modern world, the post-Second World wrong, and if you are a fiery Nechayev War world at any rate, from the point (who was not an anarchist, but never of view of a man of the Right. Mr. mind), you are wrong also. And you are Barber does the same thing from the very like each other. And you also resemble Bakunin and Jerry Rubin and Mr. Barber believes that anarchists Emile Henry and Charles Manson, and

The pity of it is that the author makes The anarchist, we are told, is an im- pertinent criticisms of the preciousness practical idealist, who urges people to of some aspects of the current youth renounce the joys of life, to 'transcend revolt, nor is all that he says of the themselves' and so on, and then switches anarchists unfair. But he begins in such over to urging them to wild revolts a silly way that one loses patience with him right at the start.

Nothing is said of the practical We are for the most part neither nature', a static, religious concept. The Robert Payne technique is used, would say that I wish the author could which consists of linking things together meet some anarchists in order to find which in fact have no connection, in out the truth about them, but I fear it order to create an impression of general would be useless. Prejudices once formed are almost unshakable.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

The Paris Commune

Dear Comrades,

In his review of the new English edition of Bakunin's The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State produced by CIRA (August 21), Peter Newell referred to the previous English edition produced by Guy A. Aldred. I did not mention that edition in my note to the CIRA edition because I did not want to criticise either Guy Aldred, who did so much for the revolutionary movement in this country, or his translator Karl Lahr (later known as Charlie Lahr), who also did so much and was still alive. However, since Peter Newell has mentioned it and since Charlie Lahr has died (as

Donations

PRESS FUND

December 30, 1971-January 5, 1972 inc. Min., USA: J.W.C. £4; Harrow: N.W. 50p; Hamburg: P.B. £2; Stroud: A.J. 50p; Frankfurt: H.B. £1; Leeds: T.B. 13p; Bolton: D.P. £2; Exeter: J.D. 50p; Bronx, NY: In Memory of Joseph Spivak, H.S. £10; Belfast: J.T. £2; Cambridge: R.C. £4; Llanrwst: M.B. 90p; Kirkby: M.C. 25p; Isleworth: L.K.W. £1; Tunbridge Wells: B.L. £5; Norfolk: J.B. 50p; Glasgow: J.M.B. £1; Scunthorpe: E.L.H. 50p; London, E.11: L.R. 50p; New Hampshire, USA: J.S. £1; New York, USA: P.A. £1; Leighton Buzzard: F.C. £1; Ilford: A.G. £1; Peterborough: F.W. £1; Wolverhampton: J.L. £1.20; J.K.W. 30p; Graz, Poland: G.A. £1; Blakeney: issues. J.G. 20p; Wolverhampton: B.C.L. £2.85; Norfolk: M.G. £5; Liverpool: J.C. 50p; Leics.: H.V.B.C. 25p; Hitchin: L.A. £1; St. Cloud, USA: M.G.A. £22.20; Birmingham: G.C. 25p.

TOTAL: £77.03

reported by J.R., also on August 21), old translation-which was first printed as 'Communism and the State' in Aldred's paper The Herald of Revolt (March to July 1913), and was reprinted as 'The Commune, the Church and the State' in Aldred's collection Bakunin's Writings (Indore: Modern Publishers [1948], pp. 44-64)—was not only 'shortened' and inaccurate and difficult to get hold of; whereas the new translation by Geoff Charlton is complete, accurate, and readable, and also easy to get hold of, either from the Freedom Bookshop or direct from CIRA.

NICOLAS WALTER.

CIRA, 134 Northumberland Road, North Harrow, Middlesex, HA2 7RG, England.

LETTER I should like to make it clear that the 'written in somewhat stilted English', as Peter Newell says, but was also

into account by the examining magistrate. Therefore this trial didn't in any way strike the revolutionary movement a blow, on the contrary it demonstrated the extremely unsophisticated nature of the political and legal plot mounted by the 'Democratic State'.

the Italian fascists. This was not taken

Continued from page 1

VALPREDA

The attempt to push back the revolutionary left with the bombings of April 25 failed hopelessly. The workers did not allow themselves to be deceived by the accusations and speeches which were so apparently untrue. The struggle continued to grow in the factories. The autumn, as forecast, was marked by a great many strikes and huge, threatening, demonstrations.

The Right continued to lose more ground, as much in its political designs as in its economic hopes. The Government crises which followed from the summer onwards, coming thick and fast in succession, obliged the reactionaries to accelerate their disruptive plans, then in preparation for some time.

In September the beginnings of a 'coup d'etat' were created. The bosses and fascist press insisted on the dissolution of parliament. In October and November terrorist attempts were intensified - conducted by groups of apolitical hirelings in the pay of the small and medium bourgeois, who hoped to see the situuation lead to 'a strong government'. One can compare the situation to that of 1922 which consequently led to fascism.

This 'strategy of pressure' set in motion with the explicit aim of blocking the student movement and the very much more dangerous explosion of the workers' demands, which was then in full swing.

At the same time, the number of strikes which the employers and their traditional middle-men, the unions, could no longer prevent, began to increase. At Pirelli the workers went on strike till the bitter end. So as not to be overwhelmed the unions mobilised five million workers for the renewal of contracts.

Again, at the beginning of December the political and economic right-wing forces begged for a Presidential Republic like that of De Gaulle.

All the police bodies were in a state of alarm. The fascists talked of 'civil war', clamoured for military measures, and prepared themselves. In the Army could be heard a certain favourable response to armed intervention.

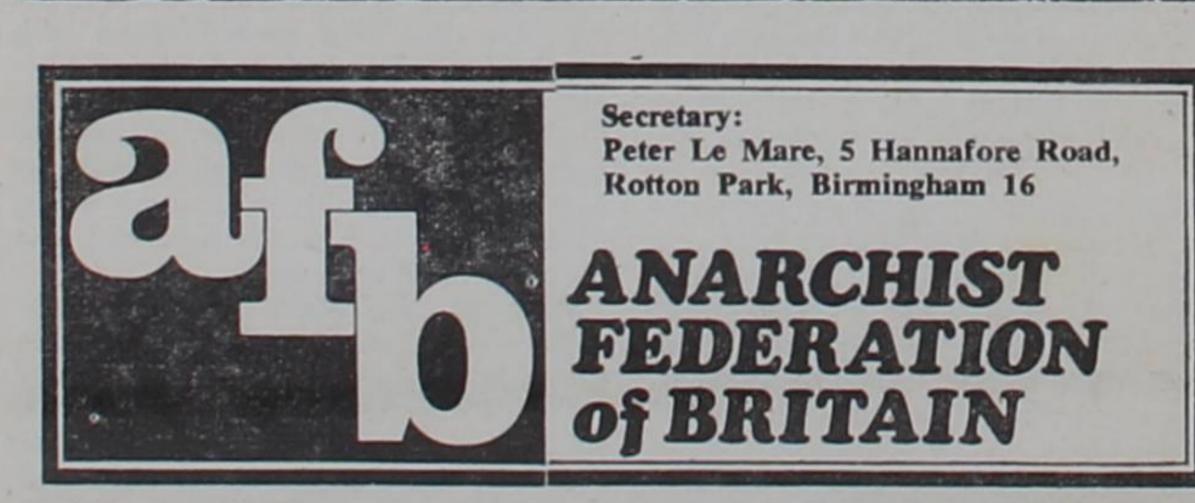
Abroad the press spoke of a militaryfascist 'coup d'etat'. The head of the Confindustria spoke in thinly-veiled terms of the suppression of the parliamentary system and of a single-party state.

The day before the outrages a meeting of Secret Service and Army officers took place.

On the day of the outrages, a tew minutes after the explosion at the Autel de la Paone, the streets in the centre of Rome were inundated with leaflets and posters denouncing the 'anarchist terrorists'. Hardly any time had passed before the Police Commissaries of Rome and Milan accused Valpreda and his comrades.

Hundreds of anarchist militants were arrested and every method was employed to extract accusations against Valpreda from them.

As for Valpreda, like Pinelli in Milan, he was persecuted for months by the police, who at all costs wanted him to endorse the outrages of April 25 and August 8, although it was henceforth public knowledge that the bombs had been planted by the Italian fascists in the service of the Greek colonels.



AFBIB-To all Groups.

Next issue of AFBIB will be run off in Birmingham. Send material to Secretary, Peter Le Mare. Also needs offers of help from Groups to bring out further

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

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

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

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham.

Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.) Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom. Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9L.

Manchester: Mat Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsely, Lancs. Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.

Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press. The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA. S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.

University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Marc.

Leafletting in Ireland

WE DIVIDED into four groups—three by a staff sergeant for proof of identity, of four and one of five—after a and then told to 'go with the corporal' belated briefing meeting (it had been delayed owing to security raids on the office we were to have met in, and on our contacts-probably coincidence-but . . . three of which went to local barracks and the larger one to the town centre.

We were matched as far as we could be according to age, sex and experience. Of the three groups of four, half of each were to go in and see the commanding officers and try to get into conversation with them, and to take any opportunity that they might get to leastet while inside. The other two were to patrol round the barracks, leafletting any soldier they came across.

My group consisted of Bill Hetherington, Barbara Sheehy, and John Hunt; our barracks-Hastings-was the nearest to where we met, and was on the border between the Protestant and the Catholic slums. (Bill said that the famous gable and wall mural of 'Billy crossing the Boyne' was just round the back.) We reached the barracks long before the others, so I was asking to go in as others were passing us on the way to leaflet, and was let in very soon after.

I was shown into a guard room, asked

A T A TIME when 'revolutionary' pub-

and more people are accepting the need

for revolutionary change in our society

it is not surprising that there is a boom

in the so-called 'anti-communist' publish-

Stewart-Smith, Conservative MP for Bel-

per, is one example. The magazine

was started in 1965 and it is now pub-

lished fortnightly. Stewart-Smith also

finds time to be a director of Foreign

Affairs Publishing Co. Ltd. (the pub-

lishers of the magazine) and the Financial

Times, and also to be what he describes

as a 'financial public relations consultant'.

Although, as the name of the publishing

company suggests, East-West Digest was

originally concerned with foreign policy

it has now turned its attention towards

what the editorial in the first issue in

1972 describes as the 'enemy within'.

Revolutionary socialists, Trotskyists, an-

archists and syndicalists are all lumped

together with the Communist Party and

described as 'an arm of hostile, alien

totalitarian powers'. In fact, anyone

who dares to suggest that the capitalist

system of exploitation and our 'demo-

cratic' political system are anything but

perfect are defined as 'enemies of free-

dom'. The magazine generously admits,

although with obvious regret, that the

Much is made of the CP tactics of

taking-over and manipulating trade

unions. Anarchists are only too well

aware of these tactics of the Communists

and other Marxists: we have exposed

their lust for power and their com-

promises at the expense of workers'

struggles for over 100 years. However,

Industrial Relations Act in his back

pocket to shed crocodile tears about

the freedom of the unions.

holding of such beliefs is not illegal.

East-West Digest, edited by Geoffrey

ing business.

lications are proliferating and more

Reds under Beds

who I assumed was an orderly corporal going to lead me to a senior officer if not the commanding officer though since later I heard the staff sergeant and other sergeants call this same corporal 'sir' and stand to attention before appearances might have been deceptive. The corporal went off somewhere and the sergeant who had given over charge of the guard room was left to guard me.

At first the staff sergeant wouldn't take a leaflet, but when the corporal returned he and a number of his sergeant colleagues all came asking for copies 'for their files and their friends' files'—they must have a lot of files and I had a more or less open debate then with about 20 NCOs.

By then, apparently, people had been told that I was detained in the barracks, by the commanding officer, whom I was hoping to see.

I was collected by two RUC officers (i.e. they had rank on their shoulders not arms, but I didn't note what rank) saying they were taken me over to another office to see the man I wanted. I was kept in that other office in the Hastings until about 3.30 and then taken up to the Gird-

It seems likely that the main sources

of information are the Morning Star

and Workers' Press. In fact, some of

the claims made on behalf of the

Socialist Labour League are so ridiculous

that one suspects that the SLL has a

PR man working on the maxim 'there's

no such thing as bad publicity' directly

informed about anarchist and syndicalist

activity or, as is more likely, the in-

formation does not fit in with the great

'Communist conspiracy' campaign. Apart

from the AFB and SWF being listed

as 'virulent subversives' we get only

one other mention, and then as the

'revolutionary left', the editorial says:

'Some are well-established Trotskyite

bodies with excellent international con-

tacts while others like the Angry Brigade

are a mere handful of well-publicised

anarchists who would not appear to be

part of an organised conspiracy.' Per-

haps someone should tell the hacks

of the gutter press? Not surprisingly

East-West Digest shares the same authori-

tarian assumptions about centralism,

discipline and leaders as its Leninist

opponents. An article about dissensions

amongst 'subversive groups' by one Harry

Welton states with relief that 'the pros-

pect of their ever uniting into one

disciplined and centrally directed revo-

lutionary force is so unlikely that it

write to East-West Digest, Church House,

Petersham, Richmond, Surrey. At £5

a year it is rather an expensive laugh

but I suspect that it will achieve great

circulation amongst CP and SLL mem-

TERRY PHILLIPS.

If you would like a free specimen copy

can be discounted'.

it ill becomes a Tory MP with the bers eager to bolster their delusions of

grandeur.

The magazine is either very poorly

feeding the subversive-hunters!

wood (where all the rooms are covered in that sound-proofing polystyrene with holes. which was a little scaring) and was there until 5.30. I was then brought back to Hastings, greeted from the jeep by a plainclothes RUC man of sufficient rank to walk happily into an inspector's room saying

'This seems the best place we can use, sorry it's rather scruffy'; this bod was either a bloody good actor or-per impossibile—a decent copper. Half an hour later he released me (the demo was confined to hours of light and

had ended at 4.00); amongst other things

he said was that one of his over-zealous subordinates had ordered the arrest of 'all your friends . . . and I had to intervene to release them' which rather suggests that London or Stormont was consulted as to the political advisability of L.O.

FURTHER

'Irish Action' will be holding a meeting of Volunteers to consider further action to be held at 'Peace News', 5 Caledonian Road, N.W., on Sunday, January 16, at 2.30 p.m. The group has little or no resources and fares, etc., are heavy. Sponsorship is needed. Volunteer help, financial and otherwise, is needed. Cash or open postal orders only to

> Irish Action. c/o 151 Dartmouth Park Hill. London, N.19.

Stop that Gar-i

The Editors,

So the Young Liberals had to take the lead, Davids against the Goliath Car! The article, Stop That Car (25.12.71) was indeed long overdue, at least in an anarchist paper. It must be obvious to any intelligent observer that the automobile is the major social menace of our time, so why has this dreadful problem never been really faced up to in FREEDOM? Is it partly because so many anarchists are motorists, and like millions of others, can't bear to give up their personal four-wheeled transport?

Certainly the Iolly is a main motivation of the anti-human car industry, but let's face it, especially as regards the 'working man', so is snobbery and statussymbolism. Possession of this artefact indeed can give him a feeling of classequation extremely useful in upholding the present system and diverting revolutionary impulses. One current result of this mechanical infatuation is that although a terrific outcry can be evoked by the admittedly deplorable isolated child-murder, there's an apathetic general acceptance of the wholesale infant roadslaughter-in 1970, 85,000 pedestrian casualties, of which 39,698 were children.

'Freedom' of course, is still The Word. Yet how strangely limited is the public demand for that most elementary of human freedoms, the right to walk abroad in gentle safety! How much support, for instance, does the valiant little Pedestrians' Association (and remember, dirty word though it has become, we are Angry Brigade stereotype. Discussing the all pedestrians) get from the Protesting Left? Or from anarchists? The chief reason for the worsening of public transport, as the writer points out, is the utterly unpractical increase in private transport. It's difficult to see how the Gadarene rush can now be halted except by sheer weight of numbers, or a complete economic breakdown. Decidedly not by the will of the 'people'. Well, as 'they' say, the car is here to stay. It's the machine-age, and you mustn't fret, dear, if it all ends up with a nice computer take-over of homo sapiens!

In the meantime the clash of the cash registers covers the funeral march of the motor-vehicle victims. Motorist or pedestrian, every time you go out these days you're liable to be killed or maimed, something which does not apply to any other social evil denounced in FREEDOM. In these desperate circumstances, the writer, as one of those present on the previous occasion, is willing to follow the lead of the Oxford Street demonstrators. What about others?

> Fraternally, K. LAMB.

Dear Comrades,

The recent campaign to try and close Oxford Street for one day's Christmas shopping (if that was the aim of the exercise) was a nice idea, but utterly irrelevant to anarchism. Surely the best way to rid streets of pollution is to campaign for a free and efficient public transport system. This would make all car owners (including myself) think twice about keeping their cars and it would certainly keep the centre of London reasonable. It would also be a small step towards a free society and can therefore properly be termed revolutionary.

Reformist campaigns like this one, the result of which would only be an increase in the number of consumer goods sold in Oxford Street, should be left to Young Liberals and their friends.

'FREEDOM Reporter' quotes the policeman who said, 'I agree with what they from the anarchist point of view to are trying to do but if they can close attempt to channel the anger aroused by down Oxford Street without permission the treatment of Prescott and Purdie ANARCHY where will it stop?' The answer is not in into developing a wider revolutionary revolution, as our comrade seems to be- movement, in depth, and into looking lieve (at the end of his article he urges at other ways of attacking the State. us to follow the lead of these reformists). Ink has already shown one possible apa bit of legislation telling the motorist history of anarchism is full of lessons that he could not use the city centre at in resistance. certain hours. Our friend spends much time abusing the car ('this evil thing')

and asserting that 'everyone is sick of it'. The car was a brilliant invention and it is merely the economic system that enforces the abuse of most inventions.

Fraternally,

THOMAS EARL. This letter should have been published in our last issue as it was referred to in the article 'Thoughts on Anarchism'-Eds.

Is Property a Conspiracy ?

Dear Comrades,

Donald Olson (revolutionist and Annarcho-Syndicalist) active in the Minnesota region . . . recently has been arrested by agents of the national government. He had previously been brought to trial on charges of conspiracy to destroy government property.

Note: They did not charge him with the fact or event of destroying government property; to the contrary, he was found 'guilty' of CONSPIRACY to destroy

such property.

He is now interred in prison (though I have been unable to find precisely which prison). The sentence is 'flexible' in duration.

Please protest to the American Embassy in London.

Sincerely, JAMES W. CAIN.

Message of the Angry Brigade

Dear Comrades.

N.W. suggests that it is 'no gain (for the State) to play into the hands of the Angry Brigade', and that 'it is total disaster' for what we (anarchists) believe in 'if the essential achievement of the AB is that we are all getting angry'. Well, well!

There is not really a possibility of deciding exactly what the 'message' of the AB is but it might be: 'There is no way in which we can express our opposition to State policies through constitutional channels which will be effective. Politicians hold no real power in our society—the senior civil servants, bankers, industrialists and military are not within the constitutional control of ordinary people. In taking our actions we take every precaution to safeguard life, we are not terrorists, our aim is to wake people up-shake them into an awareness of what is happening in our society. We seek a blast into people's consciousness as with a vigorous work of art.

'Anger is not everything, it is not the only emotion we are trying to arouse. But it is mistaken to contend that "what is needed is argument not anger". This is to confuse revolutions with resolutions. What is needed is anger and argument. Revolution is the winning of hearts as well as minds.

'The word is mightier than the sword is matched by the saying that actions speak louder than words. The real work of revolution is not dramatic explosions -but we maintain that Androcles requires the roar of the lion, that revolution involves emotional stimulus, that the force of the State can only be overcome by a greater force.'

From this message it is perhaps wisest The probability is that it would lead to proach with a piece on sabotage and the

Fraternally,

DRAKE.



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order helps. What is Class Consciousness

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in Engineering

POUR MONTHS AGO a dispute took as official. place at the small engineering firm of Millingfords & Sons. The dispute took place over the employment of a 14-year-old schoolboy on a machine. The fifty-odd employees protested vigorously. and formed a works committee after joining the AUEW en masse. The committee was promptly made 'redundant' by a frightened management. Another committee was formed. They were sacked immediately.

At a mass meeting the 'majority' of workers decided to come out and have been on strike for the last four months. After being in dispute for two weeks, the 'union' belatedly 'recognized' the dispute

The strike has now become a fight for union recognition and a fight to get the 'authorities' to prosecute the firm for employing 'child' labour.

A demonstration took place recently, organised by local trade unionists, in order to show their solidarity with their comrades on strike. This strike is important for the workers in the engineering industry. Should they win, it will be a lesson for all the small sweat-shop engineering firms who exploit workers in appalling conditions. A great many firms are watching this strike (nervously), let's hope their fears are well grounded?

AUEW MEMBER, WIGAN.

MY APOLOGY to readers for the long delay in resuming this weekly column delay in resuming this weekly column. From now to the time I go to prison (explanation at foot of this week's effort) I shall endeavour to write every week. I am also engaged in writing a novel 'Return of the Pagans' which has as its basic theme the repossession by ordinary people of a co-operative, guilt-free and loving existence—a repossession from those forces which have alienated mankind from what I believe to be its birthright. This week, instead of the usual commentary on matters of social justice and general anarchist activity, there is a summary of a talk given by me at Mansfield College, Oxford, on January 3. This paper, entitled 'People - Squares or Circles', was part of a week-long residential course for students of Hatfield Polytechnic. The general theme was 'Freedom and Control'. Originally I was invited because of my advocacy of psychedelic drugs in personality development and the conflict between such a position and the laws of the land. The paper's scope is somewhat wider, however, but I think it only right to make it clear at reasonable and legitimate difference of in establishing their rule over much of opinion on the matter. But it is one that should be discussed. The government would have, under its latest enactments, discussion and advocacy suppressed. It already punishes very severely those who exercise the right to indulge.

People—Squares or Circles?

This paper is largely concerned with personality development, how certain forces in the world are hostile to it because of their own self-interest and/or their profound misunderstanding of the individual human. The controversial issue -the use of LSD and other psychedelic drugs-is raised because I believe they are valuable instruments in aiding individuals to realise their full potential and in understanding their nature. This is no claim that the individual could not develop such powers unaided. But, in a world where almost everyone is subjected to authoritarian and moralistic indoctrination from the very cradle we should at least carefully investigate ways of breaking away from such patterns of conditioning.

In speaking of people as squares and circles I am using a simple analogy. The concept of the individual as a square is to see him or her in an authoritarian environment where obedience to laws and institutions is presumed as the natural order for everybody with the possible exception of the rulers. The concept of the individual as a circle is to see him or her as an autonomous being who best flourishes in a free society, with the conclusion that every suppression of freedom results in harm, firstly, to the individual and, secondly, to society. The history of past societies is largely a narrative of power changes and wars, where the ordinary individual is not considered important. We are, I believe, at the

intransigent?

THIS WORLD

the individual is becoming less confident in authority, less willing to fight government's wars, less ready to accept that the role for him or her is obedience. That there is an increasing and evident lack of respect for law and order is a phenomenon commonly deplored by those in authority. Students and workers clamour for more say in the decisions affecting their lives, increasingly have less confidence in those who claim that they alone should make the decisions.

The First Challenge

The uneven distribution of wealth in society, the dubious origins of the sacred institutions which claim that such inequality is natural and which benefit from such a system of society, are matters which have concerned thinking and necessary to bring about the revolution is to take power out of the hands of the the State machinery to achieve revoluwithstanding their claims in the area of attitude to people as squares has shown no departure from past patterns of authority and obedience.

The Second Challenge

is concerned with the question: WHO MAKES THE DECISIONS? And comes from people who see every individual as a circle. The first principle is humanitarian and, looking at the world as it is, has probably been best put by a poet of the new civilisation, Allen Ginsberg, when he said 'faces of woe and weakness, exquisitely dear'. But the concern for the individual does not lead to a benevolent despotism. Rather it recognises that everyone has great potential for free development. Like a flower the human person will come to full blossom given its share of sunshine, water and nourishment. The food of the soul is freedom. Deprived of such the human never comes to full development and often wilts and fades. In terms of this challenge the answer is simply—that all should share in the decisions affecting their lives. Slogans such as 'power to the people', 'workers' control of industry', 'student power' are all-if clumsily expressed and often misunderstood-concerned with this

The New Civilisation

This Week in Ireland

TWO NEW INTERNMENT camps, leg is enough! I read it all the next day

The old civilisation, conditioned to

commencement of a civilisation where sexual guilt and personal devaluation, brands the new 'The Permissive Society'. Such judgment is superficial and merely reflects the slavish mentality behind previous social norms. At the heart of the new is a profound concern for each person. Its two basic principles are:

> 1. The individual's own personal fulfilment.

2. That we need one another and will find ourselves in one another.

The trend to communes, where all are accepted as equals and where all take part in the decisions affecting the community, is a development of the new civilisation. Its motivation is love.

-are used to describe those who are part in about a week's time: of the movement to the new world. One the outset that I fully realise that many humane people. Those who consider this characteristic which has brought these I have been busted with what eventually anarchists will disagree with my claims the only issue are now to be counted by people into conflict with the authorities may prove to be 1,400 tabs of LSD. for chemicals such as LSD. There is a the million and already have succeeded is their persistence in using psychedelic game and the new 'socialist' rulers, not- new society. I do not propose discussing authoritarian, moralistic society. cannabis in any detail apart from observ-

> Anarchy 3 last year I shall, for the purto an alternative society. poses of this article in FREEDOM, merely say that on the basis of personal experi- as possible to testify in court the beneence and observation I am fully con- ficial effects of acid in their own private vinced that acid is something to be lives. I know that is asking for a lot but approached with reverence and care be- if enough of us do it-and please be sure cause it opens doors in the mind to already by the other signatures with my realms of sensitivity and beauty which name that there is a fair start—it just are largely obscured or perverted in con- might work. Believing in miracles of temporary society. It reveals that, con- course! trary to moralistic teaching, the profound truth in everyone is that he needs to love 40E Holland Road, and be loved. Acid is a love machine in London, W.14 that it turns one on to life and every- Phone: 01-602 4027

thing positive in it . . . people, nature, aesthetics, sensitivity.

In this context doctrines like the Christian one of original sin and man's natural proneness to evil and the consequent need for restraint and authority are plainly blasphemous. Again I do not assert that some can arrive at these truths without acid, I merely say, given the pernicious conditioning of the old society, that the voyage is extremely hard and, in practical terms, out of the question for most. As much has been written about the dangers of LSD-which really are the confusion and perversion in one's mind being brought out into the open-I would now assert that the only real precaution necessary is that one reads carefully the words which should be written or understood on each trip: 'Use only with love'.

Finally

The following is a letter addressed to the underground press. At the moment Many terms—e.g. hippies, heads, freaks it has over 50 signatures and shall be sent Dear Brothers and Sisters.

This is a simple appeal for help and drugs such as cannabis and acid. Were courage. I shall be fighting the case on the world. They assert that all that is I not concerned with advocating them I the basis of no guilty intent, that this is would still be obliged, in studying the a matter of conscience in which I believe people who use them, to make myself acid is a holy sacrament which greatly 'imperialists' and 'capitalists' and to use conversant with the usage and the reasons assists the individual in cleansing himfor it. As it happens I am not impartial self of selfishness and the various million tionary goals. Changing rulers is an old as my lot is already thrown in with the inhibitions bestowed upon us by an

I shall be calling sufficient evidence to materialism and improved living stan- ing that, on all the available evidence, show that I was not motivated by perdards for the people, have proved at it is safer than alcohol and nicotine and sonal profit but lived as an equal in a least as repressive as the old and their a good deal more peaceful and pleasant. commune where the ambition was the As I have already described LSD in growth of communes, giving substance

What I need now is as many people

BILL DWYER.

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

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

Commune, Ramsgate, welcomes visits from potential members (especially with children). Crafts and education bias. Write to P. Ford, 22 Royal Road, Ramsgate, Kent.

AFBIB. There will be no issue of AFBIB this month (January).

Liverpool Anarchist discussions normally held first Sunday in month. Write to 39 Lilley Road, Liverpool, 7, for venue, or ring 263 4890. John Cowan.

'Bella' and other prose pieces by Geoff Charlton. 15p (including post) from the author, Flat 3, 45 Heathfield Road, Birmingham, B19 1HE.

Can any comrades help us out with copies of the following issues of the First Series 'Anarchy', to make up sets: Nos. 2 (Workers' Control); 5 (Spain); 28 (Future of Anarchism); 32 (Crime); and 37 (Why I won't vote). We will pay 25p each if in good condition.

Contact Freedom Press Wanted. N. I. Makhno: 'Vospominaniya', Vols. 2-3 (in Russian), ed. by Volin, Paris 1936, 1937. Good condition. Each vol. \$14. Thomas Fuller, Box 236, East Orleans, Massachusetts 02643, USA.

Living space for single person, or a couple, available at Libertaria from January. Please write or call: 95 West Green Road, London, N.15. 'Phone 01-800 9508.

Visit Paul Pawlowski in Pentonville Prison. Every afternoon 2-3.30 p.m. except Sundays. Paul Pawlowski, 205299, HM Prison Pentonville, Caledonian Road, N.7.

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

News from Denmark

GROUP in Jutland has translated, and published, About Anarchism by Nicolas Walter, and we are planning to translate Homage To Catalonia by George Orwell and Floodgates of Anarchy by Albert Meltzer and Stuart Christie.

Copenhagen JESPER SCHOU.

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1

EVIUH-LHUEMIAKI

anarchists devoid of their own ideas have to steal ours. Some years back we heard that the new thing in Marxist politics-absolutely new-minted and original-was 'Extra-Parliamentary Opposition'. This, initially a coalition between the SDS and other left German groups, was to be non-elitist, non-vanguardist, non-parliamentarian, direct democratic, a mass rank and file controlled direct action movement.

Well, all to the good, anarchism by any other name would smell as sweet and we want no copyright on our ideas; though it does get a little irritating when those who dress in our clothes persist in talking of us as old fashioned

anarchists. The Extra-Parliamentary Opposition of course differed from us in avoiding any firm commitment to a stateless society and remaining agnostic as to whether it wishes to abolish the state at allbut then this is not of course entirely novel, in anarchist circles, for the first few years after the split with Marx, the Anarchist International had a sizeable minority-round Cesar Da Paepe-uncommitted to anarchism. The Charter of Amiens similarly committed the CGT to anarchist organization and methods of activity and to the aim of workers' control but left the issue of the possibility of a socialist state unsettled. Likewise the IWW, and the CNT, contained significant state socialist factions (Big Bill Haywood remaining in the SPA, and the POUM Catalonian membership syndicating in the CNT).

But now the same process is repeated. No longer is the call for a revolutionary though not anarchist - Extra-Parliamentary Opposition; but now we hear Jo Grimond calling for an official opposition, not merely in Parliament, but throughout the country, with opposition civil services (presumably an enlarged National Council of Civil Liberties will provide the oppositional Ministry of Justice, a Shelter-Simon-Squatters alliance will provide the basis for an alternative Housing Ministry).

Grimond's conception bears in some sense the same relationship to the Hippy concept of the Alternative Society that the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition held to classical syndicalism and council communism; but in another sense it does to the E-P O what the E-P O did to anarchism. Taking as much of a revolutionary idea as could be stomached by a wide section of the reformist left,

VOU KNOW it is curious how non- and dressing it up anew to provide it by a curious flight of logic with respectability in the accepted political terminology of the left to which the reformist is appealing. (The E-P O to the Leninists, the official non-parliamentary opposition to Lib-Lab civil libertarians, humane welfare workers, and general opponents of bureaucracy.)

> Where does it leave us? If, for instance, through Grimond any large number of left Liberals should turn to building a more conventional and respectable Alternative Society movement, this would undoubtedly provide new areas for anarchist work, new possibilities of convincing people that a more thoroughgoing critique of the state is necessary. Obviously the idea would have distinct possibilities if it led to the industrial unions setting up not just their own departments of labour, but also of employment, of the Exchequer and so forth; but our union leaders, not even in jest can one imagine that. In the context of the Grimond wing of the Liberals setting up alternative ministries, the demand posed in the unions that the unions do the same, while stillborn if aimed at the bureaucracies, could well serve as a road to appeal to the rank and

L.O.

VOLINE

The Unknown Revolution

(Kronstadt 1921 : Ukraine 1918-21)

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

A few pages have damp-stained margins.

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

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

TV programme on the six counties as needy. there was a fog and the pavements were too wet and slippery for me, with my leg in a cast, to venture out. One broken

shares are owned by the State.

and Italy?

one outside Derry and one at and came to the conclusion that Robert Enniskillen. The general consensus of Cooper was the best speaker with Neill opinion is that Faulkner will now intern Blaney as runner-up. Paisley reverted to women, since it is they who are organis- 'The Pope is anti-Christ' type and made ing the Civil Disobedience and looking a poor showing. The fury of Stormont after the starving families of the in- and the Tories show me that it was an ternees. Was there ever a man so utterly excellent programme, as it must have shown up things to the ordinary not-The unemployed in the 26 counties will involved Britisher, and made him think.

rise to 100,000 by the end of next week, Meanwhile killings and explosions and with Denny's bacon factory in Waterford violence goes on. A huge building in closing, and Urney's, the chocolate O'Connell Street was burned down yestermakers, declaring at least 300 women day, and Derry is swept with fire and redundant. This mass unemployment is, retaliations and lies. Both IRAs have of course, a Government plot, very claimed it was they who shot a soldier, deliberate, to prepare everyone in their which, under the particular circumstances, hunger and despair to vote to go into the I should have thought a matter for shame EEC, when the unemployed will-minus rather than boasting. The SDLP are their families—be shipped to Europe to again demanding an enquiry into the do the lowest-paid and dirtiest jobs. Dr. shooting of Martin McShane, a sixteen-Mansholt, when he was over here, ad- year-old. The various Army stories put mitted only 2% of Irish farms would be out differ and contradict each other and viable in EEC terms. On the other side in point of fact the child was riddled in of the picture, the profits of the top 50 the back with machine-gun bullets. Note, companies in the 26 counties amounted in the back, though the Army swear he last year to £22,000,000, excluding Guin- was shot as he aimed at them. But the nesses'. Profits made from each worker Army is NEVER wrong.

in the five most profitable amounted to a They are now being urged to kill on fantastic £9,031 (R. and H. Hall) to any pretext, for that is what the new £1,345 (Merchants' Warehousing). Of regulations are. Faulkner and Co. will these firms nearly a quarter of their not be content till every non-Unionist is dead or interned both sides of the This is only the beginning, just free- border, yet he cannot win a military trade with Britain. What will it be like victory ever, though he won't see it, and if we have the giants of Germany, France Westminster still wastes millions propping Stormont up, instead of spending I was not able to see the controversial the money on feeding and housing the

One despairs both sides of the border.

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