

## THE VIOLENCE OF THE STATE

LAST TUESDAY, two young Pakistanis were shot dead by the police whilst presumably trying to hold Indians as hostages in order to draw attention to the imprisonment of 80,000 Pakistani soldiers and 16,000 civilians. On Tuesday night it is claimed that forty people, including thirteen women and children, were killed in crossfire when Israeli troops raided a Lebanese guerrilla base which seems to have been set up alongside a refugee camp. On Tuesday four of sixteen Palestinian guerrillas sentenced to death on that day, were executed in Jordan. In Greece, on Tuesday night, violent demonstrations and the destruction of American cars coincided with a court martial sentence on two Greeks for bombings. It was alleged that they had invented the confessions to stop torture. Said one of them, "I thought they were tearing my flesh. I was violently twitching and jerking. I was howling with pain. I thought they were cutting off my genitals."

This is a casual glance at The Times for one day.

Britain has an especial concern for the killed Pakistani youths and one of our other writers has dealt with this in more detail, but the whole panorama of State violence is unveiled in these brief news items. It is a tenet of anarchist knowledge that the basis of the State is violence and violence colours

the whole of its existence. It is only every now and again that the citizen witnesses some aspect of this violence but truth to tell, it is always present and functioning in greater or lesser degree. But there are times when it becomes obvious, generally through some mistake, some indiscretion, or, all too rarely, some attack of conscience by an involved person; too often it is the shrieks, howls and whimpers of the victims that are too loud to be ignored, or the mute evidence of a corpse cannot be explained away.

With the instant effects of instant news and the constant flicker of images on the television screen such events appear as isolated incidents, as aberrations (mainly the aberrations of 'others'). When war appears it is treated as a continuing aberration on the part of 'others'; our aberrations are mere errors committed in an excess of zeal in an otherwise good cause. This fragmented backcloth is presented in such a way as to obscure the fact that our lives - and deaths - are played out before such a scene of integrated, purposive violence, which is the State.

\* \* \*

The State of Israel is of such recent growth that it is easy to

recall its foundation in violence and expropriation. The violence of the guerrillas of Irgun and Hagannah was the foundation stone and the dispossession of the Palestine Arabs was the structure. The failure of an aggressive war (Suez) and the success of a defensive six-day war were the corner stones of the Israeli State. Such is the history of every State in the world. Had the Arabs been less nomadic, less technically and economically lopsided with their precious oil they would have cohered into a unified progressive, democratic, aggressive, paranoid, blood-thirsty State such as Israel or France or America or Andorra. The violence of the State is only comparable with its resources and know-how, not with its moral superiority - or its size.

Much has been excused for Israel. Many recall with shame the six million deaths under Hitler. This guilt has betrayed many into condoning gross injustices which if extended, given time and similar conditions, would grow by the alchemy of the State's self-justification into Nazi-like or Communist-like repressions.

The shooting down of the Libyan airliner has received exhausting treatment and exhaustive excuses which grant no comfort to the bereaved and only serve to grant the guilty a justification of their

sorry acts. But there was no heated passion, no nationalistic fervour to explain this act, just the cold button-pressing way of death. No rancour, no glory, just orders is orders -- ordnung ist ordnung.

As for the Arabs, they too have been unable - up to now - to gather all their myriad wailings and excuses into one act of human vengeance. The State, especially in its hydra-headed groupings, is even unable to act from its instincts; all must be coldly plotted and carried out in due process.

But this State, is it so powerful? When it bites us, it does it with our own teeth. Or, as Thoreau said: "As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body; just as boys, if they cannot come at some person against whom they have a spite, will abuse his dog. I saw that the State was half-witted, that it was timid as a lone woman with her silver spoons, and that it did not know its friends from its foes, and I lost my remaining respect for it, and pitied it. Thus the State never intentionally confronts a man's senses, intellectual or moral, but only his body, his senses. It is not armed with superior wit or honesty, but with superior physical strength. I was not born to be forced. I will breathe after my own fashion."

Jack Robinson

## MURDER IN ALDWYCH

"Life is cheap out thar, where men are men."

"Don't shoot till you see the whites of their eyes."

"The only good Injun is a dead un."

"Shoot first and ask questions afterwards."

VIOLENCE SEEMS to be increasing rapidly in every part of the world, and even dear old England, so long thought of as the one place where political violence never happened, is being dragged, kicking and screaming into the modern age. Well, not exactly kicking and screaming, but apologising in a restrained British manner and making excuses.

The shooting of two Pakistani youths armed with dummy guns seems to have been carried out by the police with a fairly easy conscience. "I didn't give much thought to the fact that it wasn't a real gun after I had shot him. I could tell by his eyes, even though he had a stocking mask on, that he was intending to pull the trigger just as I fired my revolver. You always look at the other man's eyes."

By Gad! So you do. It sounds as if the policeman who made the above statement has been reading too many adventure yarns of a rather old fashioned kind, Sanders of the River period. Obviously he could not possibly have told what the Pakistani was going to do by looking into his eyes, for the Pakistani must have known that his gun was totally non-lethal, and no matter how much he pulled the trigger nothing would come out of the muzzle. So all this business of looking at the man's eyes is just a lot of guff. A glare of fury or a look of fear cost the youth his life.

I put it all down to television. Policemen are exposed to endless programmes about violence, in which criminals whip out guns at the slightest excuse. Naturally enough, after a few years of this, the average policeman becomes unable to distinguish reality from fiction.

Mary Whitehouse should look into this. It is not the first time that a policeman has shot and killed a man in London, and asked questions afterwards. There was the case in West London a few weeks ago, when a policeman, who was on his way to do embassy guard duty, shot and killed a bank robber. If our society is going to

tolerate this sort of thing no one's life is going to be safe.

Both parties in Parliament applauded the courage of the policemen, but courage is irrelevant in this context. By applauding in this way Parliament in effect said, "We approve of shooting first. We approve of casual killing. Go ahead, when in doubt shoot. We are behind you, and will back you up whatever happens."

This policy will lead directly to the situation already prevailing in the United States. An American sergeant in Vietnam, a black man, soon to be sent home, said that in his opinion he would be safer in Vietnam than in his own country, "where you can be shot in the street". "Yes pardner, it's the law of the West."

Meanwhile over the Sinai Desert the Israelis have succeeded in causing to crash a civilian airliner, with large loss of life. It was violating Israeli air-space, or some such nonsense. The same principle is being applied here. When in doubt, kill them all. As they said in the good old Middle Ages, "God will know his own on the Day of Judgement." On the same principle they have launched a full-scale attack on the refugee camps in the Lebanon.

"Thrice armed is he that hath his quarrel just,  
And thrice three times who guns his man down fust."

And thrice nine times if the man hasn't got a gun to defend himself with.

There is an odd inconsistency in the account of the shooting at Aldwych. Although both the marksmen claim to have shot their victims neatly, one through the heart and the other through the head, all nice and symmetrical, we are also told that eleven shots were fired in all. It would of course be monstrous to suggest that the shooting was in fact bungled, and that the victims were first wounded and then finished off. The bodies were removed under covers so that no one could see the condition they were in, but no doubt that was to protect the tender sensibilities of the press and public.

As I write the news comes in that the surviving Pakistani, a young man of fifteen, is accused of attempted murder.

With toy pistols and ornamental swords? At this rate all children everywhere who play cowboys and Indians are liable to arrest and prosecution.

John Brent

### SQUATTING

Bristol county court granted an eviction order to the Corporation in respect of a house in Belton Road, Easton, where a 32-year old mother has been living for the past month with her four children, her sister and the latter's two-year old child.

Colchester young squatters moved into an empty sports club building in Denmark Street, Colchester on Friday, 23rd February. The building belongs to Essex County Council. The squatters' intention is to create a "people's community centre" containing play centre, meeting places, an arts lab and a cheap all-night eating place. They claim that the town council is not interested in providing entertainment facilities and that their town plan leaves all such facilities to private developers' assessment of profitability. The squatters have distributed leaflets inviting local people and students at N.E. Essex Technical College to help.

### State Power

The Guardian 23/2/73 reports that the G.L.C. had deprived two households of squatters of electricity by refusing the electricity board access to the premises. The squatting advisory service is considering legal action against the board, maintaining that it has a statutory obligation whether the occupants are "lawful" or not.

The Guardian believed this to be the first time a local authority has tried to discourage squatters by warning off suppliers of essential services. We believe it is not. In Fulham the representative of one of the nationalized boards refused to connect the supply because their instruction that the house was unoccupied stood;

and further, the bailiffs were preceded by a worker from the water board who cut off the supply of water, to the house where there were two children.

We hope the Family Squatting Advisory service will be successful in its legal action; we support the gas men and the electricity workers in their pay claims; when are the workers going to support the struggles of their fellows even worse off than themselves? M.C.

### THE MERCY OF THE STATE

Most of the press reported the amnesty announced to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, with guarded speculation as to who would or would not benefit. The Morning Star of 23/2/73 quoted the official Ceteka news agency, that the amnesty "pardoned those sentenced for crimes for which the law provides a maximum sentence of five years or less. Among those excluded are people convicted for subversion... and damaging the interests of the Republic abroad. People sentenced for leaving the country illegally are pardoned providing that they return by the end of this year." Naturally, those regarded as "having damaged the interests of the state abroad" will find themselves facing imprisonment under the amnesty should they return. M.H.

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# 'ALL BE UPSTANDING'

**Books**

IT WAS CRYSTAL NIGHT off Bond Street as the fashionable and the free-loading assembled within the newly burnished and refurnished Mayor Gallery at 14 South Molton Street W1. It was the publication party for the unloading of David Bailey's TV Interviews with Andy Warhol at £1.75 a copy. The gallery was packed out with the non-buying public eagerly seeking each other and the wine waiter.

Each of us in our turn took a deep breath, gripped our noses and descended the steep and suicidal steps to grab glasses, nod to George Melly and party, and fight our way out into the crowded street with our share of the red and the white. The gallery, the pavement and the road-way bore witness to the reputation of Andy Warhol, and the empty and unreturnable wine glasses became night music as they smashed one by one onto the public footway to shed their fractured beauty on and up to the chattering mob. It was a party and we drank of the wine, wasted our wit on fools and, because we knew the host, desisted from stealing a dozen or so unbroken wine glasses. But of the art and the interviewability of Andy Warhol we learned nothing and, wine-happy, cared less.

Of the book itself we can but pay our debt by saying that for size, weight and content it is worth the £1.75, but our curiosity demanded that we return to the Mayor gallery while the broom still swept the floor. Each generation who love the worlds of politics and the arts seeks a meeting place that they may meet likeminded friends and enemies, and reputations have been won and bought in many a cafe, bookshop, pub or art gallery.

## A NEW MEETING PLACE?

A bookshop, a public house or an art gallery by the public virtue of its owner has earned the thanks of many a generation by allowing them, nay inviting them, to meet poor-handed within its walls, and the Town has of late played a reluctant host to its children. We wait to see what the newly created Mayor Gallery will offer. It was always a sad and empty shell of a gallery, sulkily refusing to die in the shadow of Gimpel's fashionable art window, but with Gimpel's film moving into the banker's belt off Grosvenor St are the Mayor Gallery has found a new blush of living like unto an aged and respected priest digging the communion wine on being made up to bishop.

It may be said that the Mayor Gallery is simply acting out the fashionable role of sacrifice in bending the knee to the Warhol industry but if they triumph in the eyes of their bank managers and still welcome the drifting dreamer and those without money or talent but only a love of the creative arts, then we shall accept their recognition. On the gallery walls are the 'Warhol' graphics and they are what they are, no more than a single twice-life-size photograph of the head and shoulders of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung. Each face has been crudely daubed with a different flat and transparent colour and a few scribbled lines have been added around each head. They are no more than urchin graffiti that one would find on any hoarding and in themselves they are, from an artistic standard, completely worthless. Yet they have been produced by the 'Warhol' industry in sets of 10, and 250 sets have been produced for the buyers' market at £2,500 a set. At over half a million pounds, and with sets spread over various international galleries, the free wine and the broken glasses should be hardly worth the accounting.

## CLEVER CROOK

Warhol adopts the role of the clever crook, and in doing so undermines all criticism in relation to these overblown and crudely coloured photographs, for he simply says "we still have to do a portrait once in a while to get money so I can keep

on experimenting, but the Warhol industry long ago exhausted any valid statements they have to make. No one is conned in their charades, for in this world of free-flowing dirty money they act out their role of artistic prostitutes, and for debasing the cultural levels they earn a high wage. And wage is the correct term for their clients are the wealthy cosmopolitans who find their virility in well tailored working class overalls and, at this moment, buy their wall decorations from the Warhol Factory and with jeans to wear, a 'factory product' on the wall, membership of the Monday Club and granddaddy's old scab union card framed for the visiting Company Union, they have a right to believe they are the true heirs of the revolution.

Warhol himself, like Disney, has little to do with the products that bear his name and these daubed repetitive photographs of Mao Tse-Tung are but a repeat of the same exercise that the Warhol industry performed on Marilyn Monroe and Jackie Kennedy, the New York Police mug shot and the test.

That, little comrade, was ten years ago so by art dealer's time Little Andy is slipping.

## HARD PORN

It is in the field of hard porn that we came to love the lad, for he said of porn that the thing he liked about it was "that it makes you forget all about style and that sort of thing". Yet for all that Little Andy has performed one signal service for the common man in that he has taken the 'dirty' film from out of the hands of the hard-faced, high priced dealers and the sad eyed dirty mac brigade and made it available to the masses in their local cinema. The industry will produce them just as long as there is a market and we must defend their claim to be made, to be shown and to be seen. It is Paul Morrissey's *Trash* that had us climbing the stairs of the Piccadilly cinema and this film, produced for the Warhol industry, is no more than an essay in badly made hard porn. Photographed in 16mm and blown up to 35mm, it has all the mystery and excitement of the guilt market, bad lighting, fixed camera, unintelligent sound tracks and close-ups of Joe Dallesandro's penis.

The plot of the film, as all the reading world knows, is the tragedy of Joe's inability to get the horn as a result of over-indulgence with the hard stuff (for the Irish readers...drugs) and we suffer with Holly Woodlawn, the well-attested female impersonator, as he tries to help Joe. It is all rather sad and we believe that somewhere in all the filmed needle pushing, slack dicks and Holly's skirts there is a message, if not a moral, but at the end of the film it did not seem very important.

In the gallery of that cinema one can watch the pathetic drop-outs of Warhol's world. In the Piccadilly lavatory one treads upon the bloodstained National Health drug needles, and in the Jermyn Street exit of the Piccadilly Underground station one can daily bear witness to the human wreckage of our society, for it is here that the police herd the them that they might not offend the eyes of the visiting tourists gazing up at the guarded figure of Eros.

The self righteous have demanded to know why the Warhol industry should be allowed to exhibit, for easy wealth, these films of human degradation, yet I would remind them, and Mary Whitehouse, Lord Longford and the rest of the Festival of Light, that no one decries the nightly screening on our television screen of the documented filming of the alcoholic, the homeless and the physically and mentally sick. Pick any night at random and these victims of the world's sorrow are there for us to view, and we are sick and we accept and now the entrepreneurs of the gutter are in the market for an easy dollar. It is Joe's slack dick

and Holly's false breasts that have us panting for the oxygen mask as we climb up to the balcony of the Pavilion cinema, yet we are not heartless or thoughtless, merely frightened for each of us knows that somewhere there is a prison, an asylum, a hospital ward, a charity room and a pauper's grave for too many among our ranks, and when we buy our cinema ticket we are paying our tribute not to Caesar but to God that we have yet been spared.

## MIRO and Others

For the Town and his blushing frau there is still artistic orthodoxy with the Redfern Gallery selling Miro posters for £1,000 EACH, and in the Kings Road Gay Liberation Mile the work of Allen Barker, David Redfern, Carlene Brady, Slobodan Paich and Jane Humphrey is on exhibition at the Chenil Gallery under the banner of "five artists seriously". Good solid conservative work by five young people skilled in their craft, each using a contemporary art fashion to display their emerging talents. The lovely watercolours of Anthony Eyton at the New Grafton at no. 1a Grafton Street, W1 marries the mood to the exhibition of *English drawings and watercolours 1550-1850* on display at the Diploma Galleries of the Royal Academy.

Watercolour is the queen of painting, and this small part of Paul Mellon's American collection offers us a rare chance to view our native genius before they disappear into an American State gallery. It is work that ranges from Inigo Jones to Constable and Turner. Poor mad sad Richard Dadd's work is here, and Ruskin's *View of Baden*, and let me voice the heresy that William Blake's work is beginning to pall, for I am beginning to tire of A-Level mysticism, the muscles and the false use of watercolour.

But enough of the dead, for we have but to follow the favoured minority to the National Portrait Gallery to drink sherry under the reproachful eyes of Mary Cotterell, impart small talk to Eartha Kitt, lost in her tall fur coat, discuss the fate of the theatre with the owner of the Criterion theatre, and view this magnificent exhibition of posters, photographs and letters publicly exhibited to draw attention to the fate of the Criterion theatre. In the battle to save Britain this theatre has been saved, but as a sterile monument or a living home for the arts in a concrete graveyard?

Arthur Moyses

## LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION by Vernon Richards

This is not a reprint of the work with the same title published by FREEDOM PRESS in 1953. It is a new and considerably expanded version which the author prepared for an Italian edition published in 1957, and recently published in Paris in a Spanish translation.

Additional chapters deal with such important topics as the Militarization of the Militias, the Cult of the Organisation and of Personalities, the Rank and File's Responsibility.

As well as a Select Bibliography, the author has contributed a 20-page Bibliographical Postscript in which he discusses the most important works that have appeared on the subject in the past twelve years.

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## WORLD DEVELOPMENT

THE LAUNCHING of the magazine *New Internationalist*, at a gathering of the holy, is witness to the efforts of the movements which have sought to increase public awareness of the issues surrounding overseas aid, trade and world development in Britain. Reality demands your correspondent, who attended the launch, to declare his knowledge that there's not really anything new happening. When the title of a magazine changes from "The Internationalist" to the "New Internationalist" and the magazine becomes monthly instead of quarterly (was it?) it is not sufficient reason for the accompanying ballyhoo. But this, one supposes, is public relations.

We read our free issue of the *New Internationalist*, sipping wine and eating a cucumber sandwich (bread and wine symbolising

one thing, cucumber another) feeling like Our Arthur "Womens Lib" Moyses at one of his art shows. Troops of the righteous in the form of Christian Aid, Oxfam, Action for World Development, Third World First (in reverse order of priority) assembled with just that sniff of radicalism (no pot) and trendy libertarianism we have noticed around these days. In our copy of the magazine Kenneth Kaunda is interviewed, Roy Jenkins pontificates as only a liberal capitalist can whilst somewhere else are the interesting articles on the World Food Crisis and an excellent piece about a free school in Ethiopia with a 28-year-old headmaster. The pre-dominant style is set for saviours of the Nation, Great Men, charismatic leaders and the rest of the nationalistic garbage - we are promised in forth-

Continued on p. 3

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# COMMUNITY CO-OPS

KIRKBY  
RENT  
STRIKE

THE GOVERNMENT'S FREEZE is so obviously a fraud. While wages are held the one commodity that people cannot do without - food - is continually going up and up in price. Those families who had previously tried to manage before the freeze are finding it necessary to cut back on foodstuffs. People whose incomes just place them above the supplementary benefit level are going without.

A recent survey carried out by the Child Poverty Action Group on a sample of ten families living in London's East End, showed that despite the effects of the government's policies they supported Mr. Heath's attempt to combat inflation. They also thought that the trade unions favoured groups who earn more than the lower paid.

Such a reaction is understandable as one of the reasons why certain industries are poorly paid is that the trade unions have not done their basic job of securing higher wages and better conditions for their members. Those in the survey thought the Government was at least attempting an anti-inflation policy, although really it is plain that it is failing.

But are we all to sit back and be passive victims of food price inflation or can we do something about it for ourselves? Seeking higher wages might be one thing, but there are many who have very little or no bargaining power. However, by organising a food co-op at a community level it is possible to by-pass the retailer completely. On my own estate we have made a small start in that our tenants' association has bought food from Cash and Carry which has been distributed as Christmas parcels for old age pensioners. The same has been done for children's parties. It is also possible to deal direct with coal merchants and have fuel delivered at wholesale prices which then can be sold to pensioners at

the same price. Our tenants' association runs such a scheme which has been very successful.

In Liverpool, the Scotland Road Community Trust and Free School (see current issue of *Community Action*) have set up their own food co-operative. They started by asking for surplus fruit and vegetables from the stall-holders in the wholesale market to feed the children attending the school. This has now been extended and now they buy meat, fish, poultry, fruit and vegetables in bulk from the wholesalers in the market, and other foodstuffs from Cash and Carry. This way people are able to buy food at the price at which it was bought from the wholesaler. All that is needed is transport, storage space, and possibly a deep freeze.

An interview in this month's WIN Magazine gives an account of the Poor People's Development Foundation who are "trucking in produce for co-operative farms and marketing these and other produce in grassroots communities".

Although it might not be possible at this stage to go as far as our American comrades, a start can be made by groups of people, tenants' associations, squatters, community groups, etc., setting up their own food co-ops by using wholesalers and Cash and Carry.

Co-ops are a positive way of combating some of the effects of inflation and profiteering. They by-pass the retailers and their share of the profits and bring people together to practise mutual aid. People acting together can build mutual confidence. Co-ops might not replace the profits made from food but do give people that much more control over their lives. This gives that little more power back to people and brings the community together to organise another sphere of their lives.

P.T.

## REVIEWS

### DEEDS THAT WON THE EMPIRE

ISRAEL'S GOLDA MEIR, Pioneer to Prime Minister. By Iris Noble, Bailey Brothers and Swinfen Ltd., £1.70

NOTHING CHANGES, does it? Iris Noble's book is just like those patriotic books about Clive and Warren Hastings and other empire-builders that I remember from my youth. This time it is the Israeli Empire that is being built. In some ways it is a ghost of the British Empire, reigning over the Eastern Mediterranean.

The moral ambiguities of this situation are not stressed by the author, but not concealed either. The rescue operation of Europe's Jews involved a diaspora of the Arabs. The Israelis claim that they need not have fled, but made no very great effort to bring them back again, and took over their land without great qualms of conscience. In spite of all the ideals surrounding the foundation of the Jewish state it is in fact a state like any other, like England herself, founded upon violence and robbery. But this of course could be said of any country in the world.

Golda Meir is one of these single-minded, energetic people, who are ready to push everyone out of their way in order to achieve their ideals. Such people do not seek power for themselves, but to benefit others, but are none the less dangerous for all that.

I like her husband, Morris Myerson, dragged by his energetic wife to Palestine, protesting: "The idea of Palestine or any other territory for the Jews is, to me, ridiculous. Racial persecution does not exist because some nations exist at all...." He followed his wife loyally to a kibbutz, until he found the life just too much for him, he was a gentle individualist, and finally the marriage broke up. If mankind had chosen his ideas there would have been no Israel, but there would have been no First and Second World Wars and no Hitler either.

The Scroll of the Establishment of the State of Israel says, among other things, "It is the natural right of the Jewish people, like any other people, to control their own destiny in their sovereign state." This has been orthodox political

doctrine in Europe since the French Revolution, which brought it into being. It is part of the trappings of democracy, progress, and all that, but it is one of the most disastrous ideas that mankind has ever invented. No such "natural right" exists. There is nothing to stop the present writer, who detests the society in which he lives and the ideals of the people around him, squatting on a tract of wild land in the Welsh hills, proclaiming it an independent country (as an anarchist he could hardly call it a "sovereign state") and get a printing firm to turn out passports to his own design and banknotes for trading with the outside world, but no right, "natural" or otherwise, would preserve the independence of this little territory against the British state.

Talk of "natural right" is merely a means of covering up the brutal truth, not right but might decides. But men and women are not able to face the reality of things. They need fine phrases.

One hopes, one can do no more than hope, that one day Jews and Arabs will come to recognise their common humanity is of more importance than race, nation or religion.

John Brent

### THE TRUE FUNCTION OF EXAMS

MARKED FOR LIFE, a criticism of assessment at Universities. By A. Powell and B. Butterworth.

THE AUTHORS of this pamphlet maintain, and can prove, that the true function of examinations is not, as we are usually told, to weed out the competent from the incompetent, but to maintain a stratified, class-based society.

The way it works is quite simply this. Any educational institution or board of examiners expects a certain quota to get through, and year by year they pass their victims through the machine, rejecting a certain number according to a rough and ready arbitrary scheme.

The examination system has been under fire for nearly a century. Examiners however have held their ground. Their main arguments are two. The first is that exams weed out the less clever. This our authors show from their studies of

IN THE LAST bulletin that the Tower Hill Unfair Rents Action Group put out it was claimed that the average rateable value in Kirkby was due to be trebled on April 1st. It was also stated that the rate in the £ levied by local authorities was to be reduced but not by enough to prevent the massive rate increases which would come about this April. It is worth remembering that a rate increase is also a rent increase.

All this information was confirmed as true at our last meeting (Tues. 13th Feb.) by Councillor J. Wylie who is chairman of Kirkby Council's Finance Committee. Wylie informed the meeting that up to now Tower Hill tenants are already due to have their rates increased by 28½p per week by Lancashire County Council and on top of this it is expected that Kirkby Council will be forced to increase their rates by 25%. What this will mean is that another 62½p per week will be added to the present rent (for those who are paying rent) on April 1st. The only way to keep these expected increases down is by cutting down on the social services and amenities. As tenants know only too well there are very few of these to cut down on. Another important factor in the new rate evaluation system is the relationship of commercial ratepayers (factories and businesses etc.) and the domestic ratepayers (council tenants and owner-occupiers).

At the present time commercial ratepayers pay three fifths of the total rates to the local authority, and domestic ratepayers pay the remaining two fifths. The factory owners and the Government are now trying to reverse this situation so that in the future domestic ratepayers will be paying three fifths of the total rates and the commercial ratepayers only two fifths. Not only do the employers want the people to make vast profits for them by slaving in their factories, they also want us to pay their rates for them as well. They're not on. And neither is anybody else who thinks that they can force this garbage on us. Many ten-

the examination system to be untrue. Whether you pass or not is much more a matter of luck than anything else. The second argument is that the ordeal of passing exams is a good training for the hardships of life. This too our authors disprove. Nothing in adult life really corresponds to the examination. What is worse is that exams quite often, far from preparing a student for life are instrumental in preparing him or her for death, and despatching him or her to the next world. I had thought of entitling this review "The Cambridge Suicides", because they are so notorious. Some years ago I went to speak to some Cambridge students about anarchism, and was told while I was there that on average three students a year die, because of their anxiety over their studies. Long before natural gas from the North Sea became a commonplace everywhere it was proposed to introduce this gas into Cambridge, because you cannot gas yourself with it. Of course those who actually die are outnumbered by those who try to kill themselves and fail. And there are still more who do not try to kill themselves but go off their heads in milder ways, like the student who rushed through the streets of Cambridge, smashing the windows of the shops with a brick.

The authors do not favour the alternative system, that is sometimes offered instead of exams. This consists of assessing a student on the basis of his work throughout the year. The result is to reduce the tension, but the student then feels that he is being judged the whole time, and will tend to develop suspicion or hostility towards his teachers, who are all the while summing him up.

Powell and Butterworth propose that universities be open to anyone who wishes to enter. If he cannot keep up with the other students he will eventually drop out, or if he does not he will not hold them back, so his presence will not matter. When the student leaves he will take examples of his work to show his prospective employer. There will be no exams to enter, and none when you leave.

The case is well presented in this pamphlet. I am sure the writers are correct. I think it will be a long time though before the examination is abolished. The Establishment has too strong a vested interest in keeping the system going.

Arthur Wardo

ants are still confused about the letters that the council sent out to them the other week. Paragraph 2 of this letter tells them what their 'fair rent' is going to be but this assessment is only a provisional assessment and does not include the rates.

The council's assessment will have to go before the rent scrutiny board in June and there is no doubt that this board of Government hatchet men will raise the rent still higher. This letter is nothing more than a deliberate attempt to crack the rent strike on Tower Hill. This fact can be proved by the assessments that Kirkby Council has given to the other dwellings they control outside of Tower Hill. For example:

<u>Tower Hill</u>	<u>Longmoor Lane</u>
3-bedroom house built 1969	3-bedroom house built 1945
central heating	no central heating
car port	no car port or garage
Kirkby Council's 'fair rent': £4.55p	Kirkby Council's 'fair rent': £4.45p
(not including rates)	(not including rates)

As we all know a fair rent is assessed by the age, locality and state of repair of the dwelling. It is perfectly obvious that Kirkby Council have deliberately put down much lower estimates for Tower Hill knowing full well that the rent scrutiny board will over-rule them and raise the rents to what they consider to be a fair rent level. The only reason that the Longmoor Lane tenants got a more truthful estimate is because they are not on rent strike.

On Sunday 18 Feb. the Tower Hill Unfair Rents Action Group intends to start touring the estate once again as a group. The purpose of this is to explain to tenants exactly what is going on and what progress is being made by rent strikes locally and nationally. We will also be talking to tenants who were with us on rent strike and have since started paying their rent through pressure that has been put on them by the Council.

But as the tenants can see from our bulletins 50% of the estate is still on total rent strike. We also intend to start organising now for the struggle against the rate increases which are due in April. Many other tenants in other areas of the country who were on partial rent strikes are now organising for a total rent and rates strike. In addition to this we expect many owner-occupiers to embark on rates strike as these new rateable values will hit them as they will hit the council tenants.

Correspondent

Continued from p. 2

coming issues interviews with Leaders like Allende, Nyerere, Hussein etc etc and overall we were blessed by the presence at our gathering of M.P.s like Braine, Barnes, Bray and Judd (sounding forsooth like a firm of solicitors).

There's seemingly a long way to go, but some noticeable progress has been made. How little can perhaps be gauged by the Director of Christian Aid who in his introduction managed to blame the trade unionists for the increasing difficulties of the Third World, by Oxfam's Deputy Director who assured us that the whole venture of the magazine was commercial (which came oddly from a charity man) and by the editor of the *New Internationalist*, Peter Adamson - ex-editor of *Isis* - who in condemning W. H. Smith for not taking his magazine maybe didn't realize that any journal with circulation under 20,000 suffers a similar fate.

Progress, more in depth if less manifest, lies in the campaign to expose the financial links between Britain and Southern Africa and in the growing awareness that solutions to world economic imbalance are nothing if not fundamental.

Correspondent.

*New Internationalist*, £3 per annum or 25p per issue, is available from R.P.S. Ltd., Victoria Hall, Fingal St. London SE 10 8BP. It is backed by Oxfam, Christian Aid and Third World First but said to be editorially independent.

## URGENT

Send in Now! Reports, photos and drawings of Squatting and Direct Action activities.



# LETTERS

## FREEDOM DEFENDED

Dear Comrades,

The following is an angry reply to the criticism of FREEDOM in "Anarchy" (Second Series) No. 10. I do hope you will publish it in FREEDOM.

So we the numerous, anonymous, helpers who help sell, fold and mail FREEDOM every week, who pay our subscriptions for Anarchy Magazine, then have to wait 6 months in between copies, and for what...? Another bloody criticism of FREEDOM. Let's hope this is the last of these criticisms, FREEDOM needs support not these vultures sitting waiting for its imminent collapse.

After being a "helper" for about a year and a half, I often wonder whether any of the Anarchy group have ever been down to the shop on a Thursday afternoon and helped in its production. To say that these "helpers" who are in fact part of the "mysterious" movement, have been constantly excluded from the decision making is downright lies. Anybody is free to discuss matters concerning the paper with the editors, write articles for it, and provided they have proved themselves capable and able enough, and have enough enthusiasm, to become an editor.

I often think the back stabbing is related to FREEDOM's refusal to give blanket, unconditional support for the Angry Brigade or the Stoke Newington 8 if they are the same thing.

It's the prerogative of the FREEDOM editorial group to criticise or praise the Angry Brigade purely because they regard FREEDOM as an Anarchist paper and not the paper of the "movement". Who or what is the movement anyway? Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer? O.R.A.? the Angry Brigade? Who for Christ's sake is?

I should have thought that with the recent revival of interest in Anarchism, with the emphasis on federalism or local autonomy, there would be a great deal of interest among groups both in this country and abroad in producing their own papers. Perhaps there is now less need for a single Anarchist paper, hence the drop in circulation. This is a good thing that people are taking the initiative for themselves and producing their own material.

For the Anarchy Group to contrast their experiences with those of FREEDOM is ludicrous. Even if Anarchy came out every month, FREEDOM is four times as frequent. This makes readership response, editorial decisions and most of all financial backing that much more difficult. And no matter what the Anarchy Group say, the interest in Anarchy Magazine must surely have been created by the interest in FREEDOM and anarchism in general. The very paper they now jump on the bandwagon to criticise when it's in trouble.

Nobody has to accept what FREEDOM says as the "gospel" or the voice of the "movement". There is always an opportunity to set up their own paper, as FREEDOM was, way back in 1886.

By the way, comrades, in the weekly, national paper that you envisage, a paper of the "movement", who will make the decisions other than an editorial group? How will that group differ from the Freedom press group? And how do you know that given the same financial problems that the present editors have got, these "national" editors would act other than in the interests of their paper. The point being that the editors of FREEDOM are responsible only to the readers and supporters of FREEDOM, and not to the Anarchist "movement" of whom they don't claim to be the spokesmen anyway.

Yours fraternally,  
FRANCIS A. WRIGHT  
Ilford.

Published by Freedom Press,  
London E.1. Printed by  
Vineyard Press, Colchester

## Anarchist Communism versus Individualism

Dear Editors,

David Waters' article on "East Coast US Anarchism: Communist and Individualist" is so irrationally abusive that I would have thought it more appropriate for the columns of the Workers Press than those of FREEDOM. I do not have the benefit of the direct acquaintance with the US scene that he claims, but I do know enough about it to detect some of the stupid falsifications he makes.

However, before I comment on these, let me make it clear that, though I am an individualist, I do not champion what is called "anarcho-capitalism". I do not regard Ayn Rand and Murray Rothbard as either the first or last words on philosophy and economics. (Karl Hess is at present, I understand, advocating a form of "communal-anarchism" and has abandoned his "capitalism".)

Now a look at what David Waters aptly calls his "tale".

1) He meets a student who he is later told was "a terrorist who is into anarcho-capitalism". What this piece of information is meant to convey is not discernible. Does he wish to discredit "anarcho-capitalists" by implying that they are "terrorists"? If so, this is a curious way of arguing for an anarcho-communist who would no doubt claim Alexander Berkman as a precursor.

2) He bemoans the small number of "serious anarchists" on the East Coast of the US and then proceeds to equate "serious anarchists" with "anarcho-communists". How he reaches this conclusion he does not say, although it appears that one of the groups who inspired it is The Libertarian Book Club - who are also publishers of that individualist classic The Ego and His Own!

3) One of his comrades was present at a discussion at the New York Laissez-Faire Bookshop that ended in a brawl. How does this prove that "anarcho-capitalists" are "highly suspect" in "libertarian thought"? When Emma Goldman publicly horsewhipped Johann Most did this make her/their anarcho-communism "suspect"? It would appear that brawling is not a "capitalist" monopoly.

4) Some of the anarcho-capitalists present at this discussion are "cretins" because they admire Howard Hughes. I have no particular feeling one way or the other for Hughes, but I fail to see how admiration for him, in itself, makes anyone a cretin. Name-calling is not argument.

5) If David Waters has any basis for his arraignment it would appear to be the belief that "Individualism has long been a historical tradition in the US that tends to propagate that great syphilitic germ - capitalism". As usual no evidence is provided for this statement. The equation of what is called capitalism with individualism has no actual historical support, apart from the rhetoric of some nineteenth century figures who, like Herbert Spencer, lacked the courage to take their "individualism" to its logically anarchist conclusion. Indeed, for one view of the incompatibility of individualism and capitalism I can recommend Emma Goldman's essay "Minorities versus Majorities" in her book Anarchism and Other Essays.

Yours sincerely,

S. E. PARKER  
London

\*"Rhetoric" as opposed to actual "fact".

### PRESS FUND

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## S A W D U S T V I C T O R I E S

NAMIBIA - a call to be answered  
(Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road,  
London, N. 1. 124p)

Housmans have published the results of a study by Manchester Non-violent Action Group into Namibia. The group wrote the report "because so few people had even heard about Namibia and you cannot campaign against an injustice when people are not aware that it exists." Given this, the group have produced a useful, if rather slight, introduction to the legal and historical background to the present situation. Unfortunately rather a lot of consequence has occurred since the report was written and anyone wishing to complete the picture is advised to read an article by Ruth First entitled "Africa's Move" in the January edition of Africa (25p from 28 Great Queen St., London W.C.2)

I was sorry the Manchester group evaded all reference to the pacifist dilemma over violence in the struggle to free Southern Africa. It would seem to me that the results of the ploy of concentrating so much effort (in Namibia's case) on the United Nations has weakened the effective opposition to South African rule. To some extent this is inevitable as the question of the historical claims of South Africa to rule South West Africa to rule South West Africa had to be taken up at the United Nations and the world court. Yet the UN has been totally useless as regards any real progress towards independence; it has acted as a publicity office for the African cause - which is marginally valuable - but how much more meaningful has been the action within Mozambique - action which is not perhaps in accord with non-violence.

It is to be hoped that Africans will appreciate the waste, if not harm, of directing energy towards talks with South Africa. In the sphere of diplomacy, victories are so much sawdust. In Rhodesia action has shown that more can be achieved with guerilla action than with a load of constitutional and diplomatic activity.

J.W.

## Take Back The Streets

### Communique from COMMITMENT

THE GOVERNMENT intends to go ahead with the Ringway One Motorway.

On Saturday, March 31st, at 3 p.m. there is going to be a direct action blocking of Piccadilly Circus. It is essential that as many people as possible turn out. It would also be good if similar actions could be organised in other towns so that the problem is seen not as just a London one. Already closings are organised for Bradford on Friday, March 2nd and York on Saturday, March 31st.

March 31st is just 12 days before the Greater London Council and other county council elections. The Tories will denounce us, and Labour will say, "We agree with some of your aims, but..."

COMMITMENT take the view that the environmental crisis is neither accidental, nor inevitable, but the direct result of a particular way of running society, with power and wealth concentrated in a minority.

Whereas the libertarian left is often in a minority, transport is something on which there is a great deal of public support for our views. The parties are discredited. Labour brought out the plans for the new London motorways in the first place.

COMMITMENT sees the closing as the equivalent for ecology of the Committee of 100 actions against The Bomb, though this time on an issue which more easily lends itself to direct and community action, and which most "ordinary" people see as more directly affecting them, every day of their lives.

Commitment,  
26 Grosvenor Road  
St. Albans, Herts

(abridged)

WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY  
LATEST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF  
MSS., LETTERS, MEETING NOTICES  
IS THE MONDAY IN EACH WEEK  
OF PUBLICATION.



THURSDAYS at Freedom Press  
from 2 p.m. Help fold and  
despatch FREEDOM

ANARCHO-COMMUNISTS interested in starting up a new anarchist movement in the U S A write Willard Petrie, Box 221 Pierpont, S.W. Res. College, U. of Mass., AMHERST, Mass., or David Waters, Tower E., Box 1005, HAMPSTEAD, N.Y. 11551.

HARLECH (ASA): G & B Briggs  
c/o Coleg Harlech, Merioneth  
LEWISHAM anarchists can make  
contact via Vera Krishek.  
Tel. 852 8879

NOTTINGHAM: Trent Polytechnic  
new anarchist group forming.  
Contact Shirley Moreno & John  
Hinsley through Fine Art Dept.  
Dryden Street, Nottingham.

"Schools Anarchy Propagation  
Action Group" for non-collectivist  
school anarchy. Contact  
SAPAG c/o 1 Springbank,  
Salesbury, Blackburn BB1 9EU  
New Earth Group, 112 Thomas  
Street, Dublin 8. Publishers,  
bookshop & meetings.

### Meetings

Forming a London Federation.  
Groups and individuals invited.  
'Three Tuns Bar': Basement of  
St. Clement's Building, London  
School of Economics, Houghton  
St., Aldwych. March 14th, 7 p.m.  
Crash pads available.

STOP THE FRENCH TESTS. Contact  
'Greenpeace' c/o 176 Finchley  
Road, London, N.W.3.

Fine Tubes Strike is still going on. National Day of Picketing at Fine Tubes, Estover, Plymouth on Monday 19th March at 6.30 a.m. Overnight accommodation available. Contact Greg, 17 Gascoyne Pl., St. Jude's Plymouth PL4 8DF

Manchester Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance area meeting at 100 Oxford Road. Business 5 pm followed by a "brains trust" at 7 p.m. and a drink afterwards. Mar 4: "Women and Revolution" chaired by Ann, Janice & Phil Mar 11 "Technology, Science & Anarchism" chaired by Dave & Ramsey. Mar 18 "Crime" chaired by Pete & Don (all at 7 p.m.)

CARDIFF: Conference to discuss formation of Severnside Libertarian Federation shortly. Contact Alex Bird, 28 Heol Don, Whitchurch, Cardiff.

GLASGOW: ORA Easter Conference 21-23 April. Details from Moira Young, 91 Burghead Drive, Lint-House, Glasgow G51 4QJ

LONDON: Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance 3 p.m. every Sunday at 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange, N.5. Black & Red Outlook always available; by post 5p + 24p

NOTTINGHAM: All local comrades urgently invited to attend meeting at John Hinsley's. For details contact Trent Polytechnic group. (See above)

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Lectures, fortnightly on Thursdays 7 p.m. at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave., corner 29 Street, Admission free. Mar 22 Sylvia Barnes: Women's Liberation Movement Examined. April 12 Irving Levitas: Messianism and Anarchism.

STOKE-ON-TRENT Dwarfs now meet on Thursdays 8 p.m. at 112 Liverpool Road, Stoke

MICHAEL TOBIN DEFENCE COMMITTEE  
265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent

How We Knocked 'Em in the Old Kent Road, a dramatized version of the Briant Colour Print Workers' Saga. Fridays, Saturdays & Sundays at 7.45 p.m. until March 24th. Tickets 40p Assoc. Membership 50p, Bar. UNITY THEATRE, 1 Goldington St., NW1

You as a Product, booklet on the family as key link between individual and social reality, 40pp. 17p + postage from Socialist Soc. Bookstall, Univ. of Newcastle upon Tyne, or from Freedom Press