

## CONTEMPT FOR THE LAW

THE DECISION of the National Industrial Relations Court to impose a £5,000 fine on the Transport and General Workers' Union will really bring home to trade unionists what the Industrial Relations Act is all about. For the first time under this Act a union has been fined. The order to pay has been suspended for 14 days to enable the union to give an explanation to the court. The court also made an order for the issue of a writ of seizure of the union's assets within 3 weeks following this period. This

writ will be carried out if the union refused to pay the fine or appear before the court.

The court's decisions follow an application by Heaton's Transport of St. Helens, Lancs., who alleged that they were being 'blackened' by dockers who had refused to unload their lorries. An interim order was issued to end the 'blackening'. Heaton's still maintained that the 'blackening' was continuing despite the order and gave notice of contempt proceedings.

Soon after the 'blackening' was called off and Heaton's were satisfied

but by that time it was too late and the contempt proceedings had to continue.

In accordance with the TUC's non-co-operation policy, the union did not attend the contempt hearing and were fined. Sir John Donaldson, president of the NIRC, said, 'The Industrial Court, like any other, existed not just to preserve a particular law but the whole system of law. Failure to comply with an order of any court demonstrated a contempt of all law and for freedom under the law.'

The court has made no decision under the Industrial Relations Act whether the 'blackening' was an 'unfair industrial practice' under the Act, and no date has, as yet, been fixed for this hearing. The T&GWU is threatened with the full weight of the law simply because of its non-co-operation with the court. For this it is held in contempt. Failure to comply means that the whole of the union's funds will be taken over by Commissioners who will pay the £5,000 fine and return the rest of the assets to the union.

This case, like that of Ideal Case-ments, shows what a monster the law is. Heaton's tried to extricate themselves when they had nothing to gain from contempt proceedings. But the president of the NIRC said that once these proceedings had been started the parties concerned could

not settle the matter out of court.

Similar cases of 'blackening' have been brought before the court before the new Act came into force. The T&GWU complied with these court orders. But now that 'blackings' are covered by the new Act the attitude to the law has changed and whereas the union would attend a high court they do not recognise the NIRC.

### DEMARCATIION DISPUTE

The dispute is basically one of demarcation. Dockers are demanding that they load and unload container lorries. The lorry drivers are members of the same union. As a case, it is not a particularly inspiring example of the class struggle. However, the important thing is to oppose the new Act and not co-operate with its courts. By demonstrating contempt, the T&GWU has in fact challenged the law itself and not just the Act. It is important that this challenge is maintained and that they continue to defy the law. For the law means nothing, if enough hold it in contempt. The history of the labour movement has been built on contempt for the law. Trade unionists have been willing to do this because they have felt that their principles were more important than a Government-imposed law.

History shows that if enough people are willing to defy and break laws they find repressive then there

isn't much that the authorities can do about it. Solidarity between workers is always the key to success in both the struggle against the employer and repressive legislation.

Let the Commissioners move in but the fine should not be paid by the union.

The president of the court said some revealing things about the law. He stated, 'Freedom without law, and law without enforcement are contradictions. Ultimately they spell only tyranny.'

But the contrary is the case. Where there are more laws with strict enforcement covering every aspect of our daily lives, they are the authoritarian regimes. They are the tyrannies. There is no contradiction, people do not need laws to live by. It is the governments which legislate in order to govern, control and repress. Tyranny stems from government, their laws and all the coercive means the State has to enforce them.

The sledgehammer effect of law in industrial affairs is making many employers unwilling to use the Act. They do not want a confrontation where even a short dispute could hit profits. But where and when it is used against trade unionists then they should receive every support and solidarity from their fellow workers throughout the trade union movement. P.T.

## Wasted Militancy

IT IS A SAD SIGHT indeed to see a divided working class enthusiastically championing the cause of its own exploitation and manipulation. In N. Ireland we see the strike weapon which has a noble history in advancing the cause of social justice now used to support the aims of William Craig's Vanguard movement which hopes to exploit the fears of Protestant workers in order to ride to power. In Craig's own words his intention is to 'fight to get our Government back with greater powers than ever before'. From a man whose bigotry and unashamedly dictatorial methods were too much even for the sectarian Unionist Government, this can have only one ominous meaning and it has nothing to do with advancing the cause of workers whether they are Protestant, Catholic, atheist or anything else.

The Protestant workers see direct rule from Westminster as a possible first step towards a deal whereby they will eventually come under the jurisdiction of

the Dublin Government. Their distaste for such a prospect is natural and justifiable. The Dublin regime reflects the authoritarianism and prejudices of the Catholic Church with its banning of books, blatant indoctrination in schools, opposition to contraception, etc. However, the bigotry of Protestantism is no answer to this. There are signs that the Catholic community is sickened by the indiscriminate slaughter and maiming of innocent men, women and children that has been perpetrated in its name. Catholic workers must have the courage to speak out against the insane murderers of the IRA, and Protestant workers must speak out against the bigots who scream for revenge.

Whether they are part of Britain, the Irish Republic or an independent N. Ireland state, all workers face the same struggle against the capitalists who would grow rich on their labours and the politicians who would ride to power on their backs. For those of all religions and none there is only one sane, worthwhile struggle and that is the struggle to create a free society without 'us' and 'them', without exploiters and exploited, without oppressors and oppressed. Neither Craig nor the IRA can or will solve the problems of workers in N. Ireland. Both are crazed by the desire for power. The only solution is for all workers to stop thinking of themselves as Catholics and Protestants, and to realize that they have a common cause against those who would keep them divided in order to keep them enslaved. For keeping the working class divided the bombers and bigots deserve a medal from the rich and powerful. They know only too well that a united working class determined to be free would kick them into the dung-cart of history.

Strike? Yes, but not to choose your masters. Instead get them all off your backs for good and build a new society on the anarchist principles of voluntary co-operation and mutual aid.

TERRY PHILLIPS.

## Scab Union recognised—by Tories

THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS Staff Association (formerly the National Guild of Telephonists) is claiming recognition under the Government's Industrial Relations Act.

The TSA is not recognised as a Union by the Post Office Corporation; it is not affiliated to the TUC; it recruits mainly male (night) telephonists; it opposed the Union of Post Office Workers' strike last year, and instructed its members to cross the picket lines; and during its 44 years of existence, it has never organised a strike for higher wages or better conditions for male or female telephonists.

But it is worrying the now much-weakened UPW. Despite its mere 10,000 membership (as against the UPW's 200,000), it has recently been engaged in discussions with officials of the Tory Party Central Office in an effort to claim recognition from the National Industrial Relations Court—which most Unions, at least for the moment, refuse to recognise.

Tom Jackson, UPW general secretary, and the motley crowd of *Tribuneites* and Stalinists who run the UPW, are now prepared to follow the TSA to the Court, despite TUC opposition. Members of the UPW should oppose the moves of their executive; they should support and build up the 'unofficial' libertarian Postal Workers' Alliance, and they should do everything in their power to smash the scab, secessionist, Telecommunications Staff Association. Postal Workers must oppose the Tory Government's Industrial Relations Act. Defy the State!

RANK-AND-FILE TRADE UNIONIST.

## Valpreda's Trial

THE RADIO REPORT from the BBC Italian correspondent on the Anarchist trial, which was broadcast on March 4 (as reported in FREEDOM on March 11), was published in the *Listener* on March 9. A long letter in reply from Nicolas Walter was printed in the *Listener* on March 23, correcting some of the errors in the report, stressing the specifically Anarchist aspects of the case, recommending the *Libertaria* pamphlet *Italian State Massacre*, and concluding: 'Above all, do not imagine that it is only Anarchists who are threatened, or only in Italy.'

## THE SICK MAN OF NATO

THE BRUTAL REGIME in Turkey has once more shown its true nature. Thirteen people died as a result of the Army rushing a house where three Britons were being held hostage by ten members of the Turkish People's Liberation Army. Three of the dead were the hostages—all NATO technicians—shot by the guerillas, one was a lawyer attempting to negotiate, and only one of the ten guerillas survived. The Turkish Government is now engaged in a desperate PR job to convince world opinion that it did everything possible to save the lives of the kidnapped men.

Conflicting statements were issued by various branches of the Government—reminiscent of a previous political kidnapping where a news agency suddenly dropped its story that a kidnapper had been lynched by a crowd with tacit police consent. In this latest case an early statement by the semi-official Anatolia News Agency described in great detail the guerillas blowing up themselves and the hostages. This was later denied by an Interior Ministry statement which said 'the anarchists', i.e. Marxists had shot their hostages three hours before troops rushed the house. Reasons for the delay have not been explained.

The Turkish Government, which is entirely dependent on the armed forces for its existence in office, has never shown any noticeable concern for the lives and living conditions of its citizens, or anyone unfortunate enough to pass through its territory. It might have been thought that it would be more worried about three foreigners working for its political master, NATO. This was obviously the reasoning in the minds of the kidnappers. But fascists cannot help but react as fascists, even though massive shows of military force nearly always ensure that hostages are killed. In fact the regime was far more concerned to kill the terrorists and clear up its law and order problem than to try and save any lives. Turkey being part of the South East stronghold of the NATO machine,

more expendable technicians will always be sent out.

The violence of the Turkish ruling class has met with strong resistance from the working class. There have also been massive anti-US demonstrations especially against visits of the Sixth Fleet and there are constant clashes between workers and students and right-wing Islam extremists. But the attempt of the Turkish People's Liberation Army to ride to power as the vanguard of popular discontent has gone very wrong, even from their Leninist viewpoint. The killing of US servicemen and the murder last year of the Israeli diplomat Elrom appear to have horrified the people as much as the repression of the state.

One of the reasons for the kidnapping was to force cancellation of death sentences passed on other TPLA members who had been convicted of kidnapping US servicemen. Another reason is the cynical tactic adopted by various 'vanguard' groups of 'confrontation politics', in which the State is deliberately provoked into tightening up repression so that people then turn in desperation to these groups to liberate them (or so the theory goes). Apart from anything else, this is counter-revolutionary as, given the choice between the usual methods of dictatorship and the heavy vanguard-induced variety, people tend to suffer the former. Thus not only is the State strengthened in its power over the ordinary citizen, but also in its ability to wipe out the very groups attempting a coup d'etat. The diplomatic kidnappings, the hi-jackings and the bombings conducted in Turkey, by the FLQ in Quebec, the Weathermen in the USA, the Japanese Red Army, the Naxalites in West Bengal, the ALN in Brazil and lately the Maoists in France seem to have served to totally isolate them from the population. They are no nearer to power and, far more importantly, they have not helped the oppressed people they want to represent.

In certain areas urban guerillas appear to be the fish in water that Mao said

they should be, e.g. the Vietcong, the Pathet Lao, the Tupamaros, even the IRA in places like the Creggan, Andersonstown, the Ardoyne. Some of this support is just part of a continuing trust and reliance in leaders, but these groups do have a popular base and do not try and over-reach themselves. They also avoid actions harmful to the local community. The last two may not be true of the IRA, but experience from Ireland suggests that support for the IRA exists because people see it as their only means of defence against the army. They know the local members even if, quite rightly, they have great misgivings about the leadership's policy. These misgivings were shown at the weekend by the call for peace by large numbers of women in Andersonstown. This so worried the Provisionals that MacStiofain, living safely in Dublin, specially came to Derry to appeal for continued support and solidarity in the IRA fight for a united Ireland.

Without popular support no guerilla group can exist and anarchists have the difficult task of propounding to people that they do not have to submit to hierarchical organisations for defence or in order to create a better society. Only people themselves can create social revolution through their own education, organisation and action. It is meaningless and dangerous to invite the State to be more brutal (it's only too ready to oblige), to indulge in armed but isolated attacks on the system in order to incite revolt and it only leads to the results seen in Turkey.

STEVE KIBBLE.

### NEWSFLASH (Monday)

The authorities have now asked all political parties to stop activities and have suggested the classic Fascist answer to political unrest. In the interests of 'democracy' and to guard against 'anarchy' the constitution should be altered so that all necessary measures could be taken by the Government. Another success for confrontation politics?

# If Thine Eye Offend Thee

TONY RAY-JONES died because of leukemia on March 13 this year and the death of this 31-year-old American in our Town ended in no more than a badly-typed note pinned upon the wall of the Institute of Contemporary Arts in Nash House at 12 Carlton House Terrace, S.W.1. Of your innocence, you could ask as to why the ICA should deign to honour this stranger within our gates, for this professional almshouse of the established *avant garde* is not given to sentimental charity. But Tony Ray-Jones beat death and the ICA by mere days in having his exhibition of photographs displayed on one of the gallery walls. There they hang, curling memorial cards, one man's statement of his vision of his fellow men and women.

The camera is the great falsifier of our age for it records only what we are expected to see. The long and boring demonstration exists in the punch-up shots of the front-rank militants, war as no more than an army of the dead, and peace as sad old men shuffling along, shopping bag in hand and a blurred background of scurrying people. Even the texture and the tones of the prints accept their own clichés. For the negroes it is soft, rich, well-highlighted blacks, for the white working class it is the grey watery black and off whites pioneered by Bill Brandt, for the peasantry of every country in the Western world, clear outdoor lighting, sharp outlines and a softening of cloth and wrinkles.

The Americans added a new cliché as they photographed their own Middle Western American society for that world of wooden framed houses, empty rocking chairs and decaying gas stations was shown to history and the world in a grey and grainy texture that we choose to believe portrays that world of settlements without a tradition and without a future. Across the American prairies these soul-destroying little communities came into existence and, as the motive for their being ended, they became no more than an open prison for the few families trapped in that dead economy and these ghost towns of the living dead are the prize of the man with the camera seeking the long shot of contemporary cultural decay balanced upon an empty horizon against a huge background of cloud-smearied skies.

Tony Ray-Jones' photographs of the American negro within the crowded American cities must be judged in relation to the work of other American photographers and a classic example is presented to the Town with Peter Bog-

danovich's film, *The Last Picture Show*, on view at Mayfair's Curzon Cinema. A kultural sleeper that by clever PR management has the high foreheads queuing up outside the cinema it is in itself of little value as an example of film fun for the minority masses. One weeps at this tale of lost youth and the sexual awakening of the boy hero and then wonders if it was worth the 75p for the use of the cheapest seat. What is worthwhile with this film is the photography of Robert Surtees for with a black and acrid camera he gives us a Texan town as we would have it be. The fading cinema, the ghostly pool room, long empty streets and a newspaper turning in the windy dirty street in an empty world where the only ambition is to leave.

When the film is ended we find that the story line is no more than that of a thousand filmed soap operas that ranged from Charlie Chaplin's *The Kid*, through the lives of *Andy Hardy* to the *Summer of '42* yet, unlike those other films, we are this time left to the mercy and the gifted hands of Robert Surtees, the cameraman. And as with Sergei Eisenstein, John Ford and Orsen Welles, we are given what is in effect no more than a magnificent series of animated stills. Each camera angle and each camera shot by all these men is conceived as an individual work of art and by doing this they destroy the film as an artistic whole. Ford and Welles, Eisenstein and Surtees pervert truth in the cause of fiction and the banality of the story line cleanses the mind but the still photographs as an end in themselves is the ultimate lie, as every editor knows who from a deskful of chosen moments in one hour of time, deliberately manufactures his version of the truth to fit his own version of the facts.

Tony Ray-Jones is dead and his view of his America was his own and it was a sweet and gentle one, rich and warm and human and for that we thank him on behalf of the indifferent vegetarians savaging their lettuces in the ICA dining room on whose wall hangs the last work of Tony Ray-Jones.

What should one say of the work of the painter Graham Ovenden, other than to suggest that he should find some

sympathetic and understanding priest and that they should have a quiet talk on Graham's Lewis Carroll syndrome?

Graham made his first pretty bow when he exhibited at the Piccadilly Gallery at 16a Cork Street, W.1, with a series of paintings of little girls. Extremely well painted they won an automatic applause but as subject matter they were more clinical than entertaining for Graham has an unfortunate obsession in that he would appear to enjoy posing his small daughters and/or their young friends in attitudes of shameful guilt. They stand there with their clothing disarrayed just that amount to allow the audience see the methodically painted, hairless vaginas or their undeveloped breasts.

Graham is a brilliant painter and how the artist uses his gift is a matter that can only concern himself but I would hold that obscenity is that which awakens a feeling of guilt or shame in the audience or those used to act out the action. Obviously Graham, and I use the patronising christian name deliberately, enjoys his sexual charades with these small girl children but I think that we, the audience, share their recorded shame that they should be treated so.

Graham Ovenden is now exhibiting in association with the Waddington Gallery who have already shown his illustrations to the *Alice* book. Like Lewis Carroll's appetite for the camera and small girls, Graham's canvases can in the end become no more than a joke in bad taste or illustrations for some worthy but unreadable medical thesis, so, Graham lad, a quiet talk with Father Murphy before he joins his regiment or borrow my dirty mac.

For those who love their teutonic fantasies however, there is the early

works of Alfred Kubin who kicked his mortal coil in 1959. An orthodox failure in most things, he was finally elected to the *Prussische Akademie der Kunst* in 1930, fell foul of the Hitler mob and managed to wave a happy hallo to the Allied soldiers in 1945. His illustrations are Wagnerian, bitter and brooding. Masses of dark shadows, expressionist backgrounds and maniac figures in a primeval world and all enjoyable in a Grimm's fairy tale world of graveyard horrors.

For those who dream of Ireland as seen through the bottom of a Guinness glass as a world of lyrical ITV advertisement scenery, then it is all for the first jaunting car to the exhibition galleries in the Royal Mall for an exhibition of Irish charm and whimsy. Enjoyable paintings that ask little of the spectator than to stand back and enjoy minor work that, though of slight value, gives much pleasure to all involved. There was a time when I feared to enter the Gimpel Gallery in 50 South Molton Street, W.1, for a false belief that the angry letters of the Brothers Gimpel might assume a physical meaning but now we are at peace and we can share a friendly smile and a nod of the head and I no longer have to turn up the collar of my dirty mac to hide myself when I visit this worthwhile gallery. And let me go on record by stating that Gimpel's current exhibition of the *human form in primitive and modern art* entitled 'Who Are You?' is no more than a dealer's package of available sellable paintings. But despite that it is a good and worthwhile exhibition made more so by the chance to see a Charles Beauchamp engraving.

John Piper is that rare thing among contemporary painters, a mystic who translates his vision onto his canvases.

He bathes the decaying facades of his broken secular and religious building in a light of his own making and each empty shell of stone and brick becomes a burning altar to an eternal god. At the Marlborough Fine Art Gallery at 6 Albemarle Street, W.1, his magnificent oil paintings hang upon the dealer's walls like ancient tapestries of an age when men channelled their desires and their genius to the glory of their unknown god but for John Piper's decorated pottery that lies in untidy heaps at the rear of the gallery I could and can and do dismiss it with one cheerful wave of the hand.

But the Town calls, and one pauses only for a brief moment of admiration at the signed and numbered serigraphs of Richard Lindner on welcome display within the London Arts Group at 22 New Bond Street, W.1, wander in to the Kasmin Gallery at 118 New Bond Street, W.1, to admire the charm of Kasmin, its elusive director, a legendary figure forever disappearing through doors leaving only his smile as proof of his claimed existence, and having searched among the bail of chicken wire for the chicken, for Brower Hatcher's alleged sculpture is no more than a tangled hedge of wire dumped upon the Kasmin Gallery floor, one hurries hot and panting to Angela Flowers' Gallery hidden in 3 & 4 Portland Mews, W.1, for free champagne, and *Walls* by Wendy Taylor. Wendy is a slight and gentle creature dressed in orthodox jeans and vest in counterpoint to Angela's slim Wren-like beauty and Jane Austin dressage and while Angela handed out the free champagne we of the *ton* weaved our way around the garret gallery viewing Wendy's framed work. There within a single picture frame she's built a wall of tiny bricks against a painted background sky and their charm lies in the mystery of the world beyond those walls. It is the innocence of pre-knowledge that Ovenden perverted and Ray-Jones lost and Wendy once more offers us... and the champagne.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## Letter from Australia

THE Anarchist Federation (Australia), PO Box A389, Sydney South 2000, is being continued, at least till December 1972. But as to Federated activity—well? Nevertheless, I do not indulge in the luxuries of the pessimism/optimism variety so will keep ready for the 'possibility'.

In Wollongong, I've the pleasure of working with the South Coast Citizens Against Conscriptio—who are unanimous in their animosity to conscription, coercion and exploitation. We have recently succeeded in pressuring the large 'Withdrawal from South East Asia of all US Troops' campaign to emphasise the Repeal of the National Service Act as

part of the proposed Australia-wide demonstration for April 21 and 22.

Meanwhile, draft resister Geoff Mullen is released from prison and was greeted 'back to the jungle' at the Libertarian Commune on Saturday—fortnight back. His friend, anarchist Mike Matteson, still evades police detection though his family's home is constantly under police scrutiny (the 'loving couple' technique being the favourite method of camouflage—however the binoculars give the cops away constantly, much to the derisive merriment of the local children).

The Aboriginal Embassy opposite Parliament House in Canberra is swelling to massive proportions. Originally a

solitary tent six weeks ago, there are now thirteen tents plus great numbers of aboriginals and whites congregating daily at the 'Embassy' to protest against the rejection of land rights by the current bludgery.

The Labour Party's leader has at last declared his contempt for the National Service Act and has pledged repeal 'when elected to Prime Minister' at the pending elections. Coupled with the current PM's statement that his government finds the '18-year-voter' not ready yet to enter into the world of politics—due to the poor standing of the government with the pre-20-year-olds, it appears that 'conscriptio—and price control' will be the name of the game for this year's elections. However a great deal of anxiety is expressed in 'official' circles due to the latest Gallup poll indicating no great interest in either party machine.

An informal vote would certainly show a marked maturation that I couldn't predict in the Australian herd, but who knows? Of course traditions are hard to shift and I imagine the religious voter will stick by his particular political potion regardless of the advisability of such actions.

Warramong

C.P.

## Tomb of Tooting Common

EXCAVATIONS HAVE BEEN made in the area where the former city of London stood (it was concreted over after the first atomic war had made it uninhabitable—although it was said to be uninhabitable by about 1970). Archaeologists discovered a family tomb (also known as a 'womb' or 'home'—the spelling varies).

It is rich in priceless treasures, many constructed of precious plastic, a very rare material which completely disappeared in 2020 possibly through the accidental chain reaction of an invention designed to make plastic self-destructive.

Among the treasures are a statue of a wood-god squatting on what seems to be a toad-stool (an oblique reference to the mushroom cloud?). This was discovered outside the entrance to the main chamber. This figure has a red Phrygian cap and the expression of a satyr. It is obviously designed by a sculptor of the school of Disney. Space forbids a full catalogue of the artistic treasures but in the first narrow chamber there is a row of wonderfully designed birds in flight. They are cunningly spaced out in a V shape and are tinted blue. It is obvious that the inhabitants of Tooting had never seen such birds—since by their entombment birds had died out—almost—they were obviously the embodiment of a subconscious desire for flight. Among the many treasures in what was known as the 'sit-in' room, there is a lifelike representation of a species known as 'dog'. This was obviously the Cabbalistic form of one of the household gods—the name was always written and pronounced backwards to avert catastrophes. The present 'dog' is portrayed standing on a rock and it bears some resemblance to an extinct species known as 'wolf'.

The Tootingians were polytheist. One of the household shrines in front of which they spent hours of worship was discovered. It was a square box at the front of which was a sheet of opaque material, a series of inlaid buttons at the side of the panel obviously transmitted to the gods the wishes of the worshippers. Food dishes of pure plastic and exquisite

workmanship were found at the front of the household god, whether these were for the god of the shrine or for the refreshment of the worshippers, who must have been exhausted by the hours of worship.

In another chamber of a rather more humble nature was discovered a secondary god, of whom records have come down. It was known as Juggernaut and was in fact a chariot, kept in immaculate condition. It is now known that victims were regularly sacrificed to Juggernaut and the constant cleaning was obviously to cleanse it of the guilt attaching to such sacrificial killings. Unfortunately the popularity of the cult (every house's ambition was to have a Juggernaut, some had two) led to a shortage of victims and the Juggernauts attacked each other with the inevitable consequence that they became almost extinct or unwanted. Fierce battles raged on the motorways known by the cryptic names of M1, M2, etc., and the carnage was incredible.

We are told that the Tootingians worshipped a third god known as Mammon but few traces of this were discovered in the Tooting tomb. It may have been taken away by grave robbers, in this case why was valuable plastic left behind?

The Tootingians were obviously not an agricultural people but neither did they seem to manufacture anything, no tools or products were found in the tomb. It is said that they had gigantic factories which produced quantities of goods without any need of human help. However, it was said that a blockage in the factories stopped the outflow of goods and the factory exploded.

From ancient chronicles such as those of the Club of Rome (attributed to Edward Gibbon) and said to be connected with the institution called the Vatican whose function was unknown, it is obvious that the Tootingian civilization collapsed through over-population, agricultural decline, industrial over-production, exhaustion of natural resources, pollution, warfare and political organization. Nevertheless they left behind rich artistic treasures. JACK SPRATT.

## Waste Papers

TWO LEFT-WING PAPERS which tried to bridge the gap between Fleet Street and the underground with the use of professional journalists and modern production techniques and marketing methods have recently had to cease publication through lack of money.

*Ink*, which began as an alternative news weekly last May in a blaze of publicity and with capital of £20,000, ran into serious difficulties by September and nearly closed; but it managed to recover with a new staff and became a more or less fortnightly forum for the libertarian left—especially for the women's, children's, gay, squatters', claimants', black and all the other liberation movements. Although it almost managed to cover its costs, it never got enough circulation or advertising, and it has been forced to close after 29 issues. According to a statement by the Ink Collective, published in *Time Out* last week, it could reopen with further capital of £6,000, and in the meantime it will continue to appear as a monthly pamphlet.

*7 Days*, which began as a Marxist news weekly last November in a similar blaze of publicity and with even more capital, has run into the same difficulties in exactly the same way, and has been forced to close even sooner after 21 issues. It is unlikely to recover in the same way, since it has a larger staff and a more rigid policy, which can be described as *New Left Review* intellectual Marxism. According to a statement published in the final issue last week,

it could reopen with further capital of £20,000, and hopes to do so in May.

Both papers certainly published a lot of valuable material, though *Ink* suffered from its erratic line and *7 Days* suffered from its hard line. But there is only a limited market for papers which are neither one thing nor the other, and the problem seems to be whether the rich left-wing sympathisers who first got the two papers off the ground will be willing to repeat the experiments after less than a year. It is interesting that even the most anti-capitalist papers can survive only with massive injections of capital. And it is perhaps worth noting that £20,000 would keep FREEDOM going for more than ten years!

N.W.

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## PRESS FUND

### Contributions

March 23-29 inc.

Akkerhanger, Norway: J.B. 72p; Colchester: P.E.N. 50p; London, N.W.: T.M.C. 50p; Guan, US: S.S. 88p; Croydon: K.E. 38p; London, S.E.14: M.R. 25p; Anon 87p; Wolverhampton: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p; Edinburgh: Anon £1.

Total: £5.70  
Sales (Voline): £2.00

TOTAL: £7.70

(1) INCOME FROM POSTAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND SALES (Target for 1972—£4,500)

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Amount received March 23-29 inc. £7.70  
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# Their Morals and Ours

IT IS HARD today to establish the point that anarchy does not mean chaos, that anarchists do not necessarily, at all times, believe in violence. This illusion has been partly created by the semantic sloppiness of newspaper reporters and editorial writers. The recent slaughter in Turkey, and the continuing murder in Ireland have brought the usual quota of remarks about 'the anarchy challenging the world'.

We anarchists all know of the anarchy of production, the anarchy of unemployment, the anarchy of governmental repression, the anarchy of militarism. Many of us are anarchists because of our longing for self-imposed order and social cohesion. To quote Kropotkin, 'By flinging overboard law, religion and authority mankind can regain possession of the moral principle which had been taken from them. Regain, that they may criticise it, and purge it from the adulterations wherewith priest, judge and ruler have poisoned it and are poisoning it yet.'

With the growth and spread of anarchist ideas in recent years there has been some adulteration and diffusion of anarchist ideals. The moral principles which infused anarchists have become labelled as 'liberalism', a concern for the freedom of speech of our opponents and a respect for human life are brushed to one side with immature Mao-Guevarist concepts such as 'power growing from the barrel of a gun'. This makes the acceptance by self-styled 'anarchists' of support of, for example, the IRA, Leninist ideas of leadership and even, by Valpreda 'supporters', of his nomination for a parliamentary seat (we hope the latter is merely a joke but a sense of humour is not a prominent feature of the new 'anarchists').

It is quite true that there are no innocent bourgeois and it is humbug of the Press to claim that the English radar technicians in Turkey are 'innocent bystanders' but early anarchist terrorists were careful to exclude possibility of

harm to any bystanders in their *attentats*, the practice of kidnapping is a comparatively new 'revolutionary' strategy which seems to carry all the worse features of a capitalist prison-centred state. It has the result of spreading anxiety and fear to the wife and child of the man concerned. (The innocence of bourgeois wives is often questionable: but must children be involved?) It carries the features of torture to the man imprisoned, a knowledge of eventual murder, which is the basest feature of capital punishment and where a cash ransom is asked the capitalist ethos of monetary gain. The sudden elimination of a political enemy is understandable, but the slow agony of imprisonment and eventual death carries no new moral principle. Recent acts in Japan even indicated 'revolutionaries' torturing political dissidents in their own group.

It is argued that such acts are no worse than those committed by the capitalist state but is our ambition to equal those acts? Because of such acts being part of the State and capitalism is one of our reasons for wishing to set up a new society based on other moral principles. One can have a respect for the Tupamaros who released a prisoner when they realized he needed hospital treatment for his heart complaint; even on 'public relations' grounds such an act is desirable.

Not only is the accusation of 'liberalism' made against those anarchists who would set up some values toward which we must work, but the heinous allegation of 'pacifism' is made against those who (like the present writer) deplore the present casual mindless violence in Northern Ireland and elsewhere. It is argued that such confrontations are necessary to polarize the situation, to sharpen the class conflict. Such accidental victims as there are, they argue, are inevitable victims of the conflict. As if the slow violence of capitalism did not provide victims enough! Only the brutalities of the 'others' are useful evidence against them, in the struggle for political power which

has only to change hands for everything to be all right.

The power which grows out of the barrel of a gun' has no relation whatever to the justice or rightness of a cause. Spain, which anarchists hold dear to their hearts with a sometimes fatal romanticism, provides an example of this. In these days of mechanized technological warfare, not to mention nuclear weapons, conventional militarism has very little chance.

This is not to say, as opponents have said, that the alternative is 'non-resistance' and defeat. Resistance can take other forms—short of non-violent resistance.

Anarchism has had its terrorists but they have not always advanced the cause of anarchism. Indeed, the Nechaev-Bakunin affair set back anarchist ideas in the International at least, and Karl Marx was enabled to utilize the indiscretions of Bakunin and the amorality of Nechaev for his own political purposes.

The unhappy history of the Nechaev affair (bitterly recreated by Dostoevsky in *The Possessed—The Devils*) is echoed by Herzen's remarks about the 'new revolutionaries' of his day: 'What struck me about them was the ease with which they despaired of everything; the ferocious joy of their denial and their terrible ruthlessness. Despite their excellent spirits and noble intentions our "bilious ones"

can, by their tone, drive an angel to blows and a saint to curses. They exaggerate everything in the world with such aplomb and not as a joke, but out of such bitterness that they are quite unbearable.'

The conspiratorial mist which surrounds the Angry Brigade, the Valpreda case and the Feltrinelli affair, to name only three, illustrate vividly the way, on the active fringes of movements, opposites depend upon each other, police agents infiltrate and even incite or carry out outrages, Fascists similarly infiltrate, and commit outrages to shift the blame to the other side. Similarly in Ireland it is difficult to apportion blame for outrages to Catholic or Protestant since they both need each other to continue their lunatic existence. In the looking-glass world of the double-agent there is no frank speaking, no comradeship.

There is in many groupings, a wild concern with activity for activity's sake. This leads to some strange bed-fellows and even stranger doctrines. The strange doctrine that 'the end justifies the means' is one that anarchists can do without. Even Malatesta whose position on violence was not absolute, as any man may say, wrote criticising 'the end justifies the means'. He said 'every end needs its means. Since morality must be sought in the aims, the means is determined'.

The end is a society of mutual aid, tolerance, comradeship, lack of violence and compulsion, and above all, freedom. This cannot be gained by mistrust, intolerance, violence and repression.

JACK ROBINSON.

## Why? What is the Catch?

LIVING IN WELLINGTON, the local Tory MP (the seat is marginal) is a right-wing Tory who had been until elected a prominent Powellite but turned to more orthodox policies on election, rallying to Heath on the Common Market and other issues.

The night of Mr. Heath's proposed plan for Northern Ireland, Dr. Trafford denounced the betrayal. The shaky loyalties of one Tory MP have been sundered, and when it next comes to a narrow vote—on the Common Market or whatever—will no longer be the subject of reliance. There are several Dr. Traffords on the Tory backbenches, and some of them from Ulster itself.

Unless one believes that Heath is sufficiently noble that he would be prepared to sacrifice his majority and continued hold on the Premiership for the sake of peace and justice in Northern Ireland, one searches for a catch.

Perhaps the clue lies in the fact that the first person Heath saw after Faulkner and the Cabinet was Wilson. Heath has implemented social reformist policies, is the price the social reformists must pay

that they guarantee him his job a little longer?

Obviously Wilson is not going to change again on the Common Market to safeguard Heath, but might he be prepared to give Jenkins that little bit more rein that would enable the latter to keep Heath in power without his having to cross the floor of the House—for a Labour Party—albeit smaller—bereft of the Jenkinsites would be a far more formidable Opposition than it is at present, and one that would have more whole-hearted support from trade unions in a serious anti-Tory fight.

But I am too cynical to believe that there is only one catch. What was the agreement between Mr. Lynch and Heath when they met? Lynch would not have survived long as Premier or as leader of Fianna Fail, had he introduced internal reform in Southern Ireland just after Bloody Sunday. But if he introduces it now, when the Provisional IRA insists on continuing the campaign, against the advice of many of its own members and the majority of Northern Catholics, would it be quite so suicidal?

## Three Ugly Faces

CHILE

WHILE CHILE'S Marxist President Allende wheels and deals with the avowedly capitalist parties in order to remain in power, the peasants in the south have made their own revolution and seized the land from the large landowners. To Allende's horror more than 50 take-overs have been reported in recent weeks. So much for Marxist theology and Allende's 'parliamentary revolution'!

POLAND

At the recent elections held in Poland the Communist Party candidates (significantly trading under the label 'National Unity Front') gained 99% of the votes in a 98% poll. Is this a sign of overwhelming popular support for the rulers

of the 'glorious workers' state? Well, not exactly. They were the only candidates!

To the 'anti-social elements' and 'lunatics' who did not vote we send our good wishes—we hope we hear of them again.

CHINA

Rebellious youths are causing a headache for China's rulers. Students who have been conscripted to farm labour have left the farms and returned to the cities 'to live a life of crime'. Kwiyang Radio recently stated: 'We must realize that the phenomenon of non-observance of discipline still exists in our revolutionary ranks. Particularly serious are liberalism and anarchism.'

Where have we heard that before?  
T.P.

## Tolstoy the Masochist

Dear Comrades,

One understandable anarchist trait is to attach the label 'anarchist' to well-known writers despite their protests that they are not anarchists! The names of the greatest anarchist writers are totally unknown to the population at large so it's nice to be able to say, 'He's an anarchist, yer know.'

Nevertheless, it comes as a great surprise to me that John Lawrence finds so much inspiration in the life of Leo Tolstoy. Yes, he was an implacable enemy of the State and Church BUT we cannot overlook his mysticism bordering on fatalism, his masochistic asceticism and his anti-life attitude towards sex. His religious ravings were probably a product of his guilt feelings about being born rich and his varied but shallow sex life as a young man.

The Russian peasants were renowned

for their fatalistic acceptance of suffering as 'God's will', and Tolstoy's rapport with them seems to me to flow from their common masochism as much as anything else. The peasants venerated him not for his alleged anarchism but because he represented their religion free from the corruption of the Church. But it was no less of an opiate for all that.

To me anarchism is about making ourselves and others free to find fulfilment and happiness; free not only from physical coercion but also from guilt. Tolstoy seems to have brought little happiness to those near to him but he did seem to find some kind of personal happiness in the religious 'purity' of his own self-denial. To paraphrase John, if this is anarchism let's have less of it!

TERRY PHILLIPS.



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

- The Paris Commune of 1871. The View from the Left (ed.) Eugene Schulkind £1.50 (114p)
- The Doctrine of Anarchism of Michael Bakunin Eugene Pyziur £1.05 (74p)
- Looking Backward Edward Bellamy £0.25 (44p)
- A Sequel to Bellamy's Looking Backward—or Looking Further Forward Richard Michaelis £0.25 (44p)
- The Great French Revolution Peter Kropotkin £3.75 (25p)
- A Report of Speeches and Discussions from the Anarchist Summer Camp, Cornwall 1969 Jim Huggon £0.10 (34p)
- The Radical Tradition in Education in Britain (inc. writings by William Godwin, Tom Paine, Robert Owen, Richard Carlisle, William Lovett, William Morris and others) (ed.) Brian Simon £1.00 (84p)
- The Enquirer, Reflections on Education, Manners and Literature Wm. Godwin £6.00 (21p)
- Thoughts on Man, his nature, productions & discoveries Wm. Godwin £7.00 (21p)
- The Little Red School Book £0.30 (24p)
- The Russian Anarchists Paul Avrich £4.50 (21p)

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## Race Relations Strained

THE DISMISSAL of Professor Hugh Tinker as director of the Institute of Race Relations because of his refusal to be 'an instrument of repression' by extinguishing the institute's magazine *Race Today* is a significant development in the field of race relations in this country. Aaron Haynes, Secretary of the Association of Community Relations Officers, speaks justifiably of the issue revealing a crisis at all levels of community and race relations.

The Institute of Race Relations was set up in 1958 to carry out research into race relations in Britain. In *Race Today*, the institute's official journal, the function of the institute is described as being, among other things, 'an independent body' with an aim 'to initiate policy research and co-ordinate information'. The articles in the magazine cover a wide scope from Gypsies to Rhodesia, from Black Power to The National Front. Your correspondent finds the journal both stimulating and interesting.

*Race Today* has been under pressure from the 'liberal' race relations elite in Britain for some time. Yet over the last year a number of matters have brought the position of the journal to a head. Publication of criticism in *Race Today* of the Race Relations Board by Tim Hetherington led to his suspension as a conciliation officer with the Board. The editor of *Race Today* was severely rebuked for publishing the article—a withering indictment of the Board—which has never received an even partly adequate reply.

Concurrently with this, *Race Today's* editorial viewpoint as regards the moves towards independence on the part of community relations officers and councils from the Community Relations Commission, has been sympathetic to those working for independence.

Lastly, perhaps, an article by that very determined journalist Paul Foot, 'The Implications of Widgery', which clearly demonstrated how the Government had used the Widgery Tribunal as a means of suppressing evidence critical of the troops' action in Derry, may have led to the crunch.

Throughout the editorship of *Race Today* by Alex Kirby, the journal has shown a high quality, giving scope to a variety of points of view. The standard of the journal's contributions has been generally good and the fact that the editor was a former community relations officer (from Newham) assisted

his appreciation of the attitudes of those in the field.

What has now become clear is that Alex Kirby has had to suppress an article on Ulster and a letter replying to Sir Frederic Seebohm, chairman of Barclays DCO and a member of the institute's council. It has also become public knowledge that the finances of the institute come largely from 'firms with large overseas interests'. Mr. Michael Caine, the Chairman of the institute's council is, in fact, a director of one of these—Booker McConnell. It makes the institute's claim of independence a little suspect.

On April 18 an extraordinary general meeting of the institute will decide whether to uphold the dismissal of Prof. Tinker or not. The old-established race relations types like Lord Boyle, Mark Bonham Carter (director of the Community Relations Commission), Sir Frederic Seebohm and Dipak Nandy (director of the Runnymede Trust), engineered the dismissal of Hugh Tinker but were opposed by a smaller group of council members more attuned to the needs of the black community, such as Gus John and Louis Kushnick.

If Prof. Tinker loses the vote at the general meeting those who backed him will resign and if he wins those who sacked him will not only resign but see to it that the institute is left without financial resources. Not for the first time the Race Establishment is using financial strings to throttle those they disagree with.

We are witnessing the conflict between reformist and radical viewpoints on race relations, although individuals involved may not all be intellectually in accord with the side they are on. Facing each other are the Establishment's liberal capitalists and those who see race relations as being involved with altering society in radical ways. As a result of the moves to destroy *Race Today* the radicals are being forced more and more into the arms of those whose approach is more revolutionary. What we really need to see is the birth of a civil rights movement in Britain, the very thing which the Establishment fears most—the very thing the race relations industry was set up to avoid. Many people have now discovered through experience that Government and industry do not spend money on race relations because they believe mankind is one.

J.W.

# LETTERS

## Revolutionary Pacifism

Dear Comrades,

Laurens Otter's article on 'Revolutionary Pacifism' seems to me to be based more upon the principles of the New Testament than upon observed material reality.

Let me begin my criticisms however by supporting his conception of the social general strike, requiring the active involvement of the masses. That is the basis for any anarchist revolution, and in its whole essence it is non-violent, and may very likely arise from opposition to a specific war or violent State action. But it is **only** the basis—it is not the revolution itself.

Equally I agree that the core of the counter-revolution is the paid hirelings of the old order. But again it is **only based on them**. In addition to the paid hirelings there will be the confused supporters of the old order, who will be prepared for active participation in its defence. They are likely to be numerous; at least we should be prepared for that eventuality. Further, there will be the confused in our own ranks responding to the protestations of the authoritarian Left, developing spontaneously similar ideas, or, at worst, even having joined the general strike without realizing its

implications.

Upon their numbers depends the extent of the success of the general strike in

- (a) expropriating the old order;
- (b) crippling the operations of the counter-revolution.

And their numbers depend initially on the success of anarchist propaganda before the revolution, and the extent of its immunity from suppression.

But even if their numbers are large the anarchist cause is not lost—either to the counter-revolution or to some authoritarian 'new order' with an insurrectionary or guerrilla army at its head.

It is surely not beyond the ingenuity of us as anarchists to devise a means of destroying the last bastions of the old order without our violence, insofar as it is necessary, becoming the same as any other kind. It is not from violence of itself that authoritarianism arises, but from the principles, aims and structure of that violence. In these we need originality.

Firstly, we shall not want to shoot other workers even if they are fascist workers, unless we have no other alternatives. Our newly-acquired communications media must therefore be turned

full blast on them to win them over.

Secondly, we shall not want to find ourselves, like Makhno, ranged in ranks against a Red Army. The solution is the same, in part—we must undermine their ranks, too, by offering a credible alternative.

Thirdly, that credible alternative is the use of small groups in conjunction with the general strike to seize strategic points of the old order where the masses have not moved. We shall need to kidnap leaders of the old order, to capture and/or destroy military bases, their supplies and their means of further supplies.

It is in this last respect that anarchists as conscious revolutionaries have a special rôle which only they can play. We have studied in advance what it is necessary to seize—it is up to us to carry out that task. That is the only kind of vanguard which is **not** an élite.

It is not the conscious revolutionaries who make revolutions, nor do they choose the time and place, but there are these things they can do before and during the act of revolution to render more perfect an imperfect set of circumstances.

If we are to wait as Laurens apparently suggests until the overwhelming masses are all pure-blooded anarcho-pacifists, we might just as well sit on a mountain-top and wait for the Second Advent. The masses will only become anarchist actually in the course of revolution itself—any teacher knows he can teach nothing until the pupil is willing to learn, either of his own volition or through some act of professional trickery.

Yours fraternally,

Wolverhampton R. M. BASHFORTH.

## Night Assemblies Bill

Dear Friends,

As of the time of writing 10,000 people have signed their names and addresses to the petition which I am circulating against the Night Assemblies Bill. Readers of FREEDOM have been amongst those who have taken petition forms and completed them—some individuals have obtained several hundred signatures on their own. Last Saturday 1,500 people signed in Portobello Road and I was there greatly assisted by the Stoke Newington squatters who turned out in strength to lend a helping hand.

On Tuesday, April 4, 1972, at 7.30 p.m., a meeting has been called for 40E Holland Road, W.14, of all the underground organisations. The following, in particular, have been invited to send representatives: National Union of Students, FREEDOM, Peace News, Street

Aid, Release, Friends, Oz, IT, White Panthers and the Gay Liberation Front. All other interested organisations are similarly invited to discuss two principal questions:

1. The achievement of the target of 1,000,000 signatures.

2. The fixing of a date of the music festival to be held in the great park that extends from Virginia Water to Windsor Castle where we will challenge the Government on the question of pop festivals and the motivation behind the Bill, viz. lovemaking and the smoking of Cannabis Sativa.

We expect that somewhere between one and five million people will attend the festival. Groups like the Rolling Stones (who have already given a tentative assurance) and singers like Joan Baez and Pete Seeger will all be invited

and all of them who believe in the things they sing about—PEACE and LOVE—will be there.

Somewhere in the middle of the fun and games (which should extend over one or two weeks) to prove that we have teeth in our smiles we shall swear a solemn oath NEVER TO PAY RENT AGAIN and fuck the system. The people already seem to believe. With a little solidarity we can make it all come true.

A large group of people—from the Brotherhood Commune and their friends—are going up to Reading on Easter Monday to join in the festival at Falconfield. By the following night—the night of the meeting referred to above—we will have collected over 20,000 signatures to prove that we can get a million and hold our festival. Of course, we are calling for a REVOLUTION.

BILL DWYER.

## Anarchists on the Move

Dear Comrades,

I should like to show my appreciation for the article in FREEDOM ('Anarchists on the Move'), March 18.

I should like to state that though I 'feel' FREEDOM could be a better-produced paper, I personally have a great deal of respect for FREEDOM—it has been for a long time my only means of communi-

cation with the rest of the 'movement' and has also helped me to develop my own ideas and understand those of others.

The desire of 'Comrades' to achieve more co-operation and coherence in the movement is a sign of the health of that movement. But as a person who has no educational qualifications of any sort (in fact I could hardly write when I left

school), a town like Wigan presents a mass of complications to me as an individual. From a practical point of view, I don't even know how to work a duplicator, let alone give a public speech.

And though there are a few people who have come 'round' to the Anarchist style of thought in Wigan, I'm not ashamed of admitting that I am in need of experience and also practical help as I am sure are other comrades working in towns on their own.

The need for co-operation and new forms of organization within the movement are, I think, extremely urgent if we are to draw 'in' people who have had no previous experiences of the Anarchist Movement. I also think it important that there should be widespread discussions on a national level to continue the process of educating ourselves, and others, towards the end of building a movement which will provide the workers of Britain with a practical alternative.

I was born and have lived all my life in Wigan and, dammit to hell, I'm going to stay here and I'm going to win.

Anarchy Now! All Power to the People.

Wigan

B.J.B.

## Keep it Clean!

IN 'NO POWER in the Barrel of this Gun' (1.4.72) the Scottish newspapers are quoted to the effect that Matthew Lygate 'helped form the John McClean Society—a body who want to revere the memory of an anarchist who, in the late twenties wanted a workers' revolution in Scotland'.

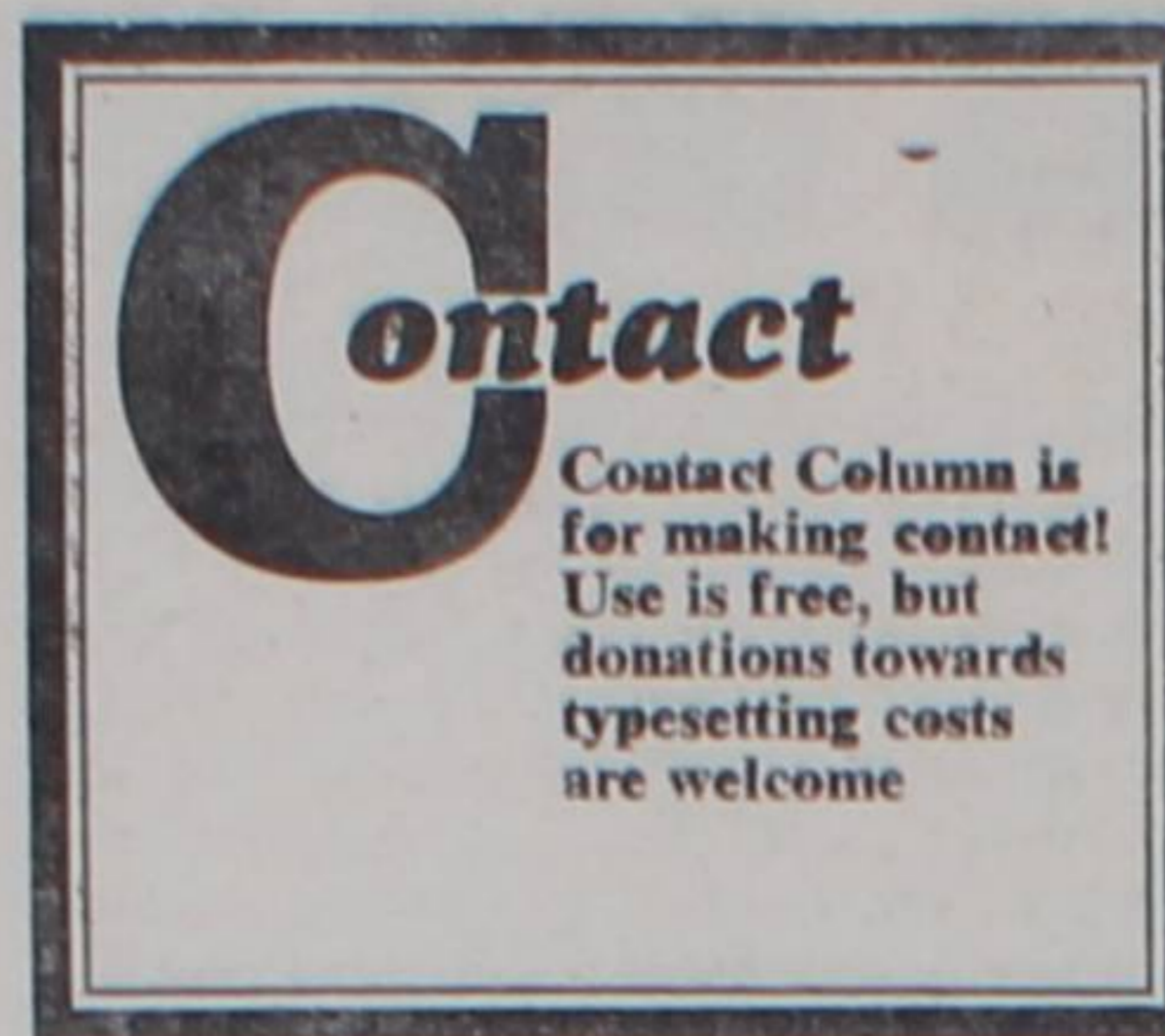
The April fools somewhere meant John McClean, who was no anarchist. Probably John McClean would have been pure and unsullied.

J.B.

## Precisely!

IN AN INTERESTING case of 'going absent' reported in the *Essex County Standard* (Colchester), 31.3.72, a defending officer said, 'He [the accused] would not be an asset to a battalion ordered to serve four months in Londonderry—he would be a liability.'

'Webb [the accused] is not a bad-hat. He is a quiet well-mannered soldier who easily makes friends.'



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

ORA Conference, York, April 7, 8 and 9. Topics: Ireland, Women's Lib., Communes, Libertarian Organisation, a newspaper. Details Terry Greene, 48 Heslington Road, York. Transport from London—ORA, 68 Chingford Road, E.17.

ORA Newsletter No. 4 contains articles on Women's Lib., Ireland, Race, Communes. 10p inc. post from Neil Hunt, 65 Vine Street, York.

French Student, 21, last year in biochemistry, looking for a job in a laboratory for one or two months July/August 1972 in England. Box No. 003.

Individualist Forum. 'Peace Centre' Coffee Bar, 36 Romilly Street, W.1 (off Cambridge Circus). Sunday, April 16 and 30, 8 p.m. 'Communism and the Individualist Alternative' by Ken Knudson. Presented by S. E. Parker. (In Two Parts.)

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

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.

Anarchist Dwarf Group forming in Enfield area; contact Terry and Val, original poems by Tina Morris. Send 24p for 6 cards (3 different designs) 89 Mapleton Crescent, Enfield, Middlesex.

Oxford. Anarchist meetings every Friday 8 p.m. Clarendon Press Institute, Walton Street, Oxford.

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.

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.

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.

'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.

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

'Inside Story'. New monthly paper now available from Freedom Press or the editor, Wynford Hicks, 3 Belmont Road, London, S.W.4. 25p or £1.50 for 6 issues.

Libertarian Book Club. Spring Lectures Series. Thursday evenings, 7 p.m., 369 Eighth Avenue, New York City. April 13, Irving Levitas: G. B. Shaw and the Anarchists. April 27, Sam Dolgoff: Bakunin and Nechaev. May 11, Murray Bookchin: Marxism and Anarchism.

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

Wrekin Anarchists' 'Voice'. First issue now being produced. Contact 13 Albert Road, Wellington, Salop.

London School of Non Violence. Series of Lectures—Man and his Environment. April 10, 7 p.m., Edward Goldsmith, Editor 'The Ecologist': 'Future of the Industrial Society'. April 17, 7 p.m., Alec Wilding-White: 'The Severed Head of Humanity'. The Crypt, St. Martins-in-the-Fields, London, W.C.2.

Individualist Forum. Meeting April 2, 7.30 p.m. Alfred Reynolds 'The decline of man through his intellect', at Peace Centre, 36 Romilly Street (Basement), London, W.1.

## This week in Ireland

SO WESTMINSTER has dethroned Stormont 'for a year' but no one believes the old-style Stormont can ever function again. The six counties have been the UK's prostitute too long, always demanding and demanding more and more money and attention. Craig—the last of the stage Irishmen bejabbbers and beddading all over the place—brought the economy to a stop and cost them £4,000,000 by so doing. Faulkner who, a fortnight ago, jeered at Craig, comes out with him—plus most of his Cabinet—onto the balcony of Stormont and speaks for Craig. Meanwhile the killings go on. I have before me four posters, a rash of which appeared last weekend all over the six counties, tied to lamp-posts, stuck to walls, etc. They are printed in white on black paper except for a white strip at the bottom on which is printed in black 'Say no to the IRA'. They read

(1) Never shoot a man on his own. Let his wife and children see how brutal we are.

(2) Torture, tar, bullets and bombs are the way to keep the people on our side.

(3) Any Roman Catholic who does not do what he is told must be threatened first and then shot.

(4) Men, women, children and babies—it does not matter who we kill only how many.

There is not one pin to choose between the IRA and the extreme Protestants, they are Siamese twins of hatred.

Meanwhile we await this crucial weekend with terror. Friday night is gelignite. Under Whitelaw internment is still to go on, the border is to remain undiscussed, and fear is the ruling emotion because no one attempts to understand the other chap's point of view.

Faulkner is to be got into Westminster if possible, probably by the resignation of Captain Orr who lives in Middlesex anyhow and is old. Westminster on the surface appears to have tamed Paisley. I don't believe it. I think he is like a snake waiting his moment to strike while pretending to be comatose and docile.

Down here we are threatened with an electricity strike; a huge fire (accidental) killed at least eight people, largely because our fire services are out of date

and could not cope. It has just struck me as a sign of our sickness that about a fire I should have to write 'accidental'.

An attempt to murder Ivan Cooper was made at 6.30 this morning. He is suffering from shock, and his car is a goner.

A baby up the road died of pneumonia because the free doctor refused to come at 10.30 at night. He said, 'Keep it warm. It will be all right till morning.' Had there been a £3 fee awaiting him he would have gone to see the baby.

Paisley died and arrived at the pearly gates. 'Come in,' said Peter. Craig died and arrived at the pearly gates. 'Come in,' said Peter. MacStiophan died and arrived at the pearly gates. 'You cannot come in,' said Peter. 'Who wants to?' answered MacS. 'I am giving yez five minutes to get out.'

H.

## RHODESIA Demo Appeal

Dear Editor,

On February 13 I was arrested at the Rhodesian demonstration. I have been charged with assaulting two policemen and using language likely to cause a breach of the peace.

At about 5 p.m. at the Aldwych end of the Strand some cops shouted 'There he is' and broke their line to chase a photographer. In the general confusion I was grabbed from behind as I ran towards the Aldwych, knocked down and kicked by five policemen; then carried off.

A couple of girls screamed to draw attention to it and a crowd gathered. Someone took a flash photo of me on my back.

I was wearing brown cord trousers and jacket and a dark green polo neck. I have dark hair and long sideburns.

Would anyone who saw the incident please get in touch with the A.A.M. at 01-580 5311. I am particularly anxious to get hold of any relevant photographs.

Love,

London

RICKY.

**afib**  
**ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN**

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

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

### AFB REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND/OR GROUPS

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

**N.E. ENGLAND.** M. Renick, 122 Mowbray Manchester. Peter Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill LIVERPOOL. Contact 39 Lilley Road, Liverpool. 7. Tel. John Cowan 263 4890.

**Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancs.**

**CROYDON.** Pete Roberts, 682 Mitcham Road, Croydon, Surrey, CR0 3AB.

**ESSEX & EAST HERTS.** Peter Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester, Essex.

**DORSET.** Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset.

**CORNWALL.** Hazel McGee, Hillcrest Farm, Hicks Mill, Bissoe, Truro, Cornwall.

**HERTS.** Val Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage, Herts.

**DURHAM.** Mike Mogie, 6 Nevilles Terrace, Durham City.

**NORTHANTS.** Terry Phillips, 70 Blenheim Walk, Croydon, Northants.

**LEICESTERSHIRE.** The Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester.

**SOMERSET.** Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath.

**KENT.** Brian Richardson (phone Knockholt 2716).

**BERKSHIRE.** c/o New Union Building, White Knights Park, Reading, Berks.

**SUSSEX.** Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Chilton Road,

**BRIGHTON, Sussex.**

**EAST ANGLIA.** John Sullivan, Students Union, U. of E.A., Wilberforce Road, Norwich, Norfolk.

**NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.** Jim Hewson, 43 Henry Road, West Bridgeford, Nottingham.

**CAMBRIDGESHIRE.** c/o AFBIB Birmingham.

**SURREY.** Lib. Grp., 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey.

**YORKSHIRE.** Trevor Bavage, Flat 3, 35 Richmond Road, Leeds 6.

**SCOTTISH FED.** Secretary: Mike Malet, 1 Lynnwood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.

**GLASGOW.** c/o Whyte, 138 Fergus Drive, Glasgow, N.W.

**EDINBURGH.** Chris Kerr, 9 Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh, 9. Tel. 669 2939.

**WALES.** c/o AFBIB Birmingham.

**N. IRELAND.** c/o Freedom Press.

**LIB. TEACH. ASSN.** Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, N.W.7.

**PLYMOUTH.** John Northy, 16 Adelaide Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth.

**OXFORD.** Jeremy Brent, 1a Woodstock Road, Oxford.

**SHEFFIELD.** Tikka, 4 Havelock Square, Sheffield 10.

**EIRE FEDERATION.** c/o 20 College Lane, Dublin, Eire.

**ABERYSTWYTH.** Keith Fletcher, Rhyd Fach, Tal-y-bont, near Aberystwyth, Cards.

### ABROAD

**BELGIUM.** Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Liège.

**RADICAL LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE.** c/o LABS, 2487 GPO, New York, N.Y., 10001.

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.