

THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

ONCE AGAIN we have seen the collapse of a newspaper with the inevitable call for another Royal Commission (we have had two already); the usual spectacle of workers being laid off and the general bewailing that the loss of one newspaper means a decline in the Freedom of the Press.

This time it is the Scottish edition of the Daily Express, which had very little autonomy, in fact its greatest liberty was to widely publicise whatever disaster (usually a tenement fire) struck Glasgow and made for great newspaper sales. Anarchists will remember the Express's exploitation of the Christie case and the subsequent libel case against Private Eye. One does not weep for the Scottish Daily Express and the closure revealed the precarious financial position of the other Outposts of the Express Empire, which occasions surprise only that the structure was hollow within.

When we say 'hollow' we find that the Daily Express is read in 44% of Scottish homes. It

is selling 20,000 more copies than it did six months ago. This is the same picture of successful failure which encompassed the collapse of the News Chronicle and the brazen takeover of the Daily Herald. No matter how many million copies of a paper are sold, if, in our crazy economic system the paper does not get the advertising, it is sunk. For the cost of production of a newspaper can be five times as high as the price paid for it; the balance being made up by income from advertising. (For example, the Essex County Standard - a weekly - costs twenty pence to produce and sells at four pence.

The Scottish Express suffered from the peculiarities of the market, the three-day week with a general slump in advertising (applicable to all newspapers). The Express group in particular had high wasteful overheads. Chasing Martin Bormann and Ronald Briggs in South America must have cost a packet without any notable increase in circulation. It is quite obvious that Hugh Fraser is going in for asset-

stripping and the Express's premises in Glasgow are worth more than the Scottish Express itself, and according to capi-

...Continued on Back Page

Market values drop Millions of pounds



- FT Industrial Index down 5.1 at 267.4
- FT Actuaries All Shares 2.55 down at 118.31
- Pound: \$2.3940; DM: 6.05; Fr: 11.40

ARTHUR MOYSES

"...MY POOR WALLY'S WORRYING HIMSELF SICK OVER THE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF POUNDS WIPED OFF STOCK EXCHANGE SHARE VALUES..."

SPAIN AN OPEN LETTER

A GROUP of lecturers from the Universidad Autonoma de Barcelona issued a statement on 5 March protesting against the execution by garrotting of Salvador Puig Antich and Heinz Chez.

The grounds set forth in their statement were firstly against capital punishment as such (as 'it is being increasingly abolished in many countries); secondly the long-standing opposition from many professional associations in Spain against the persistence of this punishment in Spain. Even a lawyers' congress raised objections to it. Thirdly, the form of trials (by Tribunes of Public Order, Courts Martial, etc.). This situation of special judicial proceedings has been further aggravated by modification of the 'law of criminal prosecution' which gives further special privileges to the police. Fourthly there is a clear lack of justice in the executions since a civil guard condemned about the same time for killing his superior officer was reprieved. Furthermore, sentences given to fascists for a bank robbery and

a policeman's seventeen years for the murder of a student are being reviewed with the possibility of introducing extenuating evidence. Also a stay of proceedings had been introduced into the trials of 'the authors of the homicides' in the Basque country, Granada, El Ferrol, two factories at Barcelona and San Adrian del Besos.

The statement goes on to say that the executions and reviews of sentences have taken place under the ostensible 'liberalization' of Arias Navarro. Previously there had been an increasing practice of death-penalty reprieves. Under Arias there has also been the persecution of the Bishop of Bilbao. "We denounce this situation before international public opinion. It is our intention to encourage all actions against capital punishment. These actions will enable /us/ to reach those structures that allow political liberties such as freedom of speech, the legality of meetings, the right of association and other fundamental democratic processes." The lecturers go on to demand from the Spanish state a guarantee

in order to prevent such injustices and abuses as have recently taken place. "This is especially urgent since we have reliable information that further death penalties will follow pending legal proceedings..."

"Therefore we, as University Lecturers, demand the abolition of capital punishment and declare that should further death penalties be pronounced we shall be forced to cease all academic activities immediately."

* * *

IT WILL BE seen from this that even under a dictatorship, sections of Spanish public opinion are disturbed and shocked, to the extent of publishing this manifesto which, despite its reformism, is a brave step. Especially the threat of strike action in the last paragraph.

We can do no better than express in tangible form our opposition and resistance by sending donations to the Spanish Resistance Fund, c/o P.T. and T.P., 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

international news

GERMANY

--Some information from a comrade in Cologne:

"When Salvador Puig was murdered the Iberia in Frankfurt was burned in protest. In Berlin it was attacked and stoned, and the Spanish stand and display at the Berlin Tourist Fair was attacked and smashed. No news of any arrests, which is good.

"During the last weeks several comrades in prison have broken down because of complete and long isolation. Their blood pressure is so low that one (Astrid Proll) is extremely ill, in prison one year. Another comrade (Katharina Hammerschmitt) was wanted by the police for being a member of the Bader-Meinhoff group. She went to the police explaining she was not a member, but was detained for a year, during which time she constantly reported to the doctor a difficulty in breathing, which was ignored. When she finally collapsed and had to have attention, it was found to be cancer. The X-rays that were taken when she was first detained showed the first of her illness which could have been arrested by an operation, now it seems it is too late. The only hope is a specialist in Paris but it will take money, which our Cologne comrades are trying to raise."

I have been asking people who are in this area for donations. Every little helps. Whatever I manage to raise will be sent to Cologne as soon as possible.

May Stone,
C.32 Summerfield,
Tower Hill,
KIRKBY, near Liverpool.

LETTER from AMERICA

I'd like to say a word or two about something that's happening here in the States. Bruce, an anarchist friend, and myself have been trying to get some things going in this small city in the Midwest. We began last September with the first part of a three-part seminar on Anarchism. We've completed the first part which involved working with, that is, reading and discussing, the three great classical Anarchists Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta. We spent a couple of weeks on each. Fortunately by combining our resources of materials and books, we had plenty of good reading on each of these.

Thru April our seminar will go through various anarchist movements that have taken place around the world. After April... we are planning to switch from

perhaps what could be called the academic sphere to the real world. Tactics and action of various dimensions will be employed. We are hoping that by that time our group will be able to be effective.

Presently the seminar has from 12 to 14 people. We congregate as a body every Tuesday evening for hours. Over half are students and so far I don't know how well they can get out of the philosophizing nature of students into the real world of exploitation - bread and butter.

Bruce and I thought this was a beginning of somekind. I appreciated what Peter Newell said about some of the contributors to FREEDOM being lacking in their knowledge of the great classical anarchists. This is what we had in mind when we began the seminar - to first get some foundations.

This however has not left us sitting in an armchair. One project we're pleased about is the food co-op that we initiated and which is now running smoothly and ready for expansion.

The Industrial Worker has a good supplement on the Lip takeover and we're now in the process...of distributing them at the factories and workshops. They'll understand.

Peace to you all.

Jerry Borchers
Galesburg.

M U S I C. . .Continued from P.2

Discussion followed the recorder player's talk on the basis of bourgeois and proletarian lines in art, and it took on an angry note from the audience as the Maoists implied that most of our favourite music only exists in the capacity of bourgeois ideology. The situation reversed as questions like 'Did Stalin play a musical instrument?' and 'What political intention did Beethoven have in writing such and such string quartet?' from the audience evoked hostile retorts from the Maoists, who felt that they were being attacked and generally pissed around. I found the whole affair more sickening than amusing so I left in the interval.

Though it might be true to say that much music has been written and performed in bourgeois contexts (i.e. to aristocratic patronage), I think it unwise to pass off all composers as puppets of a political line. Many I am sure were/are wholly engrossed in their music and weren't/aren't really interested in political bias. On the other hand, of course, there is the spontaneous expression of the desire to be free in that greatest of proletarian music, in the West at least - jazz.

A.F.

FREEDOM PRESS

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LONDON E1 Phone 01-247 9249

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BARGAIN BASEMENT

Message of a Wise Kabouter, Roel
van Duyn on Peter Kropotkin
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(We can give trade terms on this)

Poster: Joe Hill. Lge. (33" x 24")
Lino cut, black & white, £1 inc.
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The first issue of FREEDOM - Oct.
1886 - photocopy. 20p inc. post.

*denotes title published in USA

Please send SAW 9" x 4" for full
list of titles carried.

Robin the Hood

UPON A DAY there came one called Robin Hood who of his mother was called Healy. He was one of those who from time to time raided, looted and pillaged the surrounding country. His visits were regular and well-publicised, he claimed to regulate his visits with mercy and justice. He was aided in this by his merry men known as the Cabinet, and levied what was known as 'taxes'

After his visits, the people were left bereft and in mourning. Women were in his band, Maids Shirley and Barbara, and a Hungarian scholar. He claimed to help the poor and rob the rich but his help was a wild kind of justice - he would give the merchants and usurers money so that they would not have to extort money from the poor for buying bread. He gave money away to those born on certain dates, even to the very rich if they happened to be born at a certain time and would apply for their dole.

He even levied tribute upon the children and their shербert and sweetmeats. Yet he claimed to love the people, and be like his band, one of them...really. But he would keep court with the rich and indeed a banker was one of his company and advised him as to what further taxes he could employ.

He claimed to rob the rich to feed the poor but it was pointed out to him that it was really not much good robbing the poor since the rich had all the money. Indeed there were those of his number who claimed that the rich were a necessity in order that they might be there for the regular robbing in order that the poor may be fed.

Jack Spratt.

PRESS FUND

Contributions 21 - 27 March

LONDON, E.11: N.C. 50p; KIRKBY: A.McG. 30p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 40p; WHITTIER, Calif.: E.V. £5; NUNEATON: R.J. 55p.

TOTAL: £6.85

Prev. acknowledged ::£455.06

TOTAL TO DATE: £461.91

PLEASE KEEP CONTRIBUTIONS COMING. We did not raise the subscription or price this year, but our print bill subsequently rose by just over 50%. Also, as is seen on page 4, we are trying to improve the typesetting and have bought one IBM typewriter. Help us to meet these expenses.

O'Reilly's Daughters

JOHN O'REILLY lives in the posh suburbs of Dalkey. He is a bigot who hates all forms of contraception and is determined no Irish person shall practise these. So he thinks up a plan. He gets his two little girls of 8 and 10 to write to the Family Planning Association for information about contraceptives, pretending they are married women. He composed the letters. The children copied them, one putting the address of her grandfather. Then when he got the information, and in one case a packet of condoms, John O'Reilly brought a prosecution against the F.P.A. His little girls had to give evidence in court. He says they "were too young to understand". He obviously has a very poor view of his children's intelligence. I am very glad to say he lost his case, but the F.P.A. were not granted costs. The O'Reilly children now know it is Catholic, holy and moral to tell lies and forge letters.

Then there was Labour Councillor also John Reilly but without the O this time. He was a county councillor in Ballina, Co. Mayo. His bright idea is that all tinkers, or itinerants as for some reason it is considered polite to call them now-a-days, should be sterilized by force and then transported out to the Aran Isles to die out. I seem to have heard of a gentleman called Hitler who had the same sort of ideas. I am glad to say this John Reilly has been expelled from the Labour Party, but he says he sticks by what he said.

If you happen to marry an Irishman DONT choose one who has the name John O'Reilly or Reilly. The name stinks to high heaven over here.

Then we have one J. B. Murray who has founded what he calls "The League of Decency" to combat the change in our law to make contraceptives buyable. He SAYS he has had thousands and thousands supporting him but at the inaugural meeting last night exactly 60 turned up and many were priests and nuns (if you do not play the game, don't make the rules). These dim-witted fools think it better for 15 children to be born to a life of poverty and deprivation than two for whom a decent life is possible. The government is being cowardly about the bill to legalise the sale of contraceptives, these pressure groups of dirty minded so-and-sos having written and

IN BRIEF

A suggestion that a new street near the birthplace of D. H. Lawrence at Eastwood, Notts. should be named after Lady Chatterley was rejected by the chairman of the housing committee, Miss Margaret Coe, who said, "I am not standing for a name like that."

Shipments of arms, investigated by the Ccrk police, under suspicion of an IRA destination, were eventually revealed to be some ordered by the Ministry of Defence in Dublin and official secrecy had obscured the issue.

The Home Office is to be asked to investigate the case of the trial of five alleged members of Sinn Fein. On a firearms conspiracy charge - which was dropped. It was admitted by a police officer that he was asked to investigate the political backgrounds of the jurors.

A Commission set up to investigate procedures in complaints against the police failed to come to any decision or agreement, largely because of the preponderance of police on the Commission.

A Rome jeweller welcomed into his shop a Franciscan friar thinking he had come to bestow the traditional Lenten blessing. The 'friar' drew a revolver and forced the staff to lie on the floor. He and his accomplices then collected £67,000 worth of jewellery.

A U.S. Capitol 'House Judiciary Subcommittee' on an amnesty for Vietnam deserters heard from Defence Department and Selected Service officials that they were concerned over the impact any sort of Vietnam-era amnesty might have on military discipline and the ability to draft men in the future.

Robert Williams who admits he is a practising warlock won reinstatement this weekend in his job of chief psychologist at

Kansas State Industrial reformatory. It figures!

Sancho Panza

written and been very vociferous.

"God save Ireland" as the song has it. We need saving from Ireland's God.

Hilary Boyle.

OH BROTHERS - WE'VE GOT PROBLEMS!

WHY MEN'S LIBERATION?

Men's Liberation consists of over a dozen autonomous groups at present. This leaflet is by a member of one of the groups. Our group came together through living with women involved in women's liberation. Our wives and lovers have had to struggle a long time - and still have to struggle - to combat our inherent male attitudes. Like all men we have been conditioned to think of most emotions as "weakness". We have been taught to look down on women. Like every man in the culture we have been programmed with rape fantasies and exploitative sexual and religious myths.

Since starting our group we have begun to talk to each other about our hang-ups, about our desires, about our relationships. Although we have a long way to go, we all of us feel happier and excited by the sense of freedom that comes from beginning to throw off the whole "masculine" way of being a person -- we feel like emotional cripples beginning to walk. The message we want to communicate is--: As men we oppress women every day in life and we should stop it, just cut it out. But-- once we stop oppressing women we will find that we have also stopped oppressing ourselves, just as jailers can stop being wage-slaves when the prisoners escape. Getting rid of our sexism is a gain, not a loss. It's far better to make equal relationships with free people than to continue in the old pattern of domination.

THE POLITICS OF PATRIARCHY

Politics is about power over others. The basic political experience we all go through in our society is not voting or going on demos. It is quite simply being brought up in the ordinary "nuclear" family; Dad's on top, the rest are nowhere. Women are oppressed by Mr. Average Dad, so are the young and the old. At the national level we have various power groups which differ greatly - from Right to Left with the Liberals in between; the State allegedly "holding the ring" and the Unions asserting themselves within that ring. But they all have one thing in common: they are male organisations, run by appealing to different groups of men all over the country. The Leninist groups are no different in this respect: they want to flatter the white male workers so that they will give their backing to the different power trips of Messrs. Gollan, Cliff, etc. They do not aim to help all working class people learn to fight independently, defining our own struggle and aims in life. (In any case they will find the National Front outbidding them in their white-male-worker ideology.)

Look at Russia. So long as the power (money/time, say) of men in the home is not equalised down, and shared with the wives, the old and the young, we will continue to live in a class society, whatever the label. We men are suckers for central authority in the home. So long as we want to be boss at home, we will remain under old or new bosses at work, in Parliament, in the Unions, in the Army and Police force, in the Church, in the Universities, etc.

All power corrupts. No one is fit enough to be another man's master (or mistress, or commissariat). We could make society up of free federations based on the local level (neighbourhood, factory, voluntary association). We could co-ordinate ourselves in constantly changing agreements made HORIZONTALLY, not organised from on high by a Central Authority or so-called "Revolutionary Government" or by a Workers' Council we can't opt out of and make our own arrangements instead at a "lower" level.

The women's liberation movement has begun to fight back against all the wrongs that we men have heaped on them for thousands of years. For example, in Europe we burned millions of women between about 1480 and 1700. We called them witches because they were proud and independent and worshipped the Great Goddess in opposition to the Churches which wanted to get everybody worshipping the Father, as in Christianity. Men are the Master Race -- on the streets women still look away: the memory of these atrocities is with us still, just below the surface. But now women are looking up and walking proud. And many men are freaking. But we must realize that women don't want to destroy us or rule us: they simply want to be equal-- in money, in time and dignity to make a new culture and to make new relationships, equal in everything. It doesn't sound much, but since our civilization is based on destroying women's freedom to make culture and relationships, the women's movement is going to turn our society upside down. Women are the real Left.

THE ENERGY CRISIS

The present energy crisis makes a turning point in Western Civiliza-

tion. It is true that the Bosses will use shortages as part of the class war, exaggerating them to provide a cover for more attacks on our incomes. But in the long term the crisis is real enough; unlike what some Left groups say who dream of new Super-Technologies to get us out of scarcity problems, it's not all a Ruling Class plot to cool out working class demands. Not just energy, but minerals and materials of every sort are beginning to run out. Our standard of commodities is bound to fall. It's no use putting our heads in the sand and thinking it's just the Tories who are responsible if we can't go Sunday motoring. We've exploited the Third World and stolen its wealth for long enough. Now it's hitting back economically. And we've abused Nature long enough. Now she's hitting back too.

EQUALITY AND USEFUL WORK

If things are scarce two things follow. They've got to be shared round equally and not be wasted. Equality doesn't just mean noises against the rich. There's a lot of hypocrisy about equality on the Left and in the T.U. movement. Equality means equality. It means men on £ 40 a week giving £ 10 a week to men on £ 20. It means husbands giving wives as much pocket money as they have themselves, and as much time to enjoy it. And it means rich countries paying our debts to the poor countries with useful technologies, not polluting technologies.

This means we must completely reorganise industry; not just take it over through occupations, but take factories over and transform them. All the waste and duplication of competing firms must be eliminated. Ten million of us can walk away from jobs like advertising, Securicorps or making private cars which wouldn't be necessary in a free socialist society. Instead of the "Right to Work" we should fight for ONLY socially necessary work, plus free time to re-create ourselves. We could all of us be on a 3-day work week all the time! It would mean a reduced standard of commodities, but a greatly improved standard of living. If every able bodied person worked manually - Wilson, Heath, Professors, students, the Idle Rich - we could all have four days for free recreation.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Obviously we could spend the time in all sorts of ways -- but to make a good society a lot of us will have to get into children, sex and making a new worldwide non-sexist culture.

1. Men could start turning on to children, reliving their own childhood and liberating the "child" in themselves. When they are cooped up all day in the house with no company, kids are often a drag to mothers at present. But kids as a shared responsibility - shared with the father, with the street through childcare and play arrangements and in free "schools" - free kids are an enrichment of our lives. When we discover this we are richer than if we had been given a £ 10 a week rise.

2. Then there's sex. Most men think they are 'great lovers', but actually we are often anxious about our sexual powers with women, and totally unable to feel anything but inbuilt horror hang-ups about other men. When making love we are ashamed or uptight and incapable of learning from our partner about how to please her. We just please ourselves, come quickly, and then accuse her of being "frigid" Well, like it or not, listen to this: all women have almost unlimited sexual energy. Sex studies have shown how ordinary women can "come" 30 times a night, potentially. Women have more sexual energy than men, and now that contraception is spreading they are seeking fulfilment as they have every right to do. While men are learning to use their bodies as weapons (karate classes, etc.), women are getting more into their bodies for pure pleasure (e.g. yoga classes).

Does this mean that we men stand to lose from women leading the sexual revolution, making it a true sexual revolution, not just an excuse for men to screw lots of "chicks"? Not at all. We can learn ways of harnessing our energy to the greater sexual energy of our wives and lovers. By pleasing them, we can give them orgasm after orgasm, and get more and more pleasure ourselves. And here's where we need to learn a whole lot of things from women and the oppressed cultures of the world.

3. For example, this kind of sexuality is the basis of Tantra, an ancient Indian cult of ecstasy where the central religious activity is

making love, two bodies fusing into a single energy field. We in the rich West must stop making War on the poor countries, and instead learn from them about our bodies, about lovemaking, about new ways of seeing the world. It's not only the Right who have automatic put-downs to stop them appreciating the diversity of Third World culture. The Marxists reveal imperialist attitudes in the narrowness of their doctrine, its inability to be enriched by non-Western "rationalist" thinking and feeling. Most 'lefties' aren't interested in workers as whole people, only as workers - the same standpoint as the capitalist in fact, because the one wants to make economic surplus value, the other political surplus value, from "the worker". Hence, in reducing the question of racism to the question of "workers" being split from other "workers", the anti-racist dodges the cultural questions and reveals his or her own racist assumptions. The real point about racism is that it cuts us off from ourselves, from the other ways of being human that another culture represents, ways that may be a lot more liberating and helpful to us than our native English culture which took the gun and the Bible to every land, killing those who resisted. It's not just that we ought to get rid of our racism (like our sexism) -- though we should stop oppressing people. If the Left just plays upon "oughts" and "duty" it will always be weak. It's more a question of realising what a lot we are missing by our normal white male way of being in the world, how much of our own potential we are trapping when we trap others.

* * * * *

At present the whole world-view of the West is shaking. Hard-nosed Russian scientists have demonstrated the existence of all sorts of psychic phenomena, and Uri Geller has done amazing things on T.V. The picture emerges of each one of us having within us enormous untapped powers, undeveloped sensitivity to a wide range of "cosmic" vibrations, "auras", etc. But people like the American Indians have always known about many of these powers to heal and to grow. Beyond a basic level of comfort they didn't care much for material possessions -- they were concerned more with art and magic and love and nature and the infinite areas of life.

Similarly, we men must learn from women. Simply to survive, women have had to be more sensitive to the vibrations that are coming across in a situation. We can also learn from those cultures in the distant past where men and women were equal. We can learn not just about the male sex-denying religions but about the sex-affirming female religious traditions, centred on the Great Mother Goddess, the Moon, the Earth, etc. Maybe when the Fascists walk through the streets with Fire, we will learn not to bring counter Fire as the male Left does -- but to carry water. We've got to learn the symbols behind everyday life and politics and to begin to balance things up, "male" and "female" symbols, not mainly male symbols. There's so much to get into, so many exciting contributions to receive from the different windows of the world -- how can we be so stupid as to work overtime for a colour telly we fall asleep in front of when we get home? Our present way of life doesn't make sense.

We white men have got a lot of problems. From our own ranks come those brothers who are so screwed up they rape women, beat wives and children, bash Pakistanis and gay people and fight each other. Even those of us who have never actually done any of these things have still dreamt and fantasised violence, and when we have rows with our wives there is always the hint of violence in our gestures for them to read. Oh brothers, we got problems! We've got to get together and talk in new ways, about new things and remake ourselves painfully but joyously. Then we can become part of the solution, instead of being part of the problem. Then we will want to learn to use our economic power directly, for the sake of the community, the old people, for real equality, to gain control over what our factory makes, to stop pollution where it starts, with destructive profit-serving technologies, to prevent eviction and repossession orders being carried out when we don't pay our rent, H.P. and mortgages. Once we have had our own authority challenged and experienced liberation to some extent, we won't fall for the old con of withdrawing our power from Capitalists only to give it to Parties and Unions. We'll think for ourselves (and with our wives) and use our power ourselves, directly, for new socialist objectives.

We should stop exploiting women and start learning to free the repressed "female" half of our own lives, the despised left side of our bodies. Unless this happens, "there'll always be a Boss". If it's not Wilson or Heath, it will be the Trots, or more likely an Army coup - the most the Left will ever be able to get until it deals with its sexism and the cultural blindspots it leaves to the Right to capitalize on and link to authority symbols.

Unless we live differently, beginning now - we can't continue to blame Wilson or Heath for our problems. Grievance mongering just gets another gang of bullies into power.

Women will lead the way out of Patriarchy and its blind fight over scarce resources to a situation of male/female equality, total equality as regards the scarce things, and total equality to tune in to the infinite resources of our minds and bodies and the Cosmos. Women are the real Left, brothers. The Left is bankrupt. Women are challenging all authority. Are you, brothers? K.P.

..& SO HAVE OUR SISTERS

IT IS VERY oppressive to experience on the television, radio, in newspapers and at work, a complete negation of our own existence (and millions alongside of us).

But it's even worse to have to take that in conversation and our daily lives with comrades.

This experience is a daily ritual in any woman's life - when general topics are being discussed we don't exist, we are not 'workers', we are not 'mankind', we are not 'the electorate', we are not 'the government', we aren't even 'the fighters', 'the oppressed', 'the movement'.

How many can stand back and see or hear a comrade or a group of comrades being attacked and do or say nothing? Of course we all fight or argue against this happening...EXCEPT when women are being attacked.

We all supported our comrade Salvador Puig, who was executed at the hands of Franco's government, but what of the hundreds of Spanish women who die EVERY YEAR from illegal abortions, at the hands of a government that will not allow us to choose whether or not we bear children every year of our fertile lives?

What of the women who work with us, demonstrate with us, the women who typeset the revolutionary articles we read, the women who print the papers, who cook the food, who bear the kids, who hold us together - have you forgotten us? The secretaries of the revolution?

Are we never to be seen? Do we have to remain in revolutionary purdah for all our days?

Can't you see that being a secretary or a housemaid for a revolutionary male is just as oppressive as the same role for a boss. In some ways we are better off working for the REAL oppressor - for he has to pay us for our services, you expect us to slave for love, and revolutionary reward! There is a joke I have heard from a woman, that she would rather be the wife of a middle class straight man and wash his socks in a Hoovermatic than live with a comrade and wash his socks in the sink.

In that statement is part of the problem; you free us from our 'wifely appliances' but we are still chained to our 'wifely work'. Probably we all know the cartoon of the revolutionary man striding out of the house, with political tomes under one arm and a placard under the other, saying to his wife who is looking after their kids, "I'll be back for supper."

But if you've all seen it, if you've all heard this argument a hundred times before, why don't I see it? Why can't I feel I am with comrades when I am with you? Why can't I take part in a discussion, read a paper, see an anarchist entertainment WITHOUT being THREATENED, PUT DOWN, DRIVEN UNDER THE CARPET, HAVE MY EXISTENCE IGNORED? And by that I don't mean 'present company excepted' when I hear anti-woman talk. I don't mean "of course it's important but it can wait".

IT CANNOT WAIT. WE CANNOT WAIT. WE WILL NOT WAIT. We have waited all our lives, our mothers' lives, our grandmothers' lives, and all time before. We carry the blame of original sin, we carry men, babies, bosses, WE CARRY THE WORLD ON OUR BACKS.

Off our backs.

We might fight alongside you but we will not carry you into battle.

Charlotte Baggins.

A member of the
Anarchist Women's Group.

LETTERS

New Federation

Dear Friends,

I would like to give my support to the views expressed in your article, "For a New Federation", in the March 16th issue of FREEDOM, especially your suggestion that the Anarchist Federation of Britain should be re-established.

I believe it to be vitally important for the efforts of all anarchists to be united towards a common end - the destruction of all authoritarian capitalist states, and their replacement by genuine libertarian communism. However, the important word is united. We will never get anywhere unless our efforts are united and we can agree on common action. We may have different opinions on such things as the use (and abuse) of violent means and the precise form that an anarchist society will take, but I believe that the most important thing at the moment is for anarchists to show solidarity. This can only be done by forgetting our differences and formulating a programme based on common agreement.

In practical terms how can we go about re-establishing the A.F.B.? I would suggest that the first thing we must do is to organise not one conference but several regional conferences, to which all interested persons would be invited. There could be, for example, a Southern England conference, one for the North, and others for Wales, Scotland, etc. These conferences would serve both to advertise the anarchist cause and ascertain how much support there is in the country as a whole for a new A.F.B.

I think it is very important that we should try to interest as many people as possible in anarchy and all that it stands for. When all is said and done, our main, possibly only, hope lies in getting our message across to the mass of people. In fighting capitalism strength does lie in numbers.

I hope that the opinions in this letter will be of help to fellow anarchists.

Yours sincerely,

Gerry Williams, Hull.

Adoption

Dear Friends,

As a social worker (and a revolutionary who is well aware of the social control aspects of social work, and who has to guard against them in his work, and in the employer's and clients' expectations), I would like to reply to the long emotional articles on adoption reform by Shirley F. (FREEDOM, Vol. 35, nos. 4-5-6.)

Although there are wide individual differences and a general concern to cut expenditure (like the rest of social service), there is not a sinister government conspiracy to do

dirty work in the field of adoption. Again, with exceptions recognised, there is no real substance to the statement 'that once a child is in care that the whole pressure of the state is brought to keep "it" (surely that should be him or her) there.' Working class families in distress have to suffer a lot from the prejudices of many middle class social workers, but I still think that in many situations children do need an independent advocate. Older children especially, often seek to get out of oppressive family situations by being received into the local authority's care. Sometimes, in a very small number of families, young children suffer emotional or physical damage or parents break down due to the behaviour of their children, and I think there has to be some way of relieving these difficult situations with the use of foster parents or adoptive parents who will love the child.

Shirley F.'s articles are based on some mystical theory that the ties of blood are necessarily related to ties of love between child and parents. I certainly agree with the quotation that children are not their mothers' or parents' property, and they should not be treated as property of foster or adopting parents either. Children certainly do have rights and these include rights to a proper home, proper health and welfare services, adequate material standards, and also ties of love with adults who care for them. Natural parents in these articles seem to be represented as the working class, while foster and adopting parents as the state and middle classes. I expect to read next time that there is a conspiracy by the state and middle classes to kidnap the working classes' children and bring them up as model citizens.

Yours Fraternally,

T.V.R.
(Edinburgh)

** APPEAL to PHOTOGRAPHERS

The editors of FREEDOM would like to consider for publication relevant pictures of demos, pickets, police brutality or harassment, strikes, squats, occupations etc. (Sizes $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ or $3\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ inches on black & white proof glossy paper) to illustrate articles and improve the graphic appearance of our weekly paper.

We also need the co-operation of readers or subscribers in London prepared to develop and print at very short notice black & white pictures, usually taken over the weekend, to be submitted for publication on Monday evenings. Please address material & suggestions to: The Editors, FREEDOM, 84B Whitechapel High St., London E.1., England.

THE NEW Internal Bulletin Wildcat appeared dead on time, as announced, on April 1. It gives,

and asks for, news of anarchist and other revolutionary and workers' activities. It also has a list of contact addresses throughout Britain. Wildcat is scheduled for monthly appearance, so latest news on activities reported can be obtained by telephoning (evenings) 05366-66781. (7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.)

The following report is taken from Wildcat No. 1.

Dublin Anarchist Arrested

THE HOME of P. Stephens, International Secretary of the New Earth Group and former secretary of the Irish Black Cross, was raided in the early hours of March 20 by a combined force of police detectives, uniformed police and Special Branch under the command of a Detective Inspector of the Special Branch.

Stephens was taken from his bed and arrested under the Offences Against the State Act, 1939 (Section 7 - Political Offences) and files pertaining to New Earth and foreign libertarian groups were seized, also under the same Act. He was taken into custody, questioned and fingerprinted. He was then formally charged with having bombed the Spanish Cultural Institute on Sunday, 3 March at 12.10 a.m. (The day after the Spanish Government had announced that Salvador Puig Antich had been garrotted.)

After the bombing, the Irish Press announced that a man had telephoned their office and stated that the bombing had been done by the First of May Group in protest at the execution of Puig.

Stephens is the only member of New Earth to have been arrested and charged. If he is brought to trial the New Earth Group (112 Thomas St., Dublin 8) hopes that all groups and individuals will show solidarity with their proposed Defence Committee.

STAND BY FOR SOLIDARITY ACTION
IN LONDON AND ELSEWHERE.

Pavel Litvinoff, the Soviet dissident sent into exile after imprisonment in a labour camp, said that he understood that there was dissent among Soviet workers as well as intellectuals.



HAZARDS OF WAR

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION, The, Rising Waves of Emancipation, by W. F. Wertheim. Pelican, 65p

TO BELIEVERS in the idea of progress two historical periods present insuperable, or nearly insuperable obstacles. It is difficult to fit the Middle Ages into any scheme whereby the human race is deemed to advance steadily stage by stage, to ever higher levels of technical achievement and moral worth. In spite of the many virtues of The Age of Faith, it is impossible to look upon it as the logical successor to the enlightenment of Greece, or even the practicality of Rome. It seems to be a period that shoots off at a tangent.

However the problem posed by the Middle Ages is trifling compared with that offered by the twentieth century. Professor Wertheim's book begins where most histories of the idea of progress prudently end. It is an attempt to offer a theory of what is happening in our period, which does not involve the hopeless attempt to represent development today as a steadily rising slope, as the theoreticians of progress did in the last century, nor as a kind of level plain of "stability" in which revolutions occasionally appear as isolated mountain ridges.

He believes that revolution is a natural condition for today, a more or less permanent feature of twentieth century life. However revolution in the twentieth century has only been successful (for a time at any rate) in "backward" or "Third World" countries, and even in these a Thermidor has eventually arrived.

Professor Wertheim's favourite example is China, but at the end of the book he admits that even here, despite Chairman Mao's famous Red Guards, bourgeois tendencies are reasserting themselves. Russia, according to the author, has been sinking into the bourgeois slough of "revisionism" ever since the death of Stalin.

This book for me is greatly weakened by the author's attitude to this appalling personage, or perhaps one should say to the regime for which he stands, for one cannot blame one man for all. Obviously there must have been, and still be, myriads of little Stalins in the Soviet Union. The author is well aware of the horrors that went on, and, yes, he condemns them. It was all very bad of course, but one is left with the feeling that these things happen in revolutionary situations. As the IRA man said, when the baby was shot, "This sort of thing is one of the haz-

ards of urban guerilla war". Elsewhere Chinese "brainwashing" is described as an "appeal to human reason and avoidance of physical force", which I suppose is one way of putting it. While making allowances for the distortions of the press accounts in the West, this "appeal to reason" was pretty tough, as applied to prisoners of war, at the time of the Korean war, and to other opponents of the Chinese regime. Yes, Professor Wertheim is correct, Maoism is infinitely gentler than Stalinism, but I would not care to be exposed to its rigours.

The author quotes Mark Twain:

"There were two 'Reigns of Terror', if we would but remember it and consider it; the one wrought murder in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months, the other had lasted a thousand years; the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred million; but our shudders are all for the 'horrors' of the minor Terror, the momentary Terror, so to speak; whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe, compared with lifelong death from hunger, cold insult, cruelty and heartbreak? What is swift death by lightning compared with slow death by fire at the stake? A city cemetery could contain the coffins filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror - that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror which none of us has been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves."

As a plea for greater historical objectivity this is well put, though it would be cold comfort if offered to some totally innocent, and possibly non-political person, caught up in the Terror and despatched to the guillotine, or some revolutionary, like Danton, who stepped out of line and went the same road. But it cannot have been intended as a justification for future terrors, on a scale which make the French Revolutionary one look like a domestic murder.

Professor Wertheim has little use for non-violence. Gandhi used it successfully, but this was a purely nationalist revolution. The South African blacks were unsuccessful when they used it because, unlike Gandhi, they were challenging vested interests. And when the American blacks used it they came up ag-

On the 5 March I went to the Purcell room on the South Bank complex to see and hear the first performance of new works by Cornelius Cardew. I had heard of Cornelius Cardew in connection with an avant garde group called the 'Scratch Orchestra'. Indeed, on the handout programme there was a footnote which said that Cornelius Cardew is considered the most important British composer of the last 500 years for his achievements in experimental music. It went on to say that he now rejects experimental music as serving no worthwhile purpose, and espouses music which serves the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Over the platform was a large red cloth with 'Banner Book'-type portraits of the fraudulent five, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Under that was a quotation from the chairman himself, "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines."

Thirteen people filed onto the stage followed by Cardew and Jane Manning, a soprano. Cardew explained to the audience that he wanted to be dissociated from the programme for its identification of him as an individual influence. And also that the section of the programme that was to be devoted to bourgeois songs was to be deleted in order to put the proletarian line foremost and allow time for discussion.

I had a feeling as the songs were sung that they conformed to Chinese Communist Party ideology. Peking opera implanted into rousing peasant songs about the hate in all their hearts and glorification of Mao, etc. was the general effect they gave me, though there was certainly a western influence in the harmonic if not so much in the melodic form of the music.

Cont'd on P.7, foot of Col. 2

against the same forces and, rightly according to the author, discarded non-violence in favour of violence. The only trouble with this is that they have been no more successful with violence than with non-violence. It may be simply that, at present, the white power structure is just too strong to be overthrown by any means.

In spite of a certain pessimism about even the future of China, Professor Wertheim ends on an upbeat note. The future is still open, and the power to build a better world is still in man's hands, and with this at least we can agree.

John Brent.

talist ethics the workers are expendable.

There has been some talk of a workers' take-over of the Express - in fact the 'last' issue contained a workers'-editorial setting forth their ambition. This was quickly withdrawn and stopped when the departing editors realised what was happening. Obviously there is an understanding with the Express's rival that there shall be no new rival paper in Glasgow. But the workers, instead of relying upon and organising production of a paper have maintained a skeleton staff, stopped production, and have rushed up to London, cap in hand, to ask for Government help. In fact, the power to produce a newspaper is already in the workers' hands. Must they, like Lip and Triumph, fail?

We see that the 'freedom of the press' is the freedom of capital to invest where it thinks most profitable. The kindly Sunday Telegraph points out that the Express group have millions of pounds' worth of property which, if properly managed, would bring in a greater income than the Express newspapers which are making a loss. Other newspapers have diversified their investments, some in commercial television (if you can't beat 'em, join 'em), some in North Sea oil, some in restaurants and some are owned (as hobbies or something more sinister) by proprietors who have made their pile elsewhere. Newspapers are not now a way of making much money.

Freedom to start a newspaper is certainly the province of a millionaire. It has been estimated to cost between three and four million pounds and has no guarantee of success.

Apart from the financial question the Press is as free as the prejudices of the proprietor, the desires of the advertiser and the rigours of the law will allow. The English law is particularly vicious as regards libel and contempt of court.

Katherine Graham who was chairman of the Washington Post which exposed the original Watergate break-in, said last week that "If the Washington Post had been the 'London Post' we would have been stopped [in Watergate investigations] from the start".

Our vaunted British freedom of the press fails to expose the scandals. It is left to small papers with little to lose (and not much to be sued for) to open up cases. It was Private Eye that first hinted at the Poulson scandals; now, regardless of whether you believe them or not, Time Out has featured the revelations of the

Littlejohn brothers. We cannot hope for Freedom of the Press as present constituted. With the workers in control it could be that newspapers might cease to be an insult to the intelligence but meanwhile we can only depend on the small circulation papers to defend the freedom of the press abandoned by the press barons.

Jack Robinson.

A national campaign against censorship was launched in London, aiming at taking up test cases in the courts, narrowing the Official Secrets Act, abolishing film censorship for adults and changing the indecency laws. The campaign was launched by the National Co-ordinating Committee against Censorship (chaired by Ron Bailey). For devotees of the cinema, the Campaign for the Abolition of Film Censorship for Adults continues to campaign and to publish a regular informative, critical and very readable Newsletter (CAFCA, Secretary: David Godin, 139 Church Road, Bexleyheath, Kent DA7 4DN).

NEW YORK: Preliminary Continental Anarchist Conference & Festival April 19-21. Details from Conference Correspondence c/o Hunter Libertarian Alliance, 47 East 65 Street, New York, N.Y. 10021

TUCSON, Ariz. April 18, 19 & 20 Conference on the Life Literature & Cinema of B. Traven. Correspond. to Leo L. Barrow, Dept. of Romance Langs., Univ. of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz. 85721 (tel. (602) 884-3123. Home (602) 791-0789.

ABERYSTWYTH anarchists meet each Thursday evening in Downie's Vaults, Aberystwyth, at 7.30

ANARCHIST INDUSTRIAL NETWORK Articles, letters, addresses & subs. to Peter Good, Trokes, Llanarth, Cards., Wales.

WILDCAT, Internal Bulletin. Send details of pickets, demos, meetings, group publications, printing facilities. Sub 40p for 6 months. Wildcat, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants. tel. (05366) 66781.

STOCKWELL SQUATTERS FACING EVICTION need support & help to fight a possession order. Please contact Kevin or Melody, Flat A, 295 Clapham Road SW9 or leave message at 01-274 6373

THE COMMUNE MOVEMENT would like to hear from groups working & living together and willing to write about themselves in movement's journal Communes. Write coordinator Dave Puddy at Trokes Family, Llanarth, Ceredigion (Cards.) Wales

SPANISH RESISTANCE FUND c/o T.P. & P.T., 84B Whitechapel High St London, E. 1.

Contact

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursday from 2 pm at Freedom Press.

PAT ARROWSMITH. Picket at Holloway Prison, London N7 SATURDAY 6 MARCH 3 p.m. onwards. Bring your own 'Troops Out' posters. Organised by Pat Arrowsmith Defence Fund 37 Middle Lane, London, N.8.

ANARCHIST CINEMA. Sun. 14 Apl A Propos de Nice by Jean Vigo (1930) and Squatters by Cinema Action (1969)

7.30 p.m. at Centro Iberico (door open 6.30). Snacks available modest prices. All welcome. 83A Haverstock Hill, N.W.3, (entrance in Steele's Rd.) Buses 31 & 68. Tube Chalk Fm/Belsize Pk.

Sunday 7th April, from 6.30 p.m. Centro Iberico. Social evening (address above).

UNITY THEATRE - A play on the death of Pinelli. The Jump by Alfio Bernabei. April 5 to 27 every Fri., Sat. & Sun. 7.45 p.m. Tickets 50p, membership 55p. 'Phone 387 8647.

Leeds April 6-7: MEN AGAINST SEXISM CONFERENCE at Polytechnic (Creche & accomm.) Contact Leeds men's group, John Comer, 71 St. Ann's Lane, Leeds 4 (tel. 783256)

Birmingham May 10-12 THE POWER OF SYMBOLS Conf. at B'ham Univ. Guild of Students Bdg. (How can we understand fascism? - What keeps present society going?...) Write Symbols Conference, 53 Kitchener Rd. Selly Park, Birmingham 29 for inf

London. ANARCHIST WOMEN'S GROUP meets Mondays. Tel. 883 2457.

Alternate Sundays HYDE PARK ANARCHIST FORUM. Speakers' Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners, hecklers welcome.

Every Saturday MENTAL PATIENTS UNION 2 pm Robin Farquarson Hse., 37 Mayola Rd., E.5 tel 986 5251. MPU News 10p + 4p post from above

NEW YORK: LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB Lectures alternate Thursdays 7.30 p.m. at Workmen's Circle Center 369 8th Ave. (SW cnr. 29 St) Admission free, no collection. April 11: Sylvia Barnes on "Labor and the Left"

April 25: Irving Levitas: "The Anarchism of Gustav Landauer"

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE 54 Harcombe Rd. N.15

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

BRISTOL FRAME-UP DEFENCE FUND c/o Arthur, 19 Brigstock Rd. Bristol 2.

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