

# Freedom

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## OUR MORTGAGE-OWNING DEMOCRACY

IN PURSUANCE of its neo-Socialist goals, or as some would say, in pursuance of municipal votes, the Conservative Government have taken another step on the non-Primrose League path to the everlasting bonfire of State interference with economic processes. We may wonder why they should bother to subsidize to the extent of one-half per cent the Building Societies' collective - and monopolistic - decision to increase interest rates by one per cent - from 8½% to 9½%. It is said that the Building Societies did not request or require this subsidy, so it almost escapes elucidation as to why this step was taken. Even consideration of the cost (£15,000,000), which only represents ½% is more a testimony to the strength and financial power of the Building Societies than testimony to the generosity of the Government.

It could be that the Government is seeking to demonstrate its power over Building Societies - in the same way that it has been flexing its rubber muscles before the Trade Unions - in the vain hope that somebody will believe that the Government has the intention (or the ability) to control the Building Societies' inflationary activities.

Building Societies (which seem incredible today) started off as organs of working-class mutual aid in the Midlands at the end of the 18th century (one might as soon believe the same about the C.W.S.). They consisted of groups of people who saved to buy land to house

themselves and continued the operation until all the members were housed, at which point the society disbanded (see *Anarchy* 83\*). The same system is apparently conducted by Indians and Pakistanis today.

The growth of permanent building societies with the almost permanent mortgage evolved from these friendly society savings clubs to the extent that there are 467 societies in the Building Societies Association (whose interest rates beat as one) which celebrates its bi-centenary in 1975.

This ultimate failure of a working-class success is attested by its popularity with a Tory Government which believes in a 'property owning democracy'. Judging by the considerable assets of the Building Societies, the belief is more in a mortgage-owning (or owned?) democracy. In the same way that slavery was replaced by the factory system as a more reliable method of labour-exploitation, so has the mortgage replaced the rent-book with the same reliability.

With a mortgage the worker is as firmly clasped by his golden fetters as the slave was to his plantation. Not only this, but the hire-purchase system and the credit card further rivet the golden handcuffs. 'Takes the waiting out of wanting' is the new consumer slogan. How long must we wait for the burden of debt to be removed?

The one sure thing is that the building societies do not take

\*out of print

risks. It is estimated that to get a mortgage in central London one needs an income of £70 a week. All mortgages must be fully approved as to the financial status of the borrower. Solicitors and architects, both of whose services are compulsory for purchase, are generally the approved nominees of the building society -- and their fees must be paid by the borrower.

The wail that went up from the Building Societies last month was that the Budget had made it impossible for them to borrow the money (at 6½%) which they kindly loaned out (at 8½%). It is an illusion to believe that the Societies must wait until they get in money before they loan it out. Much of the financial transactions are mere creation of money. In any case the Societies have large assets (many gained from re-possession on foreclosed mortgages), and in the second place the interest rate of 9½% now charged is compound -- that is to say it is interest gained on capital which is in itself the product of interest.

### Calling a spade...

It is about time that we revived the ugly-sounding word 'Usury' for 'interest' and expanded our Proudhon to read: 'If Property is Robbery--Usury is Blackmail'. Even Aristotle was wise enough to see that 'all money is sterile by nature' but economist have long justified interest by the most elaborate of arguments. Bastiat had a particularly clever one

about a carpenter who borrowed a plane and paid interest in planks! In a controversy with Proudhon, Bastiat said: "If levying interest from capital be a wrong, the workers have a right to revolt against the social order as it exists". He had a point there!

Usury is based upon the pathetic fallacy widely preached in our society: How can work be done without money? The need for Capital is stressed without any reference for human needs. The only real wealth is life, and the only interest accruing is the amount of work, skill and care put into a product.

While Building Societies and Governments argue about ½% and what it will do for housing, the statistics of housing in London have been revealed in separate yet telling fragments. It was said by Albert Meltzer some time ago that there was no real housing shortage in London, just maldistribution. The statistics show 100,000 empty houses in London and 150,000 families who are forced to share homes (*Guardian* April 5th 1973). The squatters quite obviously have the right idea.

But the subsidizing of Building Societies and the erection of suburban little boxes is no change from the subsidizing of Council Estates and the erection of urban filing-cabinets. In an interest-free and free society, housing would arise from human needs and not from the state of the market.

Jack Robinson.

## UNIONS BLOODY, BUT WORKERS UNBOWED

THE GOVERNMENT'S pay strategy seems to be working out and the trade unions and their members are accepting settlements under Stage Two guidelines. The miners' vote of acceptance, the dockers' return to work, and the earlier vote of the gasmen and the postal workers are clear signs that a confrontation will not take place. May Day's strike of protest will be but a whimper before acceptance of the government's policies. Following this, the way will be open for talks between the TUC and the government to sort out exactly what we are going to get in our pay packets.

As far as the government is concerned, they have made it clear that collective bargaining is a thing of the past. The Secretary of Employment, Mr. McMillan, has said:

We do not need to destroy and must not destroy the concept of collective bargaining. But we must - employers, government and unions - devise a system which reconciles the widespread desire in industry for freedom of action with steadier prices and greater fairness both between and within different groups of workers.

Just to rub it in a bit more, Mr. McMillan said that it was not the fault of the freeze or Stage Two that the hospital workers were among the lower paid, but they had been left behind by the system of collective bargaining. But we all know that collective bargaining is no good without the threat of industrial action. It is because this has never happened in the past that hospital workers are badly paid. Their lone struggle now is doomed to failure since without support from other workers they will be forced to return to work.

Anarchists did not expect the trade union leaders to take on the government over its pay policies. The trade unions made it plain a long time ago that they did not and would not offer an alternative system. They would not challenge the government and the State. The

votes taken by the rank and file also indicate an unwillingness to confront the government.

But the executives of the unions have made it plain that they do not want to take on the government. However, this is not to say that it is the leadership that is holding the rank and file in check. People, just because they work for wages are not necessarily revolutionaries. Most look to the leaders of their unions for a lead. People are conditioned to accept this attitude. Political groups on the left always criticize by saying that if only the "correct leadership had been given" -- meaning their leadership. The working class is not a revolutionary class, but only potentially so because of its position within the capitalist system. However, it is people who make revolutions and there has to be enough people within the working class who want a revolution to make such a change.

It is not just the economic circumstances that make people look for an alternative. It is a conscious desire to take control of one's own life. It is a desire that we must cultivate in people. We must give a lead in the sense that we have to point to an alternative society based on mutual aid and not competition, on free associations and not coercion, on workers' control not wage slavery.

Big business and the politicians defend their dominating position by saying that they have the brains and the intellect to rule. Ordinary people who actually produce the goods and work the land are considered less gifted. Without rulers directing other people's lives we are told that chaos would ensue. And yet nothing could be more chaotic and crazy than the present system. The crazy power- and profit-seekers are in fact turning the world into a nightmare of crises. On the contrary, no one has an innate superiority to rule or exploit the labour of others. It is our job to point this out.

P.T.

## SLAVE LABOUR ON PRISONS

The leaflet reprinted below was distributed last Saturday, April 7th, in Market Harborough and Corby, near Gartree prison. The leaflet aroused interest in the question of prisons, and the same group hopes to reproduce similar leaflets for distribution in London and Leicester in the near future.

Would you work a 40-hour week for 25p? as prisoners must?

DEMONSTRATIONS took place in prisons all over Britain last year when prisoners tried to assert the rights which are accepted by all working people in this country, namely the right to secure representation and organise a union. The authorities over-reacted to this attempt and some victimization is thought to have occurred. In fact John Farr, Conservative M.P. for Harborough, was moved to as a Question in Parliament about the deteriorating situation at Gartree Prison.

### Boycott the new prison

IN APRIL 1974 work is to commence on the building of a second prison at Gartree and we urge all local people to resist this imposition.

Do everything to hinder the project: bombard the local authority with your objections, show your disapproval of building firms who undertake the work and urge your fellow trade unionists to "black" the entire project.

Don't build prisons - build homes for the homeless!

DO WE NEED PRISONS?

Most of the unfortunate people who find themselves in prison are there not because they pose some violent threat to the rest of us but because they have committed some offence against the law of property. While highly respected men make millions of pounds on the Stock Exchange out of finance deals others are imprisoned because they are driven to theft by economic insecurity and the pressures in society which make people

believe that success and happiness are to be measured by the acquisition of wealth and material possessions. Crime, as defined by the law, is caused by the kind of society in which a wealthy few live off the labours of others, and most of us are doomed to a life of economic insecurity where we have little control of our daily lives.

Prison does nothing to help people to play a useful role in society and, indeed, it tends to encourage them in a life of crime. Prisoners are cut off from the loving influence of their family and friends in a hostile and degrading atmosphere which destroys individual responsibility and self-respect. Anti-social behaviour can only be cured by a society which allows people to find satisfaction and happiness by developing to the full their potential as human beings in an atmosphere of freedom. That is the kind of society anarchists are trying to create.

As we go to press the news comes that 60 men in Gartree Prison are now on hunger strike.

### Friendship symbol in English oak



NIESEWAND

"Some of us ordinary folk are not prepared to see the close ties with our cousins in Rhodesia severed and it was thought a piece of centuries old English oak with historical connections would be ideal to show the affection and gratitude we feel for Rhodesia."

With this message Mr. Derek Blanchard, of Appledore in north Devon, sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, the caval and block pictured here from Rhodesian

Commentary issue of March, 1973





# THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT



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## Bookshop Notes

Freedom Bookshop now has in stock a limited supply of the writings of Michael Tobin published by the Medway Libertarians. Michael is at present serving a two year prison sentence for distributing a leaflet inciting troops not to go to Northern Ireland. Amongst the pamphlets by him available are: "The Libertarian Manifesto" 5p (2½p); "A Matter of Dialectics - A Dialectical Critique of Historical Materialism" 5p (2½p); "Members of the Jury" - Michael's courtroom speech, 5p (2½p); "The Birth of Libertarian Humanism" 5p (2½p); "The Libertarian Sunrise" 5p (2½p); "Libertarian Humanism and Global Revolution" 5p (inc. post); "Man or Naked Ape" 5p (2½p); and various other free leaflets by Michael, whose case was given considerable coverage by Freedom at the time of his trial last year, but to a large extent ignored by the "left" as a whole.

ALL MEN value liberty but usually on their own terms. All they ask of their fellow men is that they conform to their own particular way of living and thinking and within that framework they can flower like roses in a tub. They talk of the discipline of liberty, liberty but not licence, freedom within the law and freedom under law and all they ask is no more than to determine the terms of reference for the individual to sweat it out.

Much of what we claim is pure self interest, and none the worse for that, but there come those moments when we are forced to accept that by becoming part of a community we must surrender our various individual liberties or move on. As long as we can do this voluntarily we can accept this free choice of a curb on our own personal actions, but when groups or individuals in self-proclaimed authority over us dictate our way of living and we cannot contract out then we have a right to make our own decisions. The starving and the homeless make their own choice or die, and a society that cannot feed, clothe and house those it claims as its citizens abrogates any claim on their loyalties. Be it the State, the romantic gunmen, the hijackers or the bomb blasting militants, all are seeking a solution to their own problems or their own ideals and we are the disposable end products of their various official or unofficial displays of violence.

Over the years, within the anarchist movement, individuals have made their gestures against the dictates of the State and have stood in the dock and pleaded their case and gone to prison and one honours them for this, yet these were invariably the acts of individuals forced into a personal confrontation with the State and its satraps but outside that area of individual confrontation we have little to show for the long marches, the sit-ins, the squats and the wordy debates. The honour for extending the area of the liberty of the subject must surely go to the underground press, for without seeking economic or political rewards they have won for us the right to speak and write our common tongue and to publicly and openly speak and view subject matter that less than ten years ago was damned to a lavatory secrecy by the State and public opinion.

Against Censorship, National Council for Civil Liberties 25p

Order of Assassins, the Psychology of Murder, by Colin Wilson (Rupert Hart-Davis) £2.25

The Aesthetics of Freud, by J. Spector (Aller Lane) £3.95

Film Review

WHAT IS TRUTH?

BLOOD OF THE CONDOR, Paris-Pullman

ARTHUR MACHEN, a writer of tales of mystical horror, wrote a story in which ghostly archers appeared at the battle of Mons, fighting alongside the British Expeditionary Force. It was intended as no more than a patriotic inspirational piece, but when it was published people who had fought in the battle, or knew somebody who had, started writing in to say that they had seen this, or their friend or relative had seen it. The medieval longbowmen soon became angels, and "The Angels of Mons" were born.

Blood of the Condor is set in the Andes. It is probably fiction, but one is left to work that out for oneself, one is not told. A team called the Corps of Progress, based on the American Peace Corps, arrive in the village. The women who are about to give birth are encouraged to do so in the clinic set up by the corps. Although these women have had a number of children before going to the clinic they are unable to have any afterwards, and the peasants begin to smell a rat.

They discover that when a woman goes to the clinic to have her child she is afterwards, while unconscious, sterilised, without being told anything about it. A rising then takes place and the head of the clinic is seized. "You can't do anything to me," he cries, "I'm a

THE NCCL have published their pamphlet AGAINST CENSORSHIP and, as always with their publications, it is literate, informative and backed by a common sense approach to the problem. And the problem is that old devil Sex in print and the attempts and the suggestions for suppressing the printed word and picture. In 1960 George Orwell's published essays contained his review of Dali's autobiography, and Orwell in his plain spoken common sense Tribune prose wrote that Dali's book was the product of a dirty foulminded man, but Orwell held that as Dali was an acknowledged artist his book or his paintings should not be suppressed, and here wrote the liberal libertarian sitting in the judge's seat for, continued Orwell, "short of the dirty post cards that used to be sold in Mediterranean seaport towns, it is doubtful policy to suppress anything". The sour jok of all this rubbish was that when in 1944 Hutchinsons published their Saturday Book they literally cut out of each copy Orwell's review of Dali's autobiography on the grounds of 'obscenity'. So there we have the full foolish circle of Dali writing his book, Orwell giving his unofficial permission for its publication, yet at the same time demanding that "dirty post cards" must be suppressed and a conservative publisher suppressing Orwell's high-minded defence of censorship.

Law no Benefit

THE NCCL working party in conjunction with the Arts Council arrived at the simple agreement that laws against obscenity provide no serious benefit to the public and they are correct, for the act of censorship is like unto cutting the tail off an endless snake as Orwell's sad essay into judgeship shows. Yet the working party were honest enough to face up to the matter of public display of works or performances that might offend, yet for myself I would, in that same complete honesty, hold that familiarity really does breed if not contempt then at least indifference and the side-window of the local newsagents shop packed out with its gaudy-covered horn books only claims a few adult viewers, as any observer could check for himself.

And this is the meaning of liberty and Orwell did not learn the lesson, for in the defence of freedom and liberty you cannot choose your battleground. If the liberty to publish and to view "dirty postcards" is attacked then the publisher and the buyer must be defended, for if you wait for the great and noble causes to come

scientist. My Embassy will protest. We only sterilised women who already had children." The peasants castrate him.

What is one to make of all this? Michael Elmer writes in The Guardian (3/3/73) that the Peace Corps in Bolivia, some of whose members he knows, were nothing like the Corps of Progress in the film. Nevertheless, in spite of their good work, they were expelled from the country, as a result of the showing of this film. In disputes over the truth of the film a circular situation developed, in which supporters of the allegation that there had been a secret plot to sterilise Indian women quoted the film as evidence!

What is someone living in England to say? Is he to believe the film or Michael Elmer? All the present writer can do is to state his prejudices.

The film is shown in Chelsea, that centuries-old fortress of the English peasantry. It is clapped at the end by its audience of prosperous young farm-workers. I suggest anti-American feeling rather than sympathy with the poor Bolivians inspires this applause.

At the start of the film the Pope is quoted to the effect that the answer is not birth control but "science and progress", or words to that effect. To find the Catholic Church all for Progress is delightful enough. Even more quaint is the idea, which the Pope evidently shares with our technological conquistadores, that the world's resources are boundless. All that is needed is a bit more know-how. Unfortunately it isn't

begging for you to defend them then the battle is already lost. Remember Christ and seek your own salvation and your own liberty among the outcasts of our societies, no matter how wealthy they be.

Damned Reputation

And for the rest there is Colin Wilson's ORDER OF ASSASSINS with his Reader's Digest rambling down the memory lane of do-it-yourself murder. No man who has the courage to publish a book of essays with the title Eagle and Earwig need fear for his reputation, it is already damned but Colin continues to push his claim that Nietzsche and Jack the Ripper should be counted among the human race's Top Ten, each in his own fashion. In the Order of Assassins Colin gives the reader page after page of good solid rape and murder complete with details, and here is pornography for like books on wine, roses, sex, murder or fish it bores by sheer repetition. An ideal Christmas present for a sixteen year old boy, but despite the reappearance of Sergeant Bertrand who was knocked off by the French fuzz in 1849 for spending his nights in the cemetery digging up the local talent for counting sessions one feels that that the necrophiliac can hardly be counted among the Life Force and OZ and IT and Nasty Tales have not yet conditioned us for seeing Brando acting it out on the wide screen with a spade instead of the half lb. of best butter.

J. Spector's THE AESTHETICS OF FREUD I dismiss out of hand for the rubbish it is. I have little respect for Freud and his cataloguing of the obvious, for I feel that his pseudo-intellectual followers have produced more misery than almost any other branch of the false sciences, in that they offer hope to the sick that they can never fulfil and give the State's authority to fools, clerks and quacks. Within Spector's book he reads the tea leaves in regard to Freud's views on art and the artist. In Freud's The Interpretation of Dreams he backed every horse by filling page after page with objects that had a sexual connotation and one could only ask to be shown an object that was not sex-orientated. And so with Freud on art, for the test is surely not to be shown Freud's theories as contained within every painting but one painting that does not conform to a Freudian analysis, for only then can we test Freud's claim. Meanwhile back to the cemetery with Bertram.

Arthur Moyse

true.

I am suspicious of anti-birth control and anti-abortion propaganda. Behind the idealistic phrases usually lurks the idea that sex is for procreation only, not for pleasure, that women are merely a means to an end, the propagation of the race, not people in their own right, and that plenty of cannon fodder is always necessary.

In short I am more disposed to believe Michael Elmer than the makers of this film. My guess is that it began as a patriotic inspirational story like Arthur Machen's, but when it achieved success and people began believing it was true its makers had not the heart to spoil things. This is putting it as charitably as one can.

As a warning of what might happen in the future it is not a bad film. In this terrible century anything is possible. But we should be told whether the story is true or not.

Arthur Wardo

A National Film Theatre programme does warn that the charges of sterilisation are only allegations, but unless I missed some note among the quotes and credits at the beginning of the film, there was nothing to say whether it was truth or fiction.



# BIG BROTHER IN SWEDEN

OUR BIG BROTHER is watching us. We have about 100 police T.V. cameras watching us all over the centre of Stockholm. Our radio, T.V. and the journalist lairs of our yellow press are daily trying to form our opinions, tell us what to think and bring absurdity to a fine art. One decides to relax from all this, read a non-political book, paint a picture or take a walk through this beautiful stretch of land. But no, one is woken from a doze of apathy by the clumsy clash of criminal police cymbals.

Some years ago the police once asked to enter my flat without a search warrant, and as they laid hands on me the situation could easily have led to violence. Owing to the sale of our house we found a new flat. After living there over a year with a contract the owner says to my girl friend, "Seeing as that man you're living with is coloured, what kind of character has he got?" Always expecting this kind of thing I decided to be on my guard and leave the house, but that's not easy.

A year passed, and about two weeks ago two men appeared at my door claiming the owner had given them permission to search. They offered no search warrant or identification so I refused them entrance. They hurried down the stairs to my neighbour, who let them in without a word of protest. After a while they came out onto the landing (none of his four flats were searched) and I heard him say to them, "The German has very regular work". On questioning him about this he told me the men were police who showed him their identification immediately. According to him they were investigating a bank robbery in the district. He denied making the statement I heard on the landing. He then tried to cover the whole thing up, unconcerned that they didn't reveal their identity to me. Telling me this was none of my business. For the police to remain anonymous to me asking to search my flat and then go down and interrogate a neighbour about me I believe (although I stand to be corrected) is a breach of regulations. Although the statement about the German was concerning my next-door neighbour. Whatever they were looking for they appear

to have made us their first quest. If we transposed this situation to Belfast, then this unfortunate man would stand the chance of getting a bullet in the head because the police were using him as an informer. This has caused an unpleasant situation between the "neighbour" and myself owing to such clumsy methods which would make Scotland Yard laugh their heads off. This man had been so conditioned by authority that he would probably agree to anything the police suggested.

To amuse myself I decided to shout a protest down the long Jaberwocky corridors of police headquarters. It's always interesting to see how the police react in this situation. Whenever I enter that building I always feel I am making an entrance onto a stage. I interviewed an Inspector Thunberg and a J. Liljenberg who were not the men in question.

The offices in this Lewis Carroll-like building are very tiny and for psychological reasons they always put one in a corner chair sandwiched between the desk and the wall so one can't move an inch. This time I didn't fall for that one, but made Mr. Liljenberg sit in it instead to let him know what it felt like.

During a very eccentric conversation Mr. Thunberg got a bit worried and says, "As you're so angry perhaps you had better leave the building immediately." "Did you ask for identification from the men?" asked Inspector Liljenberg, shifting nervously in that impossible chair. I had to smile. He thought he'd nailed me because of this. Then suddenly Mr. Thunberg turned into a March Hare whilst fingering through my Swedish passport. What he actually said was so embarrassing I won't repeat it, but it was to the equivalent that he considered me a "foreigner". At this point I realised that I should have brought Ingmar Bergman's cameraman with me, and a brain specialist.

Our police seem to know nothing about the society they live in. They don't see a community of people, they see nationalities. Most of us here are paying lip service to the principles of internationalism, but with the same breath use this word foreigner with such a lash that it draws blood and tears. Curtain!

President of the Confederation of British Industry in which Britain was knocked for being "the peasants of Europe" received the rejoinder that we should become just that. It was reported that Dr Mansholt, the former EEC President, felt the whole West should become peasants. Interestingly, in Dr Mansholt's home country of Holland the Club of Rome's "Limits to Growth" has been a best seller.

A fascinating sidelight on the Ecologist's "Blueprint for Survival" was the behind-the-scenes influence it has had on the higher administration in Britain. The Energy crisis predicted is now with us and Nixon is talking of tapping solar energy (à la Reich?) and on transport it is now far from heresy to comment that we don't need a third London airport at all.

As regards developing countries, Johnson held that aid had considerable returns for the rich countries in terms of future markets and influence. A more realistic pricing of raw materials from the third world would be the most sensible means of releasing resources from the rich world.

Your correspondent's view is that the ecological movement has learnt a lot about politics over the last 12 months. I was told it had been "a humbling experience".

J. W.

## PORTUGUESE ANARCHISM

Freedom Press has received copies of the bulletin O Clarão, a month monthly publication of anarchist texts in Portuguese. The aim of the publication is to help Portuguese-speaking comrades, including Brazilians and Africans, at present dispersed and isolated all over the world, to formulate and express their views.

O Clarão is available, price 10p + 3p post, from Freedom Press Bookshop. S.C.

## Probable Terrorist Law

On the government's table lies a document which they have to make a decision about very soon. It's called "The terrorist law". Briefly, it makes possible the throwing out of this country, without a shadow of proof, of any politically active immigrant whom the police and government secretly designate as a "presumptive terrorist". And who will be able to prove that someone is a probable terrorist? Apparently it's enough that there is a "well grounded" reason to presume that he belongs to or works for a political organized group which it can be feared will use violence, threat or compulsion as means in its activities. The security police will register all political opinions of immigrants and with the help of data machines will separate the wolves from the sheep. They will register all people who "work for", which also means 'support', 'sympathize with' or 'serve'. This does not have to be defined either, as the register will be secret. There will be tapping of telephones used by suspected foreigners. Search of house and person. Letters will be controlled and on political grounds certain foreigners committed to live and work in certain places in the country. The way the law is worded makes it very flexible and it can be misused by the police.

Why doesn't our T.V. invite our minister of "justice" Mr. Lennart Geijner and about three "foreigners" including myself (seeing as it's my suggestion) so we can ask him some questions and discuss this law? They can all speak their own languages and we could have translators. Things are not discussed enough here! I'm sure we could all entertain the public for half an hour. Another thing, I haven't finished my conversation with Herr Tweedledum and Herr Tweedledee yet. I can be reached through Freedom Press. H.

\*Our correspondent told us that there has been no public outcry at the proposal of this law because "it's only going to be for one year" and therefore resident foreigners shouldn't worry about it. The Guardian 7/4/73 briefly reports the passing of this law (on 6th April) giving the police authority to tap telephones, open mail and search houses of foreigners suspected of terrorist activity.

The report adds that the law, passed by an overwhelming majority after a long debate, is aimed at politically active Arabs and Yugoslavs; it makes no mention of a time limit on its operation.

## THE CASE OF TZU TSAI CHENG

TZU TSAI CHENG, a native of Taiwan (Formosa), left to study architecture in the U.S. in 1962. In 1964 he joined the Formosa Independence Movement. The Chiang Kai Shek regime, a police state, which has ruled Taiwan for 24 years, withdrew his passport, rendering him Stateless.

In April 1970 Chiang Ching kuo, son and heir apparent, and the real ruler of Taiwan, went to the U.S.A. to ask for more weapons, to suppress the local population, not to invade mainland China.

At a demonstration organised against him by the WUFI (World United Formosans for Independence) a shot was fired at him. Cheng attempted to free the would-be assassin from the police. Both men were arrested, Cheng with only leaflets in his hands.

Taiwanese abroad contributed money which enabled Cheng to be released on bail. Later the other man, Peter Huang, was also bailed. The trial began in May 1971. Huang pleaded guilty so Cheng was tried alone and found guilty of attempted murder and illegal possession of a gun. He left New York before sentence was announced and fled to Sweden.

In July he gave a full report on his case and applied for political asylum. He was permitted to stay and work. His wife and two children joined him. But he was arrested in June 1972, because the U.S. demanded his extradition. In September he was put on an American plane, although unconscious and ill, and flown to first a Copenhagen hospital and then to London, where he still is.

## PRIVILEGED RECRUITING IN THE CITY OF LONDON

A FEW DAYS before the end of the Angry Brigade Trial, a group of young anarchists protesting in Fenchurch Street about the deliberate silence of the British press and the political nature of this trial, had their leafleting stopped by the City Police, who suddenly appeared in cars and on bikes at the ratio of 2 policemen for each anarchist.

Invoking vague excuses of "obstructing the pavement", "public nuisance" and the existence of an obscure Metropolitan Police Act of 1867, the police were determined to stop this protest, and indeed after few minutes of verbal resistance, our anarchist friends were forced to stop the leafleting and move or face arrest.

Last February, the same Police force stopped a leaflet distribution, by members and officials of the National Union of Bank Employees, NUBE, who were recruiting new members for their Union outside the Bank of England.

Invoking the same old piece of legislation (1867!!) this time the Police persuaded this "better breed" of activists to stop their campaign, informing them nevertheless that this Act, passed during Queen Victoria's reign, allows the Commissioner of Police the discretion to give permission to organisations for leaflet distribution, but that as a matter of policy, this permission is never given.

Never putting in doubt the class legality of the police action against them, the NUBE officials are now, as good bureaucrats, working to have this decision changed.

Having been a witness of these incidents, I was quite surprised to be greeted, one morning of last week, by a smiling young WREN, who was distributing leaflets in the public hall of the Monument Underground Station, inviting the arriving City workers to a RECRUITING WEEK organised by the Volunteers of the City of London.

What kind of law is this one, if not a fascist law, that stops anarchists and trade Unionists to go about peacefully leafleting on behalf of their beliefs or their organisations, but allows the entire Army and the Navy to "invade" for a week the City of London, in an effort to recruit youngsters, fool enough to be impressed by the authoritarian glamour of uniforms and brass bands and the staged atmosphere of a Military Circus?

It is very significant to see the Lord Mayor of London, personification of the Capitalist interests in the City, opening for a week the doors of HIS City to the ... Honourable Artillery Company, the 21st Special Air Service Regiment (Artist) (Vols), the 6th (Vols) BN the Queen's Regiments, the 39th (City of London) Signal Regiment (Vols) the Intelligence and Security Groups (Vols), the 4th (Vol) BN the Green Jackets, the 217 (London) General Hospital RAMC (Vols), the Royal Naval Reserve, the HMS THAMES, all with their mobile recruiting displays ... Very significant indeed, after all, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force exists to protect, at our expense, the Lord Mayor's friends, their property, investments and privileges.

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"BECOME A VOLUNTEER" reads the militant pamphlets handed to me that morning, "Service with the Volunteers is a worthwhile and profitable hobby, which has vacancies for both the young men and women. You can join at any of the listed displays. A recruiting display will be at Tower Hill, where a full sized hot air balloon will be inflated in the Moat."

BECOME A VOLUNTEER - BEFORE THE BALLOON GOES UP!

As an anarchist I would like to be free to say to the young City workers "INVEST IN YOUR FUTURE - BECOME AN ANARCHIST - BEFORE THE CAPITALIST BALLOON BLOWS UP."

C.P.

If he is returned to the U.S. he may face a 32-year sentence. If he is sent back to Taiwan he may be executed.

Those who wish to help stop this barbarity should get in touch with the Group for the Defence of Tzu Tsai Cheng, c/o I.C.D.F., 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1 telephone 387 5755.

M.H.

## Conference Report

### ARMS AND ECOLOGY

BRIAN JOHNSON, Director of the Ecological Foundation at the University of Sussex and an associate editor of The Ecologist (which produced "Blueprint for Survival") was the main contributor to the Conference held by the International Continuing Committee (March 31st/April 1st). The subject of the conference was Environment Development and Armaments and amongst the conference papers John Davoll, Director of the Conservation Society commended the idea of linking these three topics. By separating experts into their specialities he spoke of "the administrator who adds up the figures and concludes that there is enough food to go round, because no one has told him that the pesticides and fertilizers the agronomist plans to use will run off into the oceans and poison the fish". Brian Johnson associated himself with this view of linking associated topics.

His talk was valuable and stimulating - as one biologist commented to me afterwards: "a synthesis of the Blueprint, the Club of Rome and all the critics of the ecological bandwagon". The triple terrors were Governments, armaments and high technology and the resistance consisted of "the international non-governmental front" which emerged at Stockholm last year. The nation-state's importance was that it played "an explaining role, a directive force for the status quo", it had a symbiotic relationship with armaments which contributed to the planetary disease of inflation as arms production is not mopped up in consumption. Brian Johnson wondered why city editors never commented on this, knowing their great concern for inflation. Armaments were only a part of the vicarious high technology living which was the creation of those who held economic growth as their God.

The speech recently made by Clapham,



# REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM ITS AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISTS seek, and are working for, the establishment of a society which will render impossible the growth of a privileged class, and the domination and exploitation of man by man. We, therefore, advocate the common ownership of the land and all means of production and distribution on the basis of voluntary co-operation and mutual aid, by and in the interests of society as a whole. We also seek the abolition of Government and State.

To achieve such a society, we are working towards the abolition of all those mechanisms which are necessary to our present chaotic, authoritarian, unjust and unequal society - such as capital-accumulation and production for private - or State - profit, instead of for need, the wages system and money. Revolutionary anarchists stand for the self-emancipation of the working-class, wherein all may work and contribute to the general good according to her or his abilities and wishes, and take from the common pool according to her or his needs and wants, each determining her or his needs and wants.

In our view, such a society would have no need of the coercive powers of a State machine and apparatus. Indeed, it would not be highly centralised, but would run its services, and organise itself, on a federal, decentralised, basis. Many anarchist communities would probably be large enough to be reasonably self-sufficient in many of the normal necessities of life; but, where possible and practicable, small enough for most people to know each other.

Such is the general view that we have of a future society. Such is our "outline plan". We cannot - and would not attempt to - draw up detailed drawings. Future society will be determined by the people themselves - not by starchy-eyed "anarchist" dreamers, or by so-called revolutionary elites, planners or social "engineers".

## Organisation

DESPITE what opponents of anarch-

ism may say, anarchists are not opposed to organisation: the very opposite, in fact! Revolutionary anarchists favour more - and better - organisation than we have in our chaotic capitalist society today; but we are against authoritarian and bureaucratic organisation. A free society is impossible without organisation. In the words of Alexander Berkman: "The revolution must be prepared" And preparation signifies organisation.

Anarchists are not concerned merely with changing the basic material conditions of life, such as property-relationships, but also its general quality, by such means, for example, as open and complete access to all information and facilities for education (as against mere schooling) and leisure

As a means of working towards a free society, revolutionary anarchists concern themselves with accurate criticism, and opposition to, the chaotic and oppressive society in which we "live" today as is possible; we oppose private greed with social and individual need; we encourage co-operation in the interests of all, rather than competition, which only serves the interests of a few; we support and help to build up such organisations as rank-and-file Trade Union committees, tenant associations, consumer groups, school-neighbourhood councils and similar bodies, and by doing so help evolve the many and varied ways by which the people themselves can organise themselves without a privileged or ruling class. By such activity, we hope that the workers will, one day, revolutionise society.

At the same time, we as revolutionary anarchists are striving to build our own organisations, not in order to dominate or oppress people, but as an instrument, among others, which will assist them in their self-liberation. We are completely opposed to any action, or organisation, which takes the initiative from ordinary people, and gives it to permanent officials, so-called Parliamentary

representatives, political parties or "revolutionary" vanguards or "leaderships".

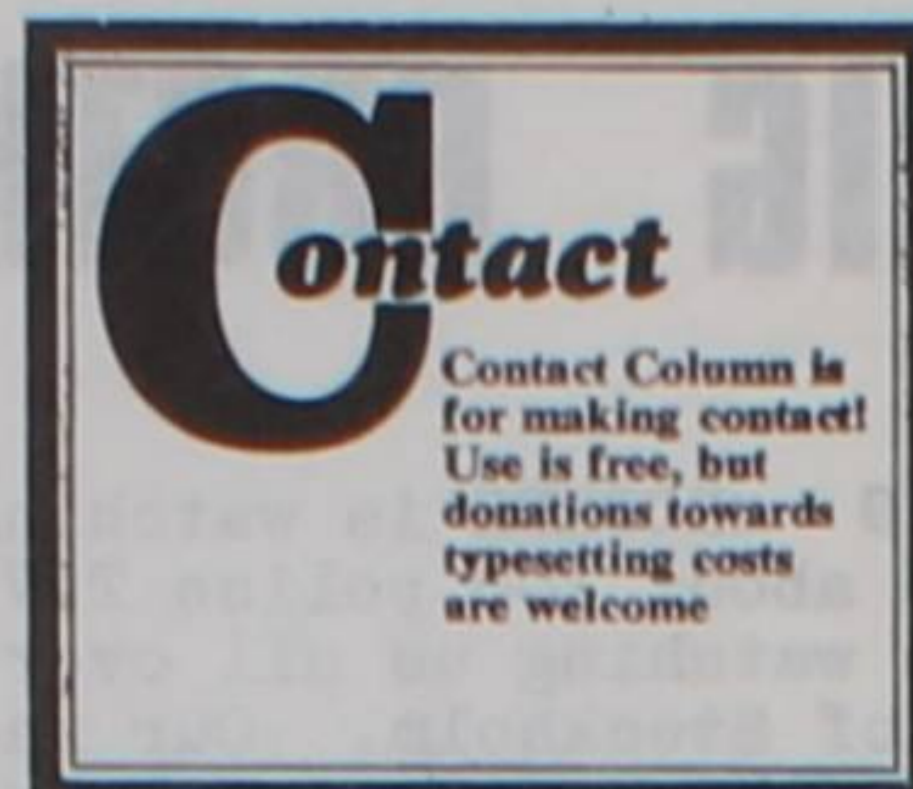
We, therefore, base our work and activities on the day-to-day struggles for better living conditions and a greater joy and satisfaction of life, by linking up the aspirations and actions of the ordinary working people, and developing from them an understanding of their common problems - and common enemies - which will act as a guide to our own struggles for a more satisfactory and freer form of society. For us, as revolutionaries, meaningful action is whatever increases the initiative, participation and solidarity of the people; that which is sterile is whatever reinforces their apathy, cynicism and passivity. We have no desire to lead people to the "Promised Land"!

The form that our organisation must take is, as far as possible, a realisation of libertarian perspectives in the current situation. It cannot be a social model of a free society, but must itself develop in interaction with the developing liberation of humanity itself. Such organisation will inevitably make mistakes. Indeed, "honestly made mistakes, providing we are organised in such a way to learn from them, are much better than the dictates of the most infallible Central Committee. We, therefore, reject the 'thou shalt obey' attitudes of the Leninists" (Libertarian Struggle, March, 1973)

An anarchist organisation should be a membership organisation - to some extent the failure of the so-called Anarchist Federation of Britain proved that; it should have a specific objective - libertarian communism; it should be decentralised, with all groups having autonomy of action; no delegate, or group of delegates, should have more than a co-ordinating function; delegates must be subject to immediate recall at any time by those who mandate them.

(to be continued)

Peter E. Newell



A London Federation of Anarchists has been formed by anarchist groups in London. Anyone interested should write to the LFA c/o South London Anarchist Group 3 Belmont Road, S.W.4. S. London group holds open meetings 8 p.m. first Wednesday of month.

ORA Easter Conference in Glasgow 21-23 April. Details from Moira Young, 31 Burghhead Drive, Linthouse Glasgow G51 4QJ

HASTINGS CHILDREN'S ACTION GROUP needs advice, information and financial help for proposed Free School. Anyone who can help please contact Judy Kirk, 15 Eversley Crescent, St. Leonards on Sea, Sx.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD area - anarchists/libertarians interested in forming group please contact Roderick Parkes, 90 Queensway, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.

LIVERPOOL ASA - contact May Stone, C.32 Summerfield, Tower Hill, Kirkby, Liverpool.

LONDON ASA meets every Wednesday 7.30 p.m. at 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange, N.5 Black & Red Outlook always available. By post 5p + 2p

NOTTINGHAM: Trent Polytechnic anarchists contact Shirley Moreno or John Hinsley through Fine Art Dept Dryden Street, Nottingham.

CARDIFF: Dwarf Group forming. Contact Ian Matheson, 35 Corporation Road, Grangetown, Cardiff

Alternative Shop opening this summer needs advice, suggestions, legal help. Please write Box 103

NEW YORK LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB LECTURES, fortnightly, Thursdays 7 p.m. at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave, corner 29 Street. Admission free. April 26 Abe Bluestein: The Spirit of Freedom in America; May 10 Nunzio Pernicone: Terrorism and the Italian Anarchist

PEOPLE'S FESTIVAL - RENT STRIKE: The second free festival commences in Widsor Great Park on August 25 Werk preparing for it has just started. Details: Bill Dwyer, 26A Elmbourne Road, London SW17 8JR  
SELF-LIBERATION FESTIVAL. New York 19-20 May. Films, Theatre etc. & Discussion Sessions on Historical Roots of Anarchism: Alternate Education: Anarchism Applied to Self-Liberation. Write to Frank Werth or Bruce Davidow, Hunter Libertarian Alliance, Roosevelt House, 49 E.65 Street, New York, N.Y. 10021

MICHAEL TOBIN DEFENCE COMMITTEE 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY Committee, 54 Harcombe Road, London, N.16

STOP THE FRENCH TESTS. Contact Greenpeace, c/o 176 Finchley Road, London, N.W.3

S.E. London Gutter Press, contact Vera Krishek, 01-852 8879

Libertarian Struggle, monthly paper of ORA, 5p + 2p post, or sub £1 for 12 issues from 29 Cardigan Rd. Leeds (also in Freedom Bookshop)

"Spies for Peace" the INSIDE STORY March/April issue, also containing more on prisons. 20p + 3p post from 3 Belmont Road, S.W.4 or Freedom Bookshop

Ian and Peggy Sutherland revised new address: 13 Deincourt Close, (Plot 38) Pheasant Field Development, Dale Road, Spondon, Derby.

PEACE NEWS weekly for non-violent revolution has a struggle of its own to win first. They need £850 soon. Send donations and/or write for specimen copy to 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Subscribers change of address: please notify us if you can at least a week before operative date

We welcome news, articles, letters. We go to press Monday so latest date for receipt of MSS & Notices is the Monday in each week of publication, and earlier is helpful.

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## TOWER HILL RENT STRIKE CONTINUES

ON MONDAY 26th March two bailiffs were on the Tower Hill housing estate delivering court orders to tenants who are on rent strike. That evening the Council was holding a full council meeting (these are opened to the public) and it was for this meeting that the Action Group had organised a demonstration outside the council buildings in protest to Winstanley's (housing manager) attempts to try and get eviction orders served on tenants who are on rent strike (see Freedom 24/3/73). As councillors were entering the buildings they were approached by tenants who asked for an explanation over the court orders that were delivered to tenants that very same morning. They (the councillors) said they knew nothing about them. At 7 o'clock when we tried to enter the council buildings we were told by high ranking police officers that there were only enough seats in the council chambers for forty people and as there were over 200 tenants present they let forty in, one by one. When the housing committee's report came up on the agenda it was stated that the decision that was taken at a previous council meeting still stands, i.e. that no notices to quit or eviction notices will be served on any of the Tower Hill tenants who are on rent strike in protest against the Housing Finance Act. The summonses that were served on rent strikers earlier on in the day was also discussed and lo and behold none of them knew anything about them (so they say). These summonses are not possession orders they are only money judgement orders. The Action Group realises that many tenants are scared of these court letters so it was decided at our last meeting that we get every tenant who has received one of these letters to come to the next Action Group meeting and help decide what line of action we should take. A few of us have been talking between ourselves and two ideas that came up were, - that we send the letters back to the County Court with 'rent strike' written all over them, or appear in court without filling in the form that was attached to the letters and state that we don't intend to pay any money as

we've come here on rent strike and we are leaving on rent strike. By the time this article goes to press our line of action will have been decided upon. This week the council has been distributing brand new unmarked rent books to the tenants. The new rate rises have been added on to our rents and have risen between 35p or 45p per week. Last October we received a rent increase of £1 per week on our rents and we are in for another rent increase of 50p per week in October this year. Together with our rates this will mean that we will have had an increase in the region of £2 per week added on to our rent in a period of twelve months. Some tenants who have dropped out of the rent strike are now asking is it alright if they can come back on the rent strike. This I would say is a healthy sign. Now that the new rate increases have come in the owner occupiers in Kirkby are beginning to organise themselves and are now considering a total rates strike, following Tower Hill's example. The Tower Hill Un-fair Rents Action Group would like to thank the tenants Action Groups from throughout Merseyside and the Greater Manchester areas, the trade unionists from Standard Triumph's, Fords and Bewley Drive Liverpool Corporation works department for the support they gave to Tower Hill on Monday 26th March.

On Wednesday 28th March Micky Keating from Over-the-Bridge Tenants Association (Scotland Road area of Liverpool) reappeared in the County Court by request of the Liverpool Corporation. Micky Keating along with other tenants faced eviction proceedings for refusing to pay his rent since Oct. 9th 1972 in protest against the Housing Finance Act. While he was in the dock he told the judge quite plainly that he had been on total rent strike for six months and he would stay on total rent strike as long as the Housing Finance Act remained on the statute book. At the end of the court case the tenants who had faced eviction walked out of the court with the knowledge that their homes and families were still secure. They are still on a total rent and rates strike. The Over-

the-Bridge tenants manage to do this by a mere technicality - the tenants claimed that the notices to quit had not been given to them personally (they got lost in the post). Consequently the Corporation lost the application for the possession of their homes and they will now have to start proceedings all over again (which will take about three months). Part of this article came from the Tower Hill Action Group bulletin No. 20.

Correspondent

## PRESS FUND

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29 March-4 April inclusive

LEEDS: G.L. 30p; E.HAWTHORN, Vic.: J.C. £1; HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: R.P. 50p; DAYTON, Ohio J.D. 20p; ENDERBY: J.S.M. £5; LOS ANGELES: A.F.S. £19.20; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 40p; M.K.W. 10p; LIVERPOOL: A.M.G. 50p; R.E. 30p

TOTAL: £27.50

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## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

### Income for 1973

Subscriptions & Sales	1st January-31st March	£1250
Press Fund		620
TOTAL INCOME		£1870

### Expenditure (Weekly)

Printing & Letraset etc.	£31.54½
Typing & Stationery	4.36½
Postages	21.32½
Wages	10.00
Fares and Sundries	1.75½
Average Weekly Expend.	£68.99