

THE CURSE OF IRELAND

AN OLD comrade recently wrote to Freedom Press from the United States asking that FREEDOM should give an explanation of what is going on in Ireland. Apart from quoting Quidnunc of the *Irish Times* who said 'The man who isn't confused [in Northern Ireland] just isn't well-informed', we could only (then) recommend him a survey in *The New Yorker* ('Letter from Ireland', 19.2.72). Since then, events have not exactly clarified, they never do that in Ireland, but have given a more familiar pattern to the twisted course of Irish politics.

One of the difficulties in securing stories about Ireland has been the involvement of libertarians with the activities of the pro-nationalist IRA groupings, the Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-Internment League and the inability to see the wood for trees and the later inability to see light at the end of the tunnel. Were we ourselves involved in such a seemingly potentially revolutionary situation it would be equally impossible for us to retain a clear anarchist perspective. Histories of the Spanish Civil War (especially V. Richards' book recently re-issued) show that in such situations confusions and compromises, if not inevitable, are common. We have had to rely on admittedly detached sources in the Irish Republic with all the shortcomings of such a source.

With the changing situation the Belfast Libertarian Group have issued a pamphlet *Ireland, Dead or Alive: an Analysis of Irish Politics* (10p). This pamphlet promises to be the first of a series analysing Irish society from a libertarian stand-

point (obtainable from Freedom Bookshop). *Solidarity*, Vol. 7 No. 1 has an excellent thesis on Northern Ireland. *The Socialist Leader*—in front of a distressing red background—has a slightly indecipherable article backing the 'Officials' in their cease-fire. *Time Out* has carried a report on life behind the Bogside barricades by John Lloyd. All this literature shows a new approach to the Irish question.

Obviously the 'initiative' of the Conservative Government set the dove among the pigeons, and whatever one may say about William Whitelaw he would appear to be a very astute politician.

The results of his labour have been the widening of the split between Officials and Provisionals, the return of Catholics to public office and a cease-fire by the Officials. Additionally there have been peace petitions circulated by the Catholic women accompanied by a typical Catholic priest. The priests have been denounced for their peace-making activities by Provisional IRA men.

Coincident with this, Mr. Lynch of the Irish Republic has been emboldened by his success in a Common Market referendum, and has taken steps against the Provisional IRA. He has detained two IRA leaders under his own emergency laws and would no doubt have

arrested the leader Sean MacStiofain but for the fact that he could not be found. A story was put abroad (by Protestants?) that he had taken refuge in the Bogside 'no-go' area. However the British troops did not rush into the Bogside; neither did the Protestants.

The Protestant backlash seems, to mix a metaphor, to have fizzled out. All the Protestants seem to be able to do is to provide week-end revolutionaries with token barriers from Friday to Monday morning. Craig's thunderings seem to signify nothing. However Protestant random 'executions' of Catholics still continue.

It is obvious that a peace deal is going on—perhaps several. Oddly enough the most peaceful-seeming group, the Official IRA is, on its own admission, responsible for some

of the most sensational of the IRA attacks, those on Aldershot, on John Taylor and the killing of a Catholic soldier of the Irish Rangers regiment—an act which some Catholics found peculiarly sickening. According to most sources, they are ostensibly Socialist, if not Marxist. According to John Lloyd in *Time Out*, the Provisionals in Londonderry are fighting for 'democratic socialism' but obviously acting as they are in conjunction with John Hume these aims cannot be realized in the kind of peace they are working for.

Whatever kind of peace is cooked up it is obvious that Stormont, as it was, is finished. What kind of a deal the Humes, the MacStiofains, the Paisleys, the Gouldings, the Craigs and the Fitts will cook up between them will be no comfort to the poor

Catholics and Protestants who must go on working for landlords and profiteers whoever comes out on top.

It will be recalled by those with a morbid passion for Irish history that some of the most bloodthirsty episodes of what they call 'the Troubles' took place after 'the Truce' and the signing of the Treaty in 1921 when comrades-in-arms turned from the battle against the British to fight each other for political power. Might not the Official-Provisional rivalry develop the same way?

The curse of Ireland is the politician who for too long has fed the Irish appetite for oratory and their love of debate. Surely the people of the Bogside have learned the lesson of self-reliance by now?

JACK ROBINSON.

THE BUILDING JUNGLE

PETER KAVANAGH'S sit-in on top of a crane has focussed attention not only on the use of labour-only sub-contractors ('the lump') but on the building industry as a whole. Building workers call it the 'jungle'. The description is apt, for it is a hard, dangerous industry to work in.

The stay-up protest started when steel fixers employed by a sub-contractor were sacked because the firm went bankrupt and a new 'subby' moved in with non-union 'lump' men. Despite a court injunction of trespass, which had to be read out through a loud-hailer, Peter Kavanagh remained in occupation of the tower crane. He remained there for ten days and only came down to join a demonstration of support from other sites which later went to the Federation of Building Employers' offices and handed in a resolution protesting against 'lump' labour and the blacklisting of militants. They also pledged support for the national pay claim of £30 for a 35-hour week.

Y. J. Lovell are the main contractor on this site for a new hospital for nervous diseases. With public money they are getting for the contract they have paid a 'subby' whose labour-only men do not have stamped holiday and insurance cards or pay income tax. They would be totally unprotected if they were injured on the site.

On another job in London, the Hotel Metropole, labour-only 'lump' men have been sleeping on the site. The contract has been let out directly by the owners of the hotel to sub-contractors who have kept the job going twenty-four hours a day. The hotel has mushroomed in order to cash in on the hotel tourist boom now sweeping London and incidentally to qualify for Government subsidies.

When a few militant trade unionists came on the site they found that operatives were not being paid travelling time and expenses, no overtime rates, paying for their own tea breaks and numerous other injustices which were in breach of the industry's Working-Rule Agreement. The trade unionists set to work organising and soon a strike resulted when a union organiser was refused entry onto the site.

If such conditions exist in London what must jobs be like where union organisation is non-existent?

MARCH ON SITE OFFICE

The largest building site in Europe, at Thamesmead in South London, is also involved in strike action. Over a long period they have been fighting redundancies brought about by delays between the contractor, Cubitts, and the GLC, over the negotiations about future phases of the contract. The bonus scheme has

also been a problem and has not paid anything like a decent wage. A ban on all overtime was operated in reply to the proposed sackings. Cubitts reacted in a snide manner by continuing to run the buses when the overtime period ended. The men, angered by this, marched *en masse* to the site office. The company, seeing how the men felt, immediately altered their decision and ran the buses to suit the men's reduced hours of working.

One-day stoppages, by a strategic selection of the labour force, were started when the company refused to negotiate bonus earnings. Cubitts countered by sacking the Works Committee. Strike action lasting one day was enough to make the company change its mind and negotiations were opened on a 'limited and selective agenda of grievances'.

These negotiations yielded little, and when the Works Committee reported back to a mass meeting of operatives they voted for strike action to back up a claim for a £10 a week increase for a 40-hour week.

This monetary claim is in line with the unions' national demands, with a 35-hour week, which is at present deadlocked. The full negotiating procedure has been exhausted and the unions are planning selective strikes.

UNIONS' FAILURE

This claim is about the most realistic

P.T.

Screw the Bosses!

BY THE TIME you read this the sit-in at Anglo-Swiss Screw, in Yiewsley, will be entering the fourth week. The workers there are among the lowest paid engineering workers in the area, with labourers taking home as little as £13 per week and setters around £21 per week. They are asking for a rise of 16% on basic rates, for holidays to be increased from 3 to 4 weeks and for holiday pay to include the normal bonuses.

The sit-in itself is a direct consequence of the policy of the AUEW that wage claims should be negotiated at regional level. And, as one of the men said, many of the engineering workers in the area are waiting for the outcome of this dispute before deciding on what action to take themselves. Because of this the Engineering Employers Federation are urging the management to hold out and are also giving them financial support.

The management don't want to start negotiations till July and only then on condition that men return to work. A

that has been made for many a year. The unions have totally failed to come to terms with the poor conditions and wages that building workers suffer. Men work under the most appalling conditions for less money than many could get on the social security. The unions cannot even claim half of the labour force as members. They have not opposed the rise in the use of 'lump' labour to any great extent and on occasions they have co-operated with the main contractor in keeping labour-only 'subbys' on sites.

Even Mr. George Smith, general secretary of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians, says that the situation is 'disheartening'.

It is clearly disheartening that with two full years of merger with the painters and six months of merger with the AUBTW, we have not yet succeeded in making a firm impression on the majority of operatives in the construction industry—the non-unionists.

In spite of George Smith's attempts to oppose it, there is a growing unofficial movement in the industry. On a number of sites the £1 an hour basic has already been achieved, and in Birmingham shop stewards have fought a campaign to abolish the 'lump'.

If building workers are to achieve the present claim, then the rank and file will have to control the dispute. In 1963 workers came out for 1/6d an hour increase and went back gaining only 9d, spread over three years. This must not happen again!

BANZAI!

THE SLAUGHTER of more than twenty people by three Japanese 'kamikaze' warriors at Lod airport represents yet another step downward. We have moved from violence for ideals to violence for its own sake. Although the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine has claimed responsibility, and the Japanese appear to have undergone some training in the Lebanon, it is difficult to see them as guerrillas in the ordinary sense of the word.

The tradition of the suicidal warrior is ancient in Japan, and has its equivalents in many other parts of the world, including Europe. The Viking berserks went into battle raving mad, fought without armour and disregarded their own survival. This is an extremely archaic form of behaviour, which survived in Japan until recent times, because (as some maintain) Japanese society is highly conventional and authoritarian. The only escape from this rigid framework is through violence and suicide. The individual asserts his own independence by cutting loose from all restraints and dying with glory.

If this is correct the probability is that these men were merely using the Israeli-Arab conflict as a convenient escape-route from life, though maybe they saw themselves as so many Lord Byrons going to help a foreign people against another foreign tyranny. But if, as seems far more probable, they wanted to die with glory, there seems no reason why others, equally inspired, should not go to any city, airport, railway station or any other place where crowds gather, and open fire at random. One could always find some cause or other to justify one's action, if one felt the need to justify it.

This means that nowhere henceforward is safe. Thanks to modern means of transport, suicide squads can move to any part of the world, and kill wholesale anywhere. There is no real hope of checking them. Just as the old medieval sect of the Assassins knew that no

ruler can be guarded against an assassin who is prepared to lose his life, so no crowd can be guarded against a suicide squad.

The governments of the world are much to blame. The Japanese militarists revived the tradition of the heroic suicide during the Second World War. The British government has recently massacred thirteen people in a demonstration. The Watutsi in Burundi have recently murdered 50,000 Hutu. With these examples before them private individuals will seek to emulate their masters, and it is hypocrisy to hold up one's hands in horror, while giving one's support to governments. The results of private enterprise and state enterprise are the same, but governments of course want a monopoly of murder.

Indeed, at the time of writing, we await some equally bestial horror to be perpetrated on the Arabs, or the Japanese, by the Israelis. This will be done officially and therefore respectably, probably by parachutists in Israeli uniform.

If governments are to blame so are the peoples they rule over. Individuals can rebel against murder right away. No one has to go to Israel, Palestine or the Far East. We must begin to boycott manifestations of the cult of violence everywhere. The reason why these crimes are able to be contemplated at all is that throughout the present century there has been a steady, ceaseless drizzle of books, plays and films, all preaching (with greater or lesser subtlety) the same message—to defeat evil we must use methods even more ruthless than those of our opponents. Man is by nature a wolf to man. The fittest to survive are those who are the most successfully ferocious. When all else fails, a final appeal is made, 'At heart you are violent, aren't you, if you are honest?' Since most people do feel violent at times, in a society such as ours it is not surprising, this appeal usually works.

Of the people who died in the airport it is a fair bet that 90% at least of those who were adults had at some time or another had some connection with organised violence, either in giving their support to their country in war, or to the activities of the police. Violence is a boomerang, and often returns to the thrower.

JOHN BRENT.

The Way of Liberation

THE FREE MIND, The Inward Path to Liberation, by Robert Powell (The Julian Press, New York, \$6).

THE AUTHOR is a Zen Buddhist. He believes that human consciousness is simply a series of fragmentary impressions, and the sense of a solid and continuous personality, with a life history and a destiny, which most of us have, is in fact an illusion. A film consists of an infinite series of individual photographs, each slightly different. By running them quickly through a projector the illusion of movement is created, and the human personality is something rather similar.

We cling to our identity with desperation, because life ultimately leads to death, but this clinging does no good at all, it merely makes people more and more miserable. The author believes that if we could free ourselves from this clinging we should lose our preoccupation with nationalism, politics, property, family pride, neurosis and all the other things which make people so unhappy, and cause wars and persecution.

To reach this enlightened state is difficult, and I must admit that I found the book hard going. Alan Watts writes on the same theme, and I find his work

more comprehensible. All the same I have no doubt that Powell and Watts, and all the others who put this point of view forward, are right. It is just that I would not offer this book to people who were in great immediate trouble. I do not think they would find it of much help to them. Its style is too academic and dry, which seems to be a common thing with Buddhist writings. This is the sort of book that some clever, successful technician or scientist, who was unceasingly aware that something was lacking in his life, would appreciate.

Japanese feudal society was one of the most convention-ridden and repressive ever known. Zen was an attempt to free men from the bondage of this society, without changing the society itself. Or at least this is how it appears to the Westerner who writes these lines. Generally speaking, in the West, we try to change society, on the assumption that, as men and women are the products of their society, so if we change the society we change them also. But in practice it has not worked very well, and although I would not call myself a Buddhist, I welcome this influence from the East. Maybe it has some hope for us.

ARTHUR WARDO.

Happy Families

INTERVENTION IN SOCIAL SITUATIONS, by R. D. Laing (The Philadelphia Association, 15p).

'To cure a man you must begin by psychoanalysing his grandmother.'
—Old English saying.

I SUPPOSE ANARCHISTS are by now familiar with the theories of Dr. Laing. This pamphlet was originally a lecture given at the Association of Family Caseworkers' Study Day, in May 1968. In it he presents his views on the development of 'schizophrenia', which he believes to be the result of subtle family pressures rather than some chemical change in the brain. Children are required to play roles in the drama of family life, and these dramas sometimes continue for generations. As one individual dies his or her place is taken by a new arrival.

When the psychiatrist, the social worker or even the doctor called in for a purely medical emergency, enters, the course of the drama is affected, often very much so, but people seem to be unaware of the extent to which these interventions may ramify.

Dr. Laing suggests that the child guidance clinic practice whereby separate people interview the child and his parents, and none of them sees the home situation, is about as sensible as it would

be to try to discover why someone was a poor hockey player by taking his history but never watching him play hockey. . . . Thus writes Eileen Young-husband in her foreword to the 1969 edition.

In order to treat the child or young person who is manifesting signs of 'schizophrenia' it is necessary to treat the entire family it seems. It must be said that some of these signs of 'schizophrenia' are of extraordinary triviality. They seem to consist simply of the young person no longer wishing to obey his parents down to the last detail. He or she stays out late, mixes with hippies or dresses untidily. If these are signs of madness who is sane?

In the past children were cruelly treated on the grounds that they were 'limbs of Satan', now they are persecuted on the grounds that they are 'mentally ill'. It seems that little has changed really. The family is still a formidable crushing machine, and society backs it up, of course.

But this is not a propaganda pamphlet. The above remarks are merely the present writer 'exploding'. *Intervention in Social Situations* is a sober plea for studying, as far as possible, the total situation which exists where there is a case of 'mental illness', and not simply treating the 'patient' on his or her own. The only thing which does give me

pause a little, with regard to Dr. Laing, is this: agreed, many families are oppressive, and the individual is subjected to severe pressure. Despite this, though, most children do not become candidates for psychotherapy. Some of them go through experiences of ill-treatment far worse than anything suffered by some of the patients of Dr. Laing. The present writer ought to be a 'schizophrenic' by all the rules of the game. Is there some technique or knack, which some people are able to develop, or some innate quality, which protects them against parental and social pressures? In the film *Family Life* the older daughter treated her beastly parents with appropriate brutality, and finally walked out on them. The Stirnerites urge us to develop strong egos, but do not tell us how. Ought we not to be trying to find out some technique of psychological self-defence?*

To me Dr. Laing represents the ambulance that follows the army, picking up the wounded of the social battle, but the ideal is not to be wounded, or not so seriously as to need the ambulance. Some people seem to have this skill, in varying degrees. What we need to know is how to develop it to the highest possible degree.

JOHN BRENT.

*In *The Politics of Experience* Dr. Laing describes the experience of a patient in a mental hospital who suddenly decided he had had enough of being 'mad' and simply returned to 'normality' again, apparently by an act of will.

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This must be the lowest figure ever recorded in the Press Fund. We are almost half way through the year and have reached about one-third of the 1972 target for both Subscriptions and Donations. Subscribers who have not renewed their subscriptions will be getting a reminder this week. If you are one of these, please respond swiftly—and if you have renewed, try to spare something for the Press Fund.

LETTER

Politics of Rape

Dear Comrades,

Most women can stand up for themselves and don't need an old MCP like myself to enter the fray. But really, Ian Sutherland's letter is a quite monstrous insult to the freedom of the individual to flaunt his or her attractiveness without fear of assault.

His remarks are offensive to me. Am I to be condemned as a 'pussy-teaser' because I parade my undoubted masculine charms before women I have not the faintest intention of obliging by fucking? Fair's fair—I maintain that girls are entitled to go around naked with rose-buds in their pubic hair, and remain virgins if they like, without fear of rape or strangulation at the hands

of those they don't happen to fancy. To read a denial of this right in an anarchist paper is somewhat bizarre.

London, N.5.

TONY GIBSON.

WILLIAM GODWIN

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I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill

I DREAMED I SAW Joe Hill last night/as live as live could be/the copper bosses killed you, Joe/I never died, said he.

The veteran Industrial Workers of the World militant Fred Thompson, whose prolific articles in the IWW journal *Industrial Worker* are always worth a look, has brought out a very well produced and written little pamphlet on Joe Hill, one-time Joel Hagglund, Swedish immigrant to the USA and author of more revolutionary songs—songs that are still to be found on even the most commercial record companies' products—than just about any figure in the history of the working class. Martyr, on November 18, 1915, to a capitalist firing squad in the State of Utah in the Land of the Free.

In 1970, the militant Swedish labour organisation SAC turned the house where Joe Hill was born into a labour history museum. Joe would surely have been happier with the other tribute they paid him, turning the area behind the house into a meeting place for the movement. The only thing Joe would have rejoiced to have seen in a museum would have been a stuffed banker or a mill owner in a glass case.

Before they shot him, Joe appealed to his fellow workers in a telegram to the IWW: 'Don't waste time in mourning: Organize!'

But generous Joe will perhaps forgive us if we do mourn, just a little bit.

In 1902, after a poverty-stricken child-

hood in Sweden, Joe Hill and his brother Paul landed in New York and changed his name.

He is believed to have led the life of a hobo, but although many old Wobblies are still alive with their memories, this part of his life is rather a mystery. He may have taken part in the revolutionary movement in Mexico in 1911. By 1912, he was an active IWW militant and began to play a part in the struggles of that most noble of all Western Labour movements. Trying to organise the dock workers of San Pedro, he came across his first example of American justice when the local fuzz jailed him for vagrancy in an effort to discourage him.

These fights and other struggles among loggers and railroad workers provided the inspiration for the songs. The first song of Joe's to appear in the IWW's Little Red Song Book was one which gave rise to the commonly used phrase 'pie in the sky'—though few people today would know where the phrase came from. The number is still a favourite today and I heard it only the other week on the BBC.

Long haired preachers come out every night/Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right/But when asked about something to eat/They will answer in voices so sweet/You will eat, bye and bye/In that glorious land above the sky/Work and pray, live on hay/You'll get pie in the sky when you die.'

Joe would parody gospel songs and Broadway hits; Irving Berlin's 'Everybody's doin' it' became—apropos the IWW—'Everybody's joinin' it'.

Late in 1913 Joe Hill got a job near the Mormon capital of Salt Lake City. It should be realised that, to this day, the Mormons remain one of the most vicious Right Wing groups in American society and now that their 'missionary' endeavours have reached these shores in recent years we should miss no opportunity to pursue them on such matters as the war in Vietnam.

A Bloody Good Play

THE HOSTAGE by Brendan Behan, Theatre Workshop at Stratford, E.

THE LAST PLAY I had seen before this one was 'Butley' at the Criterion, and I hadn't enjoyed it. I went to see 'The Hostage' which opened on Whit Monday with many misgivings; those concerning Brendan Behan and the play were quite wrong. It is a marvellous play, both in that it is full of life and fun and that it is a bloody good play. Behan spent years in jail for various reasons, at 16 he was in the IRA. But that does not mean this a straight IRA play. Anyway, after having seen the play, I can see now why Brendan Behan is celebrated—which I couldn't before. The other doubt concerned the production and the actors, but that too was splendid and went along with a real vim of its own. Production was by Joan Littlewood and the songs had been arranged by Lionel Bart. As an ensemble, moving around the set and talking and dancing, the actors were really good and convincing.

I rarely like the theatre audiences: this one smoked many cigars and parked its Rolls outside in the muddy building-site lane. Was there an Irishman anywhere?

R.S.

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.

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**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

AFBIB—To all Groups.

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

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

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

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

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham.
Essex & E. Herts: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)
Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
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Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
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The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
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THE TRIAL of the eight people accused of being involved in the Angry Brigade began on May 30 before Mr. Justice James in Number 1 Court at the Old Bailey. John Barker, Christopher Bott, Stuart Christie, Hilary Creek, James Greenfield, Anna Mendelson, Catherine McLean, and Angela Weir, aged between 21 and 27, face the following charges:

1. All are charged with conspiring with Jake Prescott and others to cause explosions between January 1968 and August 1971.
 2. Greenfield is charged with attempting to cause an explosion at Paddington Police Station on May 22, 1970.
 3. Greenfield and Mendelson are charged with attempting to cause an explosion at the Italian consulate in Manchester on October 9, 1970.
 4. Christie is charged with having a round of ammunition.
 5. Barker, Bott, Christie, Creek, Greenfield and Mendelson are charged with having explosive substances.
 6. Barker, Christie and Greenfield are charged with having further explosive substances.
 7. Barker, Creek and Greenfield are charged with receiving a stolen car.
 8. Christie is charged with having yet further explosive substances.
 9. Barker, Bott, Christie, Creek, Greenfield and Mendelson are charged with having a pistol.
 10. Barker, Bott, Christie, Creek, Greenfield and Mendelson are charged with having eight rounds of ammunition.
 11. Barker, Bott, Christie, Creek, Greenfield and Mendelson are charged with having two machine-guns.
- The first day of the trial was taken up with procedural problems. Right at the start, after all the accused had pleaded not guilty to all the charges, the prosecution successfully applied for a brief adjournment to discuss procedure with the defence. Then after that Anna Mendelson, supported by John Barker, unsuccessfully applied for a long ad-

On Trial

jourment to allow the present atmosphere of prejudice against the accused to be dispelled—she suggested a period of two years. The judge claimed that he treated the application seriously, but despite the evidence of newspaper reports he insisted that the trial would be fair and would not be political.

The defence therefore applied for jurors to be questioned about their connections and opinions, and the judge agreed. All prospective jurors were then asked a whole string of standard questions, whether they were connected in various ways with such individuals as Robert Carr, John Davies, Peter Rawlinson, Woodrow Wyatt, William Batty, and John Waldron, or such organisations as the American and Spanish embassies, any Italian consulates, the Banks of Spain and Bilbao, Iberian Airways, Fords, Biba's boutique, Securicor, the Territorial Army, the police or prison service, and the Conservative Party—all targets of the Angry Brigade—and whether they had any views generally concerning any anarchist movement or activities which might cause them to be biased in favour of or against the accused, whether they had formed any impression that the accused were members of an anarchist organisation or the Angry Brigade, and whether they had any knowledge of the social or political activities of the accused that might cause them to be biased. In the end 72 people were questioned, 19 admitted bias, 39 were challenged, and two were excused, and after three hours a jury was found.

The prosecution counsel, John Mathew (who was also the prosecution counsel at the trial of Prescott and Purdie last November), outlined the case against the

accused from May 31 to June 2. It is naturally much the same as that against Prescott and Purdie, but far more detailed in view of the large number of people and incidents involved. Briefly, the case is that the accused were part of a conspiracy responsible for 27 bombing and shooting incidents which occurred during the four years up to the arrest of six of them at a flat in north-east London last August. The flat is alleged to have contained explosives, fire-arms, and in-

criminating documents; and it is alleged that the documents implicate the other two, Catherine McLean and Angela Weir.

On June 2 a juror was excused because his wife was ill, so a new juror had to be chosen and the trial technically began again. There have been more relevant interruptions than this, with Anna Mendelson and Hilary Creek in particular making a large number of important points; and when the defence failed to have Detective Chief Superintendent Roy Habershon, the policeman in charge of the case, removed from the court while prosecution witnesses gave evidence, all eight themselves left the court in protest. But they later returned, and the prosecution case continued. In general the judge seems to be preserving the most careful calm and balance so that he can-

not be accused of the kind of prejudice shown by Melford Stevenson at the trial of Prescott and Purdie last year, but there is a very long way to go yet, and things may change later.

CORRESPONDENT.

The Defence does not Rest

THE STOKE NEWINGTON Defence Group meeting, scheduled for the LSE last Saturday, had to be transferred to the University of London Union at the last minute due to an LSE administrative decision. Once there, the preamble of latest details of the trial, and its connections with Micheal Tobin's imprisonment, the Metro, Mangrove, and the Longannet coalminer pickets' trial in Dunfermline, gave way to a discussion about legality and illegality in the revolutionary movement. A new Defence Group pamphlet has been printed and is now available (5p plus postage from Compendium Bookshop) and this carries a very extensive discussion of the role of violence in the state at present and how this must be overcome. Discussion of the implications of this pamphlet and the parallels between the 'Angry Brigade' and the Tupamaros, the Red Army Faction and so on, was rather abstract. A valuable point, however, raised in conjunction with these armed revolutionary groups was that why have they, even the more successful of them, been unable to arouse a mass movement intent on the same goals. The attacks on various offices and banks by the Angry Brigade were a violent extension of what the revolutionaries in Britain all felt. A case in point is the raid on the Holloway TA recruiting centre just after internment had been introduced. But no activity followed.

Much further discussion centred around the politics of the state after the trial. If the defendants are sent down for long periods it seems fairly certain that the current spate of Special Branch searches, gunpoint arrests and infiltrations

of groups will not only continue but will expand. If the left react violently then, Kitson and his fellow militarists will be on hand. (The masochism of the British Taxpayer is unbelievable, he even pays for his potential killer.) The whole purpose of the pamphlet and the meeting was to show that now is the time to act, any later and the state conspiracy will have prepared its defence. It is also vital that the trial is not lost politically as it seems certain to be judicially. The absurdities of the arrests and searches along with very dubious prosecution material and of course the blanket conspiracy charge must be exposed and their real intentions revealed. As at least a few of the defendants are going to give political defences we cannot let these appeals stay inside the courtroom. This is a trial that no one can afford to lose.

DAVID BROWN.

AN APPEAL FOR FUNDS

The defence group need £1,000 as soon as possible to counter such actions as the 'blacking' of the trial by QCs and the correspondingly even higher defence costs. Only about £100 is left in the fund and everyday expenses like meals for the defendants, paper costs, bulletin mailings, and so on, all vital to maintain the level of action at anything higher than a mere token, are rapidly cutting into this figure. Physical help is also needed to post up leaflets and arrange to distribute material around universities, factories and working-class areas. Also vital to the defence effort is typing up of trial tapes for the bulletin. Volunteers are urgently required.

On Tuesday over 100 people showed their solidarity with those on trial by picketing the Old Bailey.

CRIME MARCHES ON

AFTER BRIGHTON children's parties comes the petty persecution of newspaper and hot dog sellers at Hyde Park Speakers' Corner.

The vigilant eye of the police moved in on Speakers' Corner last Sunday when we set up a table outside the barrier where it is supposed to be quite legal to sell periodicals. Although it was manifestly obvious that we were not obstructing anyone the police warned us to move or be taken along to the station for obstruction. Later, someone giving out leaflets was arrested.

The highpoint of the afternoon came when the police towed away the small vehicle used by a hot dog seller. To cries of 'police State' and 'hot dog dogs' a dozen uniformed police accompanied the rather pathetic sight of a police van towing the offending vehicle away.

Nowadays, it seems, people who venture to Hyde Park can only buy literature if they go to the toilet. For downstairs, where the law obviously thinks we belong, next to the Gents and Ladies, the selling of literature is grudgingly allowed. Yet even there the old circus performer who did his act was questioned by the police thus stopping him collecting anything from those who had seen his act. It is also true to say that selling downstairs is not half so good as it was in the five minutes we had upstairs where we first set up. We also tried selling near the long line of artists with their commercial wares in Bayswater Road, but you get only sight-seers there and sales were very poor.

We were told by the bloke selling the *Freethinker* that only people selling religious crap can sell upstairs, the Salvation Army is always allowed to sell its publications. Their uniform is like a built-in trigger mechanism for the cops who immediately sense a friendly organisation. Our friend from the *Freethinker* said once he was selling upstairs when a cop kindly told him that he didn't mind him selling his religious literature (!) but the political papers were not going to be allowed any more.

It is incredible in a country where the gutter press is on sale at every newsstand a few sellers of left-wing literature cannot sell their papers in just one place, one day a week. Is the State that afraid of us? It seems so. Petty persecution as well as major acts of torture are the order of the day; only scared Governments behave in this way.

Let us hope that during the summer this ban on selling upstairs at Hyde Park is challenged. How about ORA sending a dozen sellers along to give the law a real test, getting an NCCL observer to watch what happens?

We met some overseas comrades from

Sweden, Australia and America. We were able to assure the American sympathisers that there really were anarchists still in the United States. Someone asked after Philip Sansom, who I believe is inside for crimes against the census,* and an American who knew Emma Goldman told us to read the memoirs of Mussolini's secretary. (Anyone know about them?)

DRAKE AND BOADICEA.

*Philip Sansom is now in Norwich Prison, for 28 days for non-payment of census fine.—EDS.

Western Australia

REGARDING OUR activities in WA, for the last three Saturdays we have been picketing the US consulate and protesting at the US actions in Vietnam. We also participated in a moratorium march, but split from that to march to the local lock-up, where a protester had been lodged. The police over-reacted by using eight cars and about twenty guards to defend a building that no one was attacking.

A pamphlet was distributed on Labour Day (March 6) concerning Julio Millan. Further anarchist literature has been distributed at the Institute of Technology, and a comrade was given a two-page article in a large local student paper. At present a comrade—Graham Milner—has been threatened with deportation if he continues with his political activities, under section 8d of the Migration Act, which provides for this.

Naturally this will be fought, but there are so few anarchist activists that we cannot afford to lose any. A young anarchist, I did not know him, called Les Coles, was deported in January for his political beliefs and activism.

Well that's about all for now, except to say that shortly we hope to have a post office box and a regularly published news-sheet, although all of this takes time. T.B.

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Defence Group Pamphlet

IF YOU WANT PEACE PREPARE FOR WAR by Stoke Newington Defence Group, Box 359, 240 Camden High Street, London, N.W.1. Price 5p.

THIS PAMPHLET attempts to put the current trial of those accused of conspiring to cause explosions into some perspective. To my mind it succeeds in broaching a number of subjects related to the implications of the trial and the Angry Brigade movement. It is well worth reading within the anarchist movement, and I sincerely hope our non-violent comrades will read and ponder the arguments put forward with their customary reasonableness and charity.

We have here no eulogy of the Angry Brigade, no blind emotional stirring of the consciousness, but a balanced, partly critical, portrayal of the emergence of a type of rebellion and revolution that has taken root in Britain. The drawings are a noteworthy contribution to the approach of the pamphlet.

Rather than summarising the case it seems best simply to request that you read it for yourselves; the aspects that I feel need our major concern are in the final section on 'Revolutionary Criminality', since it is in these bold and possibly farsighted lines that a fresh pattern of thought emerges. 'Although the criminal fraternity is clearly not a revolutionary force at the moment' the authors argue, 'neither can it be rejected as just an apolitical reflection of present day capitalist society, whose experiences are irrelevant to the revolution. There are within it possibilities of it developing a close relationship with the revolutionary left. These possibilities stem from its basic position within the present set-up; its very existence poses a threat to, and is a denigration of the ideology of the work (exploitation) ethic and the ethic of exchange value; it is committed to an ongoing struggle with the Law and its Agents, and to maintaining its refusal to play the co-operative game with the ruling class.'

It is made clear that the authors don't believe that within every criminal

lies the soul of a revolutionary but the example of the sit-downs in prisons 'without the guidance of the organised left' does point to a certain mingling of concepts. Indeed as the State treats the libertarian left more and more like a criminal left the areas of contact between revolutionaries and criminals are bound to increase. The prisons may well become the universities of revolutionary criminality.

A careful reading of the final pages of this powerful document is recommended. J.W.

Who's Judging Who?

ARTHUR JAMES, who is presiding over the current Angry Brigade trial, and Melford Stevenson, who presided over the previous trial of Prescott and Purdie last year, have something else in common. Seven years ago the Committee of 100 paper *Resistance* printed an article discussing James's whitewashing report into the Chal-lenor case and Stevenson's brutal conduct of the Forbes criminal libel case. (Challenor was the policeman who planted bricks on demonstrators against the Greek royal visit, after which he was said to be mad, and Forbes was the man who alleged that a policeman had stolen £10 from him, for which he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.) The conclusion of the article in *Resistance* (Vol. 3, No. 9) was that no one who came up against the police could hope for a fair hearing in a court presided over by James or Stevenson. Stevenson has proved the point well enough since then; what about James?



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'Please Teacher' Revisited

LETTER



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

Dear Comrades,

I have given the letters of David Brown and Trevor Bavage a good deal of thought. There were, as I see it, two subjects under discussion. Firstly, the structure of the educational system. Secondly, the position of the teacher as a worker in the social system. From these, and by a rather circuitous route, concomitant with Trevor Bavage's feelings about individualism, we find a basic synthesis developing, which underlies all that was written previously. What is the role of the teacher? Perhaps, however, it would be simpler if I commenced by dealing with the second point.

Let me draw up an analogy to pinpoint the trend of the argument. Suppose there appeared an article in FREEDOM condemning the attitudes of the railwaymen and dockers. It said that neither should be interested in money, working conditions or job security. What they should be interested in primarily, and discussing this at great length at their trade union meetings and conferences, is how to make their jobs and the industry more efficient, even to the point of declaring themselves redundant in the interests of the consumer. The article, perhaps, could look forward to the day when automation made both railwayman and docker obsolete. Avoid the obvious red herring here that what we seek is to abolish work—we may do, but let us stick to the present context. FREEDOM, and anarchist writers, tell us that the consumer comes first and the worker should subordinate himself always to the immediate wishes and perceived desires of the consumer, even when the railway traveller, in a fit of laziness, tries to cross an electric rail on foot.

If this kind of article appeared attacking the actions of the workers then everyone would feel and say that FREEDOM had gone mad. They would say that FREEDOM, and anarchists, had changed sides in 'the struggle'. Quite! Now this is just what Brown and Bavage are saying about teachers as workers.

Firstly, teachers should not be interested in wages, working conditions, security of tenure and, dear to the heart of the syndicalist militants, job control. Secondly, they should put the wishes of their consumers first (and here they do not specify who is the consumer—the child or the parent, the point is not an academic one as many a head has found when he tried to introduce new methods in the teeth of the governors—Michael Duane for example?). Thirdly, it is the function of anarchists to abolish the teacher's role in education.

Now why one standard for one type of worker and a different standard for the other? Brown even suggests that

teachers should not have trade unions, suggesting that these are elite-making. He even goes to the point of criticising their demand for a unified pay scale as though this has something to do with perpetuating a 'hierarchy of examinations and gradings' when obviously, if he would bother to consult the last three Burnham Reports and Recommendations on Teachers' Salaries, he would realise that this proposal is the exact opposite, in fact a recognition by the teachers' unions that distinctions and gradings create disunity, and it is only by their abolition that real unity of action will come about by a recognition that all teachers are in 'the same boat'. Bavage even suggests that the teacher, by being a teacher, supports 'our rulers', that is, supports the system. Well so do railwaymen and dockers, by doing their own jobs. Almost everyone in our kind of society does. Our recognition of this, and our willing participation in action with our fellows within the context of capitalist society is 'the struggle'. This is what the whole business is all about. Why single out the teachers?

The structure of the educational system, the first main point in my introduction. Why does it exist? Firstly because people need to socialise their children into the norms, roles, habits, and, in effect, culture of our society. Also to enable them to participate as a full member of our society both as a worker in the social system, for by their work are men known and accepted, and secondly to survive as individuals in a complex technological environment. This is to say nothing of one's place, role and status, as son, husband, father (and female counterparts), and as members of communities, groups, and associations.

Education is compulsory, you might say. But was not this compulsion brought in because when the British educational system developed it was found it was largely underused? A great many people were not educating their children. The industrial capitalists even went as far as exploiting child labour because it was cheaper than paying the full rate for the job. Compulsory education enabled everyone to benefit (except the exploiter). It gave survival kits to the individual and at the same time kept them out of the factories long enough for them to mature a little. It also, by the use of school milk, meals, and health inspection, enabled many children to live a good deal longer and be a lot healthier.

Compulsory education had its faults, but judging by what went before, it had a lot to recommend it. It has done one thing above all and that is it forced the community (capitalism, the state, call it what you will) to hive off a considerable

amount of resources in money, property, manpower and time, which was sadly lacking prior to the inception of 'the board schools'.

Brown tells us that 'Learning is the monopoly of the learner, not of the source of information'. A little too trite I think. Learning is taught. The process of learning is accelerated by teaching people how to learn. Without the skill of learning, the learner is cripplingly handicapped. The first part of Brown's statement is meaningless nonsense.

'The source of information' can be the practicable experience of life—always provided a series of events do happen to initiate in the learner a desire to learn—they may not, which is why country children do tend to be marginally slower at human intercourse. Sources of information can vary. They can be books (provided the learner has been taught to read), films, slides, tapes, teaching machines, computers (again provided the learner knows what he is supposed to be doing), or it may be the synthesised experience of the teacher. I personally find it easier to learn from teachers than from most other media. The source of information however is knowledge. Knowledge is its own authority. The teacher transmits knowledge efficiently to the learner. He plays the crucial, critical, catalytic role in learning. Without the teacher's advice and help the process of learning would be much less efficient for the learner.

Naturally the pupil wishes to know how he is doing, the teacher wishes to know whether his methods are effective in transmitting knowledge too, so the teacher tests the learner. Examinations enable us to see the progress we have made, both as pupil and teacher. I think the formal written essay-type is less efficient than continuous assessment (multiple-choice questions are an example). Gradings merely help give the student a context to his learning in relation to his fellows, his perceived progress, the 'normal' rate for that particular learning process, and see whether he is putting enough effort into the activity.

The teacher here is limited by two main things: the pupil's potentialities in relation to an expected rate of progress; and the pupil's willingness to learn. It is sometimes necessary to tell a pupil that he might be better suited to be a postman than an airline pilot. Advice, reinforced by exam gradings works well I think. The pupil can apply for the airline pilot's job if he wishes but the educational system does try to get him to limit his applications to the jobs that are within his grasp.

If the pupil is lazy, noisy or constantly interfering with others, or too self-opinionated to understand that he is supposed to be working at a learning process and success is not guaranteed merely by enrolment on a course, and consequently may be a nuisance to other learners, then it may be up to the teacher to point this out. Consistently being a nuisance can cause the teacher to assume the role of arbiter, and even executioner of a punishment. Punishments are not wrong per se. What is 'wrong' is the situation. I venture to suggest that most pupils are punished for interfering with the learning process, bullying, and the like than by the crazy idiosyncrasies of some looney head.

Do not seek to abolish symptoms. Are we reformists or revolutionaries? Abolish causes. Will stopping caning stop one student carving up another because, for instance, one is a Greek, the other a Turkish Cypriot? Caning is often less drastic than some people like to think, and it does work. I well remember teaching in a Secondary Modern in inner ring Birmingham where there was an outbreak of racial violence with lots of students wearing swastika badges and repeated beating up of West Indians and others. When some lads attacked the mother of a West Indian who had come to school to collect him the police asked the head to put a stop to it formally as the parents were encouraging it (the brother of one lad was Colin Jordan's area organiser). The head had been a Japanese prisoner of war and had strong feelings about 'fascists'. He caned all the culprits in front of the whole school for a week. It stopped the racial violence stone dead. It also stopped several lads ending up in an approved school. I met some of them later, they joined the CND. They said that they were grateful to the head because he forced them to think about the relevance of their actions.

Is this an extreme example? I do not know. Caning is not as frequent as you imagine. I am unsure as to whether I am in favour of its abolition. On principle I am in favour of certain things, but the practice should be related to

honest realities. I feel many libertarians are more concerned with the niceties of 'fact' fitting in with principle. I am interested in principle fitting in with reality. If you teach in a non-caning school where the pupils' parents will beat the hell out of them for any minor infraction, the pupil is just as likely to tell you to 'piss off' when you suggest that what was on last night's telly may be interesting to him and his neighbour but you and the rest of the class would like to get on with the learning process. Further I know of several cases where it was the parent who asked the head to cane the pupil.

Brown rightly points out that 'Presence is not an indication of willingness to learn'. But if the libertarian teacher wishes to teach as a libertarian he must assume that his pupils are there willingly. To do otherwise would be to introduce the element of compulsion at every stage. It is up to the teacher to introduce an acceptable vehicle for learning. It is my experience that those pupils who are unresponsive or will not try to learn do so because they are on the wrong courses, in too advanced or too elementary a class, or are there in order to avoid getting a job—certainly in further education. The only thing one can tell students in further education who will not learn is to go somewhere else.

The statement 'it is fundamental to a libertarian society that there is no teaching class but only a learning class' (Brown again) is dogmatic and autocratic. The most fundamental aspect of a libertarian society is surely that man is free and not governed by other's platitudinous clichés. Anyway, how is it fundamental—what is the basis of the statement? What is its source—God?

Trevor Bavage's letter said a lot about his idea of what he thought individualism was about. I know it was his idea and not mine because he said I 'frequently inarticulate' my ideas on the subject. I am sorry he does not understand what individualism is all about. I wrote out a detailed analysis to accompany the Anarchist Federation of Britain Internal Newsletter in reply to him and his comments. It only goes to disprove Brown's point further. Trevor Bavage may have read a lot of Stirner's and my writings. He has obviously failed to understand, despite his learning monopoly, because he misunderstood, apparently, what we meant. Perhaps he needs a good teacher, then he might write a letter, 'spewing out' more fact and less cliché. I do feel however the children in his free school in Leeds might be better off if he left them to control their own environment, then they could at least be grabbed by the compulsory state education system and educated by qualified teachers who knew what they were doing, having 'the abilities of craftsmen and artizanship', instead of being left in the hands of an untrained, unqualified, inexperienced and inept dilettante, like Trevor Bavage, whose prime aim appears to be to get them to uncritically think like him. Poor kids. And he says I am not an anarchist?

What is a teacher? A teacher is not merely a person who performs when in class contact, like an actor on a stage. He is this, but more. Every move, every gesture, every expression, every word and the thoughts controlling these, must have relevance to his basic philosophy as a teacher. His theoretical approach to the learning situation and its practical expression must be systematic and relevant to his perceived understanding of his pupils' needs, and have reference to the practical possibilities of their life-style and work-style as participants in an evolutionary process. The teacher does not teach subjects but pupils. To do this he expresses his personality in a kind of market place of knowledge called a learning situation. If he is equipped only with the knowledge and with no understanding of what the role of the teacher really amounts to, he will fail on so many counts.

In conclusion I will say that the present system of education, of teaching and of learning, is not the best that it can be. It is simply the system that exists now. It is important to see the process in this light and for libertarian teachers to face up to the problems, and not come out with pious platitudes, and then walk away from the problems. To do this we need to indulge in some pretty hard thinking, some very scientific experimentation, and some clear discussion about the realities of the educational system with the roles of teacher and pupil in present-day society. We need to look closely at the results of our work and indulge in continual self-criticism. We also need to take some of the comments of the political ideologues with a large pinch of salt.

Fraternally,
PETER NEVILLE.

THIS WEEK IN IRELAND

WHAT A FRAGILE and delicate flower is peace. The women of Derry and Belfast, now joined by their menfolk, are campaigning for a cessation of hostilities, the Official Sinn Fein have smelled the wind of change and called off their violence except in defence, but the 'Provos' and Vanguard are more obdurate than ever, and Paisley is breathing fire and brimstone once more. The retiring Lord Mayor of Belfast, Sir Joseph Cairns, has made one of the most provocative speeches one can imagine, and Vanguard are determined not to obey Whitelaw, and keep the march they have planned for Saturday to the east side of the Foyle, but to invade the flash points. It will be very easy to sever the thin skein that is all that prevents wholesale civil war.

Last week-end there was a 48-hour picket, 24 hours each on both Sinn Feins, organised by the Alliance Party, the SDLP, NUM and other Northern groups. Plenty of ordinary men and women from Andersontown and the Bogside came down and joined in too, as did Dublin people. The Provos made attempts to intimidate, besides throwing eggs from a car. They photographed those taking part and promised that 'they would be dealt with'. One man screamed at me I was 'wrapped in the Union Jack'. I said I did not care a tinker's cuss for any flag, Union Jack, Tricolour, Stars and Stripes or what you will. I cared for people. Later when I was going home on Sunday evening (I only dropped in and out so to speak) a garda warned me I had been photographed and to be careful and not to answer my door after dark. I said I knew I had been photographed but since I was on first name terms with the photographers I was not very concerned. I did NOT

add I was very seldom in to answer the door after dark. The Officials were courteous. One of their leaders was out talking to Austin Curry and presently I chipped in. He said, 'But H., everyone knows you are a REAL pacifist and no one doubts your utter integrity. You practise what you preach.'

Today I learn that Joe Cahill and Rauri O'Bradaigh of the Provos have been arrested under the Special Powers Act, which means they can be held for 48 hours without being charged. Corporal John Stevenson, alias Sean MacStiofain, has gone on the run. No one in their senses could do anything but abhor the Special Powers Act. Rauri and Joe have gone on hunger strike and pickets of Sinn Feiners are outside the prisons where they are held. The Bogside women had not a good word for John Stevenson (as they insisted on calling him). They said, 'Sure he orders the bombing to go on and stays safe in the South. It is not HIS children that are killed on their way to and from school, or his wife who has her legs blown off when she goes out shopping.' The women, bar a few Amazons, are war weary to an unbelievable degree. How one longs for sanity to spread through the six counties, and for all to realise no one can get all their own way, and that there must be give and take.

Meanwhile, just to make life easier, electricity goes up in price again today, with a further rise promised for later in the year, and from next week the price of meat will put it out of the purchasing powers of most people, as owing to a shortage on the Continent all our meat is to be sold there at an EEC price.

H.