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WE DON'T NEED THEM!

BOTH Mr. Heath, the Prime Minister, and Mr. Wilson, leader of the Opposition, have appealed to the British public for a sense of national unity in order to face and overcome the energy and economic crises. It now becomes a patriotic duty of everyone to assist the nation to pull through the present difficulties. Arthur Moyses's cartoon expressed this so well last week with his caption "It's curious but the country only becomes ours when there's a bloody war or we're on strike"

Mr. Heath has put the blame for the present crisis on those workers who have taken industrial action against his government's 'Phase Three'. There is no doubt that these disputes are and will bring production to a near standstill and that the crisis has brought about near-panic on the Stock Exchange not seen since the 1930s.

Now as then it will be the working class who will suffer. Short time working, unemployment and further inflation will be our lot in the coming months. It could be a repeat of the thirties. Now, as then, the working class is supposed to discover that they have a

stake in the capitalist system and to do-operate with the employers and government to perpetuate their own economic and political slavery. The people who have produced the wealth are once again called upon to save the system which is "walking on the edge of a precipice". But it is only a minority who own and control the industrial wealth of this country. It is only a minority who operate and control the repressive institutions of the State. This minority is very conscious of its own interests in upholding the present system and will use if necessary every weapon at their disposal to ensure the continuation of the rule of capital.



It is not the job of the producers of wealth to save from disaster those who exploit their labour for profit and power. Already the miners, railwaymen and electrical engineers have shown where power really lies. Their labour, like that of all workers, has been taken so much for granted. Many who don't actually produce themselves or perform any useful work look upon those who do as their servants. Like some "god-ordained order" they expect this class relationship to last forever.

We as anarchists want a classless society where the means of production are controlled by those who work in those industries. We want the present exploitation of man by man replaced by mutual aid and common humanity. To achieve such a stateless society we have to make a revolution to overthrow the present system. Revolution is the only answer to the present crisis which faces not capitalism but the ordinary people of this country. For capitalism can survive. In fact economic power and wealth will be

continued on Back Page

NEWS from BELFAST

IF ANY PROOF were needed that parliamentary politics in this part of the world is a sport at which only the fittest can survive then the recent punch-up between loyalist members of the Northern Ireland Assembly helped to provide it. Fists flew as the boys that fear no noise (the extreme loyalists) launched their attack and soon the Assembly Chamber resounded to thud and groan as they sank winklepicker and stout country boot into the prostrate bodies of opponents lying on the highly polished floor. "Foul beasts," screamed one member of the Alliance Party from a safe distance.

What was it all about? Well, the boys that fear no noise had decided that the arch-traitor Brian Faulkner should be taught a lesson by being evicted from the Assembly and booted down the steps at Stormont. Understandably frustrated when Brian failed to turn up on the appoin-

ted day they settled for the next best thing and went for his supporters.

The intention, as one bearded pugilist later explained, was to drag the members across the bar of the House so that they would technically be outside the Assembly. "But when these fellows were thrown out they didn't realise they had to stay out. It was like a children's game where those who are supposed to play dead won't do so." The boys have promised to do a similar job on members of the S.D.L.P. later.

All of which goes to prove I know not what unless it be that in between the bombings and the shootings life here continues much as usual and I was reminded of this the other day when I met the Revolutionary Socialist in the centre of Belfast. I have known him in the past, first as a straight communist, then as a Maoist, then in rapid succession

a member of two opposing Trotskyite factions and as founder, Chairman and sole member of the World Marxist-Leninist Party.

He too has been making a fresh analysis of the situation. Left sectarianism, he thinks, is one of the curses of Belfast (agreed) and the need is for a broad-based libertarian socialist, Maoist, Trotskyist, Marxist-Leninist party--seriously. As I was turning all of this over in my mind a bomb exploded a few streets away. What about the troubles, I asked? He dismissed the whole thing with a shrug as the ambulances sped by. They were bound to end sooner or later, one way or the other, but in the meantime the crying need was to build a broad based Maoist etc. etc. Well, I ask you. Little wonder that I never venture to write serious and learned analyses of the situation here,

Henry Bell

LETTER

CHILE

Friends--

The coup in Chile was a terrible lesson, not least for Anarchism.

Anarchism means no rulers. Yet the morning of the coup found Chilean workers, in their plants, with a desperate need for defense, organization, leadership, bold leadership.

Instead of organization and leadership, workers on that tragic September 11 were confused, at best uncertain. Some went home, some stayed in the plants, "watchfully waiting". Bombarded by the military, the plants became death-traps.

THE LESSON? Organization and leadership WHEN THE SITUATION CALLS FOR IT. Vanguard? Maybe. Meaning we ought begin distinguishing between "vanguard" and "ruler". The latter would be vanguard institutionalized, formalized.

Anarchism, in other words, cannot these coup days afford the luxury of doctrinaire-ism, must--if ever a new society is to be realized--be ready to BEND WITH A SITUATION, to react positively to fascist danger. The other danger, of course, is that bending beyond a certain point means sellout. YET NO BENDING AT ALL CAN MEAN MASSIVE LIQUIDATION.

Anarchist individuality, yes. Max Stirner, okay. Until, that is, the fascist cloud is on the horizon. Then something more than Max is needed. Maybe Marx. Or maybe Rosa Luxemburg. Why not, PROVIDING THEIR IDEAS ARE NOT PERMITTED TRANSMUTATION TO LEVINIST STATE.

Anarchism can be Marxist con-science (if Marx's famous Manifesto phrase means anything: "The free development of each is the condition for the free development of all"). "Forward," cry my Spartacist friends, "to a workers government!" Great! BUT WITH ONE SMALL ALTERATION: Forward to a workers non-government.

In Chile it was forward to nothing. Reasons for it should be disturbing to those who suppose they can bathe in the warm waters of Stirnerism, non-organization and non-leadership COME WHAT MAY.

Sam Cohen
Detroit

SOFIA LEVCOVICH-KOMOV

one of a few.

At the beginning of this century, European travellers arrived daily at American ports, among them many Russians. The Russians came for varied reasons. The political oppression in their country drove some; material wants others. Life was poor for most of the peasants, and when they learned that it was possible to go to America and earn several hundred dollars, they spouted forth like a giant wave across the ocean. They especially went from the western part of the country. It was mainly men who went - the young and able-bodied. Few women went. It was thought that a woman's place was in the kitchen and with the family. The anxieties of supporting a household, and its authority, fell entirely upon the shoulders of the men. Thus they left to earn a living.

Nevertheless, among the numerous men setting out to America in search of "the golden fleece" women were sometimes found. Among these few women, quite lost in the masculine stream, a pretty girl turned up one day who had been raised in Minsk. Few people knew her maiden name; everyone called her Sofia.

A stately and attractive blonde, Sofia could have married a prosperous man. That's what the few Russian girls who succeeded in getting to America did; they married for money. But money did not appeal to Sofia. She was attracted not to money but to ideas which illuminated the path to a better future - a future in which there would be no injustice.

It would hardly be a large exaggeration to say that Sofia turned out to be the only Russian girl in America to join the anarchist movement. Sofia's personal life was not easy. She lost her husband - also a supporter of anarchist ideas - early, a tragic loss. And later there was the loss of one of her sons. The son was drowned and her husband was mortally wounded by Bolshevik cut-throats.

Sofia married a second time, but she did not get to live long with her second husband. He, too, died soon a natural death. Sofia felt each of these losses deeply. Nevertheless, she lived to be eighty years old.

Sofia died on the 14th September, 1973.

Sofia spent a considerable part of her life in Chicago. She had a small house on the outskirts of the city. Followers of Kropotkin and Bakunin often gathered there. Those who were lucky enough to know Sofia will never forget her. She was a good and sympathetic woman.

Boris Yelensky.

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Squatters led by a local councillor occupied a former newspaper office at Southall, Middlesex, which is planned to be redeveloped as offices. The council (Ealing) has 9,000 names on its housing waiting list. Workmen have already forced their way into the building to rip out interiors.

**

Maoism-Portuguese Style

I WAS FORTUNATE enough to witness last Sunday (Dec. 16) the most rowdy and undemocratic AGM in which I ever took part. It was the well-planned and strategic take-over (coups d'etat are fashionable these days) of the LIGA DO ENSINO E DA CULTURA PORTUGUESA (Portuguese League for Education and Culture) by a group of 16 half-baked Maoists. Using the steamroller technique of block voting (presentation to the Assembly of an unopposed list of 16 candidates who refused to be entered separately, making an individual choice of candidates impossible) attractively wrapped in a banner conveniently labelled "FOR A POPULAR CULTURE", they ousted at the first attempt and technically unopposed, the President, the Chairman, the Secretary, the Treasurer, and all the committee members of this London-based anti-fascist association for Portuguese immigrant workers

Amid angry protests, mutual accusations of malpractice in the pre-election period, personal recriminations, latin hysterical fits, accusations of political provocation (Moscow v. Peking), hints of PIDE (Portuguese political police) infiltration and of petty-bourgeois alienating cliches, the lot confusedly thrown around like muck all over the echoing walls of Camden Studios, I did manage to hear a few honest voices of disapproval and dismay at the use of this type of organised technique, which cleverly makes use of elections, rule books and other authoritarian manipulations in order to take over the political control of immigrant workers' organisations (or any other so-called democratic institutions for that matter).

It should nevertheless be noted that the deposed rulers - an amalgamation of C.P. sympathisers, socialists, social-democrats and other individuals, some Maoists and others awaiting to be labelled - did use in the past more or less the same tools to propel themselves to the commanding heights of the Portuguese League and that similar organisations based on the Continent have suffered the same political castration.

This disgraceful exercise was for me, a libertarian, an excellent occasion to illustrate to some members of the Portuguese League cool enough to listen to me, our anarchist point of view, pointing out to them the frustrating and degrading effects caused by authoritarian and dogmatic attitudes upon people. Why should workers' organisations be penalised and paralysed in their emancipative work by an "ideological idiocracy" bent on

imposing on others their sacred leadership?

What a pity that only 50 or 60 (?) out of 481 members of the Portuguese League had the occasion to witness this scramble for power...the remaining 420 or so having missed their chance to see the selfish and demagogic behaviour of self-appointed ideological leaders of immigrant workers, some of whom go around preaching the proletarian gospel in hotels, hospitals, restaurants and other places of work in the most pathetic and paternalistic manner, loaded as salesmen, with discredited slogans and ready-made phrases on the lines of "Listen, comrade worker, Mao tse tung (or Breshnev) and our glorious parties know what is good and best for you..."

Realising now that there isn't much to choose between Moscow and Peking in matters of non-party self-emancipative action against capitalist exploitation and fascist oppression (both countries' leaders are seen flirting shamelessly with capitalist and fascist bosses) no wonder that in a modest way, slowly it is true, more and more Portuguese comrades at home and abroad are showing a genuine interest in anarchism and in the Portuguese anarcho-syndicalist tradition of uncompromising struggles which has bequeathed to us, for study and inspiration, a multitude of independent, free, non-partisan workers' organisations; cultural, social and co-operative clubs, each of them backed up by an impressive libertarian press, libraries, publishing houses, translated books, etc., which were clandestine up to 1939, alongside similar Spanish organisations (before being physically smashed by international fascism under the approving eyes of the Communist Party Commissars) in the forefront of the Iberian workers/peasants revolutionary struggle.

Concluding, I would like to thank the past and present comrade leaders of the LIGA DO ENSINO E DA CULTURA PORTUGUESA for their splendid authoritarian performance which helped me a lot to explain to some of my friends why I am not, in any sense of the word, a democrat, but instead a confessed and unrepentant anarchist. Claude.

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OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES

JAMES CONNOLLY : Selected Writings. Edited by P. Berresford Ellis. (Penguin, 50p)

IT MAY SURPRISE many who read the introduction to this work to discover that no complete and authoritative collection of Connolly's writings has ever been published, even in Ireland, and one can only hope that Owen Dudley Edwards, who is at present campaigning for this to be done, is ultimately successful. Until this happens we shall have nothing else but edited selections and as selections go this one is pretty good value for the money. Particularly useful is the potted biography contained in the introduction and also the chronological record of important events in Connolly's life which is contained in an appendix. It seems odd that two of the articles, "Bullets, Ballots or --?" and "Revolutionary Unionism and War" are not included in the section on industrial unionism, their exclusion from this section - particularly the former which contains an argument in favour of the general strike - tending to give the impression that syndicalism is nothing more than a form of industrial organisation without any coherent political philosophy behind it.

Particularly welcome is the "discovery" (which this writer pointed out in a previous article in *FREEDOM*) that Connolly never abandoned syndicalism even in 1916. The idea that syndicalism was merely a "passing phase" with Connolly has been spread by his communist biographer C. D. Greaves and is apparently the accepted party line in Moscow where Connolly's works were translated by Kolpakov in 1970.

The editor of this book, unlike Greaves, appears to be an honest man, and we may assume that any mistakes made in the introduction are mistakes and nothing else. There is the inevitable comparison of quotations from Lenin and Connolly and the somewhat gratuitous assertion that both Lenin and Trotsky were influenced by his views. There appears to be little evidence for this apart from an article on the Irish rebellion written by Lenin for the *Berner Tagwacht*. This article contains no reference to Connolly's ideas (it is doubtful if Lenin had ever read Connolly) and with Lenin's noted opposition to syndicalism they would certainly have disagreed on the issue -- in any case Connolly was not a totalitarian.

Anyone who has read the many articles written by Lenin on the

subject of religion will be aware that Lenin had little of a constructive nature to offer on the subject. To read Connolly on religion is to be reminded of what Tolstoy's wife wrote to her sister in 1879: "Leo is still working, as he calls it, but alas! all he is producing are philosophical disquisitions. He reads and thinks until it gives him a headache. And all in order to prove that the Church does not accord with the gospels." In his pamphlet, *Labour, Nationality and Religion*, we find Connolly at work upon the same theme. In reply to a clerical critic of socialism, he frequently points out that there is no incompatibility between the original Christian ethic, before it was perverted by the Churches, and the ethics of socialism.

IRISH REBELLION. MAY 1916.



JAMES CONNOLLY.
(Commandant-General, Dublin Division).
Executed May 9th, 1916.
One of the signatories of the 'Irish Republic Proclamation.'

One of the articles on syndicalism, *Old Wine in New Bottles*, needs to be read carefully. At the outset he states that the idea behind industrial unionism was to build up "a working class administration which should be capable of the final revolutionary act of taking over society." Later we find him condemning "The big strike, the vast massed battalions of Labour against the massed battalions of Capital on a field every inch of which has been explored and mapped out beforehand." It is evident from a careful reading of the article that he is arguing in favour of organisation along the lines of industrial unionism before such a strike can hope to be successful. This has always been IW

strategy, together with the use of the swift sympathetic strike to secure more immediate demands. The spontaneous general strike without any One Big Union organisation behind, the strike which as advocated by Sorel would provide us with an intuition of socialism greater than any words could convey - this strike belongs in the realm of pure mythology. Connolly's arguments in favour of the social general strike will be found in *Bullets, Ballots Or--?* and in the final chapter of *Labour, Nationality and Religion*.

Apart from the articles on syndicalism, his views on woman's rights, revolutionary warfare and Irish history will prove interesting. As an introduction to Connolly's ideas this book is very interesting and worth buying. How Connolly, the master of synthesis, managed to fuse all of these ideas into one coherent whole is another story which is outside the scope of this review. If the long overdue recognition of Connolly as one of the leading political theorists of the century is at least welcome. Another selection of his writings, better than this one but more expensive, was recently published by Jonathan Cape. Bernard Ransom is completing a thesis on Connolly in Scotland and Dr. Antje Sommer is preparing a study of Connolly. Connolly, it seems, is about to become fashionable.

Henry Bell.

MORE BOLSHEVIK COAL

FOR FASCIST SPAIN

HUNOSA, the Spanish state-run coal-mining company, is locking out some of its workers for two months in a determined effort to smash the month-old strike which has been seriously curtailing production. Nearly 5,000 miners are now on strike, with 21 pits halted.

All the strikers are being locked out until December 22. However, the men at the "Samuno" pit, where the trouble first started on November 3, have been told that the mine will be closed to them until February 9. These men have clearly been singled out as a warning to the other strikers. The management is expected to extend the lock-out if the miners do not return on December 22. The strike is over basic pay levels, bonus rates for coal-face workers and general working conditions in the Asturias mines.

...Spain is making good some of the lost production by continuing to import coal from Poland.

Financial Times 12.12.73

In Brief

There is now available the collected works of Winston S. Churchill (34 volumes) for £945.

**

Sweden's former Ambassador to Chile said that since the military coup 15,000 people had been killed, 7,000 arrested and 30,000 made homeless.

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The staggeringly daring headline in the Guardian (Dec. 17) was 'Eurocrap: the British verdict on the Summit'. Referring, of course, to the E.E.C. summit. The BBC in its summary of the papers at 8.40 could not bring itself to sully its lips with the headline but it mentioned the story. The naughty word according to the Guardian's Hella Pick came from 'one senior British official' summing up.

**

Police at Kingston, Surrey raided a drug treatment centre and insisted on examining a doctor's confidential files on drug patients, and others, who attended the centre. The Baptist minister who is a director of the centre said the police had never been very co-operative and the doctor claimed the police were out "to break the centre". The director further said the police had provoked people during the raid and this had resulted in assault charges. The centre's fully qualified nurse was stripped and searched. A disturbed 20-year old boy was taken to the police station because he had Valium - which had been prescribed by the doctors.

**

The two sisters Dolours and Marion Price who have been on hunger strike since being sentenced last month to life imprisonment for London bombings are applying through the courts for a declaration of right against being forcibly fed. There has not been a case against force-feeding for sixty years. [This probably involved suffragettes.] It is a most unpleasant and sometimes unhygienic & dangerous procedure involving the insertion of a tube down the throat (or in extreme cases up the nose). Struggles against such force may result in damage to the delicate lining of the mouth and nose. The applications of the sisters to be sent back to Ireland has been refused, and only one of the defendants has put in an appeal. Whatever may be said of their political views and the rightness of their acts one must honour them for their steadfastness and courage both in court and in prison.

A 21-year old man has been sentenced to death for murder in the Isle of Man which has not yet abolished the death penalty. However since the Island has no facilities for carrying out this sentence and England has probably only one gallows (reserved for treason) it is most probable that the sentence is a mere barbaric formality.

**

Clydebank Town Council has been fined £20,000 for contempt of court in refusing to obey an order requiring it to introduce the second stage of rent increases under the Housing (Financial Provisions) Act 1972.

**

The leader of the Danish Progress Party (which emerged as the second largest group in recent Danish elections) is facing tax and fraud charges. He is reputedly a millionaire, and is a tax-avoidance adviser. The Party's programme combined income tax abolition, abolition of the armed forces and expansion of social services. His party is populist and 'Poujadist' and other parties have refused to invite him into a coalition which, with the fragmented political situation in Denmark, must be formed for a government. It is thought that Mogens Glistrup is being prosecuted in order that he will not complicate attempts to form a coalition.

**

George Ince, sentenced to 15 years for taking part in a billion robbery, began a hunger-strike at Wandsworth Prison. He wants an inquiry into the police investigation on the case which has been called into question - for example by the disappearance of a file of statements and their re-appearance in the hands of a fellow-defendant.

**

Sancho Panza



GODWIN



PALMER



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INCE



PRICE



TUCKER

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Sancho Panza



Riff-Raff

WHILST WAITING around in Exeter for a bus I walked up through the city and came across City Ditch and White Seal; not Rock Groups but cafes. City Ditch being more than a cheap cafe; having a craftshop plus music - their own albums - plus a friendly atmosphere. I only had enough money for a cup of tea, but at 20p the curry and bread looked cheap. The name probably comes from the situation, being under the shadow of a beautiful wrought-iron bridge such as Isambard Kingdom Brunel might have designed. City Ditch is at the bottom end of Northernhay St. -- I think! White Seal is a good ordinary cafe which looks as though it might be connected with the Community Centre just a few doors away. Has jukebox and ghastly but personal paintings on walls. Even more am I convinced that such cafes, such meeting places, should be essential in every English town and village. Not the typical english caff where you get wiped off the table by some snotty owner but the cafe where newspapers and chess and chat are the staple diet. These are not fringe activities but essential places for creating atmospheres and providing ideas and some warmth in the local community. The British and their anglo-saxon colonies around the world still treat cafes as places to gobble down overcooked rubbish; their speed only equalled by the poverty of imagination in the menu and the grease on the walls. I like cafes to write in and think in and meet perhaps total strangers and get to chat them up. The Quasar Cafe in Redruth is changing. The Troubadour still exists in the Brompton Road, London - perhaps the Prompt Corner cafe in South End Green? But for the rest there are a few places run by younger people where the food and drink is part of an overall atmosphere with walls used as information boards and message-holders. Why don't you get together in your area and think about opening one... Given that you are seriously interested in doing much more than simply making money you can only make a few friends and meet some interesting people and who knows perhaps bring out a news-sheet or magazine; start a food co-op or build anew some community feeling - I think this is probably something of the spirit behind City Ditch?

As for me, I've had enough of living isolated in Redruth. I'm anxious to move nearer to London; to help anyone who wants advice about starting bookshops on shoestring; to publish in a more regular and serious way and to give readings from new issue of Whisper & Shout (no. 2) called Redruth Days (which will be on sale for 50p post free). Incidentally, if anyone reading this wishes to reprint What Rough Beast by Alex Comfort - printed in a professional manner - I shall be very pleased to hear since I made a mess of the original being poorly duplicated. (c/o 6 Penrhyn Street, Redruth.

There is a quiet revolution going on within schooling. Not surprisingly, given the need for individual growth and exploration, many libertarians and dare we say it...anarchists...are in the forefront of this change. So many good books coming out that only a librarian or a teacher with lots of spare periods could possibly afford time to read many of them. Yet apart from the Penguin Education Specials there are books like Streetwork: the Exploding School and Vandalism and Education Without Schools which are wholly or partly the work of people like Colin Ward. BEE magazine is something which he helps edit for the Town & Country Planning Association and worth subscribing to - £2 per year from 17 Carlton House Terrace, London S.W.1 (BEE = Bulletin of Environmental Education) which seems to me important in that given any society we need pleasant and encouraging buildings to live in, work in, and certainly to make love in. And if this seems entirely removed from loud revolutionary calls then beware that revolution. It is not out of place that in Stoke on Trent the council is grassing over many derelict areas; using the wide open spaces for tree planting and walk-throughs; all helping to make The Potteries a world away from the smoggy, smutty dirt-ridden days of coal-fired bottle kilns and deaths' head workers literally ground down by dust and glazes. This change is not sudden or dramatic but again is important for our children. And

our children will be reflections of how we treated them and their environment.

The Hazards of Work is an IS publication (International Socialists) which describes the dangers and the lack of careful inspection of Works Premises. It is a valuable book in that it shows conclusively that the dangers from manual and factory situations are incomparable to those of cosy office workers or cool management boards. Did you know for instance that the cinema loudspeakers in the North of England are set at a higher volume because Northerners are deafened, however slightly, by their work in many cases? This is published by Pluto Press at 75p.

Also published by Pluto Press is the Big Red Diary which is a treasure house of quotes from socialist and a few anarchist sources. 1974 edition beautifully designed as well. A pocketbook for the active political freak. It contains a mine of information on such things as US military expenditure; civil liberties; Social Security; housing; sexual freedom; of great bookshops and information desks. Use these for distributing your publication and for gathering a collection of newspapers for your local meeting place. You can learn from other newspapers how to print your own and how to go about distributing it; what are the cheapest methods and where to get secondhand duplicators and offset presses. Big Red Diary is a good 75p's worth.

How much or little we know about Methane (available from Freedom Bookshop 75p + 5p post) as an alternative fuel, or about Backyard Dairy Book (40p) will be increased by buying the books brought out by Andrew Singer's Bottisham Press at Bottisham, Suffolk. This is a small one man publisher/printer with a concern for the environment and for publishing. Send for these books at your peril of being uninformed even if you have to spend your housekeeping money or your electricity bill savings?

Meanwhile Christmas looms on the horizon of the homeless -- why not get a house given for homeless people in your area? Not to become another halfway hostel but a real home with a sympathetic sharing community. You will of course want a large house for those prepared to share the place with people prepared to help the dispirited homeless. This is not an answer to the problem. But is is a way of providing temporary accommodation whilst squats, housing associations and other solutions are found. Right on into the wealthy community's property and pockets!

Dennis Gould.

PEACE ON EARTH

In Brief

FOR SOME REASON connected with the season of the year one generally thinks about this time on the subject of 'peace on earth'. It is generally illustrated in the popular press by a picture from a war going on somewhere (there's usually one!) of a soldier having momentarily ceased blowing his enemies to pieces, kneeling in prayer or dressed up as Santa Claus or some such blatant hypocrisy.

There is much confusion on the subject of peace, pacifism and anarchism and whilst this remains, the hope for 'Peace on Earth' is a utopian illusion.

'Peace' in its basic definition is merely the absence of war. 1973 saw the beginning of one war and the 'end' of two but no peace, since although, formally, the Vietnam war was at an end (as far as the American government was concerned) it was merely 'Vietnamized'. The Israel-Arab 'peace' was merely a truce, and the pot, which has bubbled for years, is still seething.

It is palpably obvious that the nation-States, individually or collectively, have no ability or intention to end war as a method of settling disputes.

Lovers of peace have pinned their withered hopes to the League of Nations and the United Nations, but these paper chains are no stronger than their weakest link and mankind teeters once again on the brink of nuclear destruction.

The anarchist, being fundamentally anti-State is anti-State wars, for he knows that whatever the ostensible purposes of the war and however commendable the cause the States of this world are unlikely to have the same aims as the anarchist. Peter Kropotkin (among others) made the mistake in the First World War and Rudolf Rocker among others in the Second. Unfortunately, we are all human, all too human! Beyond this the anarchist is anti-militarist for he knows that the military is an authoritarian organization for conditioning the individual and is an integral part of the State complex.

At the same time the anarchist, for the most part, is a humanitarian and loves his fellow men (with, as Sacco said, some exceptions), therefore he is consumed with pity for the victims of war and would not, save in a revolution, take part in warfare. What his individual response will be to war when it comes varies with the individual. Some may take up alternative work on the land or in hospitals; some may go before a

tribunal; some go on the run or desert; some join up and work against the military during their service; some go to jail for their beliefs. All these are consistent with anarchist beliefs and valid for the individual.

It will be seen that the pacifist and anarchist positions intersect at several points. The description 'pacifism' is harder to define, ranging from those who prefer peace - and do nothing about it - to those who work actively for peace and the logic of which position leads them to anarchism. It is not incumbent upon one claiming the principles of pacifism to accept unreservedly the ideas of 'non-resistance' (Tolstoy) or 'non-violent resistance' (Gandhi). It is easy to fault the different doctrines of both these undoubtedly original and creative thinkers. It is conceivable that they both set up ideals which it is impossible for mankind to live up to. It is arguable whether they are even worth aiming for. But they do not negate 'pacifism'.

It is logical to develop from a love of freedom and a humanitarian outlook a concept of contact with one's fellows which is not conditioned by their outlook. Much advance in education, in dealing with and analysing 'crime', in treatment and analysis of mental disturbances, in sexual relations have developed from this respect for the person which springs from the anarchist root of freedom and the pacifist root of love of humanity.

It may be thought a special kind of madness to develop from this anarcho-pacifism a 'reverence for life' as a whole leading to vegetarianism and its various lovably 'cranky' offshoots. But mankind is diverse hence the need for a free society.

The anarchist who believes in class-war, or in individual acts of violence or assassination, or in aggressive relationships with his fellow-humans is not harmed or retarded in his career by these pacifists. When the violent-anarchist-revolution comes ambulance men will no doubt be needed, and food growers.

Peace on earth will assuredly not come through the efforts of those pacifists who have no wish to change the status-quo but only through a fusion of anarchism and pacifism which can simply be called anarchism.

Jack Robinson

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE is at 54 Harcombe Road London N. 15

BELFAST TEN DEFENCE COMMITTEE 88 Roslyn Road, London, N. 15

A Colchester deputy shop-steward arrested by Colchester police in connection with a fire at Woolworths (and later released with a delayed apology) was charged with illegal possession of opium. He stated in court that he believed his 'phone had been tapped for he 'phoned his wife from Shrewsbury (where he had gone for a demonstration) to bury the 'stuff' from the boxfile in the garden. Four hours later the police entered with a search warrant and asked "Where have you put the stuff that your husband told you to bury in the back garden?" When asked about it during two house-searches and eight hours questioning by the police, a detective-sergeant said 'the call had been picked up on a crossed wire'. The police declined to comment.

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A French government spokesman said that the 'bugging' of the telephone of Canard Enchaîné, the French satirical weekly, did not warrant Cabinet discussion.

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In Turkey by 'a simple error' the bill for the Republican People's Party's telephone line in the Parliamentary building was sent to the national intelligence agency. The Party claimed that this was because the line was tapped by the agency. This has been denied.

**

Bureaucrats' Tea-Party

PICTURE THE SCENE: - a local office of a large Government department. In its way it is a microcosm of the hierarchies and class divisions of society and yet, in Kettering, such an office has started a quiet revolution.

Traditionally women clerks in the office have made tea for the higher grade "professional classes" but at a union meeting a few weeks ago the women's revolt began. They decided that they were not prepared to accept the role of tea-makers any longer. Equally surprising was the support they received from the men clerks in the office.

Imagine the look on the face of the robot in charge of the office when he was told by the office secretary (shop steward) of the union that he would have to make his own tea in future! Now while the clerks, men and women, make tea for themselves, the "professionals" go without.

The revolt has now spread to another office in Northampton. You'd better believe it -- the revolution has begun. T.P.

UNITED WE STAND

"The centre cannot hold..." these words could, if we are to believe the gloomy reports in the newspapers, have been penned specifically for the situation in this country today. The petroleum crisis has exposed the many weaknesses of the highly centralised capitalist economy. Lawrence Marks of the Observer reckons that if, as is forecast by Sheikh Yamani the price of oil rises to ten dollars a barrel, then our balance of payments deficit will double due to the increased cost of our imported oil. So even if we achieve the target $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ growth rate then all this additional wealth will merely serve to pay off the increased bill for imported raw materials. The higher wages (up to 9%) permitted by Stage Three will merely be reflected in equivalent rises in prices and the inflationary spiral will continue.

The people of Britain are quite justified in the disillusionment which has manifested itself in recent by-elections and opinion polls. They can see that the centre is not holding, but who is to supply the answer to these seemingly insurmountable problems?

For years anarchists have advocated decentralisation not only of political decision-making but of almost every aspect of life including energy resources. The natural supplies of energy available to us, which include hydro-electric power from the harnessing of tidal energy, wind and solar energy, and even the use of methane gas derived from organic waste to power cars, have not been exploited because the present huge international companies believed that centralisation and standardisation of energy resources best served their short-term interests.

Anarchists do not share their fellow citizens' gloom, because we can see that by decentralising industry and running it for need not profit by the workers all the problems of present day Britain and the rest of the world can and must be solved.

We hold the solution to this reputedly insurmountable problem. We must present our views in a clear and uncompromising way to the public. The old adage, "United we stand, divided we fall," is as true today as it ever was. Let us then stand together and present the anarchist solution to the bewildered public who desperately seek the solution which we alone hold.

Patricia Poulson.

In Brief

According to the Times, the Government with 85,000 soldiers, 83,000 airmen and 80,000 sailors stationed in Britain has at its disposal one of the country's biggest work forces.

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Winson Williams, accused of threatening a foreman at Fords with an iron bar, was wrongly sacked said an industrial arbitrator of the Department of Employment. There was, he said, 'no case' for Mr. Williams's dismissal and he should get his job back. After his dismissal 2,400 workers had walked out at Dagenham in protest.

**

George Metesky known as the 'Mad Bomber' was released from seventeen years' imprisonment as an insane criminal. For ten years he had been planting homemade bombs in cinemas (he had a grievance against a prominent cinema chain). He was never put on trial.

**

Thirty anti-apartheid demonstrators twice ran onto the pitch at the rugby match between Natal University and Abergavenny Town. One demonstrator chained himself to a goalpost but the chains were cut by a rugby supporter with a hacksaw (says The Observer). Are hacksaws standard gear for rugby supporters?

WE DON'T NEED THEM..cont. from P.1

concentrated in fewer hands as the weaker and smaller companies go to the wall.

People have to desire a change and be conscious that they can organise and run industries for the benefit of the community. The present crisis is an opportunity to turn the industrial disputes into a springboard for taking over industry. Other workers could join them and instead of producing goods for the employers and profits they could start to distribute them to ordinary people. For too long a majority have produced the goods and created the wealth so that a minority could enjoy power and riches. This minority creates nothing that is worthwhile for the rest of the community. When workers employed at essential jobs take industrial action then the real importance of their work is felt. Even working-to-rule causes a crisis.

Workers will have to by-pass the employers and the State and produce and distribute their goods to the people. We should look beyond economic demands and take what has been created by hand and brain of the working class. They need us but we don't need them.

P.T.



THURSDAYS 2 - 8 p.m. he help fold & despatch
FREEDOM at Freedom Press.

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY will pass another Xmas and another birthday in prison this year. Picket at Soviet Embassy to remember him & family. Hope you can stop by during the day of Sunday, 30th December (David Markham)

MENTAL PATIENTS UNION (1) new N.W. London group contact Geo. Robinson, 25 Oxenholme, Harrington Square, N.W.1 (387-3143)

(2) MPU no longer in Prince of Wales Road. Co-ordinating Committee MPU c/o 37 Mayola Road, Clapton E.5 or (if necessary) phone 01-986 5251

CORBY WITHDRAW THE TROOPS CAMPAIGN. For details of activities phone Terry Phillips at Corby 66781.

CABARET OF THE MINORITIES will be located Wednesdays, Thurs. & Fridays at Int. Libertarian Centre, 83A Haverstock Hill NW3. Commencing January. Artistes: e Scött, John Olday, Donovan Pedelty &c.

ANARCHIST WOMEN'S GROUP meets Mondays. Tel. 883 2457 for details.

CORBY ANARCHISTS. Discussion meeting first Friday every month at 7 Cresswell Walk, 7.30 p.m.

LIVERPOOL ASA contact May Stone C.32 Summerfield, Tower Hill, Kirkby, near Liverpool.

LONDON ASA for details phone 226 0817

INDUSTRIAL NETWORK - W. Allin c/o 9 Wood Road, Manchester 16

INT. LIBERTARIAN CENTRE/CENTRO IBERICO 83A Haverstock Hill NW3 Sats. & Suns 7.30 pm. tel. 586 2038

IRISH LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST FED. write New Earth, 112 Thomas St. Dublin 8

SOME LONDON ANARCHISTS meet socially Sundays 7.30 p.m. at Finch's The One Tun, Goodge St. W. 1 (Don't ask at bar).

CORRECTION of address GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE: PAOLO BRASCHI, C.P. 4263, 20100 MILAN, ITALY.

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