

THE COUNCIL workers' strike has been broken by the use of troops who were called in to clear Petticoat Lane in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, an area which not only has stalls during the week but also a traditional Sunday morning market.

Since the strike started, piles of rubbish, rotting vegetables and fruit have grown day by day. Reports said that the rotting entrails of chickens had made these rubbish piles a danger to health and so the Government, following a call for help from the Labour-controlled Council, called in the troops.

Previously contract workers had been clearing both Petticoat Lane and nearby Whitechapel High Street in the late evening, but on the whole, the area was beginning to resemble a rubbish tip. However the people living in the area were sympathetic towards the strikers.

During last year's unofficial strike, Tower Hamlets dustmen kept up all-night pickets in Petticoat Lane and they welcomed our offer of help for duplicating leaflets. However no pickets have been seen this year.

This Labour Borough is the first

## Down to the Gutter!

to call in the troops. Its Mayor, Councillor Orwell, is also a union organiser for the building section of the Transport and General Workers' Union and yet it is his decision and that of his party to call for Government assistance in the shape of army strike-breakers.

Mayor Orwell and his Councillors should have paid up long ago and given the council workers their justified demands. Instead we have the troops. The fruits of power must be very sweet, but in fact it is you, Mayor Orwell and your Councillors who have reached the gutter.

P.T.

### STOP PRESS

Tower Hamlets and Southwark have agreed to pay the 55s. demanded by the Union and work has recommenced.



## Scabs Apply Here:

FOLLOWING the exposure of the Department of Employment and Productivity as accomplices in racialism (FREEDOM, October 10) we present yet another face of the DEP: scab agency for recruiting strike-breakers.

As part of the national struggle by local council workers to win what passes for a reasonable wage (covered more fully elsewhere), market sweepers at Covent Garden were called out to join the swelling numbers of strikers.

A company called Market Builders of Bow Street, W.C.2, immediately contacted local employment exchanges to raise labour to deal with the mounting piles of rubbish.

Hours of work: 10 to 6, 8 to 12 on Saturdays. Rate: ten bob an hour, which equals £22 a week. The local authorities—with few exceptions—had offered regular workers a generous £16 10s. weekly minimum.

The State has attempted to use this claim as a showdown in the class war—it takes more than a few cars, televisions and trips to Majorca to bring that battle to a close, in spite of what the sociologists and economists tell us.

If the authorities can flex their muscles and show their guts when it comes to handling a claim that most people—in spite of pure Goebbels-type propaganda—realise to be just, then how much simpler it might be to deal with other groups of workers.

We've seen it all. Troops poised for action: not this time as highly-polished killers but in the guise of bountiful shit-shovellers. And officials blatantly lying and contradicting one another about the dangers to public health.

Either way our case is clear: if the danger is extreme then it only shows how important and valuable the workers are. If it isn't, then Authority is exposed as stooping to

any deceit to keep its shaky system propped up. Take your choice.

So, in this situation, we can't expect a Government department to do anything but willingly play the role of a recruiting agency for strike-breakers.

What about the men who take the work on? In many cases it's easy to sympathise with them. Ten bob an hour is a whole lot more appealing than five or six bob an hour as a casual kitchen porter, which is usually the only alternative for an unskilled man.

In this cesspool of a system we're all forced to work against one another. A wage rise equals a price rise, with the boss sitting comfortably in between grinning over his profits.

And with the State holding his hand and protecting his interests with all the means available, from laying on scab labour to bringing up the guns.

BUREAUCRAT.

## The 1970 Stream-Lined Super-Charged Juggernaut

AS USUAL OCTOBER has seen the opening of the Motor Show at Earl's Court and as usual it has seen the advice that traffic in the Earl's Court area will be congested and parking will be a problem, therefore motorists are advised to walk to the exhibition. Here we have one of the basic contradictions of the motor age, a special built-in feature as you might say, but not listed on the literature handed out at the stands.

You might call the motor car the streamlined, supercharged Juggernaut and list its features in the same way that a salesman would. Instead of a pretty girl (or Volkswagen boy) you could have one of the 1,700,000 serious casualties from motor accidents sitting on top of Juggernaut, or one of the 130,000 dead per year (in the western world that is) underneath the car. 'It has dynamically unbalanced transport facilities generally holding only one passenger at a time and used on an average in London for about 20 minutes a day. It occupies six times as much space as the man travelling the same journey by public transport does—twelve times as much in the rush-hour. An increase in the size of a car is an increase in prestige.'

'It is built with the maximum temptation to speed and the minimum of need or opportunity for it. Speed is equated with power and as usual, those who desire power are the most unsuitable to be trusted with it, even behind a steering-wheel. The Juggernaut basically has not changed for decades—some would say since its invention—but by whimsies of design and gee-gaws of gadgetry we have succeeded in making it look different and persuaded buyers that their old car is old-fashioned and

useless.'

'In order to do this we have built-in obsolescence, the latest feature of which, now disclosed, is lack of rust-proofing underneath a car... but who, except a garage-mechanic (or an accident victim) sees the underside of a car? By this simple device (we understand that rust-proofing would cost about £1) we ensure that you will change for a new model Juggernaut soon.'

'We have also made arrangements with garages to let you have regular bills for maintenance, even if nothing is done to the car; in this way you will feel secure in the knowledge that you are paying regularly.'

'As to the fittings, we have made certain that there are sufficient eye-catching (and rib-cracking and leg-breaking) fittings on the car. We have several features designed to draw your attention away from the boring details of skilful driving.'

'The strong side sculpturing of the car not only gives movement (very desirable in cars) and style to the car's appearance but brings out the best in the body colour. And to make the most of this sporty styling we've brought out an exciting new range of colours.'

'You know as well as we do that the car is a sex symbol. We are trying this year to emphasise the sportsman man-of-the-world daredevil side of your character. The man prepared to take risks, to have a go. Not for us the namby-pamby approach of the Highway Code.'

'With this car you may make mistakes but living dangerously is one way to go. The steering wheel is in its usual position to more easily crush your ribs. The windscreen is straight ahead of you

so that you can get the full advantage of any impact.'

'With every million cars we sell we give away acres of farming land in exchange for concrete roadways. If you are living in a city we exchange old-world buildings and living accommodation for broader streets and parking space.'

'With every car in use we contribute to World Pollution Year, whilst at the same time the internal combustion engine is rapidly ridding the earth of the accumulation of fossil fuels. It has been computed that half of the world's cumulative production of petroleum has taken place during the nineteen-sixties. We expect in the motor industry as a whole to do better than this. There are now about 18 million Juggernauts on the roads of Britain, we hope by 1980 to increase the figure to 26 million complete with pollution, car parks, motorways and accident statistics to match.'

However it is rare to get such frankness from a car salesman. Instead we are sold the fancy bill of goods one sees in most of the Sunday supplements. (Have you noticed the way advertisements and feature articles subtly blend in the posh Sundays? Sometimes you can't tell one from the other.) Such is the hypnotism of the advertising manager that it is rare to find criticism of the motor car as such in the press. (A rare exception was Peter Laurie in the Sunday Times supplement (11.10.70) from which some of these criticisms were taken.)

The motor industry is the spoilt darling of the British economy. The myth has grown up that it must be encouraged in order to capture foreign markets. There is a howl of dismay when it is

## It could be Unofficial Now

THE EXECUTIVE of the National Union of Mineworkers failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority to call a national official strike. However the ballot of members achieved a 55% majority in favour of strike action. The union executive was quick to get in touch with the Coal Board after they had examined the voting results.

discovered that foreign cars are invading the home market which the English manufacturers look upon as their privilege disregarding the fact that the export market (which they should be, and claim they are, aiming for) is vastly in excess of the puny British market. One of the car distributive firms said that if the car workers hadn't gone on strike they would have been on short time.

Perhaps the car industry is not performing such a useful social function as it seems and a little more industrial unrest would be desirable on grounds of health, amenities and life itself.

JACK ROBINSON.

NUM General Secretary called the result 'remarkable' and said: 'The National Coal Board and the Government have got to recognise that the miners are determined to get a £20 minimum wage. The only way a serious crisis in this industry can be averted, in my view, is that, next Tuesday, the Board must make a very much more satisfactory offer to the union.'

The question now remains whether, considering the amount of support for action there is at the pits, some areas will go ahead unofficially. A lot hinges on Tuesday's meeting, but it seems unlikely, bearing in mind the Government's policy, that Lord Robens will give very much of an increase above that already offered.

One's first reaction of disappointment over the result must change on closer scrutiny. In a number of areas, such as Scotland, South Wales, Kent and Cumberland, the ballot showed majorities of over two-thirds in favour of strike action, while in Yorkshire, Durham, North Wales, North Derbyshire and the North West, the majorities did not reach the

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# Academics on Anarchism

THE CURRENT ISSUE of *Government and Opposition*, the academic quarterly published by the London School of Economics, is devoted to the theme of 'Anarchism Today'. It was given a long review by Professor Gwyn Williams of York University in the *Guardian* (October 8), but it may be worth summarising its contents for readers of *FREEDOM* who missed this.

## BOOK REVIEW

There are eight essays of about twenty pages each on various aspects of the anarchist movement throughout the world. Professor David E. Apter of Yale University (and author of books on political sociology) opens confidently and ignorantly on 'The Old Anarchism and the New'. Richard Gombin of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris (and author of a book on May 1968 and another on the French socialist party and war), describes 'The Ideology and Practice of Contestation as seen through Recent Events in France', referring mainly to non-anarchist sources but adding substantially to our knowledge of the subject. Michael Lerner of Yale University discusses 'Anarchism and the American Counter-Culture' in terms which suggest that he knows a lot about the New Left but little about anarchism. Joaquin Romero Moura of

St. Antony's College, Oxford (and author of a fascinating article on anarchist terrorism in Barcelona up to 1909 which appeared two years ago in *Past and Present*), analyses 'The Spanish Case' in great detail and with great knowledge, but unfortunately stops short at 1936, which seems odd in a symposium specifically referring to anarchism today; it will not really do to state, as he does, that 'it is impossible to say anything much about anarchism in Spain today'. David Stafford, formerly of LSE and now of the University of Victoria, British Columbia (whose important thesis on Paul Brousse is due to be published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson next year) deals with 'Anarchists in Britain', concentrating rather narrowly on the 'permanent protest' tendency and incidentally misrepresenting several factual mistakes and misunderstandings which suggest that he is not very familiar with his material. Chusichi Tsuzuki of Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo (and author of books on H. M. Hyndman and Eleanor Marx), describes 'Anarchism in Japan' with close reference to original sources ranging from 1906 to 1970. Nicolas Walter of *The Times Literary Supplement* provides a useful survey of 'Anarchism in Print: Yesterday and Today', listing and commenting on periodicals, pamphlets and books on anarchism published since the war. And Professor James Joll of LSE (and author of *The Anarchists*) concludes

tentatively and inconclusively on 'Anarchism—a Living Tradition'.

The whole issue is an example of the growing interest of the academic establishment in anarchism, and at the same time of its failure to come to terms with real anarchists. Over and over again references to anarchist ideas and actions are taken from secondary sources, especially the conveniently available and readable writings of George Woodcock; the Anglo-American contributors in particular tend to be unable or unwilling to find out what anarchists have actually said and done, and in consequence their misinterpretations are often ludicrous. But all the same a lot of interesting information has been collected which comrades may be able to make use of, and most of the articles are at least worth reading.

J.V.

'Government and Opposition', Vol. 5, No. 4 (Autumn 1970), is obtainable from the London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London, W.C.2, at 15s; it is also on sale in Freedom Bookshop. The whole issue—with the addition of three further essays, on Holland, India, and Latin America (but still nothing on Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, or Switzerland)—will be published as a book in both hardback and paperback editions by Macmillan next spring.

# Those Conferences

THERE HAVE BEEN four 'Conferences' in the last few weeks, all of a similar nature, and it must have been very difficult for the layman to tell one from another.

Let me try to stir the muddy water somehow:—

First came the Liberals—a peculiar group composed of the ghosts of Lloyd George and friends, versus the products of that happily married couple, the YCL and Young Liberals.

Unfortunately for party unity, all the leadership seem to be ghost worshippers, indeed half of them seem to be descended from the Welsh Wizard, whilst the other half venerate Stalin, Klugmann and similar characters. If the ghosts were exorcised and Stalin's tactics used on his followers, the Liberal Party would fade into the oblivion where it belongs.

This quiet event was followed by the 'Golden Oldies' week featuring all (but one) of our old favourites, i.e. the Labour Party Conference. Here the murderers of the Labour Party met to pour crocodile tears over its corpse. All the old workers' enemies returned in a new guise as workers' friends, and were greeted with a carefully vetted ovation. Harold refrained from talking about his 'last stand' and instead promised much

Tory-bashing in the next 5 years. I fail to see why such 'fighting talk' raised such a tumultuous applause. Surely one Tory party fighting another is nothing to get excited over? All controversial motions had been carefully excluded or neutralised long before the Conference convened, and the audience consisted of old reactionary right-wingers, and the youthful left-overs of the 1964 and 1966 'witch-hunts'.

As you may see, it was a peculiar event—rather a conjuring trick—all the baddies became—hey presto!—the goodies. All those who supported the Prices and Incomes Bill now oppose it.

The third Conference was a combination of a victory party and village fête. Teddy stood on the platform grinning from ear to ear as if he was advertising toothpaste, whilst the ecstatic audience applauded his every cough and sneeze. Rows of delegates spoke against the dreadful 'Socialist' policies of their predecessors, mainly out of jealousy of that they never had the guts to attempt such Tory policies! The rest of the Conference followed the usual village fête pattern with various competitions:—

- (1) Which woman wore the largest flowery hat.
- (2) Which woman could scream 'Hang

- 'em and flog 'em' loudest.
- (3) Which youngster could look most conventional.
- (4) Which farmer stank most.
- (5) Who could tell the best stories of 'Ordeals under Wilson'.
- (6) Who could tell the best 'George Brown' jokes.
- (7) Who could talk on the Common Market for 10 minutes producing the most confusion.
- (8) Who could talk for 10 minutes on Immigration without mentioning Enoch.
- (9) Who could 'knock the lazy workers' best.

Prizes were as follows:—  
(1) One hour's interview on TV.  
(2) Single ticket to Wolverhampton.  
(3) 3 tons of rotten French butter.

By now you must be wondering what the fourth Conference was.

It was the Synod of the Council of Churches, where those who believe in God because they are ignorant venerated those who 'believe' in God because they make a comfortable living out of it. After much praying and other peculiar rites, the congregation discussed various irrelevancies including the divine inspiration from the Archbishop that 'Christians should take more part in politics'. This

## It could be Unofficial

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two-thirds mark. However, it was Nottinghamshire, the Midlands, Northumberland, Leicestershire and South Derbyshire that turned the vote the other way. Such a result cannot be of much comfort to the Tory Government. Under its proposed legislation, a result of this nature would have meant an official strike. Ballots of this sort are a favourite of the 'industrial relations' experts. They claim they are fairer and that the heat, excitement and the fervour generated by a minority cannot sway the voters.

## WINTER SHORTAGE

However, unless the Coal Board comes across on Tuesday, miners in some areas are likely to take action. By doing this they will certainly put a great deal of pressure on the dwindling reserves of coal for winter consumption. For all the Government's talk of standing up to strikers, action now could in fact force them to meet the miners' demands.

Although the pattern of fuel consumption has changed, Britain is still very much dependent on coal for both industrial and domestic needs. At the moment the Coal Board could sell 4m. tons more here as well as a like amount abroad.

Stocks for winter needs are already low and other sources of fuel, such as nuclear power and natural gas, have so far not come up to the expectations forecast for them.

Certainly the miners deserve the increases they are demanding, which will bring the minimum wages up to £20 per week for surface workers, £22 for underground day men and further increases for those on power-loading agreements. For too long the miners have been the scapegoats for the industry and the country's fuel policies. Now that there is a shortage, this is the time to use action to press home the demands. With some Coal Board officials already talking of a return to Saturday working in some areas, it is time to show them that miners are no longer going to make the sacrifices for the incompetent planning of office bureaucrats.

Under the union's constitution, area councils could call out the miners, where they have a two-thirds majority, although variations in area rules in some cases state that national sanction for such action is needed. But with such strong support in so many areas, the Coal Board and the Government are unlikely to get industrial peace this autumn.

P.T.

# AGAINST 'THE CIVIL DEATH'

POLITICAL STABILITY seems assured in Gaboon since the attempt to overthrow the state in February 1964 was suppressed with the help of French troops. The Gaboon penal code has been enriched with an additional punishment, 'the civil death'. The guilty person is imprisoned in a secret place, denied every right, entered as dead on official registers and the succession to his property is declared.

Sickeningly (that's what the man says—*Trans. note*), I am publishing this supplement. Twenty-five years after the disappearance of Hitler and Himmler, their emulators continue to punish severely.

The Gaboon President, Bongo, was recently fêted when he arrived in Paris as an official guest. During the celebrations, people were rotting in the 'night and fog' of Gaboon secret prisons.

The martyrs of Libreville must be

saved. I beg all friends of 'La Brûlot' to associate with their defence: to those who have a large audience—René Char; the publishers of *Le Canard Enchaîné*; the directors of the free press—I appeal to do what they can.

My voice turns also to people who do not know me, first to Daniel Myers, president of the League for Human Rights, then to all who not only affect to show human feelings but practise solidarity and fight against tyranny.

The cells of Gaboon must be quickly opened.

## 'Freedom' Pamphlets — 1/- each, inc. post

1. *Makhno and Durruti*.
2. *Students For A Stalinist Society*. (Includes 'The Myth of the Party', an extract from 'Listen, Marxist!')
3. *Zapata and The Mexican Revolution*.

Each had its messiah—Thorpe, Wilson, Heath, Ramsey.

Each had its 12 (or more) 'disciples'—the Cabinets, Shadow Cabinets, Councils of Bishops.

Each had its Satan—each other.

Each had its lessons, psalms, hymns and collection.

Each Conference was a great morale-boosting exercise.

Each organisation showed its determination to defend the status quo, returning England to its former 'glory'.

Let us hope that thinking people will have no part of such pantomimes and begin to see through to the true nature of these parties.

LOKI.



All correspondence to  
Peter La Mare, 5 Hammersford Road,  
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** All correspondence to 11A, c/o Freedom Press, BLACK KNIGHT GROUP, 5 Nalton Road, N.8. Meeting Wednesdays.  
**LAVENDER HILL.** Contact C. Broad, 136 Tynham Road, S.W.11 (229 4096).  
**NOTTING HILL.** Sebastian Stragg, 40 Banett Road, W.8.  
**LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION.** Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, N.W.7.  
**NEWHAM.** Pat Koon, 26 Farringford Road, E.15.

**REGULAR WEEKLY MEETINGS**  
Wednesdays, 8 p.m., at Freedom Hall, 44B Whitechapel High Street, E.1 (Aldgate East Station).

**REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS**

**BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary, Peter La Mare, 5 Hammersford Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Meetings every Sunday, 4 p.m., in the smoke room of St. Martin's pub, corner of St. Martin's Lane and Jamaica Road.  
**BOURNEMOUTH AREA.** Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset.  
**CORNWALL ANARCHISTS.** Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Leabard Road, St. Austell, Cornwall.  
**Devon & Haverhill.** Contact Heath, 174a High St., Bideford, Devon. Visiting comrades welcome.  
**PEACE ACTION.** Roy Weismann, P.C.T. Peace Action Group, 8, Paula Road, Portsmouth, Hants.  
**CROYDON LIBERTARIANS.** Laurence and Celia Oiler, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, C.R.4 (089 (857 5146) or contact Keith McCain, 1 Langwood

## ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

**NORTH ESSEX.** Write: Peter Newell, 'Aegon', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester.  
**BASILDON & WICKFORD.** Mick Powell, Glamis House, 24 Cameroo Close, Brentwood, Essex.  
**BISHOPS STORTFORD.** Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishop's Stortford, Herts.  
**CHELMFORD.** (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.  
**EPFING.** John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.  
**HARLOW.** Stephen Murrell, 14 Sharpecroft, Essex.  
**LOUGHTON.** Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

## NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

N.W. Federation Sec.: Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Preston, Lancashire.  
**BLACKPOOL.** Contact Christine and Graham, 2 Pepper Avenue, Southborough, Blackpool.  
**BOLTON.** Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.  
**CHORLEY.** Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley.  
**LANCASTER & MORECAMBE.** Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Preston, Lancashire.  
**MANCHESTER ANARCHISTS AND SYNDICALISTS.** Jenny Heywood, 31 Clyde Road, Todmorden, Lancashire.  
**PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Bob Wilkinson, 71 Trafford Street, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

## SURREY FEDERATION

**DORKING.** Mungo Platt, 16 Overdale Road, Dorking, Surrey.  
**EPSON.** O. Wright, 47 College Road, Epson. Tel. 23466.  
**KNIGHTS.** Michael Squirrel, 4 Woodgate Ave., Hook, Chesham.  
**GUILDFORD.** Contact Epson Group.  
**MERTON.** Edith Burns, 11 Amity Grove, Lambeth, S.W.19. Tel. 01-446 1444.

## YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Secretary: Contact Leeds Group.  
**HULLS.** Jim Young, 31 Fredericks Crescent, Hawththorpe, Hull.  
**KEIGHLEY.** Steve Wood, 268 Cavendish Street, Keighley.

**LEEDS GROUP.** Contact Mario Watkins, 3 Marlborough Grove, Leeds 2.  
**SHEFFIELD.** Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10. 1. C. Wood, 65 Glencoe Road, Sheffield.  
**YORK.** Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

## WELSH FEDERATION

**ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS.** J. Smith, Nancton Mans, Aberyystwyth, Cards. Jobus Marsland, c/o Students' Union, Lauro Place, Aberyystwyth, Cards.  
**CARDOFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 18 Marston Street, Splott, Cardiff.  
**SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. Meetings at the above address every Sunday at 7 p.m.  
**WELSH.** Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llynwenny Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel. Llanelli 2548.

## SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Temporary Secretary: Neil Munro, 201 Cornhill Road, Aberdeen.  
**ABERDEEN & PETERHEAD ANARCHISTS.** Western Bank Group c/o Neil Munro, 201 Cornhill Road, Aberdeen. For 'Freedom' Sales: Ian & Peggy Sutherland, 8 Ennismount Avenue, Aberdeen. For all contacts in Inverness.  
**GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.** Robert Lyon, 11 Ross Street, S.L.  
**GLASGOW.** Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11.  
**FIFE.** Bob and Una Turnbull, Raith Home Farm, Raith Estate, Kirkcaldy.  
**ROSSSHIRE.** Contact David Rodgers, Broadfield, Evanton, Ross-shire, Scotland.

## NORTHERN IRELAND

**BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP.** No address available. Letters c/o Freedom Press.

## SOUTHERN IRELAND

20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.

## STUDENT GROUPS

**LOUGHTON.** c/o Students Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.  
**UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX.** Contact Andrew Chalk, William Rivers Tower, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex.  
**KEELE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.**

Contact Peter Hannah, c/o Students Union, University of Keele, Staffs.  
**OXFORD ANARCHISTS.** Contact John Nygate, New College, Oxford; Steve Watts, Trinity College, Oxford.  
**SWANSEA.** Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea.  
**TAUNTON.** Contact Dave Poulton, 476 Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset.  
**YORK.** Contact R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.  
**LSE.** St. Clements Buildings, Houghton Street, W.C.2.  
**LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY GROUP.** At the 'Anarchist Bookstall', Union Foyer, every Friday lunch time or write Anarchist Group, Student Union, Liverpool University.  
**SCHOOLS ANARCHIST GROUP.** Kate & Joe, 3 Withy Lea, Leonard Stanley, nr. Stonehouse, GL10 1NS, Gloucestershire.  
**WALSLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.**—BELFAST AREA. Michael Scott, Longshot, Ballyvaughan, Lisburn.

## ABROAD

**AUSTRALIA.** Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000.  
**BELGIUM.** Group of journales Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vroeghe, Libere.  
**RADICAL LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE.** Box 2104, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017.

## PROPOSED GROUPS

**BERMONDSEY.** Roy Heath, 58 Thurston Square, S.E.1.  
**MONTREAL, QUEBEC.** Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Singer, Tel. 489-6432.  
**EAST ANGLIAN LIBERTARIAN GROUP.** John Sullivan, c/o Students Union, U.E.A., Withered Road, Norwich, Norfolk.  
**NOTTINGHAM AND AREA.** Contact Jim Huxon, 41 Henry Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.  
**NOVA SCOTIA.** P. Ridley, c/o Newport Post Office, Newport, Nova Scotia, Canada.  
**VANCOUVER.** I.W.W. and Libertarian group, Box 512, Postal St. 'A', Vancouver 1, B.C., Canada. Read 'The Rebel'—please send donation for postage.

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.



UNDOUBTEDLY THE ROMANTICS of the political spectrum are the Anarchists; unable to hand over their consciences to a creed larger than themselves, they defend the right of the individual against all-comers. The problem for the Anarchists is to formulate a creed of their own, and to act upon it. Yes, we have Stirner, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta and yes, we have Direct Action as a method. But let's talk about now, 1970, and let's turn to the pages of FREEDOM. What do we find? A reasonable cross-section of Anarchist thought, even if I do hear a few dissenting voices. So what of this cross-section? It tends to polarise into two opposing attitudes—the militant and the reflective. The common ground they share is the belief in the nature of the present society and the desired nature of the ideal society. The problem simply is—how do we achieve this ideal society? Well, that's what it seems to be, if my weekly reading of FREEDOM doesn't deceive me. The loose answer seems to be a revolution. So then we get down to discussing the nature of this ideal revolution to herald in this ideal society of ours, and speculate about this or that revolutionary situation. Again, both camps seem to believe in revolution, either non-violent or otherwise. They both believe that man's condition can only change through man's action, and through man's actions alone.

Anarchism is riddled with notions and concepts that quite frankly are the stuff of arrested adolescents. Science and particularly the computer is seen in some quarters as the chains by which our masters bind us. (This anti-scientific, therefore anti-rational anarchist strain is a direct inheritance from the Romantic movement.) Yet, pause for thought. What fundamentally changed the social landscape of Britain, what created a class that gave Marx and the Anarchists something to analyse and chew on?—The Steam Engine. So, my friends, can you predict what revolutionary impact, and I mean revolutionary, the computer will and is having on our present 1970 post industrial society? No? Then why cling to dogmatic assumptions that the

# WAITING FOR REVOLUTION

only difference the computer will make is a tighter hold of our masters over us?

What is sadly lacking amongst anarchists is a real analysis of ourselves and our present society. It may be comforting to cocoon oneself in slogans, but does it bring us any nearer our ideal society? Throwing a brick in some West End street may give one the illusion of being in, or creating a revolutionary situation, but your illusion is no help to the cause. All right then, if it's helping you, but don't kid yourself, and don't pour scorn on those who choose not to throw bricks. Likewise, speculative articles on the nature of mental health treatment in the libertarian society may prepare the writer of the article for treating a schizophrenic in his ideal society—but you've got to get there first! and writing speculative articles isn't going to do the trick.

'So what will?' you say. Well, first anarchists have to accept an insoluble dilemma—the logic of their beliefs and their desired end cancel out the possibility of their revolution ever occurring, in that, they reject all means of coercion and force to achieve it, and once achieved coercion and force would be unnecessary to safeguard its achievements. Being romantics they seek the impossible—the pure revolution. The truth is the Anarchists are the Great Political Outsiders, and will remain so, until society is ready for us, by which time neither we nor our revolution will be necessary. Yes, believe in the sovereignty of the individual, but please, go beyond the instinctive, rebellious phase and get down to some hard thinking, and yes, believe in the sovereignty of the individual, but don't interpret it as meaning the sovereignty of my individuality, and sod anyone else's. Think that if you like, but don't tell me you're an anarchist. No, let's not talk about revolution. Let's start living like anar-

chists, if we know how. The other alternative is to subscribe to the achievements of the Russian Revolution, or the Chinese Revolution, or the Cuban Revolution. It's one or the other. You can't have it both ways.

## LIVE LIKE ANARCHISTS

First, the most important, and telling test. How does he or she treat you? Like shit? Then don't believe a word he or she tells you about exploitation and freedom. As Fellini, that great Anarchist says: A free man can't do without a free woman. How many Jimmy Porters in the movement? Stand up and be counted. And how many Alisons? John Osborne was never an anarchist.

Secondly, whom do you work for? Ever considered that by working one is perpetuating the system? That by withdrawing one's labour, permanently, one is not only reducing Paul Chambers to his proper level, but also liberating millions of Asians, Latin Americans and Africans, and getting rid of their leaders, in that their leaders have done a deal with Western or Eastern capitalism.

Well, it might seem flippant, but really, what the hell are Anarchists doing, in helping to perpetuate a system they so mightily rail against with words and attempted deeds? A criticism levelled against me (because I happen to believe that employment is to be avoided whenever possible) is: Suppose everyone did as you do? The answer to that, friend,

is that you'd be the only one left the employers could find to employ. This criticism came from one of those bastions of puritanical bourgeois morality—a communist.

Yes, friends, it's time for the Mass Anarchist Drop-Out. Whilst we pooh-pooh the Underground (their leaders, yes, the kids, no) we fail to realise the significance of the Alternative Society. John Snelling's perceptive articles (Issues 24 and 25 of this year) on the subject of the Underground were good, but I think he was wrong if he dismisses the movement as dead. Their vocal gurus yes, and good riddance, but the kids are still dropping out. Intuitively and through experience they know just what kind of system it is. They can see through it. The significance of the drop-out is that it isn't a movement, but a social phenomenon that is likely to be with us for a long while yet. Unlike the bohemians of the 30's and 40's and the beatniks of the 50's, the hippie of the 70's is usually from a working-class background and unlike his middle-class prototype, inarticulate; his gods are acid and music, not white wine and books. To their credit they live as they believe—this is no week-end movement—to their debit is their drug/pop orientation.

Yes, yes, but the Revolution, comrade, the revolution. Well, I've got news for you, Joe Soap. It is 1970, not 1925, and this is where we come in. As Anarchists we should be building our alternative

society—now. Why don't we even try? Is that how much faith we have in it and our ability to create it? Isn't it even remotely feasible that we could have Anarchist cells, communities in Hull, Montrose, Lancaster and Chelmsford, not to mention all the other Anarchist groups listed in FREEDOM? Communities getting on with an attempt at creating the kind of society they want? A pipe-dream? A sick joke? Really? But friend—we could start this thing tomorrow, if we really wanted it. Never mind about the workers—what have you got to lose? And it's a damn sight more practical than pie in the sky hopes of the libertarian revolution.

Look at it this way. There's Joe Soap sweating it out on piecework when along comes Comrade Bloggs, from the local Party cell. Says Bloggs: Vote for us and you'll live in a workers' paradise. Now we all know about the communist promise—a kiss on the cheek and a kick up the arse—and Joe Soap isn't so stupid either, after all, he's been given plenty of promises before. Then along comes Freedom Fred. Says Fred: Hey, Joe, come down the road and see the way we live. Now that's something concrete. If we can't show Joe Soap a better, saner way to live then all our agitating and FREEDOM selling amounts to nothing more than a collective group therapy for its participants. If an Anarchist community won't work now, then ask yourself—When will it ever? And if your answer is never, then stop kidding yourself and admit Anarchism is merely a convenient handle with which to attack everything you hate, and nothing more.

PETER GRAFTON.

## Mutual Aid and the Scab

Dear Comrades,

However misguided the thinking undoubtedly is, it would do no harm to recognize that the intentions which motivate the volunteer sewer blacklegs are intentions to serve the community as a whole. It is most unlikely that people whose aim is to preserve their class privileges would be prepared to make this sort of sacrifice in order to maintain them—not are they sufficiently numerous. Though undoubtedly the fact that better paid working class people have no conception of having to try to make out on a sewer man's wages, or do his work, contributes to their initial lack of understanding of the sewerer's case.

Just as were the foolish virgins of Colt Heating (the Britain's bosses' backers) a couple of years back, the people who are prepared to give up their free time to work at a most unpleasant job in order to avert plague and pestilence, in fact are living demonstrations of the truth of the libertarian socialist case that men are not solely motivated by selfishness and do not need monetary incentives, that mutual aid is an intrinsic factor in the human make-up and that a society can be built on co-operation, and sacrifice.

Because of the inadequacy of their understanding of the system, such people will, for the best of all possible reasons, go and do actions which we can see are in the fullest sense of the word anti-

social, but which are superficially civic and social-minded. Just in the same way, men will go and shoot others convinced they are defending their countrymen from extermination, that they are fighting for freedom or democracy, and fascism would not have been the danger it was had it not been able to channel just these idealistic sentiments into the vile work it did.

## Letters

In such circumstances the punch-up brigade yelling 'scab' at the volunteer-blacklegs will do little good at best and much harm at worst. Just as when troops are brought in to blackleg, they will include in their number many who are unhappy at the idea of scabbing on people like themselves, and should be approached as such, because they will be open to a well-put, class-based anti-militarist pamphlet (and incidentally we should be starting producing such now), so the volunteers will be self-sacrificing men and will be open to arguments couched in terms of mutual aid, but

which point out to them that the men whom they are harming are earning absurdly little, for a very unpleasant job, which deserves quite a lot.

The fact they are doing the job will make them receptive to comments that it is unpleasant—one interviewed the other day (in the Guardian, Dennis Barker's article), obviously sincere, was earning twice a sewer man's wages, which makes him in no sense a capitalist. If one acknowledges the selflessness of their motivations, but points out that the aim of safeguarding public health would be better performed by putting pressure on the authorities to concede what is after all an excessively modest demand, and then goes on to point out that their own volunteering proves that society could be run on other than the monetary-carrot basis, one might well get somewhere.

Fraternally,

London

I.O.

## Organisation, the Way Forward

Dear Comrade,

May I, as a member of the Revolutionary Left in this country and a keen reader of various working-class papers, offer my congratulations to Terry Phillips on his brilliant analysis of the workers' struggle to overthrow the slave system that exists today.

In his article—'Organisation, the way forward'—he puts his finger right on the spot when he points out the limited scope of anarchism in Britain today.

It is my firm opinion that not only does this apply to your organisation but also to every other revolutionary organisation operating today.

No organisation is in a position to claim that they are the sole leaders of the revolutionary movement in this country today. It is those claiming this desirable privilege who are fragmenting our movement.

There is, however, a psychological reason for this attitude.

It is quite logical to reason that any young rebel joining an organisation wants to see his particular group (whether they be Pekin or Moscow communists, I.L.P.-ers, radical socialists or what have you), leading the socialist revolution.

It must be realised that the leadership factor not only applies to political and social bodies but also to other spheres of our cultural life.

Football fans want to see their team at the top of the league, or going to Wembley for the cup.

This also applies to the various religious denominations, each claiming that

theirs is the best way to get to heaven, if there be such a place.

We should by now, realise that this competitive spirit is exploited and encouraged by capitalist mass media in order to keep the workers divided.

Terry Phillips is quite right when he says in effect, that no organisation should try to dominate or incorporate the other. The fact is, that most people are fed up to the back teeth with party politics, and their subsequent 'my party right or wrong' school of thought.

The social revolution when it comes, will throw up its own leaders who will be capable of uniting the workers under the revolutionary banner, irrespective of whatever party or group they belong. We have had, only just recently been given two very good examples of how this can be done.

Firstly, it was the united action of the industrial workers who defeated Wilson and Barbara Castle in their attempt to enslave the trade unions.

Secondly, it was the spontaneous movement of the people of all shades of opinion, and organisations that stopped the South African cricket tour.

The success of workers powers and unity on these issues, sent the entire Fleet Street press into howls of rage and frustration.

A free society will only be achieved by the rejection of any form of dictatorship.

Yours fraternally,

E. OFFEN.

## How to Cure Squatting

THERE IS an evident trend in the GLC of late to try and get rid of more and more of its responsibilities in housing and try to 'subcontract' this task out to 'Housing' Societies and Trusts.

Wates, which is about the largest construction company in housing, recently offered national housing associations conversions of houses at a set price (which would be comparatively low) if a number of houses sufficient to make the venture 'profitable' enough, could be supplied.

Before the Lewisham Family Squatting Association—a recognized Housing Association run by Jim Radford and Ron Bailey—set out for 7,000 houses (which they now have done) Wates did not consider the number of houses available to give a satisfactory profit, but with 7,000 houses they tend to make a packet.

In this way the GLC can get rid of its responsibilities in housing and 7,000 houses in one fell swoop and the Housing Associations (including those working in conjunction with the Lewisham Family Squatting Association) gain a much stronger position as landlords. Most of the financing will be done by the 'Shelter' organization.

This puts the Housing Associations, the GLC and Wates in a strong position but how do the families come out of this deal? Most of the houses are only to be used for two to five years, and apparently during this time the families lose their places on the waiting list.

Recently in Hackney there has been some squatting activity which seems to have originated in Duncan House, the local homeless hostel. The squatters act as a group calling themselves the Homeless Action Committee, and they have the active support of the Beechcroft Tenants' Association and the Arbour Square squatters. The action seems to come entirely from the families themselves and there are very few 'politicos' actively involved there—indeed some spontaneous independent squatting has occurred in the vicinity. The initiative, decisiveness and courage being shown by some of these homeless will astonish one who is well acquainted with people who live in these conditions and in some protest marches from Duncan House, practically the whole lot joined in—black and white, adults and skin-heads.

About six weeks ago Rick Mercer (once an Ilford squatter) and his family took over a house in Hackney right opposite some police flats. It is not known why, but within two weeks they

had a rentbook. Perhaps it was thought that this would keep things quiet, but this is not what happened. Since then at least two more houses have been taken by the homeless families showing that squatting is not yet dead, despite attempts to regularize it through official channels.

In a review of Jim Radford's recent leaflet on Lewisham Family Squatting Association *Peace News* printed a few replies by Radford to questions based on the pamphlet. Firstly, 'Isn't squatting in collaboration with the Council reformist?' Jim Radford answered that it is, but that so is trying to make the US get out of Vietnam or struggling for some degree of workers' or students' power. (He conveniently overlooks the fact that in his organization families are not taking control, or even attempting to do so over their own lives; all that has happened is that they depend on the organization, which in turn depends on the council.) The next question is, 'Aren't you doing the Council's job for them?' Jim Radford says that of course they are, but he adds that his organization 'is doing a job the Council admits it cannot do, that his organization is "limiting the power of bureaucracy" and "showing the way to a peaceful reclamation of control by the people." By which people?

The fourth question asks, 'Is it true that you evicted hippies at Lewisham?' Jim Radford answered that the hippies had moved into one of the empty houses that the FSA had for a homeless family. He also says that they had furnished the house 'in which they were able to stay solely because of the agreement we reached with the Council'. What these last remarks have to do with the rights and wrongs of the situation I don't know.

The present trend to counter squatting with the setting-up of agencies staffed by ex-squatters and the issue, by these ex-squatters, of doubtful statements makes one fear the growth of a new bureaucracy co-operating with councils to 'cure' squatting.

Compiled by JACK ROBINSON with the assistance of correspondents.

This article was written and set up some months ago but no opportunity was found for using it—our space is still limited. However, recent events have made its comments (although highly controversial) more relevant. See New Statesman (October 2) 'London Squatters become respectable' and comments by Bill Dwyer in 'This World'.

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(KRONSTADT 1921 by Paul Avrich. Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1970, 271 pages, \$8.50.)

NEARLY FIFTY YEARS AGO, the sailors of the Russian naval base of Kronstadt, on Kotlin Island in the Gulf of Finland, rebelled against the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky. This book, by the author of *The Russian Anarchists*, is a detailed account of that rebellion, together with a considerable amount of background material and analysis. By the autumn of 1920, Russia began what Avrich calls an uneasy period of transition from war to peace. The Bolsheviks had concluded an armistice with Poland and the various White armies had been driven into exile. Nestor Makhno's anarchist partisans were now no longer the formidable force they had once been, and the Menshevik government of Georgia had been put to flight. Yet the year 1920 was a critical one for the Bolsheviks. Russia had emerged from six years of conflict in a state of economic collapse 'unparalleled in the history of humanity', as one contemporary put it. Armed detachments of the Red Army were sent out into the countryside to requisition so-called surplus food, whilst millions of people throughout the country were starving. During the Civil War, most of the peasants were prepared to tolerate the Bolshevik régime, but once the Whites had been beaten, the peasants began to rebel. The peasant rebellions gathered strength throughout the winter of 1920-21. In the words of Avrich, 'Between November 1920 and March 1921, the number of rural outbreaks mounted sharply. In February 1921 alone, on the eve of the Kronstadt rebellion, the *Cheka* reported 118 separate peasant risings in various parts of the country.' The situation in the towns and cities was even worse than in the countryside. By 1920, industrial output had shrunk to a fifth of 1913 levels, itself very low by European standards.

This, then, was the background to the Kronstadt uprising. In February, after the government had announced that the very meagre bread ration in Moscow and Petrograd was to be cut by a third, spontaneous meetings, and then strikes, broke out first in Moscow and, shortly after, in Petrograd. The Bolsheviks tried to break the protest movement by concentrating large forces of the Red Army in Petrograd, locking many of the workers out of the factories, denying

# THE KRONSTADT REBELLION

them their rations and, at the same time, arresting many of the strikers. During February, many thousands of political oppositionists were shot or arrested by the *Cheka*.

## DELEGATION TO PETROGRAD

In Kronstadt, unrest had been coming to boiling point for some months. The Bolsheviks (or Communists as they were now being called) had been losing members among the sailors for some time. Indeed, as Avrich observes, in January, 1921, alone, 5,000 seamen had quit the Party. Authority of the Party was further undermined by a struggle for political control in the fleet, which pitted Trotsky, the Commissar for War, against Zinoviev, the Petrograd Party boss. Among those who had remained in the Communist Party there had appeared a force known as the 'Fleet Opposition'—a group favouring immediate decentralisation of political control, which had majority support in the Baltic Fleet. By the middle of February, therefore, tensions at Kronstadt had reached bursting point. And, on February 26, the crews of the battleships *Petrovsk* and *Sevastopol* held an emergency meeting, and decided to send a delegation to Petrograd to find out what was happening in the city and elsewhere in Russia. Both ships were at the time frozen side-by-side in the ice in Kronstadt harbour. When the Kronstadt delegation arrived in Petrograd, they found factories surrounded by Red troops and military cadets and Communist guards keeping an eye on those workers still at work. They then returned to Kronstadt and made their report which expressed complete sympathy for the workers' demands, and called for much greater self-determination in the factories and in the fleet. A meeting of sailors voted for a long resolution which, later, became the famous political charter of the Kronstadt rebellion. Among its demands were:

New election to the Soviets; freedom of speech and press to workers and peasants, anarchists and the left socialist parties; the liberation of all political prisoners of socialist parties and groups, as well as all workers, peasants, soldiers

and sailors imprisoned in connection with the workers' and peasants' movements; the election of a commission to review the cases of those being held in prisons and concentration camps; the abolition of Communist political departments; the equalisation of all rations among workers; the abolition of Communist fighting detachments in all branches of the army, as well as Communist guards kept on duty in factories and mills; and to give the peasants full freedom of action in regard to land, on condition that they manage the farms without employing hired labour.

Following the sailors' declaration of war on the Bolshevik government, meetings and conferences—including confrontations between leading Bolsheviks and the seamen—were held in the city of Kronstadt. The sailors elected a Provisional Revolutionary Committee which took up headquarters on the battleship *Petrovsk*. All key points on the island of Kotlin, together with the surrounding forts in the Gulf of Finland, were taken over by the insurgents. By midnight of March 2, the city of Kronstadt was secured without resistance. Moreover, all the warships of the Baltic Fleet at Kronstadt, the forts and all naval batteries recognised the Revolutionary Committee. The following day the Committee began to publish its own daily newspaper with the rather lengthy title of *News of the Provisional Revolutionary Committee of Sailors, Soldiers, and Workers of the City of Kronstadt*.

In *Kronstadt 1921*, Paul Avrich traces the attitude of the 'leftwing' and 'rightwing' émigré groups in considerable detail. He then describes the first Communist assault on the rebellious naval base. Unfortunately for the rebels, however, they had decided to defy the Communist authority whilst the ice was still firm. Red troops could advance across the ice. And they were, in the words of Zinoviev's Petrograd Defence Committee, going to shoot the rebel sailors 'like partridges'. On March 5, the Communists gave Kronstadt a 24-hour ultimatum to surrender. Military operations began on March 7, when

Communist batteries opened fire on the city of Kronstadt. However, a combination of snow and fog reduced visibility to nil, and the barrage was broken off. Damage to Kronstadt was very slight. Next morning the Communists tried to take the island by storm. In a blinding snowstorm, detachments of the Red Army, military cadets and armed *Chekists* advanced across the ice. They were met by a 'murderous barrage' of artillery and machine-gun fire from the forts and batteries around the island. The ice was littered with Communist corpses. The Red troops were forced to retreat, but the heavy gunfire from Communist batteries continued, while the guns of Kronstadt, the forts and the battleships returned their fire. During the afternoon, Communist airplanes attempted to bomb the naval base, but caused little damage. The first assault on Kronstadt was, as Avrich comments, 'an unmitigated failure'. The Communists lost hundreds of men without even breaching the defences.

## KRONSTADT FINALLY TAKEN

On March 12, the air and artillery bombardment of Kronstadt was resumed. And on the morning of the 14th, under cover of darkness, fresh detachments of Bolshevik troops advanced in a hurricane of artillery and machine-gun fire from the fortress. Once again, they were forced to withdraw. However, food, medical supplies and ammunition were running out on Kotlin Island. The initial enthusiasm generated by the revolt was, naturally, not being maintained. 'The repeated attacks, the lack of food and fuel, the long sleepless nights spent on guard in the cold,' as Berkman noted, 'were sapping the vitality of the rebel stronghold. With growing anxiety the defenders awaited the assault they knew had to come.' And on March 16, it did come. General Tukhachevsky, a former Czarist officer who was now working for Trotsky (he later went on to wipe out the remnants of Makhno's forces), attacked the naval base with an estimated force of 75,000 men. Among the Red forces were many delegates who had recently attended the Tenth Communist Party Congress in Moscow. After

prolonged bombardment, Red infantry attacked Kronstadt from three sides. By March 18, it was all over. First the forts, then the city and, lastly, all the warships were either captured or destroyed. Avrich describes the assault in great detail. He also recounts the escape of many of the defenders to Finland, and the arrest and subsequent executions of some, and the incarceration in concentration camps in the Far North for others. He quotes lengthy passages from the Kronstadt newspapers which came out each day during the revolt. One such quotation from the article, 'What We Are Fighting For', is well worth repeating here:

'The workers and peasants steadfastly march forward, leaving behind them the Constituent Assembly, with its bourgeois regime, and the dictatorship of the Communist Party, with its *Cheka* and its State Capitalism, whose hangman's

## BOOK REVIEW

noose encircles the necks of the labouring masses and threatens to strangle them to death. The present overturn at last gives the toilers the opportunity to have their freely elected soviets, operating without the slightest force of Party pressure, and to remake the bureaucratised trade unions into free associations of workers, peasants and the labouring intelligentsia. At last the policeman's club of the Communist autocracy has been broken.' Unfortunately, however, it was not so. The Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, won. The workers and peasants of Russia did not regain their free Soviets or non-bureaucratised trade unions. Instead, the State Capitalism which the Kronstadt sailors hoped would be overthrown, triumphed; and, fifty years after, is still with us today.

Together with perhaps Ida Mett's *The Kronstadt Commune*,\* I strongly recommend *Kronstadt 1921* by Paul Avrich to all those who are interested in the origins of Bolshevik tyranny in Russia. I particularly recommend it to those Trotskyist innocents who seem to imagine that things only began to 'go wrong' with the so-called October Revolution after the rise of Stalin and the demise of their prophet, Leon Trotsky.

PETER E. NEWELL.

\*Solidarity Pamphlet, No. 27, 55 pages, 2/6.

## NO FLOWERS BY REQUEST

ONE GETS RATHER TIRED of we anarchists being treated as a historical subject. In an academic world ravenously searching for thesis-fodder one supposes that 'Anarchism' with its position in the alphabet gives it priority and its tendency to direct attention to itself and to withdraw into the background from time to time gives it the illusion of a movement with a beginning and an end with definite historical—not to say hysterical periods.

Joll's and Woodcock's books were dealt with quite severely and adequately in *Anarchy* 46, but two comparatively recent books, *Revolutionists in London* by James W. Hulse<sup>1</sup> and *Four Patients of Dr. Diebler* by J. C. Longoni,<sup>2</sup> suffer from the same faults. Anarchists, it is true, have a 'great past to look forward to' but the sensational aspects are not the sole expression of anarchism and the choice of 'leader' figures is quite unjustified. As has been said: 'There are no prominent anarchists but there are anarchists who are prominent.'

Kropotkin is usually the chief victim of these hagiographers or creators of saints. Michael Foot in his review of *Revolutionists in London* rhapsodised quite lyrically on the benevolent Peter Kropotkin. The pendulum generally swings between the benevolently quaint and the fascinatingly wicked. Hulse's book contains essays on William Morris, Eduard Bernstein, Sergei Stepniak, Bernard Shaw and Kropotkin but suffers from the wideness of its political range and the necessary need of the London framework to detach characters from their home background and any historical events which explain character's sudden changes of opinion. For example William Morris's shifts of opinion may be explained by the French anarchists' bomb attempts of the 1890s.

One may quarrel with Hulse's subtitle 'A Study of Five

Unorthodox Socialists', one may say—why not 'Unorthodox Communists'? For indeed, as Samuel Butler says, 'Orthodoxy is my doxy, unorthodoxy is anybody else's doxy.' It may be debated whether Stepniak's nihilism, Morris's medievalism and Kropotkin's mutual aid have any resemblance to Socialism, at least as we know it today under the Fabian Harold Wilson.

Hulse's section on Kropotkin is as thorough as possible within such a short compass. The usual misunderstandings occur, tributes to Kropotkin's foresight as regards advances in technology and the usual opinion of over-optimism regarding man's potentiality for co-operation. Mr. Hulse falls into the usual trap of a 'self-fulfilling prophecy'. He finds a contradiction in Kropotkin's assertion that the instinct for mutual aid survived in man, and that co-operative ideas had declined. It is obvious that with the growth of state power the opportunities to practise co-operation decline whilst the necessity becomes more urgent and finds its increasing practice in anti-statist activities or in organizations outside the State orbit.

The usual wreath is proffered in a section entitled 'The Eclipse of Anarchism'. Says Mr. Hulse: 'In 1886, the anarchists seemed to be the peers of the Fabians and the Marxists in Britain, but a decade later they had obviously fallen far behind their left-wing rivals. The Fabians and Social-Democrats were building favourable political records, while the very name of "anarchist" was a term of fear and derision.' The same remark may apply (with some changes) to the nineteen-fifties and sixties but 'eclipses' are only a momentary occurrence and never permanently extinguish the sun—despite what primitive people once thought. However Mr. Hulse's book despite its shortcomings is worth reading and puts anarchism in its London context.

The *Four Patients of Doctor Diebler* is a very different piece of work. Such hostility to anarchism it contains is, one can be

sure, malice aforethought rather than misunderstanding. It is from the stable of Lawrence and Wishart, the well-known Communist (official) publishing house—anything published by them has the party's unofficial—if not official stamp of approval. The anti-anarchist bias emerges sometimes despite the author's own feelings. On the dust-jacket for example occur these sentences: 'This book "A Study in Anarchy" has topicality today because of the revival of certain forms of anarchist ideas, and of the more general phenomena of unorganised violence in modern society. It tells the story of four young anarchists who were guillotined in France in the 1890s. Their courage and idealism are plain to see—and so is the tragic futility of their ideas and of their actions.' The final sentences of the book are: 'All that anarchism achieved in the years from 1891 to 1894 in France was a few thousand francs' worth of damage to bourgeois property and the assassination of an expendable symbol of bourgeois power, President Carnot, for the loss by guillotining of four propagandists by deed. Anarchist propaganda by both word and deed failed to convince the great majority of the working class.'

## BOOK REVIEW

The gimmicky title of the book refers to 'Doctor' Diebler, the public executioner, and his 'patients' are condemned men. Mr. Longoni is too often tempted to give credence to sheer gossip such as Ravachol's aristocratic descent from the 'turnip-cabbage' family. He is given to fatuous remarks such as: 'But it takes more than a wag to predict anarchist behaviour which is essentially as much an imponderable as are the acts of God.'

In spite of Longoni's and his publisher's antipathy to anarchism, the work, being well-documented, although some of the documents are ill-chosen, gives a good picture of the ideas behind the 'tragic futility' which was more that of actions, than of ideas.

JACK ROBINSON.

OUR GOAL IS progress and progress we will! Modern man in search of a truth has found his new God—Progress! Gone are the days of miracles, visions and Gods in the sky. Today the new God and its handmaids, Duty, Conscience, Common Sense and a host of other divinities infest the world spreading a gospel of mindless progress, onward, forever onward. Capitalism upon which we vent so much rage is only the form of the sacrifice we feed to this God—Marxism too is a sacrifice, only of a different form with economic determinism, historic determinism and vanguards to progress as the dressing on the feast.

Technology is the yardstick of progress by which it can be measured and society can be shown something material for its exploitation—our gods are now visible. Before our own eyes—technology's bombs and missiles capable of killing every human being (God to protect us), technology's spy systems and computers keeping files on every human being (God to watch over us), politicians and diplo-

# RELIGION OF PROGRESSIVE TECHNOLOGY

omats to lie and cheat us (God's priesthood). In our name they exist and with our toil they develop a more sophisticated technology to subject us with.

In this society it is argued that our technology is dependent upon profit, the production of surplus value and that an alteration to this (Smash Capitalism) would destroy our technology and our progress. This is true. But our technology is false, its foundations are the matchsticks of the profit motive and survive only as long as it can dupe society into accepting exploitation to produce the profit.

When at last we find the true God, we ourselves, the path to our thrones will probably lead through revolution. After this technology will take a steep 'drop backwards' ('drop backwards' in inverted commas because to go backwards, for-

wards, up or down requires that one knows which direction these are in and also which direction you are going. This society knows neither and it is most unlikely that technology after the revolution will come this way again, the way of mass destruction, mass spying, mass pollution). The 'drop back' will come as the profit motive is destroyed and people realise happiness does not depend upon materialist things especially when you are God. However, the products of a technology are not in themselves evil—no set of inanimate objects are evil. A new technology will arise but this time it will be dependent upon the needs of individuals and small units instead of as it is now on Nation States and Super Powers. This dependence upon individual needs should, as well as diminishing the 'mass' technology mentioned above, also

eliminate use of material products as a status reflector and the creation of false material desires. This should cause people to construct their lives not on the pursuit of material goods to produce happiness but in such a way that their happiness and satisfaction are dependent only on interaction between human beings.

Some anarchists believe that this technology can bring about a slow non-violent revolution. The general trend of this is that capitalism works to destroy itself by satisfying the needs of the people and that while reflecting during our long periods of leisure we will then realise our alienation from the means of production. This realisation will become so general that we will magically, slowly and non-violently take over the means of production and from there life will

be a bed of roses.

The main point against this is that progress will find new gods for capitalism to trick people with. These are likely to require much higher levels of technology and this in turn will require a much higher level of centralised organisation—observe trends to the EEC and EFTA with the ultimate and most 'desirable' level being a World Government. This means that the longer the revolution is delayed the more likely it is to face a stronger centralised power.

TOM CASEY.

## AN ANARCHIST

TAKE OFF all your clothes, stand in front of a mirror, and smile. If you see yourself smiling back you're an Anarchist. If you see Prince Philip, Harold Wilson, or Mao Tse Tung, you're not.



# THIS WEEK IN IRELAND

THE SHOCK in the 26 counties has been the brutal 'Prices and Incomes' Bill. Actually this is cutting down all rises in wages for the lowest wage earners, even those already promised, while Mr. Colley admits he cannot control prices as 'other countries have inflation'. So once again the poor are hit hard. The trades unions are up in arms and intend fighting for the rights of the underdog.

Parliament has reconvened in the six counties and got off to a first class fight about the housing, neither left nor right liking it, the former because they think it leaves too much power still in the hands of the orange-hued Unionists, the latter because they think it does not leave enough.

The most horrifying thing in the six counties to me is the mandatory imprisonment bill. A girl of 17 is sentenced to six months in prison for calling out rude remarks to the police, and many other children of about the same age too are bundled off to prison on the flimsiest excuses. Even the nicer magistrates resent this being forced on them by the

Government. Paisley started off by shrieking for the rearming of the RUC and recall of the 'B' Specials, and was snubbed. Beattie, his henchman, backed him as did (of course) Craig. These extreme right-wingers are insisting everything that has happened in the six counties is an insurrection organised by the IRA.

Our papers down south are full of letters from Fascists saying we have the best Government in the world and abusing the 'Lefties'. They obviously have no conception of the ghastly poverty in which people in Dublin live. Their sheer spite and abusiveness leave any civilized person gasping.

'Honest Jack', our Taoiseach, with Dr. Hillery, has taken off for New York where he is having interviews with his buddies Nixon and Heath and mouthing dovelike meaningless platitudes. He is their 'Yes man'. Over here the other political parties are trying to get permission to pass 'No Confidence' motions on the Government, which the Government will not allow. This they can do legally as it is not yet six months since the last motions were passed and a six

month interval must be allowed unless the Government give permission. It is at the Ard Feis of Fianna Fail in February the real crunch will come.

For the ordinary citizen life becomes increasingly impossible with winter coming on. The price of food and fuel are far too high for low wage earners, old age pensioners and others not on top salaries to pay, and they go cold and hungry. Post is too expensive for letter-writing, and buses not only too costly but often non-existent.

## FROM IRELAND WITH APOLOGIES

Dear Editors,

Comrades of the Belfast Group, my apologies for errors in reporting on 10.10.70. For knowledge of what happens in the Six Counties I listen to the news from Belfast, Dublin and London, and read uncountable newspapers in bed after midnight. I cannot go about and see and hear for myself regularly as in Dublin. No one even hinted that it was a private murder, and I listened to a talk from Belfast deploring the provocation the Linfield soccer fans give to the Unity flat dwellers.

Of course all the trouble in all Ireland is caused by British imperialism and colonialism, and they have deliberately fostered the sectarian hatred in the Six Counties, a monster they cannot now control. The English Clarks, Taylors, Brookes and Chichesters, and the Scots Craigs and Paisleys, never integrated with the Irish, as the Normans and Danes

The verdict on Constable Arbuckle has just come over the wireless. The three men have been pronounced 'Not Guilty' though they are found guilty of having firearms. Sentence next week. One wonders, considering the Judge and Jury were all Protestants, if the verdict would have been the same if the men had come from the Falls instead of the Shankill?? Belfast comrades please answer. I have a nagging doubt.

The writer begins to wish the inevitable uprising would come full blast and be done with it. This living on the edge of disaster all the time is nerve-straining to say the least, and one cannot blame young people for being dropouts or even taking to drugs much as one deplores this negative outlook.

H.

LETTER

did, becoming more Irish than the Irish. Who would deny the Irishness of a Deburca or a Fitzgerald? In the Six Counties you have a race with no country. They are neither British nor Irish, but live in a no-man's-land where hate rules supreme. And the British hate both them and the Irish, but need the latter for their wars and imperialism and trade and cheap sweated labour.

I doubt, however, if stone-throwing helps anyone. To me (and I am very old and have seen many wars and revolutions all over the world) it is absolutely essential to give political education to the people, especially the young, as a first priority.

I hope to be up with you in Fermanagh on November 28 to observe personally, though your cops insist on arresting me when I put a nose over the border!

H.

## A BREAKTHROUGH OF THE IRRATIONAL

THE AMERICAN John Birch Society has launched a campaign which seems to me to have horrifying implications, although at first sight the whole thing seems funny. The society has published in its organ *American Opinion* an article claiming that the CND badge is an ancient symbol of anti-Christianity, associated with witchcraft and black magic. There have been 200,000 requests for reprints of this article.

The author says, 'Yes, I admit that this business is weird, but it does explain the comments in the Establishment press about a resurgence of satanism, and the proliferation of black magic shops in areas where leftist students and radicals gather. The revolutionaries are pushing this business like there's no tomorrow. And those peace symbols are a part of it. They are symbols of the anti-Christ.'

If 200,000 people see fit to write in for reprints of this kind of thing, in all probability there will be no tomorrow for humanity. We may assume that they are not for the most part collectors of anthropological curiosities, but that they want to buy copies of this article in order to confirm themselves in what they already believe. It is a brilliant prospect when citizens of a powerful modern nation, equipped with nuclear

bombs and all the rest of it, begin to think that they are fighting against witchcraft! Hitler showed that a modern people could return to the Middle Ages. A persecution of 'witches', any odd cultists who happen to be around, flying saucer enthusiasts, Gandalf Gardeners, theosophists, what you will, would neatly correspond to the anti-Jewish persecutions, which were such a notable feature of medieval and pseudo-medieval Nazi society.

It couldn't happen nowadays? Not perhaps so long as our civilisation continues to be successful, with its high living standards (in North America and Western Europe). But the crisis is on its way, and when the economy, due to the exhaustion of the world's natural resources, begins to break down, and people begin to go hungry, then the hunt for scapegoats will begin. After all, in the early Middle Ages there were people who said, 'But of course you can't punish a man for his religious beliefs'. A few centuries later and people were practically punished for nothing else.

If so many people are still so sunk in superstition what are we going to do to get across to them? How are we to deal with this irrationality?

A.W.U.

## ORC'S EYE VIEW

BORED OF THE RINGS, by Henry N. Beard and Douglas C. Kenney of The Harvard Lampoon, Signet Books.

PROFESSOR TOLKIEN must have been surprised when the youth took up his fantasy *The Lord of the Rings* with such enthusiasm. It is a little difficult to understand why they should have done so, because Tolkien's philosophy of life appears to be quite conventional. His heroes are heroic, his bad people bad. The story ends with the triumph of right, the restoration of a king to his throne and one is left with the feeling that the age of magic is drawing to its end, the elves and dwarfs and supernatural beings are being pushed

view. (Orcs were the goblin soldiers in the original Tolkien, here they are called narcs.)

The hobbit heroes become 'the bogies', a squalid little tribe of subhumans. They belch and fart their way through what is still recognisably Tolkienland. Robbery and murder are not beyond their scope, provided there is no great risk, for they are all cowards.

Tom Bombadil, a kind of nature god, and his consort Goldberry, a pre-Raphaelite nymph, become in this version a couple of horrible, hairy freaks, living on drugs. Those William Morris Teutons, the Horse Lords of Rohan, become Nazis and Gandalf becomes a down-at-heel conjurer.

Parody is parasitic. The humour of this story lies in the fact that it parallels the original closely. I suppose we all feel that in fairy tales the good are too good to be true, and the evil too evil, and so we are amused when everything is altered in this way. But I don't think it would amuse us if we did not know the original. Since the good are already corrupt there is no conflict. The evil are no worse. Sauron, Sorehead in this version, is merely another less successful villain, and at the end the victors contemplate the possibility of offering him an amnesty, as they need his talents.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

### BOOK REVIEW

out by *homo sapiens*.

It's a good tale of adventure, but then so is *Treasure Island*. Perhaps that is really all there is to its popularity. The cosmic significance read into it is no more than an excuse offered for enjoying a yarn. Now two Americans—the story is taken much more seriously on the other side of the Atlantic—have written an ingenious take-off of the whole thing. They manage to compress three volumes into 160 pages, a small paperback, and yet keep remarkably close to the original story. But it is an orc's eye

## AGAINST THE ALLIANCES

THERE WILL BE a demonstration against NATO and the Warsaw Pact on Saturday, November 28, in London. The demonstration is organised by CND in co-operation with the National Union of Greek Students (abroad) and members of the Czechoslovak Socialist opposition now in Britain.

This protest will dramatise that the division of Europe into the two nuclear alliances not only perpetuates the threat of nuclear war, but also promotes political repression: for example, NATO and the American Government are giving moral and military backing to the Greek dictatorship; the Warsaw Pact invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Soviet troops are still present. The demonstration leaflet calls for: 'National independence and the right of people to create their own forms of democracy and socialism; disarmament and an end to military alliances; and security based on unity and freedom.'

There will be a march from the Czechoslovak Embassy, assembling at 1 p.m., proceeding via the Greek Embassy to Trafalgar Square, where the Greek Arts Theatre will present a scene

from *Antigone* (one of the plays now banned in Greece), and there will also be poetry, music, and speeches by representatives of the disarmament movement, the Greek Democratic opposition and the Czechoslovak Socialist opposition.

Speakers include: Professor Peter Worsley (Manchester University, speaker for Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament); Yannis Andricopoulos, General Secretary of Greek National Union of Students (abroad); Ivan Hartel, member of the Czechoslovak Socialist opposition in Britain; George Catephores, member of Greek Democratic opposition in Britain; Jiri Pelikan, former President of International Union of Students, and Director of Czechoslovak television up to August 1968; Claude Bourdet of the Parti Socialiste Unifie, France, and a vice-president of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace.

These speakers will also address a meeting in the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1, at 7 p.m., where they will be able to present a more extended analysis of the policy underlying the demonstration and of the current political situation.

## Pregnant with Religion

LAST YEAR I wrote in *FREEDOM* about the persecution of Dr. Eric Beuchse ('Kinky Freda Meets the Child Psychologist') by the sado-masochistic Blackburn children's committee. These Town Hall thugs have now forced Dr. Beuchse and his wife to resign from the Wilkinson House Child Care Centre. This in protest against the way local officials brutalise the child-parent relationship of cases sent to them for help. 'They are treated as numbers, not people, and are moved here and moved away again, often without either knowledge or consent of their parents', reports Dr. Beuchse. One family were admitted whilst the mother was in hospital and 'we did not know until the hospital authorities began making inquiries that the mother did not know what had happened to her children'. Children are 'whisked away without a word and we have not even been able to have a talk with the people he has gone to, and he has been forbidden to visit us again. This sort of treatment can do a lot of harm'. Council perverts have complained about 'over-leniency'. 'Some people think we should use strong-arm methods. We do not believe in them.' The children's committee have always refused to meet the doctor, to discuss the situation.

Wilshire Grange is a home for unmarried mothers and Superintendent Joan

Clough has just been sacked. Seemingly this former nun has abolished compulsory Thursday chapel. Away from bourgeois Wilshire, Blackburn's many pregnant single girls have until recently endured the tortures of Mrs. Le Monte, a psychotic religious freak. Some years ago she took over an old building near the Spiritualist church in central Blackburn. With financial support from both local government and business, she installed impregnated females and young girls suffering probation. Every night her weird friends crept in, clutching tatty hymn-books. A piano rolled and girls and babies stood to swell the chorus until late evening. Jangling keyboard and tired infant yells. All domestic work executed by mothers. No special food provided for babies. They ate sausage and mash or starved. Worthy Councillors ignored all complaints.

One of the first inmate mothers told me a harrowing tale. One night sinister Le Monte ordered her to prepare to receive some wondrous news the following morning. Convinced her black son had been found temporary foster parents, Mary awaited eagerly this promised interview. 'Kneel down before me, child, and let me touch your head . . . you will feel the power of the spirit . . . repent your sins,' thundered Le Monte. 'Bugger off,' says Mary, 'I've already paid for my bloody sins'

## Books

Any book not in stock, but in print can be promptly supplied. Book Tokens accepted. Please add postage & cash with order helps.

New Books on Anarchism and kindred subjects

### NEW PAPERBACKS & PAMPHLETS

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The Irrational in Politics	2/-
Modern Capitalism and Revolution Paul Cardan	3/-

### OUT OF PRINT

Berkman's ABC OF ANARCHISM is no longer available. A new printing should be ready by January 1971.

### BACK IN PRINT

Third printing of ABOUT ANARCHISM (Anarchy 100) now available. Single copies 2/6 (30p) inc. post. Bulk supplies at 2/- or 25c each, post paid.

### LIVERPOOL CONFERENCE

AS there seems to be no signs, as yet, of an AFB conference this year, we have decided to offer Liverpool as a venue for one in the near future.

If this idea meets with any enthusiasm the conference would be held over a weekend at the end of November or the beginning of December.

I should be grateful for any reactions to this offer and for dates which people feel suitable, so that the attendance can be maximised.

If all goes well, further details such as sleeping arrangements and meeting places will appear in 'Freedom' later.

Any correspondence please to Geoff Sproson, 172a Lodge Lane, Liverpool 8. Geoff Sproson.

### STOP PRESS

GEORGE FOULSER (see back page last issue) now squatting as No. 090123, HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, London, SW2. Letters, Books, welcome. Full news next issue.

and sprawls in a chair consumed by hysterical laughter. Incredulous at this bizarre scene, Le Monte thumps Mary and forces her, and baby, into outside snow.

Unmarried girls are now spared such a fate but female probationers continue to be subjected to this madhouse regime. Blackburn is a vast lunatic asylum and the outcast and deprived its essential scapegoat victims. Dr. Beuchse is off to Lambeth. The girls at Wilshire Grange are organising a petition towards reinstating Joan Clough. Mary is probably getting knocked-out again. Mrs. Le Monte flourishes obscenely on Blackburn's children's committee haven't yet vanished underneath some mighty avenging hand. Business continues as normal. DAVE CUNLIFFE.



# A Criminal Conspiracy — The State

C

ontact

Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

IN THE PAST few years a large, insular, remote and defensively anonymous organisation has been continually harassing and intimidating me. Threats and inducements have been made by the organisation because it feels confident, and indeed knows that it can rely upon the coercive violence of the magistrates, the police and ultimately the prison system. It has been obvious that this organisation considers (judging by its earlier communications to me) that a subtle reference to the state's more violent/coercive machinery would be sufficient to bring me to heel. As this hasn't happened, the threats have become more and more direct and eventually the County Court has opened its great jaws. This organisation is Her Majesty's 'Constabulary' of Taxes. Inevitably this organisation will have me 'kidnapped' and taken before the Southwark County Court.

Her Majesty's 'plain clothes men' attached to the tax 'branch' want to know this, that and the other, for they must make their 'assessment'. I've told them precisely nothing and their communications have become increasingly exasperated and 'physical force' in tone.

The particular 'plain clothes man' who is poised ready to send out another posse of bailiffs from the Southwark County Court has sent me a letter openly threatening coercive violence if I don't pay him his dues by September 22. I replied to him most civilly, asking him not to use violence and intimidation to make me change my beliefs because, among other things, such behaviour contradicts the directives trumpeted time and time again by 'eminent' members of the

judiciary. For example, I pointed out to him that on July 22 Judge Christmas Humphries (sentencing Paul Hoch) said that 'Violence cannot be permitted in this country in the exercise of one's beliefs'. (I also gave the tax policeman to understand the fact that Judges don't have to abide by their own directives.) Additionally I let him know that tax collection, like law 'enforcement', is a question where personal beliefs are involved, and cited the present Lord Chancellor, Quintin Hogg, rallying an assembly of magistrates with the cry, 'Lawyers and judges should stick together and stand together for what they believe in' (21.7.70).

The abovementioned letter is the only one that I've ever written to the tax 'police'. It was also accompanied by some duplicated sheets I've produced about my position re tax collection and collectors, what taxes are for, and they contain a number of direct questions which the taxman must answer for me, for only then can I make up my 'assessment', safeguarding against their misuse by associates of his in other departments.

One of the things that I've enquired of the tax 'police' and others is why he isn't accountable to those from whom he takes the taxes. We, after all, must be accountable and what's more we must be truthful... or else. I invited the tax 'policeman' to come along on the evening of September 22 and discuss the situation without recourse to threats or intimidation... and a group of us waited for him in vain, for he didn't come.

I can't hope to reproduce here the amount of evidence of official corruption I've used in the duplicated sheets I re-

ferred to earlier. It's fashionable for the police to haul people before the courts these days on charges of conspiracy (ingredients like violence and intimidation are usually thrown in for good measure), especially when these people are members of minority groups that 'they' sorely wish to crush. In my sheets I've attempted to confront the tax policeman, and via him the Establishment in general with some of their conspiracies, some of which are so enormous and so sick that people may feel inclined to disbelieve them.

So it's because of the defensive anonymity, the unaccountability, the deceit, the corruption and the hypocrisy of so many of the bureaucratic organisations which play a leading part in shaping

(malforming) people's lives, loves, etc., that I've in a sense tried to confront the tax police and through them the 'Old Corruption'.

My action isn't about the imperfection of the British Constitution or an attempt to create a legal 'precedent'. Rather it's more demonstrative. One of the ways by which 'they' can malfunction as they do is by their ability to reply to any resolute critic, 'Look old chap, that's not my responsibility... that's another question and department.' One hears a lot about 'smashing capitalism'. My action will at least attempt to create definitions which should lead toward that end.

From information supplied by  
IAN CAMERON.

## Letter from Canada

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

We vehemently urge that you protest the enactment of the War Measures Act in Canada and the political terror it has unleashed, especially in Québec. We seek your solidarity as the widest 'legal' repression ever undertaken by a liberal democracy in peacetime is underway. Today Québec is under military occupation and under martial law. Major civil liberties have been suspended, including the Canadian Bill of Rights, until April 1971. People are being arrested by the score, their homes raided, their offices searched, printing machinery and all sorts of other material seized.

Most people outside Canada are not yet aware that the Act is being used as a pretext by the State to stifle the entire Québec Left and radical movement. To date more than 600 persons have been arrested and the number increases with each day, while more than 2,000 raids have been made by the police. These people can be held in prison for up to 21 days without being charged with an offence and 90 days before being brought to trial. These people can be rearrested again and again. These are provisions under the Act. Also the police can arrest anyone and search anywhere without warrants. Those arrested include radicals and revolutionaries of all persuasions, socialists, libertarians, and pacifists. People who have had nothing to do with the

Front de Liberation du Québec politically have been arrested, and these include artists, poets, actors, trade unionists, students and many others.

As just one example of the breadth of the repression we can mention the case of FRAP. For the first time the forthcoming municipal elections in Montréal are going to be contested by a radical movement and political party (Front d'action Politique) which has a radical concept of urbanism. The recent Drapeau administration which also called for military occupation has up until now ruled Montréal without opposition. FRAP and the movement has now been decimated by the mass arrests among its activists just weeks before the elections.

In Québec-Presse (the mass circulation trade-union weekly) of today, a list of well-known Quebecers have called for massive civil resistance against the State and the Act. We are in need of your immediate support, before there is blood in the streets of Montréal.

Protest to Prime Minister P. E. Trudeau, Ottawa, Canada.

Protest to Prime Minister Robert Bourassa, Québec City, Canada.

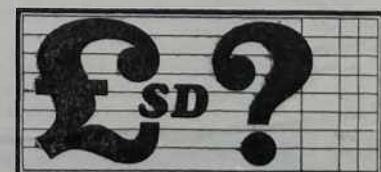
Protest to Mayor Jean Drapeau, City Hall, Montréal, Canada.

Protest to the editors of the *Montreal Star*, St. James Street, west, Montréal, Canada.

Protest to the editors of *Le Devoir*, rue Notre Dame est, Montréal, Canada.

Send copies of your protest to *Our Generation*, 3934 rue St. Urbain, Montréal 131 and to *Québec-Presse*, 6440, 25<sup>e</sup> avenue, Rosemont, Montréal 409.

fraternally,  
DIMITRIOS ROUSSOPOULOS,  
editor, *Our Generation*.



### PRESS FUND

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And just when it seemed to be doing so well!  
\*Denotes Regular Contributor.

BILL DWYER.

## THIS WORLD

Have you had

**YOUR PHOTOGRAPH** taken recently? Go to Durham and you will find the police there providing a free service.

On October 21 students and other young people, who were entering Durham Magistrates' Court to attend the trial of two friends, were photographed by police secreted on a top floor.

The Deputy Chief Constable of Durham, after the police were discovered, said an explanation was given to the chairman of the bench and added: 'There was nothing insidious about what was done.' The chairman, Alderman Cecil Ferens, said the police had given him good reasons for the action but 'I am not prepared to disclose these'.

Students took quite a different view. Their president, Mr. Richard Ayre, said: 'After today let no student doubt the report of the National Council for Civil Liberties that the police are watching us all.'

Even Orwell might have been surprised to find Big Brother here before 1984.

What goes on

In the mind of a Labour Party politician? Mr. Michael Stewart, MP, is wondering about the 'new style' of Mr. Heath's Government. In a letter to *The Times* on Wednesday, he deplores that the present Government is sending only Junior Ministers to represent it at official ceremonies in Westminster Abbey. By contrast, he asserts, when Labour was in office the Prime Minister himself, or at least a Senior Minister, was in attendance.

It is not known whether Mr. Stewart, or Mr. Wilson, was at Euston Station the other day to assist the Queen—photographed having a helluva time controlling her pet corgi—on her return from an eight-week holiday. No doubt he would have wished to have been in the shoes of Mr. Heath's new Ministers who next day took the Oath of Office to Her Majesty in person all 'kissing hands'. Mr. Stewart, apparently, would have gladly kissed her ass—a fine old Labour Party tradition.

Sanctuary

The Americans were determined to keep Dr. Timothy Leary in prison for the whole of a ten year sentence for the 'crime' of possessing a small portion of marijuana. The psychedelic folk hero escaped recently and now the Algerians have granted him political asylum. Heads, and freedom lovers, everywhere will rejoice that justice has triumphed over the law.

Yugoslavia

Meanwhile in Belgrade students protested in the streets against the imprisonment for 20 months of Vladimir Mija-

novic. Their cry: 'There is no justice'. Mijanovic, an outspoken student, had committed the 'crime' supreme in 'socialist' countries—he had criticised the regime and demanded freedom for the people.

The War Criminals

The My Lai case proceeds. Whatever the legal verdict—which hardly concerns anarchists—the facts are now firmly established. American soldiers and officers deliberately and coldly rounded up Vietnamese civilians—men, women and children—herded them into ditches and shot them down ruthlessly.

Jack London once described the good soldier as the lowest creature alive. The good soldier is he who unquestioningly obeys any order—including the murder of his own mother. The Americans in Vietnam have proven that they are at least as 'good' as the Germans in the concentration camps under Hitler.

Leeds Police

Oh for an honest cop! In Leeds Police-constable John Hitchen, in giving evidence against several colleagues including the Chief Superintendent who are charged with covering up for the latter when he was involved in a fatal car accident, said that at the time he 'did not trust anyone in the force'.

Squatters

While our correspondent and long-time militant George Foulser holds the fort in Burrell House, sometime militants like Ron Bailey and Jim Radford have become ultra-professional and respectable.

With the grandiose title 'Family Squatting Advisory Council (Campaign for Legal Squatting)', they have disowned the direct action men, accepted £5,000, and entered into direct dealing with the councils who will obviously regard the 'legal men' as the lesser of two evils and the more 'manageable'. Indeed, the new organisation has pledged itself to obedience to council orders and have taken up a wholly cap-in-hand position.

These latter-day Uncle Toms, consciously or not, threaten to betray the original squatting movement founded, as it is, on direct and militant action, and challenge to the callous disregard of councils for the homeless. Worse still, they are undermining the magnificent solidarity, mutual aid, and communal living of the original movement. Squatting involved far more than housing. By confrontation with a common enemy—authority—it engendered a militancy close to revolutionary and brought people together in a warmth generated by generosity—all of which would be sold down the drain by the legal approach.

French repression

Anarchists hold no brief for Maoism—chapter 26 (Discipline) of the little Red Book reveals the Maoists as blatant fascists. Yet the sentencing of Alain Geismar, leader of the Proletarian Left (Maoist), to 18 months in France must concern all. The slogan 'The Struggle for the liberation of Geismar is the struggle for the liberty of all' is as valid as 'A pen for Grigorenko!' (the latter is incarcerated by the communists in a mental hospital as a convenient alternative to prison and refuse him permission even to write to his family) in Russia. In both cases the 'crime' of the accused is criticism of the regime.

Workers' claims

*The Times*, in a leading article during the week, laments that 15% has become a 'fashionable figure' for pay increase demands. This figure, we are pompously informed, is 'ten times the current increase in production... three times the normal level of settlements ten years ago... very much above the levels in the United States'. What *The Times* does not inform us is that workers in many other countries, including the States and West Germany, are already paid a higher proportion of the national income than in Britain.

Conservative politicians, principally Labour Party reformists, want to tie wage increases to productivity. This assumes that the worker already has a fair share—which even a moderate reformer would deny. To revolutionaries the concept that the status quo should be accepted as a basis for social reorganisation and justice is wholly obnoxious.