

WHO ARE THE GUILTY?

IN THEIR ATTEMPTS to civilize the uncivilizable—war—governments have, in their usual blundering way, come up with a category of 'war crimes'. Unmindful of the fact that speaking of 'war crimes' is like speaking of dishonesties involved in the process of robbing banks or illnesses occurring during the onset of cancer, the US government has got itself involved in a fine ethical stew about William Calley, charged and sentenced for the murder of 22 Vietnamese civilians at the village of My Lai.

More than twenty years and many minor wars ago there was a trial at Nuremberg of the Nazi war leaders. It was manifestly a trial of the defeated by the victorious—who else could be the judges? Those Nazi leaders who had not committed suicide were hung or imprisoned—of those imprisoned only a feeble-minded senile Hess remains in prison guarded (by the only fragment of four-power co-operation left) in the jail at Spandau.

Many people had doubts of the usefulness of those trials but from them seemed to arise the doctrine that henceforward it was no defence in law for a soldier convicted of 'war crimes' to say that he was acting under orders. This, it was thought, justified the trials and made international law once more a thing to respect.

However it had been said by the Judge Advocate during the trial of Henry Wirz, the commander of a prison camp, 'A superior officer cannot order a subordinate to do an illegal act, and if a subordinate obeys such an order and disastrous consequences result, both the superior and the subordinate must

answer for it.' Wirz, largely as a result of this finding, was convicted and executed. However, Wirz was a Southern prisoner camp commander in the American civil war, at Andersonville in 1864 and 8,589 prisoners died through the neglect of Commandant Wirz. Nearly 100 years later the US is still far from accepting the doctrine of individual responsibility.

It could be argued, and many do, that since all attempts to civilize war have failed we might as well admit that 'war is hell' and either, as the hard-hats say, fight with no holds barred or, as the pacifists say, abolish war altogether. Both have concurred in protest against the sentencing of William Calley although from differing motives.

There is something especially ironic in the perpetrators of the bombing of Hiroshima and Dresden putting on trial the bombers of Coventry and Pearl Harbour. Illogically enough, the persistent bombing, napalming and strafing of the peasants of Vietnam, has called forth no juridical protest in America and frequently anti-communist peasants have been killed or suffered. However this is the lofty abstraction afforded by the remoteness of the bomber and helicopter. William Calley calls for especial horror in the same way that the retail murderer of the suburban sweetheart rates more column-inches than the

wholesale slaughters in Arabia, Pakistan and Vietnam.

It can easily be pointed out that North Vietnamese troops have also slaughtered peasants whom they suspected of being pro-American. They have acted on the same assumptions as the Americans, 'There are no innocents' and 'those who are not for us are against us'. The losers in Vietnam are always the people, whom—both sides assure us—they are protecting and for whose sake they are involved in this war. If the civilians of My Lai had not been killed by Calley and his men, they stood a good chance of being killed by the North Vietnamese.

Both sides welcome revelations of atrocities by the 'others', for this rallies waverers. This is the 'polarization of conflict' about which we have heard much recently. The mock outrage expressed by many, cannot be taken seriously from those who evaluate human life so cheaply that they believe in the historical

inevitability of situations involving the maximum of human misery, death and destruction.

In an abstract sense we are all guilty of My Lai, in tolerating a world which allows this to happen. William Calley is not only guilty of commanding others to kill but in obeying orders to treat My Lai as a free-fire zone, to search and destroy and to maximise the body-count. As long as there are those who will obey there will be those who command.

It is only logical that President Nixon, who, after all, is Commander-in-Chief, should not only decide that William Calley (in defiance of all known law) should return to his barracks, but that Nixon will decide Calley's fate. This, if it means anything at all, means that Nixon will pardon Calley. A White House spokesman, whoever he may be, not only gratuitously insulted Mohammed Ali by referring to him as a 'draft dodger on bail' but recalled Abraham Lincoln's pardon for a

sleeping sentry. Lincoln did not pardon Wirz and William Calley was not sleeping.

Nixon is right, insofar as the State is an agency of murder, that he should pardon its instruments. The deaths inflicted by police and national guard (notably those at Kent State University) go unpunished. But those who co-operate with any State in its foul deeds add, in the words of Shelley, 'the crime of murder to the crime of servitude'.

Calley's especial guilt, indeed the guilt of all of us, lay in his abdicating the responsibility for his ethical decisions to his superior officers. He utterly failed to comprehend even the ostensible reason for his being in Vietnam; even if it had not dawned upon him that this purpose was unlikely to be achieved (as it has to many), he was content to obey orders. A thinking soldier would be death to the State, an obedient soldier is the death of humanity.

JACK ROBINSON.

Never Forget— it's OUR Money!

IT IS A fairly cool rule of thumb that if a Budget is welcomed by the City of London it can bode no good for the workers. We are always the first to suffer from inflation or slump; the last to gain from reflation or boom.

The Demon Barber's Budget is precisely what we should have expected in this present political climate, for this present Tory Government is determined to be Tory and nothing else (except of course when Rolls Royce goes bust!). Hence they are setting about dismantling what Wilson left of the welfare state and making things easier for those already strong enough to stand on their own two feet.

Within minutes of the Chancellor's proposals being announced the professional analysts were decoding his scrambled messages to his friends in the City and telling the nation what it wanted to know: what's in it for me? The smokers, beer-drinkers and motorists heaved sighs of relief as they learned that for once they were not going to be

hit; management in the 'service' industries went wild with delight at the news that SET was to be immediately cut, eventually abolished; old age pensioners cackled with glee at the prospect of another pound in their pittance next September; surlax payers heaved their bellies above the table and called for another bottle of bubbly; capital gainers calculated their gains, ready for the long laugh all the way to the bank, and the unemployed wondered when the factory would take them on again, while the workers in work went off to the Bingo.

THE COLD LIGHT OF MORNING

Next morning the sums began in earnest. Those workers who thought that the improved tax allowance for their kids was going to help them get it together at last learned that they were going to have to pay more for their National Insurance contributions as well as more for doctors' prescriptions if they are so silly as to fall ill, while the removal of subsidies from school meals and

children's milk means they will have to pay more for those items too.

If you are really poor and are prepared to claim supplementary benefits on the school meals and milk, etc.—submitting yourself to a means test to get it—you will be a bit better off in terms of what the Exchequer takes off you directly, but you will still be bloody hard-up in this inflationary period—and woe betide you when (happy day) both SET and Purchase Tax are abolished, and all you have to pay is a simple Value Added Tax on everything! The average worker, earning the average wage with two children, will be slightly less than half a week's wages better off at the end of the fiscal year—assuming his wages have kept pace with prices and he is still in a job anyway, for by the cold light of Sunday morning, the posh weeklies were coming to the conclusion that the unemployment rate was not going to be affected by this Budget at least until next year—if then, for the prophecies seem to show that the gross national product might go up by one per cent this year, and productivity by three per cent—in other words fewer workers would be producing more!

Oddly enough, according to one of the *Observer's* experts, the chap worst hit by Barber's Budget is the £2,500 a year man with two kids, for his tax savings are more than offset by additional expenses (like he will have to pay £33.80 more on his National Insurance contributions!). Since this income bracket provides just the sort of climbing executive type with mortgages and ambitions who voted for the Tories, it seems that somewhat scurvy treatment is their reward. Oh our hearts must bleed for them!

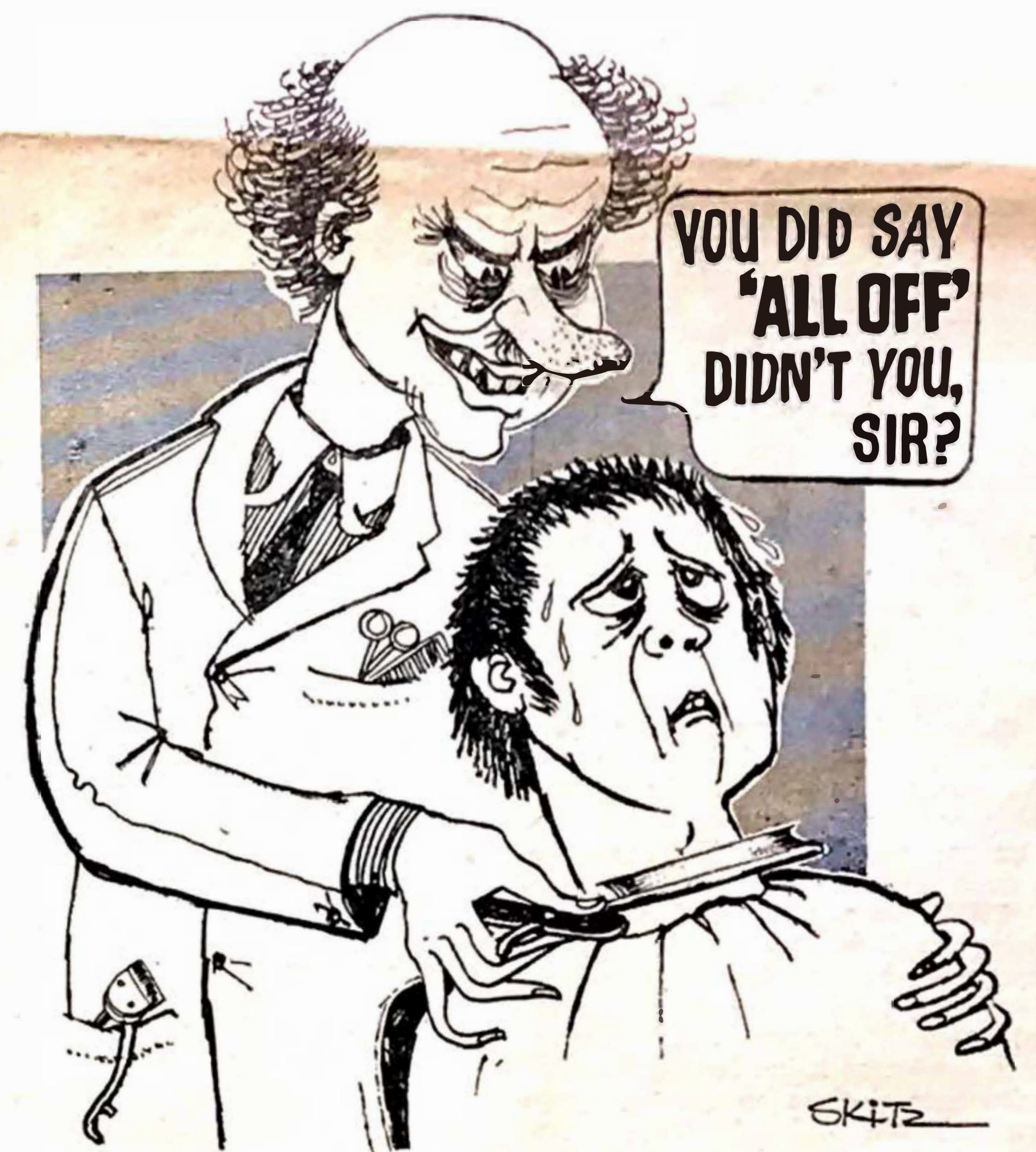
INCENTIVES AND FEAR

But guess what? The chap who stands to gain most from Mr. Barber's little tax fiddles is the 'lucky family man' earning £15,000 a year. He will be better off this time next year by a cool £1,135.

This is what is known as incentive. For the rich and the getting rich, there is this incentive to get richer.

For the workers, not a lot of incentive from the Chancellor. What then is going to make them work harder for the good of the country? One very good, old-fashioned feature of capitalist practice: FEAR! To them that hath shall be given, saith the good book, and from them that hath not shall be taken away even that which they hath. To which, 'Yea Verily' addeth Mr. Barber, as he stimulates the bosses but is careful not to do anything to stimulate demand.

With unemployment standing now at over three-quarters of a million, with a steady increase to indicate firmly that it will be up to the million mark by next winter at the latest, the meagre benefits accruing to the working class out of this



Budget are not going to make anyone go mad on a spending spree. On the contrary, the five bob extra a week that might be apparent is (a) neither here nor there or (b) will go into the Savings Bank. The really poor who benefit on paper at least will have a few more necessities perhaps, but will certainly not even dream of luxuries. The middle-class chappie we have already mentioned as getting nothing out of it will be licking his wounds with his nose to the grindstone, which is quite a difficult feat and will leave him with no time to go shopping and a nasty taste in his mouth. The rich bloke who is doing nicely thank you anyway is already fitted up with all the consumer goods he can manage. His little windfall may take him to Tahiti for his holiday instead of dreary old Monte Carlo.

So: dropsies for the bosses, but no stimulation for the market place. Thus: more unemployment. Thus: Fear of losing your job to keep you quiet at work and the Industrial Relations Bill in the pipeline to deal with the irrepressible militants while Mr. Maudling improves the Loranorder situation the better to impress our potential kith and kin in the Common Market.

GOVERNMENT EQUALS ROBBERY

Oh Christ what a load of crap all this is! How pathetic to see a nation grovelling before the bloody Chancellor of the Exchequer for hand-outs like beggars before the Palace!

Doesn't anybody realise that this is OUR MONEY they hand back to us? The Government makes nothing; all it does is to rob us all of a bloody big part of the wealth we create. It sets up this protection racket, like the bunch of hoods they are, stealing from us under duress (Pay up or else!) and then expecting us to be grateful if they give a bit of it back as 'welfare' or even if they don't take quite as much this year as they took last year!

Even this is a con trick. They NEVER reduce taxation—they only find different ways of organising the robbery. Make no mistake: when VAT replaces SET and PT (oh shit!) we shall end up paying more than ever before—and everybody, selling anything will become a tax collector for the Government.

Everything a government ever does is aimed at screwing the people. That is all it's there for—and who needs that?

JUSTIN.

THE STRIKE AT FORDS

ONE OF THE most surprising aspects of the Ford Motor Company strike was the suddenness of the settlement. It came when further meetings of strikers were not expected to take place for over a week and soon after union leaders from 19 countries had met at the International Metalworkers Federation's World Auto Council conference.

This conference had in fact expressed considerable support for the British Ford workers' struggle and pledged itself 'to contribute by all practicable means to the success of the British Ford strikers and refrain from any action that might endanger that success'.

Whether such support made Fords

Continued on page 2

Big Ears is Watching You!

BY NOW MANY readers of this paper will probably have received an official letter written in an astounding piece of baby talk, which might almost have come from the immortal pen of Enid Blyton. The purpose of this letter is to cajole us and bully us into filling in the form we shall be sent in the forthcoming census. There are penalties of up to £50 for failing to comply.

The questions on the census form will be extremely detailed, and they will go into the most absurd details of your private life. The South East England Young Liberal Federation is organising a campaign. People Against the Census, and has produced some leaflets, from which the following information is taken.

The 'head of the household' is required to state how he or she occupies the accommodation, owner occupier, rented from council, unfurnished letting, furnished letting, etc., whether the household shares with anyone else the use of rooms or passages, the number of rooms in the house, the number of cars or vans used by the family, the situation with regard to cookers and baths and all the rest of it.

This is stupid enough, but no doubt there will be people who will defend it on the grounds that this is socially useful information. If the government is concerned about the housing of the people they must know what the situation is, in order to improve it. The fallacy of this of course is that the government does not care two pence about the housing situation. It cares only about profit, and houses will only be built if their building can be made to pay. So all this information is demanded because of the obsessive nature of bureaucracy.

More sinister is the demand that the 'head of the household' inform authority about each person in the house 'on the night of 25/26th April 1971, or joining the household on Monday 26th April 1971'.

The information begins with name and date of birth, sex, usual address if

different from the household's, and then goes on into the most complex details of the relationships between each person in the house with every other. Not only is the country of birth demanded, but that of the person's parents. Not only that, but also the person's address five years ago, all his qualifications, all about his job situation, or whether he is, or is about to become a student. In fact it would be tedious to go on.

If one happens to be away on the fatal night the wretched 'head of the household' is still expected to supply most of the above information, including 'what is the person's occupation. FULL details. Describe the actual work done. . . .

This sort of thing was bad enough in earlier years, on account of the offence to human dignity that a person should be subjected to such an inquisition. Now, adds it is much more dangerous. We live in a country sliding slowly, but with increasing speed, down the slope into a police state, probably of a Fascist, Right-Wing kind, but that is not of much importance in itself. Left or Right it's just as bad. Also we live in the age of the computer. All this information will be fed into computers where it can be stored forever, and where it will easily be found by authority whenever it feels the need for it.

We should support this campaign, and not be put off by the fact that the people organising it are mainly Young Liberals. Reforms are always worth having if they mean a bit less authoritarianism or barbarity. To get rid of the death penalty was a good thing. The census would also be something worth getting rid of, and maybe some people may eventually pay with their lives because the government knew where to put its finger on them when it wanted to.

Anyone interested in joining this campaign should contact:

BRIAN MILTON,
Flat 1, 22 North Villas,
London, N.W.1.

A.W.U.

FORDS STRIKE

think again and increase its offer is unlikely. But certainly the statements of support that were issued from this conference had a special meaning after Henry Ford's visit to this country.

Mr Woodcock, President of the United Automobile Workers of America, even went along to 10 Downing Street, like Mr Ford, to put his case against multi-national companies and the threat they pose to the independence of governments. It is true that such companies have higher annual turnovers than some states. But governments are part and parcel of capitalism and they try to ensure a healthy economic state of affairs in order to gain maximum profits from investments. It was this unhealthy atmosphere for investment that was the reason for Ford's complaints to Mr Heath.

However, Mr Heath and his government did not need his advice for, as they explained, they pinned great hopes on their Industrial Relations Bill as a safeguard for big business. Mr Ford's globe-trotting illustrates how powerful such trooping illustrates how powerful such companies are and how they use the tactic of 'divide and rule' on an international scale, as well as at plant and national level, in order to blackmail and frighten both workers and governments into accepting their plans.

UNPREDICTABLE STOPPAGES

One of Mr Ford's complaints was the large number of unpredictable stoppages which continually hit production. He was more concerned about these than a possible long, set-piece strike at the end of an agreement. It is not a coincidence that both the Industrial Relations Bill and the terms of the Ford settlement are mainly centred around preventing unpredictable stoppages.

The settlement terms for the longest strike at British Ford are recommended by Hugh Scanlon of the Engineers' Union and Jack Jones of the Transport and General. While these terms give a sizeable wage increase of £3.62 to £4.80, backdated to March 1, followed by another £2-£2.33 in December and the same amount in August 1972, equal pay for women at once and a paid holiday on New Year's Day, they also include a 'freeze' on further wage demands, a 'no-strike' clause as well as agreed arrangements for negotiating when the contract runs out in March 1973.

If such an agreement is adhered to it will give managements considerable power over their employees. Another aspect of the settlement is that the second and third increases are lower than the first. This could mean that if the cost of living continues to rise at the present rate then these increases will be quickly

swallowed up and the workers' hands are tied by the 'no-strike' clause. Any agreements that tie up wages in this manner are not in the interests of the workers. They can only serve the desire of managements to achieve maximum profits.

The Government is certainly upset by the size of the agreement. They have set an example in the public sector and feel that the private sector is letting them down. A *Financial Times* leader says the following in defence of Ford and the agreement. 'But in the present phase of incomes policy every company is entitled to make the best bargain it can get in the light of its own situation and requirements, and if it thinks its competitive position can tolerate a price increase then that is its decision. It is up to the Government to decide what is the most effective form of incomes policy and how best to implement it.'

This statement illustrates the hypocrisy of calls for restraint for the 'national interest'. Ford still think that under the circumstances they have a worthwhile agreement which, if kept, will suit their purposes very well.

HURRIED BALLOT

The hurriedly organised ballot of members has shown majorities at every plant for a return to work. However at mass meetings called by the shop stewards, majorities have favoured a continuation of the struggle for parity of earnings.* The haste to get the ballot vote shows that the union leaders want a settlement. The nine-week-old dispute has already cost them dearly in financial terms and a continuation could mean a really hard-fought and prolonged struggle. Rank and file members might seek the support offered to them and thereby involve workers on an international scale. It remains to be seen how big the revolt against the agreement and the union leaders will be.

However workers should be thinking internationally. Industry is becoming so interdependent and interlocked that workers in another country could easily find themselves doing the work of fellow-workers in dispute. Moves made at the recent conference are a start, but it should not be left to the union leaders.

THE NEEDLESS WASTE

The shop stewards' combines should also be thinking of linking up with those in factories abroad, not just to create better understanding of common problems on wages and conditions, but to challenge the multi-national empires themselves. They have been described as 'global profiteers' who exploit people and raw materials for wealth and power of a minority. It is this power and wealth that should be questioned for the continual need of these profiteers, like Ford, to expand is gradually destroying our environment. It is not only the settlement that should be considered but also the crazy expansion and needless waste of land and raw materials that are needed for the motor car and the profits of capitalism.

P.T.

*Workers at Swansea and Halewood (Liverpool), voted to continue the strike and did not return to work on Monday.

Fraternally,
I.W.

Anarchist Topics

Dear Editors,

S. E. Parker (Letters, 27.2.71) again demands evidence to refute his view that anarchism cannot be 'universalized' but can only be instantiated in the lives of a few individuals. Again I can only reply that it is up to him to produce sufficient evidence for that view. The fact that anarchism has not yet been universalized is not sufficient.

Parker describes me as a believer in 'some unexplained (and, I suspect, unexplainable) process of concurrent and contagious spontaneity of the sort that will result in what Ellingham wants it to result in'—i.e. a new civilization not based on authority. What I have in mind is a process of spontaneous co-operation.

True co-operation is always spontaneous. It is based neither on calculated self-interest nor on deliberate self-sacrifice. It just happens when people join in some activity for the sheer fun of being together and doing things together. It is unexplainable—as unexplainable (and as contagious) as love, of which it is a manifestation. But it does happen, and it is the only truly revolutionary factor.

If the great social upheavals of the past have only resulted in the perpetuation of authority in old or new forms, it is because that factor has been absent, or has been overcome by other factors. But who can say it will not ultimately prevail?

Parker says I am 'fond of derogatory labelling', but I fail to see that I have labelled him, derogatorily or otherwise. What I wrote was that Parker 'in effect . . . is saying that most of us are so stupid that we shall never see any necessity for a radically new civilization'. In effect Parker is saying that, because to believe in authority is to be stupid. Parker is profoundly mistaken when



PRESS FUND

March 23-April 5
London, S.W.18: 40p; Mytchett: T.P. 50p; New Orleans: F.K. £1.60; North: A.G. 70p; London, S.W.9: P.S. 70p; Birmingham: G & E.O. £2.25; Truro: B & H.M. 70p; Wolverhampton: J.K.W. 70p; J.L. 80p; Dundee: F.B. £1; Deal: O.R. 70p; Mass.: R.D. 70p; Penarth: T.B. £1.02; Birmingham: R.L.F. 60p; Cambridge: J.P.H. £1.70; London, S.E.17: 70p; Oxford: I.W.S. £1; Surrey: M.C. £2.50; Pontefract: B.M. 50p; Neath: N.B. 50p; Ipswich: W.D. 20p; Hamburg: J.L. £5; Oxford: J.B. 20p; St. Cloud: M.G.A. £19.30; Wimborne: A.W. 15p; Chalfont: W.C. £5.70; Didcot: T.W.B. 50p; Birmingham: H.N. 20p; Liverpool: R.L. 20p; Falmouth: A.C.B. 50p; P.N.C. £1.50; G.B. £1; Anon 70p; Leighton Buzzard: F.C. £1; Banbury: D.W. 50p; Welwyn: M.E.F. £1; Berkeley: D.K. £3.30; Rosyth: J.D. 70p; London, S.W.18: 35p; London, S.W.7: L. £1.70; Glasgow: L. & K.B. £1.50; Glasgow: D.Y. 50p; Wimborne: D.M. £3.60; Ormskirk: E.P. £1; Bolton: D.P. £1.50; Leicester: P.M. 50p; Bookshop: Anon £1; Birmingham: R.W. £1; New York: P.A. £2; Wittersham: A.S. £1.70; New York: R.C. £7.20; New York: L.M. £2; Leeds: G.W. 50p; Corby: T.P. 25p; New York: N.M.D. £5.50; Reading: B.J.M. 50p; Wolverhampton: K.F. 25p; J.K.W. 10p; J.L. 40p; G.I. Bookshop: P.W.C. £1.50.

Total:	£92.87
Income Sales and Subs.:	£506.09
	£598.96
Less Deficit b/t.:	£569.41
	£29.55
Expenditure (2 weeks):	£300.00
DEFICIT:	£329.55

A Special Paper for Workers

Dear Comrades,

I, for one, do not welcome the appearance of a new anarchist 'rank-and-file' paper. The hope expressed by Bill Dwyer that there will be no rivalry between the new paper and FREEDOM is, I'm afraid, purely pious.

The hard facts of life are that the interest in anarchism, though growing, is still very small, and the two papers cannot help but compete for the same readership. With FREEDOM now costing a shilling, it is not reasonable to expect workers to buy both.

In any case, what will the new paper say that could not be said in FREEDOM which appears to me to be willing to print almost anything?

It would be a different matter if the country was in a revolutionary ferment. Then anarchist papers would proliferate all over the place, and a good thing too. But to imagine that this is such a time is crazy.

Bill Dwyer says that 'modern society being pluralistic, various sections of the community need particular attention'. I don't see how society is any more pluralistic (dictionary definition 'more than one') than it has been since capitalism began—there are still exploiters and exploited. What I suspect is implied in this statement is that you need a special paper for workers because they are not up to understanding the finer points of anarchist doctrine.

This was never the conception of Socialist propagandists. Workers were expected to read, and did read, works of a high literary standard on politics and philosophy.

It is true there may be a place for a journal such as *Anarchy* for those whose education has trained them to think of questions in a very abstruse fashion—or to deal with specialised technical matter. But the fact remains that there is nothing about anarchism that cannot be said in reasonably plain language—and well understood by any worker. In this sense I find FREEDOM an excellent paper. Without making any patronising concessions, it deals with questions important to vast numbers of people in a readily understandable way. So if anarchists are seriously interested in influencing events—and otherwise why bother producing papers at all?—I would urge that times are too grim and our numbers too small to allow of the squandering of resources in publishing a second paper.

British workers are not to the best of my knowledge thirsting to 'lock out the bosses and administer production

on behalf of the community' which is to be the line of the new paper, but if anyone wants to write articles in FREEDOM exhorting them to do so, then I'm sure nobody is going to stop him.

I would ask these comrades to think again. It would be terrible to have a paper with such a long and honourable record as FREEDOM disappear because of such an irresponsible action.

Fraternally,
JANET LAWRENCE.

The Doomsday Day

Dear Comrades,

Amongst the vast assemblage of anarchist reading matter which has come my way since the postal workers returned I was interested to see two diverse opinions on my review of Gordon Rattray Taylor's *The Doomsday Day*.

Terry Phillips complains that I introduced 'an air of Malthusian pessimism' and 'other weird (and/or) ideas unconnected with anarchism'. Way back in 1952 Tony Gibson wrote *Food Production and Population* and stated: 'I have no quarrel at all with Malthus' unanswerable mathematics' and concluded: 'The Malthusian case can best be met by assuring the conditions in which people will be able to limit their fecundity by rational contraception.' Agreed 100%.

'With every belly goes a pair of hands,' observes Terry Phillips—yes, but it is not

brothels—not is there any requirement that people must have more than one partner.

Female frustration might well be overcome by the growth of a supply of willing partners who are sterilised.

No doubt Terry Phillips thinks this is all pretty bellish, but it poses with abortion a radical means of stopping population growth. However, as I said, there are too many forces in the way of an acceptance of such a humane policy and population will be controlled by famine. Weird, isn't it?

Fraternally,

I.W.

Letters

likely that work will be 'geared to real and urgent needs and not the profit of the few' in the foreseeable future—thus those bellies will not be filled. Malthusianism is more common in the world today than a reasonable diet—starving people have hands but it does not save them, their bellies are not filled.

I would reiterate that homosexuality, male and female, is a practical means of averting births—thus a means of population control. Prostitution—with women either on the pill, or sterilised, or their mates—is a means of providing for sexual needs outside a single mate bond without fear of unwanted births. Puritan anarchists have always had a 'thing' about prostitutes but I'm fairly sure they get more out of life than most women and often enjoy sexual activity. There is no need to have the State running

Aberdeen Housing Victory

REGULAR READERS OF FREEDOM will recall the story of 72-year-old Jimmy White and his struggle, supported by Aberdeen Anarchists, to get out of the slum garret where he lived for over 30 years.

Our unceasing pressure on public health bureaucrats, town councillors and MPs has now been rewarded. Jimmy has been given an OAP flatlet in a pleasant city suburb.

Jimmy is delighted and, naturally, so are we! Our thanks and Jimmy's go to all those who helped in this three-year battle for human dignity.

ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS.

he argues that 'some of the most ardent governmentals are very intelligent persons'. They may be clever, efficient, and cunning, but they are not intelligent. Authority, which creates chaos and calls it law and order, is the very negation of intelligence.

Yours sincerely,

FRANCIS ELLINGHAM.
Bristol 21.3.71

afib

ALL correspondence to
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

AFBIB—To all Groups.

Next AFBIB Meeting and Production, Sunday, May 2. Please send a delegate to Birmingham. (Accommodation provided if necessary.) Address all letters to:

Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Tel. 021-454 6871. Material that cannot wait for the bulletin to be sent to R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York. The Contact Column in *Freedom* is also available for urgent information. Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should

write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

North West Federation: Secretary, Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Plymouth, Lancaster.

Cambridge: A. Jacobs, 13 Ledsall Road, St. Austell. (M. 50, M. 1)

East & E. Herts: P. Newell, 'Agaon', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (RM, PL)

Surrey: G. Wright, 47 Collier Road, Farnham. (Surrey)

Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, Flat D, 9 Claremont Road, Leeds, LS2 9L.

Scotland: Temporary Secretary, Neil Munro, 203 Cornhill Drive, Aberdeen.

Wales: c/o P. Le Mare (address above).

W. Ireland: c/o Fred Phillips, 100, St. George's, Dublin 2.

S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin 2.

University and Student Groups: c/o P. Le Mare (Aberdeen).

B-hadges, Q-Quarterly, FL—free letters!

THE 'REVOLUTIONARY' LEFT has invariably ignored the importance of the rural revolution. This has probably been as a consequence of the emphasis of Marxist dogma on the prime role of the workers of the modern technological industries. On a more pragmatic level, it can be seen that this emphasis has been used as a useful tactic. After all, the Marxist concept of revolution is primarily concerned with the coup d'état by the Party: revolutionary action is conceived as that which facilitates the coup. Consequently, Marxist action is concentrated in those sections of the working class seen as critically important to the capitalist economy.

Unlike the Marxist, the anarchist is not concerned with weakening economically the existing structure sufficiently to facilitate a coup, but rather, his or her energies are devoted to changing fundamental social ideas—particularly in relation to authority—not only to break down the existing power structure, but

Land and Liberty

also to create libertarian social relationships and forms of industrial and community organisation which will minimize the likelihood of any power re-establishing itself, whether that power is a capitalist government or a 'revolutionary' government. To the anarchist there is no vanguard and no lumpenproletariat—the revolution is for everyone, to make and to enjoy.

Farm workers form one of the most exploited sections of the British working class. They have to endure long hours, low wages and the insecurity of the tied cottage system. They also have little opportunity of different employment without moving to an urban area. Furthermore, there is little opportunity for the family to augment its income by

the wife working because there is no employment for women—other than occasional domestic work in the 'olde worlde' cottages of the weekend cottage set. Behind the picturesque facades of many villages are hidden slum houses as bad as any to be found in urban slum areas. Even the meagre benefits of the Welfare State often necessitate visits to nearby towns which are becoming increasingly inaccessible as the great god Profit axes local transport services.

Sadly, it is not surprising that the agricultural worker, with his love of the land and his craft, has often felt more of a community of interest with the farm owner who exploits him than with his fellow workers in urban industry. The advance of technology (often producing

political position to accommodate it).

The discussion of this paper was quite unable to dispose of the intellectual bomb which Lehnung had thrown into the Marxist majority at the colloquium; and when one anarchist contributor ventured to attack the whole Marxist view of the Commune, pointing out that most of the communes on the Paris model which had risen during the last fifty years (Kronstadt, Barcelona, Budapest) had after all been destroyed by Marxists, he had to make himself heard above a hissing from the whole hall! Practice must not be allowed to spoil theory on these occasions.

There were some other good things at Falmer. Lehnung told your reporter that the next volume of the *Bakunin Archives*, on Bakunin and Nechayev, should be published this year. And in an excellent exhibition of posters, engravings and photographs illustrating various aspects of the Commune, it could be seen that the plaque for the dead of the Commune on the Mur des Fédérés in the Père Lachaise cemetery bears the following slogan, added at some time during the intervening century: 'Anarchie! Liberté!' Yes indeed.

J.V.

COMMUNE OCCASIONS

TWO MEETINGS which were held last month to commemorate the centenary of the Paris Commune are perhaps worth a short report.

On March 22 there was a Libertarian Forum at Conway Hall in London, the discussion being led by speakers from the Independent Labour Party, the Solidarity group, and the London anarchists. Unfortunately the meeting had been called at short notice, so there were only about thirty people present, and also the set speeches had been prepared in haste, so they were rather disappointing; but plenty of interesting ideas came out in the discussion, and it was generally felt that further meetings of this kind would be a valuable way of bringing together the various groups of the libertarian left so that we can get to know each other and find out how much we have in common.

On March 26-28 there was a Colloquium on 'The Paris Commune and Its Place in the History of Social Thought' at the University of Sussex.

Falmer. This was a full-scale academic affair, efficiently organised by Eugene Schukind, with papers presented by speakers from France and other countries as well as from Britain, and with a total attendance of about three hundred people. Unfortunately the papers and subsequent discussions were overwhelmingly Marxist in tone, but one welcome change was provided by a paper on the Saturday evening by Arthur Lehnung of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, well known as the editor of the *Bakunin Archives*, on the subject of Bakunin's view of the Commune. Lehnung spoke in French, arguing persuasively with frequent quotation from unpublished Bakunin manuscripts that it was Bakunin who was consistent and rational about the whole Commune movement (in which of course he himself took part, at Lyon in September 1870) and Marx who was inconsistent and irrational (opposing the Commune until it actually happened, and then having to make fundamental changes in his

articles without which we could well do) in pursuit of greater profits for the capitalist and more power for the politician has little to do with the aspirations of the agricultural worker. What he wants is to be his own master and to work the land he loves.

When we workers finally decide that we are not going to be deluded by politicians and capitalists any longer, and that we are going to organise our own lives on the basis of voluntary co-operation and mutual aid, then urban and rural workers will embrace in freedom. The rural worker will take control of the land and work it to produce the food that society needs. The urban worker will take control of the factories, etc., and use the means of production to satisfy the real and urgent needs of society. This will, of course, necessitate in many cases a change of product from the useless or harmful product of today. Anyway, the important thing is that priorities should be determined by all the workers by voluntary co-operation and not by a bureaucratic clique.

These changes in priorities will mean that many of us will come to realize the futility of the work which capitalism has forced upon us and we will be glad to change to work which is both useful and satisfying to our creative urges. (Work CAN be a joy.) There is no reason why the roles forced upon us by this authoritarian and profit-motivated society should be perpetuated in a free society. As well as the free exchange of produce between town and country, undoubtedly many people will enjoy a temporary or permanent change of environment and work.

But first we must achieve our freedom. Nobody will give us our freedom—not the politician, the capitalist, the trade union bureaucrat or the 'revolutionary' leader—we will have to fight for it ourselves, as free individuals, on the basis of voluntary co-operation.

TERRY PHILLIPS.

'Liberty Means Responsibility.
That is why most men dread it.'
—Bernard Shaw.

University of East Anglia

ON MONDAY, MARCH 8, the Students' Union at the University of East Anglia met to discuss the case of Bill who had recently been suspended. Bill had been fined £150 for the possession of drugs and had a suspended six-month sentence. After his conviction Bill was brought up before the university disciplinary committee and was suspended. The meeting agreed that double punishment was wrong, so a demand was decided upon:—

1. That Bill be readmitted and any others who had been suspended under double punishment;
2. That Regulation 70 (3), the one that Bill was tried under, be dropped;
3. That the general meeting of the Students' Union should have the power of veto over disciplinary decisions.

We agreed that direct action was needed so we decided to occupy the Arts Block, an administration/teaching block. Monday night 200 people took over the block.

On Wednesday the administration announced that they wouldn't negotiate until we moved from the Arts Block. This we saw through and we stayed.

On Thursday there was another Union meeting which voted overwhelmingly in support of the occupation (650 to 250).

The occupation makes all its decisions through its general meetings but has an open 'Action Committee' to do the duplicating of leaflets, etc. All the catering and cleaning is done by people who are interested in it at the time. Food and drink are not sold. There are just places to put money in if you want.

The morale is very high, the university has become a pleasant place to be, people talk to people they don't know, instead of the usual groups, and there is music instead of the usual silence, our own seminar instead of the usual sterile ones.

Even if the objectives of the occupation aren't achieved, people have seen how the present university structure operates and what it could be like if we ran it.

Books

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

PAPERBACKS

American Radical Thought: The Libertarian Tradition (Anthology)	2.12
Patterns of Anarchy (Anthology)	1.25
Enquiry Concerning Political Justice (Abridged)	Godwin 1.60
Obsolete Communism	Cohn-Bendit 0.25
Strike at Pilkingtons	Lane & Roberts 0.50
Men Against The State	James J. Martin 1.05
Homage to Catalonia	George Orwell 0.30
Green Child	Herbert Read 0.25
Essays in Literary Criticism	Herbert Read 0.80
The Dissenting Academy (ed.) Theodore Roszak	0.40
Anarchism & Other Essays	Emma Goldman 1.25
Rebel in Paradise	Richard Drinnon 1.70
No Treason	Lysander Spooner 0.60
PAMPHLETS	
Radical America	Radical Historiography issue 0.45
World Labour Needs A Union	L.W.W. 0.15
Anarchy Now!	Bill Dwyer 0.15
Anarchy and Organisation	Murry Bookchin 0.05
Kronstadt Commune	Ida Mett 0.20

Freedom Press

publish
FREEDOM weekly
and ANARCHY monthly
84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 01-247 9249
Entrance Angel Alley,
Whitechapel Art Gallery exit,
Aldgate East Underground Stn.

SPECIMEN COPIES ON REQUEST

Bookshop

Open Afternoons
Monday to Saturday
2 p.m. to 6 p.m.
Open Evenings
Wednesday 8 p.m. to 10.30 p.m.
Thursday close at 8.30 p.m.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES, 1971

INLAND			
Freedom	12 months	£2.50	(£2 10s.)
	6 months	£1.25	(£1 5s.)
Anarchy	12 issues	£2.00	
	6 issues	£1.00	
Combined	12 months	£4.50	
	6 months	£2.25	
ABROAD (in \$ U.S.)			
Freedom	12 months	\$6.00	
	6 months	\$3.00	
Anarchy	12 issues	\$5.00	
	6 issues	\$3.00	
Combined	12 months	\$11.00	
	6 months	\$6.00	
AIRMAIL			
Freedom	12 months	\$10.00	
	6 months	\$5.00	
Anarchy	12 issues	\$10.00	
	6 issues	\$6.00	

'A man whose limbs have been bound from birth, but had nevertheless found out how to hobble about, might attribute to the very hands that bound him his ability to move.'
—Errico Malatesta, 'Anarchy'.

Confusion worse confounded

WHEN ONE SAYS of East Bengal that it is poorer than the rest of Pakistan, than West Bengal and almost all parts of India, one is portraying virtually the ultimate in poverty. When ninety-five per cent of all voters in such a country vote for one party in an election stage-managed by its opponents, not notable for their devotion to democracy, they may be misled by a demagogue, no doubt they are misled by a politician of some sort, but it seems likely to say the least that—in however distorted a manner—that party reflects the aspirations of the very poor.

So one tends to suspect that East Pakistan's desire for independence is not just power politics, is not the effect of the intervention of the world powers and international finance. This may or may not be the case, no doubt more facts will emerge later, but there would seem to be a *prima facie* case for a sympathetic consideration of the slogan 'Bengla Desh', however much we would wish to say that no state will solve the needs of the people and that while their aspirations remain within the context of power politics it is doomed to failure.

But we are told by Mr. Bhutto of the People's Party of the Punjab and other parts of West Pakistan that Sheikh Mujbar Rathman, the leader of the

Bengali Awami League aims to build a fascist state in East Pakistan. There are too many cases in the past of people voting for fascists for us to dismiss this out of hand; and there is too much evidence from the past that there is a real distinction between fascism and bourgeois democracy (whether right wing laissez-faire conservative, or opportunist social democrat) for it to be wise for us to shrug this off and say there's no difference between one capitalist politician and another.

The fact that India, Russia and China—all at face value more progressive countries than Punjabi-dominated Pakistan—all appear to favour East Bengal, cannot certainly be taken as guarantee that Mujib is the leftist; after all it is not so long ago that Ayub Khan—whose 'liberal' successor Yahya Khan is—was an international ally of Mao-tse Tung at the height of the Cultural Revolution and was sponsor to the Bertrand Russell Peace Fellowship and its trial of American War Crimes in Vietnam. (Actually China's position is not absolutely clear—she has spoken of Punjabi imperialism in the recent past but there is evidence that Pakistan flew the paratroopers dropped on Dacca over China after India had refused permission for them to go over India.)

We had in the columns of FREEDOM

reason to note with interest the evidence of Mr. Tariq Ali—another former supporter of the BRPF and the War Crimes' Trial—to the effect that Ayub Khan's regime was a front for the CIA. Mr. Ali is a member—in Pakistan—of Mr. Bhutto's party. Mr. Bhutto was the Foreign Secretary in Ayub Khan's administration for at least half its duration. No doubt Mr. Ali will endorse Mr. Bhutto's present evidence in attack on Sheikh Mujib, though this may be complicated by the fact that he has expressed admiration for Mulani Bashani's National Awami Party, which criticises Sheikh Mujib's League for not taking a firm enough stand against Punjabi imperialism.

Mr. Ali, besides being a member of the Pakistan People's Party, is also a member of the International Marxist Group which is internationally linked with a party in West Bengal which has urged policies certainly more socialistic than those of Sheikh Mujib and Mulani Bashani, but not notably less critical of rule from the Punjab. No doubt, in his inimitable way, he will be good enough to enlighten the left on what goes on in his country. On most problems he acts as if he has a special access to a private Marxist Mount Sinai and the scrolls of the law and his contacts here will obviously be yet closer.

L.O.

NO TAKERS

AT A TV SHOW in Madrid yesterday a Spanish inventor demonstrated to a fascinated audience his water-powered motor which he claims could be mass-produced for about £10. Another startling claim is that it can run for 540 miles on a gallon of water, and it cuts out pollution problems. The inventor, Eduardo Estevez, said the motor works on a principle of breaking down the water fuel to the basic elements: hydrogen as a fuel and oxygen expelled through the exhaust pipe instead of petrol fumes.

This remarkable item of information appeared on the back page of the *Sunday Times* about two months ago. The benefits of such an invention are ob-

viously immense. It offers a source of motive power which is extraordinarily cheap and which cuts out the various forms of pollution associated with the petrol engine—the poisoning of the air by carbon monoxide and lead fumes and of the sea by the oil slicks which are now regularly spewed from the wreckage of bumper economy-sized tankers. On top of this other possibilities suggest themselves. If water were to become a principle fuel then the irrigation of dry areas of the world for agriculture would become an economic proposition instead of a costly operation of little appeal to governments more concerned with the progress of industry than the welfare of peasants. The extraction of pure water from the sea might also be economically viable. One can even imagine cars equipped with cylinders in their engines which would compress

the waste oxygen thereby providing a free supply for use in industry.

This would indeed seem to be a revolutionary invention yet in the two months following the publication of those two column inches in the *Sunday Times* nothing more, to my knowledge, has been written about it. No reporter from the *Sunday Times*, or from any other newspaper, seems to be interested in finding out exactly what has happened; whether the machine is all it claims to be or is just a hoax (perhaps it is the *Sunday Times* idea of a joke). A reasonable guess is that Señor Estevez is living it up somewhere with a few million dollars from a consortium of oil companies to keep his mouth shut, while the *Sunday Times*, happy with its ads from the oil and motor industries, is content to let it pass.

S.F.

S.J.

Meetings at Freedom

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. Anarchists also meet socially in the Marquis of Granby, Cambridge Circus, every Sunday from 7.30 p.m. Details of Freedom meetings:

- April 14: Tomasina—"Montessori".
- April 21: Peter Neville—"The Reference Group of the Anarchist Revolutionary 1971".
- April 28: No Meeting. The Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, has been booked at 7.30 p.m. for a seminar on 'Anarchy 3'—the Acid issue.
- May 5: Albert Meltzer, Stuart Christie, Gerry Bree—"Anarchist Black Cross".
- May 12: Bill Turner (ILP)—"The Futurity of Anarchism".
- May 19: John O'Connor—"The Interior Decorators".
- May 26: Social Evening.
- June 2: Philip Sansom—"Make Anarchism Relevant".
- June 9: Mark Kramisch—"Human Nature, Individualism and the Anarchist Revolution".
- June 16: Miguel Garcia—"The CNT in the Spanish Resistance".
- June 23: Bill Dwyer—"Island (Dublin)—an experiment in co-operative living".
- June 30: Peter Neville—"How liberal is liberal studies in further education?"

AS OF NOW every day thereafter is free. Please contact if you wish to speak or arrange a function.

The Urban Crusoe

Was the title of a paper given by Arthur Uloth on March 31 in Freedom Hall. This Crusoe is the man living in a large city, surrounded by myriads of human beings, yet utterly alone and lonely. The world of the bedsider. Small minority groups—such as the anarchists—afford some measure of relief but the speaker pointed out that even from his own experience the anarchists were by no means that group which offered most human companionship and warmth. And the problem is certainly one which concerns us and, indeed, the victims are quite often found in our ranks or in our periphery. Apparently, some of the communities that have been started have had some undesired effects in that people living there found it hard to cope with the outside world when they ventured

THIS WORLD

forth into it again. Obviously, the whole problem of social living is one that requires considerable study.

A new alliance?

In a bid to consolidate its tenuous position the Polish government has made some seemingly strange concessions to the Catholic Church. 'Titles of ownership' have been granted to the church to property worth about £250,000,000 involving cathedrals, schools, convents, seminaries, church-run churches and an assortment of housing estates and farming lands. Previously the church held this property at sufferance of the state and was theoretically obliged to pay rent on it. In practice the government only collected rent when political pressure was necessary to force the church to acquiesce in some state demand. The new measure introduces the church into a partnership in the establishment which it enjoyed under previous rulers. To mark the 'new' alliance, leading church dignitaries joined with senior army officials in laying wreaths at Warsaw's Tomb of the Unknown Warrior. Some of us will recall the undying enmity which the Church once solemnly vowed against Communism and vice versa. Now that the 'socialist countries' are becoming amongst the most conservative, reactionary and authoritarian in the world it is no surprise to see the fashioning of an alliance with the symbol of all three characteristics.

News from Australia

The battle for freedom in this dark continent got fresh vigour last year when the university paper *Tharunka* got an editorial board of anarchists, libertarians and sympathisers. Not for long. The police swooped, made several arrests and some forty charges ranging from blasphemy to obscenity were laid.

Centre of the controversy became the young editor and libertarian, Wendy Bacon, who turned up in court attired in a nun's habit with a large placard—

revealed only in open court—which read 'I have been fucked by God's steel prick'.

This incident, of course led to further charges. The judge declared that there had been an 'affront against the sense of decency of the ordinary average member of the community'. In a country dominated by sexual obsessions of one sort or another this was an astonishing statement. And in a country—notwithstanding the efforts of Wendy Bacon and her colleagues—where there is blind insensitivity to the sufferings inflicted by Australian thugs (soldiers) in Vietnam perhaps the words of the American poet John Sieler are most pertinent:

Is it obscene to fuck

or

Is it obscene to kill?

Is it more obscene to describe fucking,

An act of love

or

Is it more obscene to describe killing,

An act of hate?

Paper walls

The great daily papers were unanimous in condemning the protest strikes against the Industrial Relations Bill—all the more so as the stoppages in affecting their production cost them many hundreds of thousands of pounds. The argument they used, however, made no mention of the duty of the government to carry out its mandate and the futility of the stoppages. Many protests do seem fruitless. But, surely, to accept injustice without protest is even more damaging, exposing the sufferers to the charge that their blind acquiescence is proof of acceptance. There has been massive feeling throughout the country against the Bill as it blatantly inhibits and forbids many traditional avenues of dissent and endeavours to improve wages and conditions. Some clauses of the Bill make it necessary to obtain a majority of all those entitled to vote to pass certain motions, including strike action. As two university dons pointed out in a public statement to the

press this condition if applied to parliamentary elections would leave over 90% of members without their seats. The really sad aspect of the matter is that really effective protest and action against the Bill has been hindered by the so-called leaders of the TUC. But, as Mr. Carr points out, the Bill is really in their interests—it is only the agitators who would suffer.

Head Liberation Front

The public meeting in the main Conway Hall, noticed above for April 28, will also be concerned with establishing a Head Liberation Front. The need for this arises from the fact that, at least legally, there is no element of the population so persecuted and harassed as that element of the community which prefers to find its social relaxation in a quiet smoke of marijuana than in the hustle of a public house. Quite apart from the claims that are made for some of the psychedelics as personality enrichers and developers of a more sensitive and cultured form of human life.

Last week some 1,050 sixth formers were addressed in Liverpool by Superintendent John Carroll, a former head of the Liverpool police drug squad. This simple bigot, pointing out that the experts did not know 'exactly' the effects, stated: 'In plain language, this cannabis sends you absolutely round the bend, and make no bones about that.' Quite obviously, for men of this sort, experts have no relevance. And, unfortunately, it is this blind fanaticism—which just happens to be sheer garbage to boot—

John Acheson 'Banned' in S.A.

Laurens Otter reports that John Acheson, editor of a Christian-anarchist paper, 'Ikon', has been 'banned' (that is, put under a form of house arrest) in South Africa. John Acheson was previously banned in his teens for five years and was 'released' last summer. He went to work on 'Ikon' which had been launched by his wife's cousin, Steve Hayes, who is a worker-priest.

which has now armed the police with the most sweeping powers of search and arrest. If these were merely theoretical (as the government argues for the powers of imprisonment under the Industrial Relations Bill) we would not need a liberation front. But as they are matters of daily occurrence—which occasionally become headlined when a doctor or other luminary is subjected to police discourtesy and brutality—the need for solidarity and action is urgent.

BILL DWYER

Contact

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

'Hyde Park Socialist' now out! Includes 'Sectarianism on the Left' by John Downing and 'The British Left during World War 2' by F. A. Ridley. From J. Hughes, 48 Gilbey Road, London, S.W.17. 20p a year.

S. Ireland. English anarchist visiting S. Ireland for touring holiday in June would like to meet Irish comrades en route. Terry Phillips, 70 Blenheim Walk, Corby, Northants.

Proposed Group—Dundee. Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Dundee.

'Tincan'. Midlands poetry, prose and art-work. Photo-litho anthology. Blue or grey cover. From G. Charlton, Arts Lab., Tower Street, Birmingham, B19 3UY. 20p, incl. post.

Free literature. Young Artists League, Box 1761, Seattle 98111, USA.

Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group contact John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge.

Charlotte Wilson, 1854-1944. First editor of FREEDOM. Information about her life and work sought by Philip Venning, Old Wyldes, North End, N.W.3.

Girl Members wanted for a commune in South of France. Write before coming to Alain Rous, Rue du 14 Juillet, 66—Cannes, France.

Black Flag. Now monthly 6p (Bulletin of Anarchist Black Cross). Jan. & Feb. includes 'Anarchism in China', 'Angry Brigade'. From Freedom Bookshop.

CND Festival for Nuclear-Free Europe. April 11 (Easter Sunday), 1 p.m.—6 p.m., Alexandra Park Racecourse. Edward Bond has written a play to be performed by Brighton Combination. Plus the Barrow Poets and groups.

March and Rally. Monday, April 12, Hyde Park 1 p.m., Trafalgar Square 3 p.m. Speakers: Frank Allaun, MP, Paul Oestreicher, French, Trade Union and Student Speakers.

Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications. 'The Revolutionary Catechism', Nechev, 5p + 21p. 'Song to the Men of England', Shelley; 'Poem' with Walter Crane's 'Workers' Maypole', 10p + 21p. 'Poems', Jim Huggon, 5p + 21p. post.

Available soon: 'International Anarchist Summer Camp 1969 Cornwall'—Report of Speeches and Discussions, 5p + 21p. post.

'Peace, Freedom and Non Violence. For use in Schools', 5p + 21p. Discount available on bulk orders. Jim Huggon, c/o Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Spanish lessons given in London. Rates on request. Write, in first instance, to Box 02/71, Freedom Press.

AFBIB needs subscriptions urgently. Any other donations would be very welcome. To Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham 16.

Urgent. Several new families have moved into Burrell House and urgently need electric cookers and beds and mattresses. Would anyone able to help with these—or any other pieces of furniture—please contact us via Freedom Press, phone 247 9249—or direct. The Tenants of Burrell House, The Highway, Stepney, E.14.

1971 World Anarchist Congress, August 1 to 4 in France—exact place will be notified. Contact CRIFA, 132 Rue de Paris, 94—Charenton, France.

Meetings at Freedom: Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. For details see 'This World' column.

George Foulser, now squatting at No. 090123, HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, S.W.2. Letters, books welcome.

Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards. Tea served.

This Week in Ireland

IN THE SIX COUNTIES we are in the brief calm of the centre of the whirlwind. Bríd Faulkner is Premier, in a situation which reminds me of a man who failed in his suit for a longed-for woman, tried again when she divorced her first husband, and for the third time after her second divorce, succeeding this time only to find she had grown into an unmanageable termagant. It is a Pyrrhic victory.

The grass-roots of the Unionists wanted the madman Craig with his determination to bring back the B-Specials, re-arm the RUC and generally backtrack on any reform, crying 'Down Dogs' to the minority. Faulkner is too professional a politician to do this as he knows the only way he can hold England's support is to go through with the reforms. As Miss Devlin said, he and Heath and Lynch are a most unholy trinity who serve only fad and speak the same language.

Already Paisley says the election of Faulkner is the 'worst thing that has ever happened to Ulster' and is declaring he will bring the thousands out onto the streets. The Opposition say if Faulkner shows any sign of back-tracking and trying to curry favour with the hard-liners they will leave Stormont and take to the streets. Faulkner may hold on for a few months, but in the heel of the hunt the battle WILL be fought on the streets.

The Unionists, these people without a country, since they are neither British nor Irish, cannot get it into their heads that the sands are running out for them and the old order MUST change. They hoped that a Conservative Government at Westminster would mean back to square one and everyone who looked crooked at them would be interned immediately. They cannot believe Westminster is just not standing for this or an armed constabulary. They cannot believe the eyes of the whole world have been on them for over two years and the world has not liked what it has seen and Westminster cannot afford to disregard world opinion completely. UDI is out, but the streets will run with blood before the Paisleys and Wests and Craigs comprehend this, and that they must learn somehow to live with their fellows. Chichester-Clark

admitted he had no cards to play, nor has Faulkner.

Senator Mary Robinson's Bill to make the purchase of contraceptives legal failed to get a reading. As far as the Oireachtas is concerned there is no Bill although Senator Mary Robinson did succeed in making the point that the matter was now one of national controversy, with sides being taken and legislators misinterpreted and misjudged on a Bill the contents of which the public had seen nothing. The Archbishop added to the sound and fury by ordering a Pastoral had written to be read in every Church in the Archdiocese last Sunday. His Grace overstepped even his reactionary self, as he laid down that contraception was against the natural law and forbidden not only to the faithful but to everyone in the world, even atheists and those of non-Christian religions. Meanwhile the Protestant Archbishop spoke in favour of contraceptives being available for wise family planning within the marriage bond.

The whole matter has become quite unbelievably emotive, and the letters in our papers have to be seen to be credited. A very nasty sectarian undertone has crept into the discussion. Many good Catholics resent the blanket order that they must either abstain from sexual relations altogether or have unlimited children. It is disgraceful that it should be a crime for which a respectable married couple can be arrested and go to prison, to have even a book telling them of the various methods.

The Irish Family Planning Association held a capacity meeting on Tuesday and a man turned up and insisted in describing in very gory and unsavoury detail exactly what happens in an abortion. In vain he was told the killing of already living babies was a completely different matter from preventing the life occurring, he went on with his sadistic description although within the context of the meeting it was totally irrelevant. One woman wrote to a paper and said contraception was 'Spiritual abortion'. Will Ireland ever rid herself of her hopeless Jansenism?

One cannot but agree with Paisley, Carson and Craig, that Home Rule means

Rome Rule. Dr. Noel Browne, TD, has however made it very clear that we are either governed by the Government OR the hierarchy, and the general consensus of opinion is that this plus the Archbishop's medieval Pastoral will force the Government into introducing their own Bill in favour of the sale of contraceptives before too long or they will have it thrown at them yet again that they are merely the tools of the Church and not in charge of their own house at all.

The Committee to Oppose Repressive Legislation is getting along very well. Already up to 5,000 signatures against the Bill have been collected. We aim, at 10,000, when they will be photostated and presented to the Minister for Justice. If the Bill gets through, many of us are immediately going to break it on the very day it becomes law, hoping thus to prove it to be unworkable.

Faulkner's new Cabinet displeases both sides. The hard-liners are railing at Harry West as a turn-coat, and the Opposition are furious with Mr. Bleakley for accepting a post in a Unionist Government. Faulkner is as cunning as a whole skulk of foxes and speaks very well but no one on either side trusts him half an inch and the future looks glum. There was no honeymoon period to let him prove or disprove himself as with his predecessors, but immediate attack from both sides of the House.

You may be interested to know, Comrades, that really all the trouble in the six counties is an Anarchist Plot. A member of the RUC says he has uncovered this, and a group of people of various nationalities are 'helping the police with their enquiries', after a bomb was thrown at Queen's.

Meanwhile we go on burning, tarring and feathering, and blowing things up in our so comic Irish way. In the 26 counties our hospitals are like something out of a Dickens' novel for the 'blue-card' (i.e. pauper) patient, our children live in hovels, and learn nothing, often not even to read, at school, food is so expensive the old, widowed or deserted go hungry and cold, and—I may have mentioned this before, but repeat it in case you forget—we are the most Christian country in the world.

Jesus wept.

H.

LEEDS CONFERENCE

APRIL 23, 24 & 25

This conference was called for to discuss the topic of reorganisation at the annual conference in Liverpool. It is hoped that the conference will, after an 'all-in' session, split into small groups to discuss all aspects of the topic, such as effects on local groups, types of libertarian organisation, needs (or lack of needs) for organisation, etc.

The conference has been set for the dates and times below.

FRIDAY, APRIL 23:

8 p.m. — Meet at the shop or 'The Fenton' (both in Woodhouse Lane).

SATURDAY, APRIL 24:

11 a.m.-6 p.m. — Main debate at 'The Christian Centre', Leeds University. An evening social will be organised to follow.

SUNDAY, APRIL 25:

11 a.m.-6 p.m. — Venue as yet undecided. Any pre-conference literature for distribution (stamps/donations for postage welcome) should be sent to—

TREVOR BAVAGE,
FLAT 3,
35 RICHMOND ROAD,
LEEDS 6

or
MARTIN WATKINS,
FLAT D,
90 CLARENDON ROAD,
LEEDS 2

If you get lost in Leeds or want further information, ring Leeds 59762.

Details for accommodation — write to the above addresses.