# anarchist weekly

DECEMBER 2 1972 Vol 33 No 49

EVENTS IN IRELAND are as bloods and full of incident as ever, and in that sense Ireland. North and South, is a reflection of the state of the world in miniature. The same oppressions and brutality. the imposition of naked power is the same pattern where states and creeds wrestle for domination over the individual. In that sense the struggle in Ireland is the struggle for the capitalist world of states backed by blind beliefs in some mumbojumbo or other, whether it be Communism. Fascism. Protestantism or Catholicism.

This weekend, events, particularly in Southern Ireland, have moved so swiftly that our correspondent 'H' has been well behind. She starts, 'Heath came and went. He saw a lot of armoured cars, and precious little else. It was strictly a nonevent. The only gleam of sense was when he said if Craig and the rest of them introduced Unilateral Declaration of Independence they wouldn't get a penny from England.' 'H' queries 'if this would be put into practice for all Ireland? Southern Ireland has been a prosti-

# S WORLD IN IRELAND

tute too long.' This prostitution continued more visibly with the visit of Mr. Lynch to see Mr. Heath on the shabby pretext of a debating date at Oxford. All this happened the weekend the civil liberties dam burst. What was Mr. Lynch trying to do . . prove an alibi?

'Meanwhile,' says 'H', 'a major row has blown up in Dublin. Sean MacStiof in was arrested in the very early hours of Sunday morning [apparently without resistance], and at ten a.m. in a programme of the news of the week one of our bestknown journalists (Kevin O'Kelly) gave an account of an interview he had with MacStiofain just before he was arrested. Now, RTS (Eire's Television and Radio Authority) has been forbidden to give interviews with the IRA although they can have Craig, Billie Hull, and the

rest of the Unionist extremists ad nauseam.' Consequently RTS topranking officials have been dismissed en bloc and O'Kelly has been gaoled for three months for contempt of court (to his honour, for refusing to tell the Court who it was he had the months on the flimsiest of evidence for membership of the IRA. When Mr. Lynch was asked by a radio interviewer how the Government knew the interview was taking place. Mr. Lynch, after an uncomfortable pause, said, 'The Government has its own ways of knowing.' So much for freedom of speech.

'The tape,' 'H' goes on, 'was not played' so there was no legal offence on the part of RTE or O'Kelly. 'O'Kelly gave a verbatim report, "I said to him and he said to me, I asked this and he answered me" but

the Government has blown it into an offence.' Doubtless Lynch's Government has been emboldened by his discussion with Mr. Heath and their joint entry into Europe. RTE went on strike for a day in protest.

'The way our Government thinks interview with). MacSt ofain got six it can do exactly as it likes even total control of the news on the radio is "dangerously near totalitarianism". There was a terrific row before when RTE showed up the money-lending scandal. The RTE may come out on strike.' 'H' continues. 'I may be out on strike myself. . . We have one of the worst governments in the world. every bit as bad as the Unionists.

> 'Meanwhile MacStiophain is on hunger and thirst strike and he will be dead in twelve days.' It is a pure assumption but the Irish have a pathetic worship, like many other peoples, of martyrdom. And fasts to the death to embarrass one's political enemies are not unknown in Irish history. A Lord Mayor of things, bans demonstrations outside Cork, Kevin McSweeny, died in gaol just that way. Moreover, judging by the laws against the horror of forcible feeding, the Free State Government has now been hoist by the petard of its own humanitarian

making

Consequently an attempted rescue of MacStiofain from the Dublin hospital by IRA men, some disguised as priests, was foiled by the police with injury to one policeman, one IRA man and two bystanders. Following this a mass picket by thousands of Sinn Fein supporters was easily dispersed by Mrs. Mac-Stiofain speaking from the hospital steps. An occupation of Aer Lingus in London was amicably settled by general agreement and a token occupation ending at midnight. As a consequence of all these demonstrations Sean MacStiofain has been flown to the Curragh (where it all began) Military Hospital so that no. more escape bids or demonstrations are possible. It is still debatable what his state of health is.

On Monday measures hinted by 'H' were brought in by Des O'Malley. The Minister has brought in a new 'Justice' Bill which, among other criminal courts 'to prevent intimidation'. Evidence given by a senior police officer that he believes an accused man to be a member of an illegal organization shall be accepted

Continued on page 4

## Local Press and Asian Strikers

DEOPLE FROM all over the country seem to believe that their local paper is the worst that could possibly be produced. I sometimes detect an inverted local patriotism in this attitude, and I will resist this temptation by making the simple and undeniable assertion that the Leicester Mercury is a bad paper. It specialises in a sort of misreporting that seems to me to be a growing danger in the media. Based on a belief that what one reads in the papers is what has happened they seek to reverse the relationship so that if they report something, hey presto, that will be what has happened.

Recently there has been a dispute at Mansfield Hosiery Mills in Loughborough, which had racial overtones. Initially 200 Indian workers struck in support of a claim for a £5 a week wage increase and a demand that promises already given that Indian workers, who are only given poorly paid unskilled jobs. would be trained for the better paid knitting jobs, be fulfilled. As soon as the strike was on, the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers appeared on the scene and stated that they knew nothing of the dispute and that they would start to negotiate on the men's behalf only after they had returned to work. Wisely the strikers declined this offer and said that they required that the company should negotiate with delegates from their strike committee. and that no settlement would be accepted until the men had voted to acceptneither union nor strike committee could accept an offer on their behalf. It must be submitted to the strikers as a body to vote on.

The Leicester Mercury was so incensed at such tactics-a sort of 'how can we ensure the effectiveness of democracy if people insist on implementing it?' attitude—that they continued throughout the strike to quote union officials' statements after meetings with the management, and then as a gesture to the truth and the actual state of the game, to mention that the strikers didn't accept this.

Earlier, they had tried to make an issue of the fact that there were vicars on the strike committee; an attempt they soon abandoned.

Then the drama was intensified by the Mercury's discovery that a group of professional troublemakers' were exerting an influence on the strike committee. This was nothing more sinister than the Loughborough branch of IS. although it is so rare that IS members ever get to meet real live workers in an industrial dispute, and coloured ones as well, that their members were soon trekking in from Leicester and Nottingham to express their class-solidarity, and no doubt

failed to complete a number of important essays for their professors as a result.

At another point in the strike the Mercury was able to indulge in scare stories and dramatisation in preference to simply reporting the developments when a spokesman for the strike committee in a meeting with one of the paper's editorial executives proved not to be the man he claimed to be. He represented himself as a worker on strike in the dispute but the details of employment he gave and his physical appearance did not match up with the details of the man he claimed to be, details which were made readily available to the Leicester Mercury. It turned out that the man was an accepted spokesman for the strikers and no more was heard of the paper's allegations of sinister influences in this connection. But entirely unnecessary cloak-and-danger tactics, which I assume were prompted by IS, again allowed the strike to be trivialised. And in this meeting with the paper's executive the strikers' spokesmen requested that the apparent imposture be ignored in favour of the fair presentation of the points at issue. An unmistakable IS touch this, naively begging a paper to ignore the trivia which is its life blood in favour of serious objective reporting. a practice for which they can conceive of no purpose.

In the end the strikers went back to work last week having accepted a £1 a week rise after the freeze, union support (for what that's worth) for a further £4 claim, and the management's written undertaking with regard to training opportunities for Indian workers that the strikers had insisted upon, rather than the verbal promises they had been offered.

One of the absurdities of the later stages of the strike was a report of a union official's statement that he had reached agreement with the management, and that therefore the strike was over This statement was headlined, although at no time had the strikers authorised any union official to negotiate for them, or act as their spokesman. Still the headline appeared that the strike was at an end, but sadly the obstinate reality did not accord with these fatuous postulations, and the reporter was forced to add that the men nevertheless remained on strike

Also during the course of the strike the claims of the Indian strikers that they were being discriminated against by the company to keep them out of the better paid knitting jobs were referred to the Race Relations Board, that inane and toothless liberal body which drives into tantrums mean-minded provincial reac-

tionaries. And, for what it's worth, the board judged that the company and the union had contravened the Place Relations

The strike ended on the less than totally satisfactory settlement terms of £1 rise when the Government permits and a promise, still no more than that, to give the Indian workers the chance to train for the better paid jobs. And if the strikers have not won their full demands they did have the determination to organise their own functional strike bodies, and make the uscless racialist union go hang. And I hope they will have come to understand what our local IS members seem congenitally unable to perceive, that nasty provincial newspapers cater for nasty provincial minds and simply cannot deal with industrial news in a manner which allows the questions raised to be judged in a rational manner, especially when they find themselves presented with the opportunity to scarify or to conduct a witch hunt. The cynical and often patently stupid attempts on the part of local and national newspapers to make the reality confur with their conception of it are, in ny view, a more potent token of the protemity of 1984 and Newspeak and the destruction of language than observers usually acknowledge, with the more frequent concern with the extension of police functions. Anarchists will disregard these developments at their peril. POER MILLER

# LAST STAGES

THE ANGRY BRIGADE trial will probably be over by the time this report appears. In the final closing speeches, barristers for the four defendants who were not living in the Stoke Newington flat emphasised one after the other how little evidence there was against their clients.

Thus the only real evidence against Stuart Christie was his political record. some small and dubious items alleged to have been in his possession, and the obviously unreliable testimony of a former woman friend who said that he had admitted his guilt to her but whose bearing in court was highly suspect. The only evidence against Catherine McLean was handwriting testimony which had been severely shaken in court. There was virtually no evidence against Angela Weir or Christopher Bott at all.

Mr. Justice James began his summing up on November 23. As we go to press this is still continuing; so far he has tried to deny that it is a political trial, to clarify the very obscure law of con-

spiracy, to emphasise that either one side or the other has deliberately lied about the explosives alleged to have been found in the Stoke Newington flat (he doesn't seem to have considered the third possibility, that both sides may have done so), and to suggest that the balance of probability lies on the side of the police witnesses-though whether this amounts to proof is another matter.

It has been stated that the jury may be accommodated in a hotel if they wish to take more than a day to consider their verdict. The trial is already the longest ever held at the Central Criminal Court, and the longest criminal trial in this country since that of the Tichborne Claimant in 1871. It is expected to have cost about £200,000 out of public funds. The four male defendants have so far spent fifteen months in prison. Next week we hope to give a full report of the verdict and sentences, if any. In the meantime the Defence Group has mounted a picket at the Old Bailey.

CORRESPONDENT.

Have you sent your Guarantee towards our £2000 needed for next year?

# The Young in Heart

THE CANDIDATE. SLAUGHTERHOUSE-FIVE. WINTER SOLDIER.

ONE OF THE pleasures and one of the vanities of youth and innocence is to judge all human activities by a moral, self-made law of absolutes. Too young to be tainted, too pure to be sullied, the youth segregate all men and all human activities into good or evil. In the final end they may be proved right but within that puritan world there is no place for the fool, the clown, the small-time losers, the gentle crook or the man with a social conscience who has chosen to accept any form of public office. History for them is not an affair of ten thousand complex situations seeking a blind solution by men guided only by the past, but a matter of Machiavellian intrigue by brilliant and evil men manipulating the peoples of the world for their own selfish and wicked ends. All wars, all revolutions, every political action is corrupted by human involve- their political promises our inability to ment, and only the cave-happy mystic, picking the fluff out of his navel, and the uncommitted and unrequired specy tator lecturing the back of the audience is free from guilt.

The American entertainment industry has had a long and happy relationship with the sucker trade, and with the American banks supplying the millions of dollars to finance the industry they have opened up, for our enjoyment, every scab in the body politic of American society. The Mafia, prisons, the army, advertising, asylums, hospitals, sport, colleges have all been exposed, have all been held up to the virtuous judgement of the paying mob, yet still the circus rolls on.

At £1 for the cheapest seat at the Bloomsbury cinema one expected a little more than one received in Michael Ritchie's film The Candidate, for we wished to be shocked and were only entertained. Scripted by Jeremy Larner, a one-time speech writer for Eugene McCarthy, it is the sad fictional tale of the efforts and the . . . . . . of the work out his own personal problems. California Democrats' struggle to unseat 'Crocker' Jarmon, the Republican office holder. Robert Redford, picked for his Kennedy-like appearance, plays out the role of Bill McKay, the young lawyer and non-political civil rights worker, who is chosen by the party machine on the understanding that, though he has no chance of being elected, he will damage the Republican political machine and in doing so force them to compromise towards a liberal vote-getting programme. Billy, the Young Liberal Liberal Lawyer, in a cliff-hanging finale, is . . . . . .

Ritchie's film fails in that it lacks sympathy for its central character, and

has very little dramatic values, for, having preached the evils of mass politics to the converted and the cynics, it shows the obvious results of mass action as a deliberately contrived affair by immoral men for their own selfish ends. But of all social activities the democratic system has more claim upon our goodwill than almost any other. Little is achieved from it, but by its very nature it is forced to compromise at the expense of the political extremists, and whatever social benefits can be obtained from it for the old and the sick should be accepted as no more than Green Shield Stamps in exchange for a vote. Those of us, and that is all of us, who daily surrender every vestige of personal freedom when we walk into the factory gate cannot stand in judgement on those who seek to ease their misery at the polling booth, and while we may give a superior smile when the President or the Prime Minister is forced to stand in the market place to outline and be questioned on force our own employing manager or Board of Directors to even bother to condescend to speak in our direction hardly qualifies us to curl the lip and point the finger.

#### CONTRIVED EVIL

The Candidate is that type of youthful but shallow display of moral superiority and callow intellectualism that relates every social struggle and faulty solution as a deliberate and contrived act of evil, but, as one who has lost £1 trying to beat the Three Card Trick gang in a Soho back street and spent more years than I dare to remember canvassing for a broken-backed Labour Party, I take my stand among the fools and the innocent while the sick, the old and the humble are neighbours within my street.

As with The Candidate, Slaughterhouse-Five failed to live up to its title. A best-seller by Kurt Vonnegut, it is but part of his huge science fiction output that he has, since the 1950s, used to The film is unfair to Vonnegut's novel, but I never feel that this is important, for one will either accept or reject the film on its own terms. If Kurt Vonnegut will be remembered as a writer it will be for his novel Mother Night, while his fantasy/science fiction writings will die upon the shelves. Vonnegut offers us time, our time, as no more than an endless and self-repeating circle in which his central character Billy Hill steps in and out of his own life seeking to choose only those parts worth reliving in that infinity of endless time.

Billy Hill is the middle-aged, middleclass American, who lives and relives

#### REVIEWS

his childhood, death, Second World War service and endless happy endings on the planet Tralfamadore. Much is made, within the film and the Bloomsbury coffee house ion, of the major set piece within the film of the bombing of the German town of Dresden. Dresden has become one of the built-in crosses of the latter-day liberals, and it is a cause and a crime that I can feel little sympathy with. It is wrong to bomb, and in doing so kill and maim people, but when almost the entire population of industrialised Europe were nightly bouncing up and down in their damp air-raid shelters I have never understood the ethics of that private agreement between Britain and Germany that certain towns should be set aside as aesthetic holiday camps for the military and political Top Brass to rest out the war. It was a pleasant private arrangement that did not apply to Eastern Europe and in all the murderous mass killings now under way in Nixon's private wars there are no open towns, therefore condemn mass murder but in total wars don't have killing areas for the mass and escape holes for the influential minorities.

There is one other fault that I find common to war-weary film fun hokum and that is to people these films with middleaged, pot-bell-ed actors as the youthful private soldiers of all armies. Within Slaughterhouse-Five the German troops are shown as no more than fourteen- or fifteen-year-old boys, and I saw these children in uniform surrendering in street fighting in France, but those middle-aged men of the American war films exist only in the Hollywood Dream Factory, for war is tought by the young and those that survive will in their turn demand the same sad sacrifice and of their boredom, courage, stupidity, inno-

cence and idealism the young will give the only thing the young have to give, their lives.

#### CALVINIST RUBBISH

If I read this film correctly it is that all human activities are ordained and unalterable, therefore it is futile to revolt only to rationalise. This is Calvinistic rubbish that we as a movement, along with most of the human race, rightly reject, but despite its dubious theology Slaughterhouse-Five is a good fun-loving fantasy war film echoing Marienbad and M.A.S.II.

But for those who love to dine off a diet of authentically attested moral indignation there is Winter Soldier. This film is the third part of the American trilogy of the death of an army. It was in January of 1971 that the Winter Soldier Investigation began its open hearings in Detroit. Organised by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, it sat for three days and heard over a 100 American ex-soldiers and 16 civilians tell of the war crimes that they had witnessed or taken part in during their service in Vietnam. Old and new newsreels compete with the coloured snapshot in the visual record of killings and torture, and then the Hearing's camera turns to eatch the faces of the men giving their testimony.

#### NO CHAIN OF COMMAND

A mass army fighting a long sustained war for the control of territory must have a rigid discipline and an unbroken chain of command from the corporal to the general, in that each officer and noncommissioned officer is held accountable to his immediate superior. It is this chain of command that broke in Vietnam, and it was for this reason, and with truth, that the men and junior officers

were able to perpetrate the mass murders at My Lai and other places, and then disclaim responsibility. The sadistic killings in Vietnam had their beginnings in the American 'boot' camps within America, for within these huge army camps the drafted American citizen was treated as no more than a witless loon by a military system that equated brutality with manliness, an officer caste that relegated its responsibilities to barrack-bound NCOs, and a military system that rejected the regimental tradition of the European armies to replace it with a uniformed shambling mob. in which the private soldier was no more than a numbered dog-tag within a huge bureaucracy.

Soldiers fight and die for the regimental honour but not for some clerk in a Washington office or a visiting general. The end result is this tragic film of weeping men retelling old stories of horrors. Jan Dawson of the BFI wrote that these weeping men 'are not pacifists, traitors or anarchists' and one is amused by the company we are deemed to keep, but, though these men giving their confessional evidence at the Winter Soldier Investigation may not be 'pacifists, traitors or anarchists', I would still find the evidence of any weeping Jesus suspect, not for their facts but for their reasons for giving their evidence. Through the Russian State trials, through the American McCarthy witch hunting trials, to these sad human wrecks, we have had to bear witness to too many men and women weeping their true confessions, thereby absolving themselves of their own actions, for it is not the official killers we wish to see but the men who licensed their right to kill, the Candidate for Slaughterhous-Five.

ARTHUR MOYSE

ANARCHISM IN GERMANY, Volume 1: The Early Movement, by Andrew R. Carlson (The Scarecrow Press Inc., £6.25).

T IS A WIDESPREAD opinion that anarchism has no history in Germany. The country has a tradition of militarism and authoritarianism which has prevented anarchist ideas ever catching on there. Bakunin quarrelled with Marx, who was a German. Then of course there was Hitler. . .

This is a sort of naive racism, which this book does something to correct. In fact in the period between Bakunin and Hitler anarchists were quite active in Germany, even if they were not successful in building up a mass movement there, as they did in Spain.

All the same it is a sad story that Andrew Carlson, who is, I should think, no anarchist himself, has to tell us. Once we are past the precursors and Max Stirner, the story becomes nothing but an endless series of plots, attentats and executions. The anarchists' plots usually misfired and were used by Bismarck as an excuse to bring in legislation to crush the Social Democrats, who, naturally, came to loathe the anarchists. Of nonviolent action there is hardly a trace.

This campaign of terror by the German anarchist is largely forgotten by the anarchists of today, who remember similar campfigns by French, Italian and Spanish anarthists. The present writer has no wish here either to attack or to defend it. It should, he feels, be seen in the contest of its period. It is a common mistake to imagine that, because people in the past were basically the same as is they were therefore like us in every particular, except perhaps for clothing and technical devices.

This mistake is even easier to make when discussing the men of the 19th century. They dressed much the same as we do, and wire familiar with many of the things we have today. The terrorist of the late 19th century armed himself with revolver and dynamite, travelled to his destination by train, but might perhaps be forestalled by a message sent by the electric te griph.

What is more, we can read what the people of that day wrote, without difficulty. Shake peac is a little difficult to understand at times, Chaucer needs to be translated. Anglo-Saxon is a completely different languag: Because we can understand what he 19th century people wrote we think thy were the same as us. In fact this book brings home the fact that the men and women of a century ago were as diffeent from us in many ways as Changer: contemporaries.

If we are goin; to discuss their campaigns with bomb and revolver we must see the anarchists of 19th century Germany within the context of their period.

No one blames Henry V for fighting the battle of Agincourt instead of taking his problems to the United Nations for arbitration, or considers that the Trojans should have used Gandhian methods to resist the Greeks.

We think of ours as the Age of Violence, and with justice, but the 19th century had a casual, Dickensian callousness, which does not exist today, in Europe at any rate. Shooting and bombing seem almost natural responses in such an atmosphere. In that brutal, but in some ways curiously innocent world, drugs, explosives and firearms were easily bought over the counter. Duelling had barely died out. De Quincey and Coleridge had no difficulty in securing the opium they craved. When the anarchists began to use dynamite the German Government had to introduce a special law that citizens might not possess this explosive without a licence. We think of it as a repressive age, but in some ways it was a far more permissive age than our own, both for good and evil.

Consider the case of that veteran Johann Most. I quote, because the story is so incredible, in view of our present attitude to such things, that I would not offer it on my own account.

'At the age of seven he had contracted an inflammation of the left jawbone . . Dr. Agatz . . . saved his life, by opening up the left side of his face from his

temple to the corner of his mouth, and removing three inches of his jawbone which left him forever with a cruelly disfigured face, making him the target of derision and ridicule, of insults and indignities at home, at school and at work. Perhaps his disfigured face holds the key to the life of protest he lived." (My italics.) This persecution continued into his

early adult life, but it reads fantastically today. Nowadays even children, who will bully and tease anyone who is different, do not ill-treat a cripple or deformed child, unless perhaps they live in a very wild and backward slum, in Sicily or somewhere like that. I remember my own childhood, a bitter period, with much cruelty, but my little contemporaries would not have tormented Johann Most on account of his disfigurement. They would have laughed at his accent, mocked him for being a German very likely, things like that, but if someone had called out, 'Funny Face!' the other children would have left off bothering Most and set about beating the child who had resorted to this term of abuse. It was just not considered right to bully the deformed.

But people who remember the years of their childhood before the First World War have told me that a child would suffer for it if he had to wear glasses. I had to, but by my time they had become perfectly acceptable.

In short, it was in some ways a simple, cruel age, and the bombs and revolvers must be seen in that light. The bleakness and harshness of the period comes across in this book all too well.

ARTHUR WARDO.

# From Germany

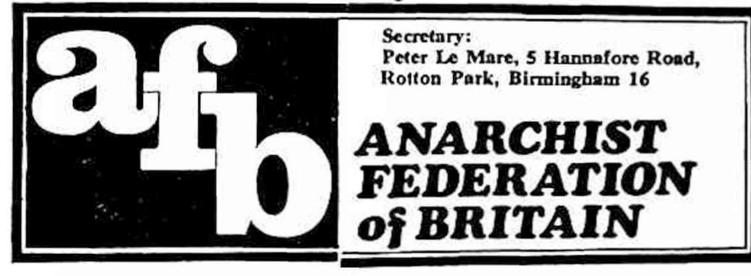
TELLO COMRADES, we hope you remember us, we are Ruth and Günter from Germany (Freiburg). We have been several times in the bookshop this summer. When we came back to Germany we wanted to go to the anarchist meeting in Saint Imier, Switzerland. and dogs on that day, and those fucking Swiss 'sheeple' hardly gave us any lifts, so we were in Saint Imier rather late. We looked for the sign but there was none. We asked some people if they knew anything about an anarchist meeting. They were quite amazed and didn't believe that it should take place in Saint Imier. It was impossible to find any trace of a comrade. So we sat down in a warm church and had our meal.

About one month ago we moved into an empty house with 15 other people. We put a big bed in front of the door as a barricade because the German 'first class' pigs have thrown people out of occupied houses with very brutal methods. We informed the people and asked them

for solidarity, furniture and coal and we got all of it. When we got the news that the pigs were coming to throw us out, more than 50 people came within a short time to help us. But there were only a few pigs, who were interested in drugs and people under 18. We told (You remember the advertisement in them from the balcony that there were FREEDOM No. 37.) It was raining cats none and they went away. After the owner of the house (British Petrol) who wants to sell the house to the city government, had allowed us to stay, people gave us furniture and lots of coal. It's very fine to live in the big house with many other people.

Freiburg GUNTHER AND RUTH.

### **WE NEED YOUR GUARANTEE!**



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

#### AFB REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND/ORGROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of Britain. To find your nearest group, write N.E. ENGLAND. Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham. MANCHESTER, Matt Cunningham, 19a Meadowside Avenue, Walkden, Worsely, Lancs. LIVERPOOL. John Garret, 80a Prescot Road, Fairfield, Liverpool 8. S.E. LONDON DWARFS, Jeff Dixon, 44 Pen-

dragon Road, Brom'ey BR1 5JY, Tel. 01-698 8596. ESSEX & EAST HERTS. Peter Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Oreen, Colchester, Essex. DORSET. Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset. CORNWALL, Hazel McGee, Hillcrest Farm, Hicks Mill, Bissoe, Truro, Cornwall.

DURHAM. Mike Mogie, 13 Silver City, Durham HERTS, Val Funnel, 10 Fry Road, Chells. Stevenage, Herts LEICESTERSHIRE. The Black Flag Bookshop. I Wilne Street, Leicester,

BERKSHIRE, c/o New Union Building, White Knights Park, Reading, Berks. SUSSEX. Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road. Brighton, Sussex NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, Jim Hewson, 4) Henry Road, West Bridgeford, Nottingham. NORTHANTS. T. Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby. Tel. Corby 66781.

SOMERSET, Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath.

CROYDON. B. Miles, 38 Farm Fields, South CAMBRIDGE. John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge.

OXFORD. J Brent, 36 Temple Street, Oxford. SURREY. Lib. Grp., 81 Mytchett Road, Myt-YORKSHIRE, Trevor Bavage, Flat 3, 35 Richmond Road, Leeds 6. SCOTTISH FED. Secretary: Mike Malet, I Lynnwood Place, Maryfield, Dundee. GLASGOW. c/o Whyte, 138 Fergus Drive.

Glasgow, N.W. EDINBURGH. Chris Kerr. 9 Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh, 9. Tel. 669 2939. WALES. c/o AFBIB Birmingham.

Tredelol, near Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire. N. IRELAND, c/o Freedom Press. I.IB. TEACH. ASSN. Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire PLYMOUTH, John Northy, 16 Adelaids Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth. SHEFFIELD. Tikka, 4 Havelock Square, Shef-

EIRE FEDERATION. c/o 20 College Lane,

ABERYSTWYTH. The Carvavern, Doleugwyn,

#### **ORA GROUPS**

NORTH LONDON. 68 Chingford Road, E.17. SOUTH LONDON. Rowen, 37 Starling Road,

#### ABROAD

nel.GIUM. Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Liège RADICAL LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE. c/o LARS, 2487 GPO, New York, N.Y., 10001. AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST FED-ERATION. c/o 13870 Bromwich Street, Arleta, California 91331, USA

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

# Some More Equal than Others

WE THINK Arthur Moyse suffers from a compulsive non-comprehension on the subject of Women's Liberation; and judging by the response to Ian Sutherland's review of 'The Politics of Rape' pamphlet, he rather jumped in at the deep end on the subject-so in case anyone takes them seriously, we had better write an article to explain what we are talking about.

Arthur must be in a very extraordinary work situation, to find men and women so equally treated. (What percentage of his union committees are women?) To our knowledge, women can look for less prospect of promotion, fewer apprenticeships are open to them, and they are confined far more than men to repetitive, low-prestige jobs-and only 12% get equal pay. 'Equal pay for equal work is being easily circumvented by employers already by such simple expedients as renaming women's jobs, where they are doing the same work as men.

When it suits their argument, certain male comrades like to assume that women's lack of union organisation and political activity is a specific feminine attribute, rather than looking for social causes. The unions are not in the vanguard of anarchist revolution at present, and if Arthur Moyse thinks it nevertheless worth while to work therein, he is poorly placed to revile other pressure groups. 'Workers' are narrowly defined in this society, and a lot of people are left out—and lose the advantage of being organised.

BELIEF IN THE SEPARATE—AND INHERENTLY SUPERIOR - ROLE OF THE WORKER, OVER AND ABOVE THE HOUSEWIFE, THE DOLE COLLECTOR, THE OAP, THE STUDENT OR THE UNSUPPORTED MOTHER.)

Women are oppressed not only as workers-other aspects of their oppression are not touched on by the 'equal

pay struggle. It is assumed that women exist through their husbands, and the whole work situation is related to this

If one conceives the human race as being divided into two classes (or eastes) only, the male and the female-then our view is that the female individual is always oppressed to some extent whatever her particular situation may be. Exploitation is not just about not having enough money or decent housing. it's about doing work which is monotonous and unrewarding, being constantly treated in ways which destroy all selfrespect, becoming defensive and timid and unable to relate to other people.

The middle-class woman is apparently offered a man to take care of her if she conforms by cooking and washing for him—she then finds herself in a very isolated situation, especially if she has children. The working-class woman is doubly oppressed in her sex and class role and can also now be as isolated in a tower block or new housing estate as any middle-class housewife. Many a working-class woman must find the career v. motherhood question a sick joke-she knows she will have kids and be landed with a boring job as well, just to make ends meet.

(MALE CHAUVINISM — THE BE-LIEF IN THE SEPARATE—AND IN-HERENTLY SUPERIOR - ROLE OF THE MALE. PEOPLE ARE FORCED INTO 'MALE' AND 'FEMALE' ROLES FROM BIRTH - THE RESULTING ATTITUDES TO WOMEN COULD BE VERY WELL EXPRESSED BY ('WORKER' CHAUVINISM - THE THE NAZI 'KINDER, KUCHE UND KIRCHE'.)

It's impossible to say briefly what the women's liberation movement is all about. We're not making simply a few specific reformist demands, we're trying to define how people's lives could be different, and all the changes that are needed to bring this about. Women's Liberation is working for such a basic change in society that it cannot be dismissed as middle class it is no more so than the anarchist movement, to give one example! In fact the present class structure should become irrelevant.

The basic issues of Women's Liberation: campaigns against the legal, financial and sexual oppression of women. There is a nationwide campaign for equal pay, equal work and equal opportunity. This necessitates querying the whole concept of work as we know it. (Is it necessary to make plastic flowers and Concorde?)

Is the 40-hour week sacrosanct? Why shouldn't two people de one job?

We also demand free birth control supplies and abortion on demand-seemingly now granted or withheld according to the establishment's need for a large docile work force, and the current status of worries about conservation, rather than out of any respect for a woman's right to control her own life.

N NOVEMBER 16, two more students

We want a re-examination of the whole educational setup, and the lack of creches and nurseries (state-run or otherwise) We protest against the use and degradation of women and their sex in advertising. We want to be people in our own right.

Women coming into Women's Liberation, however 'liberal' or 'reformist' their starting position, tend to see fairly soon-and accept-the revolutionary implications. These same women would almost certainly be impervious to straight political argument, whether Anarchist or Marx-57 varieties. No piecemeal reform will suffice, but only a very basic change in attitudes-which can only lead to a change in this society.

Women's struggle is not separate from the total revolution, but women must get together and support each other in finding their own identity before they can contribute to that revolution. WE cannot work effectively alongside men until they are willing to honestly examine and change their role as oppressors.

(With some acknowledgements to Enough and antistudent.)

> UNA STEPHENSON. ALISON MALET.

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

The Adventures of Caleb Williams William Godwin £0.55 (8p) The L.W.W.—Its First Fifty Years (1905-1955)

Fred Thompson £1.50 (15p) Revisionist Viewpoints Essays in a dissident

historical tradition James J. Martin £1.50 (12p)

Non-violence and Liberation —A symposium

Peace Pledge Union £0.15 (21p) State Socialism & Anarchism

& Other Essays Benjamin R. Tucker £0.50 (31p) Slaves to Duty

John Badcock Jr. £0.40 (31p) The False Principle of Our Education Max Stirner £0.30 (31p)

The Philosophy of Egoism James L. Walker £0.60 (31p)

Franco's Prisoner Miguel Garcia £2.25 (15p)

In Defense of Anarchism Robert P. Wolff £0.60 (31p)

Harmonian Man-Selected Writing of Charles Fourier (ed.) Mark Poster £1.30 (6p)

Communitas Paul & Percival Goodman £0.85 (6p) Enquiry Concerning Political Justice William Godwin

(ed. & abgd.) K. Codell Carter £1.60 (15p) The Black Flag of Anarchy

Corinne Jacker £2.50 (15p)

reedom

01-247 9249

cluse at 8.30 p.m.

10 a.m. to 4 p.m

Please send foolscap (9" x 4") S.A.E. if you would like to receive booklists.

# Anarchism in Academe

IT HAS BEEN CLEAR for some time that anarchism is coming back into fashion as an object for serious study, as may be seen from the growing number of books and articles on the subject and the references to it in literature on neighbouring subjects. But it is not so clear exactly what is coming out of all this work. Are the books and articles any good? Are writers teaching and readers learning the truth about us at last, or is it just the same old story yet again?

An interesting case which may help to illuminate this problem is the treatment of anarchism in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, a revised version of the forty-year-old Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, which appeared in the United States a couple of years ago and which is now available in a 'cheap' edition-i.e. costing £136 instead of £230. Volume 1 contains a 21-page article on 'Anarchism' by Andrew Hacker, Professor of Government at Cornell University, which must be one of the most stupid things ever written on the subject-despite very strong competition.

Hacker distinguishes between 'the literary and the activist traditions' of anarchism, insisting that 'it has produced both a body of theoretical literature and a series of activist parties, the two only remotely related', and adding that 'the anarchism of Godwin, Proudhon and Kropotkin, known to the scholarly community, stands at a far remove from the image of the Haymarket rioters, Sacco and Vanzetti, and the Spanish Civil War, familiar to the popular mind'.

Having established this completely false distinction-false not because there is no difference between purely literary and purely activist anarchism, but because the tradition of anarchism which lies between the two extremes is much more significant than either of them, even if it is unknown to the scholarly community and unfamiliar to the popular mind-Hacker goes on to state without any proper reason that 'any definition of anarchism must be derived more from its literature than from its record of political action' and that 'it is on the written work that we must rely'. In case there is any doubt what he means, he distinguishes once more between 'Leon Czolgosz, who assassinated President McKinley, and the Andalusian peasants who fought against Franco' on one side and 'Godwin and Kropotkin'

summary of anarchist theory based on the writings of Godwin, Proudhon, Kropotkin (who is described as 'perhaps the most attractive of anarchist authors', and who is alleged to have 'rejected any organized movement or party as the vehicle of change', despite the evidence of what he said over a period of fifty years), and Sorel (who is listed among 'the major anarchist writers', although he was neither a major writer nor an anarchist, and whose Reflections on Violence is revealingly said to be 'closest to the popular image of an anarchist

What emerges from a summary which has such a shaky basis is a string of the old platitudes about an imaginary thing called 'anarchism' and imaginary people called 'anarchists'. 'The anarchists wish to have it all ways at once'; 'Anarchism must be understood as a variety of utopianism'; 'There is a little of the anarchist in everyone'; 'Above all else the anarchist stands outside his society'; etc. All the references are to books by or about the magic quartet-Godwin, Proudhon, Kropotkin, and Sorel-apart from one to George Woodcock's book Anarchism. There is no mention, if we must confine our studies to writers, of such crucial figures as Stirner, Guillaume, Pouget, Grave, Louise Michel, Emma Goldman, Berkman, Malatesta, Landauer, Tolstoy, Voline, Berneri, and -above all-Bakunin, the most obvious example of the combination of the activist and the literary traditions, and the most important single founder of the anarchist movement and the anarchist ideology.

than a century.

on the other. The rest of the article is an abstract

This may not seem to matter muchafter all, what is one more stupid thing among so many?-but it is actually worse than useless, since Hacker doesn't just say nothing about anarchism but says something which is ludicrously mistaken and misleading and which is going to be read for years and years by thousands and thousands of people who don't know any better and will then know a lot worse. But it may also be useful, in reminding us just what a huge pile of nonsense we are up against when we try to explain what anarchism is about and just what a tiny amount of truth we have managed to get across either to 'the scholarly community' or to 'the popular mind' during a period of more

N.W.

were shot dead. The theme was the same: more student control of their own lives, better food and housing, and the resignation of the University's President. The scene was again the South, this time, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Black students occupied the administration building at Southern University. The police were summoned. They ordered the students to leave as they ringed the building with heavily conveniently washed away. What's so frightening about the whole armed men. Suddenly after a few desperate moments of silence, gas guns mess is the insignificance of human life.

Murder on the Campus

the hospital. The police immediately denied firing the shots. The students said they were responsible. The police alleged the students started the whole thing by throwing fragmentation bombs! A couple of pistol shots even came from the

the crowd. People fled the chaos, and

when it was over two black men lay

mortally wounded. One was dead at

the scene; the other died en route to

building, the police said. When asked if live ammunition was used, Sheriff Al Amis refused to comment. Apparently, Mayor W. W. Dumas had no doubts as to whether live ammunition was used and who shot when he said, 'two men have been shot and there may be more if necessary. . . . We are going to take back over the administration building at any cost'. Governor Edwin Edwards later substantiated the use of live ammunition. 'The preliminary reports we have, he said, 'are that it looks like No. 3 buckshot. This is very strange because the officers were armed with No. 2 buckshot. Parish coroner Hypolite Landry confirmed that the students were shot, apparently with buckshot. Amiss finally admitted, unwittingly, the use, rather the existence, of live ammunition. His men, he claimed, 'did not fire their pistols, rifles or shotguns when they swept onto the campus. . . . The men did not get shot during the sweep, as news films document; they died in the barrage of gas and bullets after the sweep onto

Subsequent charges by the police of student plots and bombs are patently false. They are nothing more than a smokescreen to cover up and justify an ugly incident of police homicide. In the news footage we see that the only projectile from the building was a canister of tear gas thrown out after being shot into the building by the police. Also the footage shows the two men running away from the police. They fell forward when hit by the blasts, as though they were shot from behind. No guns were found later by the police. It is improbable that students fired the fatal bullets; a shotgon is too bulky a weapon to conceal.

campus.

However another grim aspect of the incident emerges. Sheriff Amiss stated that one man looked like he was trampled'. By whom? The film clearly showed the two men running at the end of the crowd. Was he trampled by phantoms? According to news reports, one man died en route to the hospital. Could this man have been 'trampled' in the police ambulance? Both a severe beating and a trampling are really quite indistinguishable. This statement, as we anarchists well know, is not an hysterical paranoid delusion. Many comrades have been beaten or killed by the police in jails or in ambulances, always, of course, 'accidentally'. Actual responsibility will appear,

in the back pages of the paper, only after the passions fade. But it is not too unlikely to hazard a guess as to the actual murderers; we Americans have a nicety called due process which protects those in power and is denied to those who have neither power nor money . . . due process will fade the killings. actual blame will probably be set, nobody will be tried though, unless they're students, and the whole matter will be

popped spreading tear gas through the No real tremendous outrage will occur; apathy will only harden the rotting hearts of most Americans, and all will be forgotten. Yet these deaths bring to nine the number killed on campuses since the Nixon regime took office. Ironically, it happened only nine days after the Nixon 'landslide'. Stranger still is the immediacy of the event following the election and Nixon's pledge to end 'permissiveness' in America. Even the presidential parrot, Spiro Agnew, promised an end to the little tolerance left in this country. These madmen make no bones about it; dissent, whether student or labour, has to be repressed if it is contradictory to the 'interests' of America, i.e., the rich owners of the nation and everything in it. The vile implications of Nixon's regime and its power hungry course (under the guise of reducing the bureaucracy) have created a dangerous environment of emotional and political moods which promise to ignite a new, more horrible, repression under an ugly atmosphere of violence by the State. Students are not the only victims; all ethnic groups and labour will eventually suffer from his insidious policy of 'benign neglect'. His regime will incite violence and benignly will he stand back blessing the murderers and neglecting the victims of his madness.

Phoenix, Ariz., USA DARIO McDARBY.

#### **Contributions**

November 16-22 inc.

Worsley: M.C. 15p; Hull: B.H. £1; London, E.17: C.A.H. £1; New York: J.M.F. £2.08; Manchester: B.E.T. 20p; Barry: R.F. 50p; Liverpool: H.H.J. £10; Wolverhampton: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p; Stockport: D.R.W. £5; Stroud: S.L.R. £1.

Total: £21.43 Sales (Voline): £2.00

TOTAL: £23.43

£23.43

(1) INCOME FROM POSTAL SUB-SCRIPTIONS AND SALES (Target for 1972—£4,500) Amount received

to November 22 12,537.99 (2) PRESS FUND CONTRIBUTIONS (Target for 1972-£1,500) Amount received

November 16-22

TOTAL TO DATE £1,195.44

Previously acknowledged £1,172.01

RATES, 1972

deildog

FREEDOM weekly

ANARCHY monthly

Entrance Angel Alley.

84b Whitechapel High Street

Whitechapel Art Gallery exit,

SPECIMEN COPIES ON

Aldgate East Underground Stn.

and distribute

London El

REQUEST

Bookshop

Open Afternoom

Open Evenings

Thursday

Saturday

Tuesday to Friday

SUBSCRIPTION

2 p.m. to 6 p.m.

FREEDOM

Inland, and Surface Mall abroad £3.00 (\$7.50) for one year £1.50 (\$3.75) six months £0.80 (\$2.00) three months Airmail £4.00 l year Europe & 6 months £2.00 Middle East \$12,50 The Americas l year 6 months \$6.25 £4.50 l year India, Africa, &c. 6 months £2.25 £5.00 Australasia & 1 year 6 months £2.50 Far East ANARCHY

12 issues

Australasia &

Far East

Inland, and Surface Mail abroad £2.25 (\$6.00) £1.13 (\$3.00) 6 issues Airmail 12 issues \$11.00 USA & Canada 6 issues \$6.00

12 issues £4.50

6 issues £2.25

# And What Happened to Ibos

ON OCTOBER 21 FREEDOM published a reply by me to a letter from J.W. about General Amin. At the end of the letter I asked a rhetorical question, . . . and what on earth happened to the Ibos in Nigeria?' I was trying to make the point that racism and nationalism in its most negative form was widespread in Africa, as it is in Europe and in most other parts of the world. I have received a mass of material from people who are still working with the Ibos, attempting to make good the ruin of war, in reply to my question. I thank them for their trouble. and will try to summarise the information that they have sent.

It is one of the less pleasing qualities of humanity that they are able to support a cause for years with great fervour, and then, when a kind of climax is reached, whether it is a defeat or a partial victory, they suddenly lose interest. In the days of slavery the abolitionist movement had widespread support, and was very active, until slavery was abolished. Then the movement died away, although the black people were still second class citizens, and almost as badly off as they had been as slaves. Now modern America is paying the price for this.

In the same way the movement against the H-Bomb died away after the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, although the bombs are still in existence and are still being tested in the atmosphere by China and France, and underground by the US and Russia.

The movement to help the people of the former state of Biafra, mostly Ibos, had some success till the war was finally lost by the Biafrans. After that a sudden silence descended on the whole

#### BREAKDOWN OF COMMUNICATIONS

In the fighting the wrecking of roads and bridges was carried out to halt the enemy's advance. The destruction has still not been made good. A journey which would have taken one day before the war now takes three. Those bridges that have been repaired have been repaired in a makeshift manner, so that only one stream of traffic can cross. The concrete parts have been neglected so that the whole structure is in decay. One more rainy season (late April to September) is likely to finish some of them off.

The economy of the country depends on an adequate system of communications. People must be able to get about from place to place. So they use the bridges even when they are dangerous. Recently a family of six, travelling in a taxi, were killed at Ekulu Bridge. The taxi driver did not realise that the bridge had been swept away in a flood and drove into the river.

#### NON-NEGOTIABLE MONEY

As soon as the war ended the victors declared that Biafran money was hence-

### Election Mania

Dear Friends,

I was worried by one of the comments North West Workers made in their report of the Rochdale election in FREEDOM (November 4).

They say the racialist candidate observed that 'It's a poor do when people are interested more in Bingo than they are in what's happening to their country'. NWW approve of this attitude with the comment: 'Long live public apathy if it means that people prefer Bingo to men like Merrick or the communist quacks'.

### LETTERS

But what if it doesn't only mean that? think most FREEDOM readers would regard this as a very shortsighted—though understandable in the circumstancespoint of view. Just the point of view that helps degenerate anarchism into a policy of simply not voting every five years.

I find myself in the distasteful position of agreeing with Merrick on this point rather than the NWW with whom I'd most likely agree on everything else.

It is alarming and dangerous to see people interested in Bingo, music, drugs or football to the exclusion of what else is happening to their lives and the forces that mould them.

Substitute the word 'factory' or 'housing estate' for 'country' in Merrick's statement and the dangers become clearer. Would Anarchists who want workers to take control of their work, housing and lives admire the kind of apathy that prefers to go to Bingo or turn up the TV? Well, it's the same apathy.

#### **PUBLICATION DATES**

FREEDOM will be published on Saturday, December 23. The following week, the typesetters will not be working on Monday 25th and Tuesday 26th, the days on which it is necessary to have FREEDOM set. The issue of December 23 is No. 52 of Volume 33, and will complete Volume 33.

The 'entertainment' industry isn't just something apart from our lives. It plays the same role in this society as the Church used to-it provides 'consolation' to hide the emptiness and pointlessness of living as a slave.

It is not morally or intellectually superior to take an interest in politics and if the Revolution is to become a reality it is essential for people to feel deeply that their opinions matter and that it is important for them to have and develop opinions and put them into practice to alter the circumstances of their lives.

Anarchists who say to workers: 'Yes, that's right, politics, economics, trade unions, all a load of balls. Much better

Published by Preedom Press, London, E.1

to spend your time helping a Bingo crook make his pile' will find themselves wondering why those same workers are easily conned into following authoritarians of left or right in a crisis rather than taking control for themselves.

And it will simply be because they have always been told that they should concern themselves with Bingo and voting -or not voting-for their rulers by the rulers themselves and (apparently) by the very people who ought to be helping them know better.

London, S.E.11 HARRY HARMER.

### Keep the Flag Flying

Dear Freedom Fighters,

It must be over thirty years ago that came across a paper called . War Commentary (later reverting to its original name, FREEDOM), and I have been reading it regularly each week since. Carry on with your good work-putting the facts of life in their true proportions is a job worth doing and I hope you will be able to continue for many years to come.

In the middle of the eighties I hope to see the emergence of common sense (sense of the common interest), which will take the place of the rotten system at present. Keep the flag flying for old time's sake and the particular interest of H.H.J.

#### From Korea

Dear Friends,

Things are pretty depressing here. Our friends seem to be so isolated that they have even lost contact with 'liberal' groups-anyway they did not know the name of a poet who has written some interesting things that were not well received. As for the martial law, the authorities seem to be putting off any possible centres of opposition (universities, opposition parties, etc.), these were broken up before any reasons for martial law were given. There have been introduced a complicated set of election 'reforms', the press has been put under complete control, the government insisting that the reforms are to help reunification. Most people do not seem to realise that the whole thing will make Park president for life.

Getting historical information is like pulling teeth. Yesterday a guy was flicking through his family album, and showed me a picture. This is General Kim.' he said. 'Who was he?' 'He had an army.' 'When?' 'About 1920.' 'What happened to him?' 'He was killed by Communists.' Then we went on to something else.

My friends have a manuscript written in Korean that they've promised to translate, but there has been no progress yet. They give the appearance of being extremely sectarian, but I think it might be the result of their situation, which has made them completely incestuous, and numb to the outside world. They are rather eager to make new contacts. but do not seem to know how, other than publish classical works.

F.G.

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1

forth non-negotiable. Many people were thus impoverished at a stroke, and forced to become begans. A tourist visiting the East-Central State, more or less the former Blafra, will be surrounded by outstretched hands. Often they are the hands of people wounded or mutilated in the war. There were few beggars before the war in this part of the world.

Realising that tourism, one of the great industries of today, was likely to be harmed by this, the government set up the Save the Disabled Fund. But this has not worked out very well. Most Nigerians believe that the majority of the population of the East-Central State supported the rebellion, and feel no desire to help them.

#### WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The invading Nigerian soldiers acted in the traditional military manner towards the defeated population, rape and loot were the order of the day. While this has now ended, prostitution is on the increase for economic reasons. Unwanted babies, who cannot be supported, are simply abandoned. They are found every day by the roadsides, in dustbins or in toilets.

With regard to education the picture is a little brighter because large sums were donated by various governments and big business concerns; the Federal Republic of Germany, the British Government, the Ford Foundation and the Netherlands Government gave fair contributions, and there were many lesser foreign donors. But this money went mainly to the University of Nigeria. Nsukka, and the Advanced Teacher Training College, Owerri. It did not go to schools in general.

Even so the ECS students are not too well off. Loans or grants are not readily available. The Government's treasury is depleted by the war. No student can study well if he does not get enough to cat, is not adequately housed, etc.

Many of the ordinary schools are still roofless, doorless, windowless shells. The children have to carry mats to school

to sit on. Headmasters have been instructed by the Schools Board not to send away any children on account of inability to pay the fees.

#### RETURN TO NORMAL?

The Nigerian Government is doing all it can to persuade the rest of the world that life has returned to normal in the war areas, and that foreign aid is not needed. Private individuals are still sending help. But at present the policy is to discourage relief agencies abroad from intervening, while Nigerlan organisations have ceased to be active in the distressed areas. The Nigerian Red Cross ceased its work as soon as the war ended. The Christian Council of Nigeria has closed its relief and rehabilitation department.

Kwashiorkor, a protein deficiency disease, which has been temporarily stamped out, will reappear. Starvation stares many people in the face in villages.

Unemployment of course is grave. Even if the Ibo goes outside the ECS he will still face difficulties, owing to the hostility caused by the war. Many employers would rather employ an unskilled local man than a skilled lbo.

Those who had property have been refused repossession. The Federal Military Government set up an Abandoned Property Commission to look after the property in the ECS. This seems to have been a more sophisticated form of looting. Some people are now refugees or squatters in their own homes, while the victors have in many places enriched themselves.

#### NO SELF-PITY

The people of the ECS are not sitting down and moaning in self-pity, in spite of all that has happened to them. There is a community self-help scheme, which, all things considered, is achieving considerable success. Nevertheless, without help from friends overseas the situation will remain grim for a long time to come.

I shall return to this subject in a future article. The fate of the Ibos could be our own, in Britain, in the not too far distant future. With our gigantic population, and vast cities, it would go even harder with us. Although helping others is no guarantee of being helped in the future, it does sometimes work out that way.

JOHN BRENT.

### **Schools Anarchy Propagation** Action Group

(i) SAPAG's alm is to act as a communications channel between young people who share the experience of attending those penal institutions commonly know as schools.

(ii) SAPAG does not consider itself as an end in itself but as the first of a new generation of such groups, which would be situated in such places as anarchist bookshops, headshops or just someone's back bedroom.

(iii) SAPAG would attempt to spread the idea that education must be a spontaneous thing and that the formal classroom situation must be replaced by a self-education system, i.e. a system whereby a person could educate himself as the fancy takes him.

(iv) SAPAG hopes one day to see a society that, instead of being an autocracy, theocracy, democracy, libertarian socialist state, structured anarchy, or, a 'Union of Egoists', will be far more spontaneous and free in character.

(v) SAPAG realises that union action by its very nature is democratic and that true spontaneous anarchy is by its very nature stifled by the shackles of such democracy. So many anarchist groups have failed because of democratic organisation.

SAPAG is against mass action because mass action to SAPAG is to be found on the same road as mob action, which is socialism carried out to its ultimate degree of perfection; virtual 'collective behaviour'.

#### PLEA:

SAPAG believes that a freer and more spontaneous society can only come about by people liberating themselves from the shackles of past indoctrination. THE BEST TIME TO LIBERATE ONESELF IS NOW!!!!!!!!!

#### POWER TO NO ONE!!!

Suggestions, criticisms, donations, and poisoned-pen letters to:-SAPAG, c/o The International Anarchist Conspiracy, c/o 1 Spring Bank, Salesbury, Blackburn, Lancs., BB1 9EU.

#### IRELAND

by a court that the accused was such a member. The Bill provides new powers for questioning of suspects. All public statements, meetings or processions are declared illegal if they interfere with the

Continued from page 1

course of justice. Statements of conduct leading to a reasonable inference 'that someone is a member of an illegal organization shall be evidence that he was such a member'. So much for freedom of

action and person.

While all this is going on and the Tweedledum of Southern Ireland becomes more and more like the Tweedledee of Northern, what is happening to all the citizens of North and South that these democratic excursions are designed to save for democracy or something? Many of them are still getting blown up, shot tarred and feathered, beaten up, in the name of Catholic and Protestant liberty. The BBC with its bland urbanity omits to

mention if victims of 'the latest outrage' are Catholics. Frequently it mentions they are Protestants. presume RTE for all its boasts of belief in freedom (which have been put to the test) does the same thing in reverse.

Let the last word rest with 'H'. 'Heath did go in a helicopter to see the border. I hope he learned the South simply cannot guard over 300 miles of rural, mountainy, wild border. If he can read a map he must have seen the impossibility, and also the complete artificiality of said border. Oh 'tis weary, I am weary of the life of slavery and I see no light at the end of the tunnel."

If there is light to be found it is in the strike of RTE workers-why not for longer? Not in the dumb acquiescence of shuffling cow-like masses in fanatical spectacles of martyrdom by a group which, secing there is no political hope from Lynch, will look around for other shifty allies. Perhaps even the Southern Irish will realize the betrayal that is politics and the illusion



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

ASA Conference: Brighton Union Church (near Clock Tower), December 16-17. Libertarian Unity, Industrial Network, etc. Limited accommodation. Details from the secretary: M. Bashforth, 23 Needwood Close, Wolverhampton, WV2 4PP.

Work is starting on the production of a libertarian news sheet covering Walos. in particular the South. Any comrades interested in receiving the first issue of this, planned for January '73, please contact Jook and Eve Spence, 22 Cwmdonkin Terrace, Swansea.

**NEW YORK GROUP** David Waters, Tower E. Box 1005, Hempstead, New York 11551. Phone:

516 560-4941. Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists. Contact Secretary for information, pamphlets, etc. 68A Chingford Road, London, E.17.

Red and Black Outlook (November issue) still available from Julian Turner, 21 Roundwood Way, Banstead, Surrey. December issue being produced by the Brighton group, under the Incredible Rotating Editorship System.

Therapeutic Centre needs full time helper to live in. Unpaid, but board, etc.; free. Write to 82 Acre Lane, S.W.2. ORA North London. Meets every Tuesday at 7 p.m. and Sunday at 2 p.m.

at 68A Chingford Road, E.17. Libertarian Book Club Fall Lecture Series, Thursdays, 7 p.m., 369 8th Avenue at 29th Street, New York: November 23, Judith Malina and Julian Beck, 'Anarchism and Organisation'; December 14, Murray Bookchin, 'Ecology and Anarchism'.

Anarchism on TV. Comrades interested in participating in possible TV programme on contemporary anarchism please contact Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

Harlech ASA. A group of anarchistsyndicalist alliance is now forming in Harlech, Merioneth, N. Wales; anyone interested in helping and supporting from the N. Wales area, please contact G. & B. Briggs, c/o Coleg Harlech, Harlech, Merioneth, N. Wales.

Towards an Ecological Solution, by Murray Bookchin, Gutter Press, 4p. can be obtained from Flat 3, 6 Clifton Road, Brighton, and not as published in last week's review.

Change of Address. Manchester Group: Matt Cunningham, 19A Meadowside

Avenue, Walkden, Worsely, Lanes. Anarchist Calendars 1973, 10p each, 24p post from Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications, c/o Freedom Press.

Translations wanted from Anarchist journals for FREEDOM. Languages needed are French, Italian, Spanish, German, Swedish, Japanese. Present translators please confirm. Get in touch with Eds.

Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group please contact Alan Ross and Louisa Martin. 24 Thomas Road, Fulbourn; phone 880147.

'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.

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

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.

59 Brondesbury Villas, London,

that is the Church.

JACK ROBINSON AND 'H'.

Neither of whom takes responsibility for views expressed by the other .- EDS.