

## TUC MEETS GOVERNMENT

# CARR AND FEATHER 'EM!

MR. HEATH and his Ministers have met the Trades Union Congress to discuss ways of reviving the economy and slowing down inflation. The meeting has been described as 'most fruitful', but what does it hold for the ordinary people of this country?

The Secretary of Employment, Mr. Carr, said, 'We have to seek the common ground which exists between us and work on it and build on it for the good of the whole country.'

As anarchists we would agree with Mr. Carr that there is 'common ground' between the trade union leaders and the Government. It is the common ground of those in power, of leaders who want, at their worst, to dictate or negotiate terms for others to abide by. Both the TUC and the Government share the view that what the economy needs is growth. They both agree that this will help unemployment, but differ on what wage increase limits can be absorbed in this new expanding

economy without bringing about further inflation.

### PRICE CUTS?

The Government, in a nice public relations exercise, announced price reductions on milk and sugar and a halt on potato prices just prior to its meeting with the TUC. Looking more closely at the reduction in milk prices, we find that we have already, in fact, paid for this in the higher prices we have been charged over recent months. The National Milk Fund now has a surplus of £21 million, while the Exchequer will pay the Sugar Board £25m and the Potato Marketing Board £5m of our money, to make up the loss of revenue caused by these price reductions and we are now supposed to be thankful for this. We also find the PMB usually holds back on potatoes at the end of the season to push up the prices.

I think that both the TUC and the Government were eager to get together after the recent victory of the coal-miners. It was an experience

that neither of them want repeated. This again is part of the 'common ground' on which they stand and their meeting was to explore means of avoiding any future large-scale confrontations between labour and capital. All sorts of solutions—growth, voluntary incomes restraint and threshold wage agreements—were tossed around, the conclusion being that Mr. Feather will be surprised 'if there isn't a considerable movement towards growth in the Budget'.

The 'common ground' between the leaders of the trade unions and the Government is their belief that certain people should profit from the labour of others. They are content to see a majority continually robbed of the wealth that they produce in order that a minority can grow rich, powerful and privileged. Both want the work relationship to remain the same and for people to slave all their lives doing mostly boring, useless jobs. They want us to be tied to the treadmill of earning our living,

five days per week, fifty weeks per year. That is the wage slavery existence that the TUC and the Government want workers to be content with.

### CLUB OF ROME REPORT

In their agreement on growth as an answer to the ailments of capitalism, not one commented on the fact that there is a continual attack on the natural resources of the earth or the suicidal consequences of continual economic growth. Yet in the same week as this meeting took place, reports on a study of world growth, sponsored by the Club of Rome, showed that the present rate of the depletion of natural resources

is increasing as the standards of living are raised. With the world population expected to double in the next thirty years, this planet cannot support such an increase unless present growth rates are cut. It is as simple as that. We anarchists do not want growth, an expanding economy or to consume more. We want more time to enjoy what we already have, what people have created and the countryside. It is time we stopped demanding more of this and more of that and started to think about taking control from the profiteers who are sacrificing this world for the sake of profit, power and privilege.

P.T.

## UP JENKINS!

MR. ROY JENKINS, Labour's former Minister of Aviation, Home Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer and now Deputy Leader, hit the headlines twice last week. Firstly, he was awarded, and accepted, the Charlemagne Prize for services to European unity—his support of the Common Market. Secondly, he made a speech at Worsley, Lancashire, which has been widely interpreted as a bid for party leadership. The French have a cynical saying, 'It must be true—the Quai D'Orsay [the Foreign Office] have denied it.' Mr. Jenkins has denied it.

A lesser or greater man than Mr. Jenkins would have been embarrassed by and duly rejected the Charlemagne Prize, for not only does this award go counter to the (present) policy of the party of which he is deputy leader but it has associations, with the Emperor Charlemagne who forcibly 'unified' Europe in A.D. 800! Of course, like all such unifications, it didn't last. Charlemagne's services to Christianity in subduing the heathen Saxons, Lombards, Cordobians, Basques and Turko-Finns were recognised by the Pope who crowned Charlemagne emperor.

Roy Jenkins' ambitions are probably a little lower than those of Charlemagne but nevertheless from a mining MP's son to Balliol, Oxford, an army captain in 1944, a Parliamentary private secretary to the Commonwealth Secretary 1946-8, and member of the staff of Industrial and Commercial Finance Co. Ltd. 1946-8, is not so bad. He married well too, and it comes as no surprise to find him advocating greater social equality in his speech at Worsley.

Tribune was rather annoyed at the Guardian's story on March 3 that Roy Jenkins was to make six major speeches as deputy leader of the Labour Party during the next few months at venues carefully selected to provide a sympathetic platform. Tribune denies that Transport House fixed up these meetings (of which last Saturday's was announced as the first). The subsequent publicity gained by the speech, which was obviously heralded in advance, together with Tribune's protestations, almost proves it is 'a bid for leadership' by Jenkins' anti-Tribune group.

Jenkins' consistent advocacy of mem-

bership of the Common Market has gained him friends for his consistency instead of enemies for this pro-capitalist folly. In a party with so few principles even the principle of stupid loyalty to a mistaken and dangerous concept can be mistaken for a virtue. Thus Jenkins, girded with the armour of righteousness—and Charlemagne—enters the lists and the wily Wilson, who sponsored his enemy-on-the-market Jenkins rather than his back-stabbing friends Callaghan and Healey, has another man to watch.

We must (alas!) examine The Speech. Those soothsayers whose distasteful occupation it is to espy the entrails of politicians—that is, those who have them!—have divined in two sentences of this speech an attack on Wilson—or was it on Foot? He was talking about the next Election. 'When . . . it comes, we shall not be judged by the vehemence of our perorations, still less by the dexterity with which we follow the transient twists and turns of public opinion. We shall be judged by the quality of the programme we put before our fellow-citizens and by the consistency and courage with which we advocate it.'

We were under the impression that programmes were always advocated at elections, it was only their fulfilment in the cold light of office that was lacking. A minor member of the Labour Government in 1946 and for many years following, rising to high office, he could not have any illusions about this; indeed, he acknowledges some Labour Party shortcomings. With the powers of a war-economy and the repository of wartime hopes and promises, the Labour Government of 1945-51 could have imposed a greater measure of Socialism than it did and which it obviously had no intention of so doing. The Government of 1964 had even less intentions, less powers and aroused less hope in the electorate which it just as grossly betrayed.

Jenkins' text in his speech was the presence of poverty in the world today, he gives examples of 'cases where an individual or group of individuals has been trapped by a vicious circle of misfortune and deprivation, where it has become impossible for the victim to break out of the trap unaided, where the appropriate social agencies have been unable to provide the aid, and where in

consequence, he or she has become surrounded by a miasma of hopelessness'.

As William Blake says, 'Pity would be no more, if we did not make somebody poor.' And indeed the Labour Government has a great share of the responsibility for constructing the social agencies which have so conspicuously and inevitably failed to deal with so many problems. We need only remember that squatting and protests at half-way houses commenced and were continued during Labour's terms of office.

An advocate of joining a capitalist club, and a staff member of the Industrial and Commercial Finance Co. Ltd., can only have a Fabian academic approach to sociology. His only experience of poverty obviously seems a determination not to be poor. He even repeats the hoary old chestnut that if the state had taken 'all incomes of more than £5,000 a year' the result would have been an increase in Inland Revenue receipts of only one per cent. This of course is a re-make of the heckler's anti-socialist remark that if all the wealth were shared out we would only get fourpence each.

Continued on page 2

## Support Victimised Teacher

CHRIS SEARLE, a teacher at Sir John Cass and Redcoat School in East London, has again been dismissed by the governors of the school. Ostensibly the dismissal is over his involvement in the publication of *Stepney Words*, a fine collection of pupils' poems, without the permission of the headmaster. However, there is no doubt that the real cause of his dismissal is the hostility to his anti-authoritarian attitude towards education. This is underlined by the recent statement by a number of East London headmasters that they would not give him a job.

Chris Searle was first dismissed in May 1971 and this led to a strike by the pupils. However, in January 1972 the High Court ruled that his dismissal was null and void because he had not been informed of or invited to attend the governors' meeting which considered his case. Consequently he was suspended from teaching pending a fresh hearing. It came as no surprise that after a 26-hour hearing held early in March the governors decided to dismiss him again! Technically, the decision has yet to be approved by the Inner London Education Authority.

We do not know much about Chris Searle's political views (he has been reported as being associated with the vaguely left-wing Rank and File Group

within the National Union of Teachers) but his article in *Children's Rights 2* expresses views which anarchists should be pleased to endorse. (See 'Schools for Freedom', FREEDOM, 4.3.72.) He has argued for the need for a movement of pupils, parents and teachers to challenge the authoritarian, state 'education' system, and has made clear the connection between authoritarian 'education' and the authoritarian society in which we live.

Now is the time for local people to get together, kick out the petty tyrants who make up the governing body of the school, take it over as a community school, and create an environment in which children can develop in freedom instead of being moulded as tomorrow's docile wage-slaves. Such a community school will have urgent need of real teachers like Chris Searle who nurture the creativity and individuality of children, rather than the 'yes-men' to whom 'teaching' is merely a career with prospects and 'education' means indoctrination to accept the status quo.

TERRY PHILLIPS.

## Police Shoot Down Strikers

SPANISH WORKERS have once again paid with their lives for demonstrating and taking strike action. It happened when riot police opened fire on 3,000 shipyard workers, killing two and seriously wounding three more in El Ferrol in the Northwest of Spain. Over a hundred others have received hospital treatment for gunshot wounds. Units of the Spanish Navy entered the harbour of El Ferrol flying battle flags.

Shipyard workers had stopped work in protest against the dismissal of six workers who had been involved in organising a campaign for wage increases and better conditions. The State-owned Bazan yard had called in the police. Workers fought back against the police and, in defiance of the Government's ban on street demonstrations, marched to the main Plaza of the town.

The owners of small shops also gave support to these workers by closing, despite an order from the civil government to remain open.

This demonstration shows the increasing opposition by workers to the Franco regime, for it involved open defiance of the regime's laws and nearly overwhelmed the forces of 'law and order'. After thirty years of repression workers are still fighting the regime that came to power with the deaths of thousands on its hands.

CHIPPIE.

## WHAT KIND OF MAN ARE YOU?

### CAN YOU ANSWER "YES" TO THESE QUESTIONS

- Am I over 174 and 100% fed up?
- Do I want to get away from the insecurity of life in present-day Britain?
- Am I fed up with slums and overcrowding?
- Do I want a chance to get away from it all?
- Do I want the exhilaration of risking my life in battle?
- Do I want to be able to save out of my pay?
- Am I prepared to become a professional murderer?
- Am I keen on assassination?
- Do I want to learn how to destroy things?
- Do I want to make enemies of lads of my own age from other countries?

If you answer 'YES' to 7 out of 10 of these questions, you should go along to discuss your own case at your local Army Recruiting centre, to be found in any village, town, county or country.

### What the Army's looking for

Army life's no ordinary job for ordinary men; you must be fighting fit and keen to risk your neck. Don't think it isn't tough—it is, and whether you're crawling up a beach or firing bullets into some other man's stomach, there's always a chance that you may leave a leg or an eye at some turning point in history. You'll get plenty of spit and polish and probably a chance to blow up the World. If you're fed up with life, in fact, you're the sort of man the Army's looking for.

### What you're looking for

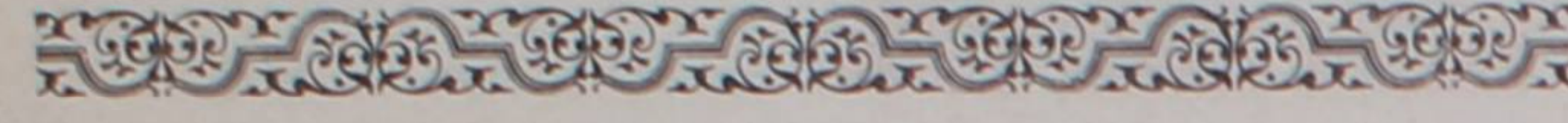
The Army offers you a really secure job, for as long as you live. Don't join your fellow-workers in their struggle against social injustices: Join the army. As a soldier you don't have to form a Tenants' Association—you can pack the wife and kids off to her mother's and go abroad with your unit; and if you don't like living under canvas in some remote part of the world, or you get sick and tired of being pushed around, drop in for a friendly chat with the Adjutant—he'll soon let you know how dangerous it is to try to organise a protest and how difficult it is to buy your way out.

GET THE TRUE FACTS ABOUT LIFE IN TODAY'S ARMY—IF YOU CAN!

(Reproduced from Cambridge's 'Roots')



# INSTANT GOTHIC



THE VICTORIAN and Edwardian periods of our history are in retrospect rightly judged as an age when personal self-seeking elevated profit and power into a religion, poverty was a crime, and charity, be it state or private, the ultimate degradation. It was an age when the social dynamic was economic and not only was wealth a caste-mark but it had to be publicly displayed. It was a society of *entrepreneurs* who, of their wealth, demanded cultural objects for their homes that should be in the seen tradition of accepted art and for their vulgar claims an army of talented and tasteless mechanics manufactured every and any medieval or gothic historical myth object that the factory, the foundry or the mill could produce. Victorian literature and philosophy was given over to examining the social and theological scabs for a liberal audience who wept with Dickens and mocked the Whore of Rome while aping the Catholic drag, and who had no answers for the evils of the day beyond an English Prayer Book and an army of lovable Pickwicks to hand out geese and Christmas puddings to the comic poor. The cultural and social horrors that marked the Victorian age is still the mark of the beast in Conservative political philosophy and the industrial cesspools that they called towns still corrupt and degrade new generations.

The Victorian workhouses have changed their names but they still stand as they did when they were the prisons of the destitute working class. The Black Country town halls still vie with London's Law Courts and Houses of Parliament as a perversion of medieval religious architecture, and pallid and

officials clerks flat foot their paid hours away in the deliberately-constructed warren of ill-lit offices that never heard the singing of vespers, only the voice of a Civil Service clerk with the mind of a John Braine and a flowered tie as his sole contribution to the eternal battle of the free mind for the free man. History has pulled the chain on Victoria and her society but no matter how much we flush their philosophy, their culture will, like shit, still pollute our own age. The senseless and useless slaughter in Ireland, the destruction of Scotland, the tragedy of Wales and the material rape of these lands are now being paid for and the price is too high, yet it must be paid but not in blood, O my comrades, not in blood.

Victoriana is now a camp middle-class collector's ploy and the market for this social horror is riding high as the grandchildren of the Victorian middle class decorate their modish flats with an aesthetic atrocity that their grandfathers once dribbled over. It is a joke but the price then and now is too high. The Royal Academy in Piccadilly have given over their Diploma Gallery to the exhibition of *Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Art* that formed part of the collection of Charles Handley-Read and Lavinia Handley-Read. Charles and Lavinia died in the closing months of 1971 and this extremely well-presented exhibition is a tribute to their collecting ability and one hopes that the collection will stay intact. It is a Chamber of Horrors of the arts and for this reason alone deserves to be preserved as an awful warning of what the philistine can do, be he artist or banker.

Among all this bad taste one comes

upon a few items that transcend that age and this is in the main in the field of metal work where the craftsman had to accept the discipline of his material. A soup tureen and ladle designed by Dresser about 1880, a muffin dish by Ashbee in 1900, or a chafing dish and cover designed by Smith Benson in 1895. This was an area which the prosperous middle class could not be bothered to mark with their dirty monied paws but in the visual arts, in architecture and in furniture design they found an historical all-time low.

The centrepiece of the exhibition is a bed designed by William Burges for his own use and abuse and it is here in the Diploma Gallery in all its manufactured gothic kinkiness, 'mahogany, painted red, carved, stencilled and gilded; inset with paintings on glass, inlays of shell and tinsel: the head fitted with a painting by Henry Holiday, "The Sleeping Beauty"; in the square panels below are the sleeping servitors. Inscribed in gold on the head in Gothic lettering "WLELMVS : BURGES : ME : FI : FECT : AD : MDCCCLXVII" : a shrine to Karloff and Shirley Temple that would need the pen of a Mary Whitehouse to indite, this sad relic of a generation who believed that their mental and spiritual sickness was a virtue.

The National Portrait Gallery in St. Martin's Place, W.C.2, again mounts a major exhibition of the works of a minor artist. This, I would hold, is the function of that gallery and in giving us the opportunity to see and appreciate the work of men who made a slight but lasting mark on our history the gallery perform a signal service for which I for one am grateful.

Daniel Maclise was born in Cork in 1806 and his life was no more than that of the successful painter who plied his trade in the only worthwhile market for the dispossessed Celt or Gael and that among the dilettantes of the London money marts. Maclise's painting is academic and pedestrian and his huge set pieces no more than uninspired tableaux in which an historical cliché is meticulously filled out with lifeless figures draped in mummies' attitudes. But for all that the work is good solid hack-work that one can enjoy as one would a waxworks exhibition. Yet Maclise was marred by his age and his huge canvas of *Merry Christmas in the Baron's Hall* that he painted in 1838 and now belongs to the National Gallery of Ireland is his Victorian vision of a Jacobean Christmas that belongs to the pages of Dickens. It is all part of the Victorian Disneyland of Birmingham

## Round the Galleries

ham armour, stone-faced brick castles and motherly virgins.

Maclise left little impact on our native culture but for all that frescoes of *Wellington and Blucher* and the *Death of Nelson* painted to decorate the walls of the Palace of Westminster will probably last as long as the building, for the fresco painting, their subject matter and the building that houses them will endure as part of the graveyard of the arts.

It is to the Hayward Gallery in Belvedere Road, S.E.1, that one should turn to admire a man who, despite a poor press, offers us sculpture as beautiful and as sensuous as any by Barbara Hepworth. Miro is one of the intellectual folk heroes of our age and his pretty coloured doodles of flat shapes frozen in free fall in a world of flat single colour formed part of the comic strip of the twentieth century. A gentle and a minor artist who one felt could amuse us and then could be dismissed. Yet his sculptures at the Hayward are the work of an artist who has thrown away his reputation by arriving after the battle. His huge bronzes are like Barbara Hepworth's work in that they are sculptures of the night.

Like huge pebbles they twist and turn in an erotic beauty that calls for a laying-on of hands and as always the pedants sought a reason for the unreasoning creation of the artist and they publicly ask if the circle that Miro has carved on a swelling of his *Solar Bird* is meant to be its arse and, David Sylvester, a sensitive writer who should know better, asked if it could mean that 'She thinks the sun shines out of her arse'. But despite the critics, here is beauty for the eye and the hand.

Here also at the Hayward is an exhibition of the work, the plans and the patfalls of the architect-designer g. rietveld. Every advance in the manufacture of new mass-produced materials must by its very nature trigger off a wave of new uses that it can be put to and the production of the atom bomb and the ball-point pen was merely a matter of time, not genius, for once the material was known sad little men in brown coats in every university in the world were scribbling their claim to immortality and a government grant.

With liquid concrete and the iron girder to play with, wide windows and open-ended houses became an inevitable discovery for, as bricks could only offer

narrow high windows, so in its turn concrete and the iron girder could give the world huge horizontal windows, open construction and the freedom of a fish in a fish tank. rietveld made his reputation with the new materials, as did so many other second-rate men, yet in examining his work at the Hayward Gallery one comes to understand all the massive failures in working-class housing since the war. Like the Victorians these new men learned nothing, and it was effect for the sake of applause from people who would never use the products of their clinical workshops or their sterile drawing boards.

Here are rietveld's chairs made of seven-ply wood bent in the form of the letter Z and like Burges' *Sleeping Beauty* bed too ugly and uncomfortable for human use. Here is rietveld's baby chair that won the hearts and the applause of the *avant-garde* that could cripple any unfortunate child forced to sit in it, with its tiny footrest too narrow for the child to use, the protruding heads of the screws and the sharp and brutal edge to cut into the child's inside leg. But it won the applause of the intelligentsia as did all those concrete deserts of high housing that the middle class built for the working class and are now publicly acknowledged as a social failure, for they treated us as cattle and sold us housing units instead of social communities.

The middle class will always seek to exploit us and then betray us. For too long we have had to listen to the middle class debating whether we of the working class were the anvil or the hammer of their awaited revolution, and in the battles in the bloody streets of Ireland, in the mass strike of the miners, the middle class were absent, and in the work on exhibition at the Royal Academy and the Hayward is a culture we can reject.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## PRESS FUND

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March 2-8 inc.

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## Shop Floor Procedures

LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

After reading P.T.'s article in *FREEDOM*, March 4, in which he reviews a pamphlet on the Industrial Relations Bill, 'Law and Order on the Shop Floor', while agreeing with much that was in the article, I felt he had made an error in that he infers all procedure 'plays into the hands of the employer'. Surely this is not the case. Many procedures have been hard fought-for by the unions, such as the right to consultations before work is sub-contracted, before redundancies, before a man is sacked, etc. The more organised the workshop, the more of these procedures there are, and the more limited is the power of the employer, he often succeeds mainly due to lack of

vigilance or ignorance of the workers concerned. This is based mainly on my own experience, in that the more aware the workers are of the way things tick, the more control they wish to have. The less aware, the more easily the management and also their own union can manipulate them. For this reason, I believe anarchists should attack not all procedures, but strive to broaden those which seek to enlarge the role played by the worker and damn the rest! The confidence the workers need to cast off authority will not come overnight. We must therefore encourage those on the road to revolution.

Glasgow

D. YOUNG.

## Violence and the State

Dear Comrades,

It seems to this anarchist that the editors of *FREEDOM* are turning the journal into a pacifist newspaper, a purpose already served by *Peace News*. The editors talk about 'the victory against violence' as being won when most of us don't join the army, etc., etc., and, as such, move the anarchist position to the pacifist one.

The basic anarchist advocacy is the negation of the State. There are many other evils in the armoury of the State besides violence. There are, for instance, the suppression of ideas and the distortion of points of view with which the State disagrees. The State seldom uses overt violence, it could be argued that Statesmanship involves keeping the use of violence to a minimum; the process of ruling is far more subtle and long term than the act of killing.

All those who recognise that the use of violence is a tactical weapon that cannot be unconditionally rejected by the anarchist, are saying is that we are deluding ourselves if we think a free society can be established without there being a likelihood of circumstances arising when violence in self-defence is essential to survival.

To suggest a use of violence involved in establishing a free society automatically ensures the anarchist society will be

authoritarian forgets the behaviour of anarchists and others after they have killed people! Are we to take the view that all people who have killed can never be good anarchists?

Perhaps this is the core of the differences between those who put violence as the greatest evil and those who single out the State for the greatest condemnation. It is oligarchy, elitism, rule that the anarchist resists not simply violence.

All this is not to make a case in favour of violence, we too are 'sick of violence' and know there are many more important day to day activities which are part and parcel of the revolution. We do not advocate bloodthirsty sadism, on the contrary it is love and creativity we wish to encourage. But we don't subscribe to the gross romanticism that sees the State wiping tears from its eyes as it gently pats us on the head, says how sorry the ruling class is for the evils of the oppression, and aids the construction of the free society!

One or two individuals, who have retained a vein of humanity which survived the lifelessness of the State machine, can show a change of heart. But to envisage a general conversion of the ruling class is to whistle for the moon.

Fraternally,

London

J.W.

### Book Review

## The Comrade from Atlantis

CALL TO REVOLUTION, *The Mystical Anarchism of Gustav Landauer*, by Charles B. Maurer (Wayne State University Press, Detroit).

THE REVOLUTION to which Gustav Landauer calls us is not a violent upheaval, but rather what we would call today 'the alternative society'. Influenced by the sixteenth century philosopher, Etienne de la Boetie, he advocated that people should withdraw their support from authoritarian institutions, and form their own libertarian ones, instead of setting up a counter-force to tyranny and fighting it with its own weapons. If no one will obey the tyrant his power ceases.

There is nothing mystical about this. However Landauer was not content with a fairly simple philosophy of life, and the above summary represents only a small part of his thought. It seems to me the most important, and the most relevant to what we are concerned with in *FREEDOM*, but the fact is that he also had theories about 'rested peoples' and cycles of civilisation going back into the unrecorded past, which are not dissimilar from the kind of thing one sometimes encounters in the 'hippy' papers, such as *The International Times*. His ideas about the Middle Ages resemble those of G. K. Chesterton. He was not so much a mystic as a German metaphysician, mixing metaphysics, history and romantic anthropology in a way which is quite acceptable in Germany, but which in England tends to seem odd. This sort of thing among us gets relegated to the Aetherius Society or to Gandalf's Garden, and is regarded as an amiable eccentricity. I read somewhere recently, but cannot trace the quotation, 'We Germans have one foot in Atlantis.'

I enjoy these fantasies, but I cannot help asking, 'Where is the evidence?' If a civilisation has vanished without trace, how can one say that it has ever existed? How can one say that Europe had 'soul' during the Middle Ages, but has not now? One may like a particular period better than another. I have just been reading Chesterton on the Middle Ages, as it happens, oddly enough. He makes out a very good case, but really all it amounts to is this, 'I like a particular life-style. It has many good points that you will probably like too. Here they are...' That practically every age has

had appalling horrors as well is easily forgotten.

That Landauer was no romantic racist, it goes without saying. He saw the repressiveness of Zionism, before the state of Israel existed. He was Jewish, but he condemned Zionism.

His life was tragic. It is easy to say of someone, 'He was ahead of his time'. But this really does seem to have been the case. His 'Socialist Bund', intended to be the beginning of an alternative society, was having some success before the First World War, but that war killed it, as it killed so many other hopes.

After the war he got himself involved in what must have been one of the most pathetic revolutions ever known, in Munich, Bavaria, 1918-1919. When the revolution collapsed he fell into the hands of the army. He was beaten to death by the soldiers. His last words were, 'To think you are human beings!' Unlike Christ and Ferrer he did not forgive his enemies or tell them they were not to blame. This was consistent with his belief in withdrawing support from tyrants, for this belief demands that people act responsibly and implies that their actions are their own choice. If they choose to support the tyrant they cannot plead that they did not know what they were doing.

But what a believer in non-violence and dropping out of authoritarian society and setting up alternative communities was doing in the Munich rising at all, which was authoritarian and violent, but ineffectually so, is something of a mystery. He had a chance to flee when it was obvious the revolt had failed, but he did not. It is possible that he felt he had had enough of everything. He was 48, his wife had just died suddenly, he may have felt that he did not care too much what happened to him. We can only guess.

This is an interesting book. One would like to know more about its subject. Although Landauer was a friend of Martin Buber, whose works have been translated into English, we have little, if anything by Landauer. At the same time I fear that a good deal of what he wrote would bore most anarchists, or would seem hardly relevant. There is no doubt though that his idea of withdrawing support from authoritarian society is very relevant to our situation today.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

# ANARCHISTS ON THE MOVE

**'FREEDOM'S' call for a meeting of readers to discuss how to make anarchist ideas and activity more effective resulted in a packed meeting at Toynbee Hall, in East London, last Sunday, March 12. 200 comrades attended, mostly from London, but from other areas as well. It was a stimulating experience and showed that anarchism, despite all the difficulties, is becoming a force to be reckoned with.**

Anarchists, as is well-known, do not subscribe to the idea of party organisation with its party 'lines', party directives and party leaders. They consider that such organisations crush individual responsibility and initiative. Believing that all people should be free they put this belief into practice by acting themselves as free men and women. If they can't persuade, they refuse to coerce and dictate.

This idea puts anarchists at a definite disadvantage in relation to the highly-organised parties like the Communist Party, the various Trotskyist groups and other disciplined organisations now seeking to 'guide' and 'direct' the workers'

movement. It is, therefore, a temptation for anarchists to try to organise themselves so as to compete on more equal terms with the 'disciplined revolutionary' groups like IS, the SLL and the IMG. Fortunately, anarchists, by and large, have resisted this temptation.

Nevertheless, there is definitely a need for more discussion, for more mutual aid, for more voluntary co-operation. Apart from anything else, meetings like that held last Sunday give encouragement to each other and break through the sense of isolation. There must be more of such meetings—locally and nationally. Anarchists must be seen and heard. We must discuss more with one another and discuss more often with the people in public. We have a great case, an unanswerable case. We believe that society should consist of free men and women without order-givers and order-takers, co-operating in doing the essential work of society and all sharing in its benefits. We must take that case to the people and argue for it as clearly and as concisely as we can.

## 'FREEDOM'S' ROLE

A party, with branches, with executives,

with leaders, and with a party line, can produce a party paper with an editorial board appointed to put that party line. FREEDOM is not such a paper and the anarchist movement is not such a movement. Therefore, to get FREEDOM to reflect more accurately what is going on in the movement is a much more complicated process than the simple one of appointing editors and telling them what to write. Anarchists in a locality, or a factory, can produce a paper (and many of them do) which can be the work of the entire local group all having their say and deciding every point of both the ideas and the production—including style, lay-out, etc. It is much more difficult when a paper is sold and read nationally (and even internationally) as FREEDOM is. The readers cannot physically get out the paper themselves. A few comrades, willing to devote their time and the energy to this task, must be trusted to do the job to the best of their ability. They, too, are free men and women and cannot be dictated to by anyone. If they make a bad job of it, if they fill the paper full of stuff which most anarchists consider to be irrelevant and of no help in the daily struggle

against the authoritarians, then the readers must say so—over and over again until either the paper changes or another paper takes its place.

FREEDOM is open to any anarchist who wants to help in producing an anarchist paper—not only writing for it, laying it out, preparing it for the printer, but folding it and despatching it. Its columns are open to any anarchist who thinks he has a contribution to make. We welcome it, we want more of it; for it is the only way that we can produce a paper that helps anarchists in the daily struggles in the various fields of activity they are engaged in.

The present Editorial Board is not a permanent institution. They will willingly stand aside to let others, who have proved themselves more capable, run the paper. Producing a paper is important—but no more important than many other kinds of activity. The movement needs writers, but it also needs speakers, propagandists, and people active in all walks of life. The more we have of such people, the faster will anarchism grow and become known.

Sunday's meeting showed that such people exist, that anarchism is on the march. Without falling into the trap of party organisation, let us now co-ordinate our activities as far as we can. Let us be tolerant of differences and help one another.

Sunday's meeting was, to us, a pleasant experience. We shall organise more of such meetings and invite everyone's co-operation in drawing up subjects for discussion. Write to us, please. We shall also try, this spring and summer, to organise public meetings and put the anarchist case to the people. Co-operation needed here in full. Please write to us with your ideas, suggestion for subjects, and for speakers. And thank you, comrades, for coming in such numbers to what we consider to have been the first of many such meetings of anarchists.

THE EDITORS.

## Squatters in Court

# ATTACK IS THE BEST METHOD OF DEFENCE

HELEN VENNARD was an ordinary woman squatter with a family of five girls and one boy to bring up. She did this excellently well, but that was as far as her squatting activities went. 'Help organise squatting activities—me? I've got more than enough to do bringing up my kids. . . I'd like to but I'm afraid I haven't the time!' Then came the time Helen was promised an eviction plus a beating-up at no extra cost by a self-styled heavy mob. After fellow-squatters had rallied round and the three slags were a danger no longer, Helen found herself helping out at parties and other functions organised by her squat as a collective action. Today, and I'll bet she can't explain how it came about, H. Vennard, Mrs., six children, all the picture of health, 27, blonde, blue eyed, no previous convictions, has done so much organisational graft helping other people needing homes to get one by squatting, that she can now tell me what to do instead of it's being vicky verky.

Mrs. Vennard is at present residing at 32 Grayling Road, Stoke Newington, and is a leading member of the Squatting Set in Grayling Road and thereabouts. Whether it's singing folk to a silent and appreciative audience in the Irish pub which is by some occult means the Grayling squatters' local, or ensuring that a family just installed in a squat and short of curtains and bedclothes gets the same a bit lively, one can rely on Helen to do a fine job.

Now it's always been a crime to be poor, but today's politicians have made it a crime to be homeless into the bargain. . . . For the victimisation of homeless families finding a home by squatting is nowadays a political gambit and is recognised as such by all politicians (who would willingly sell their mothers' corpses to a glue-factory if it would advance their political status a centimetre), as a legislative move and a good one very often when something else needs hiding from the public gaze with a smokescreen such as an anti-squatter campaign.

I don't pretend to know what reason the local Council has for its newly-born attack on squatters; it may be pure altruism on behalf of the voters' welfare, or it may be because a long-lost son of one of the Councillors has done the municipal kitty on 2 and 4, up-and-down, for the forecast, at Walthamstow Dog Track, and the entire Council's anxious to cover up for the lad's Councillor parent on the principle, 'We hang together or we hang separately'.

Whatever the reason, the Council began operations with getting an eviction order against a woman squatter in Dalston Lane. They succeeded in evicting her, too. . . . The bulldog breed, eh? No, more the political mongrel breed, for the 'bailiffs' who did the evicting were tearaways hired by the Council for the purpose. These slags, nominally bailiffs as were Quartermain's team in Redbridge in 1969, invaded the squatter's home at dead of night, all of them armed with iron bars. Her eviction was enforced with physical violence and the filthiest language, and—oh yes!—her little baby had its toes

crushed by one of the bailiffs' iron bars. The Council is determined to stop squatting in Hackney (that is the borough) as it is a menace to democratic procedures like terrorising women and smashing their kids' toes according to Parliamentary rules, i.e. OK, what are you gonna do about it?

Flushed with victory, Hackney Council moved into action against Helen and her fellow-squatters of Grayling Road. . . . All the four families here include young children, by the way. The families were at a hearing held at the High Courts of Justice on March 9, a Thursday, where the Council was applying for eviction orders against all of them. The entire proceedings should have been over long before lunch-time, for the average family, unversed in law and overawed by the Lion and Unicorn atmosphere, is no match at all for a Council and its well-paid legal help. As Helen and her mates wish to keep their homes, and also believe in attacking as the best means of defence, no sooner was the door of the Court opened than dismayed Council representatives saw the room become filled with a crowd of those awful persons, the public. The notice had stated 'HACKNEY COUNCIL VERSUS THE PEOPLE' which was repeated aloud by William Dwyer, Esq., very impressively. When he called to the crowd outside the court to come in, they entered to a man; it seemed the correct thing to do.

Undoubtedly Helen's six children do make a lovely picture when all dressed and washed and tidied up together, and undoubtedly the Judge-in-Chambers was very impressed at the sight of them standing with their mother. Was this the woman who neglected her children, gave false information to officials regarding her name and place of residence, refused to open the door to Council representatives, and so on? Then Frances, Helen's eldest, smiled at the Judge, and when Frances smiles, sure 'twould charm a bird off a tree, so it would. The Judge was delighted, and smiled beamingly back.

I wasn't there myself, but Helen tells me Bill Dwyer did his share and more than his share of helping the Grayling Road families that morning. Those of you who know Bill will readily know that his is the kind of personality to dominate such proceedings. The Judge insisted on a seat being brought for Mr. Dwyer, and soon afterwards stated that this case was obviously going to be defended and in such a manner as to make him feel without competence to hear the case and he proposed to adjourn it. Although Mr. Big, for the Council, assured the Judge of his competence in the case, the Judge was more interested to hear Mr. Dwyer's opinion of his competence. Gravely and perfectly courteously, Bill assured the Judge that he was not competent to hear this case. There they were, the two of them, said Helen, Bill consulting Tigg on Torts, or Crumpet on Competence or something, beside the Judge. The Judge asked Bill if he preferred an adjournment, or would he rather have the case dismissed?

'On no account should the case be

dismissed, Your Lordship!' said Bill and very very sternly and impressively he remarked that certain statements handed to the court for the Council were so far from the truth as to be within the bounds of perjury.

Jesus! The Council guy nearly had a shit-haemorrhage when he heard 'perjury'. To make a short story long, the hearing was adjourned, and at present it isn't known when it will come up again.

I hear that Bill's gaff was rifled that night or the next. The summonses had been whizzed and with them Bill's notes about the contest up till now; obviously someone is worried. They weren't worried when that woman was beaten, evicted, and terrorised by hired gangsters on their orders—the cowardly politician bastards!

Somehow, I think you sons-of-bitches

## Fingering the People

THE AMERICAN STATE is attempting to take another step towards exercising complete surveillance over its citizens' lives. There have already been exposés of the vast spy networks preying on dissenters (including the well-known long-time supporter of the Vietnam war, Edmund Muskie) and of the colossal amount of phone-tapping. The deliberate lies of the ruling class over Vietnam and Bangladesh have been disclosed in the press.

The state is now counter-attacking. The Senate Finance Committee has proposed that all elderly applicants for social security (the SS is the same the world over) should be compulsorily finger-printed, ostensibly to 'curb fraudulent acquisition of welfare cards by illegal immigrants and welfare cheaters'. As a concession, finger-printing would be voluntary for six-year-old children receiving cards at school. The benevolent state always asks the opinions of its children.

A further proposal was that every child should be assigned an SS number when he enters school, although most people don't apply for cards until they get their first job. The Chairman of the Committee, Senator Russell Long, admits he would like mandatory finger-printing for all, which he thinks would help, amongst other things, to find runaway children.

Anarchists will be familiar with the

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backed a loser when you picked on Helen & Co. as easy meat. People of courage and principle will always find plenty of willing friends and allies to help them in a struggle against things like you.

A leaflet giving the facts about the Grayling Road families' fight to keep their homes, is available from:

Helen Vennard, 32 Grayling Road, Stoke Newington, N.16.  
Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, E.1.

Hackney United Tenants' Association, 27 Chairman Mao Crescent, Long March Green, N.15.  
GEORGE FOULSER.

ruling class arguments for the necessity of tight controls in the 'fight against crime' and in 'seeing that the taxpayers' money goes to the right people'.

With the American economy beginning to lose its dominant place in the world market (leading to various well-publicised changes in foreign policy), the ruling class has to crack down on the working class to maintain its level of profits. Tightening up on those on welfare serves the two-fold purpose of keeping the unemployed, sick and general poor under control and frightening the workers into greater production.

National compulsory finger-printing would extend this further still. The ruling class is presumably worried by the increasing number of people not taking part in the system at all. There are communes all over the country—some political, some entirely apolitical. Terrorists like the Weathermen manage to hide out in this network and they're not the only ones who can wander the country without leaving tracks.

As with most affluent countries, there is an 'illegal immigrant problem'. The racist ruling class is quite willing to employ illegal and cheap Mexican labour in California agriculture, but draws the line at them being able to get welfare.

There are too many parallels to the British situation for comfort. Here, suggestions for national finger-printing have already been made. Now, Heath has explicitly linked violent crime with people responding to state violence by demonstrations, strikes, mass picketing, etc. The questions in the recent census (for those comrades who forgot to read before burning) enquired into racial backgrounds. We are all well aware of the greatly-intensified attack on the working class.

If the idea gets through in the States (it may not this time but it's always there for when things get bad), then the servant will try to copy the master and attempt it here. YOU HAVE BEEN WARNED.

STEVE KIBBLE.



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

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- Speeches and Discussions of the International Anarchist Summer Camp, Cornwall 1969  
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# REVOLUTIONARY PACIFISM

I WISH THOSE who want to counter the pacifist anarchist case would produce more profound arguments than those of the Worcester Anarchists. Surely there must be someone whose case is deeper. They write as if those who believe in revolutionary non-violence (a) believe in constitutionalism, (b) are unaware that the present holders of power and privilege will resist.

I wonder if the Worcester Anarchists have fully considered the import of their own adherence to the principle that 'our revolution' (I take it resolution was a misprint) 'cannot take place without the overwhelming support of the masses'. If they mean just that, that we will make a revolution, with the overwhelming but passive support of the masses, or even overwhelming but active support, then they are of course right, but the revolution they want will not be anarchist. Anarchism involves the masses not just in overwhelming support for a revolutionary leadership, but in overwhelming active involvement and that is something different.

No one questions that the present holders of power and privilege will resort to violence to prevent the loss of these. They already do. Let anyone strike, demonstrate, or do anything that even in a small way threatens the established order and the minority will use its hirelings; in the army, the police, bailiffs, Securitor-type private armies or, in the last resort, fascist gangs recruited from the lumpenproletariat and petit bourgeoisie; if they feel that by using such hired men they can destroy the threat at base. But note that the minority depends on others to do its dirty work.

Nor does the minority only confine itself to physical attack. Journalists can

be hired to slander the dissident, and justify the actions of the system, advertising is brought to bear, lawyers, teachers, psychologists, sociologists, historians, and others are all paid to 'prove' that a hierarchical system is the law of nature, and that all its opponents are merely motivated by selfish desire of gain or hatred of their parents. But again the minority depends on others to do its dirty work.

Nor is the damage only done at first hand. Printers agree to print the ravings of a Mary Whitehouse, an Enoch Powell, a Bernard Levin; armaments workers make the arms that the bosses will then give to other workers to crush yet others—and practically all workers in the engineering industry at some time or other find themselves making parts for military vehicles, etc.

Not only are banks, insurance companies, advertising agencies, all manned by workers—at different levels of pay and esteem; not only does every military base depend on the supply of provisions and sanitation from outside, involving yet other workers; but in one way and another very few of us are not in our paid jobs, in some way or another contributing to the preservation of the system or the myths that it needs to justify its continuance.

Now a revolution in any anarchist sense involves the mass refusal of the majority to be hired to do the dirty work of the minority. If moreover it involves a social general strike, if all the printers refuse to print right-wing material, replacing establishment articles with passages from anarchist and revolutionary socialist classics—as happened in Germany after the first world war in some places; if all the armaments workers

either converted the machinery in their factories to producing socially useful things or smashed them to prevent others using them to create weapons; if . . . ; if all soldiers, etc., refuse to fight, the minority would be in no position to use its power against the revolution—that is its present power.

The tiny capitalist minority of whom the Worcester comrades speak may decide to fight for themselves; in so doing they will start well armed with sporting rifles and indeed some more substantial weapons, they will undoubtedly have fast cars and executive jets; but all of these will depend on supplies, and their ability to coerce workers into providing these will be questionable. An anarchist revolution—of course—can only succeed if it very rapidly spreads and becomes international, and so the minority in any one country will not be able to depend as did Juan Marsh on aid from abroad. Despite its experience, gained in such pursuits as big game hunting, and its generally self-important and individualist philosophy, one cannot really envisage the capitalist minority developing into an efficient guerrilla force, if only because this would involve accepting long-term privation in a way to which they are not accustomed.

But the nub of the question again is what is meant by the overwhelming support of the majority.

If this—at its lowest—is merely the sort of support that one gets in elections, where people vote for one party because on balance they think it is better than the alternative—without necessarily even knowing what its policy is—but who are not willing to do more than vote to obtain the aims of the party for which they vote (even where they do in fact support them), then undoubtedly our comrades are right, a violent guerrilla elite is necessary to act on behalf of the minority. This was the Castro-Guevara pattern.

If large sections of the majority want something much more, are prepared to vote with their feet and leave the forces—though the fact that they had to leave forces which were not totally disbanded, meant that it was minorities so acting—and the majority at least knows that it wants 'bread and peace' sufficiently to demonstrate for them and to cheer on revolutionary agitators, and to participate under their leadership in the formation of workers' councils; but if large numbers remain undecided ready to yield to whichever is the greater pressure put upon them, ready either to fight for the revolution or the counter-revolution according to which can make the better promises towards immediate provision of food; then again the comrades are right, an insurrection is needed. This was the Lenin pattern.

Undoubtedly there have been revolutionary attempts, using violence, which were more libertarian than these. Makhno's peasant armies were more deeply grounded in the community than is the Vietnamese NLF, not just fish able to swim in the sea, but the embodiment of the communities amongst which they fought, but Archinov has shown that internally they were by no means as libertarian as Makhno's professions. The Magon brothers and Durrutti, though less paternalist and regimenting than Makhno, nevertheless also had to compromise with hierarchy. Louise Michel, Lamanov, Korsch, Cohn Bendit and countless others may have shown how to impart an anarchist, or near anarchist influence to revolutions even more truly grounded in the masses than each of these; but in each case it was a revolution that was largely localised, and though in its area the overwhelming majority might not just support but participate in the revolution, the fact that it was unable to spread doomed it, and the violence it used in self-defence was an acceptance of that isolation, and ultimately of that doom.

Insurrections, whether on behalf of or leading masses who support but do not make a revolution, throughout history have demonstrated that violence can only be efficiently organised by hierarchical movements. The social general strike demands more universal and more committed participation than an insurrection and it makes violence irrelevant.

Obviously we are not going to jump from where we are to the social general strike. Long before the workers are all convinced of the need for anarchism their power will be such as to pose an immediate threat to that of the ruling class. In such circumstances the lesson of history suggests that some form of state socialist party will seize power and transform the nature of exploitation in a pretence of making a revolution; so that

## Contact

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

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

Petition forms against The Night Assemblies Bill—from Bill Dwyer, 40e Holland Road, London, W.14. Phone 01-602 4027.

Libertarian Teacher 8 now on sale 10p + 3p post from Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester or Freedom Bookshop.

Croydon Group meeting at Top Flat, 4 Warminster Road, S. Norwood, S.E.25, at 7.30, Tuesday, April 4. Speaker: Vik van Brantegem, Flemish Catholic Students Union, on 'The Work of SMOG Committees'.

Anarchist Dwarf Group forming in Enfield area; contact Terry and Val, 89 Mapleton Crescent, Enfield, Middlesex.

Scotland Road Free School. Would someone connected with this school please contact me at 13B Kilwarlin Crescent, Belfast, BT8 4EN. David Gardiner.

Could friends in Whitchy please write again as we have mislaid their address. Georgie and Russell Fell, 2 Pilgrims Close, Marks Risborough, Aylesbury, Bucks.

Would Box 001 please send Freedom Press his address as we have mislaid it. We have a number of replies from your ad.

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. On March 23 at 8 p.m. Also films on December 8 Strike and Squatters.

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, Libertaria 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.

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).

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

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.

## Fine Tubes Dispute

LETTER

Dear Sir & Brother,

Regarding the Committee of Enquiry's recommendation for an early settlement to the dispute. As yet no date has been fixed for a meeting between the Employers and Unions, despite the fact that the strikers agreed to adhere to the findings of the Committee.

It would seem that the dispute will still continue for several more weeks before a final settlement is reached.

Although we have had wonderful support from fellow trade unionists, because of the length of the strike—now in its 84th week—we are running into

financial difficulties. We have to make up the strike pay for the AUEW members whose benefits stopped after 52 weeks. We have also lost £3.85 Social Security Benefits.

We are therefore making a further appeal so that we can continue the strike to the bitter end which is possibly in sight, but not yet achieved.

Yours fraternally,  
H. WELCH, Chairman,  
Fine Tubes Strike Committee,  
c/o 48 Stuart Road,  
Pennycomequick, Plymouth.  
Tel.: 0752-65459.

## This Week in Ireland

EXCEPT for the perpetrators, the Abercorn explosion left everyone in Ireland completely numb with the sheer horror of this mindless act of some psychopaths. It does not matter to me whether it was done by the UVF, the Vanguard Movement, the IRA or even just a private group of homicidal maniacs. Ireland seems determined to commit genocide by herself if the British Army won't do it for her.

There have been too many explosions to count. Marcus McCausland murdered in cold blood. Joseph Jardine murdered in cold blood and moreover shot more than forty times. The murderers came over the border to the Republic and Faulkner blames Lynch for not guarding the border better. This is silly. I have been over the border plus suitcase many times, once in a bus containing 42 people. Never were our cases even opened. Any one of us could have had revolvers and bullets galore and gelignite galore in those bags without even bothering to wrap them up.

The Widgery tribunal rumbles and burbles on. Heavily disguised soldiers give evidence under pseudonyms and wearing dark glasses. One would conclude by listening to many of them they had been brutally attacked by at the very least 300 heavily armed people—and had shot all 500 of them. A para officer even admitted he had lied on TV as it would have sounded too feeble if he had said the truth that in fact he did not himself see an armed person, so he repeated what some of his soldiers had told him. The verdict of this tribunal will be more of a farce than the Compton enquiry unless a miracle happens and I do not believe in miracles.

After rearming the police long ago Faulkner has now recalled the B Specials,

and the Westminster initiative still does not come and has assuredly missed the boat by years. The Protestant backlash is going 'softly' already. Billy Hull is bringing out the dockers today on a D for disruption strike for all the afternoon, in spite of Faulkner, and even Paisley, asking him not to do so and the other trades unions being against it. Heath is afraid of losing the EEC vote of the Unionist MPs more than anything and is prepared—indeed could not care less—for the bloodbath to go on in the six counties if he can get them voting yes. They are afraid the EEC will mean rule by 'old red socks' and are really anti so Heath falls over himself to propitiate them.

Unemployment rises daily both sides of the border and in Dublin more and more people are rendered homeless to accommodate the prestige offices. One feels so impotent and vulnerable as the hate goes on and on and no one ever listens to anyone else.

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## ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

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.

we will have a more developed state-managed capitalism than as now.

In such circumstances we will all be faced with the question—where do we stand? Obviously, to the extent that the masses are mobilised we cannot stand aside. Equally obviously to the extent that they uncritically follow the Leninists or other authoritarians we cannot suspend our critique of state socialism. We have to work in the situation so created to make this workers' mobilization and intervention self-mobilization and advocate the self-liberation of the class; and we have to do it in a way that will prepare the workers for future struggles against the state socialists and warn them

of the repressive measures that the latter will probably use.

It is at this point that the real debate between the pacifist and the non-pacifist anarchist has to be argued. Can we better prepare the workers for the betrayal they will then meet, better prepare them for the struggles they will then encounter, better contribute to the destruction of the old order, without aiding the construction of the new exploitation by means of violent or non-violent action?

Debate that does not centre on this is irrelevant to the problems of anarchists.

LAURENS OTTER.