

BLACK SEPTEMBER

A HOTEL accommodating British Army personnel, British authorities and foreign journalists was blown up, nearly one hundred were killed and fifty injured; a British Resident Minister was assassinated as was the United Nations mediator; British soldiers were kidnapped and flogged; a judge was kidnapped; two British soldiers were hanged in reprisal for the hanging of three raiders who blew a hole in a prison wall enabling the escape of 213 prisoners. Reportedly the bodies of the hanged soldiers were booby-trapped with bombs. It was also claimed that a book-bomb had been fastened under the Foreign Secretary's seat in Parliament; however it failed to go off.

These events are not now spoken of as being committed by terrorists, by murderers, or by assassins. They were the action of successful terrorists, successful murderers, successful assassins, they, or rather, their legitimate successors are the present government of Israel. True, the Haganah, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the Stern Gang, who were the Jewish underground movements

against the British had, as ever, sufficient motivation. The omnipresent six million Jews exterminated in Europe, followed by the British denial of access to Palestine—with the tragedy of a further 800 dead in the *Struma* (a Jewish refugee ship turned back to Hitler Europe)—plus a Foreign Secretary in the British Labour Government who was anti-Semitic in policy if not in theory, they had their reasons for terror.

The Arab terrorists, murderers and assassins have equal scores to pay off with an equally bloody record. 'Success has many fathers; but defeat is an orphan.' The Arabs, defeated singly and in momentary unity, betrayed by their wealth-divided rulers and their shaky alliances, have little to look forward to and such suicidal forays as that at Munich attract little understanding.

Anatole France in *Penguin Island* has a passage of dialogue, 'Do you see, my son that madman who with his teeth is biting the nose of the adversary he has overthrown and

that other one who is pounding a woman's head with a huge stone?' 'I see them. . . They are creating law; they are founding property; they are establishing the principles of civilization, the basis of society, and the foundations of the State.'

The Israelis founded their state at the expense of the Palestine Arabs. Had they the ability to do it, the Palestine Arabs would have founded (or extended) their state at the expense of the Zionists. In the same way the Irish founded their Free State, and Ulster was founded by rebellion. In these things there is a chronological morality, only time and success can make a patriot, a martyr, a liberator of a terrorist, a murderer, an assassin.

Apart from all the emotional mileage wrung out of the Munich killings, there is the hovering feeling that this is something 'not done' akin to pouring acid on a cricket pitch or a putting green. Avery Brundage's sad reflections at the memorial service that they were the target and prey of commerce-professionalism, politics and now

terrorism were a mere reflection of the obvious with a failure to see that politics and violence are but two sides of the same dubious coin. It is also being realized, as has been pointed out many times before, that the vastness and complexity of modern technological mass spectacles makes them more vulnerable to sabotage and disturbance from minority sources and the availability of mass channels of communication may be taken advantage of by frustrated publicity-denied interlopers.

The very denial of such publicity makes *attempts* (successful or un-

successful) achieve some measure of success in failure by their momentary capture of the world media. An Arab spokesman, in London, said to the BBC that, had it not been for the Munich *attempts*, the Palestine-Arabs' grievances against Israel would have received little publicity.

Time Magazine dated September 11 but printed before the Olympics wrote in its 'Letter from the Publisher', 'Happenings like the summer Olympics attract minute-by-minute news coverage. Chronic dangers like the Arab-Israeli confrontation surge and subside in the headlines over long periods.' *Time* led with a story speculating that Egypt was making peace offers to Israel. If there is any truth in this story, the conspiracy theory would assign a different role to the Black September

Continued on page 2

A Revolutionary TUC

THIS YEAR'S Trades Union Congress has been described as being intolerant. *The Times* headed its leader on the first day of the Congress, 'In Uncompromising Mood'. The national papers were full of stories about a 'left wing takeover'.

The reality, however, proved very much the same as previous years. The week was full of pious resolutions many of which—like equal pay for women—appear on the agenda at every Congress. The passing of these resolutions is about all that happens. Having been passed they are supposed to be acted upon in the coming year.

Last year the TUC voted against co-operating with the Government's Industrial Relations Act. At no time did the TUC initiate industrial action against the Bill. On the one occasion when they called a one-day general strike they were saved when the five dockers were released from Pentonville.

The papers have tried to build up a 'left' versus 'right' picture of the Congress. The removal of Jack Peel, general secretary of the Dyers and Bleachers Union, was called a 'significant victory' for the 'left'. Mr. Peel added his bit by calling his removal a 'political witch-hunt' and a 'lurch to the left'. Certainly it is unusual for a member to be voted off the General Council—they usually retire from old age—but his replacement by Joe King, of the Textile Workers Union, is hardly a victory for the 'left'. Joe King, readers will remember, is opposing a campaign to have elected shop stewards in his union.

It is hypocrisy for the 'right wing' union leaders to attack those who voted for Jack Peel's removal because they did the same to Will Paynter, then general secretary of the mineworkers. He was removed because he was a Communist.

RETREATED

After having retreated from its position of total but passive resistance to the Industrial Relations Act, this year's Congress voted against outright opposition. They rejected the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' resolution, backed by the Transport and General Workers' Union, that unions do not defend themselves before the National Industrial Relations Court. Those speaking against the resolution said that they had to defend 'themselves and our members against attacks from their enemies'. Unions, although they will not be registered, can now appear before the NIRC if they are charged with an 'unfair industrial practice'.

Unions that have registered under the Act were suspended. Most of them pleaded that they needed to register in

order to gain a special closed shop agreement. Without this some of these unions would not survive. As it is they will now lose the protection of the Bridlington inter-union anti-poaching rules. Now with the Act to protect them, these unions' leaders are safe in their soft jobs for life.

Congress also demanded that old age pensioners get an immediate increase to give single pensioners £10 a week and couples £16 a week. A national lobby of Parliament is to be organised by the General Council in support of this demand.

They also passed a resolution calling on all its members to join in a campaign against the Government's Housing Finance Act.

What do all these resolutions add up to?

The *Financial Times* said, 'The most one can hope is that they will be drawn up in sufficiently general terms to allow TUC leaders a reasonably free hand in translating them into action.'

Even before this week's resolution on the Industrial Relations Act, unions had appeared at Industrial Tribunals and the Industrial Relations Court. The T&GWU has also paid its contempt of court fine. The Act did not prevent the TUC from forming a conciliation board with the employers, without consulting Congress.

ACT OURSELVES

In his opening speech, Mr. Smith, the Congress chairman, said that they did not want to be a government. This implied that they would leave it to the Government to govern and that they did not want to challenge that power and authority. But in order to turn these resolutions into a reality, the Government's power has to be challenged. It is no good calling for higher old age pensions, we have to act ourselves. On the resolution calling for 400,000 new houses a year, workers have to say that they will build houses and will not work on office blocks.

In effect none of the resolutions passed really challenges the profit motive system. The capitalist system of exploitation is taken for granted. The trade union leaders only see themselves operating within the system, wringing out a little more for their members, but never going against the state and the capitalist system it sustains. They are firmly committed to making the system work. They are setting up a conciliation board with the employers in order to avoid a collision course with the Government. The miners' strike and the jailing of the dockers has hastened this collaboration. They want to avoid these confrontations in the future.

But workers could organise themselves and take industrial action to secure the demands of the resolutions. The working class does have the power if it has the mind to use it.

P.T.

KING-SIZED DIRTY DEAL

WE'VE GOT AN ODD brand of trade unionism in Lancashire's textile mills. Joe King, general secretary of the 24,000-member National Union of Textile and Allied Workers, who was elected onto the TUC General Council last week, has been described in the press as a left winger.

It is the same Mr. King, who, a year ago, got 56 of his members blacklisted and two members sacked. This was reported in *FREEDOM* at the time. Mr. King's only left-wing qualification seems to be that he spends his holidays behind the Iron Curtain; so far as his members are concerned he's a bit of a washout.

The number of people employed in textiles has dropped from 300,000 in 1951 to 90,000 this year. All Mr. King has done in face of this dilemma is to conduct a wild goose chase to London to try to get the Government to introduce more restrictions on textile imports, to beg the kind of severance pay the dockers are getting for redundant mill workers.

In view of all this it is hardly surprising that Arnold Belfield, secretary of NUTAW's Rochdale districts, could say in his half-yearly report that 'If mills do close it will not be because of the textile unions asking for too much in respect of wage advances, . . .'

Not only are the textile unions useless when it comes to combating mill closures, and getting decent pay and conditions for their members, but some of the leaders like King have attacked some of their more active members. Last week came news that the president of NUTAW had contacted Courtaulds to report one of their workers who had written a letter complaining about his firm, to the *Oldham Chronicle*, using initials. The same official asked the boss of an Oldham mill to sack one of their workers for selling copies of the pamphlet 'The Arrow Mills Sit-In'. Luckily, the mill owner was a better bloke than the union official and he refused to act against the worker.

SHOP STEWARDS' ISSUE PUT ON ICE

The NUTAW officials once again put off making a definite decision on the demand for shop stewards in textiles at the last half-yearly meeting of the Oldham and Rochdale districts. The matter has been in their hands for over a year.

At one of the same meetings, Albert Hilton, President of the Rochdale districts of NUTAW, did however threaten a libel action against two members, Zafar Khan and Brian Bamford, for their part in producing the pamphlet 'The Arrow Mills Sit-In—a case for shop stewards in textiles'.

Last week, the union committee, after a year-long witch-hunt, decided to abandon its efforts to expel Bamford for having called the sit-in at Arrow. This climbdown followed the revelation that tape recordings exist which show that Hilton had behaved improperly, and an active campaign by Manchester anarchists to halt the union witch-hunt backed up with a petition from Bamford's old workmates at Arrow, threatening to resign from the union, if they went through with the expulsion.

ARROW MILL GET POLICE GUARD

The campaign to get shop stewards in the mills continues; a series of leaflets having been distributed in Urdu and English at the local mills recently. The unions for their part have attacked the campaign as being anarchist-inspired and claim the anarchists want to take over the unions.

The shop stewards' campaign got a bit of a boost last month when the Pakistani winders on night shift at Arrow struck in support of their spokesman Jawid Khan, who'd been victimised by the management. Those who continued the strike were sacked, but the matter

has been well publicised locally.

This case offers more evidence of the need for union-backed shop stewards. The attitude of his union secretary, Mr. Ivey, was predictable, he did nothing, but in an interview with a reporter from the *Rochdale Alternative Paper*, even criticised Khan attacking 'these people who come over to this country to cause trouble'. Evidence also exists that Khan and his fellow strikers are now blacklisted at mills in the Courtaulds Group.

It appears to be normal practice at Courtaulds' mills to notify other mills in the Group of known union militants. The following letter was distributed throughout the Group by Royd Mill, Oldham, earlier this year:—

From A. Bradbury — Royd Mill, 20th January, 1972.

The undermentioned people have stated they are leaving due to not agreeing to run the approved number of frames for the proper wages. They have not given one week's notice.

Miah Babru, Javid Mohammed, Mukter Khan, Munzoor Hussein, Jalai Draz, Aftah Miah, Uster Khan. These people are not to be re-engaged.

National Insurance Numbers were included in the document.

In August, Arrow Mill was so worried by the situation locally that they mounted a police guard at the mill and put up notices at all entrances threatening trespassers with prosecution. Fears of further strike action by the Pakistanis and the leaflet campaign by local anarchists made the management panic.

TRADE UNIONIST.

*About a third of Mr. Ivey's members are immigrants.

Persecution in Uruguay

THE COMUNIDAD DEL SUR, a libertarian co-operative in Montevideo which has in the past three years of its sixteen-years' life suffered repeated searches and arrests by police and military (see *FREEDOM*, 20.5.72), is still suffering from the latest visitation. A comrade who sent the community a donation following the earlier report, received a letter dated August 8 telling of a raid on July 12, in which all the comrades present were arrested except five women. Those taken away were

kept for five days, blindfolded and hands tied behind their backs, in a dirty cell in a military barracks. Some of these were released after 12 days, others after 20 days. But at the date of the letter two remained who were being handed over to 'military justice'.

Given the prevailing political and economic crisis, the community feels little hope of an alleviation of the repression and anticipates an increase in the totalitarian elements. The letter

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Brilliant and Bad

LA HORA DE LOS HORNOS (The Hour of the Furnaces), OS FUZIS (The Guns), showing at The Other Cinema, Collegiate Theatre, Gordon Street, Euston Road, from September 8.

IT WAS WITH trepidation, as a middle-class dropout, that I went to the press preview of these two revolutionary films at that well-known proletarian citadel, The Institute of Contemporary Arts, in the Mall, near the Admiralty and within

sight of Buckingham Palace.

Furnaces is a gigantic documentary about the history of Argentina from 1945 to, roughly, the present day. Beginning at 10.30, or thereabouts, it continued till after midnight. Then there was a break for *siesta*. Resuming at 2.30 it continued till 5.30, or nearly, which, for me, is a record. I doubt if I have ever watched a longer film. Nevertheless it held me. It was a brilliant film—and

also a pernicious one. At times it seemed to swing close to Fascism. Probably it showed, although this was not the intention of its makers, how artificial distinctions of Right and Left really are.

ECONOMIC BONDAGE

The point it was making was that Argentina, and by implication the rest of Latin America, and many other parts of the non-European world, is a country held in economic bondage, first by England and then the United States, with the result that most of the population are very poor, and the governing class is a corrupt aristocracy, kept in power by (ultimately) the powerful weaponry of the United States.

Peron and his superb wife came to power in 1945, and for ten years the country became solvent, now it is deep in debt again to European and North American business interests. But Mrs. Peron died, and her husband by himself seems to have been unable to hold things together. 1955, the year of his fall, is a traumatic date to the makers of this film. They keep coming back to it over and over again. If 1945-1955 was a sort of golden age, 1955-1965 became 'the years of violence', most of it, according to this film, being directed by the old aristocracy against the workers, who were arrested, tortured and shot.

VIOLENCE

The answer to this is violence, says the film grimly. All pacifist, internationalist and anti-military philosophy is irrelevant. Violence and nationalism; Argentinians must not imitate Europe but build up a culture of their own. So in the end this wonderful, vivid docu-

mentary is really nationalist propaganda of a fairly traditional type. It is, precisely because it is so good, likely to stimulate more hate at a time when the world, which includes Argentina, needs cool heads and determination, and may indeed in some situations require violent resistance, but never and nowhere requires romantic militarism and jingoistic culture-fantasies. Not only are Argentinians European in their cultural heritage, whether Europeans accept them as equals or not, there were no ancient civilisations in the country before the Europeans arrived, as there were in Mexico, Central America and Peru.

The arguments made throughout the film that violence is the only answer in view of the complete savagery and single-minded lust for domination of the ruling class and their American protectors, are reasonable up to a point. In a country where there is no non-violent tradition, and in a world where non-violent methods, with the dubious exception of India, have not been resoundingly successful so far, it is understandable that people should choose to fight. Maybo in that part of the world there is not much choice.

ROMANCE

But towards the end songs are sung which are intended to glorify violence, and we see shots of revolutionary soldiers scampering about in the undergrowth, on manoeuvres, no blood. It looked a bit like a field day of the Junior Training Corps at my public school. We used to do this sort of thing on Wimbledon Common, though not to the accompaniment of 'Violencia! Violencia! Violencia y Amor!', which must be one of the more absurd of the

revolutionary songs. (But translate the first verse of *The Marseillaise* into English and it's practically rubbish at that, and *The Internationale* is not much better. Deprived of their tunes they do not amount to much, but 'Violencia!', etc., is not even a particularly outstanding tune.)

REALISM

The Guns is also making a point about oppression and the need to fight it, but its picture of violence is completely unromantic. Bullets are pumped into a man, from behind, till he is a lump of bloody meat. His killer, full of remorse, then throws himself on the ground and goes into hysterics.

The story is set in North-East Brazil, a barren land where time has virtually stopped for nearly a century. An 1895 Mauser is the latest thing in firearms, and these ancient weapons are the guns of the title. In the hands of a squad of soldiers they are sufficient to keep the people submissive, while a lorry load of farm produce, belonging to the local mayor, is driven away before their starving eyes. (The situation is similar to Ireland in the 1840s.)

The people are so hungry they are like hippies on a permanent 'trip'. When they find a white ox roaming the countryside they follow it about, thinking it is God and will bring them rain. When there is no rain they turn on their divinity and eat it, which one is left to feel represents a step forward, but the killing and eating of gods and totems is an ancient rite.

Anyway it's a grim, realistic film.

A.W.U.

Belated Satire

OEDIPUS IN DISNEYLAND by Hercules Molloy (Paranoid Press, San Francisco, no price given).

THIS BEAUTIFULLY printed and illustrated book seems to follow on from G. Legman's *Love and Death*, and similar books by various writers who have analysed popular literature in Freudian ways in order to find the (generally perverted) sexual impulses behind the creation of such revered figures as Superman, Batman, Noddy or the heroes and heroines of the Arthur Ransome stories.

Oedipus in Disneyland has for subtitle *Queen Victoria's Reincarnation as Superman* (and is dedicated cheekily to the present incumbent of the English throne), and is in fact a surrealist satire, attacking the whole puritanical Western-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant ethic, with its aggressiveness and anti-sexuality. If all this comes to you as new it will make you laugh. If you were reading Legman, Reich and other sexual libertarians twenty years ago, it is not quite so funny, because it is all familiar.

The idea that one can give sexual interpretations to *Alice in Wonderland* does not come as a great surprise to the present writer, and so the joke falls a little flat. The idealistic superstructure of Western imperialism has long been stripped away, but imperialism still goes

on, only its hero is no longer Baden Powell but Enoch, and the stink from the gas chambers can easily be smelt. Superman is a modern version of the traditional hero who fights the forces of evil, while the ideals of the Victorian age were by no means all bad. So many of the heroes of today are pure brutes and savages, creatures from the Dark Ages like the Japanese berserks at Lydda airport, the parachutists in Algeria, Ulster and South America. A Victorian-type hero like Che Guevara did not last long in conflict with them.

So, although I detest the WASP ethic, I feel its day is already past. It is being attacked most fiercely by the prosperous children of the WASPS, ironically enough. But the real villains who need to be satirised today are not the Victorians, or the people of the 1930s and 1940s who enjoyed the Superman comics, but these cold-blooded butchers who fire rubber bullets into women's eyes, or plant bombs in crowded places. They deserve ridicule and contempt, instead they get a sort of admiration.

A.W.U.

Judging by the prose style and the bizarre erudition I would guess that Hercules Molloy is G. Legman. Perhaps the book is really a satire of psycho-analytical literary criticism, in which case it is a masterpiece.

BLACK SEPTEMBER

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group. *Private Eye* currently publicized Israel's disgusting behaviour in the occupied territories.

What is obvious is that so much money was tied up in the Olympic Games that their abandonment was unthinkable despite everybody's lofty sentiments—'The show (or rather, the cash registers) must go on'. Similar sentiments motivated the 1968 Games in Mexico which carried on bravely despite the slaughter of students by the host-government.

The second obvious thing to emerge is the inefficiency (almost amounting to helplessness) and the duplicity, involving outright lying, of governments when faced by dedicated fanatics. Lying to fanatics is understandable, but the cruel lying and shifty evasions to build up the hopes of one's own subjects and allies is once more clearly revealed. Can anyone believe governments any more?

It must be said that the Black September group is, like many groups nearer home, confused in its aim, uncertain and unwise in its allies, foredoomed to disappointment (even in achievement) and is employing means inconsistent with its ends. Whilst its nebulous aims have validity, such dedicated recklessness as the world witnessed at Munich is in some degree understandable but futile.

Whether any good for the Palestine Arabs will come out of all this is doubtful. The Israelis have sent their reprisal bombers raiding into alleged guerilla bases and refugee-camps in Syria and Lebanon. The *Guardian* reports that three hundred people have been killed. A *Mirror* headline for the simple-minded last week read 'An Eye for an Eye'. 'Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord', but the Israelis are making sure in case he forgets.

JACK ROBINSON.

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

**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

AFBIB—To all Groups.

AFBIB is produced at 1a Woodstock Road, Oxford. Send all news, reports, addresses, subs., etc., to Oxford, c/o Jeremy Brent.

The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information. Groups should send latest addresses to Oxford. 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:

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham.
East: R. E. Heron, P. Newell, 'Aegaeon', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL)
Surrey: O. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Trevor Savage, Flat 3, 35 Richmond Road, Leeds, 6.
Manchester: Mat Connolly, 9 Briar Hill Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancs.
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynwood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.
Wales: c/o P. Le Marc (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Marc.

Still Flying the Flag of Progress

Dear Friend,

Arthur W. Uloth's most interesting article, 'Progress—the End of the Road at Last' (FREEDOM, 9.9.72) rather prematurely announces that *The Freethinker* has hauled down the flag of Progress and capitulated.—Over my dead body!

I think that Arthur Uloth has slightly misinterpreted my *Freethinker* editorial of August 26, which he quotes at some length. The essence of what I was trying to say was not that the concept of Progress should be abandoned, but that the word had come to be used by wolves in sheep's clothing. If readers accept my definition of Progress (as quoted in FREEDOM) then technology is progressive within certain limits.

I would be bored to death living in an entirely primitive, hand-to-mouth environment, and am heartily glad of such benefits of technology as dentistry, aspirins, books and newspapers. Equally, however, I need a regular, healthy change from bricks and glass, and to be able to commune with nature for a while in the countryside; without this, life in the concrete jungle would become unbearable. Since the industrial revolution the balance between technopolis and the

countryside has shifted (perhaps too far) in the former's favour, and I am therefore irritated by people who, talking through their pockets, refer to concreting and glass-boxing another patch of our diminishing woodlands as 'progress' when it is precisely the opposite. 'Progress' in this case is the continuance of rabbits, butterflies and beech trees, not estate agents.

LETTERS

Above all, my editorial was a refutation of the pernicious old doctrine that Progress is inevitable (here, I think, Arthur Uloth will agree with me). The doctrine of the inevitability of Progress either leads to an attitude of 'Do nothing, utopia is round the corner anyway'; or to a reactionary's reinterpretation of Dr. Pangloss: 'All is progressive in this best of all progressive worlds' (which is where the wolves in sheep's clothing doubtless came in).

Progress, real progress, is desirable;

but it has to be fought for, a task which is 5 per cent hope, 5 per cent inspiration, and 90 per cent hard slog. That, surely, is why, and how, FREEDOM and *The Freethinker* appear week in, week out.

Yours sincerely,
NIGEL SINNOTT,
Editor, *The Freethinker*.

If more proof were needed

Comrades,
Liz Willis (Letters, 26.8.72) is not the only one. In fact, almost every other copy of FREEDOM that reaches me is tampered with or delayed—sometimes by several weeks—or both. This observation covers a period of 20 months to date. I have also received other periodicals (some of them from Britain) on regular subscription, but never did any issue slide out of its wrapper 'with suspicious ease' and except for the time of the British postal strike copies were delayed—at the most by a week—not more than five times.

Gothenburg, Sweden VIKKI KUMAR.

The Terror and the Tears

COMING IN YESTERDAY evening at 4 o'clock I found there was an enormous envelope awaiting me. Upon opening it I discovered it was the second copy of *The Terror and the Tears* that the Unionist Party have sent me totally unsolicited. If this book of horror photographs and propaganda were to be sold one would have to pay at least 40 or 50 pence for it as it is printed on the most expensive glossy paper. The photographs ARE horrific, nevertheless it is a grossly unfair publication. EVERY atrocity that has happened in the six counties is laid at the door of the IRA. EVERY death, EVERY bit of destruction has been done by them. There is not a hint even of similar mis-

deeds perpetrated by the other side. The killings of Samuel Devenney and John Gallagher by the RUC and the B Specials are not mentioned, nor Cusack and Beattie, nor the child Patrick Rooney killed indoors in his own home by the mad shooting of the army out of control. There are lots of photographs of Bloody Friday, but not one of Bloody Sunday.

I am a dedicated pacifist but I have to admit the effect of this expensive book on me is to make me feel 'Almost thou persuadest me to join the IRA'.

It is the best piece of recruiting propaganda—or impropaganda—that the Unionists have produced against themselves.

H.

PRESS FUND

Contributions

August 31-September 6 inc.

In Shop: F.A.S. 20p; Anon. 24p; R.A. 12p; D.P. 10p; London, S.E.10: T.U. 25p; London, N.W.6: T.M. £1; London, N.1: S.B. £1; London, S.E.18: F.Y. 70p; Corby: T.P. £1; New York: L.M. £2.25; Illinois, USA: D.P.S. 22p; Iford: A.G. 50p; New York, USA: Needham Gruppo £20; Leamington Spa: P.M. 50p; Wolverhampton: K.F. 50p; Corby: J.M. 30p; Wolverhampton: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p; Hamburg: J.L. £1.85.

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

Anarchist Classics Series
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—Alexander Berkman
Reprint of Freedom Press Edition with a new Introduction by Peter E. Newell, 20p (24p)

Remembering Paul Goodman

DURING THE second world war and in the immediate post-war years, Freedom Press used to distribute in Britain several anarchist and pacifist journals from the United States: there was *Why?*, later *Resistance*, there was *Retort*, printed and edited by Holley Cantine and Dachine Rainer, and there was Dwight MacDonald's *Politics*. In the chilly political climate and deadening apathy of the nineteen-fifties, these journals disappeared, but towards the end of that decade, new ones like *Liberation* and *Dissent* emerged, and some kind of dialogue with them and the people around them continued.

One distinctive anarchist voice in all these minority journals was that of Paul Goodman, whose death last month in New Hampshire will be mourned by the very many people whose ideas and whose whole approach to life he enriched. Goodman was born in Greenwich Village, New York in 1911. When he was a small child his father deserted the family and his mother moved with her three children to the Upper East Side, where his mother and sister worked long hours, and Paul always came home to an empty flat. (He told me that his mother was a kibitzer saleswoman, and I thought that was something she sold.) He attended a traditional Jewish junior school and the equivalent of a very selective grammar school. A brilliant student, he graduated to City College, New York where he came under the influence of a famous iconoclastic teacher, Morris R. Cohen, and first read and absorbed the works of Peter Kropotkin.

Leaving college at the height of the slump in 1931 he got a job reading scripts for a film company for \$10 a week, gatecrashing lectures at Columbia University in the daytime. Richard McKeon, the professor of philosophy, encouraged this unofficial student, and when he moved to the University of Chicago, got Goodman a teaching job there while he was working for a PhD. But in 1940, he was dismissed because of his homosexual activities. The same thing happened to him when he was teaching at Manhattan progressive school and at Black Mountain College. (He remarked that 'I have been fired three times because of my queer behaviour or my claim to the right of it... These were highly liberal and progressive institutions. Frankly my experience of

radical community is that it does not tolerate my freedom.' After he became famous however, it was a different story: 'I have taught at half a dozen State Universities. I am continually invited, often as chief speaker, to conferences of junior high school superintendents, boards of regents, guidance counsellors, task forces on delinquency, etc., etc. . . . Maybe such company is so square that it does not believe, or dare to notice, my behaviour; or more likely, such professionally square people are more worldly and couldn't care less what you do. . .')

EARLY WRITINGS

Goodman's early writings—stories, poems, literary criticism and film reviewing—gave no clue to the powerful political and social criticism that was to follow, and it was the war and war resistance which brought these to the fore in his activities: 'I was having a disagreement with the Selective Service, and was set to go to jail, though this was entirely against both my prudent principles and my wishes. My philosophical and political position was Dodging.' There is no doubt that his involvement at this time with anarchist circles in New York contributed enormously to Goodman's personal growth. Ned Rorem says that the strongest of his early influences was Jean Cocteau (a very different kettle of fish from Kropotkin) but the war marked a transition from the brilliant *littérateur* to the social thinker whose seriousness and scholarship were masked by a quiet, casual, throw-away manner. This wasn't Goodman's view of himself—he saw himself as a man of letters. 'It is false that I write about many subjects. I have only one, the human beings I know in their man-made scene.'

David Wieck, who was an editor of *Why?* and *Resistance*, writing recently in *Anarchy* (new series No. 8) remarked that 'In the youthful New York anarchist milieu of the middle and late 1940s and early 1950s, certain ideas came to be generally accepted, some of them after prolonged and even acrimonious discussions' and he characterised these ideas as:

'political and economic decentralism; critique of institutional bureaucracies; critique of leadership-concepts (nowadays one would say: anti-elitism); critique of the concept of an organ-

ised "movement" and stress on temporary functional groupings (nowadays: "ad hoc", "conspiracies"); liberation and equality of women and of children; communistic economic ideas (on the whole: but questioning); personalist individualism; "the movement" (anarchist) as a kind of community: direct action, inventively non-violent if possible; draft resistance and anti-militarism; opposition to the Cold War and Korean War (and to the Second World War previously) as, on both sides, struggles for imperial power; a critical attitude toward romantic ideas of revolution; anarchism regarded as a general orientation, philosophy of life and action, first of all of an individual's life, rather than as a set ideology; critique of Marxist (and anarcho-syndicalist) ideas of "the working class"; and of course anti-Statism, critique of bourgeois values and way of life, anti-Stalinism and anti-Leninism, emphasis on black emancipation, etc. Nowhere outside the anarchist movement could one find anything resembling this constellation of ideas. . . .

David noted the 'astonishing degree' to which this constellation resembles contemporary preoccupations. Certainly it explains the contemporary relevance of the collection of articles from *Retort*, *Resistance* and *Politics* that formed Goodman's 'May Pamphlet' included in his book *Art and Social Nature* published in 1946 and reprinted in the nineteen-sixties for a new generation in his pamphlet *Drawing the Line*.

COMMUNITAS

In 1947 the famous book that he wrote with his brother Percival (later Professor of Architecture at Columbia) appeared, *Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life* is widely regarded as the most original and imaginative book on the building of urban communities ever written. This book, after examining in turn the main varieties of city plans of the previous century, produced three alternative 'ideal types' or paradigms of human communities. The first is the City of Efficient Consumption. The second, the elimination of the difference between production and consumption. (Professor Thomas Reiner in *Taming Metropolis* calls it a polynucleated city mirroring its anarcho-syndicalist premises.) The third provides for maximum security with minimum regulation. The three schemes, presented half seriously, half sardonically, epitomise the alternative choices of life style facing our society now as then, and the book, rapidly out of print, had for years a kind of underground existence through the continued commendation of writers like Lewis Mumford and David Riesman, until it was reprinted in paperback in 1960 and several times since then.

GROWING UP ABSURD

In spite of the reputation of this book, and in spite of his collaboration with Frederick Perls and Ralph Hofferline in the book *Gestalt Therapy* which has been reprinted about 20 times since 1951 (most recently in Britain by Souvenir Press this year), Goodman found

it impossible to earn a living as a writer in the nineteen-fifties, raising his family as he remarked 'on a share-cropper's income'. Then, in the wave of American self-criticism at the end of the Eisenhower period, he got his book *Growing Up Absurd* published after several rejections. Subtitled 'problems of youth in the organised system', this very important book (ridiculed by almost all reviewers when Gollancz issued it in Britain) elevated Goodman to the status of all-American pundit. He handled this situation with absolute integrity, modifying neither his casual and disreputable behaviour nor his radical anarchist message. (All he did was to buy a new blue suit.) Publishers and editors who for years had ignored him were pestering him for books. One response of his was to picket his publishers' offices during the General Strike for Peace. Another (on the principle, he told me, of making hay while the sun shines) was to churn out a whole series of books relating to contemporary problems the anarchist ideas for which he could find no audience in the previous decade. *The Community of Scholars* (1962) preceded and predicted the student revolt of the later nineteen-sixties. He called it 'a little treatise in anarchist theory' and declared that it can be regarded as a footnote to a few sentences of Kropotkin's essay *The State, Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals* (1962) is exactly what its title suggests, though its author remarks that, 'A hundred years ago, Ruskin said bitterly, "I show them their plain duty and they reply that my style is charming." My own experience is that when I suggest a practical proposal plain as the nose on your face, people weep with pleasure for the reminder of paradise lost.'

Compulsory Miseducation (1964) was the first book to advocate 'de-schooling' as an alternative to our expensive and ineffectual school system. *People or Personnel* (1965) is an extended essay on decentralisation. *Like a Conquered Province: The Moral Ambiguity of America* (1967) was a series of lectures given on the Canadian radio, and the last of his books on social issues was *New Reformation* (1970)—the subject of a very perceptive, if strongly critical review by Kingsley Widmer in *Anarchy* (new series No. 4).

A PUBLIC FIGURE

The elevation of Paul Goodman to the status of 'public figure' ensured the publication of his novels, stories and poems, which he regarded as the most significant part of his literary output. I believe he was wrong in his assessment, but undoubtedly what he sought was an audience as a writer, rather than as an all-purpose conscience for the American intelligentsia. In his very last article, published in the *New York Review of Books* a few days after his death, he remarked, 'For me, the chief principle of anarchism is not freedom but autonomy, the ability to initiate a task and do it one's own way. . . . The weakness of "my" anarchism is that the lust for freedom is a powerful motive

Continued on page 4

I am My Brother's Keeper

'FREEDOM'S' FRONT PAGE article 'My Brother's Keeper', issue dated September 2, 1972, recalls this day, September 16, twenty-two years ago, when FREEDOM published D.R.'s gem of a contribution, viz. 'Xenophobia: The hatred of foreigners. One of the subtle ways in which Authority maintains the support of the people is by working up enmity towards other peoples; and diverting towards them the hostility which would otherwise be directed against itself. The alleged enemy may change, but the Authorities always make sure there is one. In reality the only enemy is Authority itself.'

From politicians we rarely hear the truth, even rarer still it is to have a politician express a truth which embraces wisdom, humanity, and sanity—so let it not go unrecorded, that on November 9, 1967, opening the immigration debate in the House of Commons, Quintin Hogg, MP, said, 'We are, and have been from the earliest times, a mongrel race, and in the past this country has owed a great deal to the various waves of immigration to which we have been subject from time to time'.

Nowadays, racialism, along with its harlot bedmates, patriotism and nationalism, harnessed to violence, constitute the deadliest dangers ever known to the human family, for all these factors add fuel to the flames of inter-governmental rivalries. If the nuclear rearmament marathon ceased overnight, if suddenly the population explosion became averted, if pollution of the atmosphere ceased forthwith, if there was no longer any erosion of the soil or any prolongation of the many misuses of nature's powers, unless human beings grow up, in terms of personal responsibility for one another, then the outlook for a free society remains dark.

The colossal damage done to human relationships by the hate-promoting effects of racialism, patriotism and nationalism, not overlooking violence, has caused more loss of valuable human life—for every human life is of value—

more cultural losses, ever increasing physical, mental and moral suffering to millions of innocent, life-loving, life-worthy humans than any pen can adequately describe. Losses which exceed by several million fold or more the benefits flowing from all the multitudinous innovations, discoveries, inventions, etc., since time's beginning. Any prolongation of racialism, patriotism, and nationalism plus violence will certainly imperil the human experiment. Nature will be ready to say 'good riddance' to humankind, for a nuclear holocaust, the inevitable end result of people indulging in these insane religions, racialism, patriotism, nationalism, allied to our global disease, violence, must end up with the human race committing suicide.

Two alternatives only face us now, and time runs out.

The choice is—either homo sapiens (homo the sap?) conclude their planetary existence via chemical, biological, and bacteriological extermination, and human beings everywhere perishing, atomised dust in annihilation's desert wastes, the microbes taking over, or . . . that folk the globe over throw overboard the deadly danger poisons of racialism, patriotism, nationalism, violence.

Before being a non-black or non-coloured person, before I am a European, or a Briton, or Englishman, I am first, foremost and last, a human being. All men are my brothers. All women are my sisters. I am involved in mankind.

To implement my involvement, I realise the sole alternative to a third (and final) world war is to do all I possibly can to uproot the causes of racialism and its associated plagues. To strive for a truly free society where co-operation will be the norm. A non-violent, justice based, cosmopolitan society where freedom, the right to live, the right to love, will be accepted as everybody's birthright. This means, of course a society devoid of any authoritarianism anywhere.

MARK WILLIAM KRAMRISCH.

Bikes Rule! OK?

THE FIGHT BACK against the car continues with another bike-in in London and simultaneous events in the provinces, Saturday, September 16. The bike-ins (part of a total campaign against car-domination) are geared toward an integrated and user-orientated public transport system and in October the railways campaign will be launched—to be followed immediately by the roads campaign.

Briefly the objectives are: Bikeway arterials into the heart of cities from the suburbs. Free bike transport and special bike-vans on trains. Commuter bikeways from railway terminals to work areas. Free 'white bikes' and car-free centres to all towns and cities. The opening-up of leisure amenities to pedestrians and cyclists and a total ban on private cars in these areas. And so on—many more ideas under consideration—National Health cycle clips, a tandem for the Queen and Phillip, tricycles for dogs—the mind boggles!

Any way support is the great thing—turn out Saturday in your thousands—meet at Euston Station at 2.00 and we take over London. CYCLISTS OF THE WORLD UNITE—YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR SHINIS!

We have planned a detour to Piccadilly where the Save Piccadilly people are going to be active on Saturday afternoon—who knows what may happen there. In dark and despairing days this campaign against the car is positive, enjoyable, non-violent (how can you duff anybody on a bike?) and it WILL succeed.

If you are intending to come from South London ring Mike Scott (01-370 3259) and you can cycle in en masse; if you come in from North London just cycle in from wherever you are and meet at Euston. Any further fax and info about tomorrow from Chris Parrish (St. Albans (56) 52381)—any info about future action from Bikes Rule, Puritan House, 26 Grosvenor Road, St. Albans.

Finally and most importantly we need your presence on the roads and your money in our piggy to help finance the campaign. Send your subs to Bikes Rule and bring yourselves and your bike-bells, balloons, horns, squeakers, music and poetry to Euston. See ya Saturday children—keep rockin'!

JEFF CLOVES.

P.S.—St. Albans and environs readers join our local bike-in Saturday morning, meet at St. Albans City BR station at 10.00.

Books

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

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Paul & Percival Goodman	£0.85 (71p)
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McCarthy?	£0.10 (3p)
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of Michael A. Bakunin	
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Robert P. Wolf	£0.60 (5p)
War and the Intellectuals:	
Collected Essays 1915-1919	
Randolph S. Bourne	£0.90 (8p)
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Anarchist	
Alexander Berkman	£1.50 (15p)
The Anarchist Prince	
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& Ivan Avakumovic	£2.00 (15p)
Enquiry Concerning Political	
Justice William Godwin	
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K. Codell Carter	£1.60 (21p)

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Unmarked Graves of Anarchism

Roughly translated from an article by Kou Mukai in 'Gendai No Me'.

THE TAIWANESE Anarchist Movement was one of many revolutionary movements never heard of outside their own locality. Japanese scholars have passed over the Shi Lai An insurrection as an uprising of wild savages.* Even at the time these events were taking place, Japanese anarchists were totally unaware that an attempt, unsophisticated as it was, was being made in a Japanese colony to put their ideas into practice.

When the first Europeans visited Taiwan in the 16th century, the population, completely 'uncivilised', was only about 100,000. In 1622 Taiwan first came under foreign domination when the Dutch occupied much of the island; rather than attempt to domesticate the native population they encouraged immigration from China. In 1652 16,000 Taiwanese attacked the main Dutch settlement, killing 1,100 Europeans. In 1661 Cheng Cheng-kung, a Ming dynasty general fleeing the Manchus with 30,000 people, drove out the Dutch—at first he had good relations with the native population, but as the Chinese population increased friction arose and the natives were pushed back. In 1683 Taiwan surrendered to the Manchus; during the 200 years it was under their control the population rose rapidly, reaching 1,300,000 in 1800 and 2,500,000 in 1890. During the Chinese occupation there were more than 30 large revolts.

In 1871, 54 shipwrecked Okinawans were killed. Japan was looking for an excuse to get Chinese recognition of its control of Okinawa and occupied part of Taiwan in 1874; the Chinese Government gave the Japanese Government money for the families of those killed (they did not get it) and the Japanese Army left Taiwan.

In 1895 Japan got Taiwan as part of the settlement of the war with China.

*The Japanese Government made every attempt to cover up the fact that anything had happened and even now it is impossible to learn exactly what happened.

When the Taiwanese heard of the peace treaty they immediately revolted and formed the Taiwan Democratic Nation. Japanese troops, led by Prince Kitashirakawa, landed on May 31. They were attacked several times on the way to Taipei, but the city itself was taken without a fight on June 7. Tainan, in the southern part of the island, was captured on October 22 and the last of the easily accessible areas was taken in December, but the guerrillas were able to hold out in the mountains until 1902. During the following year a number of riots and revolts broke out, the largest being the Shi Lai An Insurrection.

In 1896 Prince Kitashirakawa declared several new laws; many industries became government monopolies, land was confiscated, taxes raised, all civil rights lost, all political organisations and meetings banned, and Taiwanese and Chinese discriminated against in education and employment, among other things.

One day, while the guerrillas were still active, Kitashirakawa and his army stopped to rest beside a small river. The Prince, who was suffering from malaria, went to the water's edge to drink, ignoring a man on the other side. The man quickly swam over and stabbed the Prince—some soldiers who rushed into the water were also killed and the assassin escaped. In the West such an event is bad enough for those concerned; in Asia, where a member of the royal family is a relative of God, it is far worse: the Government suppressed the facts and reported that he died in battle.

Yo Shin Ho came from an extremely poor family and had absolutely no education at all, but learned to read by working in a bookshop. Unable to go to school in Taiwan, he went to Japan in the hope of being able to get an education, but ended up working in a barber shop in the Chinese section of Yokohama.

In 1910 Yo became curious about some Japanese who had moved in near his shop and began to talk to one of them. Eventually he was invited to a meeting, where he was amazed to discover that they were the 'traitors' the police were searching for; after Kotoku

and the other prominent anarchists were arrested they had gone into hiding.

Yo began studying anarchist theories. He was ostracised by the other workers at his shop, who were afraid of attracting the attention of the police, and eventually he lost his job. He went to Kobe for a short period, but suddenly disappeared. Several years later his Japanese comrades heard a rumour that he had led a large riot in southern Taiwan.

After leaving Japan, Yo went to Tainan, where he found La Shin, a childhood friend who had become a Buddhist priest at the Shi Lai An temple. Together they began to organise a resistance movement, using religion and the temple as a cover. At first they organised peasants' co-operatives; the biggest project was an illegal peasant-controlled rice-polishing mill.

As the peasants became aware of the advantages of mutual aid, Yo told them of his idea of an agricultural utopia—a peasants' country controlled by peasants and for peasants only. Yo and La Shin began collecting money, supposedly to rebuild the temple, but actually to buy guns.

The Government became aware that something was going on and announced that unless it stopped the temple would be closed down. The police raided the temple and arrested 10 people. About forty or fifty people spontaneously attacked the police station, killing the policemen and freeing the prisoners, escaping with them to the mountains.

About 3,000 young people joined the others in the mountains, most armed with only farm tools and bamboo spears. Yo was declared Minister of War of Ji Hi Koku (Ideal Nation) and they adopted a triangular red and black flag. La Shin made magic badges for everyone to wear, which were supposed to protect them from danger.

Yo led guerrilla attacks on police stations. The rebellion grew quickly and soon 10,000 people were fighting. At first the Government did not realise what was happening and left the job of putting down the revolt to the police, who were defeated in every fight. The army units on Taiwan then tried to put the rebellion down but even they were defeated and reinforcements were called in from Japan.

After two months of fighting, two army corps suppressed the revolt. 2,000 people were captured, an unknown number killed. 866 were sentenced to death, but 700 were reprieved in honour

of some event in the Imperial Family. Before their execution the leaders were paraded around the island in chains, but everywhere the people stayed out of sight, refusing to watch this display of imperialist victory.

Taiwanese students returning from Japan formed the Taiwan Cultural Association in 1921. Its original purpose was only to promote traditional culture; it was welcomed by the people, but came into conflict with Japanese policy. From 1923-27 it organised 789 lectures, 104 of which were prohibited by the police; the lectures gradually changed their character and became forums for political agitation. By 1927 the anarchists, led by Len On Kyo, had the initiative in it.

Cho Li Ken, a Chinese Taiwanese, was first attracted to the Cultural Association by an interest in culture, but later he became interested in anarchism. He organised a theatre group and travelled around Taiwan with it. In 1932 Cho went to Japan and joined a Tokyo anarcho-syndicalist group, but he was known to the police and could not stay in Japan long. Before leaving he met an anarchist named Taiji Yamaga.

Eight years later Yamaga was in Shanghai, where he ran into Cho on the street. After returning to Taiwan from Japan Cho had tried to reorganise the theatre group as a cover to unite Chinese and native Taiwanese revolutionaries; the colonial government was particularly fearful of this possibility and made it absolutely impossible to contact the native Taiwanese in any way. Feeling it was impossible to do anything effective in Taiwan, Cho decided to go to China, where a group of Taiwanese anarchists was active in the resistance against the Japanese invasion. To avoid being captured he left alone in a small boat at night during a typhoon.

Cho was working on the docks and had formed an underground union to organise armed resistance. He discovered that the Japanese Army had collected an immense quantity of opium in two warehouses and was planning to sell it to help finance the war. Yamaga went to a meeting where the Taiwanese group discussed the possibility of burning the warehouses—Yamaga assumed it was only talk and went home, but was woken up during the night by his landlord to be told of a huge fire near the docks. Nothing is known of what became of this group.

K.M.

PAUL GOODMAN

Continued from page 3

for political change, whereas autonomy is not. Autonomous people protect themselves stubbornly but by less strenuous means, including plenty of passive resistance. They do their thing anyway. The pathos of oppressed people, however, is that, if they break free, they don't know what to do. Not having been autonomous, they don't know what it's like, and before they learn, they have new managers who are not in a hurry to abdicate. . . .

As a private man, forced by circumstances and his sense of citizenship into a public role, Goodman acquitted himself magnificently. Invited to address the National Security Industrial Association in 1967, he delivered an onslaught which led the chairman, 'a courteous and intelligent man' to apologise to the audience for having exposed them to him. (His 'Message to the Military Industrial Complex' was reprinted as a supplement to FREEDOM and Peace News.) In that same year he addressed the Dialectics of Liberation conference in London, and you can read in the Penguin book of that name how different in tone and content his contribution was from most of the others. Goodman who (some say) was the only man trusted by the American radical student movement early in the sixties, became

from the point of view of many of its members, a back number, a meliorist, a tinkerer with the system. He for his part, much as he loved the young, was strongly critical of the direction taken by the new left in the United States, regarding the worship of Guevara, Ho Chi Min or Mao on the one hand, and sensitivity training or the psychedelic experience on the other, as no substitute for efforts to apply their skills to changing society.

A TRAGIC LOSS

A few weeks after that conference he suffered a loss which left wounds that never healed. His son was killed in a climbing accident at the age of 20. Matthew Ready Goodman, who had stayed with us in London a few years earlier, was a quiet student of anthropology, forced by circumstances like his father into political activism and draft-resistance. His father wrote

Ten millennia and more men have slain one another for causes, before I learned how it is to lose my son. Do not speak to me of violence and do not praise to me guerrilla fighters in Bolivia.

One of the remarkable things about Paul Goodman was the way in which the themes he discussed, and the solutions he proposed, disregarded at the time, eventually became public issues in which there was widespread support for the ideas he dropped into circulation. When decades ago he wrote of the need to ban cars from city centres, it was regarded as characteristically utopian, but it is certainly coming. When he wrote *Growing Up Absurd*, this country's leading educational journal headlined its review 'Transatlantic Tosh'. Today the editors of the *Times Education Supplement* would take seriously every proposition of that book. His ideas on education are, without acknowledgement, gaining wider and wider support. He was even a precursor of Gay Liberation.

The Jewish community of New York has given America many of its most creative thinkers and writers, but none whose ultimate influence will be more valuable than that of Paul Goodman. Years ago the painter Marc Chagall met him and remarked to Mitzu Cunliffe, 'What a marvellous man. He makes me think of a shepherd.'

COLIN WARD.

This week in Ireland

THERE IS MUCH displeasure in Government circles about the way the British media have reported the meeting between Messrs. Lynch and Heath in Munich. They give the impression Heath sent for Lynch to tell him off. Actually it was Mr. Lynch who requested the meeting. As Dr. Hillery, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, said, 'The leader of one sovereign state does not rebuke the leader of another.' Probably Mr. Heath did mention specific IRA names with the suggestion Mr. Lynch should deal with them, but he was not on firm ground here because most of the leaders of the Provos mentioned were in London being talked with by Mr. Heath's Government officials and there is no indication that any action has been taken against them in Belfast since. How can Heath expect our small police force and army to do what his 20,000 soldiers plus enormous RUC force and specials cannot—or will not—do? Mr. Lynch wanted a few things clarified before the Whitelaw conference on the 25th. It is indubitably an embarrassment to the British Government that the case against torture is coming up at the International Court at Strasbourg, and Mr. Lynch could not disclose if they did discuss this as it is sub-judice. We gather that Mr. Lynch also definitely ruled out introducing internment though he will go along if Special Courts are introduced in the six counties, an action which the SDLP would fight tooth and nail against, as would the Nationalist Party.

The other great excitement of the week has been the Maria McGuire revelations in the *Observer*. Maria was an intellectual without one scrap of commonsense or wisdom, and in her own words she was 'always bored'. She returned from Spain after a broken engagement. Now Maria gave up practising her religion at 13 she says, BUT like so many Irish she retained a terror of sex which she saw lurking to catch her in every corner.

Perhaps her Spanish fiancé actually asked her to a *tete-a-tete* supper and ventured a chaste kiss, so she fled. She was exactly the fodder the Provos needed, an ex-university girl skilled in languages. She saw herself as a female Scarlet Pimpernel, or a reincarnation of the Countess Markiewicz, and dreamed Walter Mitty-type dreams. She went to the Continent with David O'Connell to try to get arms for the Provos, a trip that was abortive. Then that awful sexual imagination took over again and she began to think she had been compromised in some way. Also perhaps this very late developer began at last to grow up and see the horror of Arthur Stephenson's (alias Sean MacStiofan) monomania for killing all and sundry regardless. His remark to the effect 'What do a few Protestant deaths matter?' may have made her pause in her tracks. Then again that ingrained boredom once more took over when she was no longer the centre of publicity and was expected to do dull jobs, added to which there was the temptation of all that lovely money the papers were ready to pay for her defection and story. It is all sad and sordid. That there is great division in the ranks of the Provos is common knowledge. Arthur Stephenson, a non-entity of a cockney, also played Walter Mitty by becoming a Provo, and though at all times seeing he himself and his family are never in physical danger he advocates the utmost violence (without any ideology) from the rank and file. He is virtually dictator and others are rebelling.

I am not commenting on the various suggestions prepared for Whitelaw's conference on September 25. No doubt you are able to read them in your press, but all the same if you read carefully you will see the Unionists under Faulkner have prepared the mixture as before covered only with a more palatable sauce. Bring back armed specials and security in the hands of the Unionists

Contact

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

Help Fold and Despatch 'FREEDOM' Thursdays from 2 p.m., followed by discussion at 7.30 p.m.

Workers' Control. Brighton Group need speakers for a meeting. Expenses paid. Contact: Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton.

WEA Central London Evening Classes. Beginning week September 25. There are ten subjects and most of the classes will be at 32 Tavistock Square, W.C.1. Write for details to Billsons, 33 Compton Road, N.1.

Comrades seek flat within 1 hour public transport journey Enfield, Middx. Box 001, Freedom Press.

Welsh anarchist, male, 22, needs room in London flat. Any area considered. Neil Jones, c/o Freedom Press.

Italian comrade requires to borrow a bike for the second week in September. Or will buy second-hand motor-scooter for about £20.00. Contact Claudio Paterna, c/o Freedom Press.

Catonsville R.R. No. 38 out. On Wales, Liberation or Nationalism. Diggers, etc. 8p monthly, 12 issues £1.25, from 28 Brundretts Road, Manchester, 21.

British Society for Social Responsibility in Science. Community Science Conference. Contact H. Saddler, 70 Great Russell Street, W.C.1. 01-242 8535.

ORA Newsletter. Articles on Festival of Light, Tenants' Organisation, Media, Germany, France, etc. 15p + postage from 68 Chingford Road, London, E.17.

'Peace News' for theory and practice of non-violent revolution. £4.95 p.a. (students less 10%). Trial sub. 7 weeks for 50p with free M. Duane 'Biological Basis of Anarchism'. 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Inside Story No. 5 now out. On Squatting in Islington and Paris. Building Strike, Political Trials. Subs.: 6 for £1.50, 1 copy 25p. From 3 Belmont Road, London, S.W.4.

Garfree Prison, Leicestershire. Comrades interested in organizing picket in sympathy with prisoners contact Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants. Phone: Corby 66781.

Michael Tobin Defence Committee, c/o 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent.

Libertarian Aid Committee for the Hyde Park '3'. Visiting: Phone 677 1526 (Mrs. Carty). Letters-gifts (must have Prison No.): 110305 M. Callinan, 110281 L. Marcantonio, 110280 Stan Quinn. Donations: Mrs. Callinan, 59 Brondesbury Villas, London, N.W.6.

Stoke Newington 8 Trial. Send all aid to '8' Fund, Compendium Bookshop, 240 Camden High Street. Meals, fruit, papers, books (new ones only), cigarettes and money needed.

and no PR.

A correspondent of yours truthfully accused me of merely reporting atrocities. What else is there to report in Ireland? I am sure you don't want to hear about all the anti-vivisection speeches I make, or the talks I give on our wireless about natural history or even the fete in aid of building a new church which I am forced to attend to report upon. Last night was rioting and killing all night. The UDA turned on the troops and had a battle with them, trying to destroy the army observation post in Louisa Street. The UDA have openly declared war on the troops and are wearing masks again. Also last night the home of Councillor O'Kane was attacked. He is an ex-internee and owns the pub, 'The Starry Plough' (in which I have drunk). He was out at his job, but a visitor, Mrs. Brigit Breen, was killed and another visitor had to go to hospital. His wife and children escaped with cuts. There were more murdered corpses discovered.

URUGUAY

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says that 'letters, donations and publicity have been of great significance for our community, to know that we are supported by national and international solidarity, to enable us to continue the communitarian experiment which could easily be lost not because of lack of ideology but because of the economic suffocation to which we are being submitted. . . . The solidarity of the comrades has permitted once more the struggle for the cause of the revolution, for a society free, just, and without class'.

Donations can be made through a bank to COOPERATIVA COMUNIDAD DEL SUR, CASILLA DE CORREO 528, MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY. (Small donations could be channelled through Freedom Press.)