

A FEW WEEKS AGO the British Army opened fire on a demonstration in Derry and thirteen human beings were violently done to death. Irish politicians were appalled, they expressed their horror, and the Irish Republican Army swore an eye for eye and promised to kill thirteen British soldiers in revenge.

Last week a bomb went off in Aldershot and seven human beings—a gardener, five women cleaners and a priest—were blown to pieces, violently done to death by the IRA. This time it was the turn of the British politicians to express their horror and to swear that the gunmen would be eliminated, that is, killed.

Both sides condemn violence... when it is used by the other side.

The British Army is the organised violence of the British State. It exists to kill people. It is a monstrous organisation which turns young men into killers who will kill people they do not know, have no quarrel with, but will kill because

# The State is Organised Violence

authority orders them to do so.

The IRA is smaller but is essentially the same. They have taken up arms to achieve a United Ireland. They are nationalists. They want the people of Northern Ireland to be ruled by an Irish State instead of a British State.

If the British Army wins, nothing will change for the British people. We shall still be wage slaves condemned to live out our lives working for people who are rich and privileged. If the IRA wins nothing will change for the Irish people. They will still be slaves condemned to live out their lives working for people who are rich and privileged. A change of flags doesn't end wage-slavery. Nationalism and patriotism

are a fraud and a deception. It was for nationalism and patriotism that millions of people have been killed in two world wars... and still slavery exists, and privilege exists, and rich and poor exist, and States exist, and governments exist, and violence continues to dominate the relations between men and men.

We believe that vast numbers of people are, today, in all countries, sick of violence. In their private lives they are less violent than ever—but life is more and more violent because States are becoming more and more powerful. States are organised violence. They uphold the right of privileged minorities to own and control the wealth of the world. They uphold the right of this rich minority to force the rest to work for them. Without prisons, policemen and soldiers, these laws could never be upheld. The people would work the land in common and share equally in its fruits. If we didn't believe that, we wouldn't waste our time in fighting against governments, and oppression, and coercion.

We cannot get equality and justice in the world because those who are against it control huge armed forces that they have trained to kill. It is necessary that these instruments of violence should be destroyed, but asking governments to do that is like asking them to commit suicide. Without an armed force they cannot govern. All they could do would be to make simple suggestions which the people might or might not carry out.

So long as the British Army exists it will be used in Northern Ireland in the interests of the British Government. It should be withdrawn, indeed, it should be disbanded, and the people can do that if they have the will. Not by violence but simply by refusing to have anything to do with it at all. We should not join its ranks, or the ranks of the police or the prison warders, or the clerks who service these forces. We should not pay our taxes which sustain it, we should not make the arms and

the supplies that it needs. Each one of us can do that and when each one of us becomes most of us then the victory against violence is won.

This may not sound very revolutionary to those who think in terms of doing things FOR people instead of encouraging people to do things for themselves. But refusing to serve the armed forces in any way is something that each man and woman can do all by themselves—and if they get into a conflict with the State because of their actions then each one of us can speak up on their behalf, can pour scorn on those who

would arrest and imprison men and women who have sworn absolutely never to have anything to do with violence.

The labour movement needs some absolutes. Too long has it existed on a diet of expediency in which to kill is all right for your side but not for the other side. It is time that those who are opposed to killing refused to give any support whatsoever to those who would have us kill one another—and that goes for all governments as well as for all politicians who, by advocating killing, hope themselves one day to form governments. EDITORS.

## Long March to the same Goal

AS THE CLICHES flowed from the mouth of President Nixon and were bounced by satellite to punctuate the endless soap opera on American TV, there was one utterance which struck an only too realistic note.

At his first day's talks in China, Nixon spoke of the 'long march together, but on different roads leading to the same goal'. The stated goal was 'the building of a world structure of peace and justice', but in view of the ways in which both states defend and sanctify the power of ruling groups to exploit and terrorize their respective workers, it would be more accurate to describe the goal as the more or less peaceful co-existence of two tyrannical empires.

Of course, to the politicians 'peace' and 'justice' are synonymous with their rule. In 'democratic' America and 'communist' China the rules of the game are the same. Yesterday's 'enemy' can be today's 'friend' if it is economically advantageous or militarily necessary in the ever-changing alliances of the international power game. Trade between China and America shows great poten-

tial. Both ruling groups are concerned about the economic and military growth of Japan. Similarly, both are concerned about the increasing influence of Russia in the Middle East and elsewhere. Whatever your ideology, it's a hard life being an imperialist! However, the little problem about the war in Vietnam and Cambodia can be resolved: the puppets can be strangled by the strings which animate them.

What cannot be tolerated by any ruling group anywhere in the world, and whatever ideology they profess, is the demand of workers to control their own lives free from the dictates of the politicians and free from economic exploitation.

A harmonious international community will not be built by the phoney cordiality of poisonous hypocrites like Nixon and Mao, or by abdicating responsibility for one's life and work to any politician, political party or 'revolutionary' leader, but by co-operating with other workers to build a free society where everyone can realize his or her potential for real creativity and community.

TERRY PHILLIPS.

## Julio Millan Gets 23 Years

JULIO MILLAN HERNANDEZ has been sentenced to 23 years' imprisonment in Madrid at a trial which lasted less than three hours. Such is the justice dispensed under the Franco dictatorship at a Military Tribunal directed by Garcia Rebull, who tried and convicted the 16 Basque nationalists in Burgos.

Julio Millan was accused of taking part in two 'terrorist actions'. The first was on December 2, 1962 when an explosion took place in the Treasury Building in Madrid, while the other concerns the discovery of explosives on a plane bound for Barcelona on March 4, 1963.

During this period and up until 1967, Julio Millan had been forced to work in France because he was unable to find work in Spain. While in his own country he had helped to reorganise the CNT and had known Joaquin Granados, who together with Francisco Delgado had been garrotted, for 'bomb incidents', in August 1963. When Millan returned to Spain in 1967, he was unaware that he had been placed on the wanted list by the police, mainly because he had known Granados. This 'guilt by association' was not sufficient to get his extradition from France under the agreement be-

tween the two countries. However, the Spanish police quickly arrested him on the train between the border town of Port Bou and Barcelona when he was returning on October 10, 1967.

He denies that he ever took part in these two bomb incidents and said that he was in France at the time. During his long time in custody he has been physically beaten, subjected to torture and not given food and water for periods of three days and nights. After this treatment he made a 'confession', which he later repudiated.

### INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE

However, Julio Millan has been sentenced on this 'confession', the 'guilt by association' and on the evidence of one witness who spoke of café rumours concerning the involvement of Millan. Legal observers from Britain, France and Belgium said that the trial 'gravely violated' the principles of natural justice and that the length of custody was 'completely unjustified'. They also said that there was insufficient evidence against Millan to make a conviction. The Defence was hindered in its work and no material evidence against Julio was produced. Even the plane on which the explosives

were supposed to have been placed has subsequently been destroyed.

The observers say that 'The (one) witness who entered the court in handcuffs, having been condemned in 1963 to 25 years' imprisonment for terrorism. This witness, who in 1964 had succeeded in escaping from prison in Burgos, broke down, weeping, in the court room, and in a plea for clemency to the Tribunal, regretted his past activities.'

The Franco regime claims yet another victim. Despite his age and illness, Franco doggedly clings to power, while the prisons are full with political prisoners. Unlike the trial of the Basques, little or no information has appeared in the national papers. It remains for us to make known to the people this new outrage and injustice and to point out that when the State thinks it is being threatened, its punishment is harsh. Surely there is not so much difference between the treatment received by Jake Prescott in the British Courts for addressing envelopes for the Angry Brigade and that of Julio Millan who was convicted on a forced confession. Neither one had a chance and the State, in each case, gained its victim from those who merely opposed its rule.

We must redouble our efforts to protest about the imprisonment of Julio Millan and secure his release, along with the many thousands more who still suffer in the prisons of Spain. P.T.

## 'There is no such thing as a Free Lunch'

BARRY COMMONER in one of his pieces about ecology cites the above as one of the fundamental laws of the environment. For those unwise in the American way of life—American saloons (i.e. pubs) used to give away free food in order that customers would consume drinks instead of going home to lunch or dinner. The cynical said the food was of such a salty nature that it induced a thirst only slaked by the establishment's beer. Either way 'there was no such thing as a free lunch', or as the Yiddish proverb says 'Nothing is for nothing'.

Its application to the environment is obvious. This week we have had experience of a flagrant public case of deliberate pollution with a known risk, usually we are permanently subjected to quiet routines of almost unconscious pollution by the most complex poisons totally unknown to man, and apparently even to scientists.

The case which the press saw fit to disclose to our perpetually astonished gaze was of drums of cyanide (which every detective story reader knows is a poison) dumped in a brickyard which was, or could be, a play-spot for children. The theme of children is always a sure-fire basis for indignation. The result of this disclosure was that the drums were removed to some chemical plant which, by some strange alchemy, nullified them.

Apparently, the Government is to push forward more stringent laws against the dumping of such wastes in public places. Apparently the Government is impressed by the evidence of ecologists and intends to tighten up its Ministry of the Environment, or perhaps, as is more likely, the Government, knowing of public interest and concern in these matters, is seeking

to climb aboard the band-wagon. It is the easiest thing in the world to put laws on the statute book against certain pollution offences, but it is far easier to get round or break such laws, or even to pay the penalty when one is a large corporation.

If this Government is to pursue its policy of competing capitalism and exporting expanding technology such spin-offs as cyanide wastes which are too complex and costly to dispose of legally or easily are bound to occur. 'There is no such thing as a free lunch.'

Just think of the other industrial or technological wastes which have been jettisoned in the air, the earth and the water to have detrimental effects discovered later. The strontium by-products of atomic explosions caused tests to take place underground with only occasional fissures, earthquakes and probable pollution of underground streams. The discovery of mercury in tuna fish in Japanese waters and consequent deaths and disablement in Japan from mercury poisoning. The discovery of the properties of enzymes in our newer than new soap-powders. The strange effects of detergents upon rivers. The presence of 'harmless' or even beneficial lead in petrol and the dangers of lead discovered in smelting plants. The problem of what to do with old atomic waste, poison gases or deteriorating explosives—the sea has them all.

One of Commoner's other laws is 'Everything must go somewhere'. If you have ever had to get rid of a large item of awkward obsolete domestic equipment you can understand the litter-louts who leave old fridges and perambulators in

Continued on page 2

### MEETING OF FREEDOM READERS AND ANARCHIST GROUPS

SUNDAY, MARCH 12, at 2 p.m.

TOYNBEE HALL, 28 Commercial Street, E.1 (nearest tube Aldgate East)

The purpose of the meeting is to see whether anarchist ideas and activity can be made more effective in the present situation.



# The Poetry and Practice of Violence

WE ARE a parochial nation who have always managed to enjoy our violence at a geographical remove. Our wars are fought under alien skies and our revolutionary politics are at the most a brawl with the police. Like the Americans we managed to bury our dead in other men's soil, and the blood of our wounded was washed off their broken bodies when they were handed their return tickets to the motherlands. Our writers and our poets chose to deify war in the very passion of their renunciation, yet the dark and awful face of violence that peered through the ruins of the bombed cities and among the ruined masses of those who crept out of the State's concentration camps sought in vain for the poet or the artist to accept this squalid violence as a fit subject for the gifted hand. Ah there were those, O my comrades, who of their honour recorded these anti-social aspects of the glory of war but it was never a fashionable trade and, having salvaged the world's conscience, we chose to forget and turned to the excitement of the television screen to applaud or condemn the newest American colonial war according to our politics.

We were indeed most fortunate in that we could applaud political violence at a safe remove of many thousand miles, and for this reason too many unthinking men and women sought to justify its use. But the speed of visual communication is a great leveller and, rightly, it rubs our noses into the fresh blood staining the pavements before we have a chance to rationalise the cause that led to this effect. Violence is the tool of the big battalions for isolated acts can achieve nothing in themselves. Those who use violence must be not only ready but able to continue that policy of violence and finally to impose their will by the use of that same violence and there is no part in this shoddy game for us, my comrades.

How few weeks ago was it when it was fashionable to applaud the boys of the Irish Republican Army, the Provisionals or the British Army—now who would dare to stand and praise the slaughter of men and women, and the children, in the name of Irish unity or Conservative policy? For this is the meaning of violence, a passing working-woman lying dead and bleeding from a thrown bomb or an official bullet, and who chooses these public executioners, and what court condemns the unknown innocent to this public death?

Flavio Costantini is a gifted Italian artist who, in a worthy and remarkable series of drawings, paid tribute to various men who have used violence for their form of social and political protest. I praised the works of art but condemned the actions of the subjects, pointing to the slaughter of 16 people in Ireland as an example of this violence by the British Army, and Flavio writes that I am merely displaying a vague

humanitarianism. All I can reject is that my humanitarianism should appear to be vague for just as we chose to condemn the violence of the British Army in that day that left sixteen dead upon the street of an Irish town, so we should have the courage to condemn the murder of working men and women by the Irish Republican Army. This religious, nationalist war should have no place for us beyond a general curse upon all factions and at the same time we should have the moral courage to reject the actions of some raddled loon, who by shouting the right slogan as he throws a bomb, demands the applause of the anarchist movement.

Tell me not of Bangla-Desh or of Dresden, for these mass evils do not

and cannot justify the death of those people who died in that happy war-game being played out between the British and Irish armies. In this dialogue of useless death these working men and women were never asked to state a case before they were murdered and if they are expendable then the cause is evil and worthless. If, by their frustrated anger, certain men sought to ease their tired and troubled minds by an act of killing, then their plight is as awful as that of their victims and their act a matter for Flavio's conscience, for who will be elected to the role of the next public executioner and who, among the innocents of the earth, is destined to be marked as the next victim for a tainted cause?

Year by year in the London galleries

## SCHOOLS FOR FREEDOM

POLITICAL and religious authorities the world over know the importance of destroying the independent thought and creativity of children. The state education system has as its prime function the creation of the mindless subjects who will emerge with a 'healthy' respect for authority, and suitably graded for the roles they will play in society.

The craftsman's satisfaction in creating something useful does not exist on the conveyor belt producing useless trash—and profit for the capitalist—at ever-increasing speeds. A flashy car and a fortnight's holiday on the Costa Brava are no real inducements to spend one's days engaged on boring, futile work so children have to be indoctrinated with the alien idea that material possessions automatically bring satisfaction, and that 'getting on' is a worthwhile aim. Furthermore, possession of all the trash is supposed to inspire awe and envy amongst lesser mortals!

The creation of a libertarian atmosphere in which children can discover for themselves the joys of freedom and creativity must be essential for the achievement and perpetuation of a free society. The appearance of the magazine *Children's Rights* is therefore greatly appreciated. The editorial advisers include such eminent pioneers in the field of libertarian education as A. S. Neill, John Holt and Michael Duane, and the first two issues augur well for the future.

Opinions differ as to the best ways of providing libertarian education for working-class children (as opposed to the middle-class children who have pre-

viously received the benefits of schools like Neill's Summerhill). In a fine article in issue 2 (which is worth buying for the article), Chris Searle of *Stepney Words* fame pleads for the united action by parents, teachers and pupils which is essential to change the state system. However, Chris Searle's suspension (since lifted) and the general hostility of his employers may well lead others to believe that any attempt at liberation within the state system is doomed to failure. Personally, I would disagree and believe that the victimization of real teachers like Chris Searle is inevitable only until parents are mobilized in their defence. For those who see no alternative but the establishment of independent free schools, issue 2 charts a course through the minefield of Education Acts, regulations about teachers' 'qualifications', etc. No doubt the struggle will go ahead within and without the state system.

It is suggested that a register should be compiled of tutors prepared to give freely a few hours a week 'to learn with children'. As one of the editors, Andree Harrison, says: 'Children are interested in everything—and everyone has something to offer.' If you are an interested parent, child or potential tutor, write to Andree Harrison, 24 Manor View, London, N.3.

*Children's Rights* is published monthly and a subscription for 12 issues is £2. (Individual copies are 18p including postage.) Write to: *Children's Rights*, 19 Great Newport Street, London, W.C.2.

TERRY PHILLIPS.

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### Glass

### LETTER

Dear Editors,

The working class is the class that works, whether as doctors, dustmen, scientists or roadsweepers.

The lowest class is the so-called 'upper' class.

The middle class is the upper stratum of the so-called 'upper', but really lowest, class.

Best wishes, Yours ever,  
Surbiton JOHN CARGILL SUTHERLAND.

### I didn't quite get the Name

THE RED ARMIES are commanded by Chu Teh, a general of experience and resource, said to have some German training. His political adviser is Mao Dsu Tung, a gifted and fanatical young man of thirty-five suffering from an incurable disease.

PETER FLEMING. *One's Company: A Journey to China* (1934).

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### No such thing

Continued from page 1

country spots or even the lorry driver who dumped the cyanide but one cannot forgive. Capitalism provides the maximum of temptation with the maximum of opportunity to pollute the countryside, the air, the water, indeed—the world!

If we need to harden metals, to poison vermin (that is, other animals to which we have taken a dislike) or even to poison a rich uncle—if we are to believe the detective stories—we must have cyanide. Nothing is for nothing, and the price-tag of using these dangerous, indestructible substances is that we must understand how they function and what the penalties are for their misuse.

The dog-eat-dog and devil take the hindmost philosophy of unbridled technology at the service of profit is just as dangerous as the bridled State-worshipping perfection-consciousness of the socialized technocrats.

Everything is connected to everything else is Commoner's first law and pollutants are no respecters of boundaries or ideologies. Soviet Russia and Communist China no doubt suffer in some measure from some variety of pollution. Indeed since they are both proud possessors of atomic weapons it is certain that atomic fall-out is thoroughly socialized.

To think that one can introduce laws to preserve the environment in a capitalist system is a joke, to think that the environment can be preserved where State power is enshrined in technology and military know-how is a worse joke.

JACK ROBINSON.

limbo in that she has been unable to coin a name for her type and style of work but they are gay and exciting and can be held to be one of the rare and minor pleasures of the Town's life.

Of what can one say of the SEVEN EXHIBITIONS at the Tate Gallery beyond a sad shake of the head. One believed that Sculpture '72 at Burlington House had reached a new low in public banality in relation to the arts but the lads at the Tate are out for their place in the Bar flies Book of Records. The exhibition is free to the public so one can take it and leave it but the whole thing is so sad-making and so very dated. Michael Craig-Martin gives us rows of mirrors that merely reflect our own faces and or feet. Bob Low a huge roll of paper in which 'one joins in on a number piece starting at number 1 and finishing at 1,000,000'. It is no more and no less than that and one simpers or scowls and picks up the ballpoint pen and writes in a number of this huge toilet roll of the arts. Bob Low estimates that this work will take five years to complete but I should not bank on Bob being around then for the world is full of bright boys without talent breathing on the doors of the Art Council for a handout. For subjective art there is always Keith Arnatt who merely states in huge letters that KEITH ARNATT IS AN ARTIST and proves it by hanging a running collection of his own photographs around the wall of his cell within the Tate Gallery. Good luck, Keith, but the world and the Tate landlord is still waiting for some small flicker of genius to be fanned into life from all this frantic wind, meanwhile good luck boys from Bogside and Aldershot.

My private invitation to the Queen's Gallery in Buckingham Palace, S.W.1, has, again and again, not been sent so one can only discuss the exhibition of Dutch Paintings from reports in the national sewer press and they say, so they say, that it is a worthwhile exhibition. For myself, I can only inform the Public Relations Office of the Queen's Gallery that unless they hurry my most private and personal invitation to Her Majesty's Gallery I'll have to send the knee breeches and the decorations back to Moss Brothers as the beer stains are beginning to show.

Yet for all this office incompetence, I went to view the new portrait of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, by the American painter Joseph Wallace King. Commissioned by the Wellcome Foundation for presentation to the State of North Carolina and painted from a number of sittings at Buckingham Palace, it is a good, solid and academic portrait of Elizabeth II. The only thing Joe, and I hesitate to mention this, is that if you trace the line and shadow of Brenda's dress you will find that she is floating at least six inches above the stone seat she is supposed to be seated on. Visions of glory, Joe, because you got in and not me.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## Healycliff Crisis

READERS ARE no doubt aware that the Healyite 'Young Socialists' are converging on London in a number of 'Right-to-Work' marches.

True to their reformist and opportunist 'principles' the International Socialists have asked the Young Socialists' parent body, the Socialist Labour League, if they can join the march and provide a speaker, or speakers, at the final London rally.

But Mr. Healy and the SLL doesn't want them. And why? Because the marches have been organised for the purpose of building the Young Socialists and the SLL as the centre of the national campaign to make the Tory Government resign, says Healy in *The Workers' Press*. He considers the IS request 'impermissible and utterly outrageous'.

It is rather difficult, from this unedifying exchange between the two Trotskyist groups, to say just who is the most 'outrageous'. Both are completely opportunist. Neither is really interested in the problems and privations of the unemployed. Healy and his SLL, and 'Young Socialists', openly admit that they are using the 'Right-to-Work' marches solely as a recruiting gimmick for their organisation; and Mr. Cliff and his so-called International Socialists, though perhaps not so brazen and outspoken, see the marches and the London rally as good publicity for their embryonic political party.

Anarchists and libertarian socialists

wouldn't touch Healy with a barge-pole. We, unlike the so-called International Socialists, would never identify ourselves with any 'Right-to-Work' stunts or campaigns 'to make the Tory Government resign'. Unemployed, as well as employed, workers should be demanding and organising, not for the 'right' to work for an employer, but for the abolition of 'work' based on exploitation, for the abolition of the wages system. Unlike the Trotskyist reformists of IS, the SLL and the 'Young Socialists', revolutionaries demand, organise and campaign for, not the resignation of a particular Government, but for the destruction of all governments. Once upon a time, Marxists claimed to stand for the replacement of government and the State by an administration of things; they said that the State must be relegated to the Museum of Antiquities. Today, only anarchists and a number of libertarian socialists advocate such revolutionary proposals.

The Jerry Healys, the Tony Cliffs and the John Gollans are all too busy trying to recruit 'mugs' into their organisations to consider such things. However, perhaps when Mr. Healy's 'Young Socialists' arrive in London for their rally they might be welcomed with banners proclaiming: 'DESTROY THE STATE!', 'OVERTHROW CAPITALISM!', 'ABOLISH THE WAGES SYSTEM!' and 'REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM!' Who knows?

P.E.N.



# Shop Floor Handbook

WITH THE Government's Industrial Relations Bill becoming fully operative last Monday, the pamphlet, *Law and Order on the Shop Floor*, is a timely reminder of how we stand with the law. For those who want a full explanation about the effects of the legislation, this pamphlet will be of little use, but to be fair, I think it was the author's intention to hammer home the more salient points, rather than to go into great detail.

The first of these salient points is that 'Waste, poverty, economic crisis are caused because big business is run for profit alone and not to provide for people's real needs.' The Bill will help employers increase profits for the law will restrict the use of the strike weapon to gain higher wages. While we are supposed to be satisfied with the Government's norm of 7%, the cost of living is rising each year by 10% or more.

The pamphlet makes an important point in that the new law will make a strike an 'unfair industrial practice' and because of this it is not so much concerned with all strikers as with those 'who induce others to go on strike'. This follows the usual practice of the

authorities of selecting only the leaders for prosecution, although the law might actually state that all involved should be prosecuted. The onus is on the employer to take proceedings against any strike leaders and if the National Industrial Relations Court finds them guilty of 'unfair practices' then any compensation can be stopped from the wages of the defendants. This was brought in under another new law, the Attachment of Earnings Act.

The pamphlet says that even before this new Act, judges have been increasingly willing to grant injunctions against trade unionists as a means of breaking a strike. Examples of this have been the Hull trawlermen's strike in 1970 and the Heathrow airport dispute with G.A.S. Another example was the Horseferry Road building site strike where workers from other sites manned the picket lines after those in dispute had had an injunction slapped on them.

'The law is just a threat. . . . They hope that by picking on one person or a few people, to scare the rest so they give up the fight.' This briefly

analyses the intimidating nature of the law. It relies on people being isolated, of allowing others to be victimised. If people stick together and act in solidarity, then the law is helpless.

## FIGHTING THE LAW

The pamphlet correctly points out that it will be next to useless to try to fight the law in the Courts. The answer lies at the place of work: 'the government did not dare make it a crime to strike, so legal action is not a matter for the police or the government—they have left it to the employer. So the way to avoid the law being brought into a dispute is to put pressure on the employer. If the managers can't see it for themselves then the shop floor must show them that the law can't help to solve any problems.'

Any law is useless to the State if the consequences of using it only worsen the situation. This is what happened during the war at the Betteshanger Colliery and during the London dockers' strike in 1949.

FREEDOM has pointed out that the Bill is 'not to weaken the trade unions, but to strengthen the authority of the respectable-minded leadership over its more militant rank and file.'

The pamphlet quotes the TUC, 'The Government have made it clear that one of the main objectives of the legislation is to transform the internal structure of the unions in accordance with their belief that the imposition of central authority by unions and the exercise of discipline over members will bring about a major improvement in industrial relations.'

Many union leaders and officials, and even some stewards, see themselves as policemen. They join the employers in saying that procedure must be carried out. Procedure only plays into the hands of the employers and any agreements made after the Act should state that they are not legally binding.

## WORKERS' CONTROL

The pamphlet ends with a call for workers' control. It calls it a 'long-term political struggle. It has nothing to do with the politics of party political broadcasts, Harold Wilson or Edward Heath. It is the everyday struggle that affects their lives. The fight for decent

housing, a true education, a meaningful life—all ultimately depend on the control of the means of production to satisfy people's needs.'

I must add that the pamphlet is illustrated by some amusing cartoons, some bringing home a point more clearly than a thousand words could. An undetailed but useful pamphlet which is not loaded down with points of law, but shows briefly how the Act will affect the worker and how best to fight it. P.T.

\*October 17, 1970. Tory Laws Against Strikes.

†Ibid.

Copies from Workshop Books, 30 Primrose Hill Street, Coventry (Tel. 51723). 5p each or Bulk order rates. Also on sale at Freedom Bookshop.

## FINE TUBES SETTLEMENT

COURT OF INQUIRY recommended immediate (December 1971) negotiations between company and unions re 49 still on strike. The unions have agreed to lift blacking (as recommended). The deal about to be concluded is that the 49 will be given 'preferential consideration' when Fine Tubes is recruiting in future. This is unlikely in the foreseeable future. Negotiations are taking place today (February 25). If the unions don't agree and resume blacking, Barclay of Fine Tubes intends to use the Industrial Relations Act against them and go to National Industrial Relations Court: this would have been impossible earlier, as relevant parts of the Act don't become operative until February 28.

The Transport & General man (?) Tom Crispin—who after national procedure was terminated by unions, went straight to his local employers' federation official (in W. Midlands) and asked if they could please carry on just as before, informally. CSEU policy is not to talk to Federation officials at all.

AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT.

# LETTERS

## The Miners' Strike

Dear Friends,

May I offer a criticism of the Editors' attitude to the Miners' strike (FREEDOM, February 19).

As I write the Miners are considering the Wilberforce Report and will almost certainly accept its offer. But if they accept what will be the net result? Within a short space of time prices will rise, another batch of strikes for wage increases will start, and we are all back to square one.

I don't agree that strikes should be only for more pay. What Mineworkers

require are shorter hours (which would lessen the risks of redundancies), more amenities, and better safety measures. I would then have supported their strike. They should also include a higher share in the responsible running of their industry. None of these have been the stated aims of the strike, nor of the other strikes which FREEDOM has supported. Editors and contributors are not being constructive in supporting strikes on a cash basis. How are pensioners supposed to live? As one myself, I live quite comfortably on a total income of £7 per week.

Preston

W. ARTHUR LEMIN.

## An Anarchist Dream—Revolutionary Pacifism

Dear Comrades,

David Gardiner's article last week cries out for criticism.

The very nature of our society denies the successful existence of pacifist revolutionaries. Anarchists everywhere must realize that revolution and pacifism are a contradiction in terms. It is inconceivable that a society which values property above people can be ended by peaceful means. As the seizure of capitalism is inevitable so too will the advent of a pre-revolutionary situation be accompanied by an increasing use of force against all opponents of the inevitably disintegrating system.

Pacifism as an ideology will not be voluntarily surrendered by the Left but the emergence of the British system's iron fist, long seething beneath the thin velvet glove of 'British justice', will necessitate the temporary amnesia of such a word.

Thus as violence is forced upon us—so

we must react or be destroyed.

Whilst our resolution cannot take place without the overwhelming support of the masses, there will remain, inevitably, a minority, however small, who, accustomed to exploit, are reluctant to surrender the fruits of the labour of others for the good of the community. Thus—this minority likely possessing the instruments of force will protect not only themselves but their PROPERTY, their possessions, the symbols of their racial class from 'violation'. If people are prepared to kill for their property—then they must be prepared to die with it!

It is not we who will be the protagonists of violence—Violence will be thrust upon us—

We do not want it . . .

But we must expect it.

Peace for a time—but not in our time.

WORCESTER ANARCHISTS.

VALERIE D.C.

## Anarchists—and Proud of it!

Dear Editors,

With regard to the letter by David Gardiner, re my recent article, 'Anarchists—and Proud of it', I write to clarify certain misunderstandings which David appears to have made from my article.

This article was meant to be written in general terms, as David appreciates and says so, to cover such a vast subject as Anarchism would take a book, and one written by others more fitted to the task than I. The two quotations taken by David were both taken out of the general context of the article as a whole. Nowhere in that article did I intend to infer that Anarchism was a philosophy based on violence and seeing violence as a weapon; nothing could be further from the truth and I thought that, within the general terms of the article, I had made that position clear and I apologise to David if I led him to think otherwise.

To make my own viewpoint completely clear, I say here and now that I am categorically opposed to violence in any form and believe that any society born out of violence is of necessity a violent one. I too believe that the political and social revolution of tradition, or 'armed insurrection', is an outmoded thing of the past and completely irrelevant to modern thought. However, sad as it may

seem, there are some who disagree.

Those who have read my articles which have appeared, from time to time, in FREEDOM, will appreciate by now my views on the subject of revolution which, on the whole, are more in line with that as described by Richard Neville in his book, *Play Power*, by the growth of the 'Alternative Society'. See my article in FREEDOM, Vol. 37, No. 37, 27.11.71. Massive non-co-operation with society by the young and the gradual increase of the 'alternative society' is the new revolution and, in my humble opinion, the one that will, given time, succeed. This is the peaceful revolution, the revolution of fun and enjoyment, where play is work and art is life, where violence will be as dated and as useless as the Pyramids.

Fraternally,

GEORGE CAIRNCROSS.

Two articles from FREEDOM: *The relevance of Anarchism today and Anarchism and Nationalism*. Available from Freedom Bookshop for 30p a hundred including postage.

# The Angry Brigade

SINCE our last report (February 12), there have been some further developments in the case. On February 21 it was announced that the trial of the eight people accused of being involved in explosions will take place at the Old Bailey as soon as possible after the beginning of the Trinity law sittings at the end of May, and that the trial of the seven people accused of being involved in associated cheque frauds will take place immediately afterwards; the prosecution has indicated that in the first trial there will be 173 witnesses and hundreds of exhibits, and that the case is still nowhere near ready.

On February 24 yet another unsuccessful attempt was made to get bail for Anna Mendelson, the only woman in the case still held in custody; despite the offer of sureties totalling £13,000, the almost pathological police opposition prevailed once more—one of the points against her seems to be that her family does not belong to the establishment and that her father is a Labour councillor! The other three women, who are on bail, are in fact under virtual house arrest, being forced to live in their parents' homes and to report to the police every day, and being banned from all political activity and even from visiting London except to see their lawyers. But at least they are out of jail. The other five defendants will have spent more than nine months inside before the trial begins.

In the meantime the Defence Committee based on the Compendium Bookshop has produced a second issue of the *Conspiracy Notes* bulletin (the first issue was reported here on January 22). This includes extracts from the speeches of the five defendants refused bail at the end of the committal proceedings (Stuart Christie and Chris Bott insisting on their innocence, and John Barker, Jim Greenfield and Anna Mendelson protesting about their treatment), extracts from the evidence given by some of the police witnesses in the committal proceedings (illuminating the alarming political aspects of the prosecution), and

interesting discussion of the case by one of the defendants in Brixton, a gruesome description of prison by one of the defendants in Holloway, and an excellent article by Eddie Boyd on the Prescott-Purdie trial reprinted from the January issue of *Scottish International*.

One of the most curious and confusing aspects of the whole Angry Brigade case has been the way the police and the press have tried to drag anarchism into it, despite the absence of anarchist ideas from the public statements of the Angry Brigade. It was a leading point in the prosecution of Prescott and Purdie that they were 'self-styled revolutionaries and anarchists'. Much was made of the inclusion of anarchists in Prescott's address book, though Prescott himself said in his evidence that he was not an anarchist but a 'revolutionary socialist'; Purdie was said by the police to be 'active in anarchist circles', but of course he gave no evidence (incidentally, Chris Broad, at whose house Purdie was arrested, was described by the police as a 'leading figure in the publishing of the anarchist publication, FREEDOM', though he has never actually had anything to do with either FREEDOM or the Freedom Press).

The same kind of connections are being made in the case of the people still facing trial, and of course Stuart Christie is indeed a well-known anarchist—as the press has taken care to make clear, and as the police will no doubt emphasise when the time comes. But John Barker explicitly stated in his committal speech, 'Personally, I am not an anarchist', and there is no reason to believe that any of the other six defendants are either. After all, one of the main criticisms of the anarchist movement by the revolutionary socialist milieu which the Angry Brigade emerged from is precisely that we are too mild in our attitudes and timid in our methods. It is interesting that the establishment is so deeply trapped in its fantasies that, despite all its fears about something called 'anarchism', it doesn't actually know anything at all about the



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real anarchist movement. Goodness knows what sort of political nonsense will come out of the trial in three months' time. We shall of course be giving full reports in due course, and we shall keep our readers in touch with any further developments that may occur.

N.W.



# Valpreda's Letter from Prison

IT IS NOW almost two years ago that my destiny and that of Pino (Giuseppe Pinelli) became mingled. We were the chosen victims of a well-calculated political plan. The pre-arranged confrontation with the taxi-driver Rolandi had already taken place. It was December 16, 1969, at 11 p.m., and I was seated in a cold room in the accused judicial headquarters of Rome, undergoing interrogation by the public prosecutor Occorsio.

Between the time of my arrest the previous day, in Milan, until I left the office of the inevitable Amali, 36 hours had passed. Thirty-six hours without sleep, without being able to wash, almost without food, 36 hours of interrogation, of travelling, of reconstructions, of questions; there I was, weary, stunned, famished, unshaven, drawn of features, responding to Occorsio's questions. I denied what he accused me of: being the perpetrator of the outrage, of having killed 14 innocent people (two had died afterwards and their death was immediately added to the charge against me). Around me, plain-clothes police, the minions of the system, looking at me and muttering. And the prosecutor Occorsio, following the pseudo-testimony of Rolandi, accused me of 'massacre'.

So, I gave a detailed account of my movements and I gave my alibi for the afternoon of December 12, the day of the outrages: I spoke the truth, knowing that I was in bed, feverish and fatigued by the night journey I had made in a Fiat 500 from Rome to Milan. I said that my elderly aunt was at home. I described, minute by minute, the few movements I had made; the coffee I had drunk, the quinine and aspirin I had taken because of feeling unwell, the roll and the apple I had eaten in the evening, and other more or less significant acts (my aunt later confirmed all this, and even more precisely).

To my statement the (Vigilant) magistrate did not say that it would be checked, that he would order inquiries, that, at that time I was only a suspect. Not a bit of it. He said, categorically, decided, resolved, even if he was not convinced: '... You are accused of the death ... etc. Before not only one but several events of such seriousness, before a professional terrorist organisation until then unseen in Italy, before a huge terrorist plan which had hurt and frightened the Italians, he, Occorsio, had already revealed, proved and condemned. 'You are accused. ... He already had the evidence, all ready to serve up on a plate to public opinion, his vile truth.

It was surely not yet midnight—the accusation was so enormous that I had not yet taken it in. I did not have my hands bloodied with these dead, and therefore I could not yet feel the weight of it; but all that did not matter, a part of the system having decided otherwise. The next day, for everyone, I was the beast of the Piazza Fontana, the system had created its own victim, its own alibi, its own justification. It had caught the anarchist dancer Valpreda, and with me four boys of the mighty and criminal association of March 22nd. Italians could sleep in peace. ... Justice was done, the wild animals were rendered harmless, everyone heaved a sigh of relief.

The offensive against the 'hot autumn', the reconquest of the gains won by the working class, the fascists' attacks on the unions, the workers, the students and centres of democratic movements, the campaign for a government of 'law and order' and a presidential republic, the hounding of extra-parliamentarians of the left and the end of the trade union movement having begun, the reactionary forces profited from the fear and indignation of the time to unleash the sentiments and reactions 'quelconquises' and emerge into the light of day.

And I, the Valpreda that they had made, he who gives them credence, I had to be guilty, for only thus could they justify their machinations; my death was their survival.

—Almost two years are gone. At the end of a year of physical and mental tension and material inconvenience, I have become ill. My conditions continue to worsen: according to the specialists who examined me I had to be hospitalized urgently. I need a complete cure and hygienic conditions, but for me they do not even apply the laws granted to second- or third-rate citizens. Robertino [Mander] also is unwell. Occasionally, asthma worries him at night, he loses his teeth, he has frequent skin rashes; he is only 19 and the system is killing him slowly. Whatever the conclusion of our

trials, our health is irreparably damaged, no one can change that.

The members of my family every third week, in rotation, come from Milan to greet me and to bring me at least clothes to change into. I have seen their expression pass from anxiety to indignation, from despair to fear, from hopelessness to suffering and to hope; I have seen the faces of my relatives more and more strained during those terrible months of speculation, of despicableness and indifference.

I am still waiting for impartial justice to decide to pronounce definitely and publicly, the culmination of a despicable scheme. Now, that could be a problem of logistics, they lack the premises sufficient to judge me, not one courtroom gives the requirements of size and security, given the numbers of the press and the public that there will be at the Valpreda trial. And if enough people, oh how many of good faith!, manipulated and conditioned by the campaign orchestrated by the whole of the news systems, hope for truth from the trial, they will expect dramatic revelations. What revelations? I wonder. All that one can expect from this trial is that our innocence could perhaps be shown, and one could say the things which reveal their guilt. Well then, the real killers, inspirers and organisers will remain in the future unpunished. Me, I know that I am innocent, as are the other comrades. They have confused you, they have hidden the truth behind a fabric woven with lies so absurd, that you can't see it any more, and in your heart, you always say: 'Nevertheless. ...' Because you never wish to admit that they could treat you to such an extent as imbeciles, and that is humanly, if not politically, understandable.

The trial, if it can say anything, will say little. I hope that it will suffice to show my innocence, to oppose itself to their political schemes, that already signifies a lot. ...

Interrogations and silences, questions and isolations, accusations and fog, there is the treatment I was subjected to for two months, and the interrogators were not SS but the representatives of the republican democracy founded in anti-fascist resistance; my gaolers were not 'kapos' but the guardians of the aforesaid republic.

I have read the diary and letters of

many comrades who have undergone the same treatment, of whom the sole crime was to be an anarchist, to believe in a society of people free and equal and to fight for it. All of them say the way to remain, at least partly, lucid, to retain a good understanding of the past events, was to be able to write, only for oneself, even a miserable diary, to put down on paper a part of the fog. On the second day I asked for a note-book and pen and they were immediately granted. They handed them to me in the morning (the pages were numbered) and took them back in the early afternoon. The trainee corporal said to me: 'Write down all that you have done, all that is going on in your head.' This is what I did and I wrote the truth of my movements, impressions and poems but it was not what they were waiting for from me, that did not satisfy their expectations. The end for which they had let me write was to find that which did not exist, signs of my guilt, and I understood that they watched me and read also between the lines. After several days, the diary was not taken from me any more, it was no longer any use to them.

The fifteenth night in solitary was New Year's Eve. I heard comrades' voices who had spoken my name since the *Gianicolo*, and that was all. Two more months before being allowed a shower, a cup of coffee, to read a paper, see my face in the mirror. I heard the warders' footsteps which always stopped in front of the door to my cell. Even those walking through came to look through the small round hole as if I were an animal at the zoo, the beast of Piazza Fontana. For all I was the human beast. Perhaps they waited to see a hairy animal or with wobbling antennae in front, or even one which lived attached to the wall, in the way of a spider—I do not know.

End of March: beginning of April an incident occurred to which I have not previously made reference. In the cell opposite mine there were two young detainees and, a little later, a Sardinian about fifty years old joined them there. In my cell, I was with Giorgio, a painter that I knew already from Milan, and for a time Brera and another who had been jailed to do a short term for smuggling. After four or five days the Sardinian introduced himself as Paolo Mulas. He said he was in jail for the theft of several car tyres and asked me

if he could be moved into our cell on the pretext that the boys were staying away from him, that they were smoking his cigarettes, that he could never begin the shortest conversation, etc. He was a person about 50 years old, thin, almost totally bald. He stayed in our cell a little over a week. I was very worried, often I woke at night and thought of the accusation against my relatives [Note: Valpreda's relatives were accused of perjury]. I talked a lot about my case, half of my conversation was abuses and insults about power and its minions. Paolo talked a lot with me of the statements of my trial and was interested about it. And then the order for his transfer arrived. We bade farewell, he promised to write, etc. But I have seen no more of him. Two months later a prisoner who had left and also knew Paolo as well as I did sent me a message. He had met Paolo outside, free, in a policeman's uniform. He went up to him and said, 'But you were in the cell with Valpreda.' He replied, 'I was on a job', and moved on. On the prison register there is no name Paolo Mulas.

End of Part I

—From *Esprit* (Toulouse) 6.2.72.  
Translated by D.B.

## Contact

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British Support for NICRA March Committee. Saturday, March 11, Magiligan. Those interested in joining this demonstration contact: c/o 37 Middle Lane, London, N.8.

Disco Dance. In Aid of North London Claimants and Unemployed Workers' Union. North London Polytechnic, Holloway Road. Friday, March 10, 8 p.m. Entrance 25p. Bar.

S.E. London Dwarfs newly established. Anyone interested should contact Jeff Dixon, 44 Pendragon Road, Bromley, BR1 5JY (Phone 01-698 8596); or Nick Brown, 185 Hawes Lane, West Wickham, Kent (Phone 01-777 5103).

Young Male Libertarian, secondary teacher of English and Liberal Studies, offers lots of good books (source-material, etc.) to libertarian student/teacher for free (but first come, first served!). Box No. 001.

Edinburgh Group. New Secretary is Chris Kerr, 9 Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh, 9. Tel. 667 2939.

'Black & Red Outlook' No. 5 now out. Published by the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance. Sub. for 10 issues £1.00. Bulk rates 40p for 10 copies

plus postage. Order from Bob Lees, 6 Compton Avenue Oldham, Lancs. Students at Sussex University are organising an exhibition on environmental planning called 'People & Planning', between March 6-11. They would be grateful for ideas and support from anyone interested, especially ideas on films to show, documents to obtain, cases to follow up, speakers to invite. All communications please to Chris Foulkes, Park Village, University of Sussex, Brighton.

'Glob'—Anarchist humorous magazine. Copies 3p inc. p & p. From Glob, 12 Beatrice Road, N.4.

Anarchist Meetings. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. 271 Commercial Road, E.1 (1st floor).

London Anarchists meet socially at 'The Marquis of Granby', Cambridge Circus, Charing Cross Road, Sundays from 7.30 p.m. onwards.

The Wrekin Anarchists. Discussion Meetings first and third Tuesdays of the month. On other Tuesdays bring own bottle. At 13 Albert Road, Wellington, Salop. Phone: Wellington 54728.

'Peace News'—the other anarchist weekly—every Friday 7p from your newsagent or by subscription. FREE with trial sub. of 7 issues for 50p two sample copies which include Illich on Deschooling and Communes Special. 'Peace News' for the theory and practice of nonviolent anarchism, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Free Valpreda Campaign needs help, not just by way of support, but also involvement in planning and organising. Please contact c/o N. & E. London Group ORA.

Libertarian Book Club. Spring Lectures Series. Thursday evenings, 7 p.m., 369 Eighth Avenue, New York City. February 24, Abe Bluestein: The Spanish Civil War and the Fight for Freedom. March 9, Paul Avrich: The Unknown Revolution. March 23, Olga Lang: Chinese Anarchism. April 13, Irving Levitas: G. B. Shaw and the Anarchists. April 27, Sam Dolgoff: Bakunin and Nechaev. May 11, Murray Bookchin: Marxism and Anarchism.

Croydon Group meets first Tuesday every month at Jacquetta Benjamin's. Top Flat, 4 Warminster Road, S. Norwood, S.E.25. Phone Pete Roberts 01-684 5723 or write or phone Bernard R. Miles, 38 Farm Fields, Sanderstead, S. Croydon, Surrey (01-657 4860) or contact Jerry Peck, 45 Sylvan Road, Upper Norwood.

Help! Stoke Newington 8 Fund. Comrades now on remand in Brixton and Holloway need financial aid urgently for meals, fruit, papers, books (which must be new) and cigarettes. Please send donations to the Stoke Newington 6 Fund, c/o Compendium Books, 240 Camden High Street, London, N.W.1, a.s.a.p.

Commune, Ramsgate, welcomes visits from potential members (especially with children). Crafts and education bias. Write to P. Ford, 22 Royal Road, Ramsgate, Kent.

Liverpool Anarchist discussions normally held first Sunday in month. Write to 39 Lilley Road, Liverpool, 7, for venue, or ring 263 4890. John Cowan.

## This Week in Ireland

LET ME BEGIN by saying I agree with every word David Gardiner wrote. This is not irrelevant, since we are still in a state of shock after the horrific Aldershot murders, and murder, cold-blooded murder it was. I have warned about Sinn Fein and their military arm of the IRA in these pages before. If you could read the sickening lies and contradictions and counter-contradictions they are putting out now, you would feel as hopeless about a free Ireland as I do. Revenge NEVER accomplishes anything but hatred, which in its turn breeds more hatred and so we go on ad infinitum. I grieve for the families bereaved in Aldershot every bit as much as I grieved for those who were the victims of the paras in Derry. James Connolly said he did not care one scrap for the country only for the people. If Sinn Fein, who pose as Connollyites, would remember this, they might do better and be less Fascist.

Fianna Fail had its *Ard Fheis* (sorry I just cannot get the English word. It is on the tip of my tongue but will not emerge).

From Deputy Blaney it was blood and thunder, from the rest waffle. Haughey is back as a good boy again, and Colley read the *Sunday Telegraph* and did not listen.

We have now had Lynch's 'magnificent' gesture after Aldershot in arresting a number of members of Sinn Fein and their IRA. I feel I could not care less. They have lost us the sympathy of the world and jettisoned anything good that might have come out of the Widgery tribunal.

I am however pretty sick at Westminster rushing through that bill to legalise all the illegal things the Army has done, in retrospect as well as for the future. It is as if one side in a game suddenly found they had been breaking

the rules of the game and instead of apologising and suggesting a new play, they altered the rules to suit themselves.

The Scots Rugby Union have refused to play in Ireland. Maybe it is a case of 'conscience doth make cowards of us all' and they know what 'our ain wee laddies' have done in Ireland and so are ashamed to face ordinary decent Irish people (and we have some, hard as it is to believe). The IRFU are bellyaching about all the money they will lose. I have a sneaking feeling this is just retribution. They insisted on playing the Springboks though the vast majority of the Irish people were against this, and now their evil deed has come home to roost. I am wasting no tears for them.

Meanwhile we continue to pull down strong houses for offices for EEC speculators and I pray things may go bust and the speculators go bankrupt. At luncheon time two days ago a strange woman appeared on my doorstep. She had come home from work to find her landlady had changed the lock on her door and piled all her possessions out in the hall. The landlady has been trying to get her out for some time, but even in a furnished room one has to get a court order and it is illegal for a landlord or landlady to enter without the permission of the tenant and in his or her presence. I collected two gardai having ascertained the tenant had paid her rent every week and was not in arrears, and then, calling on them as witnesses, broke the lock (to be truthful I was not strong enough and the strong arm of the law had to do it but in theory I did it). They were very helpful and gave their names so that they might be called as witnesses for the tenant and told her to go ahead and sue her landlady for trespass. The matter is now with a solicitor and she is still in her room.

H.

Secretary:  
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,  
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

Address all letters to AFBIB at above address. The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is available for urgent information. Please inform AFBIB of new or changed addresses of groups and federations. New enquirers should write direct to the Regional addresses listed below or AFBIB office in Birmingham.

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