

anarchist weekly  
**Freedom**

Vol. 36 No. 3

18 JANUARY 1975

FIVE PENCE

# Do they want to END THE KILLING?

Whatever differences the current ceasefire may have been responsible for with regard to the easing of tension and the restoration of nearly normal conditions for shoppers in Belfast during the day, it has so far made no appreciable difference in the pattern of nightlife in the city. The ghetto areas remain as they were with hardly a cat to be seen on the streets after dark even though the cats have a decided advantage under these conditions where the street lighting has been either turned off by the army or vandalised by teenage gangs. And while the political gangsters lie low the other type of gangsters remain in business as a series of armed hold-ups continues unabated. It was said some time ago that it was not for allegiance to the principles of Wolfe Tone but for the introduction of the methods of Al Capone that the IRA would be remembered.

One man who obviously does not welcome the comparatively peaceful situation is Ian Paisley. Peace with victory is his catchcry at present and a meeting of the United Ulster Unionist Council has sent out the direst warnings to Merlyn Rees with veiled threats as to what might happen if he starts to negotiate with the provisionals. There is a reason for all this of course and Paddy Devlin of the Social and Democratic Labour Party hit the nail on the head when he said that Paisley's interest in provisional violence is as strongly vested as is a milkman's in the milk from a cow - if it dries up he is out of business.

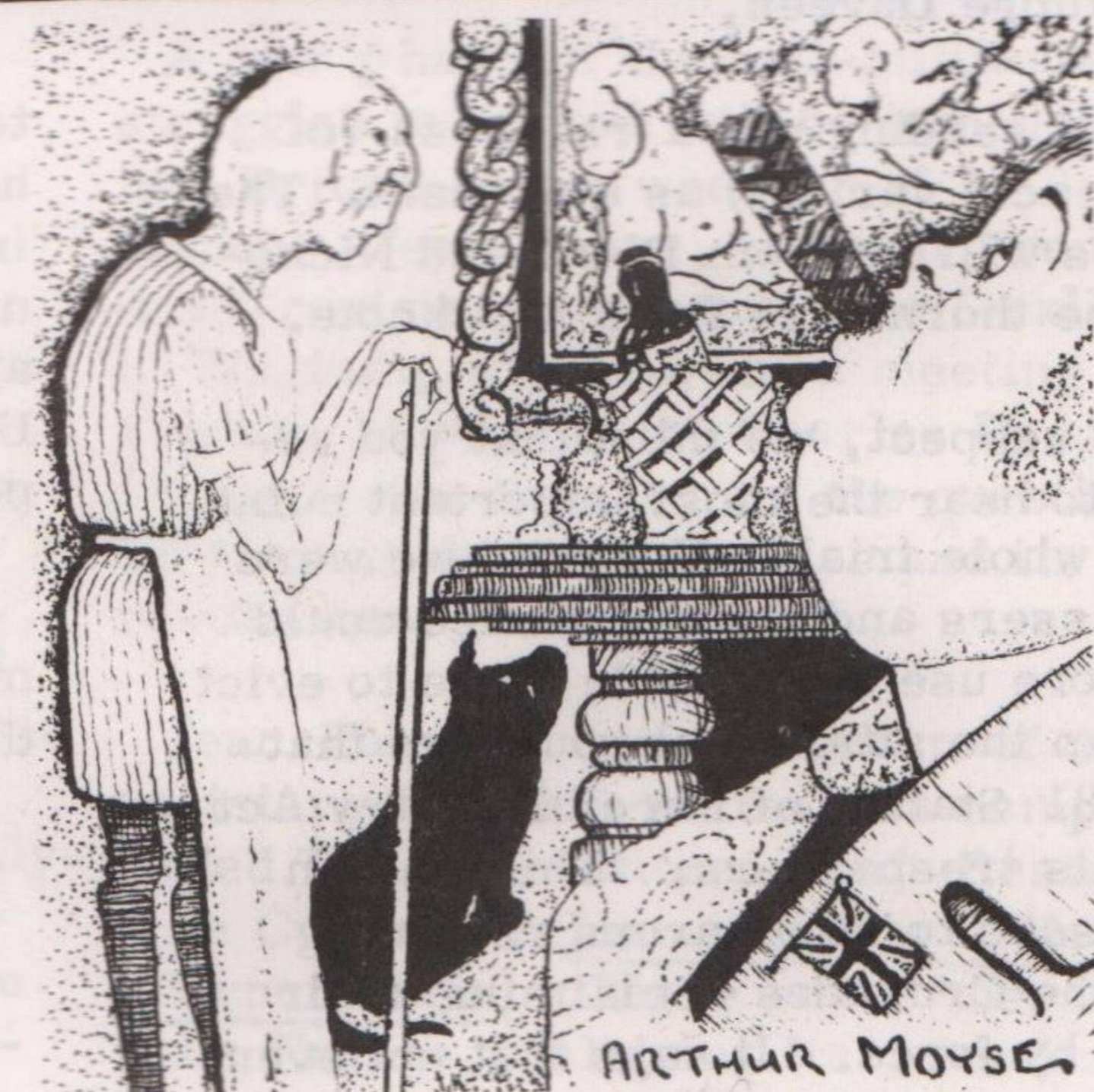
"It seems incredible that after 1200 deaths by violence, the creation of manmade misery and agony, as well as the destruction of millions of pounds worth of public and private property, that there was anyone in Northern Ireland or Britain who would protest against the cessation of violence. We have not only found one person but we have found a group of politicians, called the UUUC, led by, among others, Mr. Paisley, who has the gall to condemn the stopping of the violence as if the action of cessation itself was a monumental breach of the criminal law."

At a lower level of importance than the UUUC there are the small left-wing sects, marked chiefly by a high degree of political illiteracy, which devote most of their time to cheering on the provisionals in the "anti-imperi-

alist struggle". What these would-be political commissars would do if violence ceased it is hard to tell. If they encounter difficulties in the form of wide credibility gaps when they try to resume their former pose as democrats they will not doubt do their very best in their efforts to stir things up again. I wonder if some of the English left-wing groups they are connected with, those who used to chant "Victory to the IRA", are still chanting as loud as ever after Birmingham?

The infighting between various factions on both sides continues. The former Bernadette Devlin (now Mrs. Mc Aliskey) is one of the leading lights in a group which has split off from the Official republican movement and is now styling itself the Irish Republican Socialist Party. And latest reports from the protestant camp are that the West Belfast branch of the Ulster Defence Association, one of the strongest branches, is cutting itself adrift from the UDA, though as the foundation branch it will probably expect the other branches to use another title.

H. B.



"As a patriotic gesture, Mrs. Murphy, I'm reducing our weekly wage. But equal sacrifices. £2 a week off your £17 a week and £2 a week off my £400 a week."

A Mr. Phillip Jenkinson (film critic of the Radio Times) of Connaught street, London W.2. wrote to the Guardian offering to be Hon. Sec. if anyone organises a badly-needed 'Screw Christmas Society'. Mr. Jenkinson can be viewed in the current Radio Times (21 Dec.) pulling a solo cracker.

# THE HONEYMOON IS OVER

It looks as though the Labour government's honeymoon is over with the trade union movement. Despite the social contract, wage claims and the working class are being blamed for the so-called economic crisis in this country. The partisan approach of the Labour Party and the trade union leadership following the general election is now giving way and a much tougher line is being taken by the government.

This was clearly shown by the Prime Minister's attack on the engine tuners' strike at British Leyland. It can be seen in the hints by Mr. Healey, the chancellor of the exchequer, of re-writing the social contract to bring in tighter wage restrictions and curtail some of the other social benefits of contract which were so prominently displayed at the general election.

This change does not surprise us. It is the nature of any government to protect the interests of the ruling class. In spite of all the talk about "introducing socialist measures" by Mr. Hayward, general secretary of the Labour Party, the government's task is the maintenance of the capitalist system. The "socialist measures" Mr. Hayward speaks of refer to state intervention and take-over of private companies. Even such huge industrial empires as British Leyland are looking to the government for financial help. As this shows, the crisis facing the western capitalist system is a financial one and not economic. Factories still have the productive capacity, materials and labour necessary to produce but the financial rewards by way of profits have not been rolling into the coffers.

However, to remain profitable capitalism has to expand. In turn this means investing money into improving present capacity, buying new machinery and so increasing production. But investment in this country has not been forthcoming. The rubbish about investing in Britain is merely a snop-window dressing, since money speaks an international language and can be sent abroad where a better return can be obtained.

Companies are only too willing to accept public funds to assist their ailing financial position, but it becomes a cardinal sin when the state takes some form of control in such companies. This however does not give the workers employed in these companies any more control than they had before the state takeover. The socialism the old pioneers dreamed of in the last century has turned sour and has become yet another system of exploitation called state capitalism.

Continued on Page 8

# A SPECIAL CASE?

It is a myth that the Chinese used to pay their doctor when they were in good health and that payments ceased when they fell ill. However, some such scheme would be preferable to the sorry mess that the Health Service has become, with prophecies that it is in a state of terminal sickness.

The National Health Service (one of the last to be instituted in Europe) was a by-product of the 1939-45 war and the Beveridge Plan - which in fact estimated actuarially that the Health Service could pay for itself - the little bastard was conceived by Aneurin Bevan and butchered by operations by consultant physicians and surgeons at the start. It was given meagre injections of the life-blood (money) and even less skilled attention by nurses.

It has suffered from rampant bureaucracy, the cancerous growth of committees, the galloping consumption of White Papers and a fever of vocation. Before the last rites are performed it may be well to conduct another examination (without benefit of consultant specialists) of the sickness of the health service.

\* \* \* \*

It is obvious that the claims of the doctors are in a different category from those of the farm workers (see last week's FREEDOM). This, and much else, can possibly be explained by Brian Inglis's definition in Private Conscience and Public Morality of the British Medical Association as a corporate body (like much else) concerned only with preserving its monopoly, controlling its own education, research and discipline. It has always resisted the National Health Service; the present position regarding the consultants is a heritage of Aneurin Bevan's compromise with the doctors to bring the poor little British Health Service into the world. It talks lofty waffle about "vocation", "the sacred bond between doctor and patient" but further than that it has sought to perpetuate and still fights to preserve the myth of the Health Service which is really a sickness service.

A BATALHA, anarcho-syndicalist fortnightly. From Freedom bkshp 10p + 3½p. Money is urgently needed to cover costs of printing & distrib'g first 5 issues (55,000 copies each) of this, the only anarchist paper in Portugal. Please send (in any currency) direct to Co-operativo Editoro A BATALHA, Rua Angelina Vidal, 17-2º-E, LISBOA 1, Portugal.

We welcome news articles, letters. We go to press Monday

All the advances in medical knowledge have originally been resisted by the doctors (many still are) from anaesthesia to acupuncture. Furthermore, recruitment to the profession is rigorously controlled -- the unorthodox, immoral or deviating are swiftly disciplined. The qualification of women (and alien) doctors has always been strongly contested. Furthermore and most serious of all -- since inception the ideas of psychology and psychiatry have been shunned (or only reluctantly admitted) by doctors; they have gone on with their pills, placebos, potions and drastic surgery.

The result of all this embattled corporatism is that the faith in doctors has declined and the sales of patent medicines, pain-killers and sleeping draughts has increased.

But this corporate sickness service has thrived on State help (with a little private practice on the side). It was, in fact, the appallingly low standard of health of Army recruits in the 'thirties that made the health of the citizen soldier necessary to the health of the state. Doctors, dentists and opticians have prospered on this new state medicine as also have the drug

firms who for every symptom found a cure -- the diseases we still have.

It is claimed, with some truth, that nursing is a vocation and therefore no increases in pay can create a dedicated nurse. Enoch Powell (formerly a Minister of Health) has proclaimed with his deadly logic that they cannot claim the job-satisfaction benefits of vocation and high pay at the same time. Since we live in a society controlled by the cash-nexus, alas, monetary rewards are all we can offer nurses and hospital workers in order to keep up recruitment.

But it is literally painfully obvious that the National Health Service has failed even as a palliative for the sick society and it is equally obvious that the institutional corporate centralised form of doctor-power has failed.

Originally, hospitals were set up by the communities. They were charities, often disfigured by the distortions of religion and hampered by the lack of funds and scientific knowledge, but they were suffused with a real care for the health of the patient but the State's condensed milk of human kindness is a poor substitute for communal care and responsibility.

The anarchists of the 'forties (before the Bevanite scheme) advocated something approaching this communal line

Continued on Page 3

## LETTER

Open Letter to the Windsor Pop Festival Police.

Dear Judge Duveen,

We're sending you a rosebush (of the 'Peace' variety) as a present. The flowers will be from Diana and Nicholas, the thorns are from Heathcote.

With respect, we think that you refused to hear the most important point of the whole trial. You said we were trespassers and that the police could therefore use reasonable force to evict us from the site. But you know that the 1381 Statute of Forcible Entry Act protects trespassers. This was an act passed to stop barons returning from the Crusades reclaiming their lands by force. It says that not even the king of England "from henceforth may make entry into any lands with strong hand or with multitude of people" without an eviction order granted by a judge in court.

In other words, 600 policemen swooping onto the site early in the morning without a court order was an illegal act breaking one of the oldest laws of the land. For the police admitted that we were in possession of the festival site, controlling access of vehicles onto the site and the running of the site generally - the police even claimed to

have retreated both their uniformed and plainclothes men.

So the festival site was definitely ours all that week. It was a temporary free city of Life & Love, sometimes chaotic, but mostly in spirit part of Albion Free State, the other England of Peace & Love, which William Blake foresaw in vision.

For this year's festival, we beg you to use your influence and to join in helping arrange a site much further inside Windsor Great Park where the noise will not annoy local residents, and where we can all enjoy a taste of Utopia, a free festival run with proper facilities and safeguards.

To quote the Thames Valley Police motto: Sit pax in valle Tamesia (Let there be peace in the Thames valley).

Diana, Nicholas & Heathcote  
Albion Free State, c/o 217a  
Westbourne Park Rd. London  
W.11. 11 January 1975.

For overseas and new readers who don't know: the Windsor Free Pop Festival is an annual August event, held without the blessing of the authorities in a royal public park. The 1974 gathering was brutally shattered by Thames Valley Police. The three writers of the above letter sued the police for damages; Diana and Nicholas were each granted £70 damages (twice what they claimed), Nicholas's claim was dismissed. Costs were awarded against the police.

# 50<sup>th</sup> ANN<sup>vy</sup> OF KAFKA'S DEATH

One pertinent question asked throughout the whole of the Watergate affair was 'why did not Nixon destroy the tapes?' and there are two answers, I believe. One is that those in authority assume that that authority is permanent and the second that in a bureaucratic complex, modern or mediaeval, no single person will accept the responsibility for destroying documents. Only when an armed opponent of the entrenched establishment is literally within rifle fire will documents be thrown in the flame or the shredder but until then the self-condemning papers will be filed away, with the tapes, to be used by a new elite to condemn the living or the dead opposition. All the political betrayals of the Second World War are now beginning to surface. Stalin's crimes and Nixon's stupidities make good Sunday reading for the politically pure and even the Roman Popes are being goosed by contemporary history - and give a year or so and all the betrayals and the political manoeuvring of the Irish slaughter fest will become common bar room gossip.

The Home Office report on the Prison Department is a volume that from external examination could be described as neat and not gaudy, for it is pocket size and printed in Freudian cloud white on a sky blue background and the photographs that illustrate it could, out of context, be accepted as a publicity hand-out for Gordonstoun or any other upper echelon public school. It offers a prison world of almost monastic calm wherein dedicated prison officers go about their work of supervision and training is the key to a man's confinement, and can be summed up in the role of the chaplain as described in para. 199 "The chaplain can never be the advocate of a cause, whether it be an inmate's

Report on the work of the Prison Department 1973. H. M. S. O. 1974. Price £1.10

## Doctors . . . continued from P. 2

in health centres such as the Peckham experiment before the 1939 war (see the book of that name by Pearse and Crocker) which took the family and the neighbourhood as the nucleus for a Health Service.

In the New Statesman (Jan 10th) Donald Gould returns, in an examination of the sickness of the health service, to this idea, saying "If we stopped building huge and hugely expensive district general hospitals and put the money into health centres where family doctors could have the facilities needed for the practice of modern medicine, then those family doctors would find the kind of satisfaction in their daily work which they imagined would be theirs when they first decided that they wanted to be doctors.

Physician, heal thyself!

Jack Robinson.

cause or a Staff cause, whether community's or government's. Rather is he there present and participating in all causes as a sign of that peaceful way of love that commits no violence against any man and that treats all men as sacred." It is when one digs through that most boring of chores, the appendices, that one has reason to question the message, for Appendix 9 gives 43 deaths from "non-natural causes" and "13 suicides", all in 1973; six prisoners "canvas restraint jacket", 244 men and women placed in "rooms [that] were used for temporary confinement"; 13 "body belt", 3 "ankle straps", and 336 men and women under "Number of times that special cells (other than protected rooms) were used for temporary confinement". There were 634 prisoners punished by a "Restricted diet" but nowhere within the report is there any suggestion of violence against a prisoner, and the obvious answer would be that official force would only be used against the irrational violence of an imprisoned man or woman refusing to conform to recognised and established authority. Yet it is the nature of any authoritarian regime to demand greater and greater conformity, for even conformity is in the end suspect and unless men are goaded into open revolt they cannot be rendered temporarily harmless.

On the sunny side of the hill there are things to be commended. Para. 109 and 155 state that censorship in three open prisons was relaxed and found workable and in the women's open prisons it is claimed that prisoners "may correspond with families and friends without having their letters scrutinised by members of the staff". The odd thing about this 'privilege' was not of security but that the Staff felt they would be losing touch with the prisoners, and the answer to that must be to adopt a lonely member of the Staff and write to her once a week care of internal mail. I once suggested, many years ago, that prisoners should be allowed to use the telephone and the progressive bar fly at my elbow laughed the idea out of Ward's, but I am happy to read that Para 156 states that "the scheme for the use of the telephone by women and girls is being extended to all establishments where such facilities can be made available". I have an odd feeling that the catch 22 is the lack of a phone number but perhaps I wrong a good liberal.

This is my biased and slanted version of the Home Office report on Her Majesty's prison population. It offers a picture of a wise, a good and a well meaning organisation concerned solely with the welfare of these whom society has felt the need to segregate, yet name me a prison service throughout history, name me a prison service of any country that would not make these same claims. On January the 2nd 1975 the Home Office sent me an 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$

inch single sheet Press Notice on "Pay rise for prisoners" stating that prisoners were to receive 8 pence per week increase in earnings. This will raise their average earnings to 68 pence a week. Sweat a gut and they could earn £1.97 a week but the average earnings is 68 pence a week and with this 68 pence they can buy a limited range of confectionary, fruit, toilet articles and tobacco, "the price of which is increasing".

There are problems for which I do not have the answers. I do not know what one does with the Richardsons and the Krays within a free society and I would like to know. But this I do know. That we, in this infinity of time, have but one life to live and if a society is unable to solve its internal sicknesses except by segregating those it fears then in return for that sacrificial act that society must create a life style demanded by those it imprisons for long periods. I held, then and now, that the Eastern militarists were extremely stupid in their treatment of their prisoners of war of the Second World War and Korea, for nothing is gained by ill-treating long term prisoners. Common sense and propaganda demanded that the Japanese and the Chinese military should have created prison camps deep in the hinterland, with no discipline, well stocked with food and drink, an abundance of cameras and film and no letter censorship, and who would fear capture and every prisoner would have become a self-proclaiming propagandist for the State's enemy - but who am I to play Machiavelli for fools in command. This I do know. That in 1973 there were 29,220 men in Britain's prisons of whom 389 escaped. When any man is incarcerated he is no longer The Criminal, he is now The Prisoner and human dignity demands that men must seek to break their bonds. This is the dichotomy: that we fear the animal and denounce the cage. There are men, such as the Great Train Robbers, whom this society should have freed many years ago but as they do not then common sense, if not naive humanity, demands that the social mirror of outside life should be theirs. A full wage, untampered correspondence, their own clothes, television, radio and personal and human contact with their wives and others and a cell that they can close on the world when they so wish, for the punishment is loss of liberty and too many men have paid that debt in full and the vengeance of the weak should not be daily meted out by paid staff after the gate has closed.

Arthur Moyse.

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# LIFE UNDER THE O

The Sorrow & The Pity - a French city under the German Occupation. Transcription of a film by Marcel Ophuls. Paladin paperback, 194pp. £1.

MANY PEOPLE in Britain often feel like aliens in this country of their birth or adoption. Anyone with a coloured skin, anyone suffering under the evils of being poor or sexually or socially treated as inferior, is living under enemy occupation. You don't have to be an anarchist to see this, and you certainly don't have to be politically committed to feel it. Erin Pizzey's book about wives battered by their husbands is also about this sort of enemy occupation - the more vile and insidious because all the horrors she describes spring so evidently from within our own society. Not even the National Front could claim that they are imposed from outside. Again, as soon as we look at countries with social and political systems as repressive as those of South Africa or the USSR, the narrow idea of foreign domination breaks down. It is domination itself which is foreign and hateful.

### Military Occupation

Almost every country in Europe except our own was occupied by the enemy whether Nazi or Russian Communist, during or after World War II. This is no laughing matter. It is not the source of light comedy series. There is no French Dad's Army, no German, no eastern European Dad's Army. The social elite of Colditz, imprisoned by all the upper middle class cliches that a cliché-ridden TV could amass, is no joke. It's not in praise of the Colditz chorus lines, to say that they are still bizarrely closer to other countries' experience than the sugary comforts of the Home Guard.

The staple cinematic diet of eastern Europe since the war has been the struggles for national liberation, always shown as Communist-inspired. With Menzel's film Closely Observed Trains, the new wave of the Czech cinema put this struggle on a fresh footing of, amongst other things, sexual awareness. The film was severely criticised by Czech stalinists for this departure from orthodoxy. Since the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in '68, it's back to the grim programme of Communist "liberation" plus light comedies.

### France and Ireland

The French began to come to terms with the facts of military occupation and collaboration with Ophuls' film documentary The Sorrow & The Pity. Physicists and philosophers talk of time and relativity. The people in this film talk of the past as if it were present now. They live it still. Banned by the French government, this film was bought by the BBC and shown twice here on TV. The second time, a BBC hack prefaced it by regretting - with the maker, so he said - its over-sympathetic attitude towards the

Communists. (Don't let the viewers make up their own minds about that.) Ophuls' later film documentary about northern Ireland was too near home. All English TV company managements rejected it. Ireland is the closest parallel we have to the Nazi military occupation of France. Ireland is the historical and actual trauma which the English daily live in their memories, in their relatives, in their newspapers and TV, in their tea-break conversations about the bomb outrages. We are separated only by the Irish Channel from the facts of military occupation as the French knew it thirty years ago. Yet only the bomb outrages have reminded many English people that the Irish Channel is not the Atlantic Ocean.

### Inhibitions and Prohibitions

The raw flesh of Ireland is not the sole victim of our censors. It seems very recent to me, though it was over ten years ago that Brownlow's film, It Happened Here, about an imagined Nazi occupation of Britain, collaboration and ail, was sunk without trace for a decade. Only in the last few months has the Daily Telegraph colour supplement deemed it timely to feature detailed glossy articles on the projected Nazi occupation of Britain. This has less to do with the appetite of the mass media for new topics, than with the climate of opinion amongst our ruling classes. The events are so far away that one can assume with certainty that very few chaps would have collaborated, eh? One can at last forgive P. G. Wodehouse for giving a couple of radio talks to Goebbels, and hand the old boy a knighthood. If we consider these careful inhibitions and prohibitions by the guardians of our history and morals, that is, by our rulers and their stooges, the achievement of The Sorrow & The Pity is even more striking.

### Film and Book

I am writing now of the liberally illustrated, clearly present and well introduced transcript of the film. I can think of few history books as good. It is worth reading for itself. A pound is not too much to pay, for once. The film had the additional visual element of live moving people. Far more people have seen the film on TV than will read the book. Because the film was so long, 4½ hours, its maker was able to intercut between many different people who experienced the Occupation and responded to it in very different ways. I confess that the second time it was shown on TV, I fell asleep for an hour and awoke to see the same person being interviewed (on a different occasion). I am ashamed of this slight fall from grace, for so much experience was packed into those hours. Most of that time was devoted to 'talking head', i.e. people talking straight to the camera. The mixture of people was so egalitarian and their experience so directly

# OCCUPATION

communicated, that it did not drag in the way that "experts" and leaders so bore us on TV every day.

## What Did You Do in the War, Daddy?

The story contains contributions by aristocrats, bourgeois, shopkeepers, teachers, peasants, Germans, Englishmen and Jews - by monarchists, right-wingers, radicals, Communists, the uncommitted. We do not have to be sympathetic to an anti-semitic to be interested in his or her motives - especially when these are commented on incidentally or centrally by other characters.

The Resistance is a true glory of French history. It is also true that the French *haute bourgeoisie* in particular flocked to the side of the Nazis, as Orwell once wrote sneeringly of pacifists and their good causes, like blue-bottles swarming round a dead dog. There were 7,000 young French volunteers for the French branch of the Waffen S.S. Did Petain, Laval, and the other collaborators have good intentions? So Laval's son-in-law tells us in this film. We also see collaborators being asked where they drew the line. Other contributors tell us: they didn't draw the line at random French police arrests, at Communists being selected and shot. They didn't draw the line when over 4,000 French Jewish infants were seized and exterminated. Almost everyone now claims to have done their little bit against the Nazis. But then "treason doth never prosper, what's the reason? For if it prosper, none dare call it treason." We see the Communists who played such a large part in the Resistance still trying to appropriate the movement for themselves, still trying to claim all the credit, as they did after the Liberation when they presented themselves as the party "of the 75,000 dead".

## People Who Feel and People Who Don't

If there are any heroes in this film and book, they are the peasant resisters the brothers Grave. "You didn't think about your village much in Buchenwald?" - "No. Some of us did, but you didn't really think about anything, except saving your own skin, and that's all. I speak for myself alone; that is my point of view. There were some who cried. I saw them crying, and I would say to myself: Well, this one won't come out of this... You couldn't do that. You had to think about yourself first, and later about the others, afterwards."

But Jean Grave did think about others. Some didn't: "The only event that I can remember was that, before the children arrived in September 1942, the hunting season was opened again..."

# RESEARCH / MAGS

WE HAVE received the first issue of a new "international review of anarchist research" called *Interrogations*. It's a multilingual magazine: the articles are in one of four languages - Spanish, French, Italian and English - and each article is followed by a summary of its contents in the other three languages.

It aims to study the problems of present-day society - the evolution and extension of the powers of the State; the new ruling classes; the reduction of human beings to the raw material of capitalist processes of production and consumption; movements and acts of resistance to these processes, etc. - from a libertarian viewpoint.

The first issue is 132 pages of well-printed (by "La Ruche Ouvriere" in Paris) material on: the last weeks of the Spanish Republic by Ignacio Iglelias; workers' participation in management in West German industry; Nationalisation Italian style by Amedeo Bertolo and Luciano Lanza; Solzhenitsyn's political philosophy by Paul Avrich (a slightly amplified version of the article which appeared in *The Match!* Sept. 1974); and on a book by a luminary of the French Communist Party about Marx and Bakunin. The magazine is rounded off by a selection of texts, all concerned with the operations of governments and big business, culled from various sources. It's edited by Louis Mercier Vega, in Paris, and is available from Freedom Bookshop at 95p + post.

To a certain extent there is already a British magazine doing for the British

## CHOICES

The peasant Grave again: "After we had been liberated, I had to guard some German prisoners, but I never hurt them - never told them off. First, because if I'd done to them what they'd done to me I'd have put myself into exactly the same category, and I didn't want to put myself in that category." Grave has always known who betrayed him to the Nazis, but has not revenged himself.

I could happily quote more and more from this book which is so moving with its vision of living history, its presentation of moral and political choices made by individuals in times of crisis. We see that everyone had their own way of living through the crisis; also that many people simply shut their eyes. Their initiative, their choice, was to do nothing at all, to accept what God gave them and complain about the price of food. They were not pacifists, not temperamental anarchists. They were not committed to anything except making their today as nearly like yesterday as makes no difference. They were not good soldier svejks. They have no tales to tell. They were cabbages, and the only cabbages which interest me are the ones I eat.

Julius.

scene what *Interrogations* intends to do on an international scale.

*Street Research Bulletin* no. 5 contains information on the operations of United Fruit, and on the capitalist economics of recycling glass bottles and waste paper, but more importantly, it gives several case studies of how to obtain information on such diverse operations as the North London Polytechnic, the Kensington and Chelsea Council, and the E.E.C. It also contains an article on how Counter Information Services compile their excellent series of reports (the latest one is on Courtaulds). This practical instruction in research techniques should be of use to all anarchists who wish to extend their critiques of present-day society. *Street Research Bulletin* No. 5 is available from Freedom Bookshop at 20p + postage. Their address is 365 Kennington Road, SE 11. The address of Counter Information Services is 52 Shaftesbury Avenue, London W1.

The best-produced contemporary anarchist monthly is "A"-*Rivista Anarchica* from Milan. The latest issue (December 1974) contains, for those who read Italian, a round-table discussion on factory councils and workers' autonomy; an interview with a young Spanish anarchist who has recently fled Spain to escape the repression of libertarians there (the new "liberalism" in Spain, like the old "liberalism" in this country, extends only to those who obey and make no real trouble); articles on population and food supply, on anarchists' attitudes to science, and much else.

"A" is in temporary financial difficulties - there will be no January issue, the next one will be in February - and we urge all comrades who wish to see the continuation of this fine magazine to help financially in any way they can. "A"'s address is: Editrice A, Casella Postale 3240, 10100 MILANO, Italy.

D. L. M.

Two parish priests were acquitted in Turin of charges of having vilified the Italian armed forces. They distributed a leaflet which said that "the armies are not at the service of the people, but of the ruling class. Armies are used to repress popular revolts, as a political weapon. November 4 (the anniversary of Italy's final victory in the First World War and a national holiday) is a festive occasion for the military, the civil and the religious authorities. For the people it is a day of mourning."

A current full-page ad. for Army Officer recruiting carried by (among others) the *Guardian* is headed 'Any young man who says he wants to be an Army Officer should have his motives examined' and contains the words '...are you prepared to fight if necessary to prevent people taking control of this country by force or other unconstitutional means?'

# U.S. SCANDALS

## C.I.A. FOLLIES

In the year of the scandal, yet another one has come to the fore in time to make it in our list for 1974. With Watergate fading out of the consciousness of many people with the conviction of four of its major players, national attention has been turned to charges of internal surveillance by the Central Intelligence Agency, which is by its charter prohibited from such activities.

Needless to say, many people who were even only remotely connected with the CIA are being accused of being aware of these violations and not even acknowledging the fact much less acting to see the violations halted. The President, having received a still secret report that apparently acknowledges the veracity of the charges, has taken the traditional approach to the problem. He has appointed a group of dignitaries to investigate the matter more thoroughly and prepare a report of their findings.

Now, an investigation does indeed appear to be warranted, but a few things do appear to be slightly confused (perhaps intentionally) here. First, the major concern here appears to be the violation of the founding charter. Sure great hue and cry has been raised over the violation of civil rights by the CIA and FBI, but the panel has been commissioned only to investigate the CIA. If they were charged with investigating domestic surveillance, by all groups, one might be able to believe the concern was more rights oriented. But, as it stands now, one can only believe that the true emphasis is on the charter violation, and thus the only results one can perhaps honestly expect to come about as a result, is the transfer of these activities to the "legally sanctioned" agencies, or possibly a little better concealment in the future of the activities involved.

In addition, we have probably the most useless method of investigation being employed here - the "blue ribbon commission". The history of this approach is most bleak. Far too often the members of the commissions are very sympathetic to the "official" point of view, and either reluctant or incapable to overlook their bias. In other cases, if the conclusions drawn don't agree with the President's own preconceptions, the report is disregarded (as Nixon has been charged regarding the reports on pornography, and marijuana). There are even charges that these commissions have been used to conceal items that "someone" does not want revealed (most notably the Warren commission report on the Kennedy assassination).

Thus this whole operation seems to be a rather dismal one, starting with a misplaced focus of attention, and

proceeding to a rather questionable approach to the problem (via commission). Perhaps by the end these problems can be overcome, and an intelligent report can be made, so we won't end up with just so much more junk for the trash heap of history.

W. C. Humphreys Jr.

[Not to mention ex-presidential aide John Dean, star Watergate witness, who spilled so many beans he should have been labelled Heinz 57.]

## WATERGATE

Following last week's reflections, a more sinister view is that the Watergate conspirators didn't go far enough. This was what the convicted J. Gordon Liddy said on US TV on 5th January. This Cold War psychopath thought John Dean was Judas Iscariot himself. Gaol with him? "I don't want to be in any birdcage with stool pigeons. I'd rather have an honest bank robber any day in the week as a cellmate." Or as the woman in Samuel Fuller's 1953 film Pick-up on South Street put it: "I'd rather have a dead pickpocket than a live Communist."

Liddy likened their activities to armed combat, and said Nixon was "insufficiently ruthless". He described Watergate as "an intelligence gathering operation of one group of persons who were seeking power, or to retain power, against another group of persons who were seeking to acquire power. That's all it was. It's like brushing your teeth. It's basic."

On one of the tapes, Nixon called Liddy "a little bit nuts". Other Watergate conspirators said that Liddy carried out his campaign duties with fanatical devotion, drawing up grand schemes for sabotaging the Democrats and for organising the break-in. Because Liddy's activities reek mustily of the Cold War, that does not make him any more frighteningly extreme than the CIA executives who planned the armed overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, and countless other coups. On the contrary, Liddy saw the logic of Watergate more crudely but more clearly than any liberal. For him, there was no such thing as covert and overt exercise of power. Accountability -- what's that? Power is power.

Julius.

## Art Review

A brief tour around the galleries.  
(This item was held over from our Art Review in last week's issue.)

My world waits, for there is peace to be made with the Portal Gallery and to preview their exhibition of portraits of every Bond Street art dealer - vampirism, artwise. To view the memorial exhibition of Edward Seagar at the Marlborough and to admire once more the political surrealism of the Latin American artists at the ICA in the Mall, and I love that typewriter with real flames coming out through the keys. So be it. Yet duty demands that I should draw attention to the exhibition of peace/war posters mounted in the TUC headquarters off the Tottenham Court Road and shown in aid of Medical Aid for Vietnam, Liberation Red Cross... South Vietnam Red Cross... North. They are in the main good solid propaganda posters and as such group efforts till the soil and bang the drum, judge them on their merit and it will be an hour well spent. And for those in the area of Queen Mary College, Mile End Road, E.1., drop in, if not for an education then to view the paintings of John Spence, small, witty and always hovering between the pretty and the beautiful but worth an apple.

Arthur Moyses.

Coca Cola, through its subsidiary New York Bottling Co., has announced that they may have to abandon the recyclable bottle in favour of the can. Paper merchants in England have a surplus of waste paper, owing to public response to conservation campaign and the lack of demand for cardboard boxes.

The New Law Journal attacks the Appeal Court in the case of the Shrewsbury pickets (sentenced to two and three years respectively) for upholding sentences that were specifically stated to be a deterrent. The N.L.J. states that the Appeal Court admitted that the crisis of violence on building sites had passed and it was more than two years since the offence and a year since sentence.

Franco Caprino, an Italian, has been detained for deportation under Section 42 of the 1971 immigration act which states that the Home Secretary can deport any resident alien - if he thinks it will be 'conducive to the public good as being in the interests of national security or of the relations between the U.K. and any other country or for other reasons of a political nature'. Caprino has been active in the trade union movement among catering workers in London and the Home Office apparently thinks he has sympathies with Lotta Continua which had nebulous connections with Dolours Price. He is appealing against deportation.

Sancho Panza.

# POSTSCRIPTS

## German slurs

D. L. M. (11.1.75) might have added that not merely is neither section of the IRA remotely anarchist but that no evidence has yet been produced as to who did the [Birmingham] bombing: that, as the only firm evidence we have of police suspicions is the identity of the first six people arrested for it, and as three of them - at least - can be identified as Unionists, Die Zeit's slurs were even wilder.

Laurens Otter.

## The Nation State

"... by the way in case it is ever reprinted, please correct two errors: Page 8, para 9, line 8 erase 'not' in sentence 'not according to' (sec. in right hand side page).

Page 10, para 4 (r. hand side) line 5 replace 'biological' with 'social' in sentence 'biological evolution'.

I am very pleased with the response to article -- must write more for Freedom<sup>1</sup>

Happy New Year !

Michael Tobin

In our double issue nos. 51-52 Dec. 1974 we printed Michael Tobin's article in an abridged form of the work he hopes will be published complete.

Dear Comrades,

I have just read your 'double issue' and I felt that I had to write and congratulate you on what was one of the finest issues of FREEDOM I have seen to date. Here's hoping that you continue your policy of including more humour in your pages. I also especially enjoyed the article by Michael Tobin. Cmd. Tobin makes an exhaustive and fresh analysis of present society. This article seems to have that aspect of 'totality' which so much anarchist analysis lacks. Things are placed in perspective for a change. I tend to share the author's opinion that too much emphasis is placed on class and too little on an understanding of 'systems of oppression'. In the end such an emphasis tends to attract towards the left people whose motives are envy and revenge rather than a desirable blend of altruism and rational self-interest.

I do tend to disagree with Cmd. Tobin's opinion that the advent of an anarchist society will be, in his words, of an "instant nature". This is one of the reasons for my disillusionment with Marxism some years back. I found out that the average Marxist's concept of

revolution was a gigantic street fight. In fact I think that it is possible that Cmd. Tobin does not entirely believe in this idea for he himself as much as states that any anarchist society will have to be preceded by a long period during which ordinary people progressively organize themselves in a libertarian fashion and progressively intervene in the control of the situations of which they are a part. What is this if not a period of evolution towards anarchism? An evolution that takes place within the womb of a managerial society.

I am not a pacifist and so I think that 'some' violence is not only inevitable in such a transformation but also at times desirable. I also agree that there will inevitably be periods during which the pace of transformation is swifter. The idea of a one month revolution to end all evils, is, however, not only absurd considering the military power of the modern states but also more likely to lead to a military dictatorship than a libertarian society if by some miracle it succeeds. Such an undertaking does require a degree of military discipline if it is to be carried off.

It is perhaps because I am in closer contact with a certain reality that I feel less optimistic than others about the prospects for success of a sudden revolution. Merely two hundred miles south of where I now live there stretches through the border states of the U. S. and into the Rocky Mountains a line consisting of the greatest destruct-

ive power ever assembled by mankind. I am certain that the statistics concerning the nuclear arsenals of the major powers are well known. What is a less well-known fact outside certain prairie bars (drunken airmen talk a lot) is the nature of the targets to which a number of American missiles are assigned in certain battle plans. It is common knowledge in some towns that the targets of some 'nukes' are Washington, New York, Montreal, Chicago, etc. I have no doubt that there are several "friendly" submarines ready to drop their warheads into London, Birmingham, Leeds, Edinburgh, etc. I am afraid that I cannot get excited about the prospect of manning the barricades against twenty megatons while some general destroys me to save me. It is really stretching the laws of probability to expect that there will be simultaneous rebellion amongst the personnel of all these centres (some quite isolated) in the case of a sudden revolution. It is also a sign of an extreme ignorance of the military mind to think that certain officers wouldn't just love to let the missiles fly in such a situation.

No, it is much more reasonable if one wishes to bring about a libertarian society to aim for a long period of gradual encroachment on state power a period during which the existence of modern instruments of destruction is progressively made less and less possible.

In solidarity,  
Canada. P. Murtagh

## LETTER

### Draft Resistance in Europe Today

Dear Friends,

A new phase in the anti-militarism struggles in Europe will be introduced into Britain on the weekend of 7, 8 & 9 March. Jean Fabre, militant French draft-resister temporarily self-exiled in Belgium, will address a meeting in London, at the Centre Charles Peguy, 16 Leicester Square, on the questions involved in draft-resistance and its revolutionary implications.

Jean Fabre is one of a group of draft-resisters who have united in a campaign called The International Draft-Resistance Collective (Insoumission Collective Internationale). These young men are from France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Germany and Holland; since the public launching of this campaign at a press conference in Paris on October 1, 1974, three of these men have been arrested and imprisoned.

Jean Fabre will discuss the reasons and experiences behind the formation of this Collective, and how it relates to our common struggle for basic change in society. This meeting is designed for French-speaking people in Britain. We hope that a second public meeting to be held in English, can also be arranged for the same weekend, to touch

off this campaign to as wide an audience as possible.

Consequently, we invite you to participate in setting up a Support Committee for the International Draft-Resistance Collective, in order to arrange this English-language meeting. For this purpose we shall meet on Tuesday, 21st January, 1975 at 6 pm sharp, at the Centre Charles Peguy, 16 Leicester Sq. (blue door between the Maximus Discotheque and the Warner Cinema).

Please telephone your reply to this invitation to Rita Maran, 01-935 5324 (any time), before Thurs. 16 January.

In Peace, Andre Caillaud,  
Rita Maran, Claude Moreira  
Steering Committee IDRC  
140-A Camden High Street, Flat 3  
London NW1 ONE

.....  
The Seat car works in Barcelona has been closed indefinitely after a series of wildcat strikes culminated in 7,374 workers on the morning shift refusing to work. They were ordered to leave and the plant was closed.  
.....

Marlon Brando, the actor, announced that he was giving his land (in the United States) back to the Indians. He is giving forty acres in California and he has one acre where his home is, in Los Angeles, and property in Anaheim and a share in Illinois farmland.

But even a mixed economy may need old fashioned capitalist means to beat the present financial crisis. That is, unemployment. It is no good Mr. Murray, the general secretary of the T.U.C., saying, "If anybody is looking to solve economic problems by two million out of work, they are both immoral and failing to understand the economic fact of life."

Capitalism has no morals. We all know that cuts in living standards will result in raising the level of unemployment. This is and always will be part and parcel of the capitalist system. It only produces for profit and never considers the real needs of people.

Mr. Murray and the other trade union leaders have gone along with this system, seeing themselves as bargainers for crumbs. Their members, on the whole, have been content to get what they could, using industrial action to force reluctant employers to pay up. But the question of control, the system of wages and general exploitation of working for an employer has never been tackled by the trade unions.

Anarchists believe these organisations never will tackle that question.

They are a part of the exploitation of the working class. We, however, believe that workers can, by organising themselves, within or outside the official trade unions, abolish the exploitation of the state and the employers and take over and run the industries they now work in for the benefit of people and not for profits.

P. T.

IN BRIEF

According to the Guardian's Hugh Herbert, proposals for a new census next year are ironical in view of the fact that "at least one" important programme of analysis is on the point of collapse because information from the 1971 census is still not available. The required analysis - on the housing and employment of coloured people - was one of the sensitive points for some who failed to fill in the census. Who's sabotaging now?

Two French soldiers accused of leading a protest by 200 conscripts were sentenced to a year in prison by a court martial in Marseilles. Eight months of the sentence was suspended. A third accused soldier was acquitted.

PRESS FUND

Contributions

Contributions 1 - 8 January

- COULSDEN: M.C. 50p; MAIDSTONE: M.P. £ 1; WARE: A.F.S. £ 5; LONDON WC1: A.J. 50p; LONDON E17: B.J.M. 50p; STOCKPORT: D.R.W. £ 1; P.G. 15p; N.Y. Lib. Book Club £ 1; HITCHIN: L.A. £ 1.50; LONDON SW18: J.P. £ 1; ISLEWORTH: L.K.W. £ 1; BOLTON: D.P. £ 1; WATER ORTON: T.H. £ 1; BLAKENEY: J.G. £ 5; LONDON SW19: R.A. 23p; ST. CLOUD, Minn.: M.G.A. £ 25; SHOREHAM: P.J.P. £ 1; NEW YORK: P.A. £ 4.40; WOLVERHAMPTON: B.C.L. £ 5; LOS GATOS, Calif.: A.G. £ 2; ABINGDON: M.B. £ 3; CAMBRIDGE: A.G. £ 6; LONDON NW11: J.C. 50p; SAFFRON WALDEN: B.W. £ 1; ABERYSTWYTH: R.C.M.C. £ 1; SEVEN-OAKS: H.B. 48p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 50p; J.K.W. 10p; CHESTERFIELD: G.H. 50p; OXFORD: B.E.H. £ 1; MACCLESFIELD: L.F. £ 2; LONDON NW5: M.M.S. £ 1; TADWORTH: N.W. £ 1.

TOTAL: £ 75.86

CONTACT

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

Pamphlet wanted: Authors take sides on the Spanish Civil War. Cash paid. Please contact Box 001 Freedom Press.

Would Sr. Jose Alvarez Edo, or anyone who knows him, please get in touch with Freedom Press.

CHANGE of address: Richard Alexander has moved to 18 Byegrove Road, S.W.18.

Alex Comfort's Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State - a copy sought for a comrade in Sweden. Please offer to Pat Thorne, Garden Flat, 22 Hampton Road, Redland, Bristol BS6 6HL.

Meetings: Tues. Jan. 28 at 8 p.m. Earl Russel pub, Pancras Road, N.1 (Kings X tube) Ireland - a Revolutionary Anarchist Perspective (organised by N.London AWA (formerly ORA))

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club 1975 Lectures: Fortnightly, Thursdays at 7.00 p.m. (note new time) at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 Eighth Av. (SW corner 29 St.). Feb. 13: Sam Dolgoff, Anarchism in Cuba; Feb. 27 Frank Brand, Individualist Anarchism

Ireland Behind the Wire is a new film which looks at events in N. Ireland from 1938-74 from point of view of the people in the streets, pubs, employment exchanges and on the receiving end of 'protection' from the 'security' forces. It will be shown at a W. London Troops Out public meeting Friday 24 January in Hammersmith Town Hall, King St. London W.6 7.45 pm. A discussion after the film will be led by two ex-soldiers.

INDUSTRIAL Network Bulletin's future. Discussion Fri. Jan. 17 at 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3, 7.30 p.m.

ALTERNATE Sundays Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, Speakers Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcome. EVERY Sat. & Sun. from 7.30 p.m. at Int. Libertarian Centre/Centro Iberico, 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd, 2nd door; tube Chalk Farm/Belsize Park) from 7.30 p.m., discussions, refreshments.

Groups: CORBY Anarchists. For activities write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants. COVENTRY, Peter Come, c/o Union of Students, Warwick University, Coventry, CV4 7AL. GLASGOW Anarchist Assn., new group formed. Contact Gerry at 21 Bute Gdns. MANCHESTER SWF weekly meetings. Secretary c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13. PORTSMOUTH. Write Rob Atkinson, 29 Havelock Rd., Southsea, Portsmouth. SOME London anarchists meet socially on Sundays from 7.30 at Duke of York pub, Rathbone St. W.1 (Tottenham Ct. Rd.)

Publications: THE Committee in Support of GARI (Int. Revolutionary Action Group), raising funds for support and legal expenses of 25 anti-Francoists awaiting trial in France on charges of arson & bombing 'demonstrations' claimed by GARI (& kidnapping of Spanish banker) has published a folder of 15 drawings by well-known French caricaturists. £ 2. from Ali Touati, 45 D, Anerley Park, London S.E.20. "ANARCHISM Lancastrium", for Anarchists in the North West. Send stamp to "A L", 16 Kingsmill Ave., Whalley, Lancs. LIBERTARIAN Communist Review No.1, theoretical jnl. of Anarchist Workers'

Assn (formerly ORA) still available, 15p + post from 13 Coltman St., Hull. Also "Libertarian Struggle", paper of AWA (ORA) 10p + post from same address. Hardy Perennial: Walt Whitman anarchist calendar 1975. 13p inc. post from Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications, c/o Freedom Press.

DIRECT ACTION No. 5 out now. 5p + 3 1/2p Paper of Syndicalist Workers' Federation c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13 or Freedom Bookshop.

Prisoners: PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219089, H.M. Prison, Heathfield Rd. London SW18, 3HS. Letters/postcards please. DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen (7 yrs) Des Keane (5 yrs), Columba Longmore (4 yrs). Letters, papers to Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, Box 359, 240 Camden High St. London NW1 needs donations to supply study books for these long-term prisoners.

Trial Defence: BWNIC Defence Group, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1 (tel. 01-837 9795 afternoons only) needs money to help 14 charged under Incitement to Disaffection Act.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO SPANISH banker kidnapping - Jean Weir & Ariane Gransac released on provision of liberty awaiting trial. Postcards still Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Prison de Fresnes, 1 Av. de la Division Leclerc, Fresnes, France.

G.A.R.I. - names & prison addresses available from Ali Touati, 45D Anerley Park, London SE 20.

Published by Freedom Press, London, E.1. Printed by Vineyard Press, Colchester