

THE BALANCE OF FEAR

FEAR is what politicians thrive upon, both those in power and those who aspire to power. The only heritage of the divided people of N. Ireland is one of fear: the fear which divides workers and sets them at each other's throats over worthless superstitions instead of challenging the system which perpetuates their mutual deprivation and exploitation.

The fear of the Protestant popu-

lation that they are about to be 'sold out' by the politicians who are deciding the political future of N. Ireland has led in recent weeks to increased rioting in Protestant areas culminating in the killing of a 15-year-old youth and a man, both run down by British Army vehicles in East Belfast. Whatever the prejudices of individual soldiers, the Army appears impeccably fair in crushing (literally!) anyone who gets

in its way whilst exercising its absolute authority.

The response of the para-military Ulster Defence Association to the killing of the youth and the man was predictable. The secretary of the UDA, Thomas Herron, stated: 'We are now totally alienated from the British Army after its cold-blooded and calculated murder of two of our supporters.' He added that it was quite possible that the UDA would go on the offensive against the Army. He also claimed that a local Army commander had threatened to shoot him because of the recent rioting. A day later, after talks between UDA leaders and the Army, a truce was called by the UDA but the rioting continued on the streets.

What the incident made clear was that a significant section of the militant Protestant organisations are eager for a civil war situation and want the British Army out of the way. Despite the claim of the UDA to be able to muster 50,000 men 'drilled in every aspect of guerilla warfare', the confidence of the militants in being able to win a shoot-out with the IRA seems somewhat misplaced especially when one remembers the likely involvement—however reluctantly—of the Irish Republic's government in a civil war in the North. Anyway, the simplistic UDA-IRA confrontation without the British Army is hardly likely to be allowed to arise as the more politically-aware sections of both movements realize. Evidence

of increased UDA militancy was provided by the UDA bombing raids in the Republic 'in retaliation for inaction by Dublin to quell the IRA'.

The mood of Protestant militancy was taken up by William Craig, leader of the Ulster Vanguard Movement, who has so shrewdly exploited Protestant fears in the past, when he told a Monday Club meeting in London that he and his followers were prepared to 'go out and kill' in defence of Ulster's British heritage. Despite the repudiation of Craig's speech by Capt. Austin Ardill, one of Vanguard's deputy leaders, who suggested that he may have been intoxicated (with alcohol, not power!) when he made the speech, there is little doubt that his speech was well received amongst rank-and-file members of Vanguard, the UDA and the Loyalist Workers' Association. Craig had fallen out of favour somewhat with the militants because of his 'soft' attitude towards Prime Minister Faulkner, but he is obviously making an ominous comeback.

The obvious danger now is of increased sectarian attacks on the Catholic community by Protestants encouraged by Craig. The result would be that the IRA, presently discredited because of its indiscriminate killing of innocent people, would again take control of the Catholic communities, first in the guise of a protector and later as a brazen and ruthless master. The danger of the circle starting again

leading to the escalation of violence up to a new peak of slaughter and destruction is immense.

The only hope for the people of N. Ireland, Catholic and Protestant and everything else, is to break out of the prison of hate and fear which for so long has hardened men's hearts and crippled their minds. There is no political state on Earth—certainly not the Irish Republic or 'Loyalist' N. Ireland, or anything conceived of by the IRA or the UDA—which will give men and women a chance to live in peace and freedom. That is something they have to build for themselves when they refuse to allow themselves to be used any longer by those who seek power over their minds and bodies.

TERRY PHILLIPS.

INTO EUROPE!— KICKING AND SCREAMING

SOME OBSCURELY famous statesman spoke of some 'backward' country being dragged into the twentieth century kicking and screaming. Britain has, by its act of going into Europe, been dragged into the twenty-first century with very little screaming and no kicking. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Powell have gone through the motions of protest, Mr. Wilson with a most elaborate backtracking designed more to keep his own troops in line than to frighten the apparent enemy, has introduced the appeasing idea of 'renegotiation' and reopened friendly relations with Roy Jenkins. Like the lady faced with the inevitability of rape all the British objectors to the Market can do is to lay back and enjoy it, and get a perverse pleasure from all fears being confirmed.

The anarchists have never suffered under the illusion that the peoples of the world had any control over what their rulers decide shall be their fate; if it had been decided that Britain should join Comecon (the Russian Common Market) 'we' should troop in with the same sheeplike apathy. It was painfully obvious that a referendum was far indeed from the minds of our rulers. Not that the population would give vent in a referendum to much more than their prejudices in the matter. Nevertheless it would have been nice to be asked. There is no way of determining (except through astrology or a crystal ball) whether joining the Common Market will improve Britain's situation, and when we say 'Britain' we mean the conglomeration of political, industrial, financial and military interests that make up our rulers.

The European Economic Community is merely just one more development of the power structures which govern our lives. Primarily it is an economic

protectionist cartel on an European level. Technologically it is a concentration of monopoly production. Economic Britain has no option but to go in or be crushed by the power of the monster.

Harold Wilson says, and many faithfully echo, 'We will go in on our own terms.' The pre-condition of any club or association is that one goes in on the terms of the club or association. It is not as if Britain were a first-rank power with something to offer. It is like a butterfly-collector saying he will join the philatelists' club providing they will help him to collect butterflies. The purpose of EEC is not the purpose of libertarian socialism, the pursuit of the good life, it's just another way of making a fast buck. When we consider who's running the club, how we got accepted, and what it's all for, we echo Marx's words, 'I wouldn't like to be a member of any club which would have me as a member' (Groucho, I think it was).

It is possible, and Jeremy Thorpe and the Liberals have done it, to become starry-eyed about the European Economic Community as a 'parliament of man, the federation of the world' but this is a secondary, almost an accidental consideration. National prejudices and rights are still there for the haggling. Human welfare too will play no great part in the Common Market. Only last week was it decided that members of EEC should start to equalize welfare benefits between members, so that the two million migrant workers could get the same unemployment or health benefits in Italy as in France for example. But the lesser breeds, without the law, the imported workers from Turkey and Yugoslavia, for example, will still not be eligible for the full welfare benefits, nor will they be able to change jobs without permits.

EEC is not set up for the benefit of the workers, or the small farmers, or small industrialists, or the housewife. It is possible that, like many gigantic organizations, it exists for itself alone and supplies its own dynamic after reasons for its existence have faded from fact or memory.

The European Economic Community appears to have little concern about the quality of life, its main pre-occupation is with quantity, deals involving financial and political power. That is why it is so boring and why its anaesthetic effects are such as not to bring the population out on the streets. Its very size is sufficient to boggle the mind. Speakers can take refuge in lofty generalities, in soaring abstractions, forgetting that for the majority of us life is lived, in Blake's phrase, in 'minute particulars and general good is the plea of the hypocrite, the scoundrel and the flatterer.' What is the 'general good' behind the European Economic Community?

It has long been observed that the

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Black Press Association!



Press Association

John Lawrence Victimised

JOHN LAWRENCE, one of the editors of FREEDOM and a well-known militant in Fleet Street, has been sacked from his job at the Press Association allegedly because of 'breach of contract of employment'. This arises out of a strike by the PA's National Society of Operative Printers, Graphical and Media Personnel Chapel in support of a Chapel wage claim. John Lawrence is father of the chapel and his dismissal coincides with the start of the 'unofficial' strike. Since 250 workers are on strike, they are all theoretically in breach of contract.

The RIRMA Chapel joined in the strike and NATSOPA workers at Exchange Telegraph cut off all services from Friday midnight to Sunday midnight in protest at John's sacking.

The strike is over a wage claim which was put forward to anticipate any compulsory-voluntary wage freeze. The National Union of Journalists workers at the PA have been offered an increase which is three times that offered to NATSOPA members.

If newspapers still print racing results, which they no doubt do, they are getting it from blackleg labour or from scab non-union sources like Wetherby's.

It is hoped to get NUJ support for the strike. A meeting on Monday, October 23, re-affirmed the resolution 'that this Chapel does not return to work at least until the Father of the Chapel [John Lawrence] is reinstated'.

It is hardly surprising that the branch officials of NATSOPA are giving no support to this 'unofficial' strike. It is alleged that Mr. John Lewis (Branch Secretary of NATSOPA) has instructed the strikers to return to work immediately and that such strikers have dismissed themselves from employment and furthermore it is alleged that John Lewis has said that if the PA asks the union for labour to replace dismissed strikers, John Lewis will provide it.

To see unions volunteering for strike-breaking would be something!

However the picket line at the PA (bottom of Fleet Street, near Ludgate Circus) stands firm. All PA material should be blacked. Some NGA members are refusing to cross the picket line, as are dustmen, postmen, and other delivery workers.

This has now become, by the actions of management and unions, much more than a wage struggle. The right to strike has never been without its consequences, but this has increased those consequences.

Despite the rumours of tightly knit groups of extremists behind all strikes, money has not been forthcoming and the Strike Committee needs money. Take collections or send donations which you can hand to the PA pickets or send to Chapel Secretary at 9 Langland House, Edmund Street, London, S.E.5.

M.H.

IT'S ALL A PLOT

TOYNBEE HALL
LECTURE ROOM

— 7.45 p.m. —

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5

A Documentary Reading
presented by
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Admission 25p

Tickets from Freedom Press

Proceeds shared between
FREEDOM PRESS FUND
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PICKING ON DAD

THE ASSASSINATION OF TROTSKY. HICKEY AND BOGGS. FUZZ.

JOSEPH LOSEY'S FILM of *The Assassination of Trotsky* has been greeted with mild and mixed reception by the London critics, and in one thing we all can concur, that is that Losey and his writer Nicholas Mosley have failed to give any life to their lay-figure of Trotsky and by presenting, in historical isolation, a mild and bumbling academic they have also failed to give a reason and a justification for the murder of the old man.

I cannot believe that the figure offered us by the actor Richard Burton is Trotsky the revolutionary, who forged and led the Red Army, defied Stalin and lived in exile in the vain hope that one day he too would be recalled from his Elba to take over the leadership of the Soviet government. He is not contained in this 'old' man, as portrayed by a fashionable actor. This is a major failure within this film, for at least a third of the film should have been given over to the background leading to Trot-

sky's exile in Mexico, and who and what Ramón Mercader, the murderer, and I use that word rather than the hypocrisy of assassin, really was.

It is claimed that Trotsky's dossier within the NKVD registry at 2 Dzerzhinsky Street in Moscow filled three floors, and that Trotsky's murder was entrusted to Leonid Eitingon, a strong-arm officer of the NKVD. Eitingon travelled to Mexico with Vittorio Codovilla, a founder member of the Argentine Communist Party and a man already believed to have been involved in the murder of Andrés Nin, the Political Secretary of POUM. The Mexican Communist Party under the leadership of Hermán Laborde refused to accept their 'historic role' in the perpetration of Trotsky's murder, and Laborde and his group leadership were purged and the painter Siqueiros was recognised as one of the leaders of the Party.

ARMED ATTACK

Within Losey's film we are shown Siqueiros's armed attack on Trotsky's fortified house, when at 2 a.m. on May 23, 1940, over twenty men attacked

Trotsky's villa with sub-machine-guns, incendiaries and a large dynamite bomb. The attack was a failure and Siqueiros was arrested, but in the rigged courts the charges were thrown out and Siqueiros left, with official assistance, to paint murals for the Communist poet Pablo Neruda.

It was now that Eitingon had to pull his second rabbit out of the hat and it came out in the sad mixed-up shape of Ramón Mercader. It is held that the plan for the murder of Trotsky was now the responsibility of the permanent Resident of the NKVD, Gaik Ovakimian, the Soviet Consul-General in New York, and his role was to arrange a meeting with the American Trotskyite Sylvia Ageloff and Mercader, and it was she who introduced Mercader, the murderer of Trotsky into Trotsky's household.

The rest is history. Trotsky is dead, Ramón Mercader is now living within the Russian domain in minor luxury, and Gerald Healy of the Socialist Labour League addressed a meeting at Conway Hall on the truth behind the truth of the assassination of Trotsky. It is right and fitting that the SLL should blow their cool over this portrayal of their father figure, and the boys are right to hand out their leaflets of perennial protest. We of the anarchist movement continue to carry at one, nay two, generations removed our own personal bleeding heart of Trotsky's slaughter of the men and women of Kronstadt, and dare we claim that Ramón Mercader acted out our private and public declarations of hate when he hammered his ice pick into Trotsky's agéd skull?

TROTSKY WAS ALREADY FINISHED

In the battle for power within the Soviet State it is doubtful if Trotsky had anything to offer the Russian people, for those men fighting for control murdered each other over means not ends. I be-

lieve, with many others, that Trotsky had in his final years become one of the great romantic lost causes of history, and that within the Soviet Union there had arisen a new generation of young lions who had little use for this ancient legend of the revolution. I believe, with many others, that Trotsky's murder was no more than an act of callous book-keeping by Stalin. When on June 30, 1934, Hitler murdered Roehm and the top brass of the German SA he did it to destroy a private army ready to take over the State, but Stalin had no such fear from Trotsky, for he was no longer a threat to the strength of the Russian State united and accepted by the Western world as an ally in the Holy War.

Let us judge Trotsky within his historical context and admire and respect the greatness of the man and not condemn actions from the safety of impotent purity. The anarchists and the libertarians and the innocents of this world have little to thank Stalin and his political mafia for, for they destroyed men and ideals to achieve power for their own ends, but there are new villains and new heroes for the young.

So therefore let us not become the bores of history, when we shall soon in our short time join the murdered dead, heroes and villains. There is one thing that Losey has given us for which we must be grateful and that is the locales of the Trotsky murder. We now know the villa and the town even though the facts are ours for the choosing.

And for those who love their merry mayhem without bleeding onto the cinema seat there is *Hickey and Boggs* and *Fuzz* with more dead bodies than an Elizabethan drama dare use, and an on stage slaughter that would have shamed Webster before the groundlings.

HAPPY HORRORS

The Americans are ashamed of their police, and when used as fiction-fodder

they couple it with the garbage disposal departments. The decaying rooms of the police stations and the shambling detectives, the loud-mouthed weary desk sergeant and the stupid uniformed officers and the stench of corruption that hangs over everything, love it man love it. 'Our police' live in clean new police stations and call everyone 'sir', yea, even the comic Irish tramps who are their resident TV comics for police operas, but not so with American fiction, for within that context the police turn every case into a personal grudge fight in which the rich never appear to intrude.

Fuzz is based on one of Ed McBain's novels and is pure black comedy. Acted out in Boston, the town one could love to hate, it has everything from rape, detectives in nuns' gear, police dogs too stupid to attack, moronic youths setting fire to down-and-outs. Sick it is, and as phoney as a Punch and Judy show. Bodies float in the air as non-bullets thud into them and the little bags of liquid explode from under the actor's shirt, and we sit and laugh. Who rises from the audience to cry halt at Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* when the horrors are played out for us, so let us salve our terrors without guilt with *Fuzz* and *Hickey and Boggs*.

Hickey and Boggs are two agéd private eyes in the great tradition of the American anti-heroes. Again we have everything from a homosexual fence to kinky murder, Black Power weirdoes strong in the arm and soft in the head, helicopter shootings and Yul Brynner as Mr. Deaf, complete with deaf-aid, and Raquel Welch as a detective. One film followed on the other and became fused into one black comedy of happy horror. The Americans love to exhibit their scabs, and in the end it is more honest than the sly lies that are offered to us of official decencies in the name of entertainment so...

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Back to the Land

IN THE EYES of some people, the community movement is tainted with an aura of 'dropping out', of escaping from the real problems facing humanity. While there may be some truth in this charge for communities that fail to build their own economic base, it is the opposite of the truth for communities that support themselves from the land.

Indeed, it is the larger societies of the 'over-developed' nations that are not facing reality, but they are still failing to confront the basic problem of long-term survival.

Driven ever faster by the spurious visions of endless 'growth' and endless 'progress', these societies have become dependent on the use of a huge superfluity of machinery, so that their physical survival now requires a steady input of resources at from 15-25 times the rate needed by people living simply, but comfortably, on the land. This rate of resource use just cannot be maintained, and should not be maintained in a world where two-thirds of the people remain impoverished and half are hungry.

It is high time that alternative, lower-consumption life-styles, such as land-based communities of moderate size, began to be organised within the 'advanced' (over-developed) countries. The need for such a return to more modest, more self-sufficient communities is stressed in the very thorough analysis that is contained in the 'Blueprint for Survival' published in the January 1972 issue of *The Ecologist*.

A *Sunday Times* writer has suggested that this may turn out to be the seminal document of the twentieth century, as the Communist Manifesto was for the nineteenth century. It calls for a complete reversal of the 'conventional wisdom' on economic, social, political and agricultural problems.

It urges that we must move away from the cults of productivity regardless of what is produced and mobility

(nothing going nowhere, but fast), and from the worship of mechanical power, all of which have dominated Western civilisation since the industrial revolution (and have badly infected many areas of the East as well).

Instead, the Blueprint advocated a re-building of life-styles around smaller communities, and a much lower level of consumption.

It would be wrong to give the impression that we need only drop all modern inventions and slip back into the eighteenth century—though we could do a lot worse than just that. However, what must be done first, and above all else, is to halt and then reverse the emptying of the people from the countryside into the cities.

The 'conventional wisdom' has already persuaded most of us that the only kind of efficient agriculture is that performed by massive machines, with very few men working on the land (although plenty of men do boring work making and servicing the machines!).

In fact, as the Blueprint points out, this kind of mass mono-culture is bad for the land, worse for the animals, and likely to prove disastrous in the long run as ever larger doses of inorganic fertilisers and ever more horrible pesticides have to be applied to maintain yields. In fact, the highest yields per acre can be obtained by hand labour, using quite simple hand tools, and by people who have a love and respect for plants and animals, and for the soil.

They need to have skills and knowledge too, none of them too hard to acquire. Essentially, such people must get satisfaction from primary production, rather than from 'making a fast buck' in some secondary, parasitic operation of trade, speculation, or the manufacture of frumperies. Finally, where people live close to the land, it is relatively easy to return all organic wastes to the land, thereby conserving its fertility and keeping the

rivers and seas pure.

THE WASTE WE COULD SAVE

It does not take much analysis to deduce that a major portion of the resources wasted in mechanised societies go into moving people and things around unnecessarily. Decentralised living in smaller communities can eliminate this kind of waste, allowing people to live near their work, and arranging for each community to produce the bulk of its own basic needs.

People will need to get used to living more locally, getting to know their own area well, rather than taking distant trips to tourist meccas; at the same time, each locality can seek to attain and develop its own uniqueness, reversing the trend to uniformity that has been brought by the age of mass travel.

On rarer recreational trips, travel by foot, bicycle or sail should normally replace that by powered vehicles.

More than restricting our personal travel, we shall need to reduce our usage of products that come from far off. Not, it is hoped, completely; it would be a pity if we had to return to the days of the first Elizabeth when an orange was a curiosity in Britain.

But at least distant trade should be minimum, with temperate food products being exchanged for tropical, rather than paying for food (and fertility) by means of machine products.

One of the myths that we must dispense with as we move towards ecological survival is the belief that trade itself is a good thing, and the more exchanging we do the richer we shall get. This myth persists because poor and distant peoples have always been exploited by traders, generally backed by our troops.

In fact, trade is useful only in so far as some specialisation and division of labour remains desirable. But trade is far less vital than basic production for local use, and an excess of trade, transport and marketing merely ensures a large number of non-productive people becoming parasitic on the productive community. On top of these parasites, those of government then arrive to control and supervise the excessive trade and mobility.

The existence of a temporary glut of a perishable commodity does not necessarily imply that distant trading is an ecological advantage. Where simple storage is not enough, it may be better to simply compost the surplus locally, thereby recycling organically and conserving fertility for a future season.

The growing of 'cash crops', surplus to the needs of the community, should become the exception rather than the rule, and such 'exported fertility' ought to be traded only against imports that will reduce the need for local crops, thereby helping to conserve local fertility.

WHICH IS THE WAY BACK?

How is it to come about, this decen-

tralised, low-consumption, agrarian way of life? Only gradually, of course, and starting when people are ready.

To some extent, it could be said to have begun in the British Isles already with the revival of Glencolumbkille, County Donegal, on the west coast of Ireland. There, over the last decade, a dying parish has been brought back to life and restored to a reasonable level of prosperity by the inspiration of the parish priest, Father McDyer, and the bootstrap-lifting efforts of 800 determined villagers.

If the migration from country to city can be halted on this rugged coast in this way, it can certainly be done anywhere where there are people willing to try. Keys to success in this case are a priority in reviving local social life as well as local industries, new and old, and a skilful use of co-operative economics.

And, distinctive of pioneer work in the post-industrial era, the machinery used in traditional industries is primarily powered by the muscles of the artisans, so that a minimum of external power sources is required. For prototypes of larger land-based communities we still have to look overseas—to some of the Israeli kibbutzim and moshavs, and to the various groups of religious brethren running successful colonies in America (the Amish, Hut-terites, Bruderhof). There is also, in France, a community of the Ark, and much could be learned by a study of the communes of China.

Even after 70 years, the researches of the anarchist Prince Peter Kropotkin still provide some of the most clear and convincing proposals for land-based communes, together with assurances as to their practicability. In his *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, published in 1902, he suggests that 200 families, 1,000 people, could live very well on 1,000 acres in England:

'On an area of 340 acres they could without difficulty raise all the cereals—wheat, oats—required for both the 1,000 inhabitants and their livestock... They could grow on a further 400 acres, properly cultivated, and irrigated if necessary and possible, all the green crops and fodder required to keep the 30 or 40 cows which would supply them with milk and butter and, let us say, the 300 head of cattle required to supply them with meat.

'On 20 acres, two of which would be under glass, they would grow more vegetables, fruits and luxuries than they could consume. And supposing that half an acre of land were attached to each house—for hobbies and recreation (poultry-keeping, horticulture and the like)—they would still have some 160 acres for all sorts of purposes: public gardens, squares, manufactures and so on.

The labour that would be required for such an intensive culture would not be the hard labour of the serf or slave. It would be accessible to everyone, strong or weak, town-bred or country-born; and

it would be a delight to every man besides.

The total amount of that labour which every 1,000 individuals, taken from this or from any other nation, has now to spend in return for a livelihood which is much smaller in quantity and of worse quality. I mean, of course, only the technically necessary labour, not even considering the labour which we now have to give in order to maintain all our middle-men, our armies and the like.

The amount of labour required to grow food under a rational culture is so small, indeed, that our hypothetical inhabitants would be led necessarily to employ their leisure in manufacturing artistic, scientific, and other pursuits.'

The technical obstacles, Kropotkin says, are small; it is merely that we fail to learn the practical arts that are needed. Those who would try today, now that the ecologists have pointed out the folly of the larger, high consumption societies that prevail at present, would do well to acquaint themselves with the necessary skills, and to look for a place to begin.

Example will convince far more quickly than any number of words.

ROGER FRANKLIN, reprinted from *Communes* No. 39, August 1972.

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ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

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In Memory of Jean Ribas

ON FRIDAY, October 13, Jean Ribas died at a hospital in Marseille after suffering a heart attack a few days earlier. He was 51. He leaves a wife and two children. In the annals of anarchist history his name may never be emblazoned in glory for he was a member of the rank and file—part of the body and sinew of anarchism. His brother was shot in Spain in the civil war and Jean escaped over the border as one of the many Spanish refugees. He never forgot Spain, indeed as with so many other Spanish militants it was his lifelong passion to return to a free Spain. In France he fought with the Resistance and settled down with a companion near Marseille—always prepared for the return to Spain that never came.

Jean took me with his daughter to Spanish fiestas in the Marseille area where we met the old members of the CNT and their children. In his dedicated anarchism one saw the meaning of Herbert Read's description of the religious nature of Spanish anarchism. His was a total commitment in every part of his life. Only twice did we quarrel—over my association with FREEDOM and over the importance of May '68 in Paris. I remember him giving me *Le Combat Syndicaliste* and *L'Espoir* which I always tried to read, not being much good at French and worse at Spanish. I also recall the many fundamental teachings of anarchism he conveyed.

As a worker Jean Ribas helped in the construction of many fine buildings

in Marseille; the name of Le Courbusier in architecture goes into the history books but the men such as Jean who actually built the structures deserve the memory. As a man of principle he was sacked a fair number of times and when I was dealt a similar blow he sympathised with an abrupt: 'Sacked for telling the truth, plenty of others have been shot!' Above all he approved of my involvement in the fight for racial justice. He himself, as a mason in the building trade, was paid more than his assistants who were Algerians. His answer to this was to unofficially adjust his wages so that he and the Algerians received the same.

The sadness of Jean's life is that so many of his dreams were never fulfilled. His eyes often glowed with tears as he related the history of the Spanish revolution, yet the tragedy of the defeat was always present. It remains with the youth to build again the movement that can create another Spain when the opportunity is ripe, using the example and dedication of those who lived only for the revolution, keeping alive the hope and breathing on the spark of anarchy.

Our pleasure is that in his last years, as Jean lost his sight and his employment, we were able to have a son whom he loved to walk with hand in hand in the St. Louis streets of Marseille. The grief of his family overshadows us, but the new vigorous life of anarchism owes its existence to men like Jean Ribas, who fought and strove for anarchism in the twentieth century. J.W.

Murder in the Mountains

A SCANDALOUS EVENT which caused a debate among the people was the lunatic lynching carried out by members of the Ultra Radicals (or so the newspapers call the Rengo Sekigun or United Red Army). This Rengo Sekigun was formed by the Sekigunha (Red Army Faction) and the Keihinan-pokyoto (Co-operative faction against the Japanese-American Mutual Safety Treaty) in 1970. The members have almost all of them emerged from university campuses and gone on to street fighting, and their achievements so far are bank-robberies and the stealing of arms and ammunition from gun shops, a hijacking (several of them hijacked a plane and escaped to North Korea in 1970) and some bombings.

Their main theory is that there must be a simultaneous insurrection of the revolutionary movement all over the world. They support Leon Trotsky and Mao Tse Tung. According to their ideas the Party and its Army are the *avant garde* of the revolution, so their aims are really totalitarian.

In February they were hunted from their caves among the mountains near Tokyo, and five members captured a woman superintendent at Asamo Sanso Lodge, and were besieged for ten days. Armed police attacked them with two thousand gas bombs, and used armoured cars. The rebels retaliated with two guns and a revolver. During the fighting a civilian who proposed to rescue the woman hostage, relying on his good will alone, was seriously injured. He has since died. Two policemen were also killed.

After ten days the woman was rescued, and the five, including a woman, an ex-schoolmistress, were captured. This would seem to be the end of the matter, but unfortunately it was not. The police were astonished by the con-

fession of a prisoner that about twelve rebels were executed beforehand in the caves. At the time of writing five dead bodies have been found in the mountains, including two women, one of them pregnant. This execution seems to have been carried out to defend the Party organization. The victims were stripped and left without food to freeze to death.

Naturally the Japanese newspapers have used this incident to teach the people that the so-called New Left Radical is a cold-blooded killer, and 30 million yen have been collected for the children of the dead policemen. But to tell the truth the cost of living has risen by 4% since the beginning of the year, and the people feel repugnance for the Sato government. Meanwhile, without consulting Japan, Nixon and Mao had talks which could result in an increased amount of trading business between Red China and the USA.

At this moment the Japanese government operate a policy of increasing currency, that is to say, a lot of state funds have been invested, principally in public building business (to build a highway and an airport), in an attempt to maintain full employment in accordance with Keynesian ideas. The government is afraid of stagnancy in the business cycle. The Sato government has committed its defence into the hands of the US Army in the Far East. I believe the policy the government is pursuing is one of trying to seize the initiative in world trade, while becoming increasingly reactionary in its domestic policies.

H.Y.

INTO EUROPE

Continued from page 1

larger and more complex an organization becomes, the more vulnerable and liable to error it unfaillingly becomes. EEC is one such. Unfortunately such errors as are made increasingly involve the life, liberty and happiness of such poor creatures as we, subject to the whims of this Leviathan. Occasionally one can benefit from the errors or add to the vulnerability, EEC will doubtless provide opportunities.

Long ago in a discussion on World Government an aggressive anarchist (for there are such) was only able to abstract one piece of comfort from the idea. 'I suppose,' he murmured, 'it'll mean we'll only have one bomb to throw.'

JACK ROBINSON.

Industrial Notes

Tyremen

FACED WITH a planned shutdown of the Dunlop tyre store, Rochdale, the 95 workers are preparing to fight for their jobs. This move to shift work from Rochdale to Speke, Liverpool, followed a pay claim put in by the Rochdale lads.

Within a fortnight of the Rochdale men asking for a rise, Dunlops announced the closure. The Rochdale tyre-men are on 18p an hour less than the workers at Speke.

By Rochdale standards, however, the tyre-men are among the highest paid labourers in town on £23.40 for a 40-hour week. This has been achieved in the last few years for a job which is heavy, hard, and dirty; often without adequate heating for most of the year.

Last week, the workers here voted to resist the shutdown in every way. The militant Speke tyre-men have declared their support for the Rochdale lads, and a joint meeting is on the cards.

The Dunlop tyre-men, it may be remembered, fought an active campaign in 1969 to get the right to have the union of their choice. After a nine-month struggle, reported in FREEDOM, the Dunlop tyre-men threw out the useless Union of General and Municipal Workers and got themselves into the T&G.

REDUNDANCY PAY IS A CON

Typically Dunlops are now dangling the carrot of redundancy pay, to try to break the solidarity of the men. But with the number of unemployed in Rochdale at its present high level, it would be hard to beat the kind of pay that three years of militancy has won at Dunlop.

No amount of redundancy pay will make up for a session on the dole queue or in a low-paid job (and we've got plenty of those in Rochdale). So don't be in too big a hurry to grab the redundancy pay, when we've seen that strike action and sit-ins can stop redundancies.

Managements no longer have the last say in these matters as we've seen at UCS, Fisher Bendix, Plesseys and elsewhere.

Dunlop have been getting away with cutting back on labour for too long as it is at Rochdale, their textile workers have been reduced for years. Since the Dunlop merger with Pirelli there has been united strike action by workers here and in Italy, against the redun-

dancies resulting from the merger.

Following the threatened closure at Rochdale, there are now reports of big lay-offs of Pirelli workers at tyre plants in Italy. The Italian unions are also worried that a recent pact between Pirelli and AEG Telefunken of West Germany, will make matters worse.

NORTH WEST WORKERS.

Mill Reps.

SHOP REPRESENTATIVES are likely to be introduced into the mills next year. This became clear at the latest quarterly meetings of the Oldham Provincial Union of Textile and Allied Workers last weekend.

Shop reps. are not shop stewards, however, and are likely to be mere go-betweens for the union bosses and managers. They are not likely to be directly responsible to the rank and file, and will very likely be expected to act as lap dogs for the union officials.

Though the unions and managers don't seem to have completed their plans for these new-fangled reps, it does appear that the scheme will fall far short of that demanded by the more militant mill workers. It is hoped, however, that some sort of unity in the mills will come out of this seemingly minor success for the shop stewards' campaign.

This will please Jawaid Khan, the mill militant victimised by Arrow Mill earlier this year for sticking up for his mates, who will shortly be taking this Courtauld's Mill to Court for the wrongful dismissal of himself and his workmates.

TRADE UNIONIST.

New Zealand Repression

A NEW Industrial Relations Bill introduced to the New Zealand parliament last week seeks to impose fines of up to the equivalent of £250 for workers who 'become a party to, aid or abet a strike or lockout concerning a matter that is not an industrial matter'.

One of the main targets of the new law is believed to be protests against next year's tour by South Africa's Springbok rugby team.

T.P.

The Tasaday

A SMALL POCKET of foodgatherers has just been discovered in a jungle in the Philippines. They live in a remote jungle, on a mountain ridge, and are entirely peaceful, having no weapons, and only catching for food those animals which can be caught with the hand.

They have Old Stone Age tools, and fire, a rudimentary religion, but no government or leaders (as far as can be judged from a relatively brief visit by outsiders), and they live, all twenty-five of them, in a large cave, which they share with a number of small animals, birds and insects whom they do not kill or drive away. They are called the Tasaday.

They were first introduced to the 'benefits' of modern civilisation by a hunter, who encountered them in 1966. He has visited them a number of times since, bringing them metal tools and teaching them to hunt larger animals. Although they live on such things as frogs and wild fruits their health seems to be good, but for how much longer one wonders?

Now an expedition sent by the Philippine government has reached them by helicopter, and their doom is probably sealed. They have no conception of fighting, warfare and violence, and therefore no conception of danger, not that it would be much use to them if they had it.

It is good that once again the popular notion of primitive man as a club-waving cannibal should be disproved, but the expense seems too high. Another harmless group of primordial humans is about to be destroyed by civilisation. Discovery leads inevitably to destruction, unless the group can move to another

area, which seems not to be possible in this case.

In the Philippines the long-term menace is the logging industry, but it would be a mistake to consider this the only threat. There is the missionary, who cannot bear that any humans anywhere should be without a 'sense of sin', and there is the anthropologist who is determined to study the primitive, since science, like religion is a fanatical thing, demanding knowledge at any cost. The anthropologist may constitute a more subtle danger than the missionary. He may make the people he studies self conscious about their culture.

Enthusiasts, who believe that exploration and discovery are good in themselves, would do well to consider that at the end of the fifteenth century there were whole islands in the Caribbean inhabited by people very like this Stone Age group. They numbered many thousands. In a few years they were all dead, or driven to the mainland by the Spanish invaders. Attempts were made to enslave them, but they would not work, and preferred to die. Nor did they respond very well to the teachings of the Christian missionaries. Therefore they were hated, and killed off like wild animals. Their mere existence was in itself an offence.

Modern society is no more humane, though its methods are less direct. It is most unlikely that the Tasaday will be left alone. In a few years they will have been assimilated into the capitalist economic system, a system which (oh irony!) is itself on the verge of collapse.

JOHN BRENT.

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This Week in Ireland

LORD CRAIGAVON once said that when the Protestants turned on the British Army it would be the 'end of Northern Ireland'. He might have gone further and said the end of Ireland, for we are having daily bank and shop armed raids all over the Republic now, some of which I frankly think are common criminals cashing in on the situation, but in a suburb, about two miles from city centre, we have had a car bomb explosion outside the Catholic church, and near the border the UDA actually admit they are responsible for explosions and killings 'To pay back your government for not cracking down on all the IRA'.

In point of fact O'Malley, our hateful Minister for Justice, has said publicly after closing the Provos' office in Kevin Street it was his policy to harass Sinn

Fein and the political wings of the IRA as much as possible. According to my dictionary harass means 'torment', like a cat with a wretched mouse and I do not like one human being tormenting another under any circumstances.

The UDA have shown clearly during the last few nights of killings and riotings in East Belfast they CANNOT control their extremists, but they are now being allowed to police their own streets and no army. Shades of Whitelaw when he said before Operation Motorman he would not have any district in the six counties that were not under the control of police and army! Obviously he meant any Catholic district. At least with all their wickedness the IRA did not commit what 99% of Irish people regard as sacrilege.

The awful thing is the small Catholic

enclaves within these districts. Last night they burned the home of a family and made the man and his wife and children watch while it and all their possessions burned. Naturally this will engender further bitterness.

These Irish are uncontrollable and must be taught to accept our law-and-order. NO, not Heath, but one Gerald du Harri, an Anglo-Norman in the year 1189, England never learns. Her first colony was Ireland and it will be her last, but we will all be dead before any settlement occurs. We may patch up things and sweep all the dirt under the carpet once more from sheer war weariness but it will only break out again. I go to lecture up there on Monday week, and I think I need danger money as well as my fee!!!

H.

The Thoughts of Michael Tobin in Prison

I AM A WORKER who examines the conditions of my life from a revolutionary standpoint.

As such, I know and fully appreciate what being a worker means. I know for instance, that for every day's work I do I am given in money only a certain fraction of the value I produce; and that the remainder goes to provide the wealth of the ruling class and the money to finance its state machine, which includes an army, police force, and prison system and other means through which the power of the social elite is both exercised and sustained.

I am also continually being made to understand, by hard political experience, that the society of which I am part is one huge human anthill built on the lines of a pyramid with a privileged few controlling the lives and destinies of millions of ordinary unprivileged people who, in the machine-like social system of the technologically-advanced nation state, are being reduced more and more to the level of inanimate things with numbers.

And, like an anthill, it is a self-perpetuating society in that its citizens—because of their conditioning from birth—believe that its form and nature are eternal and changeless. So that at heart it is the 'system' which ultimately controls and dominates everyone, including even the members of the ruling-class.

In the mass-industrial world of today society has become one great repressive human zoo in which we are all prisoners of the 'system' forever trying to escape through either the socially favoured way, such as raising our social status and degree of material wealth, or, on the other hand, through the less out-like way

of drug-taking (including the excessive consumption of alcohol) and other 'drop-out' activities. But we never succeed in escaping; for all of these ways are just dead-ends reeking of despair and disillusionment from the rotting piles of unfulfilled dreams, ambitions and aspirations cast off by all those who traversed these cul-de-sacs before us.

Locked up here as I am in Chelmsford jail, I am quite literally, a prisoner of the 'system'. But I'm only a prisoner in body, not in mind: because, far from accepting the present situation, I am convinced that we can replace the existing human zoo society by a social system fully in keeping with the conditions which have come into being in the wake of the Industrial Revolution—a society built not on the lines of an anthill, which can never be anything but repressive in its form, but one in which the people themselves would, through such institutions as full-blooded workers' and community control, be in a position to govern themselves and to make those vital decisions about their destinies which are now being made for them in such a dictatorial and bureaucratic way by self-styled know-all specialists.

It is in the change-over to a social system in which the masses themselves would be in a position to make such decisions that the essence of the revolution I strive for lies.

Don't ask me what such a society would be like in detail. Once we have broken out of the cage of the present system we—the people—will determine the nature and form of the new social order. I would be prepared to say, however, that the underlying economic, technological, and social conditions and constructive trends of our time (discussed

in my writings) would seem to indicate that in this future 'stateless' world humanity will in small communities, self-governing but economically interdependent through being based on a single world economy—utilizing (including recycling) all of the resources of the Solar System and geared to the efficient production and equalitarian production and distribution of Mankind's needs.

With our modern know-how and technical hardware this is a dream that could be turned into reality in the short space of a decade or two. But its fulfilment depends on whether or not humanity or a militant section of it sets out to realize it in practice. So long as the minds of men are dominated by a conditioned submission—to authority and dogma—be it either secular or religious—our human anthill will remain with us and will become even more inhuman in its form. Things just will not change until we first realize that they can be changed and that such a change can and will be made only by us, the people: the human donkeys, the exploited, the order-takers; all those who suffer under the yoke of the nation-state, be it feudal as in Saudi-Arabia, capitalist as in Britain, or pseudo-socialist as in Russia.

Finally, I believe that for such a revolution to succeed the people making it will need to be revolutionary humanists filled with the same kind of fire as were the early Christians, the early Moslems, and the early Buddhists.

Because of its nature not all of Mankind could be expected to engage in this kind of revolutionary enterprise. Those peoples and nations who live according to the capitalistic and competitive principle of 'I'm all right Jack'—and whose blind and selfish ways are the direct cause of global pollution, the destruction of the Earth's resources and the balancing of our world on the knife-edge of a totally destructive war—would seem to be incapable of making the necessary overleap.

Only those peoples and nations following the principle of universal co-operation and emulation and capable of planning (and working together) on the scale of the Solar System and basis of thousands or even millions of years ahead will be able to bring about the revolution that is now overdue. Only they will be able to leave the vast prison which is our present world and build a global cosmopolitan civilization in which a free-flouring and happy Mankind can truly bloom.

June, 1972

MICHAEL TOBIN.

The Police-Watchers of Quebec

'BUT WHO will guard us from our guardians?'—Old Roman saying.

Young people in Quebec are organising a Common Front for protection against police violence, according to *Amex*, September 1, 1972. (*Amex* is a periodical published by and for Americans who have fled to Canada to escape conscription for the Vietnam war.)

Three towns near Montreal have pioneered this move, which we hope will spread to Montreal itself, and other Quebec towns, to the rest of Canada and ultimately all over the world.

The towns are Ste. Therese, where a 16-year-old boy was recently shot dead by a policeman; Ste. Hyacinthe, where a 21-year-old youth committed suicide in jail; and Sorel, where there was another jail suicide by a young man.

The organisers make it clear that the honest policeman has nothing to fear, but claim that since the War Measures Act of the autumn of 1970, and its successor, the Public Order (Temporary Measures) Act, civil liberties have been stripped from the people.

Everyone is at risk in Quebec today. One can be arrested and searched, or

have one's home raided, at any time, without a warrant. No evidence has to be presented in court first. There is no safeguard of any kind.

Since we are moving towards the same situation in England at the moment we must be prepared to take the same measures. Hippies and blacks already walk the streets at night at their peril in some parts of our big cities.

ARTHUR WARDON.

The Tobin Appeal

MICHAEL TOBIN'S application for leave to appeal against his two-year sentence under sections of the 1934 Incitement to Disaffection Act (the first conviction under this, the so-called 'Invergordon Mutiny Act', since the 1930s) has been rejected at the Appeal Court. It was turned down from the point of view of both conviction and sentence.

Tobin's barrister asked whether it was fair that he should have got the maximum sentence for a first offence. One of the Appeal Judges cuttingly replied that Michael had in fact been convicted on two counts under the Act; therefore his period inside could have been interpreted as four years if the sentences ran consecutively!

Tobin, with his Blakean brand of anarchism ('Libertarian-Humanism'), has

Letters

What shall we do with the Criminal?

Dear Editors,

The September 2 issue of FREEDOM carries an article headed by the question 'What will you do with the Criminal?' A good question, but unfortunately the article totally ignores it—preferring instead to belabour the obvious and soft-pedal the ridiculous.

What would you do with the criminal? I re-raise this question to the readers of FREEDOM (including the editors) in the hope of obtaining some answers. No evasions please. For example, it will hardly do—as is often the case when confronted with the perennial question 'What will you do with the idler?'—to say that such people could never exist under freedom. (For wouldn't that be a limitation of his freedom?)

Here's looking forward to some interesting answers. And if the response is forthcoming, I might even deign to give some of my own.

Yours truly,

Geneva, Switzerland KEN KNUDSON.

P.S.—By 'criminal' I mean an individual who commits an invasive act against another individual and/or his property. For example rape, theft, and murder would be criminal acts, whereas treason, adultery, and tax refusal would not be. For those not liking this definition, please explicitly supply one of your own.

Amin

Dear Editors,

In trying to generate some understanding of the African position in Uganda there are twin dangers in conveying support for General Amin and condoning the expulsion of the British Asians. I do not wish to do either but simply maintain John Brent's exaggerated analogy of Amin to Hitler and Stalin was distorting, the difference being so wide and the historical background so diverse as to make the comparison merely abusive.

This does not mean Amin is other than a dictator who has ruthlessly attacked the wellbeing of the Asians in Uganda. Likewise to point out the reasons why Africans disliked Asians in Uganda is not to say the Africans were wholly consistent in their criticism of capitalists, black, white or brown. Seeing the African position—something the media have been eager not to do—is surely part of appreciating the whole pattern of events. To abuse the African leader seems to me unhelpful as it indicates bias.

Of course tribalism can be exploited, so can anything else. All it seems worth emphasising is that anarchists can discover much of interest and value in tribes having no hierarchy and achieving wide decentralisation. It is a case of not using the word tribe always in a pejorative sense.

I'm glad John Brent at least accepts the British Government has not been motivated by humanity. At least the nonsense churned out by the media in this respect has been exploded. J.W.

Repression in Portugal

WE WISH to bring to your attention the following facts:

Last Thursday, October 12, José Ribeiro dos Santos, a Law Student at the University of Lisbon, was murdered by an agent of the Portuguese political police (PIDE—now DGS) at a students' meeting held at the ISCEF (Economics

Faculty). Another student, José Lamego, who came forward to help him, was also shot and seriously injured.

At the funeral, which took place on Friday, students were beaten up by the police and about 20 arrests were made.

The above incidents were reported by *The Times* (Friday, October 13).

This murder is part of a campaign

been cynically ignored by the Left. Hardly a finger was raised to help publicise this very unpleasant piece of witch hunting. (FREEDOM and *Inside Story* have been noticeable exceptions.) This attitude made it easy for the authorities to continue to make an example of him.

Tobin therefore still has at least a year to serve in prison. He is at the moment in Chelmsford maximum security jail. Anyone able to help publicise this case should contact the 'Michael Tobin Defence Committee', 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent.

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.

Volunteers Wanted, with theatrical experience preferred, for Anarchist project. Possibly November 5th, London. Quite legal and not a demo. Box 9, Freedom Press.

Corby, November 10. Public Meeting on 'Libertarian Education'. Speaker: Arthur Humphrey. Green Room, Civic Centre, 7.30 p.m. Contact Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk.

American comrades would like to hear from feminist and anarchist women in Britain and obtain info. on Women's Lib. Contact Siren, c/o Chicago Seed, 950 W. Wrightwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60614, USA.

Libertarian Book Club Fall Lecture Series, Thursdays, 7 p.m., 369 8th Avenue at 29th Street, New York: November 9, Terry Perlin, 'Anarchism and Elitism'; November 23, Judith Malina and Julian Beck, 'Anarchism and Organization'; December 14, Murray Bookchin, 'Ecology and Anarchism'.

Therapeutic Centre needs full time helper to live in. Unpaid, but board, etc., free. Write to 82 Acre Lane, S.W.2.

'Anarchy' magazine now at 29 Grosvenor Avenue, London, N.5, not 95 West Green Road. (Subscriptions still to Freedom Press.)

Subversity. Student magazine produced by O.R.A. Copies 5p plus postage. Neil Hunt, 104 Bishopthorpe Road, York.

Man with social conscience wanted to help in country care community. No wages. Hard work. Box 10 Freedom.

Anarchist Calendars 1973, 10p each, 24p post from Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications, c/o Freedom Press.

Translations wanted from Anarchist journals for FREEDOM. Languages needed are French, Italian, Spanish, German, Swedish, Japanese. Present translators please confirm. Get in touch with Eds.

Brighton Anarchist Group. New secretary is Roy Carr-Hill, 2nd Floor, 29 St. Michaels Place, Brighton (0273 25546).

'Peace News' for theory and practice of non-violent revolution. £4.95 p.a. (students less 10%). Trial sub. 7 weeks for 50p with free M. Duane 'Biological Basis of Anarchism'. 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Michael Tobin Defence Committee, c/o 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent.

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of violence and repression against students and all those who justly protest against the fascist regime of Marcelo Caetano and the criminal war conducted against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.

At the time of writing a demonstration at the Portuguese Embassy is being prepared for Saturday, October 21. By the time FREEDOM has come out it will have taken place, unfortunately. However those who wish to participate in the campaign should contact the Ribeiro Santos Ad Hoc Committee, 26 Daleham Gardens (Flat A), N.W.3, phone number 435 8188.

The Committee have issued the following statement and are collecting signatures. Copies will be sent on request: 'We, the undersigned, wish to express our shock and deep indignation at the murder of José Ribeiro Santos and the wounding of José Lamego, both students at Lisbon University, by a member of the Portuguese political police (DGS) in Lisbon on Thursday, October the 12th 1972.

'This barbarous act demonstrates once again the illegal and repressive nature of the Portuguese regime.' M.H.