

anarchist weekly
Freedom

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PLENTY in the midst of POVERTY?

AS FORECAST, the World Food Conference in Rome has closed without any decisive steps, other than palliatives, to solve the problem of world hunger. It gave the technologically superior nations of the world a chance to fling a coin or two in the collection plate, to 'tut-tut' at the sexual improvidence of the 'under-developed' nations and point out their own problems with, as the predictable Sunday Telegraph did, a dragging in of the ideas of Malthus.

It is no accident that every age gets the prophet-populariser-publicist it deserves - and needs - to maintain the rulers of that age. In the same way that Darwin's 'survival of the fittest' was popularised in order to justify the ways of capitalist industrialism to man, so was Malthus's doctrine of a poor world brought in to justify a system of checks and balances (including nature's pruning hook --war). The eugenic ideas of Sir Keith Joseph and the ever-present idea of compulsory sterilisation and socially-urged birth control for the lesser breeds and greater breeders hovers like a vulture over the famished dead.

But the technologically superior powers have found them-

selves in a neo-Malthusian dilemma of their own making. Due partially to wanton profligacy with limited resources of energy and to the workings of capitalism, technological man has found himself running short of energy. It is obvious that his first instinct in this dilemma is not to stop bringing into the world mor apparatus or internal combustion machines which eat up the dwindling sources of energy; he is not advised to change his whole life style so that he may live. He is cajoled and only financially discouraged from using petrol whilst at the same time efforts are made to bribe miners to bring up more black gold from the reluctant earth.

At the same time as it is thought that the problem of food shortages can be solved by an appeal to the oil-rich Arabs the devious Dr. Kissinger has thought up a scheme for boycotting the Arabs by a consumer-strike. Neither of these ideas will work, for the nation-states by their own ethos of survival cannot and will not co-operate and the grand double-cross is the usual method of diplomacy and commerce. And the Israelis know who will be the next likely victim to pay the price of oil.

This is a time for strenuous reappraisal. The coincidence of inflation and shortages has called for some heavy thinking. Are we in a world of plenty? Or in a world of poverty?

* * *

It will be interesting to see what Ralf Dahrendorf, the new head of the London School of Economics (formerly of E.E.C.) comes up with in his Reith lectures (BBC Radio 4, Wednesdays). So far he has posited the problems and made the statement that the results of

Continued on Back Page

AN ARTICLE OF FAITH

WE APPLAUD the decision of the coalminers to reject the National Coal Board's productivity deal. There seems no doubt that the Board's scheme was aimed at dividing the miners between those who work in areas like Nottingham, where the seams are accessible, and those like South Wales, where they are difficult. The Board's first offer wanted the productivity scheme operated coalface by coalface; however they did concede, which they were prepared to do, that the scheme should be based on the total output of each pit.

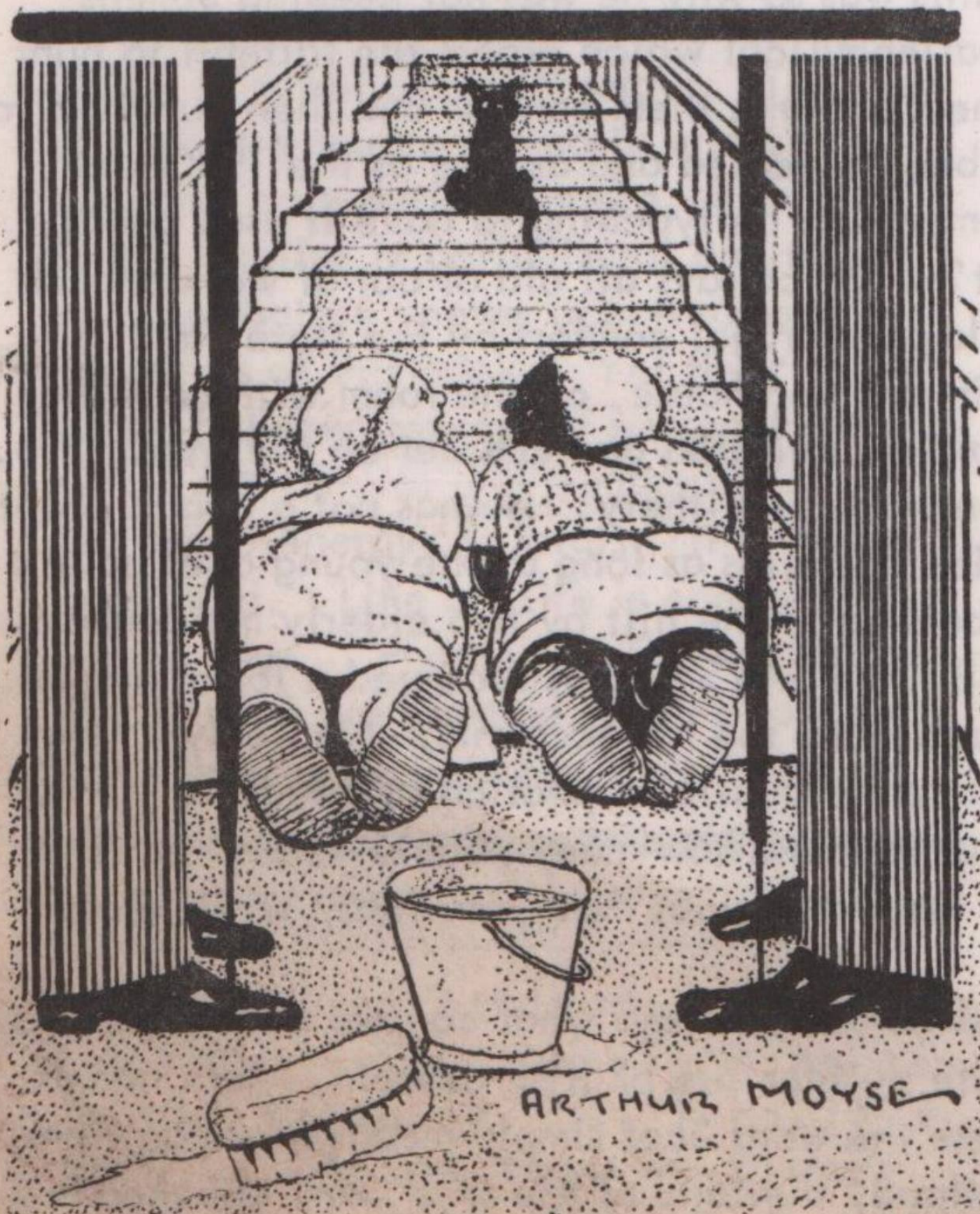
After the national executive of the National Union of Mineworkers rejected the Board's scheme, a ceaseless propaganda war was waged. The "dirty tricks" department of the Board was at full pelt. Those who are surprised at this however fail to understand the class nature of our society. The Board and the government want 120 million tons dug each year. While the N.U.M. and the T.U.C. are in agreement with this annual target, why should it be done under a scheme which virtually puts the miners onto a piece-work system, turning pit against pit and area against area? The scheme was a classic example of divide and rule. Throughout their history the miners have struggled against such divisions and it was only in 1966 that district rates and piece-

work were abandoned for a national rate. For many miners the national rate is an article of faith. It formed part of the miners' union's policy in the bitter struggle before the First World War. In 1926 the Nottingham miners' decision to return-to-work and form their own union also assisted the private employers in maintaining district rates.

What many people don't realise is that the 1966 agreement made some miners worse off. But it did achieve a national rate and a national unity which has paid off in the confrontations with the Tory government in 1972 and 1974.

The rejection of the productivity deal now means that the miners will demand a stright increase. There is still some talk of a productivity deal as the rejection was about methods of payment. Mr. Gormley, NUM president, an arden supporter of the Labour Party and the present government, has been urging miners to dig the 120 million tons of coal necessary to provide enough power through out the winter. He wants the miners to prove to the British people that nationalisation was not a dirty word: "The first responsibility of this union is to encourage its members to provide the coal which Britain needs."

Turn to P.3 - foot of Col. 1



"AS I READ THE BUDGET, HONEY, IT SEEMS THE EXPERTS ARE UP SHIT CREEK AND WE HAVE TO WORK HARDER AND EAT LESS TO BAIL THEM OUT."

NEWS FROM BELFAST

ONE OF the more bizarre phenomena witnessed in Northern Ireland was the attempt by a lunatic fringe group of self-styled communists, unconnected with either Moscow or Peking, to parasitise themselves upon the Protestant working classes by means of a spate of anti-Catholic hate propaganda: unable to establish themselves in a vanguard role they settled down at the tail-end of Vanguard (Bill Craig's party) where they found that it was difficult trying to be better Unionists than the Unionists themselves. It never has been a wise policy for anyone with even moderate left-wing views to play around in loyalist politics; as long ago as 1913 the Unionist Labour Association, still in existence and forerunner of organisations like the Ulster Worker's Council, was formed to play a watchdog role on behalf of the employers' interests. At the beginning of this month it called on all loyalist workers to join the organisation "to combat the disloyal and communist elements within the unions in Northern Ireland". The call has since been backed up by the UVF which pledges support for "the right for all loyal citizens to hold and bear arms for the defence of life and property and the defeat of republican and communist terrorism". We can be sure that the term "communist" will have a wide interpretation and will likely include the lay preachers and the Protestant ministers belonging to the Northern Ireland Labour Party and acting as its parliamentary candidates in Belfast, one of them at least, noted for his stubborn resistance to the opening of children's play-centres on Sundays, may pass the test.

Ironically, the UVF were themselves smeared as communists when they first entered the political arena and dared to introduce issues like bad housing and social deprivation generally into their political programme. They set minds at rest by launching a sustained anti-communist campaign in the pages of the journal Combat. They need scarcely have a othered; only last week they decided not to contest the forthcoming Convention elections and to withdraw from parliamentary politics, following their poor showing in the recent elections. Whether or not they return to the use of the gun and the bomb remains to be seen, but it is regrettable that the UVF, having forsaken the bullet in favour of the ballot, should throw in the towel so soon. The fewer guns that are used in Northern Ireland the better but it is believed that the leadership is being pressurised into a resumption of their military campaign in retaliation for the continued IRA offensive. I have a feeling that we have not heard the last of the political wing of the UVF; certain elements within it have impressed with the degree of political acumen they possessed, always a commodity found seldom enough in working class circles in Belfast. Regrettably, other elements occasionally displayed fascist tendencies and their attempt to affiliate to the UUUC (United Ulster Unionist Council) showed the inability of the organisation as a whole to steer an independent course.

Craigavon, once hailed as Ulster's new city of the future, has a population which is roughly half and half in religious composition but its new half million pounds' worth of community facilities, a magnificent recreation centre, will be closed on Sundays by order of the local council which has a majority of Protestant bigots. Heedless of the fact that even Protestants employed in the area would welcome the use of its facilities, the narrow-minded Sabbatarians have ignored all pleas to open it on Sunday. The fact that people like these have ruled the roost in local government affairs for more than half a century - they regard Sunday opening of cinemas, etc., as a Romeward trend - has contributed to many of the social ills which have plagued Northern Ireland during that time. True, they have their counterparts down South, but it would be wrong to interpret this aspect of the conflict as being between an enlightened Protestantism and a reactionary Catholicism. Mr. Keith Garner of the Pentecostal movement is hardly an enlightened man, his main source of woe being his alleged discovery that throughout Ulster there are only 20 ministers who have ever actually cast out a demon. Garner has been active in organising a chain prayer and running a centre which will be open between 3 p.m. and 11 p.m. in order to cope with people who may have problems after seeing "The Exorcist" which is showing in a Belfast cinema. Meanwhile, the Rev. Joseph Parker, whose son was killed in a car bomb explosion, and who subsequently founded the Witness for Peace movement, is leaving Northern Ireland disillusioned and in his own words "a sad and lonely man". His campaign in pursuit of peace resulted in him being ostracised by his colleagues in the Church of Ireland who refused him permission to preach from their pulpits. Of course someone long ago said that Ireland had too much religion and too little Christianity and it would seem so if we are to judge from the behaviour of these disciples of the man they sometimes refer to as the prince of peace.

H. B.

I DO NOT suppose the majority of readers of FREEDOM are au fait with Ian Paisley's Protestant Telegraph, perhaps the most remarkable publication ever issued. Lately he had a gem on Irish coinage, which as those of you who have seen it will know is very beautifully designed. However, according to the queer mind of Paisley we had a horse on our old half crown and a greyhound on the old sixpence; this shows we are inveterate gamblers. The salmon now on the 10p piece but once on the 2/- is to remind of the Popish custom of eating fish on Fridays. (Incidentally Paisley seems unaware the church discarded this rule several years ago and even to the most bigoted Catholic meat on Fridays is perfectly licit.) The sow and bonhams

AND DUBLIN

on our old halfpenny show we are all uncivilized pigs. I wonder if Paisley ever eats bacon or sausages? While the old Celtic design on our new 2p piece is some trick of the Pope's to keep Ireland enslaved !!!

While I have never read anything more utterly silly than that I have to admit we do have our slaves to the outdated dogmas of Catholicism and to new dogmas they invent for themselves. I have mentioned J. B. Murray, who has founded what he calls "The League of Decency", before. He is about 64 years old and lives in a luxurious bungalow near Clondalkin. He owned a plot of land beside the bungalow which he let to eight families living in caravans. He had the caravans closer together than the law permits for fire safety reasons, and only provided one lavatory out of doors for all eight families. One of the caravans belonged to him and he let it to a family but refused to mend the leaking roof. Then three weeks ago he got what he himself describes as "an offer too generous to be refused" for his plot. Land for building is much wanted in that neighbourhood. He gave his tenants less than a month's notice to quit. His decency does not work when his pocket is affected. He thinks he is the Voice of God and since this disreputable incident has plumed himself on the fact that he is going to get every bikini wearer prosecuted for indecency this summer and every shop that sells these indecent garments closed. He has also written to the board of censors and got a periodical called Man Alive banned. The fourth number lies stillborn in the office of the Creation group. That he throws people out of work does not worry our sex-obsessed J B at all. He is gloating at what he calls "a great victory for purity". I am a woman of my generation but I have seen Man Alive I think the girly pictures rather silly, I don't care for women's bodies being used this way, but they would not corrupt or excite a boy of 14, and the articles by leading Irish writers are good. Humae Vitae is J. B. Murray's fixation. He says it is the authentic voice of God and anyone who disobeys it or speaks against it will go to hell. I asked him if this was so why he was not keeping Sumnis desiderantes (the papallencylical which orders the faithful to hunt out witches, torture them to make them confess and then put them to death). It has never been repealed and as late as the 1930s one Father Montague Summers was bellyaching to have it used again. Or Divini Redemptorist? Which says all old or out of work or sick are to be housed and kept in frugal comfort by the state, and it does not mean skilly in the workhouse, or one room with no water for a man, his wife and six children and another on the way. J.B. never answers questions. He is slithery. He has not a qualm about rendering eight families homeless as long as the young ones have a baby a year. He is backed to the hilt by two elderly maiden ladies. Freud had a word for it. He SAYS he has received a lot of money. I immediately wrote asking to see his accounts. No reply. (My housing accounts are open to public inspection at any time.) He does not on his own word know how many people belong to his league but he will be far worse even than your Mary Whitehouse.

When we breed Paisleys and Murrays what can we expect but mayhem and murder? Note neither are of Irish descent. Both names are Scots, but of course the word Scot simply means Irishman from when we invaded Scotland, the land of the Irish, and chucked out the picts. What a country. Personally I think the media give FAR too much publicity to such men who are really show-offs. They would die out if no notice was taken of them, but I must plead guilty myself.

Hilary Boyle.

NEO-FASCIST NEO-SPLIT

IT SEEMS that party splits and the setting up of new political fashions is not a monopoly of the left wing authoritarian lunatics. In fact it is with some surprise that I report the imminent splitting of the Italian neo-fascist party, MSI. It is surprising to find that fascists have sufficient intelligence to have differences of opinion rather than carry on being led by the nose. Dare I say it, the MSI, if it does not sort out its internal differences, is fast approaching a state of anarchy.

The first notable sign of this collapse of the party came when Antonio Ranieri, a notable representative of the neo-fascist union CISNAL in Bari, resigned from his position and, reportedly, over 200 CISNAL members in the same area are prepared to follow suit. As Ranieri himself said, "...CISNAL is a union which constantly makes fascist propaganda and does not look after the interests of its workers." How surprising!

The second sign of impending doom is that Il Secolo, the neo-fascist daily, is about to be replaced by another paper called Destra Nazionale. This is happening because Il Secolo is under the strict control of Almirante (the MSI general secretary) and he does not allow anything but his own opinions to go into the paper, with the result that many rank and file members of MSI are unaware of these debates inside the party.

The third, and most heartening, sign is that soundings carried out by

I-S. ---INDEPENDENT SHOPKEEPERS?

Our contemporary Socialist Worker in an article by Sean Tracey on 'how Socialism would deal with the Crisis', says "A workers' state would also take over the major retailing groups - not the small corner shops which are more sinned against than sinning when it comes to profiteering."

THE MINERS...cont'd from P. 1

Whether this is so just under a Labour government or not he does not say, but as the miners have no control of or even a say in what the coal is used for, it is not their responsibility to provide enough coal for the nation's needs. Governments in the past have felt no responsibility to miners when they were closing pits. At that time oil was cheap. The miners' jobs and the broken communities did not concern the government then, so why should the miners pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them now.

P. T.

MSI in the poor South at Napoli, Bari, Reggio and Catania show that the popular support for MSI, referred to as the "voto di protesta", is waning quickly. The youngsters of Reggio are no longer influenced by Ciccio Franco; the Christian Democrats in Catania are no longer co-operating with the MSI after their failure in the divorce referendum; and the monarchist Lauro of Napoli has retired from political life after seeing that joining up with the MSI has not brought the return of the monarchy and has made people even more hostile to the monarchists.

Fourthly, the train blast on the Rome to Turin express in August has landed Almirante in political hot water. He claims to have had prior knowledge of the blast but that nobody would listen to him and stop it happening. He claimed furthermore, that the blast would be carried out by an extreme left-wing group masquerading as an extreme right-wing group. The question which many have asked is, "How did Almirante know this?" (in Italian translation of course!) This incident and many other extreme right-wing outrages have worried a lot of rank-and-file members of MSI who have no wish to be associated with these outrages. Furthermore, the fact that Almirante knew of this blast beforehand and his subsequent failure to explain how has tended to reinforce the fears of the rank and file members.

Why should the neo-fascists be now splitting up? The answer is that they have never been united. However, Almirante tried to maintain that they were. The MSI is made up of a varied collection of groups with not much in common. It includes people nostalgic about the Mussolini era, monarchists (whose influence helped the MSI to establish strong roots in the South), extreme right-wing lunatics (who believe in violent take-overs to be brought about through the creation of a crisis,



ARTHUR MOYSE

e.g. blowing up people) such as Ordo Nuovo, and simple reactionaries. Thus it is a party which lacks even a common ideology or even a common tendency. The split has approached a beautiful reality through the leaders of the various factions vying for power. Hence another authoritarian party bites the dust.

VIVA L'ANARCHIA!

Francesco

BAKUNIN SPEAKS cont'd from P.4

mediately placing himself in another sphere of solidarity and without becoming subjected to new influences. For to man, life outside of all society, and outside of all human influences, a life of absolute isolation, is tantamount to intellectual, moral, and material death. Solidarity is not the product but the mother of individuality, and human personality can be born and can develop only in human society.

We are told that in reality it will never be possible to obtain the agreement and universal solidarity between individual interests and those of society, the reason being that these interests are contradictory and therefore cannot counterbalance each other or arrive at some mutual understanding. Our reply to this objection is that if up to now those interests have not arrived at a mutual agreement, it is due solely to the State, which has sacrificed the interests of the majority for the benefit of a privileged minority. That is why this famed incompatibility and the struggle of personal interests with the interests of society reduce themselves to lies and trickery, born out of the theological lie which conceived the doctrine of original sin in order to dishonour man and destroy in him the awareness of his own inner worth.

from The Revitalization Philosophy of Bakunin, compiled & edited by G. P. Maximoff (Free Press, Glencoe 1953)

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BAKUNIN SPEAKS

Since freedom is the result and the clearest expression of solidarity, that is, of mutuality of interests, it can be realized only under conditions of equality. Political equality can be based only upon economic and social equality. And justice is precisely the realization of freedom through such equality.

... Divine morality is based upon two immoral principles: respect for authority and contempt for humanity. Human morality, on the contrary, is based only upon contempt for authority and respect for liberty and humanity. Divine morality considers work a degradation and a punishment; human morality sees in work the supreme condition of human happiness and dignity. Divine morality leads inevitably to a policy which recognizes only the rights of those who, owing to their privileged position, can live without working. Human morality accords rights only to those who live by working; it recognizes that only by working does man reach the stature of man.

The Individual and Society

Nature, as well as human society, which is nothing else but that same Nature -- everything that lives, does so under the categorical condition of decisively interfering in the life of someone else. . . . The worse it is for those who are so ignorant of the natural and social law of human solidarity that they deem possible and even desirable the absolute independence of individuals in regard to one another. To will it is to will the disappearance of society, for all social life is but the continuous mutual interdependence of individuals and masses. All men, even the most intelligent and the strongest, are at every instant of their lives the producers and the products. Freedom itself, the freedom of every man, is the ever-renewed effect of the great mass of physical, intellectual, and moral influences to which this man is subjected by the people surrounding him and the environment in which he was born and in which he passed his whole life.

To wish to escape this influence in the name of some transcendental, divine freedom, some self-sufficient and absolutely egoistical freedom, is to aim towards non-being. It means to forego influencing one's fellow-man, to forego any social action, even the expression of one's thoughts and feelings -- that is, again to tend towards absolute non-being. This notorious independence, so greatly

extolled by idealists and metaphysicians, and personal freedom thus conceived -- is just non-existence, plain and simple. . . . To do away with this reciprocal influence is tantamount to death. And in demanding the freedom of the masses we do not intend to do away with natural influences to which man is subjected by individuals and groups. All we want is to do away with factitious, legitimized influences, to do away with privileges in exerting influence.

Man can never be free with respect to natural and social laws. Laws, which for the greater convenience of science, are divided into two categories, belong in reality to one and the same category, for they all are equally natural laws, necessary laws which constitute the basis and the very condition of existence, so that no living beings can rebel against them without destroying them.

...Not Political Laws

But it is necessary to distinguish natural laws from authoritarian, arbitrary, political, religious, and civil laws which the privileged classes have created in the course of history, always to enable exploitation of the work of the masses, always with the sole aim of curbing the liberty of the masses -- laws which under the pretext of a fictitious morality, have always been the source of the deepest immorality. Thus we have involuntary and inevitable obedience to all laws which constitute, independently of all human will, the very life of Nature and society; but on the other hand, there should be independence (as nearly unconditional as it is possible to attain) on the part of everyone with respect to all claims to dictate to other people, with respect to all human wills (collective as well as individual) tending to impose not their natural influence but their law, their despotism.

As to the natural influence which men exercise upon one another it also is one of those conditions of social life against which revolt would be impossible. This influence is the very basis -- material, moral and intellectual -- of human solidarity. The human individual, a product of solidarity, that is, of society, while remaining subject to its natural laws, may well react against it when influenced by feelings coming from the outside and especially from an alien society, but the individual cannot leave this particular society without im-

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OPEN LETTER TO M.P.s

Dear Sir : Are you proud to be British? Have you ever boasted of your freedom of speech and the freedom you have to follow your conscience? Then you are sadly mistaken.

The ordinary man in the street is not as free as he is led to believe. People can have their freedom taken away by force, simply because they have the courage to follow their convictions.

One such person was Michael Tobin. Two pamphlets cost him two years of his life.

He appeared at Maidstone Crown Court in April 1972 on a first offence charged with the possession of copies of "A letter from a soldier of the I.R.A. to the soldiers of the Royal Greenjackets", and another pamphlet called "A letter from a Ballymurphy mother".

The charge was brought under the 1934 Incitement to Disaffection Act, and calls for the prosecution to prove that "the dissemination [of the leaflets] among members of Her Majesty's Forces would constitute an offence", i.e. that they could encourage men to leave the Army. At his trial, it was not necessary to establish that troops had been approached, nor was any attempt made to prove that any soldiers had received any of the leaflets. He was not accused of writing or publishing the leaflets. In fact, the person who admitted producing them, Mr. Joseph Durkin, was tried at Liverpool Crown Court in January of 1972 and found not guilty. Michael Tobin received the maximum sentence of two years for possessing the ideas of another man.

Michael lost his freedom, are you so sure of yours?

On May 20th, Pat Arrowsmith, the veteran pacifist campaigner, was sentenced to 18 months jail on two charges under the Incitement to Disaffection Act. She had been arrested for distributing copies of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign leaflet, "Some Information for British Soldiers", at Warminster, Wiltshire on 22nd September, 1973. Before being sentenced, Pat told the court that her trial had been about free speech, the soldier's right to disobey inhuman orders, and British repression in Ireland.

Pat has lost her freedom, are you so sure of yours?

The British withdrawal from Northern Ireland campaign continued, and there are now fourteen prosecutions pending under this Act, and also Conspiracy charges had been made against several of these fourteen. Their names are Albert Beale, Wendy Butlin, Juliet Horsby, John Hyatt, Chris Roper, Gwynn Williams, Paul Seed, Ronald Lee, Michael Westcott, Frank Keeley, Rick Walker, Philip Cadbury, Bill Hetherington and Robert Thomas.

All these, no doubt, will lose their freedom, are you so sure of yours?

... ..

The Act under which they are charged is the Incitement to Disaffection Act 1934, which states "(1) Maliciously and advisedly to endeavour to seduce any member of H.M. Forces from his duty or allegiance to Her Majesty.

"(2) With intent to commit or to aid, abet, counsel or procure the commission of any offence under section 1. to have in possession or under control any document of such a nature that the dissemination of copies thereof among members of H.M. Forces would constitute such an offence."

The Incitement to Disaffection Act received the Royal Assent on the 16th November 1934. During its various stages through the House of Commons, brave opposition to the bill was put up by a small group of freedom loving M.P.s. For instance on

the 30th October a Mr. Kirkwood, M.P. said:

"...I am the type of man who will be impeached and whose home will be searched under the bill. It is not the riff-raff and the ragtag and bobtail of society with whom this bill will deal but men who 'Dare to stand alone, Dare to have a purpose firm, and dare to make it known.' It is because we still have men who cannot be bought, either by position or pelf, and because there still are, in Britain, men and women with outstanding character...against whom this measure is being brought forward. So far as I am concerned, I will do my best to see that it does not go onto the Statute book."

And a petition was presented to the House the day after by Miss Rathbone, M.P. "...praying that the Incitement to Disaffection Bill shall not pass into law, on the ground that it is a grave menace to the fundamental liberties of the British people. The petition is organised by the National Council for Civil Liberties and has received the signatures of 63,134 citizens resident all over the United Kingdom."

Included with the M.P.s who consistently voted against the bill through all its stages were Clement Attlee, Aneurin Bevan, George Lansbury and Major James Milner.

Sir William Holdsworth, a Conservative and the leading jurist of the day, described the new bill as "the most daring encroachment upon the liberty of the subject which the executive government has yet attempted".

The Society of Friends concluded that the object of the bill was to imprison those possessing pamphlets advocating pacifism.

Criticism was voiced by trade unionists, intellectuals and political activists who viewed it as a direct attack on freedom of expression.

The Attorney-General, Thomas Inskip, dismissed all protests with the words, "...The resolutions [of protest] are all in substantially the same form, alleging that the bill facilitates attack on opinions with which the government of the day disagrees and enables a government so desiring to suppress all activities whose aim is the prevention of war. I need hardly say that these allegations are based on a complete misunderstanding of the scope of the bill."

Events have shown that the Attorney-General was wrong and his critics right.

I believe that the Incitement to Disaffection Act represents a direct attack on freedom of expression and the imparting of ideas. Whether one agrees with these ideas or not is not the issue and never has been. For the record, I believe British troops should remain in Northern Ireland, but this has not prevented me fighting on behalf of those facing legal action solely for expressing opinions different to my own.

I hope you can join this growing campaign for the repeal of this most blatant piece of political legislation on the Statute book by tabling and supporting a motion calling for its repeal. You M.P.s introduced this Act, only you can repeal it.

For my part, in addition to campaigning for the repeal of this Act, I will continue to bring to the attention of the British public, as is my constitutional right, the plight of all those facing legal action under this Act, and I wish to assure the Home Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Director of Public Prosecutions, and in particular Mr. Roy Mason, the Minister of Defence, that I will in no way be diverted from these aims in any way, shape or form by any legal action the aforementioned may care to take.

Yours faithfully,
R. W. Aldridge

Cardiff 5.11.74

ANARCHISM and
SYNDICALISM

Dear Friends,

I am glad to see that L.O. has drawn attention to the harmful effects of Malatesta's views on syndicalism (FREEDOM 2.11.74) and I suggest that libertarians could do worse than refer to Kropotkin's writings, wherein may be found many useful ideas as, for instance, the sympathetic strike as an example of mutual aid; the idea of the international union, and the international general strike. Even more important perhaps was Kropotkin's insistence that the great revolutionary task would not be for the workers to stop working but to "continue working on their own account". Between this latter idea and the IWW concept of the revolutionary class strike as the general lockout of the master class, the comparison is obvious. Malatesta may not have been aware of the ideas of the IWW when he debated this matter with Monatte in 1907, but the idea of the lockout exercised against the master class was being disseminated in these islands in the writings of Connolly as early as 1909-1910. It is unfortunate that Tom Mann chose to propagate the "folded arms" general strike as advocated by William Benbow in 1833; otherwise work-ins might have been a feature of the National Strike in 1926.

Malatesta erred too in assuming that syndicalists placed the interests of a single class above the true anarchist ideal which sought "the complete liberation of all humanity, at present enclosed, from the triple economic, political, and moral point of view". On the contrary, the IWW analysis had not only shown that all industries were inter-related to such a degree that there was really only one industry - the production of goods and services - but also that all employed in industry, with certain exceptions, were in some sense industrial workers whether engaged in direct production work or indirectly in what for want of a better term are known as service industries nowadays. Thus the teacher, the nurse, the engineer, the builder, the labourer, though working in their respective spheres are yet members of the one big union of the working class. The task of convincing them of this yet remains and the most suitable method of doing so seems to me to lead through the stages of 'Education-Organisation-Emanicipation', preferably in that order even though the first two often go hand in hand. Is it not, incidentally, time that we recognised the inadequacy of the main Marxian categories of bourgeoisie and proletariat and began to think in terms of working classes rather than a working class?

This interested in the connections between the shop-stewards' movement and ourselves might find The First Shop Stewards Movement by James Hinton (Allen & Unwin, 1973) interesting even if it is not entirely sympathetic and in other respects tends to be unduly assertive in places.

Fraternally,
H. B.

LETTERS

PYGMY ANARCHISTS

Dear Comrades,

I have recently read Colin M. Turnbull's book Weynard Servants - a very thorough research on the pygmies of the Zhi Forest. From reading the book I have epitomized that the pygmies are anarchists. There is no government, no law, no chiefs or heads, no priests, no money, no sexual discrimination (and plenty of sexual freedom), and no traditional conventions.

Yet these people, perhaps the only free people on earth, are considered by this society as primitive, uncultured, and with a need to learn of our "civilization". But anyone who will have read Turnbull's book will immediately see how wrong such a view is. They

may also realise that other peoples considered primitive such as the long gone Incas and Aztecs and other first kinds of community were far more peaceful and free than the futile capitalist society of today.

The very first people realised their dependence upon each other for living and set up almost communist-anarchist societies. However some people, realising this dependence on fellow man have turned the masses into slaves. And since then man's history has resolved from Imperial slavery to Feudalism and serfdom, and now to Capitalism where the masses have to sell their labour power. I hope the final revolution, inevitably a Communist-Anarchist one, will recognise, and not repudiate, the good aspects of the initial communities and adopt them to live in the natural way human nature wants -- freedom: as the pygmies do.

Yours,

Geoff Goss

LETTER FROM SPAIN

Dear Comrades,

For some time now there has been talk of a rebirth of anarchism. Some people seek to demonstrate, using this declaration, that anarchism, a movement that rises up against oppression and injustice in the name of mankind, died, or at the least remained in a state of lethargy for a long time. But, I ask myself, can something which defends human beings against the tyranny of institutions, ever die? No, I believe not: anarchism will never die, while there are men who love freedom and nature. It may be, as Rüdiger thinks, that anarchism will develop into a work that has no end; at the very least, anarchism has the courage to defend men against institutions.

I believe, moreover, that anarchism, in order to further complete its work, must defend everybody against that huge machine that is the State. As time goes on, it is perfecting itself and attaining greater and more monstrous proportions. From the moment we are born, we are swallowed by its mechanisms, digested and finally excreted; the State wants us to be far, very far from the light, and we, confident to the highest degree, believe that we would not be able to survive without it.

But, if anarchism is not to die, we must not only place our pens at the service of freedom, but also our blood. As was demonstrated by May 1968 in Paris, action has its value.

I am not calling, however, for any action of whatever kind, but for genuine, sincere, liberatory action. . .

I have had to clear many stumbling-blocks out of the way in order to reach my present position. Although shaped by a conservative environment, I soon observed that the values upheld by our elders were rotten; a long time ago they might have been fresh, but now they stank like a dung-heap.

The distribution of anti-authoritarian propaganda in Spain remains very difficult so it is very hard to make contact with this kind of publication. For that reason I wish not only to subscribe to Freedom but also to collaborate by writing articles and studies, historical and social, etc.

My most urgent task is to show that anarchism never died, that the struggle goes on; but I will also have to investigate the reasons why it has seen itself outstripped by certain authoritarian theories. Above all else, I understand by anarchism the spirit of rebellion, the refusal of blind submission to something which has neither head nor tail; and to uncover this spirit, I go back not only to the last century, but I see even further, discovering in ancient Greece, and especially in Chinese philosophy, the spirit of rebellion, man's desire to shake off all the yokes that oppress him.

Continued on P. 7

USELESS MONSTER

AN INDEX OF POSSIBILITIES, subtitled Energy and Power. (Wildwood House & Arrow books) more or less 300 pages, £2.50.

WORSE BOOKS than this are published every day - books whose titles bear no relation to their contents, whose aims are never defined, blazoned with huge sloppy illustrations which relate to nothing, books which contain amazing omissions as well as odd inclusions. The fact that its collective authors are the children of light from Friends, IT, Time Out, etc., and that their aims are patently benign, does not absolve me from criticising their massive efforts. Constructive criticism is all too often mistaken for outright antagonism by silly leftwing and alternative society people, rather like the rich woman who seized the painstaking teacher of her spoilt and lazy child at an open day and snarled: "Now, you're not to discourage Martha!" The authors hope to disarm criticism: "The book will have to be its own definition." It is. Believe me, it sure is, from the start. The print of the word INTRODUCTION is larger than the introduction.

DON'T LET IT ALL WASH OVER YOU,
MAN

Alternative London, which is a true index of possibilities in London,* is a fine, cheap and easily used reference book. The authors of this jumbo compendium thank its author in their thanks column. They learnt nothing from its simple and unpretentious layout. They give the game away by their subtitle Energy and Power. Like we all know energy and power are divine, man, but what the hell have Witchcraft (6 pages), Dreams (3 pages), Hypnotism (2 pages), Ecstasy (6 pages) and on and on got to do with the structure of atoms and the Torrey Canyon? I personally bewail the exclusion of vegetarianism from this book, as it is a great source of energy and power to me. Witchcraft just isn't my thing. I prefer vegetables. I'm not being frivolous. The idea of diet as a source of health energy and economy on a national scale, with all that it implies in agricultural and social re-organisation, never occurred to the compilers of this book. Yet their confusion between sources of personal inspiration and natural and mechanical sources of energy, is total. It is never explained. Like all life is energy and power, man. Phooey! The confusions of this book are summed up in a conversation I overheard between a well-known

SPAIN...continued from P. 6

Perhaps my attitude may give the impression that I am exceedingly pedantic, but I believe more in action than in theory, I admire a Kropotkin or a Malatesta much more than a Marx or an Engels.

Yours fraternally,
F. J. E.

young anarchist and a humorous marxist, which I report exactly: "Look at engineering!" cried the anarchist. "It's very marxist to praise the wonders of engineering, after all - and the undervaluation of women throughout the ages, the persecution of the witches, wow, women have really done so much more than they were credited with." "You aren't suggesting," said the Marxist with a straight face, "that the withches were responsible for the industrial revolution?"

THE GOOD BITS ?

The popularisation of science (a lot of it will be familiar to readers of Scientific American and New Scientist, but these are few) interests me, as I am ignorant of almost every aspect of the numerous sciences. No originality in it, and the writing is pedestrian, but it's fair reading. I'd have been content with just that. I like a book usefully rooted in one area, with clear intentions, like Asimov's popular science books, or Lancelot Hogben's Man Must Measure about geometry, or on another level, the 'old fashioned' and indispensable guides to D.I.Y. plumbing and electricity and so on.

TRANSCENDING EVERYDAY LIFE ?

The authors are too pretentious for this. Not for them the discipline of concrete aims. Not for them the dreary realities of everyday life! Escape with them into the colour sup world of Life Energies, Bio-Rhythms, Body Tides, Yoga, Hinduism, Khrishnamurti, The Shaman, Buddhism, Jung, etc etc etc. I cannot convey the triviality of what is obviously one of their most personal items. When they tell you how to collect newspaper cuttings, like anything, I mean, man, whatever takes your fancy, they note: "Newspapers are a stone gas." This gibberish almost matches up to the alltime great comment in Time Out: "This disc is a must of a mindfuck." They conclude appropriately with fashionable science fiction by Michael Moorcock. Moorcock lives just round the corner, you know. The authors live in a commune in Notting Hill Gate. How do people get around in Notting Hill Gate? Many people go by bus. To see a person break down in tears of frustration and depression because of standing waiting half an hour, forty minutes even, for a bust that will not come, makes me angry. If public transport is not a matter of the use of power and energy, what is? You won't find the words public or transport in the index to this book. There are no social priorities in this book. To the ordinary person faced with the realities of everyday life, oil leaking from the Torrey Canyon or in Bantry Bay is as far away as the stars. When's that bus coming?

THE BAD TRIP

The two pages on "Daily Collapse" begin: "We all sleep for more or less 8 hours every day." Read this book and make it ten, increase your sleeping power.

There is nothing in it of any practical use whatever. Nearly one foot square, it's a hippy's coffee table. It's a self-indulgent romp across the fashionable known and unknown. It doesn't matter whether it was a hard-working romp. Like many people, I probably work harder on my holidays than at my daily bread, but they're still holidays, for me. Compiling this book must have been a sort of equivalent of going on a journey to Katmandu. As for me, I didn't go on their trip.

SELF-EDUCATION NO SUDDEN GLORY

Knowledge and self-knowledge are the bedrock of anarchism. We must go a long way with Samuel Smiles, the famous Victorian author of Self-Help - which is still being reprinted across the world - when he boldly declared that not genius but "the energetic use of simple means and ordinary qualities" was the transforming agent in society. The creed of self-help originally grew out of radicalism, and is the inspiration still of trade union education. It is a shame that self-help, self-improvement, self-regulation, self-management, are no longer an integral part of socialism. They spell Toryism, laissez-faire, selfishness, the self-made-man. Only in anarchism does self-help preserve its radical meaning. There are times when education looks like the first refuge of the libertarian socialist. As soon as it is clear that we mean not only the education of children but adults too, permanent education in the maoist sense, self-education is plainly not a refuge but a springboard. This contrasts crashingly with the instant culture of colour supplements, second-hand and second-rate.

THE WAY TO THE STARS

The waste of human energies involved in compiling this book appalls me. I am moved by the way the editors of Ecology magazine found their own way to a naive and unspecific anarchism, through their own discipline. Everyone finds their own way to anarchism. This book is no way to anything, except perhaps to the Sunday Times colour supplement. Maybe that's what they want, I don't know. Like the female authors of that magnificent compendium Our Bodies Our Selves, like the authors of Whole Earth Catalog - with which the Index compilers untruthfully compare their work - those Ecology editors were light years ahead of the writers of An Index of Possibilities. The news that this trendy gunk is only volume one, that two more volumes are on the way, is horrifying. Perhaps no-one will buy them. I hope so. Anyone interested in the idea of compiling thousands of one-page fact sheets on subjects such as sugar, petrol, transport, housing, contact me c/o Freedom Press.

Julius.

*Except for the entries for FREEDOM & Freedom Press--EDS.

News from Irish Prisons

A CORRESPONDENT reports that a new permanent prison is being built at the Curragh military camp in Ireland. This has caused deep resentment amongst the soldiers who do not like being used as screws for civilian prisoners. Already 60 military policemen have bought themselves out of the army rather than work in the prison. The new prison is built in 3 billets each of which will hold about 50 men.

Since an army guard was placed on Portlaoise Prison it is said that a fortune in copper and lead has disappeared off the roof! One soldier, Private Grace, was killed when soldiers shot at each other in a fight over a bag of sweets.

T. P.

WE WELCOME NEWS, ARTICLES, LETTERS...WE GO TO PRESS MONDAY

CONTACT

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursdays from 2 p.m. at Freedom Press. Followed by get-together with refreshments.

HARDY PERENNIAL Walt Whitman Anarchist Calendar 1975. 13p inc. post from Kropotkin's Lighthouse Pubs. c/o Freedom Bookshop.

10 Dec (Human Rights Day) Picket South Africa House in protest at S.A. occupation of Namibia & floggings & political imprisonment in Namibia. 12.30-2.30. Organised by Namibia Action Gp (c/o 6 Endsleigh St. WC1), UN Youth, & Friends of Namibia. (Also Dec. 10 talk with slides - details from above address)

New Group: PORTSMOUTH: write Rob Atkinson, 29 Havelock Rd Southsea, Portsmouth, Hants.

CORBAY anarchists. For activities write 7 Cresswell Walk, CORBY, Northants.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne c/o Union of Students, Warwick University, Coventry CV4 7AL

MANCHESTER SWF weekly mtgs. enq. Sec. c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13.

Some London anarchists meet socially at Duke of York pub. 47 Rathbone St. London W1. 7.30 pm

ALTERNATE SUNDAYS Hyde Park Anarchist Forum. Speakers Corner 1 pm. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcome.

INT. LIB. CEN/CENTRO IBERICO Sats & Suns. from 7.30 pm. Disco etc. 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd, 2nd door) Tube Chalk Fm/Belsize Park.

19 - 30 Nov. HALF MOON THEATRE, 27 Alie St. E.1. (Aldgate East tube) Phone 480 6465 for details of perfs. of "GET OFF MY BACK!", musical history of London Docks free tickets for performances at various East London centres.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Lecture at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave. (SW cnr. 29 St) 7.30 p.m. Thurs. Dec. 12: Dan Georgakas and Leonard Bernstein: Art and Anarchy.

POEMS wanted for Abolish War Encyclopaedia/Anthology, pacifist anti-militarist, anti-racialist Also Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal Statements. Any language. Mark Wm. Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church St. London SE5

PORTUGUESE Libertarian Movemt. needs books, pamphlets, free copies anarchists pubs., money & ideological support. Movimento Libertario Portugues. Rua Angelina Vidal 17-2^o -E LISBOA 1.

Prisoners:

Paul is being neglected. Old friends please write to him PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219089, H.M. Prison, Heathfield Road, London SW18 3HS (or even a postcard now and again).

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen (7 yrs) Des Keane (5 yrs) and Columba Longmore (4 yrs). Address for letters & papers: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, 54 Harcombe Rd. London N15. Needs donations to provide study books for these long-term prisoners.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee, Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

THREE held re kidnapping of Spanish banker: postcards to Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Prison de Fresnes, 1 Av. de la Division Leclerc, 94261 FRESNES, France, and to Ariane Gransac-Sadori & Jane Helen Weir at Prison de Femmes, 9 av. des Peupliers, 97100 ST. GENEVIEVE DES BOIS, France.

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P O V E R T Y in the midst of P L E N T Y...from Page 1

the 1973 Israeli-Arab war and the subsequent oil supply crisis are a turning point for the 'developed nations' (to use his term). In the same issue of The Listener (14 Nov.) which prints the lecture, the paid handmaiden of science Magnus Pike struts his stuff about how wonderful spun-soya is as a necessary substitute for meat. Happily in the same issue, to dot the i's and cross the t's of the whole predicament, there is the text of a TV programme by E. F. Schumacher, author of Small is Beautiful, entitled "Cutting Technology Down to Size", in which he advocates his highly anarchistic ideas of intermediate technology.

The truth is that there is nothing new under the sun. The Dahrendorfs, the Pykes, the Schumachers, the Guerins, the Illiches, the Goodmans, are all repeating (some in more palatable and acceptable forms than others) truths that have been well known for centuries. Many of these truths (and, naturally, a few lies) have been incorporated in anarchist doctrine and thinking over many years. We have been forced to repeat them year after year, day after day - at the risk of becoming bores and with the certainty of being accused of being old-fashioned and wanting to 'put the clock back'. We shall go on repeating them.

Modern psychology, philosophy, penology and technology

have just caught up with what we anarchists were spouting at street corners or scribbling in obscure pamphlets and publications many, many years ago.

As Kropotkin said (and no apology for a well-worn phrase) "Truly, we mankind are rich -- far richer than we think, rich in what we already possess, richer still in the possibilities of production of our actual mechanical outfit; richest of all in what we might win from our soil, from our manufactures, from our science, from our technical knowledge, were they applied to bringing about the well-being of all."

Given (or taken) a decentralized, balanced society, freed of the incubus of state and the profit motive, mankind could utilize such technical skills as he has and such ingenuity as he is capable of in creating a world of plenty. Given a world of plenty and co-operation instead of competition, the problem of too many mouths would not arise. For not only is every mouth usually accompanied by hands and brains but there would be no need for the desperate creation of large families (in poverty-stricken countries) for the simple human purpose of ensuring support in old age.

In a society which cares for the welfare of all, all members are welcomed.

Jack Robinson.