

NIXON'S RETREAT TO MOSCOW

IT IS RECORDED once of an experimenter jumping out of the fourteenth floor of a block of flats that, as he passed the seventh floor, he said, 'All right . . . so far.'

So far . . . President Nixon's exercise in naval brinkmanship has paid off. But was it suicidal? Or was it a demonstration of international political acrobatics with a safety net? His current visit to Moscow is probably a test of the safety net.

One recalls with unfounded optimism the 'eyeball-to-eyeball' confrontation between another naval person, J. F. Kennedy (ex-PT boats) and now-unperson N. Krushchev. With trepidation one notes the ex-lieutenant Naval Air Transport (and renegade Quaker), reviving the romance and peril of the naval blockade tactic. Americans, like all nations, have a naval mythology—'remember the *Maine*', the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, 'damn the torpedoes: full speed ahead'. Somehow it seems more decent to starve and

freeze people to death by blockade, rather than to slaughter quickly by land and air—not that Mr. Nixon is not embarked on *both* policies in addition to a summit meeting with the Russians.

With the speed of NLF's advance and equally rapid crumbling of ARVN's morale, the estimated three weeks in which the blockade will take effect, may be of little avail. Even now, NLF troops are preparing to attack Hue and panic measures by President Thieu will do little at this late stage to avert a swift defeat. It is also probable that the blockade has made it even more necessary for the NLF to produce a swift victory. Also there seems some urgency before the Moscow meeting settles the fate of Vietnam without consultation with the South or North or the NLF.

In any case, the blockade—even if the NLF has not enormous bomb-proof stockpiles (*Newsweek* states that US intelligence has been faulty and misleading) will only have

limited success. Even should it fulfil Nixon's supporters' wildest dreams and stop the NLF advance, or even invoke a retreat, there is nothing to stop the Chinese repeating their 1950 Korea intervention. Furthermore, the blockade will not affect China's supplies to North Vietnam.

If the blockade succeeds in anything it will succeed in throwing North Vietnam and its future dependent South Vietnam territory into the arms of China. Perhaps the Soviet announcement of ten ships on the way to Haiphong is a reminder to North Vietnam of the sincerity of Soviet intentions despite the Moscow meeting with Nixon. It is a hard thing to explain away.

It has always been observable that the China-Soviet conflict has been one of the leading factors in prolonging the Vietnam war. Parallel with the intensification of the war by American involvement has been the help given by Russia and China to keep the pot boiling.

The recent switch of General Giap from guerilla to orthodox warfare could mean for the NLF still more dependence on the 'me-too-ism' of its quarrelling allies (see *FREEDOM*, May 13, 'Who Loses in Vietnam?').

At the same time it is obvious that disbanded guerilla units enrolled in more orthodox military

formations and more dependent on technological material and know-how are less likely to be, as individuals, as revolutionary in nature, or performance as the Maoist-indoctrinated guerilla fighters of the hit-and-run earlier NLF.

The secondary recent complicating factor in the Vietnam war and the Moscow summit has been Nixon's Presidential campaign. Whether the military advisers to the NLF urged the embarrassing Quang Tri offensive to drag Vietnam into the election campaign, seems too Machiavellian by far, but now it is well set as a campaign issue and even Hubert Humphrey (once Johnson's vice-president) is 'agin the war' and performs the probably paralysed George Wallace has followed, discreetly, a pro-peace line.

The need to win an election and to gracefully lose a war is Nixon's problem. It could be that he is well aware that the blockade is not the weapon to win the war or slow up the defeat until after the election but it looks and sounds decisive—and, remembering the anti-war vote, relatively humane! It also carries with it the stale flavour of a re-run of the old movie showing how Jackie Kennedy used his naval power to outflank the villainous Krushchev. However it is now Lieutenant

Richard Nixon, ex-Naval Air Transport (known as SCAT), in charge. As James Thurber said, 'Pockety-pockety-pockety.' The Summit meeting is also a re-run of the old hopeful encounters, last of which was Eisenhower's (when Nixon was vice-president) which was wrecked by a U2 being shot down. Will the present conference be wrecked by the fall of Hue?

The retreat of Nixon to Moscow is rather vague in what it will discuss but the visit is all, the discussions are unimportant since obviously Dr. 'Strangelove' Kissinger has already paved the way. It is generally thought that European security for Russia is the main item on the agenda. The success of the SALT talks and the treaty with West Germany are chiefly on the Russian mind. However it is all good pre-election propaganda.

The swollen bellies of blockaded children and the mangled bodies of bombed and bayoneted soldiers and civilians in Vietnam will figure little on the Moscow agenda. One party will be thinking of his election victory, the other thinking of how to get Russian security in the West in order to turn eventually to Russia's great problem of China—the alternative communism.

J.R.

OUT OF SCHOOL

ON WEDNESDAY, May 17, the second schoolkids' demonstration was held in London. Whereas the first demonstration was allowed to march to County Hall to present petitions and state grievances, police tactics, such as sealing off both Trafalgar Square and County Hall, prevented any rally. As it was at about 10.45 a.m. 2,000 kids marched from Northumberland Avenue to County Hall, and then returned to meet another 3,000 or so children who had arrived late. The march then passed up to Charing Cross Station, where the police were again in evidence, trying to fragment the march by driving in with vans and cars. I saw two people wearing blue blazers and caps (but probably not schoolkids) who were arrested for taking the numbers of policemen who acted in a very arrogant dominating way, and clearly terrified some younger children. After regrouping at St. Martin's Church, the march moved off to rally in Hyde Park. The police then found that by fragmenting the groups an incoherent rabble wandering across roads, down back streets and through the parks had been created. About 22 other arrests followed with children and adults held. Keith Nathan of N.E. London ORA is one of those busted and appeared in court on Thursday.

Of course the newspapers and television were bloody bigots over the whole

affair. Both TV news said less than 1,000 turned up and newspapers using police counts suddenly cut the march figure from 4,000 to 700 at the whim of Scotland Yard Press Office. The old 'gymslip rebels' 'truant revolutionary' bit was laid on as thick as was palatable to that particular audience but very few carried anything of the disciplinary and educational inadequacies which caused these demonstrations. The *Guardian* and *Telegraph* however did tell us of intimidation of kids by teachers and headmasters before the march, and of one scheme where boys will have to clock-in at school and carry a stamped card home for their parents. Kids able to run through central London and confront a mass of police will surely not be dissuaded by such ham-fisted attempts by headmasters. It is illegal to suggest what children should do to Kuper, a headmaster who said he would cane or expel any 'truants'.

A rather distasteful aspect of the march was the blatant use of it for propaganda from political groups. The IS group 'Rebel' had a leaflet out which wanted a 'genuinely comprehensive schools system'. YCL called on kids to join NUSS (National Union of School Students) which in turn wants 'democratic comprehensive' schools. SAU ran out

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Farm Workers on the Move

THE NATIONAL UNION of Agricultural and Allied Workers is celebrating its centenary with an exhibition at Congress House in London.

Mr. Feather, the general secretary of the TUC, opened the exhibition, but judging from the speech he made, farm workers have very little to celebrate concerning their wages and conditions. Even Mr. Feather called it 'disgraceful' that in a hundred years wages have only risen from 12s. a week to the present minimum of £16.20. This, he said, was less than the £20 a man with a wife and one child received from the Family Income Supplement.

Farm workers perform the most important job in any society and yet they are the worst paid. Although their work and skills are of vital importance to the well-being of our society, they have been unable to organise themselves

in such strength as to enable them to exert enough pressure on their employers to make them pay a wage comparable to workers in industry.

The farm worker has, ever since the industrial revolution, been poorly paid. The idyllic way of life of the farm worker is and has always been a myth created by those living in cities on a much higher income. Even when the Union was formed by Joseph Arch, agricultural workers' wages compared unfavourably with other workers. G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate in their book, *The Common People*, described farm workers' conditions a century ago. 'Even before the advent of Arch's Agricultural Labourers' Union in the seventies, rural wages had moved up to some extent—from an average of about 9s. 6d. a week in 1850 to one

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Pearce Won't Free Africans

BY THE TIME this issue of *FREEDOM* is published, we shall be aware of the contents of the Pearce Commission's report on the Home/Smith settlement proposals for Rhodesia.

By all accounts, confirmation of the internationally acknowledged negative by the African population of Zimbabwe to the sell-out by the British Government to the Smith regime, will be forthcoming.

Obviously the Heath administration would like to be rid of the Rhodesian problem, yet a certain acceptance of a persistent invitation looks like emerging. The Bow Group of Conservatives will probably hold the sway over Government 'thinking' and the Group's view that for Britain to wash its hands of Rhodesia would be 'an act of tragic abdication' will doubtless tie in with the mouthings of the politicians.

So sanctions on Rhodesia will continue, Smith will continue to steer his white supporters to an apartheid 'solution', African countries at the UN will call for tougher sanctions and we will all be back almost where we began.

Unless, of course, the African people rather than their nationalist leaders find their strength again. According to the *Daily Telegraph* (17.5.72), 'Rhodesia's twin line of defence against guerrilla incursions from north of the Zambesi has had to be extended by a further 200 miles to cover the border with the Teke province of neighbouring Mozambique' due to Frelimo actions. A report to the Rhodesian Parliament by Smith's Secretary for Law and Order mentions 'vastly increased terrorist activity' in Teke. According to the *Telegraph* reporter, 'On more than one occasion, Rhodesian security forces on the border have watched large Frelimo units moving with apparent immunity through Mozambique territory.' Although the reporter claims no incursions have taken place from Zambia into Rhodesia for two years, 'the new obligation to watch the eastern flank with Mozambique is placing additional strain on manpower and military resources in Smith's regime'.

The chances of effective sanctions being implemented against Rhodesia (let alone a blockade) are very slight. Africans have to free themselves. As the poor countries of the world (in the words of the *Observer* reporter, 21.5.72) gained 'the most paltry concessions' from the rich countries at UNCTAD 3 in Santiago, it seems that the lessons to be learnt in Zimbabwe are the same as they are for all the oppressed of the world. All of us must put 'additional strain' on the manpower and resources of our oppressors. For poor countries and for the Africans of Zimbabwe it is understandable that they should seek concessions from the rich and powerful. Yet diplomacy, constitutional conferences and international gatherings will not shift the real economic power to the oppressed. Franz Fanon has shown in his great work *The Wretched of the Earth* that the

national bourgeoisie of the newly emergent nations act primarily as direct or indirect agents of foreign investment capital and hold only 'political power'. As has been emphasised before in Southern Africa, circumstances have not allowed this 'national bourgeoisie' to develop to any great extent and revolutionary potential has been developed by the harshness of the authorities. It is interesting to note that the harshness of the Heath administration is having a similar productiveness on our own revolutionary scene and, as our comrades of *Black Flag* point out, an added bonus is that 'by frightening off the false friends they (the State) strengthen the revolutionary movement rather than weaken it'. Furthermore oppression has acted as a recruiting agent we ourselves would have found it hard to devise.

J.W.

THE TRIAL BEGINS

THE TRIAL of the eight people accused of belonging to the Angry Brigade will now begin at the Old Bailey next Tuesday, May 30. The prosecution applied to the court on May 17 to have the trial brought forward a week, and Mr. Justice Thesiger agreed despite strong defence objections—including the point that some of the lawyers will be on holiday. At the same time the judge refused defence applications to grant bail to Anna Mendelson, the only woman still in custody, or to vary bail conditions for Hilary Creek, who has to live with her parents in Swansea. Anna Mendelson and the four men in the case—John Barker, James Greenfield, Chris Bott, and Stuart Christie—have now been held in custody for more than nine months.

During the short hearing on May 17 the judge asked a stupid question—'Is this an IRA case?'—when he learnt that it involved explosives; and the prosecution counsel made an equally stupid reply—'No, it involves anarchy'—which he evidently thought settled the matter. No doubt we shall be treated to a great deal of that kind of nonsense during the trial, which is expected to last for several months and which will be one of the most remarkable political trials ever held in this country. We shall be printing reports of its progress from time to time, and shall try to nail some of the lies which will be directed against the whole anarchist movement.

N.W.

Anarchy & Chaos

EVERYONE knows Proudhon's name; but hardly anyone in this country knows his work. This is partly because it is so difficult to get hold of, since he has been out of fashion for so long. But the current revival of interest in anarchism is gradually changing this situation, and during the past three years five books on or of Proudhon have been published in the United States—Alan Ritter's study of *The Political Thought of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*

(Princeton University Press: Oxford University Press), Constance Margaret Hall's study of *The Sociology of Pierre Joseph Proudhon* (Philosophical Library), Stewart Edwards's anthology of *Selected Writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon* (Doubleday: Macmillan), an inexpensive paperback reprint of Benjamin Tucker's translation of *What is Property?* with a new introduction by George Woodcock (Dover: Constable), and an expensive cloth reprint of John Beverley Robinson's

translation of *General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century* with no new material (Haskell House).

Ritter attempted the task of 'examining the consistency, truth and meaning of Proudhon's ideas' and of 'arguing for the inherent merit of his theory'. Hall attempted to contribute to a deeper understanding of the development of the intellectual discipline of sociology by analyzing the sociological perspectives, concepts, and substantive concerns of an all but forgotten contributor to the foundations and emergence of the discipline'. Edwards attempted to provide a survey of the main themes found in Proudhon's writings across a period of twenty-five years, with an emphasis on his political and social ideas'. Wood-

cock attempted to sketch in a dozen pages the life and thought of Proudhon, which he had described at full length in his dull but useful biography of 1956—*Pierre-Joseph Proudhon* (Routledge).

None of the existing books is satisfactory. Ritter and Hall both made the mistake of trying to impose order on one of the most disorderly of thinkers—Ritter by ignoring his contradictions and concentrating on *De la justice dans la révolution et dans l'église*, Hall by tracing in his work a whole series of ideas later found in classical sociology—and of trying to make sense out of the huge mass of sheer nonsense in his writings. After all, the real reason why Proudhon is almost unread is that he is almost unreadable. Edwards in making at least some of his work accessible had to distort its intrinsic inaccessibility; he also over-emphasised his right-wing tendencies and under-emphasised his

significance in the labour movement. Woodcock in making his work seem clear and reasonable had to distort its persistent obscurity and irrationality; but he did the essential job of insisting on the continuing importance of Proudhon after more than a century.

So there is still no single satisfactory book on Proudhon. Until there is, the best thing is to begin with Woodcock's old biography and Edwards's new anthology, and then to try the few books of Proudhon which are available in English. Perhaps there will one day be a proper edition of his works in translation; but it will be a formidable task. Despite all the problems, however, Proudhon is an important writer, and well worth studying if you want to find out about the strange development of libertarian thought in nineteenth-century Europe.

N.W.

It Couldn't Happen to a Better Fellow

IF ONE WAS DRAWING UP a list of the ten people most worthy of assassination Governor George Wallace's name would probably figure prominently in the list. Last week an attempt was made upon his life. We can echo heartily the FREEDOM headline of 1960 when an attempt was made upon Verwoerd—'Too Bad He Missed' (incidentally Verwoerd was eventually assassinated by a Parliamentary messenger).

It was too bad that Arthur Bremer missed, for one of the possible consequences of his wounding of George Wallace, causing paralysis, is an increase in the popularity of Wallace which, whilst not actually putting him in the running for the Presidency, makes him politically more powerful, for the Americans are a sentimental people and they have survived two crippled Presidents.

Even had George Wallace died, the cry for more law and order would have survived him. It is especially ironic, since Wallace was an advocate of 'law and order', and advocated the right of every American to carry a gun. Bremer, the would-be assassin, was no radical, he seems to have been a psychotic 'loner'—a common type of assassin.

One of the great myths of assassinations fostered both by radicals and the journalists is that persons of anarchist tendencies are responsible for the majority of such acts. In fact, statistically anarchists are well down the list of

assassins. It is even highly probable that the number of assassinations carried out because of some real or imagined grievance or some delusion exceed those with a well-defined political purpose. The list of American presidential assassinations bears this out.

The archetypal assassination for the elimination of a tyrant is a rarity. Often, assassinations are sponsored by 'agents of a foreign power' whose ambitions are blocked by the particular tyrant they see in office—all too often he is replaced by another—equally tyrannical.

The assassination of humane, benign historical figures, e.g., Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Count Bernadotte is a common phenomena. These are generally carried out by people who see their liberal intentions as a barrier to some more totalitarian idea. When a right-wing figure is eliminated, it is all too often his own party rivals for power who seek to eliminate him or some poor deluded psychotic, e.g., the assassins of Malcolm X, Lincoln, Rockwell and Huey Long.

For too long, the textbook concept of assassination has been accepted as the norm but the flaw in assassination is that the consequences are usually as bloody as the act itself. As Macbeth discovered it is not possible to commit an act without consequences. In the present 'democratic' set-up the elimination of politicians (or would-be tyrants like Wallace) merely leads to their replacement or what is worse the enshinement of the victim as a martyr and 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church'.

Even the assassination of the Milan police commissioner—which also happened last week—carries very little comfort—it is undoubtedly true that he was probably responsible among others for the death of Pinelli but such is the complex tortuosity of the Italian political scene that it is doubtful whether it was the Left or the Right who assassinated him. Certainly the Left has not claimed the *attentat* and whatever propaganda value it had has been lost. Certainly the Milan Police Department still exists.

The outbreaks of 'individual acts' with which the world has been blessed or cursed in recent years are symptomatic of a ferment working within society

today. The individual threatened and hedged about with the growth of complex organizations and machines hits back in whatever way he can. The very size and complexity of such organizations and machines make them more vulnerable, not less. Much of the reaction is mindless and useless, often concerned purely with gaining of economic or political power.

The problem of our time is not violence. This is a method, a tool, a weapon built into a consumer-aggressive 'society' and a Warfare State. The problem is the creation by the pseudo society and State of amoral, purposeless loners like Arthur Bremer and the Hungarian who smashed the Vatican sculpture whose life can be only given meaning by acts of violence.

JACK ROBINSON.

Bookshop Notes

Apart from 'Freedom' and 'Anarchy', you can subscribe also to a number of libertarian journals, or order sample copies through Freedom Bookshop; the following is a selected list. Back copies of any of these can be obtained subject to their remaining in print. (Postage indicated in brackets.)

1. 'The Freethinker'. Weekly. 3p (2½p). £2.90 p.a.
2. 'Children's Rights'. Monthly. 15p (2½p). £2.10 p.a.
3. 'Black Flag' (Bulletin of the Anarchist Black Cross). Monthly. 6p (2½p). £1.00 p.a.
4. 'The Libertarian Teacher'. Monthly. 10p (3½p). £1.60 p.a.
5. 'Libertarian Analyses'. Quarterly. 50p (3½p). £2.15 p.a.
6. 'Equality'. Approx. bi-monthly. Free (donation towards postage costs appreciated).
7. 'Industrial Worker'. Monthly. 5p (2½p). 90p p.a.
8. 'The Match'. Monthly. 8p (2½p). £1.25 p.a.
9. 'Individualist Forum'. Bi-monthly. 3p (2½p). 35p p.a.
10. 'Win'. Bi-monthly. 15p (2½p). £3.70 p.a.
11. 'Minus One'. Approx. quarterly. 6p (2½p). 35p p.a.

OUT OF SCHOOL

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a simplistic leaflet which went no further than to challenge present-day rules and call for 'rules made and kept by the whole school'. S. London ORA joined in with an organisation called SMACK (Schools Mass Action Collective for Kids). Predictably this leaflet was the most coherent, far-reaching and interesting issue. However I do not like the idea of selling ready-made union-type organisations to kids. I think ORA would be well advised to issue instead longer, detailed and more explanatory leaflets, which I know kids really would appreciate more than the farcical demonstration groups. As it was, most children refused to follow the SAU organisers' plans. A very frustrated group of SAU stewards was seen by me outside Green Park Tube at 12.15 p.m. as the kids ran rampant up to Hyde Park. If SAU want these demonstrations to degenerate into a kind of trades union pilgrimage from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square, they are doing the right things. More solidarity and less political salesmen might well produce more effective action.

DAVID BROWN.

FARM WORKERS

Continued from page 1

of 12s. in 1870. But the village labourer remained much worse paid than the general run of urban craftsmen. The falling demand for agricultural labour made it possible to keep down wages, especially in areas remote from factory or mining employment. Labourers near the growing industrial areas did better, for they had a way of escape. But from the purely rural areas escape was still very difficult indeed. It might often be easier to emigrate to Canada or the United States than to move over a long distance in Great Britain looking for work.

TIED COTTAGES

Farm workers are not renowned for their militancy. This is not surprising as many work on small farms. They are isolated and lack the close contact with other workers one gets in a factory. The union membership only totals 100,000, which is the same number that joined in the first year of its existence a hundred years ago.

Farmers have often excused themselves over the low wages they pay by pointing out that many of their employees live rent free in tied cottages. But this seeming advantage is an added drawback, because farmers can sack and evict those who show any signs of discontent. Last year alone, nearly five hundred families were evicted. The tied cottage system gives the occupant no security. But it gives the farmers an added advantage for it allows them to intimidate their employees.

This feudal existence, especially in small villages, extends throughout the area, as usually the local farmer holds considerable sway on the parish and rural councils. The touching of caps and a respect for the local gentry are a hang-over from a feudal past.

This master-servant relationship, and the fear of losing job and home, inhibits farm workers mentally and physically from organising effectively among themselves.

Farmers, for their part, have shown how well they can organise themselves, even against the wishes of their own organisation, the National Farmers' Union. Their demonstrations and their blocking of roads with tractors were impressive when they were protesting against the Government's price reviews. They succeeded in pushing up these annual price reviews. Subsequently their incomes have risen by 19% between the last two price reviews. Farm workers have increased their productivity by 7% while their wages have risen by only 9% in the same period.

NEW PAY CLAIM

At their recent Biennial Conference,

the union executive was instructed by the delegates to gain a 50% wage increase over the next two years. This demand will obviously be rejected by the Agricultural Wages Board. The National Union of Farmers, the employers' federation, will certainly plead poverty again.

Last year they turned down the union's claim for an £18, 40-hour week. The union submitted the same claim again in February and it was rejected again by the Agricultural Wages Board. This second rejection was just after farmers had been granted an additional £72m. by the Government.

Farm workers are incensed by this treatment. The union executive opposed the delegates' resolution for direct action if the new claim is not met. The union has in the past kept militancy under control. They have been content to come away with anything the employers have offered them.

Things do, however, seem to be changing. The executive is now being pushed by the rank and file to secure something worthwhile. In Hertfordshire members called for one-day strikes in support of last year's claim. When this year's claim is rejected, there is a strong possibility that farm workers will take strike action. Their best organised area is East Anglia. Action would force the reluctant farmers to part with some of their profits, if taken during the harvesting period. Farmers would then think twice if they saw their crops going to waste in the fields unharvested.

FORMIDABLE TASK AHEAD

To organise such action farm workers will have to overcome not only the farmers' strong organisation and threats of evictions, but also the union executive, who haven't called a strike since the twenties. The task for the rank and file is a formidable one, but there is a growing awareness that direct action will have to be taken if their reasonable claim is going to be won.

It would be too much to expect the TUC to support such a claim, although it is the minimum amount they consider workers should receive. Farm workers' wages are 'disgraceful' but if trade unionism meant anything, the weak organisational position of the agricultural workers would have been remedied by sympathetic support from other unions.

As it is, farm workers have relied on their leaders to gain increases from the employers by negotiations. It is now plainly clear that they will have to use what strength they have and can organise in the coming months to hit the farmers when they want their crops harvested.

P.T.


'THE MATCH'

US ANARCHIST JOURNAL, *The Match!*, scene of much 'justice' from the authorities last year is again being attacked by the state. Mail from the paper was held up or destroyed by the post office, who also charge three times the printed paper rate. This was foiled by mailing subscribers copies and other post from all over Tucson, but now incoming mail is being held up. New subscriptions and donations in particular seem to be suffering from such treatment. In case any reader is sending cash to *The Match!*—don't. Send a cheque which cannot be mislaid. The two bundles of *The Match!* arriving at Freedom Bookshop this week had both been opened despite being posted only in wrappers.

The Match! newsstands have been smashed, stolen or plastered with religious stickers by 'right wing brats'. Finally F. Woodworth, the editor, has been approached by various people who pretend to be sympathetic but really want to find out the location of the printers and the subscribers' list. Woodworth is now frequently photographed sitting on his front porch. All to maintain a 'free press'?

Appeal for Witnesses

WILL ANYONE who was given a leaflet headed 'Schools not Prisons' (by SMACK) or saw anyone giving these leaflets out on the Schools Demonstration on Wednesday, May 17, please get in contact with 113 Cazenove Road, London, N.16.



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

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.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

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

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham.
Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, PL.)
Sussex: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Trevor Savage, Flat 3, 35 Richmond Road, Leeds, 6.
Manchester: Mat Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancs.
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.

Ready this month!

LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION by Vernon Richards

This is not a reprint of the work with the same title published by FREEDOM PRESS in 1953. It is a new and considerably expanded version which the author prepared for an Italian edition published in 1957, and recently published in Paris in a Spanish translation.

Additional chapters deal with such important topics as the Militarization of the Militias, the Cult of the Organisation and of Personalities, the Rank and File's Responsibility.

As well as a Select Bibliography, the author has contributed a 20-page Bibliographical Postscript in which he discusses the most important works that have appeared on the subject in the past twelve years.

240 pages 8½ x 5½

cloth edition £1.50 [p.p. 15p]
paperboards £0.75 [p.p. 15p]

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THE ONLY Left-wing movement since the Second World War which may be said to have achieved its aim is that to which, in Holland, the name 'Provo' was attached. With other names, or none, it has spread all over the Western world. Its aim was to strip off the liberal mask from the face of Western society, and that it has succeeded in doing. Whether this was altogether a good thing to do is another matter. Even humbug and hypocrisy have their virtues. If the ruling class refrain from more extreme forms of brutality it is a gain for the ruled, whatever the rulers' motives may be. Oscar Wilde said that the worst slave owners were the kind ones because it is much harder to revolt against a kind master, but Wilde was never a slave. On the whole it is better to be fined £5 than to have one's finger nails ripped out.

Well, the liberal mask is certainly off now. Even so the Left seems to be extraordinarily blind to the avalanche which is gradually gathering momentum on the hill above. In spite of the relapse of the United States and Northern Ireland into a state of more or less permanent civil war, there seems to be little real alarm as people march about with banners urging us to support the IRA and North Vietnam. No doubt their motives are of the very best, but this is a sort of reverse imperialism, the war is to be fought in another country, a long way away. But the war is coming here.

The *Sunday Times* of May 14 carries an article, 'The Guru of the New Model Army, Brigadier Frank Kitson and the political meaning of a military theory', by Bruce Page and Lewis Chester. It discusses the ideas of Brigadier Kitson, now the Commandant of the School of Infantry at Warminster in Wiltshire.

Kitson, a stocky, intense man who has won the MC twice over, is the Army's premier expert on "counter-insurgency and peace keeping", with experience going back to the Mau-Mau campaign. He is also a radical military theorist, whose ideas, taken to their logical conclusion, could end the Army's long cultivated tradition of political non-involvement.

Perhaps it is not altogether true to say that 'provoism', provoking authority to show its real face, has been successful. Even this article is written in such a style as to suggest that there is really nothing to worry about, but it does not take much reading between the lines to see that the theories of the brigadier

Hero of our Time

lead directly to a dictatorship of the military over the civilian population.

AN HONOURABLE MAN

Briefly, Kitson's theories are addressed to the proposition—one endorsed by the Prime Minister, among others—that internal subversion and civil anarchy represent the dangers of the future, rather than orthodox international war. Quite apart from Ulster, Brigadier Kitson is not afraid to envisage the possibility that protest and unrest in mainland Britain might reach a point where "the Army would be required to restore the situation rapidly". As it is 'restoring the situation' in Ulster presumably.

What this means of course is murder, torture, betrayal, unlimited cruelty. Of course the *Sunday Times* would not put it so crudely as that. The publication of this article should, if the population of this country had any gumption at all, have led to massive protests, and demands that Brigadier Kitson be required to resign, and retire into civil life. In spite of the smooth style in which it is written, its publication in a widely read newspaper should have roused indignation, but not a bit of it. The writers of the article quite obviously admire the brigadier.

Kitson is patently an honourable and sensitive officer, in whom respect for democracy perhaps runs deeper than it does in most of his critics. Nonetheless, his ideas have some disturbing implications, and they are becoming influential at precisely the moment when the Army, in the light of its Ulster experiences, is attempting to redefine its role in British society.

What this mellifluous prose means in plain English is that the British Army, with no enemies to fight abroad, is preparing to butcher the English people themselves, or at least the poorer sections of the population, the dissidents, students and people who read papers like *FREEDOM*. Presumably the kind of gentlemen who read, and write in the *Sunday Times*, do not think themselves to be in any personal danger, but they

could be wrong in that. In Greece middle class intellectuals are being hammered as severely as any, but it is a characteristic of middle class people always to feel themselves immune.

NEW FEUDALISM

Simply as a theorist, Kitson has always carried weight. When, last year, he published a book called *Low Intensity Operations* (Faber) the Chief of the General Staff, Sir Michael Carver, wrote that it would "help the soldier of today" to "prepare for the operations of tomorrow". The CIA, not to mention both branches of the IRA, are known to have bought a large batch of copies. The CIA is an organisation which specialises in political murder, and the IRA, in principle, is little different, although, since they are on the side of a persecuted minority, naturally they tend to receive more public sympathy. What the reader has to ask himself is this, 'What sort of society am I living in? Is this the Middle Ages come again, with gross physical brutality as a normal part of daily life? Or is it a society based, to some degree at least on humanism, rationalism and what one might call, however vaguely, "civilised values"? If I am reasonably young and fit maybe it would not be so bad to "adapt", to accept the present trend, and begin to learn karate, archery or swordsmanship, in preparation for the bustling, lusty New Elizabethan Age? Or perhaps I don't want to go back into the past, but into a better future?'

GIANT JACK-KILLER

If one wants the second choice it is time to begin to make a fuss, by protesting not only against people like the brigadier, but also against articles such as this *Sunday Times* one, not that its information is unwelcome, because its writers obviously admire Brigadier Kitson very much, in spite of the fact that from their own account of him he is a professional killer, who is preparing to slaughter his own fellow-countrymen.

This becomes obvious when they deal with his military service, which, since he joined the army in 1946, has mainly consisted of fighting guerillas like the Mau-Mau and the IRA. The British campaign against the Mau-Mau was fearsomely effective: more than 10,000 of them were killed, and many executed. (The Mau-Mau killed less than 100 whites.) The writers do not mention that the Mau-Mau were mainly armed with home-made weapons. They did not have behind them two of the world's major powers, as do the NLF and Northern forces in Vietnam. That perceptive, if rather reactionary, writer, G. K. Chesterton, said something to the effect that he was not against violence as such, so long as 'Jack the Giant-Killer does not become Giant Jack-Killer'. Although the cruelty of the Mau-Mau does not endear them to the present writer, the fact remains that they were by far the weaker side, and really had no chance of winning. The analogy with the British people is close. Supposing an attempt was made to raise a revolutionary army in this country, it would resemble the Mau-Mau in one respect at least, its arms would be sticks and stones and a few shotguns and sporting rifles, and far more than 10,000 Englishmen would be killed, as we have no forests to take refuge in.

We are given some details of Brigadier Kitson's methods with the Mau-Mau. He was highly successful at persuading captured Mau-Mau to change sides. He

then formed them into "pseudo-gangs" which went back into the forest to contact and identify real Mau-Mau. . . . The writers continue, absolutely deadpan, although the reader does not know whether he is expected to laugh or weep. 'Like the higher reaches of espionage, and all games based essentially on betrayal, it requires the development of absolute personal trust between the practitioners.'

BIG GAME

There is much more of the same confusion of ideals. When Kitson succeeded in killing a Mau-Mau leader he had been hunting for some time, his reaction was not one of triumph but of sadness. As is often the case with hunters he had come to develop a love for the 'game'. He was sorry when finally the creature lay dead. So, gentle reader, be consoled. If Brigadier Kitson one day stands over your dead body, stretched in some London back street, his feeling will not be one of brutal satisfaction. He will feel almost as if he had lost a friend.

Brigadier Kitson wants to set up a 'supreme council', which would spy on society, in order to detect signs of subversion. 'There is no danger of political repercussions . . . because consultation can be carried out in strictest secrecy.' Police and military would work together, and become more and more like each other. Although the brigadier calls this 'peace keeping', and even goes so far as to say that this 'may even run counter to that most important military attribute, an offensive spirit, which is carefully inculcated in all soldiers . . . I remain unconvinced. There seems to be plenty of 'offensive spirit' in Ulster, even though its victims often seem to be housewives and other unarmed people.

The reason why people like the brigadier are able to get away with this sort of thing, why the *Sunday Times* publishes this kind of article, is that more and more the inhabitants of our highly technical, urban civilisation, are being encouraged to accept violence as a normal part of life, by books, Ardrey, Lorenz and so on; by films, *Clockwork Dogs* and *Straw Oranges*, and increasingly brutal Westerns; by cults, like that of James Bond, who seems almost to be the person Brigadier Kitson has modelled himself on.

This worship of violence began in the closing years of the last century, and was one of the factors that helped to make the First World War possible. It seems to have arisen from the idea that a civilisation based on machines would make life too comfortable and men would become soft. After the Second World War however it seems to have become a tool in the Cold War, and now it is becoming internalised. It is no longer a foreign enemy who is to be fought, but anybody who appears to threaten the status quo. In this it resembles past persecutions of Jews, witches and heretics rather than what is generally understood by the word 'war'.

I believe the process could still be stopped even now. In spite of all the propaganda in favour of violence, there is less violence today in England than there has ever been. If people like Brigadier Kitson are to be stopped it will be done by public feeling, ultimately. The hideous executions and religious practices of earlier days disappeared in response to public hostility, not as result of violent risings, or even of legislation. The law was usually way behind public opinion. We do not hang children for stealing a few sweets, nor fight duels, and my belief is that if England is to be saved from becoming a hunting ground where Brigadier Kitson and others can hunt human 'game', it will be because the population regard such behaviour with contempt as unworthy of modern folk.

JOHN BRENT.

Deported to Danger?

MICHAEL SIRROS, who has lived in England since 1964 except for two years spent in Canada, is to be deported back to Turkey where he faces at least a two-year prison sentence for evading the army draft. Since 1970 he has been living with Pauline Conroy and their 9-month-old child Cormac in Notting Hill. Trouble with the police began last year when Pauline found that she was being followed and her possessions examined. On November 23 she was seized by the police at her flat and only released on December 1 after being charged with conspiracy to cause explosions, and after paying £20,000 bail. Mike was also arrested in Glasgow on November 25 for stealing a driving licence and sent to Brixton gaol after a political interrogation by George Mould, Commander Bond and others. However on December 13 the driving licence charge was dropped but the overstaying his entry permit charge was tried and he was fined £50 and recommended for deportation.

After Pauline's release with costs on January 4 Mike decided to appeal against the deportation order but instead of a simple case the OZ prosecutor Brian Leary was brought in and the Judge, McLeay, refused Mike's right to defend himself, and Pauline was not allowed as a witness. Finally the Judge dismissed the appeal and ordered Mike to be put into custody, which was effected by Mould and Haberson. He was placed in Pentonville deportation wing until Lord Gifford had him released on £25 bail while awaiting a Habeas Corpus application. Later this bail was thrown out as it is illegal to bail aliens. Costs were awarded to Mike, but since telephone tapping, and 83 items of correspondence had not been returned, he decided to sue the police.

However the police had other plans and on May 19 Mike was once more

arrested by three special branch officers and one immigration official, put in Pentonville and given prisoner's clothing (used only for violent or suspected break-out prisoners). Now only an appeal against being sent to Turkey will be of any avail. Mike hopes Ireland will receive him if necessary but only 14 days are allowed for appeal. This case is being taken free by the Law Centre, 74 Golborne Road, W.10, and as it is extremely expensive due to overseas phone calls any donation (within the next 10 days) will be very useful.

Prison Threat to Mill Striker

LAST WEEK brought another twist in the story surrounding the mill-workers' campaign for shop stewards in textiles, when Rochdale's magistrates sentenced Brian Bamford to 14 days in prison, suspended for a month, for non-payment of a fine. Readers may recall that Bamford, who was arrested a year ago during a sit-in strike at Arrow Mill when police broke up the strike, was fined £38. Some £8 of this is still unpaid.

Bamford is refusing to pay the balance, because he is indignant now that he has discovered that one of the magistrates who originally heard his case is the joint managing director of a Rochdale mill. He is also annoyed at conditions in the local mills which have not improved, particularly the absence of shop stewards. The textile unions seem to be obstructing all efforts to get proper shop floor representation in the mills, and are not keen to put the issue to a vote of the members.

In Court last week, Bamford criticised the recent attacks made by the Law Courts and the workers and their unions in this country. He went on about the present situation in the docks and on the railways, and told the magistrates of the need for workers to resist these actions of the Courts. As one of the magistrates sentencing Bamford to jail on this occasion was the local branch secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, these remarks must have hit below the belt.

Schools Demo

THREE COMRADES were arrested on the Schools Demo and later in court two more charges on each were brought up. The case has been adjourned until June 27. People to leaflet schools for witnesses are needed, contact 113 Caze-nove Road, London, N.16.

STOKE NEWINGTON SQUATTERS

'FREEDOM' READERS will remember that the first attempt by Hackney Council to get eviction orders against the families who were squatting failed miserably when the families' spokesman, Bill Dwyer, accused the Council officer of presenting perjured evidence.

Since then, however, the Council have issued fresh summonses, and this time the evidence was more or less truthful. The applications were heard at Shore-ditch County Court, the Council's home territory, by a judge so reactionary he actually found an opportunity to compare the squatters with the 'greedy railwaymen'.

Consequently eviction orders were granted, 'very reluctantly', against all five families, with their fifteen children, and the orders were to take effect 28 days from the real date, though the judge assured everyone that this actually meant six weeks.

Two of the families, with eight kids,

have no intention of leaving until they are ejected by force.

A fuller account will appear in next week's *FREEDOM*, in the meantime a campaign is under way and help is needed in the following areas:

1. Most important, four families to take one kid each during eviction, and one family to have two small kids, to prevent welfare officials from snatching kids as being in need of care and protection.
2. Use of car, van, any kind of transport, during the next month, to assist in campaign, etc. (willing to pay for use and will take care).
3. Comrades with transport to be present at evictions, purpose to be explained on contact.
4. People to actually move in during eviction attempts, to help keep bailiffs out.
5. Lots of publicity.
6. Help distribute leaflets and fly-post.



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- The Philosophy of Rudolf Rocker F. W. Roman £0.10 (2½p)
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- Selected Blasphemy (John Most & Michael Bakunin) (ed.) F. S. Woodworth £0.10 (2½p)
- Emma Goldman—Rebel Stafrprint Co-op, US £0.10 (2½p)
- Roots of Revolution Franco Venturi £1.75 (25p)
- Facts about Spanish Resistance 2. What is the CNT? José Peirats £0.10 (3½p)

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7. Help from anyone with experience of similar actions in the past. Contact Mrs. Helen Vennard, 32 Grayling Road, Stoke Newington, N.16.

Please Teacher

Dear Editors,

When I read Peter Neville's assertion that in his class he is in control of the learning process, my first question was 'What makes him so sure?'

In no class I ever attended was the teacher in control of the learning process, for two very good reasons. One, rarely if ever did all the pupils want to learn what was being taught. Two, to the extent that they did want to learn they were exercising their own minds and thereby learning the only way one can learn: critically.

I should like to see Peter or anybody else teaching someone to ride a bike and remaining in control of the learning process. Unless the pupil wanted to learn they would just keep falling off till either teacher or pupil or both called it a day.

What is more, however much instruction was given, however much it was followed, their common absorption would be fruitless unless the pupil was able not merely to follow the teacher's advice but at the same time to evaluate it, in order to develop within himself on the basis of his own experience the necessary degree of nervous and physical control to enable him to ride away on his own.

As with riding a bike, so with gaining mental control over knowledge. If there is no desire, there is no learning, and where there is learning it is only through applying the teaching and then evaluating the results for one's self. Only through the exercise of criticism can a fact acquire meaning.

People who say any teacher ever was or ever can be in charge of the learning process are asserting that the pupil's mind, in fact any mind, is a vessel to be filled. A seemingly less crude theory, but in reality just the same authoritarian one, is that learning is a matter of education, which is Latin for 'leading out'. This says that until exposed to instruction the human mind, in particular the mind of a child, is a more or less amorphous mass of talents to be 'developed', rather as one 'develops' rhubarb by getting it to grow upwards towards the light.

The authoritarian theory of learning is the basis of the school system. It is held by many, many sincere people who have only the welfare of the human race at heart when they preach and practise it, as either parents or teachers.

LETTERS

Its disastrous results, however, may be seen all around us in the massive problems the human race has created for itself and its inability to solve them. Its theorists in their impotence are driven from one stupidity to the next. It has found its ultimate advocate in Skinner, who would develop us all, without exception, towards the light of perfect citizenship, i.e. dull-witted slavery.

In total opposition to this theory is that which holds that both the will to learn and critical ability, without which one is neither receptive of facts nor able to give them meaning, mature only with adolescence, but are acquired and developed spontaneously by children in their play. (The same applies to sexuality—in the full, Freudian sense—and to creativity and morality.) This play should be neither penetrated nor manipulated by adults (after the crude methods of the playing fields of Eton or the refined methods of Montessori) or it becomes another method of vessel-filling or education. Rather, the role of adults should be concentrated in providing children with physical security, love, and such playthings and knowledge as they spontaneously demand. Thus provided, at adolescence they will come rapidly, and without the usual confusion, both to know what they want to know and to the ability to know it, in plenty of time to get all the learning they need. This profoundly anarchistic theory is fully supported by methodical observation of children, adolescents and adults.

I suggest that the teacher who considers himself 'in control of the learning process' is badly mistaken. He must expound his knowledge for his pupils to learn, but the learning is up to the pupil. Quite apart from the enormous pressures of life outside the classroom (which each one of us is able to cope with more or less to the extent to which we have lived out our childhood and acquired self-knowledge and critical ability)—quite apart from this the pupil is disabled precisely by the degree he or she has already suffered at the hands

of parents and educators who consider themselves 'in charge'.

Instead of continuing this pedantic posture, teachers should, rather, recognise their pupils' difficulties and change their behaviour accordingly. First, they should uphold the child's right to childhood, i.e. to play, instead of being agents for its suppression. Then they should help the pupils themselves to become aware of their problems in mastering knowledge. Instead of the bland assumption of Peter Neville that 'pupils are there because they want to be there, and are willing to participate', they should show sympathy for their pupils, which they can begin to acquire by reflecting on their own problems and shortcomings when they themselves were pupils.

If all this means getting rid of the school system, get rid of it.

Of course, I do not give this advice as a teacher. I merely suffered from them for 19 of the first 24 years of my life.

London, S.E.5

M.H.

Non-Violence and Revolution

Dear Comrades,

'Perhaps someone will now write and say we are responsible for the bombing of Dresden and Vietnam and the massacre of the innocents as well,' writes Carl Chatfield. Surely that is the crux of the whole matter? We, humanity as a whole ARE. Past, present and future we are the people who kill and maim and bomb, largely because we remain silent and say 'It is not my business' or 'I could do nothing'. The genocide of the Jews in Germany could never have taken place if humanity as a whole had rebelled and stopped things in 1930. Vietnam could not be the awful thing it is if the world had ostracised America to an extent which made her see going into Asia would not be to her advantage. The ghastly state of affairs in Southern Africa would not have been happening if the joys of trade and money-making had not overruled the repugnance to apartheid. For fifty years nearly everyone sat silent about our six counties, we in the South as well as you in the UK, and look to what that silent consent has led. No man is an island. Violence by even one person in a 'good' cause breeds more violence. Pacifism by one person even in a bad cause breeds pacifism. So few people understand that pacifism does NOT mean standing idly and silently by. It means getting out and doing very dangerous and unpopular things, the satyagraha of Gandhi. Violence is never

inevitable except that human beings make it so because they are not long-sighted and patient enough to use the other methods. No one has ever converted a dead man, woman or child yet. David Gardiner (who after all lives in Belfast and sees what violence on both sides is doing to the people, especially the children, the citizens of the future) is nearer to the real truth in my opinion than Carl Chatfield. Dragon's teeth always come up as soldiers and fighters so why sow them?

Fraternally,

HILARY BOYLE.

Dublin

Schools Demo

Dear Editors,

Recently seeing a lot of young people gathering for an SAU demonstration, I approached one group of boys and girls, about 11-13 years. At first my friendly enquiries got little response, they were evidently suspicious, from harsh experience, of any inquisitive oldie. However, after I said 'They talk about violence in schools, but what about the violence they've inflicted on children for so long?', the wary expression of one lad slowly changed into a grin. 'That's what we say', he said, and thrusting his hand forward, shook mine heartily. I was immediately surrounded by youngsters all smiling and shaking hands with me, to the manifest bewilderment of by-standing, obviously disapproving adults. As far as I was concerned, those kids bridged the generation gap right there!

Of course, as one knows only too well, the young rebels will have to face disappointments, disillusionments, and despair, but their Movement is a new social phenomenon, and because of that alone, our schools (state or 'public') will never be quite the same again.

Sincerely,

London, N.W.3

K. LAMB.

Politics of Rape

Dear Comrades,

Perhaps a little space for a few observations? Following my review of a Women's Lib pamphlet, I've received some complaints from women who seem to think that I'm some kind of Fascist/sexist/male chauvinist pig. Really, I'm not. The women appear to take particular exception to my piece about women wearing sexy clothing encouraging men to think of rape. 'Why,' my attackers ask, 'do mini skirts, etc., make you think of rape and not of intercourse by mutual consent?'

The answer I'd give to that is that a hell of a lot of women are what are crudely known as 'prick-teasers'. The reaction to the appeal by the *Screws of the World* for proof of virginity at marriage in Britain, shows clearly the vast armies of uptight little bitches floating about. The wonder is that they're only raped, and not strangled. Particularly among working class women, the combination of mini-skirts and Victorian morality is commonplace.

Your fraternally,

Aberdeen

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

'Get off their Backs'

WORLDS APART: the economic gulf between nations, by Peter Donaldson (BBC Publications, £2).

THIS IS AN excellent introduction to the problems of underdevelopment* written by an economist in a clear, factual manner which can be understood by the general reader. It deals not only with the economic, but also the underlying social and political, forces responsible for the problems.

Economic injustices and inequalities within this country are as nothing compared with those between rich and poor nations. This book examines this gulf comprehensively, firstly looking at the historical background in colonial times when development was intentionally held

back by the ruling powers. Then the problems now faced are examined, the population explosion and consequent rising unemployment causing urban slums, with industrialisation causing rural degeneration by destroying craft industries. The advantages and disadvantages of various tried and possible approaches in industry and agriculture are then examined, with the conclusion in favour of intermediate technology. Then comes an examination of the operation of world trade, aid and investment which are consistently biased in favour of the rich against the poor. Finally various scenarios for the future are suggested in outline.

These themes may be familiar to many readers in short summary, but seldom have the complexities involved been so well explained, a fact in itself of importance since one of the major problems is of sheer ignorance in Western countries of what is happening. Acceptable solutions would require radical re-structuring in both poor and rich countries, and a radical change of attitudes: the will to change in the poor countries, the will to help and not hinder in the rich countries, and a proper realisation of what this entails. The book ends with a quote from Bakunin: 'The rich will do anything for the poor except get off their backs'.

M.J.S.d'I.

*Underdevelopment is not a word that is useful to an anarchist but otherwise O.K.

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THIS WEEK IN IRELAND

Dublin
IN THE SIX COUNTIES the Provos and the Vanguard adherents have this in common, both wish to promote violent sectarian warfare so that the British Army may fall between two stools and be attacked by both sides at once. Craig seems to get more like Hitler every day with his obvious paranoia. On June 3 he states he and his minions are going into the no-go areas of the Bogside, etc., and are going to exercise their citizens' right of arrest and that they will bring out all the IRA gunmen. The IRA respond with jeers of 'take a one way ticket only'. Vanguard want to be able to say to Westminster, 'We told you so' and the IRA, well God alone knows what they REALLY want as their words and deeds belie each other. They say they want a united workers' Ireland, but blowing up factories and putting hundreds out of work, and shooting men as they come out from their factory in the Springfield Road area is hardly the way to achieve this aim. I am certain the massive YES vote to going into Europe down here was less a vote FOR Europe than a vote against Sinn Fein, with whom practically everybody is utterly fed up.

Killing is an infectious disease and I think almost everyone in Ireland has caught it. One hears dear old gentle ladies saying, 'If I got hold of those reds (or Anarchists) I'd string them up but hanging is too good for them', and the young think it manly and brave and fine to kill their fellow workers or defend the right of our sacred cow, private property. In the six counties the bombs and fire destroy millions of pounds'

worth of buildings people could live in and work in. Here the bulldozers of the speculators destroy the homes of thousands to make offices for the speculator, who like Potez will make their millions and then depart to their country of origin with the spoils, and the number of out-of-work and homeless rises every hour. What puzzles me is whom are they going to get to work in these huge offices once all the south of Dublin is destroyed and there are no flats or houses for the typists and janitors. Will, as I hope, the monster end by destroying itself?

On Tuesday evening this week I had occasion to go to one of the worst slums in Dublin. It consists of courts of a Dickensian character. The rooms are tiny but in many there are parents and six children living, the only furniture being a huge bed and a gas stove. The water is on the opposite side of the broken stone corridor, where there are rows of cracked porcelain sinks. There are no bathrooms or hot water, and insufficient lavatories, so the stink is intolerable, especially as such shores as there are tend to be broken or blocked. The children are eternally ill and in hospital. I went with two men with the express intention of stirring up strife and getting these tenants of the Corporation to rebel, to refuse to pay their rents, to turn out *en masse* and invade the offices of the housing department. We got a few willing and ready but the vast majority had been cowed into apathy. What does one do? I've written articles galore in our papers and got the press photographers down to take pictures, but the rich and powerful say, 'They should save to buy a house and

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., followed by discussion at 7.30 p.m.

Rudolf Rucker. Can anyone lend/sell Rucker's 'Johann Most. Das Leben eines Rebellen' for translation. Contact John Hinsley, 61 Sandhurst Avenue, Birmingham, B36 8EJ.

Flemish Action Committee for E. Europe. Vik Van Brantegem, 90 Canfield Gardens, N.W.6, wants contacts with British anarchist groups.

Crescita Politica, a group aiming to constitute a network of anarchist publications in Italy is interested in sending Italian anarchist works, both its own and others, and in receiving English books and periodicals. For contacts write to: Crescita Politica Editrice C.P. 1418 Firenze. Catalogues available at FREEDOM.

Bakunin. Anthony Masters is writing a new biography of Bakunin. Any information not easily obtainable in usual sources would be welcome. Whitewood Cottage, Swiffe Lane, Broad Oak, Nr. Heathfield, Sussex.

Roadrunner, monthly, non-violent alternative magazine. 8p. Issue 35 now out. Articles on anti-psychiatry, alternative society and Namibia, plus all the usual items—Tiny Mines, On the Road, etc. £1.25 for 12 issues, 65p for 6 from 28 Brundretts Road, Manchester 21.

'Peace News' for theory and practice of non-violent revolution. £4.95 p.a. (students less 10%). Trial sub. 7 weeks for 80p with free M. Duane. 'Biological Basis of Anarchism'. 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Anarchist Posters—each one an original woodcut. Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta. 30p from 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.

Australian Red and Black 4 available from Jim Couch, Box 131, The Union, Sydney University 2006. Articles on Russia 1917-21, Bakunin, IWW, etc. 30p.

Anarchists/Libertarians interested in forming a group in the Southend area, contact Andrew Putnam, 14 Chandos Parade, Hadleigh, Essex or phone David Carr, Southend-on-Sea 66794.

Oxford Anarchists meet every Friday, 8 p.m., Clarendon Press Institute, Walton Street.

Croydon Group meet Top Flat, 4 Warminster Road, S. Norwood, S.E.25, at 7.30. April 4: Speaker—Vik Van Brantegem on the SMOG Committees.

Anarchist Summer Camp. Anyone interested contact P. H. Jacques, 4 Rue du College d'Anney, 84 Avignon, France.

Agricultural Community. Would any NON-NIHLISTIC, NON-LUDDITE agricultural commune like a Honda F30 Rotovator with attachments? Cheap, easy terms if trust established (!). Write Box No. 003 FREEDOM.

All Saints Collective, 53a Portland Road, Radford, Nottingham, need militant activists for full time community work or industrial action.

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.

Workers' Control. Anarcho-syndicalist group to be set up on LTE Railways. Contact P. J. Goody, 5 Grafton Close, Hounslow, TW4 5NQ.

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.

not marry until they have the money'. Despair is an unproductive emotion but most of us feel it at present.

H.