

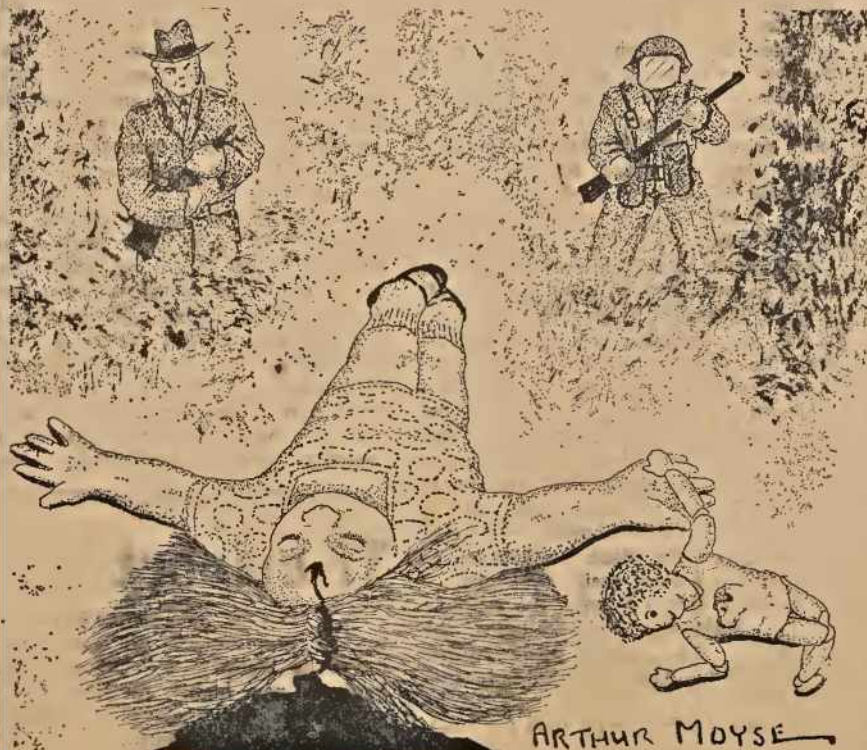
## The Real Enemy in Ireland

GOVERNMENTS are always very quick to condemn and deplore violence when it is used against them, but all the time they are waging war on their own populations in the name of 'Law and Order'.

Such hypocrisy and double standards are fully illustrated in the statement issued after the conclusion of the tripartite Government talks on Northern Ireland. It reads: 'We are at one in condemning any form of violence as an instrument of political pressure and it is our common purpose to seek to bring violence and internment, and all other emergency measures, to an end without delay.'

In itself, the act of internment is a violent measure, even discounting the cruel treatment by the army of the internees, and was an instrument of political pressure upon the opponents of the Stormont Government. The crime of these opponents was a political one, but governments and their systems of law always define political acts as criminal in order to try and discredit any opposition.

Such double-think on the part of politicians is turning support away from them and making people realise that they have to rely on their own efforts. John Graham says in the *Financial Times* that 'There can be few countries in Europe where politicians are held in such low esteem. Most of the



'OOPS SORRY'

Catholic population have an almost total distrust of the Unionists, and do not put all that much faith in the Catholic members of Stormont.'

Both Mr. Heath and Mr. Lynch are hoping that the opposition MPs will take part in the talks with Mr.

Maudling. However, these MPs are insisting that all internees are released before they will consider this. The representatives of moderation and compromise have got themselves into a difficult political situation from which they are finding it hard

to extricate themselves, without being accused of 'selling out' by their respective supporters.

### NEAR BREAKING POINT

Such a situation shows very clearly that nothing worthwhile can come from the compromised solutions that are the stock in trade of politicians. Their answers could lead to disillusionment and resentment on the part of either of the two religious communities. The danger, obviously, is that this enmity could break out into widespread open hostility between them. The bombings and shootings by the Provisional IRA has made matters worse and internment has played right into their hands. There are plenty of signs that Protestant resentment is near breaking point. There has been fighting between Protestants and Catholics on building sites and the former have ordered the latter off the sites.

Segregation of the two communities has been the deliberate policy of the religious leaders of both faiths. It has suited their purposes and has become so ingrained in the thinking of people that it has now become not just a difference of religion, but one of race also. A striking example of this is to be found in the field of education where schools are wholly Protestant or Catholic. Being in the majority, the Protestants have used this difference and ruled on this premise. Equally, one would not put it beyond the realms of possibility for a Catholic majority to react in exactly the same way if they were given the chance.

### FORGET RELIGION

While the authorities are capable of handling the bombings and shootings of the Provisionals, there is little they can do against the campaign of civil disobedience. This tactic has gained vast support and is worrying the local authorities and Stormont far more than they are

prepared to admit. The campaign is mainly centred around the refusal of the Catholic community to pay rent and rates. If religious differences can be forgotten and a common bond created between the mass of ordinary people, then this civil disobedience could spread to the Protestant areas. Let us face it, the Protestants also suffer from indignities, injustice, low wages, and poor housing. We know that Catholics have suffered more because of the inability of the State and the capitalist methods of production to provide the wherewithal of life, but Protestant workers are not much better off. Their prejudices have been used by a political, religious and economic minority to hold onto their power and privilege.

As anarchists we assert the common bond which exists between all. We want people to stop letting themselves be divided by those who want to govern, to order, to imprison and intern others, whose opinions are thought to endanger their positions of power. Anarchists believe in revolution, but not in destruction for its own sake as implied by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, when he was speaking at the United Nations on the question of Northern Ireland. It is governments and nation states that have caused more destruction, war, death, famine, exploitation and inequality of the human race than anyone else. It is the minority of the ruling class, whether political, economic or religious, that has divided people and trodden them into the ground, using the jackboot of the Communist or Fascist State or the slip-on shoe of the 'democracies'.

We only want to destroy the institutions of the State that function in this way. We dedicate ourselves to their destruction, knowing that only when they lie in ruins will the people be free to build a society based on 'liberty, equality and fraternity'.

P.T.

## Standing on their own feet or on ours?

WITH THAT BLANDNESS which characterizes official utterances, the London Transport Executive has informed the Greater London Council that because of their 'financial needs, which are higher because of wage and cost increases since fares went up in August last year', it will be necessary to impose fare increases on London Transport of an average of 13%—on the Underground, where a great decimal diddle took place, some increases could be as high as 100%. This, we are further informed is necessary because the GLC says that London Transport must (wait for it!), stand on its own two feet and make an annual operating surplus of two million pounds! Since this two million must come out of the London travellers, it would seem (and indeed it is often literally so in the rush hours) that it is the travellers'

feet which are being stood on.

Reflection will show that since the majority of users of London Transport are London ratepayers, and indeed almost all of them are British taxpayers much of this 'fairy gold' is being taken from one pocket (ours) and put into another (whose?). London Transport Executive pays tax on its fuel (central government); driving licence fees (local governments); motor vehicle tax (including road fund); rates on garages and bus signs and shelters (local government); pay-as-you-earn taxes from bus employees (central government); social security insurances for employees (central government) and probably least but by no means last, dividends to stockholders of 'nationalized' companies and interest rates to loan companies for purchase of vehicles and rolling-stock (who?).

The complexity of these transactions demands an army of clerks, accountants, auditors, cashiers, civil servants, lawyers, estate agents, valuation officers, bankers, etcetera, all with functions far removed from the simple necessity of getting Citizen X from A (where he lives) to B (where he works). This vast expanse of labour is only necessary because it is thought necessary that he should pay for it.

Were transport to be free, and free of all these burdens, the necessity for this vast army of officials would disappear. Incidentally much of the payload carried by London Transport is part of this vast army of parasites. As with much of modern technology, the transport system exists to solve problems which would not occur were it not for the existence of the system.

Obsessed as it is with the cash nexus,

the GLC, the LTE and 'the authorities' refuse to consider transport as a social service to be provided 'free'. The chauvinism of local ratepayers is assumed to be so general that 'free' transport would 'only benefit strangers and foreigners'. If the real concern of the GLC is money there is a simple solution to the problem of traffic and transport in our large towns.

Colin Buchanan in his book *The Mixed Blessing* writing of the motor-car said, 'Now, suddenly as it were, a startling new habit has developed. A single invention, in the course of a few years' development, has placed within the grasp of every man and woman a means of rapid personal movement ten or twenty times faster than walking. Suddenly, at a stroke, the familiar arrangement of buildings, streets, and footways that have endured so long as to seem unchangeable, are jerked out of date as people race and jostle in the streets in their new-found mobility. It is not a matter of building a few roads, it is a matter of dealing with a new social situation. New urban arrangements are needed if the killing and wounding, the noise and stink and confusion, are to be avoided. Alternatively, the old arrangements may yet suffice if the new mobility is surrendered, or at least drastically restrained. It is certain there has never been a choice so significant to the future of our towns.'

The onward march of the parking meter has imposed a restricting tax on the use of the car in towns. True, it has like most fiscal measures penalized the less-well-off and it has even been claimed that the money collected from meters does not even pay the cost of collecting it and the provision of meter-attendants. It is patently obvious that the money is not, as promised, going to the provision of off-street parking. Having swallowed this very small carrot for a large dose of the stick would not a further extension of the principle

Continued on page 2

## Russian Spies

OUR WONDERFUL government has, for reasons best known to itself, just revealed that many members of the Soviet diplomatic corps, trade delegations and companies, and the like, are, in fact, secret agents and officials of the dreaded *Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti*. Spies! And, instead of sending just two or three packing every couple of months or so as has been the usual practice of both Tory and Labour administrations, have declared over one hundred Russians *persona non grata* and told them to get out within a fortnight.

The Soviet press, news agency TASS and government (which is all the same outfit), deny that their officials in Britain were spying, accuse the British government of relapsing into the Cold War and make veiled threats of reprisals. No doubt, Moscow will discover an appropriate number of British agents in the Soviet Union who will then be declared *persona non grata* there, and sent packing back to Britain. Our wonderful government will then deny that its diplomats and officials were ever spying, and will send a 'strongly-worded' Note to the Soviet government. And so the sordid game will go on.

That's how the State—all States—operates; and all in the interests of the ruling class, and to the detriment of

the rest of us, in Britain, Russia, and everywhere else as well. Generally, 'our' spies and agents are rather more circumspect, less crude, more 'gentlemanly' than their Russian counterparts; they are also at a greater disadvantage. It is easier to spy in Britain than in the Soviet Union.

Spying is, of course, a dirty game. It is, however, inevitable within capitalist (including Soviet State, capitalist) society. All States attempt to steal the secrets of other States. Yet, at the same time, when their agents are caught with their pants down, they, like the Russians recently, pretend that they don't do it. Their denials are unlikely to fool anyone—even their own people. Anarchists are opposed to spying on behalf of 'their' or anyone else's State. If an anarchist happened upon a State 'secret', he is more than likely to tell everyone he meets, assuming that the 'secret' was really worth knowing. Unlike the Communists, he would not pass it on to the Soviet Union to the exclusion of anyone else. Furthermore, it is self-evident that within an anarchist society there would be no State secrets, simply because there would be no State and no secrets. Spies would be 'unemployed'!

P.E.N.

## Apologies

WE WISH to apologise to all comrades, contributors and readers alike, for any mistakes in the text of last week's issue of the paper and any omissions from articles. In the words of that old cliché, they arose through circumstances beyond our control. However, unlike most users of the phrase, we name those circumstances as being holidays and the difficulties that occurred in dismantling, moving and re-setting up the ancient but still very capable press on which 'Freedom' is printed.

EDS.



# Never Trust Anybody Over 100

TO VARY the old *Punch* joke: has anybody noticed how young the demonstrators are getting? This thought is prompted, not only by the publication by Peggy Duff of her memoirs (of which we have not received a review copy) but also by the publication of *Bann: Outlaw Manifestos and Ephemera 1965-70* (Penguin Books) edited by Peter Stanshill and David Zane Marowitz (75p) (of which we did receive a review copy).

The eternal vanity and joy of the young is to believe that everything started with them. Messrs. Stanshill and Marowitz (each 28 years old) have wisely dated their collection 1965-70 but still one gets the impression that this was where it was at. Peggy Duff at one time believed that it all started (and finished) with CND; she once gave *Paris Match* the impression that 'Spies for Peace' was her idea—maybe it was a mistranslation.

To look at *Bann*, one would believe that the cut-off point was 'when the gloomy earnestness of the "protest" movement was displaced by a "tough" frivolity and a creative lunacy', to quote their preface.

Disregarding the strong currents of surrealism which has marched alongside anarchism and protest since the inception of surrealism; and putting to one side

the evolution of the hippie-yippie movement from the background of the San Francisco scene of the IWW and the beatniks, there was still a light-hearted protest movement even before the Provos (c. 1965).

The London Anarchist Group regularly ran an anti-election campaign in the fifties. One piece of ephemera distinctly recollected is Donald Room's (and others') leaflets, 'Vote for Joe Soap', 'Election Guyed' and the 'Crocodile' campaign with a Trafalgar Square gathering—this was probably the first political 'entertainment' in the Square.

In 1955 there was not only the Joe Soap campaign. There was also a furore about Mrs. Margaret Knight's broadcasts 'Morals Without Religion'. In 1956, after the denunciation of Stalin, Khrushchev invaded Hungary; coincident with the British attack on Suez. The meeting arranged in Trafalgar Square was taken over by the Labour Party to protest about Suez—but they vetoed any resolution on industrial action.

After Hungary, the Left seemed never quite the same. The story is told of three intellectuals in a Hampstead pub, one of whom announced he had quit the party after the invasion of Hungary. The second said, 'I quit at the time of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact', and the

third said smugly, 'I got out at the time of the Moscow trials'. The old waiter who was looking after them said, 'I couldn't help hearing what you said. As far as I'm concerned it was Kronstadt that browned me off.' 'Every man,' as Koestler said, 'has his Kronstadt.'

The New Left, which was suspiciously like the old, began at Suez and Hungary so that conventional politics seemed to have been destroyed and it was the right time for a movement like CND to succeed. The first Aldermaston (1958) went the other way, from London to Aldermaston and without Peggy Duff's organization. This march had the spontaneity and lack of centralization which gradually ebbed away from CND. The passing of the initiative from CND to the Committee of 100 was only to be expected after Hugh Gaitskell's 'gross betrayal' in lobbying within the Labour Party to defeat the nuclear disarmament resolution. 'Betrayal' is only possible when there is a slavish relationship, where each uses the other for their own purposes. Bernard Levin's stricture on Peggy Duff's criticism of Gaitskell is as incredible as her naïvete.

Meanwhile back in the bedroom, where it all happens (as Wilhelm Reich said)—when Richard Neville was just a gleam in his grandfather's eye—scientists had come up with the birth pill which was to create the possibility of a sexual revolution. FREEDOM was probably the first non-technical paper to feature this (1957). The great 'discoveries' of today's cults—Reich, Mumford, Neill, Goodman, were all known to the anarchist movement long before the hippies, the provos, the Kabouters, the Black Panthers or the Weathermen erected their Pantheons.

The New Left, following the example of the Malatesta Club, founded the Partisan Coffee-House—'where is that party now?' The 1959 Aldermaston March reached Turnham Green to be proffered a *Daily Worker* with the headline 'Tibet: Dalai Lama Asks for Aid'.

In 1961 came the demonstration at Holy Loch which laid the foundations for the Committee of 100 activities. Terry Chandler emerged as the all-purpose all-time demonstrator, a one-man revolution. One remembers the other young comrades, one of whom taught us 'We shall overcome' and the principles of Japanese pole-handling to embarrass the police.

1962 was the year of the missile crisis. When, in their own deathless prose, the K's stood eyeball to eyeball—and somebody blinked. It has never yet been admitted who, so both leaders emerged as defenders of peace. All the Cuban confrontation served to do was, to quote a fashionable phrase, to 'polarise the issue'. The pro-peace, pro-Russia, pro-Cuba lobby were confirmed in their prejudices, and when in 1963 a small group of London anarchists invaded the Cuban Embassy (to protest about civil liberties in Cuba) it remained

unnoticed. Except by the Cubans, who shortly thereafter replaced their Ambassador, probably for wearing pyjamas during office hours on Saturday afternoon.

*New Society* (9.9.71) contains an article by the Assistant Professor of Political Science at the State University of New York on the 'Committee of 100: a new political model' in which, with the usual professorial flair for the obvious, he discerns new political trends in the Committee of 100. Wishing not to soil his thesis with dirty words like 'anarchism' or 'syndicalism', he purports to find a correlation between civil disobedience and the pattern of organisational growth. He concludes, 'Some have argued that civil disobedience may not be an effective tactic in bringing about social change, but that it may contain as well the seeds of a purer democratic form, with built-in checks against oligarchy and stonewalling. But an evolution from persuasive to coercive disobedience does not necessarily augur well, for democracy, pure or impure.'

The anarchical nature of the Committee of 100 had been obvious from the first. They by, so to speak, 'doing the works' came to 'know the doctrine' of anarchism. This tail wagged the dog of CND to the perpetual despair of Peggy Duff, and when, in 1963, the anarchically-oriented 'Spies for Peace' burst into a Reading RSG and at the end of the Aldermaston March the anarchists spread across Whitehall, Peggy

Duff could do nothing but denounce the Spies and accept the Whitehall *fait accompli*.

It was in 1963 that the libertarian implications of protest and *vide* the Assistant Professor augured ill for our impure democracy. In a Committee of 100 demonstration against Queen Frederika of Greece, Detective-Sergeant Challenor was rash enough to frame Donald Room, a London anarchist (and cartoonist in *Peace News* and *FREEDOM*). The activities of the Committee of 100 were enough to demonstrate quite clearly the fallibility, corruption and brutality of many policemen. The Challenor case blazoned the message across the headlines.

Almost unnoticed in the crowded year of 1963 was what seemed to be ephemeric, a non-event; when the Committee of 100 demonstrated at Newington Lodge, a GLC hostel for homeless families, this was the seeding ground for the great squatting movement of the sixties, the rebellious potential of which seemed to exhaust itself in the Piccadilly Street Commune of 1969. The reformist potential blossomed out into Ron Bailey and Jim Radford's doubtless socially-useful accommodation with various London councils; but neither in the rebellion nor the reform was a revolutionary philosophy of squatting evolved, this only happened in the minds of those who 'did the works'.

The same lesson applies to all this history of the ephemera which gave birth to the *Bann* ephemera and of the events that marched alongside the CND, 'the upstage army of the baddies'. My criticism of *Bann* is of course that it's not another book, which is, of course, completely unfair. All I can say of Peggy Duff's book, not having seen it, is that a book slammed by Bernard Levin, can't be all bad. JACK ROBINSON.

## 'You should not have joined the queue'

RECENTLY Judge Alan King Williams admonished a defendant who complained about the delay in hearing his case. The Judge said, 'There is so much work that everybody has to take his place in the queue. You should not have joined the queue.' The National Council for Civil Liberties comments in its *Bulletin*, 'It is not recorded whether the defendant apologised for being charged with an offence which he sought to prove he did not commit.'

The scandalous delays in bringing cases to trial and the usage by prosecution of denial of bail and detention 'on remand' has become obvious enough to be noticed even by the Lord Chancellor, Hailsham né Hogg. This reached its apex with the remand (until probably January!) of Jake Prescott and Ian Purdie charged with offences of 'bomb outrages' on what seems to be the flimsiest of flimsy evidence (gained from information laid by two fellow-prisoners, 'A' and 'B'). This long series of remands culminated with a readiness to go to trial which was again postponed for a month. Now, following a series of raids which rode roughshod over civil liberties, the intrepid Commander X has hauled in more 'suspects' including Stuart

Christie. With this excuse, the whole case has been remanded again until what could be the New Year.

This means that Jake Prescott and Ian Purdie will have been in custody for ten and nine months respectively without having been found 'guilty'. Indeed, if they are found 'guilty' they will 'benefit' from this delay for some of it will be deducted from their sentence. If they are innocent (should justice operate for once) they will get no benefit. In the words of Judge King, they 'should not have joined the queue'.

It was once said of English law that everyone is innocent till he is found guilty. With nasty foreigners it is of course quite different. Incidentally Comrade Valpreto of Milan has not yet come to trial—we expect nothing better of the Italians. And of course, everyone knows how long the Americans take for trials but, at least, you can get bail more easily.

It is quite obvious that Commander X is fully resolved to make a case of it—even if he has to create an Angry Brigade built up from Memory Lane and Jake and Ian and Stuart will be kept in jail just as long as he wants them to be, whether they are found 'guilty' or 'innocent'. THE EDITORS.

## Transport

Continued from page 1 to the provision of toll-gates in all towns be logical? Private cars would have to pay highly for the privilege of killing, wounding, polluting the air, and the ears and contributing their bit to the tangle of traffic in towns.

Although municipalities are being pushed to this solution they hesitate before desecrating this sacred cow of the private car and its esoteric connections with the export trade. If the private car is so inviolate it would probably be less of a shock to the collective psyche to institute free travel—and would probably cost less than toll-gates!

It may be that the private car is such a status symbol—and an outlet for aggression—that many will still be reluctant to give up their cars even with

free transport, but free travel will break the deadlock, if not the traffic-jam.

Something is needed to break the vicious spiral of price rise—wage rise—price rise. It seems impossible that London's hordes of travellers will go on strike by walking to work or by not paying their fares. One wishes they would, but the only method of striking against rises in fares seems to be the acquisition of some alternative means of transport which starts up another vicious spiral of falling takings and blocked streets—increased fares and slower and less-frequent transport.

It is possible that London is an unsolved and insoluble problem. It may be that the solution is, as so many seem to be finding out to 'walk away and leave it' but whilst it still exists something must be done about it.

So... No Fares Please! JACK ROBINSON.

## The World is Round

Dear Comrades, Arthur Uloth's excellent piece on race and intelligence omits the important point that Jensen's findings, besides being doubtful, are persistently misrepresented by the various advocates, brown and puce, of racial hostility and racial segregation.

Jensen finds, not only that blacks in a given geographical region are on average less intelligent than whites in the same region, but also that the most intelligent whites and the most intelligent blacks are equal in intelligence, as are the least

the slightest that a person's skin colour is a rough indicator of his intellect.

Only those who do not understand the statistical expression on average can suppose that Jensen means 'black individuals are dimmer than white individuals'. And nobody can find cause for pride, shame or hostility in his results, except those who think of themselves not as individuals, but merely as aspects of a group with similar attributes.

Anarchism is the opinion that individuals should be sovereign. One of its axioms is that individuals are the only real people, and that averages, races, nations and so on are not people but mere concepts. Should Jensen's findings be proved correct (and though doubtful they are by no means thoroughly discredited), they will not constitute an argument against anarchism. DONALD ROOM.

## LETTERS

intelligent of either pigmentation. No one can reasonably deduce from these findings, 'I am white, therefore I am more intelligent than a black', or 'I am black, therefore I am alleged to be less intelligent than a white'. Assuming for the sake of argument that Jensen's arguments are correct, it does not follow in

## Freie Arbeiter Stimme

Dear Comrades, Please accept the following corrections concerning the notice 'Eighty Years Freie Arbeiter Stimme' in *FREEDOM*. The *FAS* was born in New York July 4, 1890. The first Yiddish anarchist paper was the *Warheit*, born February 15, 1889, in New York; it was also the first Yiddish party paper.

The moving spirit of the early Yiddish anarchist movement in the US was Johann Most.

The *FAS*'s most famous editors were: the legendary martyred labour poet, David Edelsthat; the profound thinker, Dr. Morrison; and the most gifted Yiddish publicist, who wielded great influence in the Jewish labour movement, literary world, and the theatre, S. Yanovsky.

London gave birth to *Der Arbeiter Freund*; its editor and moving spirit, Rudolf Rocker.

J. M. FRAGER, Secretary, Editorial Board.

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# Towards a Moneyless Society

**MONEY IS THE ROOT** of all evil, or so the song says. There is no doubt that money has been the curse of mankind. Yet to suggest that money is needless, is to invite laughs of scorn and derision, and even accusations of insanity.

We are all well aware of the fact, that money came into existence, because barter as a means of exchange in primitive society was nearly impossible. To exchange two cows for one hundred animal skins, or two loaves for a roast joint was impractical, some other medium of exchange was necessary and it was found in that form we have come to recognise as money. Of course a medium of exchange has to be accepted by all before it can be used as such. Thus, to begin with, gold, silver and other precious metals and gems were the usual form as these were always acceptable to the majority in the so-called civilised world, naturally other areas had their own means. Gradually it became impractical for physical purposes to keep gold itself as the medium and slowly paper money became the fixed recognised norm. Of course there were times when paper money was completely rejected when the public lost confidence in its value, as in the case of the Confederate dollar at the end of the Civil War and the German mark in the years after the end of the First World War. Thus, in

all truth, money in itself just doesn't exist. It is purely an invention of man supposedly to serve man as a matter of convenience.

However, money became much more than that. It eventually became the accepted standard of value against which everything was given a price. The whole way of life of society now became related in material terms to money. Money became extended to even further usage by the appliance of profit and interest which led to the discovery of the science of economics, which attempts to evolve whole monetary theories and applies them to the way of life of whole continents. People's lives were now directly subjected to money and the economic system it had spawned.

As we have seen, money does not in actuality exist. But as long as profit, interest and credit are practised norms, then the need for money will survive. And as long as the attitude prevails that everything must make a profit, then the system of money will survive. But once production can be geared to need, then it is immediately feasible that a moneyless society can be a reality. It is stupidity itself that in our day and age, hospitals, schools, universities, etc., cannot be built as required because 'there isn't enough money'. How ridiculous. All the ingredients required are always in existence, labour, materials, land,

natural resources, all that is needed is for these factors to be integrated and the hospitals, etc., can be built. In a moneyless society all this work would be done free as everything would be provided free. The money isn't necessary at all except in the mind of some capitalist who has a need for a profit. If the people of the world decided to take these resources and weld them together themselves, then the money side would cease to matter.

But, some will say, how can society survive without money, by a return to barter? Exactly, but not barter as known previously in primitive society, we know that that situation led to the invention of money. No, in a modern, highly organised society, barter can be done at one extreme at a national level (or international), at the other on a community basis. All the necessities for survival can be created by the people in common and provided to all free. What are supermarkets other than storehouses of food? Garages, storehouses of cars, department stores, clothes, etc. These basic patterns of life need not change, but instead of paying for what you take it is given to you. The means of production are already in existence, all that would be required would be workers' occupation and these could be run entirely without recourse to money at a national level of co-operation and free

distribution.

But who will do the work, you will be asked? We already know that it's the workers (not as a class but as a whole) who do the work in our society, not the capitalists and bosses. It is the workers who have the skills and manufacture the goods, grow the crops, build the machinery, so there is no doubt that these skills would still be there. The conditions of work would change. Work at present is based mostly on the wage system, and it is money, or lack of it, that causes most distress in our lives. Work in our society means employment, often under hardly tolerable conditions, but it has to be done for survival. Real work is that which is enjoyable and creative. Freed from the slavery of money and wages, it is conceivable that, in communities, people would actually enjoy building houses for their fellows, people would actually enjoy growing food, people would actually enjoy making clothes, distribution would be no problem as the outlets already exist, they would just require taking over by the people.

With the banishment of the money system, pollution could at last be controlled and our planet returned to its natural beauty, starvation and famine could be abated. All humanity could live in peace and prosper, leading fruitful, creative lives, instead of the dreadful treadmill of an existence that faces the vast majority of us no matter where we live.

Yes, comrades, it is possible and possible without the help of governments, it can be achieved by the people themselves, all the means are there. It is not a crazy notion and, given the right time, will become a future reality. The moneyless society is not just a dream in the minds of a few, but something translatable into a whole way of free life.

GEORGE CAIRNCROSS.

## Lancashire's Industrial Underdogs

**LAST MONTH**, the best part of 1,000 mill workers in Oldham and Rochdale lost their jobs as several local mills shut down. This month, many more will be played off on short time in what has become the mill manager's usual habit of extending their workers' wakes holidays.

Short time and redundancy is all part of the daily diet of mill workers up here, we expect it like the common cold in winter. Over the years of recurring slumps and shutdowns in textiles, mill labour has learnt to live with job insecurity.

That Lancashire's mill workers should put up a fight and take over their mills, in the way the Scottish shipyard workers took over their yards, is not on the cards. Textiles is an industry in which strikes are rare, shop stewards are almost unknown, and wages are often low.

### POOR PAY

The low wages in the industry is both a product of the unions' antique structure and of the union bosses' policy of propping up weak companies.

This policy with persistent short-time working has resulted in many of cotton's most skilled operatives leaving the industry for good. We now have cases as at Rochdale recently, where mills have had to close, not out of lack of orders, but because of a shortage of skilled labour.

Cotton has thus come to depend increasingly on the employment of married women, who form its only labour reserve. More mobile workers have been lost to other more stable industries, this has reduced the militancy of mill labour.

Over the years the mill worker's wage packet has always suffered, and in the inter-war slumps 'under-employment' owing to short time cut the weekly wages of some weavers to less than public unemployment benefit. From 1951 to mid-1959, wage rates in cotton rose by only about 30%, while wages nationally averaged a rise of 50%, and retail prices went up by about a third in the same period.

This year, the cotton unions got their members an 8% wage rise, well below recent rises in the cost of living.

H. A. Turner\* has argued that the cotton unions' acceptance of a lag in wage rates, which have hardly kept pace with the cost of living, has done nothing to help the cotton trade recover and has merely helped prop up the most backward bosses. The unions' support for short-time working is also criticised in that it allows the worker's weekly wage to become something that can be varied at the whim of an employer, who can, with the unions' blessing, freely play his workers off during a downturn in trade.

### TIMID TRADE UNIONS

When mill workers start to object to management initiatives for higher workloads, they are soon silenced. Mill managers are not above threatening to dismiss those who resist management schemes, or as in the case of Arrow Mill, Rochdale, actually doing it.

This brings us to the worst aspect of present mill procedure; the absence of any pretence at genuine consultation between managers and their employees.

The union bosses, certainly in the Oldham and Rochdale areas, can usually be counted on to accept everything that the employers throw at them. Negotiations at mill level are often non-existent, and all agreements tend to be shotgun agreements.

Job overloading is often the outcome of this weak-kneed approach by union officers. That this failure to represent the men may lead, and often does, to other forms of disruption, does not seem to worry the union chiefs, who in any case rarely bother to consult their own members about new practices until trouble arises.

Perhaps L. C. Tippet† of the Shirley Institute is right when he says 'that changes made by management were not challenged by the unions because they did not know of them'.

### MILL SHOP STEWARDS

Nowadays, the local union officials in textiles are little better than office-minders gathering in the union dues, and frowning over the state of the industry. Such men are mere rubber stamps for the bosses.

Indeed, officials like Bros. Belfield and Hilton at Rochdale, and Bro. Browning at Oldham, are so out of touch with their members in the mills, that they don't know whether they're coming or going in their negotiations with the managers. This is making them depend more and more on the work study engineer, instead of trying to win more money and concessions for their members by tough negotiation.

\*A Comparative Study of the Cotton Unions.

†In a paper to the 1954 Cotton Board Conference, Productivity in the Cotton Industry.

## ULSTER

**ANARCHIST ACTION** over the Ulster internments has been conspicuous by its absence. Poor old Malatesta must be spinning like a turbine in his grave. The CP, IS and IMG have all been involved in action over the mass imprisonment—and they believe in prisons! We don't, yet what have we done? Last Saturday's action against Army recruiting centres was fairly widespread, yet as far as we know the Aldershot picket was the only one organised by anarchists. Even this was comprised of CP and IS members in order to make it effective.

However, being comrades together we will give FREEDOM readers the benefit of the doubt. Perhaps they have missed the articles in the National and left-wing press and don't yet know what is happening. Perhaps they don't see television or hear the radio. Perhaps they don't talk to people at work or in the pub. If this is the case then read on.

So as to break the news gently, for some time now the British Army has been occupying Northern Ireland. Today 300-odd people are imprisoned under the Special Powers Act.

Under this act they can be held indefinitely. (In liberal South Africa there is a limit of 90 days.) In Ulster the prisoners do not have to be charged. They do not have to be brought to trial.

They can be legally flogged. If they die while in prison the authorities do not have to hold an enquiry. Got that? Now for a few examples of what is happening to internees in Ireland right now.

Now the people interned are, we are told, a danger to society—possibly IRA gunmen. Here are four such dangerous men—Mr. Frank Quigley, he is 74 years old; Mr. John Collins of 38 Abercorn Street North, Belfast, he has a heart condition and is blind in one eye; Mr. Elisha Anderson of 75 Vulcan Street, Belfast, has a chronic heart condition; and Mr. James Magilton of 68 Clowney Street, is a diabetic who has had two minor strokes.

During imprisonment most men have been systematically beaten up, at least one has been shaved from head to foot of all head and pubic hair. All have been forced to do exercises and some have had bags tied over their heads for days on end. If you are young and fit it is possible to overcome these things. You can grit your teeth, take the kicks and punches, remember your comrades love you and hope that it doesn't last too long.

Others aren't so lucky. Mr. Richard Rodgers of Newry was released from the 'Maidstone' on Tuesday, August 24, and said this in his statement:

'Another young man suffered an epileptic fit in the presence of four military policemen, two gunners and a lance-corporal of the Royal Artillery. For

Continued on page 4



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voted unanimously against the official proposal, and Chadderton, where the six people who turned up (including committee members) voted for the proposal after some confusion.

NORTH WEST WORKERS.



# This Week in Ireland

SO THE TRIPARTITE TALKS are over. Faulkner returns to the six counties crowling like a young cockerel who has beaten every other cock in the land, Lynch says 'Now they know I am important', and Heath stays mum. Michael Farrel of the People's Democracy says the talks were the non-event of the year. Perhaps they were, BUT so far internment stays, the SDLP refuse to participate in anything until the last internee is released, Lynch recalls the Dail a week early, and violence escalates.

So what? It does fill one's heart with fear when Stormont refuses to allow Westminster MPs to inspect and visit

Long Kesh. What is being hidden there? It is all jolly well for Faulkner to say every man in there is an active IRA man, but what about the lad in his early twenties who was taken when the troops found the brother for whom they had come was not at home? This youth has spent his whole life in and out of mental hospitals. He is not normal. Also what about the old man in the eightieth age who is so blind and frail he has to be led on exercise and taken to the lavatory? Does Faulkner REALLY expect people to believe these two men are dangerous 'terrorists'? And if they are there to my knowledge, how many more similar of

whom I do not know?

Paisley has formed a new parliamentary party of 'Loyalists', adding to the 999 parties that we now have in Ireland. The SDLP hold their first 'parliament' on October 5. Kevin Boland is bidding to oust Fianna Fail and form a new Dail with his Unity Party, and indeed it does look as if more FF men are going to defect to him.

Paisley, His Hateness himself, is calling for the hanging of those whom he deems guilty of murder, and licking his reverent lips at the idea. Thousands of Scots came over and attended a meeting of the Paisley, Craig, Beal 'law-and-order not

## MORE ON BOMBS

Dear Comrades,

The points of divergence between my own position and that expressed by A.W.U. are numerous and fundamental.

1. Civil wars or world revolution. In terms of Leopold Kohr's 'Breakdown of Nations' I consider there are significant revolutionary aspects of both the tragedies of Biafra and Bangla Desh. The decentralist must attribute to all manifestations of regionalism the aspiration of local independence; within authoritarian frameworks liberating forces exist, within African nationalism, Black power, Welsh nationalism, etc., etc. The world revolution seen as distinct from isolated civil wars simply links similarities of various struggles to a common philosophical base. Anarchists have always noticed that when the people turn to the struggle against imposed authority they take to anarchist tactics almost instinctively.

Incidentally I adhere to the view that economic considerations are the causes of war and to believe that 'religion' is the cause is to see the Bible but not the pile of gold on which it rests.

2. There have been instances of working class/youth revolt conflict. With the inculcation by the mass media this is hardly surprising, coupled with all the authoritarian aspects of working class life. What is more important to my mind are working class youths with long hair and a natural sexuality. There were many of us who saw the Oz trial, the occupation of the Clyde shipyards and

internment in Northern Ireland in the same framework: Sex, work and liberty!

3. On violence I would refer anyone to the superb analysis by Malatesta in *Malatesta: Life and Ideas* by Vernon Richards. The whole section on violence needs to be read but 'to renounce a liberating violence, when it is the only way to end the daily sufferings and the savage carnage which afflict mankind, would be to connive at the class antagonisms we deplore and at the evils which arise from them'. Indeed I think the Editors also need to re-read Malatesta after producing the piece on Northern Ireland 'Throw Away the Guns'.

Whilst appreciating that A.W.U. and the Editors are true and sensitive people the horrors of Northern Ireland need to be put in perspective. I hold no brief for the Provisional IRA but they are a group under constant attack and their members are mostly on the run in situations where balanced judgement must be difficult. The bomb at the telephone exchange was inexcusable both morally and tactically but it is a cruel fact that death is an inevitable aspect of their struggle. The IRA is an authoritarian set-up which uses terrorism to a far lesser extent than do the governments of the world—just compare how many innocents have died in Vietnam or how many died in Dresden and Hiroshima to get the situation into perspective.

A.W.U. says 'most people respond better to argument and to persuasion than to threats'. People, yes, but not the

## Letter

State. If workers always tried to persuade and never threatened strike action they would be kicked around and underpaid more than they are.

I am convinced that the pen is mightier than the sword and the anarchists I know are excellent members of a fighting unit of this kind. However I hold with an adaptation of Bakunin that: 'Invisible pilots in the centre of the popular storm, we must direct it, not with visible power, but with collective "dictatorship" of all the allies. "A dictatorship" without badge, without title, without official right, yet all the more powerful because it will have none of the appearances of power'. My adaptation puts quotation marks around the word 'dictatorship' as I cannot see how Bakunin could have been meaning anything but this with such provisos as 'without title, without badge, without official right'. Indeed Bakunin paradoxically sounds like Lao Tse here.

4. Originally A.W.U. complained about Hippies for 'being parasitic on "straight" society', but now he writes: 'The people I find disheartening are those who just exploit those who are not necessarily part of straight society.' Persuasion has worked wonders with Arthur!

5. Army deserters were blamed for smoking pot which is harmless thus giving authority an excuse for stopping further deserters going to Sweden. The question of compromise with authority over nudity, drugs, etc., is always a matter of tactics but I don't like seeing others criticised for a tactical decision that puts freedom of action as a priority.

J.W.

## REPORT FROM THE FRONT

I RAN AWAY from the gas and sat down under a tree—I could see the illegal "assembly" gathering on top of the hill and I remember how very green the grass was at that moment... the campus is beautifully tended at Kent—great sweeps of lawn and flower beds and shrubs—it's really beautiful. Then I saw the National Guard advancing up the hill in line with their rifles at the ready—I was still choking and, crying and trying to breathe again—glad to be under the tree and not up on the hill. The assembly didn't retreat but waited quite calmly as the Guard came on and I just assumed that they would be pushed back by the Guard and the assembly would be broken up. Funny, but I didn't feel as though I was part of what was going on—it was like watching a movie but I wasn't actually looking at the moment they fired—I was so beat I think my head was between my knees and when they fired I thought "they're firing" but it still didn't register because I never believed—or any of us I think—that they'd fire. Then I looked up and it was just terrible man—everyone was running blindly in all directions—the smoke from the guns blowing about and everyone screaming and shouting and the whole hill looked as though it was covered in bodies—I just thought the Guard had gone mad—just couldn't believe they'd fired—and there was all this blood running down the hill—I'll never forget that—you see it was a beautiful day, the sun was out, the sky was blue and all the colours seemed very bright and there was all this blood over the side of that green hill—you could see it running down the slope all over that beautiful, green grass and I just got up and ran away and for the next three days I couldn't stop crying every time I thought about it.

After the shootings Kent State was closed and didn't reopen until the following September—by which time an FBI enquiry had confirmed that there had

been no threat of violence from the students against the Guard and at no time were they in danger of being attacked by the students. Last May, however, the picture was quite different. Rob and Kim went home and found their parents entirely hostile—Kim had not spoken to his parents since May when I met him and Rob in Amsterdam in the summer of 1970. The account above is Kim's story, as best I am able to remember it—Rob was elsewhere, organising first aid for students suffering the effects of gas as National Guardsmen roamed the campus and machine-gun nests were set up at major intersections and buildings.

Every twist of their conversation wound back to the shootings—they were in Europe trying to get away from the whole thing but the events of May 1970 ran through their brains like an endless loop of film. They were both middle class white Americans, sons of a doctor and lawyer respectively. Before the shootings they had been vaguely liberal and politically passive. To use their own terminology, the shootings had 'radicalised' them to the point of being half sympathetic to the aims of the Weathermen—other students at Kent 'became bomb makers overnight'. Like many young Americans I met that summer they were pretty rich and so the possible 'get out' of not going back to America at all was a real alternative—Europe seemed so safe to them that America was just a bad dream. Ironically, four days after I left Amsterdam, the Dutch police, faced with passive resistance from the sleeping bag dossers in Dam Square, shot several in the back—none were killed but it must have seemed to Kim and Rob that there was just no escape; and there is no escape from their own experience. The shootings have brought about a permanent change in their own psyches—nothing is going to be quite the same again.

so you can score on any corner  
so you can smoke

by the policeman's shoulder but did you hear the gunfire across Dam Square were you there so stoned

you never noticed  
Eighteen months after the shootings the message is quite clear—violence begets violence; whether it is externalised in the form of Molotov cocktails or internalised in the form of shattered family relationships or a recurring nightmare of 'blood over the side of that green hill'. Like the victims in Ulster, Kim and Rob have been in 'the war' and their response to it is understandable, and perhaps inevitable, in the circumstances. But at home, where the police are not armed, and as yet no one has been shot, our romantic revolutionaries continue to look to America and the Angry Brigade imitates the action—let's hope that they take a look at the Weathermen's recent manifesto 'New Morning'—printed in *Peace News*, April 9, 1971. After disastrous consequences from their bombings, including killing their own people, it has occurred to them that they can't possibly take on the armed might of America and win. 'New Morning' marks out a change of policy from violence. The Weathermen seem to have learned something—let's hope our bombers will too.

JEFF CLOVES.

## VOLINE

### The Unknown Revolution

(Kronstadt 1921 : Ukraine 1918-21)

We have had a great many enquiries for this title since it went out of print. We recently made the find of some of the sheets, which we have completed and bound (hardcover, rexine).

A few pages have damp-stained margins.

This makes a very limited edition, and with a view to helping our own finances and making sure that people who have been asking for it get first chance, we are offering it at the price of £2.00 plus postage (inland 10p, abroad 15p). ONLY TO READERS OF 'FREEDOM'

All profits from these sales will be put into the Press Fund.

an inch' boys and indicated they 'had the guns and had the men' and were prepared to use them against those in the six counties who are not prepared to return to the gutter as slaves of the Unionists.

The first prosecutions under the Prohibition of Forcible Entry Act are pending in Dublin. I am angry as the wretched people were used as pawns in a very nasty little political game by Sinn Fein. They put into a house, among two or three homeless, out-of-work families, a young girl whose husband is with the UN in Cyprus and who has two babies. If she is imprisoned and separated from her babies it amounts to a crime not only by our Government but by Sinn Fein who used her. I am certain that a room could have been found for her, not necessarily bang in the centre of the city, if her 'helpers' had been prepared to do the hard work of hunting. Likewise, never bothering to do their homework, they have in another place put in squatting a woman who is mentally disturbed and ill-treats her children. Well there I hope the NSPCC will accomplish something, but I was left holding the baby and have had to do endless work undoing the harm they do for their own nefarious political purposes.

Meanwhile I am 'encouraging and advocating' a rent strike in a Corporation-owned court of Dickensian qualities where the rooms are tiny and without water and the overcrowding unbelievable. It is a sort of Government punishment camp. If you cannot pay the rents of the very expensive far-away Ballymun high-rise ghetto, they transfer you plus your nine children to this stinking

prison. 'Break the Act' week has been postponed a fortnight owing to organisation troubles. I have a few doubts as to whether it will ever come off as intended, so I just cheerily go on breaking the Act in the papers and selling 'subversive literature' and in my own quiet unobtrusive ways!

I recently saw, in that city of graffiti, Belfast, the saddest and most telling one I've ever seen, 'Is there a life before death?'

Would God the politicians would think on that one.

H.

## ULSTER

Continued from page 3

five or six minutes they tried to make the epileptic continue his exercises. Realising that this couldn't be done, they dragged him outside and tried to revive him by slapping his face and shouting at him as if they still believed that he was putting on an act to dodge the tortures. This incident was supervised by a captain of the military police. An attempt was made to force the victim's teeth apart with a knife and some of his teeth were broken.

I could go on and fill two issues of FREEDOM with such evidence. It should not be necessary. If by now you are not very, very angry you do not belong to the Anarchist Movement—in fact you don't belong to the human race.

LARRY.

# Contact

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

Help Fold and Despatch 'Freedom', Thursdays from 2 p.m.

Brian Shuttleworth. Please get in touch with Liverpool Friends.

A Meeting to discuss and plan a city-wide Rent Strike. Basement Meeting Room, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, N.1, on Thursday, October 21 at 7.30. Ring side door bell.

Proposed Group in Oldham. Contact Bob Lees, 6 Coanston Avenue, Werneth, Oldham, Lancs.

American Readers: The following talks have been organised by Libertarian Analysis: 'Peter Kropotkin Memorial 1921-1971', given by Paul Avrich, Friday, October 15; 'Issues Facing American Anarchism 1870-1920' by Irving Levitas; 'The Money Question', Friday, October 22; 'Women's Emancipation', Friday, October 29; 'Education in a Free Society', Friday, November 5; 'The New Anarchism', by Sam Dolgoff, Friday, November 12. All held at 7 p.m. at 1155 Boardway (south of 27th Street). Further information Box 210, Village Station, New York, 10014.

This Magazine is Urgent. 'Children's Rights'. Send for 12 issues enclosing £2 to 211 Ladbroke Grove, London, W.10.

Help! Stoke Newington 6 Fund. Comrades now on remand in Brixton, and Holloway need financial aid urgently for meals, fruit, papers, books (which must be new) and cigarettes. Please send donations to the Stoke Newington 6 Fund, c/o Compendium Books, 240 Camden High Street, London, N.W.1, a.s.a.p.

Gestetner 160 electric duplicator (hand inking) £25 o.n.o. Contact Brenda Mercer, 5 Nelson Road, London, N.8 (tel. 340 6021).

'And this may just be heaven' (poems and collage) by Jeff Cloves. 32 pp. Litho prints, card covers. 20p including postage from 5 Manor Road, St. Albans, Herts.

Birmingham. New 'Peace Centre' at 18 Moor Street. Ringway (near the Rotunda). Pacifist-anarchist books, press, crafts, info, people, love, chatter, meetings.—Please come in and see us. 12-7 p.m.

New Secretary for Glasgow Anarchists: Jean Macleod, c/o Spalding, 50 Cranworth Street, Glasgow, W.2.

Ecology Action East is an Anarchist oriented ecology group in New York City. Send \$1 for their journal. Roots, c/o Ecology Action East, Box 344, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Accommodation offered to libertarian woman with experience in a Women's Liberation Group, to help start one here. Also like her help with a potential pre-school play-group, and be active in local Claimants Union. Unsupported mother with one child would be best as she could then be self-supporting without having to work. Two spare bedrooms available. We are at present two families with one child each, living in two connected terraced houses sharing automatic washer, fridge, drier, etc. We are looking for someone under 30 whose politics are neither Leninist nor liberal. Write to: L. Paton, 102 Newcastle Street, Silverdale, nr. Newcastle-u-Lyne, North Staffs. Phone 0782-79-256, or contact me at Skegness Conference.

Dave Godin please get in touch with 'Freedom' and 'Anarchy'.

Anyone interested in forming an Anarchist group in Gateshead, Co. Durham, please contact: B. Stokoe, 1 Ely Street, Gateshead.

Croydon Group meets first Wednesday of each month at 4 Warminster Road, South Norwood (near Norwood Junction), top flat. Contact Pete Roberts, 682 Mitcham Road, Croydon, CR0 3AB (684 5723).

Dr. Martin Coles' film 'Growing Up' will be shown on Sunday, October 10 at 2.30 p.m., Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square, London, WC1R 4LR. Tickets are free but priority will be given to young people. Apply at above address. Scripts of the film and further details, Peter Cadogan, General Secretary.

Eco-Action Group being formed in S.W. London. Contact R. Alexander, Flat 7, 202 Worple Road, London, SW20 8PN.

Would anyone knowing anything about British anarchist movement 1880-1920 and its personalities, please contact Jeff Mandler, 7 Menelik Road, London, N.W.2.

Danish schools activists want information/communication from British activists. Please write c/o O.R.A., 138

Nurses, Social Workers and Medical Students in London area wishing to form discussion and action group write: Thomas Layden, 37 Grand Avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N.10.

Three places open for proposed small group to learn Spanish by direct teaching method. Contact Freedom Press.

Proposed Group: Celia & Laurens Otter, 13 Albert Road, Wellington Telford, Salop.

Bangla Desh—Operation Omega. Contributions needed in cash, help or kind. We need nurses, doctors, mechanics, office workers, sponsors (individuals or groups), medicines, vaccine guns, high-protein foods, inflatable boats, generators, outboard motors, spare parts. Send details of help you can give, or goods you can offer, or cash to Operation Omega, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1 o' phone London 837 3860 or 485 1103 or Manchester 881 1788.

Proposed Group—Exeter Area. John and Jill Driver, 21 Dukes Orchard, Bradninch, Exeter, EX5 4RA.

Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group contact John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge.