

THE IRISH SITUATION grows more tragic daily to those who feel and it seems to grow more comic to those who think. Or is it that we seek to laugh because we dare not weep? We have had the crazy situation of the British Government legalizing (in retrospect) all the bastardly acts of their illegally occupied, and occupying, forces. It is as if Hitler had discovered that his racist laws were constitutionally unsound.

Now we see that British panacea for all our ills, a committee, has decided, with a minority report, that in urban guerilla situations the argument from some witnesses for 'humanitarian law' was unrealistic, unfair both to the State and law-abiding citizens. The major part of the committee was Lord Parker and Mr. Boyd Carpenter who go on to say, 'the public emergencies, in which alone we are concerned, though short of war in its ordinary sense, are in many ways worse than war. . . . If information is to be obtained, time must be the essence of the operation.' The minority report by

How Many Turns of the Thumbscrew?

Lord Gardiner, former Labour Lord Chancellor, 'rejected new legislation just as he rejected pressures on prisoners not made legal by legislation' (*The Times*). Lord Gardiner said, 'The blame for the sorry story, if blame there were, lay with those who decided in colonial emergencies [the Labour government?]' 'to abandon our legal, well tried and highly successful wartime interrogation methods, and replace them by procedures which were secret, illegal, not morally justifiable, and alien to the traditions of what I believe still to be the greatest democracy in the world.'

The Times points out that the five techniques investigated—wall-standing, hooding, noise, bread and water diet, and deprivation of sleep—have been used under governments from both sides; they have been used in counter-insurgency operations in Palestine, Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus, the British Cameroons, Brunei, British Guiana, Borneo, the Persian Gulf and Northern Ireland.

Lord Gardiner submitted a minority report and the *Sunday Times* praises what it calls Mr. Heath's 'tactically shrewd' decision to overrule the majority report and ban such methods.

However the *Sunday Times* elsewhere points out that 'interrogation in depth', as it now stands, does not exclude methods of brutality, indeed of electric shocks. So much for the protection of the law.

How can it be coolly calculated how much pressure is necessary to extort information? Is one turn of

the thumbscrew sufficient or would two be necessary—or justifiable? Lord Gardiner's minority report could be nothing more than grandstand play at which he was outplayed by Edward Heath. How much interrogation can a man stand? Violence is supposed to be absent from British police interrogations, but even without this there are Judges' Rules which determine the legality of the cross-questioning. Even the cup of tea and cigarette used in the 'soft-sell' approach are ruled out by Judges' Rules. What of an Irishman interrogated by the Royal Ulster Constabulary?

The findings of the majority report of the committee were that the end justified the means. Lord Gardiner felt that not all means were justified since some of them were not legal, morally justifiable and alien to the traditions of British democracy. How can Lord Gardiner say this now, when such methods were perfectly proper under the Government in which he at one time held office? The Labour Government presided over the 'thumbscrew' ceremonies in Palestine and Malaya at least. Mr. Attlee and his colleagues were committed to the same end as the French in Algeria, as the British Army now does in Northern Ireland, the maintenance of law and order and the preservation for as long as possible of the *status quo*.

General Massu of the Algeria 'paras' rightly complained that the French Government told him what they wanted done, and then complained of the way he did it, which, he argued, was the only way it could

be done. It may be a deception of the military mind to believe that superior force will provide all the answers. It is unquestionable that, faced with the prospects of torture, interrogation, call it what you will, people will lie, 'give away' innocent people or invent plots and organizations, anything to stop this assault on the mind or the body. Some will resist to the end and die rather than

talk. This, too, is a military defeat.

There is no legal way of perpetuating a situation which is not accepted as legal by a substantial and determined minority of the people. Even if illegal methods are made legal to carry it out. This is one of the lessons which the Germans learned in occupied Europe. Britain has yet to learn it in Ireland. J.R.

Squat at Stoke Newington

HELEN VERRARD, mother of six, and three other families squatting in four adjacent houses have a hearing coming up in the High Court on March 9. Hackney Council have applied for an eviction order. All four families have children, but they intend to resist eviction, in spite of the fact that there is a possibility that the Council will use the same kind of strong-arm tactics that were used in Redbridge.

Help is needed, so call round to Grayling Road, and see what you can do—NOW.

There is a need for people to visit the squat and report for 'Freedom'. Maximum publicity is required. By the time this paper appears the hearing at the High Court will have taken place, but whatever happens there it will not be the end of the struggle.

Helen Verrard's address is: 32 Grayling Road, Stoke Newington, N.16.

M.H.

NO REVOLUTION ON CLYDESIDE

THE DECISION to inject £35m into the Govan, Scotstoun and Linthouse division of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders represents a change of policy by the Government. They have realised that the social consequences of unemployment must also be considered and not just the economies of profitability. The fact that '90 per cent of employment in merchant shipbuilding is in areas of high unemployment' must have influenced them. Mr. Heath and his Cabinet must now be grasping the hard political fact that they cannot win the next election unless they tackle the high rate of unemployment.

It must also be added that the 'work-in' on Clydeside has also shown the Government that workers are no longer willing to accept redundancies without a fight. However, in our opinion, their fight was carried out in the wrong manner and for the wrong objectives. The struggle, however, is still a long way from a conclusion since a buyer has still to be found for Clydebank, the fourth shipyard. The American company, Marathon, from Houston, Texas, seems to be the most strongly fancied candidate. The only obstacle at present preventing them from making their oil rigs at Clydebank is a question of money from the Government.

UNIONS NEGOTIATE

It does seem likely, though, that despite all their previous quacking about 'letting lame ducks go to the wall', the Government will rescue this yard for the American company. Although this will keep the vast majority of UCS workers in jobs, it appears that some redundancies will follow. Mr. Davies, Minister for Industry and Trade, has said that the Govan management have already been 'engaged in progressively more intense discussions with the unions involved to iron out working arrangements and is satisfied that acceptable arrangements can be made and will be implemented'. There has also been talk that, with modernisation, the present labour force could double production in a few years.

These talks should be viewed with considerable suspicion since they smell of an increased use of shift work and speed-up. It also seems very likely that some redundancies will come about through these proposed reorganisation plans.

The Communist-dominated Shop Stewards' Committee at UCS has shifted its position on this and other aspects of the

struggle. Before the Govan-Linthouse company was set up by the Government, they said there would be no negotiations based on separating the four yards. Later Jimmy Reid and James Airlie changed this to a 'combined operation involving separate solutions for the different yards'. Such changes suggest also an alteration in the attitude to redundancies. However they did issue a leaflet to dispel the suggestion, entitled 'The Four Yards Must Continue—No Loss of Jobs!'

ASSISTED LIQUIDATOR

The Clydeside struggle started from a decision to occupy the yards as a straightforward challenge to the Government's plan to send in a liquidator. The resulting 'work-in' meant that the remaining ships were completed, the men continued to clock in and clock out and, in fact, assisted the liquidator to complete his work.

It is true that those who were made redundant continued to work but they were paid by the stewards with money collected at large from the labour movement. What had started as an idea for an occupation, with revolutionary potential, was turned into a campaign for the 'Right to Work for an Employer', run by the Communists and subsidised by the earnings of other workers. Reid and Airlie seemed determined to run the yards more efficiently than their employers and were continually taking on the role of politicians by exhorting others to work harder and to act in a disciplined manner. Their authoritarian leadership and the subsequent 'work-in' changed nothing of the worker-employer relationship and has only resulted in the shipyard workers being exploited by a different set of bosses. It is ironic that those at Clydebank, because of the tactics of the Communist Party, might be working for an American boss who wants a four-year no strike contract.

The Communist Party and many of the left are only concerned with the 'right to work', which in fact means the right to be continually exploited as a wage slave. They are not concerned with workers taking decisions for themselves, but only with handing down decisions and orders for workers to carry out. They do not want a revolutionary change on Clydeside. They only want to boost the flagging industrial and political influence of the Party. Far from wanting workers' control, they want to control workers. P.T.

The People of the Opiate

THE MAIN OPIATE traffickers in this country, the newspapers, have a slogan, 'Dog Bites Man' is not news, but it is increasingly obvious that 'Dog Bites Child' is big news. Confronted with the picture of children being menaced by IRA, pornography, guard dogs or cyanide drums, the Great British Public breaks down and weeps or shrieks for Something (or Somebody) to be Done. A string orchestra rendering 'Sonny Boy' strikes up in the background and self-possession and a sense of proportion deserts everybody. When, last week, the British press reported on the six-year sentence passed in Turkey

for drug-trafficking on fourteen-year-old Timothy Davey, the Press went to town. Especially since it was 'Turkish Dog bites British Child', when hatred of foreigners could have its full fling unmarred by press-conditioned hatred of drug-pushers and hippies.

It is impossible to equate the judicial system of vengeance in one country with that in another. In Iran the death penalty is operated for possession of more than two kilos of opium or two grams of its derivative, heroin. In the Lebanon the minimum sentence for smuggling cannabis is three years' jail—eleven Britons (none of them children,

alas!) were in Beirut jail in January. In some of the United States it is possible to go to jail for twenty years on a marijuana (pot) charge (first offence). A civil rights worker in Houston (Texas) is serving 30 years for selling three reefer to an undercover agent.

The Turkish Government is, like the majority of governments, reactionary, militaristic, and hypocritical. Additionally it has American bases and received American aid in the region of \$40 million a year. Its Government is the puppet of the Turkish Army. As examples of its repression: on February 17 a daily newspaper was closed indefinitely for constantly deriding the decisions of the military courts and the actions of the martial law authorities; on February 24 two girls were arrested for purchasing wreaths to place on the grave of an urban guerilla, the ribbons on the wreath read 'Revolutionaries die, but revolutions continue'. In *The Times*, which reported this (February 25), it was said that the Constitutional Court of Turkey has quashed two articles of the 'new Martial Law Act', reducing in one case the period when people can be detained by the martial law authorities without warrant or court appearance from thirty days to seven days.

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MEETING OF FREEDOM READERS AND ANARCHIST GROUPS

SUNDAY, MARCH 12, at 2 p.m.

TOYNBEE HALL, 28 Commercial Street, E.1 (nearest tube Aldgate East)

The purpose of the meeting is to see whether anarchist ideas and activity can be made more effective in the present situation.

SOME MYTHS IN HUMAN BIOLOGY (BBC Publications, £1.30).

What Sort of Society?

FOR A LONG TIME I have been convinced of the value of scepticism as a philosophy for anarchists. Certainly the early sceptics had much in common with latter day anarchists. And after all, why do men acquiesce in an hierarchical, authoritarian social organisation when it is manifestly to the disadvantage of most of them? The answer seems to be that they accept the social and biological myths propagated by those with an interest in social conservatism.

The nature of these myths changes with history. The old religious fantasies are dying, though hardly (not so long ago I heard the vicar's wife telling an audience of primary school parents that 'some are born to be hewers of wood and drawers of water'). The newer myths have a pseudo-scientific content. Our task is to combat all of them. As somebody said, I forget who (it may even have been me), the destruction of myths is a revolutionary activity.

I therefore welcome the publication by the BBC of a book called *Some Myths in Human Biology*. It is based on expanded versions of six Third Programme talks with the same title. Naturally none of the essays are specifically revolutionary in content, though the following passage, from 'Concept of Mind' by John Linsie, will show its relevance for revolutionaries. Linsie is arguing that much of what is said about 'mind' is metaphorical or mythological; that 'mind' refers to the experience of possessing and using a language, something which professionals concerned with 'mind' actively conceal.

It is therefore not stupidity which makes professionals ignore the central importance of language but rather an intuitive recognition of its value and power both to frustrate or to stimulate social change. For professionals are not revolutionaries: they work, as often as not, well within the social organisation of the day. They contribute to what Schon calls a social system's dynamic conservatism. A contribution they make by maintaining and pro-

tecting the established structure of their society's language. For, if a particular linguistic structure is a direct reflection of a particular social organisation, then controlling language prevents social change. Man has recognised in myth for long enough this need to control language. . . . Society forbids and frustrates the study and understanding of the working of language in two main ways: firstly explicit censorship and secondly, mystification, involving rather more devious tactics, whose instrumental function is to divert attention away from language. Of these two methods of controlling language—censorship and mystification—the second is far more effective. And it is this sort of social control which professionals such as psychologists and psychiatrists are about. **Their job is to persuade people that how we live in society is determined by non-social causes** (my emphasis). That, for example, disability is caused by the influence of mysterious "mental diseases" and that high ability is made possible by an equally mysterious force of "intelligence". In this way the importance of language is concealed.

The first essay in the book will be of interest to those readers of FREEDOM who remember the controversy about 'intelligence' which appeared in these columns some time ago. The concept of 'intelligence' as an innate, static, measurable characteristic of human beings is of course of great importance to authoritarians. Liam Hudson in his essay supports a pet theory of mine (as do some of the other writers) that myths can be originated by the literal acceptance of metaphor, or perhaps more accurately, by the failure to distinguish between what is literal and what is metaphorical. He traces the myth about 'intelligence' back to a Victorian gentleman called Francis Galton, who compared intelli-

gence to physical fitness. Galton, needless to say, believed in a stable, hierarchic, preordained society, with everybody in the station in life to which it had pleased God to call them. Unfortunately his clumsy and useless analogy had the result, according to Hudson, that:

'For a hundred years now, mental testers in their hordes have paddled in the wake of this formidable creature: not necessarily sharing his prejudices, but using the statistic he invented—the correlation coefficient—and searching, as he sought, for some simple device by which human beings might be ranked in terms of their inherited gifts.'

It makes sense to talk about behaving intelligently or stupidly, as it makes sense to talk about something being beautiful or ugly, but the fantasy that 'intelligence' is a measurable characteristic like height, is not only senseless, it is harmful. If we are really interested in why some people apparently think better than others, says Hudson, we should shake off our preoccupation with test scores.

In 'Heredity and Race', W. F. Bodmer dismisses the wilder fantasies of the racists. Instead he concentrates on the question, is race a useful concept at all? He comes to the conclusion that to some extent it is. It is possible, he says, to differentiate between races on the basis of what he calls 'genetic polymorphisms', that is the frequency with which types of genes occur within populations. He is careful to stress that this is a statistical difference. It is a matter of common observation (though often lost sight of in the mythological maze) that differences between individuals of the same race are far greater than the statistical differences between races. It is this inability or unwillingness to distinguish differences

among individuals from differences among populations that is the basis of racism. The distinctions between races are becoming blurred as population movements become more widespread. It is possible to foresee the time when race will cease to be a useful concept.

Some of the arguments in the essay on 'Aggression' by S. A. Barnett will be familiar to anarchists. They reflect (without acknowledgement) the work of Kropotkin in *Mutual Aid*. The myth that human beings are naturally aggressive is of central importance to authoritarians as a justification for the maintenance of coercive institutions. Its corollary, the myth that men are naturally competitive, that in a competition there must be winners and losers, is a justification for the gross discrepancy between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' in capitalist society. As Barnett says:

'If man is destined by fate, or by his evolution, to come into conflict with his fellows, certain social consequences may seem to follow. Different races or nations may be expected to clash, and so every state must build up an apparatus of force if it is to survive. This type of notion certainly appeals to some people. It represents a mode of thought with a long history. The Darwinian theory of natural selection has often been distorted to justify a certain type of human society. There may be valid arguments for competition but this is not one of them. Even if natural selection depends on a special form of conflict, this tells us nothing about what is, or ought to be, within human communities. Similarly, the science of behaviour gives no support to those who represent "human nature" as inevitably violent, or to those who use biological arguments for a philosophy of conflict and greed.'

People of the Opiate

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The second article quashed was the right of courts martial to continue sitting after martial law is suspended. But, says *The Times*, 'it is expected that martial law will be extended until all cases [under martial law] are completed. There are nearly 1,800 people on trial at present'. So much for Turkey as a defender of the free world.

As for the hypocrisy of the Turkish Government, it has been pointed out by, for example, James Cameron in the *Sunday Times* 'Planet Earth': 'Turkey produces 70% of the world's opium and heroin. It says it will ban the crop in 1972. What it will live on then is a question; it is unlikely to be Turkish Delight.' In July 1970 the *Guardian* reported that the Turks were being threatened by the US with a withdrawal of economic aid unless there was a ban on opium growing. Farmers in Turkey, where 70,000 families are said to be engaged in the cultivation of opium, protested about this. The Government agreed to reduce the opium growing provinces from nine to seven in 1970 and down to four in 1971. There was much criticism of the Demirel Government for this. It has since been replaced by the military-backed government with powers of Martial Law. It is improbable, given the Middle East situation and attitude, that the production of opium has been seriously curtailed. One might be drawn to the conclusion that the Turkish stern measures against hashish were to encourage the opium trade on which she apparently could rely for both legitimate and illegitimate customers. . . .

VALPREDA'S TRIAL

THE BBC RADIO 4 programme, 'Saturday Briefing', on March 4 had a report from a correspondent in Italy on the trial of Valpreda and the other comrades. The reporter noted the wide and passionate interest in the trial throughout Italy and outlined some of the many suspicious circumstances of the case including Pinelli's 'fall' from the police station window whilst undergoing 'interrogation'. He concluded that to many people it was Italian 'justice' itself which was on trial.

Perhaps now the British press (including the 'revolutionary' press) will give the case the coverage it deserves? But, of course, Valpreda and the others are 'only anarchists'!

T.P.

Later: The trial has been transferred to Milan.

It is almost becoming unquestionable both by the BBC who had three excellent programmes on it, and the American Government whose 1970 Commission is reported to recommend that penalties be dropped, that marijuana (cannabis—an inferior form of hashish) is physically and mentally harmless. The same can by no means be said of heroin or opium, and LSD has not entirely been acquitted of harmful after-effects. So the supreme irony of the Timothy Davey sentence is that they were only trafficking in hashish. It is well-known that drug seizures only tend to send up the price of drugs as long as the sources of supply still continue. For example the Lebanon, which has penalties of 3-50 years for planting cannabis, has a flourishing export trade in cannabis of 28,000 tons a year. It is also reported that the CIA were behind the opium production industry in Vietnam and Cambodia. The laws of supply and demand operate in the poppy-fields too.

But one cannot dismiss this traffic lightly. It is perfectly true that one prefers one's friends to be in a cannabis haze rather than in an alcoholic stupor, and that one who is hooked on caffeine and theine has no need to boast but the fact remains that all this drug-cult is an escape from the realities of life. An Indian doctor on the BBC explained that he was not against the use of cannabis in India but he would not suggest it be allowed in an industrial society where he implied that the prevailing culture demanded aggression and decision. This explains the hostility of Western and Westernizing cultures to 'pot'—and possibly to LSD.

However the savage sentences on 'pot' partakers and pushers only serve to perpetuate the drug culture and by a process of disillusionment with the lack of promised 'kicks' in cannabis and in a mood of defiance of the law, people pass from pot to hard drugs. At the same time the economics of the situation demand that many of the 'pushers' market the hard stuff in order to maintain the supplies of the 'soft' drugs.

True, if everybody was stupefied by drugs it would be difficult to run the State but on the other hand it is by no means a fictional concept that by the judicious issuing of narcotics to sections of the population probably the most rebellious and sensitive, any ideas of revolt could be stifled in a haze of pot or a psychedelic dream of LSD. It was done by the British in China who fought an Opium War to maintain the supplies in the 1840s.

If society is to be built up and the State is to be destroyed, we need a clearer grasp of reality than offered by drugs or by anti-drug laws.

JACK ROBINSON.

LIBERTY & ORDER

IF WE TAKE A CROSS SECTION of divergent views held by political philosophers on the question of liberty and order we can appreciate the tremendous breadth there is to the discussion. From Hobbes and Locke, who maintained that there could be no order and security without law, to Mill, who considered that civilisation could not advance without individual liberty and on to Marx who saw government as a class conspiracy designed to uphold a certain order—the power and privileges of the ruling class against other classes.

We have to ask Hobbes for whom could there be no order and security without law—for those who benefit from a class-divided society, the property owners? Of Mill we ask of his belief in individual liberty how he reconciles this with the requirement he sees for the order provided by government. Whose order? The order of the exploiting class who exercise their liberty to deny the freedom of people in a weaker economic position? Of Marx we ask how his classless society can function to the individual interests of the people if there is a State—albeit 'withering away'—which must maintain the order that allows the State to be in a privileged position.

A further dimension can be found if we introduce the remarks of a psychologist in the sphere of political philosophy. Laing writes of the 'order' that is prevalent today where 'being existentially dead receives the highest commendation' and 'only by the most outrageous violation of ourselves have we achieved our capacity to live in relative adjustment to a civilisation apparently driven to its own destruction'. Meltzer and Christie in *The Floodgates of Anarchy* make the cynical anarchic observation that 'Given sufficient funds (the sociologists and psychologists) will teach us all how to fit into a sick society'.

It is clear that what some people see as order is exploitation or indeed sickness to others. It reminds one of the old adage about the policeman's whistle—to the bourgeois it means help is coming whilst the worker knows it's time to run!

Liberty and order can be seen as opposed forces in society or they can be seen as complementary—dependent on each other. The liberal will see the government as the upholder of a structure of law which provides order within society. The libertarian, should he be young, black, have long hair or smoke

marijuana, might well see that the structure of law upholds certain interests of the old, the non-black, the short haired and the tobacco smokers. This approach is summed up by Malatesta: 'Governments have the power of police and army and use it through the law to strengthen their power, as well as to serve the interests of the ruling classes, by oppressing and exploiting the workers'.

It is claimed that events in the Congo during the civil war demonstrated the truth of the claim by Hobbes that Governments provide self-protection against chaos. This example omits to examine the causes of the disorder in the Congo. Basically fifty years of racial and economic exploitation by the Belgian settlers, resulting in the prosperity of Union Miniere and Tanganyika Concessions and the poverty of the African people. The 'disorder' that followed the sudden departure of the Belgians, the death of Lumumba and the ill-prepared nature of the African administrative structure was not thus a proof of Hobbes' views but a reminder of the ruthlessness of the Belgian Government.

To achieve a fair perspective one needs to look at *Tribes Without Rulers*—surely a title to conjure up the nastiest and most brutal Hobbesian nightmare. Instead we find in many such tribes 'the political system is based upon a balance of power between many small groups, which, with their lack of classes or specialised political offices, have been called ordered anarchies.* How people behave without rulers, given a reasonable chance, is further exemplified by the organisation of the collectives in Catalonia during the Spanish Civil War or to some degree by the work-in at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders. A negation of the State does not necessarily result in chaos.

To conclude: order to some is the preservation of what they deem to be a satisfactory situation which is maintained by a structure of law and the use of legitimate force. To others order is in conflict with their liberty because the 'order' is simply the preservation of an illiberal system that is restrictive to people who are economically weak or do not possess the means of physical persuasion.

J.W.

*See *Tribes Without Rulers*, Ed. Middleton and Tait (Routledge & Kegan Paul).

Anthony Storr deliberately uses 'Madness' as a title for his essay because it is vague and ambiguous in contrast to the pseudo-scientific aura of 'mental illness'. There is a case to be made out that there is no such thing as 'mental illness', though Anthony Storr thinks this is going a little too far. Certainly there are mental aspects of physical illness, but there is a difference between the dementia which is a symptom of brain damage, and the sort of behaviour for which there seems to be no physiological explanation, but which often lands people in mental hospitals. In practice, patients in mental hospitals are all lumped together as 'mentally ill', though they have this significant difference between them. As Anthony Storr points out, the criteria for labelling people 'mad' vary enormously from age to age and from society to society. Even to some extent, it seems to me, from class to class. A great deal depends on the extent to which the society is tolerant of eccentric behaviour. Certainly some mental patients are scapegoats, either for society at large or for individuals, as a recent film, 'Family Life', sets out to show. All this being said, however, it seems that there is an irreducible minimum of behaviour to which it is reasonable to apply the concept of 'madness'. It is the duty of any society to care for the people thus afflicted.

The last essay in the book, 'Can Drugs Affect Personality?' is not concerned, as might be expected, with the very widespread self-administration of drugs (legal and illegal), but with the sinister notion that it is both possible and desirable for psychiatrists to change the personality of 'social undesirables' by the use of drugs. In this question, C. R. B. Joyce says, a lot depends on the definition of personality. As there is no common agreement on a definition, he concerns himself only with changes in behaviour. It is of course possible to change behaviour by means of drugs, to slow down the subject's responses for example. But on the basis of the evidence available:

'it seems unreasonable to expect that a change produced by any drug is very likely to be predictable, let alone favourable. As it will also be difficult to guarantee their occurrence, or repetition, in a recognisably similar form, it will prove difficult to guarantee their reinforcement. Thus, whether the varied behaviour would have proved beneficial or not (and I have already expressed the opinion that it would not), it is extremely unlikely to have survived.'

All this apart from the question of whether it would be desirable.

As I said at the beginning, the destruction of myths is a revolutionary activity. This book provides some ammunition for the fight. In my opinion it is not sensible to try to create alternative myths, as some anarchists have done and some still do. Authoritarians hold all the advantages in a competition between rival myths.

If it were possible to drag the debate about social change out of the world of fantasy in which it so often takes place, into the factual arena, then it would clearly be seen that the real question to be answered is not—what sort of society can we have?—but what sort of society do we want? Or even more important—what sort of society ought we to want? In this debate the anarchist case is unanswerable.

GEOFFREY BARFOOT.

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The Miners and the IRA

IT WAS NOT really surprising that the Official IRA should have intervened in the English miners' strike by hijacking and burning some lorries carrying coal from the Irish Republic into N. Ireland.

Ever since they came into existence a few years ago, the Officials have always claimed to represent the working-class and alleged that what is taking place in Ulster is a straightforward class struggle when it is in fact more akin to a straightforward religious war, preventing the presence of the British Army, preventing its true nature from being revealed.

It is useful of course to describe your movement as socialist. If enough people swallow the tale then you are assured of a large area of support at home and abroad. Many of the trendy lefties who are at present prancing around the streets of London chanting 'Victory to the IRA' ought to take their red banners over to Belfast with them and march up the Falls Road waving them and singing the 'Internationale' or 'The Red Flag'. This simple practical test will teach them

more than abstract theorizing will ever do. If they imagine they will be welcomed by a revolutionary proletarian vanguard let them try it.

It would seem from a reading of certain left-wing publications in England that the only militant and class-conscious workers in Ireland are the Catholic workers. Certainly, they ought to be as they have suffered more from the Unionist tactics of gerrymandering and discrimination than their Protestant brothers but the 'rotten Prods' have also suffered, i.e. all of those Protestants who have been actively involved in the Labour movement or otherwise opposed the Unionist regime. Why then do not the workers of the Falls and Shankill unite against the common enemy?

Basically there are two reasons for this—the one economic; the other religious. If—yes if!—half a century of political independence had resulted in a Republic with higher standards of social welfare than exist in the UK, and if there existed the same standards of religious

freedom, then Protestant resistance to a united Ireland would be virtually nonexistent. Instead, the ruling class in the South have built a Republic that bears a closer resemblance to Franco's Spain than to anywhere else and the present civil rights campaign is regarded by Protestants as a subtle attempt to draw them into that Republic. The IRA campaign is regarded as an attempt to bomb them into it. And when one of the leaders of the Officials, Roy Johnston, who resigned recently from the movement, reveals that he was unable to persuade the Official (the Marxist!) wing of the movement to recite the Lord's Prayer

instead of the Rosary at their ceremonies, is it any wonder that the Orangemen feel that the leopard hasn't changed his spots?

The loose connection between the Officials and the Communist Party of Ireland is in itself enough to make any socialist think twice. At one time, shortly after the war, the CPNI (as it then was) declared that Northern Ireland was already a democracy and that conditions existed for a peaceful transition to socialism. Recently one of their leading members has been recommending a study of Papal encyclicals and describing the murder of the Hungarian workers as a mere 'violation of socialist legality'. The CP in Ireland as elsewhere are a shabby bunch of political confidence-tricksters and the miners will discover that with friends like the Officials they won't need enemies.

H.B.



Any book not in stock, but in print can be promptly supplied. Please add postage & cash with order helps.

- The General Strike. Facsimile reprod. of 'The British Worker' (TUC) and 'The British Gazette' (HMSO) £2.50 (20p)
- The Essential Works of Anarchism
 - Ed. Marshall S. Shatz £0.80 (7½p)
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A.W.U.

The Census in Scotland

A SCOTTISH CORRESPONDENT has sent us his Census Form, accompanied by the usual suave, but faintly threatening official letter. The pertinent Census Form is the same impertinent and inquisitorial piece of work as the English, with the same hints of racism. In addition there is a column headed, 'To be answered for persons who can speak, read or write Scottish Gaelic.' What's the Gaelic for 'mind your own business'?

This is second or third form it I have seen. Looking through it I am more than ever certain that even if these forms are dutifully filled up they are pretty inaccurate. People would not be able to remember exactly, or would not know exactly, the dates and other information that they are required to give the authorities. Theoretically, anyone who receives one of these forms is in danger of a £50 fine, either because he does not fill up the form, or because he fills it up incorrectly, though in good faith. In fact there have been cases reported in the press of people who filled up the forms incorrectly, or who left

blank spaces because they could not understand what was required of them. They were fined. It seems quite evident therefore that the Census is an instrument for turning the entire population into petty criminals, whether they like it or not.

From the purely legalistic, conventional and completely non-anarchist point of view, this is a short-sighted policy. If people find themselves in the situation when they cannot avoid breaking the law, whatever they do, they will come to respect and fear it less and less. 'One might just as well be hanged for a sheep as for a lamb.' Coupled with the increasingly wild and irresponsible behaviour of the police and the military, this sort of thing is far more likely to undermine our British way of life, about which our great Prime Minister shows himself to be so concerned, than any amount of permissiveness, long hair and Angry Brigade bombs.

It is to be hoped that our Scottish comrade will continue his resistance.

A.W.U.

Fine Tubes Strike

RECENT HEADLINES in southwestern newspapers have suggested that the Fine Tubes dispute is virtually at an end. This, however, is a grave misconception and is due mainly to the fact that the AEU and T&GW unions, representing the strikers, have agreed to withdraw picketing and picketing. In reaching this decision the unions have complied with the conditions laid down by the Government inquiry into the strike before negotiations could take place. Despite this compromise, a long, hard road of bargaining lies ahead, especially if the management maintains its unconcealed animosity towards the strikers. Thus the dispute is far from over although the mass media would like to create a different impression.

Blacking was first put into effect in November 1970 and strike committee members have travelled across the country to inform fellow trade unionists of the situation. This has had a great effect on British industry although, of course, there has been little mention of this in the national press. For instance Fine Tubes had a near monopoly supply contract for specialized tubing to the Atomic Energy Authority. Also a large contract was lost with GKN Sankey of Hereford for drawing tubing for brewing.

The picket has been maintained continuously despite physical attacks on the pickets. On July 30, 1971, a National Day of Picketing, organised by national trade unions, ended in police brutality and nine arrests. An inquiry into the behaviour of the police at the picket was set up, but since it was conducted by the Chief Constable of Dorset it was hardly surprising that the findings were entirely negative. Today Fine Tubes has only been able to produce a quarter of their potential, although the management have produced a counterfeit book to discredit this. In September 1971 Robert Carr appointed the Government inquiry which was manned by right wing members.

Whatever the outcome of the strike, various questions have arisen which should not go unanswered. First, and most important, is the role of the trade unions in the struggle. When a battle against a ruthless employer is being fought it would have been expected that the full force of the trade union machinery would have been brought to bear. By carrying out this function the unions would be fulfilling the very task for which they were formed.

However, they failed miserably to seize the opportunity to defend and improve the interests of the workers. Indeed the AUEW strike pay ceased by rule

after 52 weeks on June 15, 1971, and since that date, despite repeated requests, the AUEW executive have sent only £100 for strike pay for its eight members. Appeals for financial and other support from local unions have met with a pitiful response. Many of those who came out and who had every confidence in the strength and efficiency of their respective trade unions now view the motives and actions of the union with much suspicion. It is to the rank and file that most thanks must go for they have supported the strike throughout, facing hostility from the employers and indifference from the unions.

On the whole blacking has been successful but there have been several notable failures to comply with the requests of the Fine Tubes strikers, and these ought not to go unnoticed. For example, the Osborn Steel Group of Sheffield and Low Moor Steel of Bradford, both of which have a 100% membership of the AUEW, T&GW, BISAKATA, and G and MUW, supplied raw materials to Fine Tubes. Repeated requests for blacking were ignored. Rolls Royce of Derby, which has a 100% membership of T&GW, AUEW, etc., accepted finished tubing from Fine Tubes and in some cases redistributed to other Rolls Royce plants who are blacking. Also J. Sankey of Hereford and Bilston, which is part of the GKN group and has a 100% membership of the AUEW, T&GW and G and MUW, accepted tubes from Fine Tubes. This group are suppliers to the car industry.

Not surprisingly, the role of the Department of Employment has been one of duplicity throughout the struggle. On one hand it maintains that a strike is still going on, while on the other hand it has allowed Fine Tubes to recruit new workers to replace the strikers. While the Department argues that the strike is still continuing, the firm takes the view that it is over.

Similarly the position of the West of England Engineering Employers' Federation is dubious. For one of the clauses signed by themselves was the 1967 industrial agreement indicating that the management must recognise union 'participation'. If it did not do this it would be thrown out of its organization. But the West of England Engineering Employers' Federation has ignored this totally.

Finally, the inevitable question, what can be learnt from the conflict. It is easy to say, after Clydeside, Plessey, etc., that the workers should have occupied the factory. But the strike broke out long before these events, and the workers were unaware of the repressive machinery which would come into action against them. However, as the struggle progressed the strikers began to lose their political naivety and realized that the trade unions were in partnership with the employers and Government and in effect acted contrary to the interests of the workers.

Whatever finally results from the negotiations, one thing is certain—the strike has generated a new certainty amongst workers in the south-west, and no employer is going to be able to exploit workers to the extent Barclay has done. For the future the Fine Tubes strike has emphasized that the revolutionary struggle lies as much on the factory floor as it does on the street.

M.T.

Tips for Workers

Dear Comrades, I have been reading with deep interest about the takeovers by Plesseys at various plants, Fisher Bendix, Wokers, and so on, where the livelihood of the workers was threatened by 'phasing out'.

In one article it stated that, so far, out of 6 taken-over plants, the result has been four victories for the men and one for the bosses. The takeovers in these cases were genuine takeovers, and in some of the plants, the workers had started to run production themselves—unlike the UCS 'takeover', where the management still did the managing, and the official firer still carried out sackings. The other genuine takeovers are examples of workers in a struggle using their initiative in situations where strike action in the shape of withdrawal of labour would obviously have proved a dead loss.

Here is a tip for workers in public transport regarding more effective action than ordinary strike action, when pressing a claim. I saw this method used in Singapore, a long time ago.

Mental Health

Dear Comrades, I was interested in Tony Gibson's letter (26.2.72). I entirely agree with him that anarchists should judge the treatments provided by the mental health services on the basis of the evidence available and not on superstition. Here, therefore, is a little more evidence for them to consider.

For the past ten years I have been able to observe, at close quarters, some hundreds of patients who have been given ECT (electro-convulsive therapy) and drug therapy. I have made an attempt to assess the effects of this treatment. The first fact to be noted is that to do this is extremely difficult without clinical experiments using matching controls, a technique available to me nor to many other people (if any). Without such experiments one is always left with the question—is the effect produced by the treatment, by environmental factors or by the independent course of the illness (if indeed it is)? However I have come to some conclusions which I believe to be more or less reliable.

ECT in some cases produces temporary relief from suffering, particularly in cases of neurotic depression and anxiety. Bi-lateral ECT can result in permanent brain damage, usually manifesting itself as impaired memory and reasoning.

LETTERS

The Singapore public transport workers had a wage claim knocked back—what did they do, stop the buses and trams? Not on your life! They ran the buses and trams as usual, except for one thing: they didn't collect the fares. Two days later, their claim was met in full.

Public transport in Britain is nearly all government- or municipally-run by an appropriate board. When a withdrawal of labour takes place in public transport, the board members are not unduly worried, being financially unaffected by the strike... they draw their salaries the same no matter how long the strike lasts. It's the public the strike hurts and upsets.

In Singapore that time, it was the other way round; the public were highly delighted with the bus- and tram-men for keeping the buses and trams running but not taking any fares, and it was the bosses who were double-worried to the extent of conceding the workers' wage-claim a bit lively.

London, N.16

GEORGE FOULSER.

Many drugs produce relief from suffering in large numbers of cases, particularly those with symptoms of agitation and depression. Some drugs have side effects such as increased lassitude, loss of balance, inability to sit or stand still and skin rashes. There is insufficient evidence to decide if any drugs cause permanent brain damage after long use.

Tony Gibson hopes that if he becomes psychotic he will not fall into the hands of the 'libertarians'. I would be reluctant to fall into the hands of the state mental health services, not because of anything sinister I think they are likely to do to me, but because the majority of medical and nursing staff simply do not know the long term effects of the treatment they are giving.

It may be (and indeed is) the case that some patients are willing to undergo any treatment regardless of its effects, because their lives have become insupportable and the alternative is suicide. Some choose that alternative (4,000 a year successfully, many thousand more attempts). The patient, however, should be able to make his choice in full knowledge of the facts, or lack of them. To give bi-lateral ECT to an unwilling patient with the possibility of causing permanent brain damage is grossly immoral.

Wells, Somerset GEOFFREY BARFOOT.

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THIS is the last article in the 'This World' series. Henceforth I shall write only when I feel there is something really special to say. FREEDOM has its share of competent commentators and writers. It has, for many years, remained true to principles of personal sovereignty and social justice—has acted as a reservoir from which people like myself, who were born into environments quite hostile to freedom, could draw when the opportunity and the need arose.

I think the opportunity has now arisen (see the succeeding item) to bring practical anarchism to society at large and I am ceasing this series because the new society is taking up all my time.

NIGHT ASSEMBLIES BILL

The Night Assemblies Bill, currently before Parliament, provides that more than 999 people may not assemble outdoors overnight without four months prior application and approval by local authorities. We wish to protest this attempted violation of our traditional civil liberties' is the whole text of a petition which is now circulating throughout the United Kingdom. It is, of course largely aimed at pop festivals but could also cover pickets and strike meetings, etc. It has already passed two readings with virtually no opposition from the political parties although it only started as a private Bill from one stupid and reactionary conservative member.

Anarchists have the best chance of the last two thousand years to achieve anarchy now in their own lives and throughout society. Almost every reasonably liberal person will sign it. A girl friend gave me a copy which she got at the Rainbow Theatre and at first I did not see the full opportunity. Over the last few days I, without too much effort but with a lot of help from friends, have collected some four hundred signatures. Seventy letters have also been sent out to all those who took the trouble to write to me in response to the appeal for help on the LSD charge in respect of which I face a term of imprisonment of some years. But then the full significance and opportunity came and seemed clear as light.

THIS WORLD

The Bill is a near-certainty to get through—one more reading and the royal assent are all that's required. 1,000,000 signatures from a pile of weirdies and freaks (that's how the politicians will see it) will not stop an Act of Parliament. If it is passed we (our commune and friends) will write to everybody who has signed and invite them to provide the means with which land in a beautiful locality will be bought for our first rural commune. On that land WE SHALL stage the greatest, freest music festival of all time. All those who have ideas of freedom will have the greatest opportunity to spread their ideas. Sellers of FREEDOM (Graham Moss and myself sold nearly 500 at the last Isle of Wight event) will be in their element turning people on and being turned on themselves in turn. It will not be a dreary happening for anyone.

Timothy Davey

The daily newspapers, from the *Telegraph* to *The Times*, have deplored the six-year sentence on this fourteen-year-old kid. They could hardly have done otherwise. They chose to ignore the fact that over 1,000,000 people in Britain today smoke cannabis and find it a more civilised way of relaxing than indulging in alcohol. The *Telegraph* spoke of the difficulties of restricting the use of heroin—deliberately misleading its readership into believing that cannabis and heroin are somehow related. *The Times* deplored the incarceration of a 14-year-old in prison implying that it was all right to imprison others of a more 'mature' age.

The Turks are upset about British reaction. Both the Turks and our newspapers have not yet realised the great residue of tolerance and decency in British society. Even the anarchists—or

most of them—fail to see this and are overcome with pessimism and elitism. I wish Kropotkin was alive today to see his theories of spontaneity, mutual aid and revolution vindicated.

The new Society

In this world of ours today few institutions are sounder (money-wise) than the Insurance Company. Insurance Policies are aimed at the Family. They capitalise on the financial insecurity—the worry about what happens to the kids when the breadwinner dies, the worry about old age and sickness, of the family. Nobody on a free, co-operative commune (like the Brotherhood Commune in which I have the good luck to live) would even think of taking out an Insurance Policy. In a society founded on communes insurance companies would—and will—collapse.

The Commune is love in practice—the realisation that we all want to love and be loved. The easiest and most pleasant way of loving is to make love SEXUALLY. Past civilisations have perished—and the one we are leaving is perishing very fast indeed—because their morality is a trap. Christian morality has been the greatest trap of all and its sexual teachings have undermined the sanity and wellbeing of so many people that they have had to go to war not because of greed alone but because their sexual drives were finding no satisfactory outlet. To fuck one woman for all your life is O.K. if that's how you want it. Most people want variety and most have been denied by the institutionalising of monogamy. In the commune there will be plenty of opportunities for sexual variety and fulfillment. Lonely and frustrated people (like myself in the past) will become happy and loving (as I am now). At the risk of dogmatism I assert that the Com-

mune is the only way to living anarchy. **The Spirit**

We have been—rightly—so disgusted with religion and the monstrous nature of all churches that many of us who would change the world have forgotten or blinded ourselves to the simple fact that we have spiritual yearnings and that these yearnings contain the charisma without which people will not make the sacrifices necessary to change their lives. When they do make the sacrifices for our revolution they will find the immediate rewards enormously satisfying. For example it may seem difficult to take the Night Assemblies Bill petition around asking complete strangers to sign. I have found that by turning people on (in a very small way to commence with) in this way I am already more than compensated by their turning me on. YOU CAN DO THE SAME. Petition forms may be posted to you or you may collect them in person from: The Brotherhood

Commune, 40E Holland Road (Entrance Napier Road), London, W.14. Phone Number 602 4027.

Many of you are abhorred by the word GOD. Like the word communist it has by misuse and abuse developed repugnant connotations and meanings. To me GOD simply means the spiritual yearnings of man. God is love and you are love but (to get there) you must love. God, of course, is an anarchist.

Individualists

My individualist friends (and I hope all other anarchists are individualists also) advise that they are starting a FORUM to be held in the basement of the Peace Centre, 36 Romilly Street (off Cambridge Circus). Commencing Sunday, March 19 at 8 p.m. and, thereafter, fortnightly. The meetings in the 'Marquis of Granby', Cambridge Circus, continue every Sunday. Let us get together and work for our revolution—meaning ourselves. **BILL DWYER.**

C

ontact

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.

Corby. Public meeting on 'Anarchism and Workers' Control' planned for June 29. Green Room, Civic Centre at 7.30 p.m. Local help with publicity appreciated. Contact Terry Phillips, 70 Blenheim Walk.

Film, 'To die in Madrid', sympathetic documentary of the Spanish Civil War, including the role of the Anarchists. Thameside Theatre, Grays (35 minutes from Fenchurch Street station). Admission 20p. Licensed bar.

The 'East London Speed-Freak' is out again (the Editor came out a few months ago). On sale at Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, E.1, Libertia Bookshop, 95 West Green Road, Tottenham, N.15, or direct from G. Foulser, 1A Nevill Road, Stoke Newington, N.16. Price 6p. Please add postage with mail orders.

Cards from 'A Flight of Silver Birds' start a revolution in communication. Magical and wondrous designs with original poems by Tina Morris. Send 24p for 6 cards (3 different designs) to—18 Pemberton Street, Blackburn, Lancs.

Comrade who might return to UK and live in Hay (Herefordshire/Breconshire) would like to get low-down on area from comrade living in these parts. Box No. 002.

Free People's Pram and Carry-Cot in reasonable nick for anyone who takes them away. Denise and Steve Kibble, 7 Cowper Road, Edmonton, London, N.18. Apply quick as we're moving.

Harringay and District Anarchists meet every Thursday from 8 p.m. in the Saloon Bar of the Osborn Tavern, Stroud Green Road, Finsbury Park.

British Support for NICRA March Committee. Saturday, March 11, Magilligan. Those interested in joining this demonstration contact: c/o 37

Middle Lane, London, N.8.

S.E. London Dwarfs newly established. Anyone interested should contact Jeff Dixon, 44 Pendragon Road, Bromley, BR1 5JY (Phone 01-698 8596); or Nick Brown, 185 Hawes Lane, West Wickham, Kent (Phone 01-777 5103).

Young Male Libertarian, secondary ex-teacher of English and Liberal Studies, offers lots of good books (source-material, etc.) to libertarian student/teacher for free (but first come, first served!). Box No. 001.

Edinburgh Group. New Secretary is Chris Kerr, 9 Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh, 9. Tel. 667 2939.

'Black & Red Outlook' No. 5 now out. Published by the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance. Sub. for 10 issues £1.00. Bulk rates 40p for 10 copies plus postage. Order from Bob Lees, 6 Coniston Avenue, Oldham, Lancs.

Anarchist Meetings. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. 271 Commercial Road, E.1 (1st floor).

London Anarchists meet socially at 'The Marquis of Granby', Cambridge Circus, Charing Cross Road, Sundays from 7.30 p.m. onwards.

'Peace News'—the other anarchist weekly—every Friday 7p from your newsagent or by subscription. FREE with trial sub. of 7 issues for 50p two sample copies which include Illich on Deschooling and Communes Special. 'Peace News' for the theory and practice of nonviolent anarchism, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Free Valpreda Campaign needs help, not just by way of support, but also involvement in planning and organising. Please contact c/o N. & E. London Group ORA.

Libertarian Book Club. Spring Lectures Series. Thursday evenings, 7 p.m., 369 Eighth Avenue, New York City. February 24, Abe Bluestein: The Spanish Civil War and the Fight for Freedom. March 9, Paul Avrich: The Unknown Revolution. March 23, Olga Lang: Chinese Anarchism. April 13, Irving Levitas: G. B. Shaw and the Anarchists. April 27, Sam Dolgoff: Bakunin and Nechaev. May 11, Murray Bookchin: Marxism and Anarchism.

Help! Stoke Newington 8 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.

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

This Week in Ireland

FATHERS SHOT in front of their children, indeed an eleven-year-old shot at the same time. Terrible explosions. Heath's much talked-of 'initiative' never materializing, and HATE, HATE, HATE. G. Boardman accuses me of thinking that one side is the goodies and the other the baddies. Faith, then he cannot have read what I write, for I damn the Unionists and extreme Protestants and the IRA about equally as the power-seeking brutes they are. The minority in the six counties did have—aye, and still have—a very real grievance but, as a member of NICRA executive wrote to me this week, 'Sinn Fein have spoiled everything we built up. Newry is the way to do things.'

The Widgery Tribunal goes on. So far, when even the reporter of that ultra-Conservative paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, says the soldiers shot blindly into the crowd, it looks as if the paratroopers must be condemned, but the evidence of the soldiers had not yet been heard, and when it is the whitewash will come out

by the bucketful. At any rate it seems as if Westminster has forbidden the worst of the tortures, the hooding and noise. English papers keep talking of 'civil war breaking out'. We are at civil war. To return to truth-telling; it is an old saying truth is the first casualty in any war, and even Sean O'Barracaidh twists it in his account of a day in the Creggan. What he describes is not a day but a month. The things happen but NOT all on the same day, and many days the Creggan just seems like anywhere else but for a feeling of tenseness.

We are now beginning to realise the ramifications of that Bill that was so rushed through Westminster making everything the Army did legal and retrospective. Bluntly, it means no soldier can ever be brought to justice for cold-blooded murder or torture or smashing up a house, etc., and they can pretty well do exactly as they like in the future.

Lynch still waffles and never acts. He put on a show after Aldershot of arrest-

ing Sinn Fein members, but they are out now. It was only to impress his buddy, Faulkner. MacGiolla says (he is the leader of Sinn Fein) that it is 'very peculiar the president of a political party should be in danger of arrest'. Someone pointed out it was equally peculiar that the president of a political party should have a private army.

Now I have just learned of two youths, one only 14, shot dead in a van (by soldiers) and then left in the van by their companions in front of the hospital. The biggest shopping street in Derry was completely destroyed yesterday. All this on both sides. Explosions, deaths, internment, and 'not an inch' policies are to NO PURPOSE. The only thing they are accomplishing is acute misery for many. I keep saying, 'It must end. The darkest hour is before the dawn' and other platitudes, but it doesn't end and I think will not in my lifetime owing to the absolute intransigence of BOTH SIDES, and power-drunk Governments and members of those Governments who only want personal money and power. I loathe every mortal thing John Taylor said and stood for but the shooting of him was dastardly.

I am sick of it all and of everybody. **H.**

Valpreda's Letter from Prison—Part II

THEY HAD TRIED later on another incitement, by means of a note which was handed to me by a worker I know, because I had been warned, who was not new to tricks of this kind. The note was signed by a certain Mirko who stated that he knew me, that he was an anarchist, and told me that the 'Cobra' (that is Serventi), who held the conference on 'World Religions' at our gathering of 'The Circle of March 22nd'—the day of the outrages—was disposed to give me a false alibi for that day. He also asked that I send a note, because he stayed in Quarter 5¹ only until that night and would be moved afterwards.

Now again, even while I am in the course of writing, the confusions and lies continue. In *L'Espresso* several of my letters have appeared in which I revealed the situation in which I find myself: *Panorama* has published the declaration in which I try to clear up certain points: those writings were smuggled out secretly, otherwise the prison censor would have had them held back, and now I am under strict observation. This morning I had a talk with my parents and they² made

me undress, lest I had a note on me. Two days ago a priest came to talk for five minutes and the warders never took their eyes off us. They had at all costs to prevent my voice being heard, they had to prevent also my poor and belated defence. When I was really lynched by the press with epithets and very nasty slanders, the democratic governor of the prison didn't dissent one bit. I was here, locked in a hole with neither air nor a window, and all they could say about me, my comrades, my neighbours, all that went on at a great rate, all done legally in the name of press freedom. In contrast I did not have the right to reply, although what I had to say was the truth and the nature of the inaccuracy as they made it.

Robertino Mander was hardly 17 years old when he was arrested. They implicated him in the outrage at the 'Altar of the Nation'³ without a jot of evidence, and being unable to prove their mad accusations, they declared him guilty and then 'acquitted' him as a minor and as 'not responsible' (for his actions), and they will cover up the inadequacies of

their accusations by stopping him from appearing at the proceedings. Mander, despite their expert appraisal [Note: expert 'medical' appraisal where Mander was presented as a weak-minded person] has obtained his school-leaving certificates by unanimous decision of the board of examiners. Actually Roberto's defence has shown, with proofs and evidence to support it, that his client could not, in ten minutes, go from Via Governo Vecchio to Piazza Venezia, plant two bombs and then return, when the whole charge was based on the supposition that Mander, in a break in the discussion which was being held in our group on Via Governo Vecchio, went out for ten minutes, not to look for wine as he said to us, but to plant bombs... with unknown people.

We wait. I wait again, but the delay is more and more tiring.

November 1971 Translated by D.B.
¹This may mean a works area or a post-office area, etc.
²They = the warders, not his parents (probably: Valpreda's grammar is bad).
³The war memorial (Tomb of the Unknown Soldier).

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ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

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

AFBIB—To all Groups.
 The next AFBIB will be produced in Sheffield at 4 Havelock Square, Sheffield, 10. Send material to Secretary, Peter Le Mare. Also needs offers of help from Groups to bring out further issues.

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, Worsley, Lancs.
 Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnwood 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.
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