

HANDS OFF ANDORRA!

EVERY NOW and again life confronts us with the necessity of making choices. Offered, as a nightcap, prussic acid or arsenic, we are asked to exercise our God-given reason, our democratic right to choose. Connoisseurs are always around to explain to us the delicious bouquet of prussic acid or the tang imparted to the palate by arsenic; what the vintage years were and our choice of final symptoms -- rigor mortis or convulsions. We must choose.

So it is with history. We are asked to choose sides say, so as not to offend anyone (except Lichtensteiners and Andorrans) between Lichtenstein and Andorra. In the kind of conflict that occasionally breaks out we are asked to judge as between the good democratic socialist industrious Lichtenstein and the feudal reactionary socialist agricultural Lichtenstein (or vice versa). We know that Lichtenstein has committed aggressions against Andorra and we also know that Andorra has committed aggressions against Lichtenstein--but who's perfect?

It has no bearing upon our failure to judge, that the conflict has no validity, the method resolved upon for its solution is incapable of solving the problem; that, in fact, the method of solution will undoubtedly multiply the problems;

This was originally written by one of the present editors on June 17, 1967, at the time of the Six-Day War and we think it highly relevant to the comparatively unchanged situation today.

and carries with it the distinct probability that both the protagonists and their respective supporters will disappear in the consequent holocaust. Histories of previous conflicts bear witness to these facts. Whatever happened to Serbia? To democratic Czechoslovakia? To an independent Poland?

We are sure to be accused of neutralism, of shifty evasion or of simplism in pointing out these basic facts or alternatively we shall be bombarded with chunks of the history of Lichtenstein from one side countered by chunks of the history of Andorra, and accused of Fascist tendencies if we decline to continue an unprofitable correspondence. It may be that some of our best friends are Lichtensteiners and we yield to no one in our personal admiration of Andorrans, but the exercise of choice as between the governments they suffer under is a task which we must, if we continue to be anarchists, shun.

One may, after all, be human and feel a preference for the democratic socialist way of death as compared to the feudal reactionary way of death, but to honour this with the implication of a choice of the good rather than a reluctant acceptance of lesser evils is a shifty evasion. The nomination of

Lichtenstein (or Andorra as the case may be) as the nation most worthy of our support, is not always nomination as the nation most likely to succeed. (Jehovah is on the side of the big battalions and Allah doubtless has the same preference for the band-wagon).

Once choice is made, abdication or responsibility commences. In order that Andorra can circumvent the stratagems of Lichtenstein (or vice-versa) we must endorse the stratagems of Andorra whatever they may be. Modern war and modern armaments have no regard for the purity of method or justice of a cause. Atomic radiation has no code of honour and napalm has no chivalry. The political implications of a gangrenous wound cannot be compared with the economic potentialities of flame-scarred tissue.

'Peace' is, once war is accepted as a way of settling disputes, a dirty word on both sides and only 'victory', that senseless word, has any purity of meaning.

Freedom is not only the right to choose as our opponents often point out; it is the right NOT to choose. Some of us may by chance be involved in the collective insanity but this does not make us voluntary or indeed certified lunatics. The alluring choice between being, as Camus

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WORKERS' TRIUMPH

FOLLOWING THE announcement that the management was closing down the Triumph motor-cycle works at Meriden near Coventry, workers there started an occupation of the factory to safeguard their jobs. Behind locked and guarded gates they have continued to produce motor-cycles.

Management said that out of 1,750 workers 1,200 would have to be sacked by Christmas. The factory would be closed and those remaining would be transferred to the BSA works near Birmingham where the engines are made.

Now the workers are in control. Nobody enters the factory without the permission of the shop stewards, but although bikes are be-

ing made, they are unable to complete them due to a lack of supply of parts. This shortage has been caused by the company's continuing financial troubles which has meant that their suppliers have been reluctant to supply them. Bikes have been parked in the compound and have been exported to America (where 80% of production goes) with parts missing which have been sent on at a later date.

For years the company has faced one crisis after another but has failed to compete with the Japanese manufacturers. Successive injections of capital have not altered this situation. However what remains is a wealth

of skills and engineering experience and the pride of craftsmen who are determined to remain together to produce motor-bikes.

Unlike carfactories in the area, their factory is small and on a recognisable human scale. Everybody more or less knows one another and many have been there for 30 or 40 years. This gives the workers a good start in their bid to keep the factory open. They have already drawn up a plan to buy the factory and run it as a co-operative. A mass meeting has agreed to this and the Transport and General Workers Union has given its support. Mr. Poore, the boss of Triumph, has welcomed this plan. He obviously wants to get rid of the plant, because under capitalist

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Bakunin & his Writings

PART I

NEARLY A CENTURY has passed since the death of Michael Bakunin (1814-1876), and the last few years have seen a flood of books and monographs devoted to his life and ideas. The purpose of this article is to take stock of the more important recent works, with special reference to the monumental Archives Bakounine edited by Arthur Lehning of Amsterdam. A subsequent article will deal with the relations between Bakunin and Nechaev in the light of new documents which have been published by Lehning and by Michael Confino of the University of Tel Aviv.

To begin with, a number of early biographies, written in French, German and English during the twenties and thirties, have been reprinted in paperback editions. These include H. E. Kaminski's Bakounine: la vie d'un révolutionnaire (1938/1971); Fritz Brupbacher's Michel Bakounine, ou le démon de la révolte (1929/1971), translated from the German with annotations and supplements by Jean Barraué); Ricarda Huch's Michael Bakunin und die Anarchie (1923/1972); and most important, E. H. Carr's Michael Bakunin (1937/1961). In addition, Eugene Pyziur's The Doctrine of Anarchism of Michael A. Bakunin (1955/1968) might be mentioned, although it is not a biography of Bakunin but a summary of his ideas.

The works of Carr and Pyziur, of course, are the most familiar and accessible to British and American readers. Both are scholarly and full of valuable information, but both have serious drawbacks. Carr, though well written and still indispensable to anyone interested in Bakunin, places undue emphasis on the more curious and eccentric aspects of Bakunin's personality while paying too little attention to his ideas and their impact on the revolutionary and working-class movements. There is no serious discussion of The Knouto-Germanic Empire, and Statehood and Revolution is not even mentioned, though these are Bakunin's longest and most important works. Pyziur's book, while a useful compendium of Bakunin's philosophy, is marred by the author's strong antipathy to his subject and by his apparent lack of French, the language in which Bakunin did most of his writing. The six-volume Oeuvres (1895-1913) are neither listed in the bibliography nor cited in the notes. Nor is there any mention of Max Nettlau's three-volume biography in German (1896-1900), the most exhaustive source of information on Bakunin's life and thought, with copious extracts from his unpublished papers. Nettlau's biography has been recently reproduced in the original handwritten and autocopied form by the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales of Geneva, but it deserves a proper printing under the supervision of a modern Bakunin specialist (Lehning would be the best man for the job). It would also be good to have a new edition of K. J. Kenafick's Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx (1948), an interesting little book that has long been out of print.

What is most urgently needed, however, is an up-to-date biography incorporating all the latest research. None has yet appeared -- Henri Arvon's Michel Bakounine, ou la vie contre science (1966) sheds little fresh light on the subject -- but a number are on the way, including three in English, by the British writer Anthony Masters, by Arthur Mendel of the University of Michigan, and by Arthur Lehning of the International Institute of Social History, who is a well-known historian with an unrivalled, multilingual knowledge of Bakunin. In addition, Stephen Halbrook of Florida State University has completed a doctoral thesis on Bakunin and Marx, while Marshall Shatz of the University of Massachusetts (who a few years ago wrote a valuable dissertation on the Polish revolutionary Machajski) is at work on a fresh study of the young Bakunin during his formative years in Russia and Western Europe before 1848.

A number of Bakunin studies have recently appeared in the Soviet Union which, though far from being sympathetic to their subject, possess a degree of objectivity that has not been seen since Stalin's consolidation of power in the 1930s. Natalia Pirumova produced both a short popular biography in 1966 and a fuller and more scholarly biography in 1970. In 1966 A. A. Galaktionov and P. F. Nikandrov published a study of the theorists of Russian populism, with chapters on both Bakunin and Kropotkin, and in 1969 I. B. Zilberman published a monograph on Bakunin's political thought. Beyond this, there have been a number of specialized articles on Bakunin in major Soviet periodicals (for example Voprosy Istorii / Problems of History) by such serious scholars as Valentina Tvardovskaya, who in 1966 brought out a solid edition of Kropotkin's Memoirs of a Revolutionist. In Poland, by the same token, a book on Bakunin and the Polish rising of 1863 was published in 1962 by Adam Lesniewski, and in 1964 Hanna Temnikowa produced an interesting study of Bakunin and "the dilemma of freedom", based on a wide reading of his works and of anarchist literature in general.

continued in next col.

Bakunin, (cont'd from prev. col.)

So much for the works about Bakunin. What of his own writings? Here we are faced with a veritable embarrassment of riches. During the past decade Bakunin anthologies have appeared in English, French, German, Italian, Dutch, and even Polish. In English, the earlier collections of Guy Aldred, K. J. Kenafick, and G. P. Maximoff have been largely superseded by Sam Dolgoff's Bakunin on Anarchy (reviewed by N. W. in FREEDOM of April 15, 1972), and still another new anthology, by Arthur Lehning will soon be published by Jonathan Cape.* In addition, several specialized documentary collections have appeared, among them De la guerre a la Commune: textes de 1870-1871, edited by Fernand Rude (1972); Scritti Napolitani (1865-1867) (1963); and a reprint of Bakunin's letters to Herzen and Ogarev (1896/1968). Moreover, a number of individual works, such as God and the State and Federalism, Socialism, and Antitheologism and The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State, have been separately reprinted in a variety of languages.

Paul Avrich.

TO BE CONTINUED

*Michael Bakunin, Selected Writings, ed. Arthur Lehning (Cape cloth £4.00, paper £2.25), publ. Oct. 4, 1973, after this article was received. A review will appear in a later issue.

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ANARCHISTS HAVE ALWAYS, quite rightly, seen censorship as part of the apparatus of the State, and as such have always been in the forefront of the struggle to end it. For us there is no debate on this issue; it has got to go. For the liberal, however, abolition puts him on the horns of a dilemma of his own making. Whilst feeling that censorship is at heart wrong, the liberal is at the same time tormented by the thought of total freedom for scurrilous propaganda in favour of facism, race hatred, and the other ills associated with that psychopathic and morbid condition, or material of a sexual nature that reflects the sexual tragedy of our times. Whilst censors are stupid enough to ban or hold up works of art which are of considerable artistic or aesthetic worth, the cause for abolition becomes inflamed with the passion of righteous indignation, but by choosing to play down the other side of the coin liberals show that their thinking on this matter is really woolly and, moreover, like that of the Establishment.

Brigid Brophy once wrote, "All censorship is political censorship", and it is because they fail to see this that liberals have these soul-searching debates about where to draw the line. QUESTIONS OF CENSORSHIP covers the whole spectrum of censorship and makes pretty dull reading. This is in no way to denigrate the obviously painstaking research that David Tribe has put into it, but it is dull in the same way that court cases are dull. The long parade of well-known books, plays and films that have had to struggle for life reminds one that, even as I write, the forces of reaction would cheerfully put the clock back to the 1920's given the chance, and Britain still remains one of the most censored countries in Europe, but for me, freedom consists of electing not to see HOLLYWOOD NUDES REPORT rather than electing to see THE DEVILS after it has cleared a censorship board and been trimmed of two sequences. I am not yet that free.

Defending the indefensible soon sorts the liberals from the 1 libertarians, and for me there is nothing inconsistent with anarchist principles in preventing the young from seeing horrific or traumatic material. Goodness knows that sexual matters are of little consequence, but just as one would screen one's children from seeing the carnage of a road accident, so one would (one hopes) prevent a youngster from seeing the excesses of Otto Muehl. But official censorship for adults is another issue, and one should not forget too the unofficial censorship that is daily at work in all levels of the media operating in a far more insidious way to ensure that the System perpetuates itself. References, police records, credit agencies, personnel officers - all of these operate some form of censorship and in the most subtle way. You can work at the BBC if you once wrote a piece for ANARCHY, but not if you are an anarchist.

It was in fact censorship that was operating to outlaw the "pirate" radio stations some years ago, and although as anarchists we might have felt disinclined to agitate too much on behalf of the continuance of such blatantly commercial undertakings, it is only now that the State has devised a method of licensing them that suddenly the wave bands are not as jammed as they used to be, and ships at sea are no longer in danger of colliding because of messages being garbled by pop records. TIME OUT, to its credit, has been the only one to raise this point.

As a well-known atheist, David Tribe's most valuable coverage relates to matters connected with blasphemy or other devices that believers use against those who won't play their charade, but the arrogant assumptions of those who believed that the existence of god was unchallengeable has now been transferred to other Sacred Cows like the Royals, Science and the medical profession, as well as all other matters covered by D-Notices.

To finally free ourselves of censorship then we have to remember that it is censorship itself which is liable to "deprave and corrupt" society, and we must not fall into the trap of trying to see more in things than there is. Certain films are plainly pornographic, and surely the tortuous defence of works like FANNY HILL would ultimately have been better served had we said in a united voice - yes, this is pornographic, and the only affront we feel is in being denied free access to it. This is the next hurdle that the liberals will have to jump as anarchists did many, many year ago.

David Godin.

THE CUTTING alongside appeared as a leader in the Daily Telegraph, and a comrade sent the following article as a letter to the editor. It was not published. Most of the quotes are from people in the same political quarters as the Daily Telegraph, and although few of its readers are likely to see them quoted here, the article does provide some cogent replies to the upholders of the myth of the State as the guardian of "law and order".

Your leader commencing "IS VIOLENCE the principal recreation of Utopia?" - terminating "...we might reply seriously to the Leftist cant about the implied violence of the State" is challengeable.

Can't you seriously face up to the truth of this matter of children's violence in your so-called Utopia, actually Now Here?

Study closely the past and present Governments of the Western and Eastern worlds: produce an honest balance sheet of their achievements for humanity. The credit side shows one tiny sheet, practically blank, the asset of good-will mortgaged to the hilt. The debit side shows vast sheaves of documents on which are written in blood the unending catalogue of miseries, suffering and damages inflicted upon the credulous, gullible people of the world, by the plausible statesmen of the nations in globe's four quarters.

"The history of nations is a melancholy chapter; that is the history of governments is one of the most immoral parts of human history", so wrote W. E. Gladstone in 1876, after a very long study of human history, combined with his intimate knowledge of State affairs, from 1852-1875, during which period he was twice Premier, twice Chancellor of the Exchequer, and once Leader of the House of Commons (Morley's Life of Gladstone, vol. III p. 539)

John Bright, Cabinet Minister in two governments, when showing the then young John Morley round the Cabinet Room, 10 Downing Street, declared: "Within these four walls have been committed more crimes and blunders than in any other part of the Island" (John Morley, Recollections); this revealing confession so pithily commented on by C. J. Hambro.

David Lloyd George said "We blundered into war", and in Foreign Affairs, April 1960, Dean Rusk affirmed "Picture, two

THE CULT OF VIOLENCE

IS VIOLENCE the principal recreation of Utopia? According to a study conducted by the London School of Economics Institute of Research Techniques and aimed at discovering the effect on boys of long-term exposure to television violence, the children of the welfare State display a positive enjoyment of violence going well beyond the traditional "boys will be boys" robustness. If the survey's sample is at all typical, most of London's boys have committed some violence and some have committed a great deal. Most alarmingly of all, 10 per cent. enjoy violence for its own sake. Some support for this macabre finding is contained in the London crime statistics for the first six months of 1973. Despite a welcome general fall in indictable offences of 6½ per cent, crimes of pure violence, unsullied by greed, rose by 15 per cent.

Neither television violence, nor any other single cause, can alone be held responsible. There is a general social climate of fascination with violence - writers and filmmakers are attracted by violent themes, young revolutionaries justify violence and even murder with spurious arguments about "institutionalised violence" (i.e. civilisation). Even priests are not immune from the infection. Who can wonder that impressionable teenagers are influenced by this? Nor is widespread fascination with violence unique to our age. In the years to 1914, poets, generals and philosophers joined in celebrating war, blood, revolution, ferocity. The announcement of war was greeted by cheering crowds in the capitals of Europe.

Is the explanation too long a period of tranquillity? Who would be lunatic enough to manufacture conflict as a solution? Tranquillity will be hard enough to preserve from the IRA and its English imitators. Is violence the product of social injustice? Ask the welfare-soaked Swedes with one of the highest rates of juvenile delinquency in Europe. Yet some small steps are open to us. We might exercise a prudent liberal censorship of film and television violence; we might reply seriously to the Leftist cant about the implied violence of the State.

Daily Telegraph 24.8.73

men sitting down together to talk about matters affecting the very survival of the systems they represent, each in a position to unleash unbelievably destructive power...one is impulsive in manner, supremely confident...positively subject to high blood pressure, the other...weighted down by a sense of responsibility for the hundreds of millions who have freely given him their confidence...a man with a quick temper and a weak heart." all this disgusting record of State engineered criminal violence flooding history's pages with blood and devastation of everything appertaining to nature and to nurture, all these crimes and blunders perpetrated in the name of the country, for patriotism's sake. Count Cavour, Italian statesman, exclaimed, "If we did for ourselves what we do for our country, what rascals we should be."

"To be agin the government may be a more philosophical attitude than it appears..." "The tendency of all 'Governments' is to infringe the standards of decency and truth. This is inherent in their nature, and hardly avoidable in their practice." (Why Don't We Learn from History, p.17, 1944, B. H. Liddell Hart). This poignant comment from the pen of the most outstanding military strategist of modern times, too important to ignore.

Governments have used violence on an ever increasingly

wholesale scale of decimation and have used very imaginable form of deceit and trickery in their reneging on agreements in a manner that most likely no one minister would dream of doing as an individual.

Competition in State Violence, viz. Wars between States, has hitherto eventually been terminated by Treaties of Peace. "From the year 1500 BC to 1860 AD, more than 8,000 treaties of peace meant to remain in force forever were concluded. The average time they remained in force is two years." (Mr. Valbert, Revue des deux Mondes, March 1894)

Jacques Novikow, who made so scholarly a study of State organised violence, i.e., war, wrote, "I put this categorical question to the advocates of war. If war is able to decide differences, how is it that 8,000 wars have settled nothing, and that in this year of our Lord we feel the necessity for the eight thousand and first war? If more than 8,000 wars have settled nothing, what probability is there that the eight thousand and first, as if by magic, will suddenly decide all questions in dispute. By what surprising change, by what incomprehensible miracle will the eight thousand and first war possess such extraordinary virtues? I should really like an explanation. It is worth the while to try and get one." (War and Its Alleged Benefits).

Peter Simple admirably summed up the entire business of treaties in his "Way of the World" Daily Telegraph, 16th June 1967 column: "International law and relations, where there is any fundamental conflict of interest, are on the same level as they always were. They rest on force and the threat of force. All that changes is the balance of that force and the surface manoeuvres in which that threat is hidden."

The Daily Telegraph article, August 1st, anent the carving-up of large blocks of populations inhabiting many East European lands, when two of the world's leading statesmen connived at their working out their 'respective spheres of influence', omitted to emphasise the formidable amount of state organised violence unleashed upon the unhappy people dwelling in Roumania, Greece, Yugo-Slavia, Hungary and Bulgaria, these people treated worse than cattle, in the eyes of the States guilty of these crimes against people, merely Human Livestock.

Peregrine Worsthorne, 11 days later, wrote, "Government cannot be pure and just. It can only appear so, which requires on society's part a willing suspension of disbelief." (Sunday Telegraph, 12.8.73) This commendably courageous outburst,

reminiscent of Mr. Worsthorne's passionate protest, "Love of country, in short, is in pretty direct contradiction to love of mankind, and many of the basic loyalties, fundamental bonds and internal disciplines which make Britain so formidable a national unity militate in fact against the principle of human brotherhood." (Sunday Telegraph, 18.6.1961, article "Does Charity End Here?" reviewing On Human Unity, by E. E. Hirschmann, 1961.)

None of the above quotes come from the pens of Leftists, all these gentlemen being pillars of the Establishment.

Your comment "The announcement of war was greeted by cheering crowds in the capitals of Europe" overlooks the factual commentary by Arthur Ponsonby, having listened to the declaration of war being announced in the House of Commons on August 4th, 1914. "Members sprang to their feet, jumped on the seats, waved their hats and order papers and cheered till the rafters rang." He felt utterly disgusted and horrified by such an exhibition. and realized that he simply failed to understand the motivation of these, his fellow countrymen. (This Little Band of Prophets: The British Fabians, Anne Fremantle, p. 216, 1960)

What sort of example have youngsters ever had from their governors, the Guardians of the State? Does it mean nothing to you that these children have, probably in the majority of cases, inherited from their parents and grandparents attitudes towards violence conditioned by wartime experiences, the endless hellish experiences undergone by militarised men during the blood-soaked slaughtering campaigns they waged at the State's behest, when during a long period of their most impressionable years they were drilled, dragooned and diabolised into becoming hired assassins of their counterparts from other lands? Cynicism's crocodile tears can never expunge man's inhumanity to fellowman nor can they wipe out the calculated system of wholesale violence, always the stock-in-trade of every State.

Violence is indeed the crime of these youngsters, even very much more so are Law and War the violence of the State. In many lands, the State succeeded in completely smashing the healthiest members of the younger generation, done them in. Could only these human sacrifices to the Moloch of the State be resurrected, if we were to stand at our window and they marched past us, they'd march all day, and all night, and all day again, for days and nights. Dead men, Dead. For what? They died, so many of them sincerely believed, to end war, and before their corpses

had rotted into earth, new wars were being prepared by the various rival States concerned.

Attacking the children of the welfare state (why not call it by its correct name, the Warfare State?) is not good enough. This is merely touching the fruits of the State system instead of coming to grips with the roots. Every State is rooted in violence. War is the health of the State, the tear-away teenager appears in developing countries, every language has a name for them. IT SHOULD NEVER BE FORGOTTEN THAT TEENAGE VIOLENCE IS A CRY FOR HELP.

Mark William Kramrisch

LETTER

THE 'COD WAR'

Dear Sir,

I find your support of Iceland in the fishing dispute a little strange, as seen from an anarchist viewpoint. The disputed fishing grounds are on the high seas and as such are out of the control of state, surely a situation to be supported, not condemned? Iceland's insistence on this ban on trawlers is just the tip of the iceberg. (Sorry about that!)

There have been numerous examples of states claiming jurisdiction over 'anarchist territory', i.e., the high seas, recently. Britain herself now has 23 areas in the North Sea where ships are "forbidden" to enter, i.e., 550 yards from oil rigs. South American countries are now pushing for territorial limits of 200 miles, Morocco for 70. Before long, the claims of Britain and France could possibly make the English Channel a private road; where will it end?

Even existing areas of the high seas are threatened when one considers the repeated acts of piracy by France in hijacking and ramming the various Greenpeace boats, together with forbidding shipping from entering a large area of the high seas around Muraroa.

Since our enemy is the state and all that it stands for, any further extension of its power should be firmly resisted, otherwise we had all better fly to the moon.

R. W. Aldridge

Reply by J.R. "Support of Iceland"? I fail to find in my article of 9 June 1973 (the only recent one in FREEDOM on the subject) any tent. Suggest R.W. Aldridge re-read it, since I agree with all he says.

confronting fascism

NEXT SATURDAY (13th October) the pathetic rag-bag of Hitler-worshippers and their followers who make up the National Front will be holding a conference at the Conway Hall in London. Meanwhile, outside, sincere anti-fascists as well as the self-appointed saviours of the working class will demonstrate their opposition to fascism.

Red Weekly, organ of the International Marxist Group, echoes a cry familiar on the Left: "No platform for fascists!" The theory of the elitists of the authoritarian Left is that workers are so stupid that the fascists must be physically prevented from speaking - driven off the streets - so that the workers are not "confused" and diverted from the sacred scroll of the Party. Inevitably, the naive idealization of some mythical working class by Marxists leads to nothing but contempt for the real, human, non-mythical worker who, fortunately, is ever-eager to tell the commissar what to do with his leadership! The role of the worker in this "revolutionary" process is reduced to that of a passive observer of the conflict between rival groups of bully-boys striving for power. Needless to say, those whose only answer to the ravings of a handful of impotent fascists is a punch-up are the same people who dismiss the freedom of speech of anarchists and other genuine revolutionaries as a "petit-bourgeois deviation".

When fascists - or anyone else - try to impose their will by force then they will be forcibly resisted by anarchists. However, absolute freedom of speech is sacred. If we cannot refute the arguments of the fascists with our own arguments then we will not achieve - nor will we deserve - a free society. If our fellow-workers are so stupid that they cannot consider and reject the ravings of the fascists (or the Marxists, or anybody else) then there will be no social revolution because they are the only people capable of making it.

Fortunately, neither the revolution - or the counter-revolution - will be made inside the hallowed portals of the Conway Hall. The fight against authoritarianism - of which fascism is only one political manifestation - must be carried on every day in the factory, office, school, home - and within our own minds. Ultimately it depends on the courageous individual who asserts the right to live and think as he or she chooses, and who resists anyone who tries to deny that freedom.

Terry Phillips

LETTERS

ANARCHIST ORGANISATION?

Dear Comrades,

Peter Newell writes that his piece of vintage Mein Kamp "... my quotation from Tyndall... was open to misinterpretation - viciously deliberate in the case of one writer". I think the writer he means was me. I do protest that my letter was neither a misinterpretation nor vicious. If one quotes fascist stuff with approval, it reveals a simple acceptance of the fascist outlook -- that people should be stirred up by emotion divorced from reason.

I neither know nor care who Newell is; I have no reason to be "vicious" about him. But I do recognize the line of argument which values "strong anarchist organizations" more than enlightenment about the essential nature of anarchism. The weakness of the CNT/FAI was not that it created "stars" but that it created more emphasis on the organization than on the nature of what anarchism should accomplish. Those comrades who have not lost their CNT/FAI picture-books (España 1937) will recall the photos of the interior of a prison, tiny barred windows, galleries and all, with the caption, "Vista interior de una prisión barcelonesa, durante la administración anarquista; en ella estuvieron encarcelados los elementos fascistas." This was the ultimate result of their strong organization. Perhaps Newell and people who think like him, don't regard these photographs and their caption as funny -- or tragic.

Yours fraternally,
Tony Gibson

INDIVIDUALISM

Dear Editors,

Mr. Col Pollard's splenetic epistle avoids the main theme of my Contentious Contentions. Taking refuge in the hoary legend that individualism equals anchorism, he huffs and puffs in his effort to blow my house down. Unfortunately his effort peters out in the weak bureaucratism that my attitude is "to be regretted". This is starting with a 'bang' and ending in a 'whimper' with a vengeance.

His expressions of "fraternal solidarity" that I am "abstracted from the ecological whole" and "the ultimate in alienation" have a delightfully sonorous ring to them, but since he neglects to explain what they mean their effect is somewhat muffled.

Those who are familiar with my oft repeated views will know that my conception of anarchist individualism does not exclude reciprocal relations between individuals when necessary, expedient, and/or pleasurable. Mr. Pollard's pontifications, therefore, are made out of what must charitably be termed "ignorance".

As for the "spiritual", I have no idea what this is. My "philosophy" proceeds from the concrete, material me, and has no place for such mystifications.

S. E. Parker.



AND THIS YEAR'S PARTY CONFERENCE
PROMISE THAT NEXT YEAR'S PARTY
CONFERENCE PROMISE THAT THE PRO-
MISE MADE AT LAST YEAR'S PARTY
CONFERENCE.....

GETTING TOGETHER

Dear Comrades,

Cardiganshire, one of the depressed areas of Britain for years is likely to remain one forever. It is also one of the most beautiful areas and I for one hope it remains so. Its main industry is agriculture but a combination of low wages and mechanization has forced the people into service industries or the tourist trade. When the sun shines the tourists arrive in droves in curious little machines that pack the lanes and make roadside verges into the museums of consumerism.

Folk here earn 35p an hour washing gg stains off plates or sweep up seaweed between the deck-chairs in the season. They are good folk though. People here have time to pass the time of day, to talk of local gossip and help each other muddle through, an art long lost south of Luton pier.

However, there are some, the nasties, who when the season ends are laughing all the way to the bank. These, the gg shop men, the landlords who can cram six bunk beds in a holiday cottage and the men who grow acres of caravans, are the nasties. There is no more sickening a sight than to see nasties crawling into Rover 2000's after confessing their sins in one of the many local temples. In such an area we are trying to form a Claimants Union. We are hampered by the people's innate independence and pride. Attitudes that have been conditioned into them along with low wages, poor working conditions and the conviction that "they" will do something about it.

The current "they" is the Welsh Nationalist Party, Plaid Cymru. They argue that once there is a Welsh government in Cardiff and Welsh money is in Welsh hands all will be well. Having experienced Welsh money in selected Welsh hands in the past I have no reason to expect a fair share of it in the future.

Still, little by little we are building up a mid-Wales anarchist group. Letters of support for articles written in FREEDOM appear as frequently as the football results do. So here goes, full power to Peter Newell's tactics for British Anarchists. Christ! we need some way of getting together however we do it. Here there are many people from south of the pier who who've escaped from the race and are shivering the winter through in leaky cottages; surely we can interest those. And what about the hundreds of workers, self-educated on Marx and Engels, who became disillusioned with the achievements of their elected socialists. These are the people we want to meet, to say hello to and to bring together. Call it organization if you will, but I'm convinced that no revolution will occur if I sit still in my armchair. If you live here in mid-Wales or know someone who does, then please drop me a line.

Peter Good
Trokes/Pendre
LLANARTH.

OUR MAIN TASK

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I feel that as anarchists or libertarian communists our main task is to clarify repeatedly the basic principle of collective decision making where it is necessary for a large social grouping to make a decision concerning their way of life. Such decision making of course must safeguard minority views. Obviously, ideally all labour undertaken should be voluntary and most suited to the individual's abilities.

Even an army could be organised on a volunteer collectively deciding basis. Quite a few libertarians however may be non-violent resisters and obviously their legitimate stand is to do their own thing.

To the people in general anarchism seems to mean nothing much more than chaos and bombers. This of course is what authoritarians wish them to believe. Our main job is to offer people the concept of really deciding their own future both collectively and individually.

Yours brother, A.A.

5 a.m. raids today---
concentration camps and
gas chambers tomorrow.

In Brief

READERS OF 'FREEDOM' will know from newspaper reports that a fortnight ago the police - in a military-like operation - raided the whole Camden squatting community searching for "a bomb factory".

The significant thing about it was that it was no longer a policeman, or a car-load of policemen knocking on the door of a suspected person or a suspected house, producing a search warrant and then entering the house to search.

No, it wasn't like that at all.

That Friday morning, at 5 a.m., some 300 policemen in about 150 cars of all descriptions, descended on the 300 squatters occupying some 40 houses in Charrington Street. They didn't knock but burst the doors, herded the occupants into one room and proceeded to search their rooms while the names, ages, last addresses, places of birth, and height of people were recorded.

It was no longer a suspected person but a whole community that was raided.

The whole police operation was done efficiently and in a military style and lasted not longer than two hours. By 7.30a.m all the policemen were gone. When the Press reporters arrived the police were gone.

At the same time police raided the other squatting communities in Camden.

Judging by the fact that 300 policemen raided the 300 squatters in Charrington Street - one policeman for every squatter - I reckon 1,000 policemen raided the 1,00 squatters in Camden that day. They had search warrants alright, but they didn't produce them at the beginning but at the end of the raid.

No bombs were found, no evidence whatsoever was found of anyone having anything at all to do with bombs, though the police took away with them political pamphlets, questioned people who publicly stated their views, and in my case took away with them all my sacrificial gear, smashed the doors of my chest of drawers and bent in half my engineer's steel rule.

Swift protest

The squatters then held a number of general meetings and it was felt that just as America needed a civil rights movement, just as Ireland needed a civil rights movement, so now Britain needs a civil rights movement too.

Immediately after the raid the Albany Street police station - to which some 60 squatters were taken for questioning--none in connection with bombs - was picketed and the slogan on one poster said

The big meeting, attended by some 250 squatters, decided to form a civil rights march to the headquarters of the police, Scotland Yard.

Some 400 demonstrators assembled in Charrington Street yesterday (Saturday) and speeches were made by squatters and supporters, many of whom were waving red, and some black flags.

One speaker got much applause and a few embraces when he said that out of the hundreds of bombings or attempted bombings only a very few were acknowledged by the planters. The so-called "Angry Brigade" acknowledged the planting of some bombs, the Provisionals or the IRA acknowledged having caused one or two explosions in Britain, but the vast mass of the bombs were not acknowledged by anyone. It is open to speculation who is planting them and who is causing all the bomb-hysteria. The speaker suggested that it may be the Fascists, the National Front or even the high ranking police officers who are planting bombs in order to create hysteria and a climate favourable to the imposition of Fascist rule and repression of the Left. He said in pre-war Germany it was the Fascists themselves who came to power through precisely such methods, and the Reichstag fire is a better known example of it. In recent weeks the Fascists in Chile came to power through such methods too.

The march itself was a peaceful one but lively. The huge papier-mache bomb the squatters were carrying was searched by the police. Apparently they feared a Trojan horse.

It was led by a huge banner of the Civil Rights Committee, followed by about one hundred young people waving red flags who came to support the march and shout slogans such as "Concentration camps in Ireland today, in Essex tomorrow". Other banners read: "Fight for revolution", "Homes for people, not profit", "International Marxists Group", "Camden tenants and residents association", "Irish political prisoners committee", "End the Union, withdraw troops", "Law centre workers oppose police raids"; one huge red banner proclaimed, "Take over the City", "Nationalize the Land", "Whom are the police protecting?" There were banners of the gay lib and women's lib, Parfet Street squatters, and "Save London Theatre's" carried by Hair actors.

The march left Charrington Street and then up Euston Road, Woburn Place, High Holborn, Shaftesbury Avenue, Piccadilly, Haymarket, Trafalgar Square, Whitehall and it stopped outside the police headquarters in Vict-

In a speech to the Conference of Nonaligned Nations in Algiers, Fidel Castro called, in a generality of rallying cries, "We must join with Argentina in its just demand for the return of the usurped Malvina (Falkland) Islands." What, that fascist Peron?

Marxism Today carries a review of Hungarian environmental crisis cartoons called "Metropolis", Marxism Today goes on, "Here are the heavy urban figures of Balazs Piri, the nostalgic drawings of Hegedus (Hi-Hi), the silent exclamation marks and shouting dashes of Kajan Reber's lines of concrete, Sajdik's building-brick game, Verhai's bitter visions, Vasvari's lines drawn with a pen dipped in loneliness." But, says the book, "They are anti-blueprints, negative models. Let us not develop cities like these. Let our city not be like this. Because Budapest is still an adolescent large town - not a fully grown metropolis - one can sense from the drawings that most of the experience is not derived from direct perception."

Insight, magazine of the U.S. Information Service, reprints the draft of the Atlantic Charter (1941) between Britain and the U.S. which discloses that Churchill not only erased the phrase "freedom from want" among the aims to be secured by the Charter but made a later emendation of "freedom from fear" to "freedom from fear of want".

At Windsor Crown Court six British soldiers were said to have become brutal criminals after a term of duty in Northern Ireland. The judge said, "It is an appalling story. For some months you have pillaged shops and motor-cars. You attacked a man in the most brutal and violent manner. Three of you have pleaded guilty to taking part in the most unpleasant form of multiple rape." He said he bore in mind that they had served in N. Ireland and were under stress and strain. One got eleven years, one ten years, one four-and-a-half years, a boy soldier was sent to Borstal, the other two fined £120 and £150 respectively for burglary. In all the six asked for 137 offences to be taken into consideration.

Sancho Panza

oria Streer for about half an hour while a delegation went inside to register our protest at the undignified police behaviour. It dispersed shortly after and there were no arrests.

Reverend Father Fuck DD
62 Charrington St.
London NW1 1RD

7.10.73

In Brief

Hackney Council reversed (by 34 votes to 28) its decision to oppose the Government's Housing Finance Act in the face of the 'unreasonable refusal' of the Secretary of State for the Environment to approve a lower rent increase.

Police who raided houses in Bristol in connection with bombing incidents at Cardiff, Bristol and Aldershot were accused by a Bristol Defence Committee of holding suspects illegally and searching without warrants. Colchester trade unionists returning from a demonstration at Shrewsbury in support of building-worker pickets were questioned for several hours by the police in connection with suspected fire-bombs which destroyed Woolworth's store. The secretary of Colchester Trades Council was 'arrested' and released on £25 police bail in connection with pending enquiries, his home was searched. The Sunday Times reports Commander Robert Huntley, head of the bomb squad, as saying regarding the Surbiton army careers office bombing, "Somebody must have information that could prove vital to us. But at the moment, it looks as if we will have to interview the whole population to get it."

ANDORRA...cont'd from Page 1

puts it, victims or executioners, is no choice at all. Unfortunately the choice of the elected victim is no choice either. A random accident of being born in a particular bed, in a particular country, at a particular time in history determines our future suitability for Belsen, for Hiroshima, for Dresden, for Guernica or for the bombs that may fall on Lichtenstein or Andorra.

We can exercise a little more choice on the option whether we become executioners or not. We may in fact, by the same accident of birth which makes us predestined victims become willy-nilly part of the execution-machine which is the State at war, be it Andorra or Lichtenstein. Our only function as a human being at that point is to become a grain of sand in the works of that machine; with organization we can wreck the machine, with luck we can each retain our own gritty individuality.

Dolores Price (22) on trial in Winchester for London bomb blasts alleged through counsel that she and her sister (19) were photographed in the nude during interviews regarding the charges. She also alleged that a police-woman assaulted and abused her whilst forcibly taking fingerprints.

TRIUMPH...cont'd from Page 1

terms it is just not profitable. But in co-operative terms, with everyone taking part in decision making, it could prove a success in workers' control. While we would not claim this takeover as a revolutionary act, it does show a potential that exists for workers to take control and make decisions for themselves within the capitalist system. Such action shows far more initiative and imagination than all the sterile calls for nationalisation and state control that socialists favour. Workers when faced with closures are naturally turning to occupations and takeovers and at last are beginning to rely on their own efforts. People in struggle are learning the lessons of past failures of turning to politicians, parties and leaderships.

As anarchists we welcome this change but unlike socialists with their elitist ideas, we should not fall into the trap of claiming leadership, but should work alongside those in these struggles as equals and at all times make propaganda towards an anarchist solution and revolution.

P.T.

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LONDON School of Nonviolence. Monday 15 Oct. A History of Non Violence, Peter Cadogan. Wed. 17 Oct. House of the Rising Sun for living & growing food, Herbert Giradet. Crypt of St. Martin in the Fields 7 - 9 p.m.

HISTORY WORKSHOP in London, on Family, Work, Home at Old Theatre, L.S.E. Sat. Oct 20 & Sun Oct 21. Papers include History of the Housewife; Shop Girls in later 19th century London &c. &c. plus videotape & discussion of Half Moon's play on schoolchildren's strike 1911. Tickets £1 from Sarah and Sid Wills, 49 Elder Ave., London, N.8.

PROPOSED AFB CONFERENCE in Leicester end November. Write Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne St. Leicester.

CORBY ANARCHISTS. Discussion meeting first Friday in every month at 7 Cresswell Walk at 7.30 p.m.

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

LONDON ASA for details of meetings phone 226-0817 Black & Red Outlook by post 5p + 4p from 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange, London, N. 5.

INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE/CENTRO IBERICO 83A Haverstock Hill, London, N.W.3. Phone 586-2038 Meets Sats/Suns 7.30 p.m. ALL WELCOME

IRISH LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST Federation being formed - write New Earth, 112 Thomas Street, Dublin 8

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE is at 54 Harcombe Road, London, N.16

BELFAST TEN DEFENCE COMMITTEE 88 Roslyn Road, London, N. 15 (tel. 800 9392)

Sits. Vac.: RETIRED MUSIC HALL OR LEGIT. PERFORMERS (3) sought to work part-time with "OAT'S" (Old Age Theatre Society), ensemble being formed to work for and with the elderly, under direction of Ed Berman. Inter-Action, 14 Talacre Road, London NW5 3PE. 'Phone Marina Kurtovich (01)267-1422.

REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND PRACTICE, Anarchism, Marxism, Leninism, Trotskyism, "Socialism with a human face" - What sort of society do we really want? : evening course at Dept. of Adult Studies, Goldsmiths' College, Lewisham Way, New Cross, S.E.14, Mondays 7-9 p.m. (started 24 Sept.), fee for course (2 terms) £2.25. Enrol any weeknight 5.30-7.00 p.m. in Rcom 57.

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INFORMATION PLEASE on small-scale vegetable growing (home/allotment), also on educating children outside the institutional educational system. Write/ring M.-R. Bannon, 24 Heath Rd, Ipswich (tel.79238)

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