

WHAT DO THE BOMBS SAY?

The letter-bombs, cigarette packet bombs and various bombing devices left at shops and stations, a petrol bomb at the officers' club at Aldershot military base, all are somebody's propaganda. A manifesto from a group calling itself "Freedom Fighters for All" proclaimed that the bomb addressed to the Aldershot army officers was a warning to all oppressors, Britain in Ulster equally with Portugal in Mozambique. A statement that the Harrods' bomb (the first discovered in a London store) was the responsibility of the Irish Republicans' Publicity Branch, the message passed through Gerry Lawless, was at first discounted. If any claim of responsibility for other bombs and explosive packages has been made the authorities have not released and the media do not seem to have announced it.

Speculations are possible in many directions. The Guardian immediately suggested a splinter Irish Republican group with

anarchist connections. We need not join in the speculations. Who does it, or who it can be pinned on, is the prime interest of the police. The "whodunnit" excitement distracts ordinary people from considering whether it has anything to do with them.

Why it is done is the important thing for those who make any kind of propaganda by deed, and the nature of the deed. The bomb is a dramatic but not necessarily clear figure of speech. What it is saying has to be understood by the people you are saying it to. The steep drop in recruitment figures could mean that the Ulster terror has got its message to some who might have formed part of the army there. What does it say to Catholics who kill Protestants and Protestants who kill Catholics, and both who kill, torture and persecute and humiliate their own defectors or suspected defectors, or to the people who just happen to be

there when the bomb goes off?

The IRA has been causing explosions which kill for fifty years; their Protestant counterparts are fast drawing level in terror tactics. There is no place for the anarchist in either camp.

If these bombs are just saying 'Get out of Ireland and let another ruling group take over' their message is falling on deaf ears. If they are meant to frighten those who are convinced of the rightness of their position they are futile.

Futile also are the savage 10-year prison sentences passed last year on five young people convicted of conspiracy to cause explosions claimed by 'The Angry Brigade', but will the government, the police, the liberal press who now make the 'Angry Brigade' analogy with some of the present bombs get this message?

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Don't Overdo

ACCORDING TO the government, more married women and elderly workers must be attracted back into employment in order to continue Britain's 5 per cent growth rate. Such are the ups and downs of the capitalist economic system that only during the winter of 1971-72 unemployment was increasing at an alarming rate. Even now it stands at 570,000. They include "the unemployables", those with the wrong qualifications and those who have the skills needed by the system, but happen to live where they are not needed, and those who are changing their jobs.

With vacancies at 457,749, the government has told the TUC that it wants to get workers back into harness who have the necessary skills. Raising the school leaving age to 16 has also added to the shortage.

The government, in its willing-

ness to assist the employers to reap as much profit as possible from increased investment and subsequent growth, will allow flexible working hours for married women and part time working for the elderly. In their report to the TUC they also said that the government had eased restrictions on earnings allowances for pensioners and shift-restrictions for women.

However, the Confederation of British Industry is not at all satisfied that the government has done enough. They have listed 15 points requiring governmental action, including bigger incentives for people to move to other areas for jobs, nation-wide notification of job vacancies, further relaxation on the use of female labour and the lowering of the age for lorry drivers, recycling of steel and paper scrap by local authorities and provision of more creches and nursery schools.

THE RIGHT TO WORK

The managements of British industry are obviously seeking to make the most of the present economic expansive boom. As always they rush in to make the quickest profit possible and when the boom runs out of steam they will start sacking workers again. It's the same old boom/slump cycle, except that the graph of these cycles now takes on a much more flattened line. The State is always ready to assist, with taxpayers' money, to bail out the system that forever seems to be seeking to destroy itself by its own greed. Managements even want the local authorities to re-cycle waste and provide amenities so that they will be able to recruit more labour and increase their profits from this exploitation.

It's surprising how attractive our exploiters make work when they have a full order book. While such inducements

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Until society is free....

BASTARDS OF THE WORLD

--- U N I T E

As a group started for and by single mothers it is natural that we should have questioned the inferior status conferred on our children, and overnight on ourselves, without our permission and against our will.

All attempts to interest academics and legal experts met with a wall of indifference -- "Lawyers are required to practise the law, not change it."

There are two approaches possible:-

1) the reformist

2) the revolutionary.

We looked at a number of anthropological and sociological books and noted that the concept of illegitimacy was a direct result of marriage and that marriage was a direct result of the male domination of the woman (the wife) and the conditioning of woman to believe she did not have sexual feelings, that marriage was the only respectable occupation for a woman, etc., thereby ensuring that all children born to her were his and no other man's, in other words - 'legitimate'.

The Church found this style of marriage very convenient, for it offered the possibility of restructuring sexual behaviour, thus fitting in with the Church's notion that the flesh was sinful and to deny its wants, a spiritual tour de force.

One could reform the inheritance laws to improve the present rights of the illegitimate child; and one could presumably remove the concept of illegitimacy from the Statute book. This would no doubt be vigorously opposed by many males in Parliament and the legal profession. For those who wished to ensure that their property and wealth went only to blood-children and not to usurpers, a battery of blood-tests are available. But they might be in for a shock. A medical research project on antibodies revealed unexpectedly that in about 30% of families involved in a S.E. England town, the paternity of the children was in serious doubt; and this is considered a minimum because the full range of tests were not used and this factor had not been looked for. So a change in the law would in fact probably only reflect the general situation. But there is still so much hypocrisy surrounding sex and marriage that this may not easily be accepted.

Why does there need to be a change? From what little is

known, many illegitimate people (for their don't stay babies or statistics) feel deeply offended by the idea that they were somehow born out of sin, and are therefore also "illegal". It can have a disturbing effect on the self-image and give someone a chip on the shoulder. Some of these people blame their mother's behaviour and others blame society and develop strong anti-social tendencies. The simple fact is that the mother knows her own children but as she has such an inferior status this is not much use. Change her status and you change the child's.

The word 'family' comes from the Roman 'famulus' meaning slaves. And Romans were slaves to the male head of each family. When we realise that our family law is traceable back to Roman times, the picture is quite clear. The Church insists that the family is necessary for children but this is blatantly untrue as it was conceived principally to protect property rights. It is up to us to find an alternative.

The alternative to law reform (which incidentally would not give single mothers economic independence) would be the following:-

- 1) Make sexual activity worthy in its own right
- 2) Accept communal responsibility for children and abolish the concept of "controlling" them.
- 3) Abolish the concept of "responsibility to maintain" which is the State's way of perpetuating the economic oppression within the family.
- 4) Regard parents as 'care-takers' and give children freedom to leave the biological family.

Shirley Frost
Mothers in Action

(N.B. Mothers in Action was started in 1967 and is now pressure group for one-parent families.)

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE
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SE LONDON MENTAL PATIENTS
UNION meets every Tuesday at
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Centre, Creek Road, Deptford,
SE8.

SCOTTISH ANARCHIST
FEDERATION: new Secretary
is Chris Kerr, 9 Mayfield Tce.,
Edinburgh 9.

IN BRIEF

Thirty-seven drug arrests (out of a minimum 8,000 attenders) were made at Windsor Great Park Festival up to Sunday evening. 'Release' accused Thames Valley police of refusing bail to those charged (without warrants). A police spokesman called it "a very peaceful gathering or happening". A Release worker was stopped at Windsor station by a 'plain' clothes policeman who wore a T-shirt emblazoned 'Sexy Remy', the Release man refused to be searched and was taken to the station on a possible 'obstruction' charge. He was held for two hours but not charged, although told his 'case would be reported'. 25,000 young people attended a pop festival at Reading. The assistant chief constable said there were no complaints about conduct. Shops and public houses reported good behaviour. Twelve people were fined for drug offences on Saturday.

According to Tribune it is possible and according to Eric Heffer desirable for members of left-wing sectarian groups (e.g. International Socialists, International Marxists, Independent Labour Party(?), &c.) to be members of the Labour Party and of their own group. Reg. Underhill, Labour's National Agent, this this is not possible according to Clause 2. I.S.'s bureaucrats (in the words of Tribune) consider such back-sliding (as joining the Labour Party) a 'mortal sin'.

Mandrake (of the Sunday Telegraph) reports a small cheering crowd gathered round a blazing building (probably in London). The building in flames was the (safely evacuated) Inland Revenue Office. In Frankfurt crowds watched a 43-storey building burn with 'undisguised jubilation' (Observer). It was the Frankfurt equivalent of Centre Point - a speculative office investment. The police denied that it was political arson.

A prisoner at Albany, Isle of Wight, held a warder at knife point for five hours demanding that his wife, who was in custody in London, be allowed to see him. She was rushed from London and the warder was released. Prisoners at Brixton staged a sit-in because wives and families had been turned away from visits. Visits were restricted, it is said, because of prison officers' grievance 'go-slows' on visits.

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CRISIS CENTRE -- an
Alternative to Mental Hospital

Bill from the BIT office writes:

We are hoping to set up a Crisis
Centre as an alternative to a
mental hospital. It is intended
to take people in a 'freaked out'
state who would otherwise end up
in a State mental hospital. We
have been offered several low rent
houses in London. We need people
committed to alternative psychiatry
to help set up and run the centre.
We are also badly in need of funds
as we intend to pay the workers a
living wage. For further infor-
mation contact Bill at 727 8786
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146 Great Western Road, London
W.11.

GAMES

GAMES HAVE become an import-
ant part of our lives. In our
childhood we learned to play dif-
ferent games of different degrees
of difficulty. These games
changed as our age changed and
so did their degrees of difficulty.
So what is the matter with games?
Nothing is the matter with games
in and of themselves. But it is
the stakes of those games which
make the matter serious and
something which should be looked
at.

In our childhood, we learned to
play games for amusement. They
were simple games with no stakes
but enjoyment for everyone. As
we got older, the games became
more complex, more rigid with
rules. We graduated to sports
games which were more formal.
We had organized tryouts, prac-
tices, rules and schedules to fol-
low, umpires to rule over dis-
putes and as the games became
more rigid in their framework,
they began to lose their amuse-
ment functions. The importance
of winning increased so that there
were now stakes to the games.
Pride, prestige were all served
by the players. We began to
measure ourselves, our success
by how well we played the game,
or rather, to what degree we won
or lost. The fact of winning or
losing was the measure of our
success, regardless of how, as
long as we did not get caught
cheating.

The importance of winning has
overflowed off the playing field,
off the game board into everyday
life. In the pursuits of academic
endeavours, business, politics as
well as social life, winning has
become the pursuit of the players.
With winning there is a victor and
a loser. And as the stakes in-
crease from pride to individual
freedom to life itself, the price
becomes awesome.

The victor of the game pros-
pers, be it in the form of pres-
tige, money, power or influence.
But because there is a victor,
there is also a loser who loses
those same stakes. Politicians
strive to gain more and more
political power at the price each
individual citizen pays, the loss
of the power he or she holds as
an individual. Businessmen seek
to expand profits, markets and
fields of operation. Competitors
are squeezed out so that the con-
sumer pays prices for products
which more than pay for their
value, profits going to the ab-
stract individual called the cor-
poration. The corporation feeds
on the profits of its game by re-

cycling them back into the drive
for more profits, further expan-
sion, more products and wider
markets. The game becomes
self-perpetuating, never ending.
Bureaucratic institutions cycle
in the same manner. In govern-
ment when a crisis arises a com-
mission is created to deal with it
but the solution of the problem
would destroy the purpose of such
a commission. Thus, a compro-
mise is followed where the com-
mission tries to keep in check
those forces which caused the
crisis but not to solve the prob-
lem for that would erase the need
for an agency's existence. Such
so-called efforts to solve a par-
ticular social problem are merely
efforts to keep it from reaching
crisis proportions and thus, main-
taining the status quo.

Game players are very close-
minded and dangerous in their
thinking. By accepting a specific
goal as the purpose of a specific
game, a closed system is created
in which the goal is the end and
tendencies arise where any means
become justified. The creation
of such a closed system is a fan-
tasy in a world based on reality
and fantasies create a fairy tale
view of the world. Such a view
creates thinking like the following
examples. The best way for the
United States to defend itself is to
maintain its nuclear supremacy.
The best way to guard against
germ warfare being used on us
is to have a larger stockpile of
these agents than they. The best
way we can make profits in our
manufacturing is to ignore nature
and treat its supply of natural
resources (raw materials, water
and air) as never ending. Air and
water are free, free to pollute for
profit. Such are a few examples
of the insane conclusions arrived
at by closed system thinking.

Another aspect of this type of
thinking and a much more serious
aspect is the isolation of oneself
in one group of people based on
religious, ethnic or national origin.
Considerations such as 'them and
us', 'the allies and the enemy',
'heathens and pagans versus chil-
dren of god' are all equally insane
modes of thought as those in the
previous paragraph. These modes
of thought divide man from man
and show themselves in such
games as strife between nations
over boundaries, economic mar-
kets, room for population expan-
sion, etc. Religious strife is the
same. Attitudes like 'we must
bring Christ to the heathens' arise
from the attitude that we are right
and they are wrong. 'Them-us'
modes of thought leave the door
open for all types of racial, eth-
nic and religious slurs which
start as defensive in nature and
can proceed to aggressive action
in the name of defence and pres-

BRITISH ANARCHISM-TA

THE BRITISH Anarchist Movement is in a mess. In fact, it always has been, simply because there never really has been a British Anarchist Movement in the real sense of the word. For historical reasons there has never been, for example, a FAI as in Spain.

The Anarchist Movement in this country is, and has always been, nothing more than a collection of disparate individuals and sects. And here I must agree with George Woodcock (Anarchism, p. 414) when he observes: 'English anarchism has never been anything else than a chorus of voices crying in the wilderness, though some of the voices have been remarkable.'

There have been times when considerable numbers of people, calling themselves anarchists, have been active in various fields. But the only time that such individuals have made any impact at all was during the anti-Bomb period of the sixties. Before that, a small anarcho-syndicalist movement came to the fore, in some areas, during the two World Wars. And that is about all.

* * *

Anarchist Federation of Britain

During the sixties, however, a so-called Anarchist Federation of Britain emerged, only to disappear again almost as quickly. Why? Primarily because it was not an Anarchist Federation at all. At best it was a very loose collection of groups (never more than 40 functioning groups) of people who, in the main, accepted the label 'anarchist'. The majority of these people were either students or school teachers who abhorred the increasing trend towards centralisation, big organisations, totalitarianism and, of course, war in capitalist society. They were vaguely anti-authority, and also vaguely 'pacifist' without, in many cases, even being convinced pacifists of the PPU type. They had read a few Freedom Press pamphlets, taken out a year's subscription for Freedom - and they wanted to do 'something'. So, in the main they joined other people's organisations (CND and the like), other people's demonstrations (almost any demonstration as long as it was protesting against some evil), shouted almost meaningless words or slogans and, when most of the country and the various 'protest' groups had lost interest in The Bomb, looked for something else - such as squatting. But with the inevitable decline of 'protest', the emergence of squalid little imitations of urban guerrilla groups with romantic titles such as the Angry Brigade, and the pathetic 'bombings', followed by police harassment of many 'anarchists' and

others, the so-called Anarchist Federation of Britain fell apart. From personal experience of having kept in touch with many of the young, idealistic 'anarchists' of the sixties, one must now assume that most of the so-called AFB are living 'normal' lives as teachers, bank clerks and Social Security officers throughout the country!

That this has happened is more or less inevitable. Most of Britain's 'anarchists' have been young rootless idealists and university 'intellectuals' with no real understanding of the kind of society they live in, no solid working-class backgrounds and even less working-class understanding. Their flirtations with anarchism may, in the post-war climate, have been inevitable, but they were not of the stuff required to build up a serious anarchist/libertarian movement or organisation. Some militants have blamed Freedom, for years the only national anarchist publication in this country. They are, however, putting the cart before the horse. Freedom has only reflected the 'movement'. Hence its influence has tended to decline with the decline of the 'movement'.

* * *

'Organisation Mad'

As the AFB declined, so other small groupings have emerged. Those who have argued that these groupings attempted to 'split' the AFB have also put the cart before the horse. The AFB, such as it was, has always been 'split'.

The new groups, such as the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance and the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists have been accused of being 'organisation mad', or of wanting to build up a kind of libertarian IS. Compared with the completely disorganised nature of the anarchist 'movement' in this country hitherto, they must indeed seem to be 'organisation mad'. Indeed, it is probably true to say that a few comrades have tended in this direction! This is not surprising. But, in my view, unless a lot more anarchists become 'organisation mad' within a very short time, there will be no anarchist movement at all in this country. Anarchism as a theory may become - perhaps is becoming - the 'in thing', but anarchist activism will most surely become a thing of the past!

I am not, however, all that optimistic that the majority of present-day anarchists will learn the lessons from the past. If a healthy anarchist movement does

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emerge, then it will comprise completely new people. If such people come to anarchism in much the same way (protest movements), and from the same social strata, it will merely rise and fall in much the same way as it has done in the past. I have no illusions about the working class being 'instinctively' revolutionary or libertarian; but unless an anarchist/libertarian movement is rooted firmly in that class, it will once again get nowhere. There will be no social revolution. Protest, despite what some comrades think, is not enough. It might possibly assist the revolution, but that is all. A fundamental change in social relationships is long overdue; such a change can only come through revolution; such a revolution must, as Alexander Berkman emphasised, be prepared; it can only be prepared if anarchists and libertarians are organised and ready to act as a catalyst, as an instrument, as a tool, of the majority, of the working class. The workers must emancipate themselves, as has been pointed out many times by some contributors to Freedom, but they cannot do it 'out of the blue' in a completely spontaneous manner. Spontaneity is not enough. Without libertarian organisation, counter-revolution is, and has always been, inevitable.

* * *

Because of the bad image that anarchists (as perhaps opposed to anarchism) have in Britain, some comrades have suggested that the word be dropped altogether. Some libertarian groups, like Solidarity, reject it except to attack it. I have previously pointed out that anarchism 'pure and simple' is not enough, that it is a merely negative doctrine and that it must be linked with communism/socialism. I do not intend to argue that again here.

It is, of course, true that the words anarchist and anarchy have been misrepresented by the media. This is to be expected. Anarchy is almost always equated with chaos (see, for example, the Observer editorial 'Anarchy in the Air', 12.8.73). But most alternatives have also been misrepresented. Vide communism, socialism and the like. So, whatever one calls oneself, one will always have to explain what one stands for. The word anarchist is useful because it, at least, demonstrates that besides working for the common ownership of the means of life and production for use instead of profit, we are for a society without rulers, without

authority. Socialists and communists, if they are revolutionists, are opposed to the present ruling class; we are opposed to all ruling classes. We want a classless society. Because we do not want the capitalist class to rule, that does not mean that we want the working-class to rule in its place. Actually, a little thought would soon demonstrate that such a condition was unobtainable anyway!

* * *

Know Your Theory

One last point. I have often bemoaned the fact that so many anarchists in this country are weak on theory, that they are quite brave on demonstrations and in confrontations with The Law (in a large crowd, I have found this to be pretty easy anyway). It is, in my view, very important that anarchist militants should always know their theory and be able to convince their fellow-workers of the need for a free society; but the other side of the coin is equally bad. The 'intellectual' in his Ivory Tower is, in the main, more than useless. Writing learned treatises on anarchism, or even aspects of anarchism, which if published may or may not find their way into 200 or 300 libraries (on the shelves or in the back room) is not likely to do much for the social revolution. And many of these 'anarchist intellectuals' don't believe in revolution anyway. Or in the class struggle.

Street-corner meetings are mainly a thing of the past. Demonstrations are now few and far between. But the place of anarchists and libertarians is still, to use a phrase, 'among the masses'. Our authoritarian opponents and all the reformist organisations, even when they are not all that successful, are well aware of that. Witness: the Communist Party, the Socialist Labour League, the International Socialists - and the National Front. Moreover, whilst some of the slogans used not only by such reformist groups, but also by anarchists in the past, are pretty inane, we should not forget the emotional approach. I am in complete opposition to the objectives of the National Front, and I abhor most of the views espoused by its leader, John Tyndall; I also disagree with the Front's authoritarian type of organisation, but the following remarks from his talk given at an NF training seminar in Nottingham in July are worth repeating. Said Tyndall:

'Our job consists not only in persuading people of the rightness

of our aims but in inducing them to stir themselves to fight for those aims. One doesn't necessarily automatically follow from the other. We all know that apathy is the greatest enemy of any political movement seeking great change. It may be perfectly easy to convince people that change is needed; they may be convinced, not by anything particular that we say, but simply by what they see with their own eyes. But moving them to do something, to join a political movement and work for it - sometimes at no small trouble to themselves - that's something else entirely. We can only succeed by being effective in both forms of persuasion; by first persuading people as to what is the right road, then persuading them to travel down that road.

'In 16 years of active political work, I've always made it my business to study carefully what motivates people in politics, and I've become absolutely convinced that while reason may play its part in deciding people as to what is the right political course, the forces that spur them into action, that induce them to pull themselves out of that armchair and away from that television set and go out into the night, working for a cause with no prospect of personal reward, are entirely forces of feeling, of emotion. There has to be some great urge in the human metabolism, which has nothing to do with intellectual conviction, to induce this transformation from passivity, from the role of the spectator into the role of the activist.

'And we must never forget that our job is not just to win sympathisers, but to win activists; not just to get people to agree with us but to get them to work, and if necessary fight, for us.'

So, comrades, there you are: are we going to leave it to the authoritarians of the NF, or the International Socialists for that matter? Are we going to just fade away and die? Or are we going to build up an anarchist/libertarian organisation capable of taking the initiative away from the authoritarians? Are we going to remain nothing more than 'a chorus of voices crying in the wilderness' (Woodcock)? Or is it already too late? 1984 is only just over ten years off!!

Peter E. Newell

We welcome news, articles, letters. Latest date for receipt of MSS, Notices &c is Monday in the week of publication. Earlier receipt is helpful.

Freedom Press's 'phone has been restored to full health and vigour. Special Branch must have missed us!

A Grimsby seed firm has started to sell 'a nature conservation blend' of weed seeds 'to restore to the countryside many of the delightful weeds that are so necessary to wild-life'.

Confucius has been denounced by Peking People's Daily as upholding the rule of the slave-owning class and justifying the exploitation, enslavement and governing of the labouring people.

A major demonstration was held against the seizure by the military of sheep-farmers' land in Larzac, France. Workers from the Lip factory at Besancon took part. A huge sheep-fold has been built of stone by young supporters on the site of the proposed military camp.

Dr. Henry Miller, vice chancellor of Newcastle University, wrote in Medicine and Society that of all drugs used for non-medical purposes, alcohol and tobacco are by far the most dangerous. The prohibition of cannabis does more harm than good. There are 350,000 chronic alcoholics with a suicide rate 80 times the normal, and alcohol plays a part in two-thirds of the crimes committed. We smoke, says Dr. Miller, 350 million cigarettes a day, this causes 40,000 deaths annually. There are fewer than 300 heroin addicts and about 7,000 cannabis convictions per year.

In Germany protests have been made to proposals by doctors to examine (without her consent) the brain of Ulrike Meinhof of the Red Army Fraction. This, while reputedly to examine the effects of a tumour, is obviously to work out some theory of terrorists' brain-structure inducing 'mental abnormalities' (see Sunday Times Aug. 19th). Frau Meinhof has not yet been tried.

A Cambridge teacher, Roger Disken (27), who was said to have deserted from the U.S. Army four years ago, was handed over by the Uxbridge magistrates to face a court martial in the U. S. A.

A South African white boy bled to death in Johannesburg after an accident when the traffic officer on the spot refused to allow the boy to go in a blacks-only ambulance.

Sancho Panza

ANARCHISM AND TERRORISM

IN 1921 Malatesta wrote in Umanita Nova of the Diana theatre bomb-throwing:

"I do not need to repeat my disapproval and horror for attentats such as that of the Diana, which besides being bad in themselves are also stupid, because they inevitably harm the cause they would wish to serve. And I have never failed to protest strongly, whenever similar acts have taken place and especially when it has turned out that they have been committed by authentic anarchists. I have protested when it would have been better for me to remain silent, because my protest was inspired by superior reasons of principles and tactics, and because I had a duty to do so, since there are people gifted with little personal critical sense, who allow themselves to be guided by what I say."

Malatesta then goes on to put forward his reasons for defending the men about to be put on trial.

Later in Umanita Nova Malatesta wrote of the same case, "There are, and, so long as present conditions and the environment of violence in which we live last, there will always be generous men, who are rebellious and oversensitive, but who lack sufficient powers of reflection and who in certain situations allow themselves to be carried away by passions and strike out blindly. If we do not openly recognize the goodness of their intentions, if we do not distinguish between error and wickedness, we lose any moral influence over them and abandon them to their blind impulses. If instead, we pay homage to their goodness, their courage and sense of sacrifice, we can reach their minds through their hearts, and ensure that those valuable storehouses of energy shall be used in an intelligent and good, as well as useful, way in the interests of the common cause." *

In 1893, after the Ravachol cases, FREEDOM published an article anonymously, entitled "Anarchism and Outrage". (This was printed as a pamphlet in 1909.) In it the writer asks the question, "Is homicidal outrage the logical outcome of Anarchist convictions?" The writer speaks of 'the anarchist sense of passionate reverence for human personality' and goes on, "Is this an attitude of heart and mind which must logically lead a man on to commit homicidal outrage? With such feelings, with such convictions, must we not rather attach a peculiar sanctity to human life? And, in fact, the genuine Anarchist looks with

sheer horror upon every destruction, every mutilation of a human being, physical or moral. He loathes wars, executions and imprisonments, the grinding down of the worker's whole nature in a dreary round of toil, the sexual and economic slavery of women, the oppression of children, the crippling and poisoning of human nature by the preventable cruelty and injustice of man to man in every shape and form. Certainly this frame of mind and homicidal outrage cannot stand in the relation of cause and effect."

The third section the writer heads: "While homicidal outrages are neither a logical outcome of Anarchist principles nor a practical necessity of Anarchist action, they are a social phenomenon which Anarchists and all social Revolutionists must be prepared to face", and goes on: "There is a truism that the man in the street seems always to forget, when he is abusing the Anarchists or whatever party happens to be his bete noire for the moment, as the cause of some outrage just perpetrated. This indisputable fact is that homicidal outrages have from time immemorial, been the reply of goaded and desperate classes, and goaded and desperate individuals, to wrongs from their fellow men which they felt to be intolerable. Such acts are the violent recoil from violence, whether aggressive or repressive; they are the last desperate struggle of outraged and exasperated human nature for breathing space and life. And their cause lies not in any special conviction, but in the depths of that human nature itself. The whole course of history, political and social, is strewn with evidence of this fact. To go no further, take the three most notorious examples of political parties goaded into outrage during the last thirty years [i.e. 1863-1893]: the Mazzinians in Italy, the Fenians in Ireland and the Terrorists in Russia. Were these people Anarchists? No. Did they all three even hold the same political opinions? No. The Mazzinians were Republicans, the Fenians political separatists, the Russians Social Democrats or Constitutionalists. But all were driven by desperate circumstances into this terrible form of revolt. And when we turn from parties to individuals who have acted in a like manner, we stand appalled by the number of human beings goaded and driven by sheer desperation into conduct obviously violently opposed to

their social instincts".

To bring us nearer to our own day but before the 'Angry Brigade' incidents and trial. On December 20th 1969, FREEDOM's editors, then Bill Christopher, Jack Robinson, Philip Sansom and Peter Turner, signed an editorial on the Italian bombings of that year, including the Milan bank bomb which killed 14 and injured over one hundred. Valpreda, arrested for this crime, was by a technicality (to save embarrassment) released after two years awaiting trial. Pinelli who was questioned on the crime fell or was pushed from a window at police headquarters whilst under questioning. A neo-Fascist has since been charged with that bank explosion.

The then editors wrote, (in part):

"What is necessary here and now, however, is for us to state our attitude to activity like the bomb in the Milan bank last week. This is quite simple: we are opposed to it.

"Blowing people to pieces in a quite haphazard manner, killing men, women and children totally unconnected with your supposed real enemies; maiming and blinding for life individuals about whose way of life, or social, religious or political ideas you must be completely ignorant, is an atrocity...

"Inasmuch as FREEDOM has a policy on violence, it may be said that a majority of us who work on the paper accept that there have been times, and will be times again, when violence is unavoidable. But we don't like it, don't want to be involved in it if there is a better way of reaching our goal and don't think it has anything whatsoever to do with the ideas of anarchism. It may have something to do with achieving an anarchist society - but that's all..."

The leading article concluded:

"To kill a dictator is one thing; to damage a bank as a gesture is one thing, to go in for indiscriminate murder is another altogether. This is the way of governments, not of anarchists. It is one of the reasons why we oppose governments and their various barbarisms. It does not forward the cause of anarchy one little bit."

If you are interested in helping us to found an anarchist group in Heidelberg please contact

Paul Zimmermann
6931 Zwingenberg
Im Hohen Garten 17
W. Germany



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Ireland's Own Ireland?

It is a long time since I wrote for you, but the struggle goes on.

Ten weeks ago on Sunday next I helped move six families out of a perfectly sound house in which they had been squatting since Christmas Eve. They had to get out or go to prison, children and all. The house had been acquired by English speculators, in this case trading under the name of Jason Holdings Ltd who want the whole of Fenian Street on that side of the road, and the adjacent Danzille Lane for an office complex. Of the six families three having more than two children each were housed, but the other three families are still living in home-made makeshift tents on the street. The President says "he has no power" to house them. The Minister for Local Government says "he has no power" to house them. The Corporation say they "have no power" to house these families. Who then has the power? To me the answer is, "We the people". We cannot put them back into the house as we have the dreadful piece of legislation known as "The Forcible Entry Act" which enables the government to put whole families into prison for squatting. I have had letters and articles in every Dublin paper. I've done my own wireless show and arranged a T V one and another wireless one with other people and I've got a project which IS causing the government embarrassment.

I have started a fund to buy a house to be used as a family-unit hostel for families such as these three until such time as the Corporation decide they are entitled to a corporation house. I've collected just on £700 and it is indeed embarrassing the Government as the Minister for Finance wrote to me and said, he would do up and convert into flats a house for me. Unfortunately houses at the inflated prices going nowadays cost about £22,000 at least, so I have replied suggesting he buy me a house - preferably 15 Fenian Street - by the power of compulsory purchase the Government has, and then I will do it up and put in modern improvements. The only home the Corporation offered these unfortunate families was what is politely called a Home for Unmarried Mothers run by the Legion of Mary. In actual fact it is a home for prostitutes and anyhow only the women and children would be taken in, the men would still have to live on the pavements guarding the furniture which though covered with tarpaulins still suffers a lot from the weather, blistered one day, soaked the next. Each of these

three families has one child and two of the women are pregnant, Nuala's baby being due early October. I have a sneaking feeling that directly it is born the Corporation will in fact house all the families as they are becoming more and more uncomfortable at the situation, but the need for a hostel will not end there. After all, even a millionaire stays in an hotel while he is house-hunting; the poor cannot afford hotels, and the housing situation in Dublin is the worst in Europe. Even the grand residential areas are all being turned into offices and the tenants evicted willy-nilly.

However, where I am appealing to all comrades for help is I want to know EXACTLY who Jason Holdings Ltd. are. In Dublin they trade under that name, and also Emerald Holdings, Moore Holdings and Grafton Holdings. They got a mortgage from Northern Commercial Trust Ltd., 61 King Street, Manchester. There my scent ends, but can some Manchester comrade unearth some more for me? I feel that it is highly probable that there is dirty work at the crossroads and if I get enough information I might be able to cry Havoc and let loose the dogs of (pacifist) war.

Hilary Boyle,
86 Pembroke Road,
Dublin 4.

GAMES...continued from Page 3

ervation of what 'we' hold as good (Vietnam!).

Closed system thought clouds reality. It clouds the fact we are all humans and we all have the same right to the basic needs of life, air, water, food, shelter, sexual gratification and love. A male needs them all as much as a female, a Caucasian as a Negro, an American as a Russian. Systems which set people against people, denying people of these needs, are games played to give some advantage over others and interfere with the natural fulfilment of these needs. When people stop wasting their energies and time playing these games, they can provide their own needs for themselves. When they stop thinking and living in closed systems they can apply their energies to imaginative solutions to the problems which we must solve as a species in order to survive. Energies wasted on following rules of a game are better spent in creative endeavours.

So stop playing games with yourselves, your friends and your fellow humans. The game will only end for those who refuse to play. Then we can put the game board away because life is a serious matter and certainly no game.

R. Fortman

bombs

...continued from Page 1

Anarchists understand the message that is expressed in a burst of violence against power that holds millions of human beings in subjection. We know that the armed forces are instruments of repression, and they know it too. We know that plush shopping precincts and the bulging stores in posh areas are symptoms and instruments of the greedy, selfish society that lives and grows fat (although leaner times look closer and the pictures of famine victims jostle the luxury wares in the 'glossies') either by feeding off the wretched of the earth or by ignoring their mute appeal save for an occasional gourmet's donation to Oxfam or a property speculator's gift to Shelter.

But if this is what the bombs are saying, we know that it also has to be said to the workers who make the Harrier aircraft to sell to Franco, Saracen armoured cars for Voerster, jets for Israel, to motor industry workers who are only in it for the money to buy the plush rubbish in the plush shops built by building workers when thousands are homeless just as are the bak- and stockbrokers' clerks pushing about the bits of paper that keep Africans, Asians and all of us in subjection.

So let us get talking to the people who matter, our neighbours, our workmates, in language they understand and can respond to. And dare to say some things that are uncomfortable to hear. Left-wing and nationalist revolutionaries of varying factions proclaim the power of the people, but do not show they believe it by making propaganda to the power, conscience and responsibility of the people. If what the revolutionaries have to say is expressed only in an occasional bang, the people who matter will not think it has anything to do with them. They will put up with the inconvenience of searches in shops and public places and learn to live with explosions and terror as the people of Ulster have done for five years. Anarchists know that no revolutionary group is going to make the revolution, only the people. And if an urban guerrilla group tries to make a revolution which the people do not understand or desire, the people will leave them to their private war with the government -- until some of them fall victim to the mutilating or murderous bomb, when they will most probably line up with the forces of "law and order".

M.C.

work

...continued from Page 1

might mean that extra money can be earned for the family, the fact should not be lost that it is increasing our overall exploitation. Why should those who have already retired return to work? Why should both husband and wife have to work in order to make enough money to live by?

The system provides work not to give an individual his self-expression and satisfaction in creating something worthwhile for the community, but is entirely concerned with profit and how best to achieve it. In the process of making this profit for some remote giant of a company only a few might get some personal satisfaction from his or her work; for the majority work is just a job to go and get away from as quickly as possible.

All the TUC could come up with in answer to the government's proposals was that they would have to sanction plant bargaining so that companies could buy out inefficient practices and make better use of labour. In other words, the trade union leadership does not disapprove of further exploitation, because it would make industry more efficient. Managements and the government would also go along with that. We are always being lectured that we must work harder, be more efficient, etcetera. But those who give us this advice never take off their coats and get their hands dirty themselves. It isn't more work we want but, we should be asking ourselves, what sort of work; whether the job we are doing has real benefit to the community or whether it is just wasteful and destructive. It is not just the "right to work" we want, for that is for slaves, but something of our own choice that satisfies and provides useful and worthwhile goods and services for the community.

P.T.

Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker chided Canadian writer George Woodcock (one-time editor of FREEDOM) for repeating in the U.S. Nation that Dorothy said that if the Pope's Chancery Office ordered her to stop publishing the 'anarchist' Catholic Worker she would do so. Dorothy Day says that even if she was obedient and ceased publishing, others would carry on, so her conscience would be at rest.

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