JANUARY 10 1970 Vol 31 No 1

NOBODY SEEMS to know quite what to say about Biafra. All the usual supporters of good causes flounder in a welter of holier than thou criticisms: pacifists criticise Friends: 'Left' intellectuals criticise 'The Left'; progressives support either Biafra or the Federal Nigerians or both; governments criticise governments—as usual—while, as usual, military leaders strut and

The only unusual feature of the Biafran tragedy is the scale of the starvation. Not since the opening up of the concentration camps in conquered Germany in 1945 have we been confronted with man-made starvation in such numbers, have we seen so many thousands of skeletal children with hopeless, helpless, empty-breasted mothers watching them die, before they die themselves.

It is easy to say 'Stop the war'but all the good, well-meaning people who are now (presumably genuinely) horrified by what is happening in Biafra, are, by and large, the very same good, well-meaning people who have supported the good, well-meaning, progressive causes that have led the African continent into its present sorry state.

And today nobody knows what to say or do about Biafra (beyond shouting 'Stop') precisely because none of the progressives can really believe that 'Independence' could lead to this kind of horror. What has gone wrong, they are asking the good old anti-imperialist cliches masquerading as answers.



Anarchists in Yugoslavia

IT IS VERY DANGEROUS to discuss anarchist ideology openly in Yugoslavia, so most of the time our comrades are engaged in improving their own knowledge, particularly of anarchist examples of workers' control in Spain, and writing works on anarchist thought. It is virtually impossible to distribute anarchist literature through normal channels; such books tend to disappear from libraries or are relegated to those libraries where entry can only be gained through ownership of a Party card. As most of the anarchists work in the universities, another chief occupation is translating anarchist literature from abroad and duplicating and secretly distributing these works out of sight of the censor's vigilant eye. Anarchist groups at the universities of Belgrade and Zagreb also distribute their own maga-

Unfortunately we cannot give more precise information without putting our comrades in danger. Suffice it to know that in Yugoslavia anarchists are fighting the totalitarian power of the state.

Translated by T.L. from L'Espoir, 20.12.69.

BIAFRA—Triumph of the Politicians

are still at work in 'independent' Africa-but although violent outbreaks provide splendid opportunities for selling arms, making friends and influencing people, this is really not the way that imperialists want to go to work in the 1970s.

What the progressives have always refused to see is that in the creation of African states under African politicians, the old venal power seekers were not eliminated—they were added to by the new venal power seekers, with black faces. In the great African stewpot now, the old greedy white capitalists have been joined by the new greedy black bourgeoisie, who, economically, are nowhere, but who hold political and military office and want the world to know about it.

The African leaders who have risen like scum to the top in the last twenty years are all either Londontrained or Moscow-trained. They are products of English public schools and universities or the London School of Economics or of the special type of education that the Kremlin is delighted to offer potential leaders of the black masses.

It is for this reason, among others, that anarchists have refused to get excited about 'national liberation' and 'independence' and the 'anticolonial struggle' when it is carried on under nationalist parties whose sole aim is to get power and carry on the same kind of government as before with different personnel. Since we see no point in preferring bosses who speak English to bosses who speak German or Russian or Chinese or Welsh or Gaelic, neither is there any point in preferring bosses with black faces to bosses with white faces or vice versa.

And certainly there is no point in preferring African generals to American or British or Greek.

It is astonishing to us that there are still elements among the so-called 'NEW' Left that still go along with the idea that nationalist politicians engage in anti-colonial struggles for

they should be supported in their struggle for power. If we had gone along with this we should, in the fairly recent past, have supported Nkrumah and Kenyatta, Banda and Nyerere, Nasser AND the Israeli Zionists, the Congress Party of India, Ben Bella and Makariosand the present ruling party in

Perhaps it is understandable that in the past, well-meaning socialists, who have never understood the power struggle as anarchists have done, should have supported bourgeois nationalist parties. But to go on doing this when experience shows what the reality is, is pathetic. One can understand the Wilsons of the world doing it, but for the Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation, for example, to make support nation-states should go and have a

one of their main principles is ludi-crous. Even more ludicrous is it for individuals calling themselves anarchists to limp along behind this line.

This is not the digression it may appear to be, for what we are saying is that the fearful tragedy that is murdering Ibo children in Biafra today is an inescapable part of the emergence of modern states in Africa, just as the tragedy that is going to overwhelm the Middle East will be the inevitable outcome of the power politics inseparable from Israeli and Egyptian nationhood.

You cannot have nations without a state structure. Nations must have politicians; state structures must have armed forces. Those so-called progressives who think it is in any way an improvement to create

bloody good look at Biafra today. What makes one despair is that 'intellectuals' can do just that and still come up with the same old political

On December 12 last, Peace News published (with an introduction criticising the rest of us for ignoring it—though PN must have missed it also when it was originally released 'earlier this year') an open letter on Biafra from 22 distinguished French intellectuals. In a tone of confused surprise, the writers try to rouse the conscience of the Left-primarily the British Left, but the only positive statement they make is this:

'The Left must thus undertake, with all the means at its disposal, a political campaign to bring about the end of the war in Biafra, and to bring about a solution, whatever the constitutional and economic ties which could bring Biafra back into Nigeria, which will guarantee the Biafrans their own instruments of defence, in other words an autonomous

Pathetic, isn't it? Still thinking in terms of constitutional arrangements at government level, a call for this kind of settlement, leaving all the apparatus ready for another go in a few years' time, is supposed to stir the British Left!

Well, it won't, for the good reason that there are approximately three sections of the British Left, and this won't appeal to any of them.

First, the Official Left-Labour Continued on page 2

IN THE JUNGLE WARFARE of industrial politics the cry of betrayal is too often and too easily used. In the fight for office and the polemics of the industrial columns, it comes too quickly to the lips and to the pen. Stupidity or incompetence can earn our condemnation but we must always be wary of the words we use and the allies we choose for there must come that moment of reckoning when we must stand and justify the words we have used and the actions that we have chosen to trigger

The story of the London transport workers has been a sorry and dismal mind-dulling farce that of our charity we have all too often attempted to explain in terms of human failings, for of that charity we have assumed that those in high office within the union and the Government at least believed in some small portion of those principles that form the bedrock of their seats of power. For the principal officers of the Transport and General Workers' Union there can be nothing but open con-tempt for their betrayal of the London bus workers, and for the Social Democratic Government now in office the simply stated fact that they have betrayed the very principles of the Labour

The Final Betrayal

Party constitution and the years of devoted and unrecorded work of those men and women who laboured for so long in the long bleak years only to see the small harvest of their labour thrown back to the economic swine. We are anarchists, but we live and we work within that society that we rightly condemn and we cannot march to some hall to demand that the local politicians alter their local laws or sit in a committee room in the House of Commons discussing with Members of Parliament how they can help an imprisoned comrade in Spain and then turn our backs on our fellow workers when the issue ceases to be romantically parochial and involves the lives of tens of thousands of men and women.

For over 25 years the London bus workers saw their wages and their working conditions falling far behind that of the more militant organised workers and whatever they achieved was by their own unofficial actions. The forty-hour

week, the five-day week, the summer holidays at some time within mid-year instead of January or November were won from a reluctant employer and an indifferent union for the bus workers were always told that they had a moral obligation never to withdraw their labour for, they were told, they were a social service. This was always nothing but the purest crap but the hen-pecked clerk, the Kensington grand dame and the 11 o'clock drunk believed it and

mouthed it all too often. With the national advent of the speed up and the productivity deals, the bus workers knew that their time for the chopper must come and they watched the cutting down of routes, the closing of garages and the introduction of the one-man-operated buses. This was the time for the union to take its stand for this was the very reason for its existence and the bus workers were ready to fight as they did when for seven weeks they stayed out on the stones on the principle of a united agreement with the country service buses. But nothing happened and the bus workers saw garages closed and jobs wiped out as

within the industry had spelt all this out letter by letter and stated what should and must be done but as casual labour and overtime undermined the industry they knew that they had failed. When the TGWU signed away 15,000 jobs without even bothering to go back to the branches for a signature, the stench of treason became the wind of change. That the union had failed the bus workers was now accepted, but the betrayal touched all Londoners when the Social Democratic Government of Mr. Wilson took the fading flower of 'London's Pride', its shabby and infrequent red buses, and announced that without any consultation with the bus workers or their socialist principles they were smashing up this creaking apology for Clause Four of the Labour Party constitution and handing it over to the Tory yobs of the Greater London Council.

The Tories loved it as they watched the profitable country service hawked

OUT AT LAST! UNKNOWN TO US as FREEDOM went advice of the police, but sometimes even when a judge grants bail in chambers.' to press on December 8, David Griffiths had been granted bail that after-There is no doubt that the police use custody as a means of punishment for

noon by a judge in chambers on two sureties of £500 each. On a number of occasions the police had opposed bail, but faced with the judge's decision, they then refused to accept the persons who were willing to stand the surety. These were David's

mother and the editor of a local newspaper. Solicitors informed the General cretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties of the continued refusal of the police and Tony Smythe offered to act as surety himself.

He did this, contrary to his usual policy, 'because the injustice was glaring and I could see no other solution'. At first the police refused to accept him, but withdrew their objection after he had protested to the Home Office, who have, of course, denied that they had put 'pressure' on the police. Tony Smythe said, 'The whole thing illustrates the fact that not only is bail withheld on the has also acted as a deterrent against any further squats. Far from the police giving 'compelling evidence' in support of objections against bail, for it is often far fetched, hearsay and prejudiced, politically or otherwise. The thing about bail is that it gives a defendant a better chance to prepare his defence, while sureties ensure that the State does not lose if the defendant does not turn up for the court proceedings. On most magistrates' courts, one can still see Police Court' engraved above the entrance doors and this is a far more apt description, for in these premises it is

those who profess a political faith and it

the right of appeal and the application for bail. Even David Griffiths' case, even after the two sureties had been reluctantly

unusual for a defendant to be told any-

thing about court procedure, legal aid,

accepted, the remand officers at Ashford still tried to delay the release of our the one-man-operated buses took over comrade. At first they wanted both sureties to turn up and sign for his release. but after pointing out the physical inconvenience of this arrangement as well as its absurdity, the officer then said that only Mr. Smythe's signature would be necessary. We protested once again and were refused the use of the telephone to contact the NCCL. Eventually, after officers of progressively higher rank had interviewed us and David, asking for further particulars, we were finally advised that he could leave with us, without either of the sureties' signatures.

These seems to be no set procedure for release and it was only because we refused to take no for an answer that we secured David's release. It is apparent that as soon as objections are raised, they have to be countered firmly, but it must be remembered that there must be thousands who accept the obstacles or get fobbed off with some quoted regulation that either does not exist or is unimportant anyway. Because of this they are unnecessarily separated from their families and friends.

Continued on page 4

AROUND THE NORTHERN GALLERIES

demonstration was held outside the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool by the Worker Artists' Association. Three of their members rode horses, and the sculptor Arthur Dooley, on a horse called Paddy, made a speech about 'the middle-class creeps and phonies from Hampstead' who, he says, have taken over the John Moores' Exhibition which is held in the city each year

'The John Moores' Exhibition was a fine idea to begin with but it's gone the wrong way since the London lot muscled in. We want at least two rooms in the gallery set aside for Merseyside art by Merseyside artists. Surely to heaven that's what the Walker ought to be about.

The Association have been holding outdoor exhibitions by hanging their paintings on the railings outside the Bluecoat Chambers, the other main institution in the Liverpool art establish-Also, in a converted pub called The Black Horse, where Dooley has his studio, there is a permanent exhibition of the work of some of its 70-odd members. Proud and sentimental about the work of his friends and young pupils, Dooley will show you round with an aggressiveness which only relaxes when he's made sure you're not one of the

fight. Anybody in his sort of art world who is coarse enough to have political opinions and unsubtle enough to pronounce value judgements can easily be circumvented and ignored by the flighty metropolitan buyers and dealers. His hard core parochialism is typical of the grand patriotism of the city-the best basis for any internationalism which is going to be something more than a good

As an artist in Liverpool, Dooley is cut down to the roots of his experience. Strange exotic blooms and foreign transplants can only survive in the more artificial environment provided by London. He isn't likely to do anything too fancy while he still has to face the jokes of his docker mates. But he might find himself lopping off some genuine growth of ideas to stay inside his ex-docker sculptor role-although at least in Liverpool there are few of the left-winger types puritanical enough to question his Catholicism.

His different sculpted figures represent between them the three things to which he feels loyalty. There are a couple of figures of the devil, a crucified Christ (in a local church he has a virgin and child) and others called 'Bookies Runner', 'Bouncer' and 'Striker'. His proletarian background, his Communism and Catho-

licism obviously represented here, but struggling art of any compartmentalisation-his devils are like self-satisfied bloated businessmen, his 'Striker' is a whimsical beat-up saint figure.

It used to be the demands of rich buyers for a representational art which was a threat to a painter's opinions and individuality. The first fashions in art which came after the invention of photography deserved to be called revolutionary in that they released the artist from the tyranny of nature, and allowed him to give us his own vision of the world.

New fashions in art still use the same slogans about freedom to justify themselves, form being represented as an institution which must be overthrown. But we have reached the position where further change in this direction reduces the human element in art-individually and socially - and moves further into the realm of pure form and colour relationships. The visual and plastic arts have become little more than the vanguard of the technological sensibility. Artists themselves, apart from Dooley and his friends, don't seem to question the fact that John Moores, the multimillionaire, is prepared to offer large money prizes to them and be sure of being undisturbed in view of his own position in

society. In an Ionesco play, the businessman buyer insists that the picture he wants be either a bland photographic likeness or completely abstract, nothing in between, which is just the area in which any sort of values have their precarious existence.

Dooley, who isn't the sort of person to be satisfied with his own quiet certainty of what's a load of shit and what isn't, is worried about the social effect of holding an exhibition full of abstract art which is supposedly the best in the country at the moment. 'It's design without humanity and that's fascism. think it's downright dangerous that Liverpool kids should be taken to see it. They could be inculcated with the idea that this is art, and it isn't.

Like many well-known Irishmen before him, Dooley has the flourish to strike a good pose. He probably knows better than anybody else his absurdity in the role of archetypal Liverpool docker turned artist. But he manages to attract attention to certain ideas which wouldn't be listened to if put forward in any other way. He can play the clown for any number of television men and journalists but he is a very honest and serious clown whose hatred

THE BATTLE OF KINTORE PLACE

in the Evening Express nearly a year ago, telling of the struggles of World

War I veteran Jimmy White, against his

crooked landlord who had consistently

failed to carry out proper repairs to his

crumbling home. FREEDOM also carried

a similar story, detailing the unsavoury

part in it all played by one Cummings,

the Rosemount district sanitary inspector,

and various Labour councillors-includ-

ing James Lamond, recently the brains

behind the breaking of the dust-cart

is on again. Aberdonians may remember the long article which appeared

of capitalism is unlikely to be softened by any amount of recognition he gets for his own work. His campaign for local artists could well do for painting what the three poets from Liverpool did for poetry-decentralise it, show a lot of young people and students taking their first look around books and painting that their own experience of life is more sound and real than that of the London mob whom Dooley calls 'the purified abortionists' Some critics who keep a close eye on

abstract art have been forecasting the complete disappearance of the visual and plastic arts. They are quite right to see that painting has gone as far in a certain direction as it can go, but are wrong to think that its disappearance by their terms of reference wouldn't lead to its resurrection as a folk art along the lines that Dooley and his friends are moving. It would be interesting to see a demonstration against this sort of inhuman and formless art in London where a lot more people are interested in these things, but at the same time have absorbed a debilitating sophistication and lost that lovely vulgar courage of their own minds.

J.O'C.

Cloak & Dagger Subscribers

CERTAIN NEWSPAPER-oh to A hell with it!—the Daily Express ran a leader page piece in its Chapman Pincher column (19.12.69) saying that the Defence Ministry has taken elaborate precautions to cover up the fact that they subscribe to the 'anarchist broadsheet' FREEDOM and Black Dwarf for the Army's security department. This, says Chapman Pincher is because 'Mr. Denis Healey, would not like it known that public money was being spent on such scurrilous literature'

He then details the procedure which, true, and we have reason to doubt Mr. Pincher, is worthy of the bureaucratic mind at its most cloak and daggerish. However we can find no trace of such a subscriber as he lists, unless it is done directly through the newsagent. However, fear not, the Defence Dept.

will not be paying sixpence (or even ninepence) for their copy—they will split the generous discount with the wholesaler (if such a person exists).

The reason for the undercover operation is not for the shame-faced reason that Chapman Pincher gives. They do not want us to know they know what we know. But we have known for some time that Special Branch know what we know. They have a subscription at Box 348, G.P.O .- for, believe it or not, Mr. Wilson! Not, we think the Mr. Wilson. They are fully paid up (less discount) through Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

We also have a sub. from the Foreign Office Research Department. Top people read not only The Times but some 'scurrilous broadsheets'. How else would get prosecutions for sedition,

blasphemy and pornography? How else would they know what we think of them?

Seriously though, we need more subscribers. Despite the Daily Express. the Defence Ministry will not keep us rolling in affluence and not all our subscribers are MI5, Special Branch, or what-have-you. A subscription in hand is worth two copies from the newsagentwe have to pay him a commission!

Can you and your friends take out a subscription to this scurrilous broadsheet and to hell with the Express! We might even do without Denis Healey's ninepence!

CONDEMN the British and Russian Governments for selling arms to the Federal Government, and the French Government for selling to Biafra. We are not concerned with the economic arguments why Britain has to sell, and we despise the 'Communists' for doing the same.

CONDEMN General Ojukwu and the Biafran leaders for being prepared to see millions of people die for their ambitions. Biafra is the richest part of Nigeria and the fight for secession may have more to do with greed and power lust than desire for freedom!

CONDEMN the Federal Government of Nigeria for being prepared to wage a genocidal war to maintain its federal power.

CALL FOR DIRECT ACTION HERE IN BRITAIN AND THROUGHOUT AFRICA AGAINST THE WAR.

Dockers in Middlesbrough have already walked off an arms ship (see Freedom, 18.1.69). This must be repeated wherever arms are being loaded for Lagos.

Every opportunity must be taken to hamper the supply of arms, and at the same time, ways and means be found to send medical supplies and food. Demonstrations must be mounted to embarrass the Government (this may be election year!).

THE CHILDREN OF BIAFRA MUST BE SAVED!

It is not their fault if they are the victims of political dogmas and power-seeking leaders-any more than the children of Viet-

As it stands, Biafra is a triumph for the disgusting politicians. We say:

MAKE THE END OF THE BIAFRA WAR THE ANAR-CHIST AIM FOR 1970! 'JUSTIN'

drivers' strike by non-union contractors. After the great press ballyhoo, the

Housing in Aberdeen

landlord finally did some repairs, and Jimmy thought his troubles were over. Aberdeen Anarchists, the only political group to pay any attention to his plight, thought all was well also. Alas for our hopes. A fortnight before Xmas, Jimmy White received a present, courtesy of the landlord. A whole batch of slates fell off the roof, revealing a large open

hole, through which half the annual rain-

fall of North East Scotland came in. Jimmy complained to the landlord who promised repairs at once. Guess what? No one ever arrived and this was the situation until members of Aberdeen Anarchists turned up just before Xmas. We advised Jimmy that he was legally entitled to withhold his rent until the work was done, and this he decided to do. He also felt it was a waste of time bother asking Cummings for help, but reported the matter anyway. landlord was due for his pound of flesh on the Saturday morning after Xmas and, when he arrived, he faced not only an ill old man, but young volunteers who had spent the whole morning waiting with Jimmy. He was swiftly reminded of the appropriate provisions of the Rent Acts

and informed that no rent would be forthcoming till something was done.

On Monday the workmen arrived, did the job, and he got his rent. Jimmy White had proved one eternal truth-DIRECT ACTION GETS RESULTS. Our thanks and Jimmy's to Peggy Sutherland, Mike Malet and Hilary Little, who gave up their time to help.

Jimmy has now been on the housing list for a year and Donald Dewar, the local MP, has promised to try and get the Council to come up with a decent home for him. We will be approaching Jimmy's ward councillor, the Tory Henry Hatch, to press for a new house, making pretty clear that Jimmy's patience and ours is running out and that the matter is becoming very serious

Apart from the state of the roof, the stairs are in very bad condition, and Jimmy has already received hospital treatment after a fall on them. He is now the holder of the unenviable record of being the only person on Aberdeen's housing list to have a gas lit house. He has to sit there while houses a great deal better than his are condemned and demolished only streets away.

Almost to add insult to injury, the Council minutes record that the incompetent and impudent Cummings is to be given another year's extension of service after his retirement, and this, after the remarks made about him by Councillor Lamond, we find mind boggling.

Encouraged by the success of the threatened rent strike, it has been proposed that Aberdeen Anarchists should issue a leaflet to the tenants of the Rosemount area, urging action against the like of Jimmy's landlord. This we hope to do soon.

PETER THE PAINTER.

BIAFRA

Continued from page 1 and Communist Parties, etc. These actually support Federal Nigeria; because the governments they support-the British and Russian respectively—are both selling arms to the Federal forces

Second, the Pacifist Left, are not going to warm to a solution guaranteeing the Biafrans 'their own instruments of defence'.

Third, the Revolutionary Leftthe 'new Left', RSSF, etc. These are precisely the politicos who favour nationalist governments, new nations,

centralised economies-PROGRESS. Disruptive, breakaway tribalism, like the Ibos, must be suppressed, like Czechoslovakia, the suppression of which was supported by Ho Chi Minh and Castro. This is good

Leninism. Of these, only the pacifists have any conscience, and to its credit, Peace News has been hammering away with plenty of information and varying views.

So what of the anarchists? Well, we haven't done very much have we? It is time we did. Demonstrations in 1970 should be on Biafra, on the following lines:



The AFB information office will produce an internal bulletin. Comrades interested in its production are to meet in Birmingham on the first weekend of each month, from November onwards. All groups will be informed in detail.

Address all letters to:

Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannafore Road,
Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Tel.

021-454 6871. Material that cannot wait for the bulletin to be sent to R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York. The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information.

Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should

write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS
There are now anarchist groups in almost every art of the country. To find your nearest group

part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

North West Federation: John Walker, 92 Clyde Road, Manchester, 20.

Cornwall: A. Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell. (M., Ma. B.)

Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)

Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.

Sussex: E. Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Findon Road, White-hawk, Brighton.

Yorkshirer Martin Watkins, 3 Mariborough Grove, Leeds, 2.

Scotland: B. Lynn, 12 Ross Street, Glasgow.

Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).

N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.

S. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.

S. Ireland: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).

University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.

(Abbreviations: M—meeting: Ma—magazine; B—badges; Q—Quarterly; FL—free leaflets'

AFBIB 3 is now out. It has been sent to all those who paid for it but

not to those who didn't. If you want to know the internal news of the movement send some cash (15/- for 12 issues for instance) to Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannafore Road, Birmingham, 16. Next AFBIB meeting: Birmingham, February 1. SEND YOUR DELEGATES!!!

Manchester's Giant-Killers

disappointingly for Manchester's anarchists, with perhaps the worst ever AFB conference and the detention of some local libertarians during the local Springbok demo, 1969 was a year in which political anarchism had a real impact up here.

In Manchester, the anarchist organisation, thanks mainly to the efforts of Ron Marsden, who has done more than anyone here to establish anarchism as local fighting force, is now quite capable of launching itself successfully against the local authorities and industrial bosses in a number of specific fields.

In the last year there has been a series of squatting actions here on behalf of the homeless, backed basically by militant libertarians. We have also supported local gipsies in their struggle for a site against the Manchester authorities, a battle which will continue into the New Year.

Locally anarchists have been active in the busmen's dispute, the Qualitex strike, the teachers' token strikes, and at Dunlop, Rochdale, where after persistent anarchist pressure through FREEDOM and by the Manchester anarchists, the workers there not only threw out the useless union of General & Municipal Workers, but have now gone on to get 9d. an hour rise-backdated from last August-a dear do for Dunlops. Industrial peace at a price? Since this latest outcome of the

job has frankly admitted that some credit for the rise must go to FREEDOM and local anarchist actions in this area.

Because the Dunlop tyremen were ever-ready to co-operate and provide us with information, it was never necessary to increase the number of political anarchists inside the firm by planting people Though lacking a 'world view', the tyremen, who exhibited the backyard mentality so typical of the English working classes, had sense enough to know when they were on to a good thing-once again political anarchism has proved it's got something to offer to the unpolitical working bloke.

Of the enemies of freedom in Manchester, Vice-Chancellor Burgess, notorious for his hatred of gipsies, squatters and students, is perhaps Public Enemy No. 1 up here, but bum organisations like the General & Municipal Workers' Union, and the Manchester branch of the Social Security 'Service', must come a close second.

The New Year will see the anarchists here helping the unmarried mothers, and extending our advice and assistance to the locally unemployed. Preparations are also going forward for more anarchist action inside a major industrial company, where we hope for a repeat performance in the true Dunlop style.

NORTH WEST WORKERS

INDUSTRIAL PEACE ENDS

SWEDEN'S STRIKE FREE labour-management relations have long been an example which we have been told to emulate. However, this has now broken down for 5,000 workers of the State-owned LKAB iron ore mines in Lapland have been on unofficial strike since December 9.

This is far from being an isolated industrial dispute for Sweden has had twenty other unofficial strikes during 1969, the most important being the walkout of 1,200 dockers in Gothenburg who came out over the suspension of two men. But, as in this country, unofficial strikes soon bring other grievances to a head and the dockers were soon demanding better safety regulations, the return of coffee breaks and the stopping of the transfer of dockers from one dock to another without notice. Strikes in engineering plants have involved the usual complaint, as old as mass production itself, of the assembly line speed up.

There are reports of a general feeling of unrest against the authoritarian attitudes of managements, no doubt brought about by the lack of any action by workers in recent years. Old differences were supposed to be a thing of the past, just memories of an older generation who remembered the strikes of 1909 and 1931 when five strikers were shot by the Army.

RULED SINCE 1932

In a country where the Social Democrats have ruled since 1932, people thought that social distinctions and interests had disappeared and that class antagonisms had vanished with the Thirties. These worker-management antagonisms were resolved in the Saltsjobaben agreement of 1938 which brought about centralised negotiation and national three-year wage deals between the employers' organisation (FAF) and the trade unions' confederation (LO).

These agreements have usually been signed after a long series of negotiations. starting in the autumn and ending in the spring, which as a Financial Times correspondent says, culminate 'in a long session



PRESS FUND

December 15 to 31, 1969 Montreal: R.S. 15/-; London, E.5: M.E. 3/6; Hitchin: L.A. £1/0/8; Colemans Hatch: D.M. 7/4; Oxford Anarchists: 15/-; London, N.19: M.M.S. 5/10; Leeds: G.L. 3/-; Anon. 7/6; West Bromwich: H.W.T. 8/-; Peterborough: F.W. 3/3; Wolverhampton: J.K.W. 2/-; K.F. & C.F. 2/-; R.H. & J.H. 10/-; J.L. 3/-; Coleorton: H.V.B.C. 10/-; Reading: V.B. 4/8; Toronto: N.D. £1/12/-; Petts Wood: D.P. 5/6; Deal: O.R. £4/10/5; Wigan: B.J.B. 2/6; Ipswich: A.J.B. 5/6; Bookshop: R.P. £1; L.F. £2/1/8; Smethwick: E.H.W. £2/0/8; Ferryden: D.C. £2/5/-; Montreal: W.F. 4/-: York: L.F. 4/-: Chalfont St. Peter: W.C. £6/0/8; London, W.9: D.C. £1; Graz: G.A. 11/-; Cardiff: L.E. 10/-; London, E.7: J.R. £6/0/8; Wallisellen: 6/3; Collarog: £3/19/-; London, NW1. GM 61/0/8: Pembroke: MIC 10/-; Witney: R.P. 17/9; Bolton: M.G. £1; London, S.E.3: D.J.W. 6/1; Washington: W.M. £1/12/-; London, N.W.8: J. & A.F. 12/6; Tiptree: P.N. 2/8; Bath: A.B. £5/15/-; London, E.11; L.T.R. 10/-; Kirup: C.K. £1/8/-; Weston: E.L. £1/16/-; Leeds: G.W. 16/-; Newcastle: B.P. £8/0/4; London, N.W.11: J.N. 5/-; Reigate: W.G. 5/8; Knockholt: B.R. 5/2; London, N.W.2; D.S. £2; Umea: U.A. £1/12/-; London, S.W.9: P.S. 10/8; A.F.S. £1/0/11; Bangor: J.T. £5; Poughkeepsie: S.M. £2/8/-; Norfolk: Anon. 10/-; Chicago: J.A.C. 8/-; Harrow: M.J.S.I. 10/4; Tunbridge Wells: B.L. £1/0/8; London, S.W.20: J.F.M. £1/15/2; Edinburgh: W.C. 8d.; Birmingham: B. 3/-; Sheffield: P.L. 5/8; London, N.1: S.B. £1; N.Z.: C. & G.E. 10/-; C.M.B. 11/-; London, N.W.9: A.S.D. 10/8; Morecambe: R.A.D. 6/8; Oatlands: D.H.F. 5/-; London, S.E.23: A.D. 4/-: Reading: B.S. 4/4; London, S.W.18: A.H. 4/1; Market Drayton: R.T.W. 8/-; Dundee: Anon. £1; Liverpool: B.J.B.: 8/-; Dundee: A.S.L.R. £1/0/8; Glasgow: D.Y. £1/0/8; London, S.W.10: S.W.T. £5; London, N.W.6: B. 16/8; London, S.W.14: W. £1/0/8; Cambridge: H.F.C. 2/6; Chorley Wood: S.E.E. 14/-; Aberdeen: R. £1/0/8; Caern.: H.D. £1/3/-; Wolverhampton: J.L. 6/-; J.K.W. 4/-; K.F. & C.F. 4/-; Bolton: J.S. £1; Peterborough: F.W. 10/4; Oxford: Anon. 7/-; Gateshead: D.A. 8/-; Leeds: H.N. 10/8; Beckley: C.R. 10/2; J.A.B. £1/0/8; Manchester: P.H. 5/8; Romford: R.J.S.

TOTAL: £108 1s. 5d.

8/2; Whitby: P.R. £1/0/8; D.C. £2; St.

Albans: J.C. 7/2.

lasting throughout the night with both sides emerging tired, but apparently more or less victorious. Both sides are well enough informed about the state economy to know precisely what extra costs can or cannot be sustained. In fact much of the skirmishing between the two parties is play acting, aimed at giving the impression that some pretty hard bargaining has been going on'. From this, written by someone who could hardly be sympathetic to workers' interests, it can be seen how integrated the unions have become in the State-private run economy.

Any disputes over agreements are settled by negotiation, or failing this, special arbitration labour courts are set up. Strike action may be taken but only after a statutory cooling-off period has expired. Industrial action contravening this is unlawful and subject to fines or an action for damages. The 5,000 iron ore miners are, of course, in breach of this law, but so far no action has been taken against them.

DEMANDS FORMULATED

The strike started with 250 drillers and dumper truck drivers at Svaffavaara who stopped work because of a new piecework agreement negotiated 1,000 miles away in Stockholm. This set very high targets which in some cases meant a cut in earnings. The strike soon spread to other mines and areas. Despite a record of no industrial action, the strike committee soon formulated their demands which are not just centred around wages, but also the dismissal of both the Managing Director and the Executive Council of their union and the withdrawal of a State-run concern from the FAF. With regard to wages, they want a fixed monthly wage instead of piecework and higher pay for older workers.

The union executive has condemned the strike but made the long journey to speak at a meeting of strikers. However only about 100 men turned up and these were mostly paid area officials, but a rival meeting, called by a strike committee, had 2,000 in attendance.

Miners say their union is out of touch with conditions and grievances and they accuse it of by-passing them and negotiating direct with the management of the Kiruna mines. They say the union officials 'do come up here now and then but only to go and dine with the company bosses'. The miners' unions have been trying to blame the Communist

Party and in answer to this, the Kiruna strike committee says, 'But how could it be, when we have nearly 100%, support?" The Communist Party has in fact lost support in recent years and in 1968 got less than 4% of the national vote.

GOOD SUPPORT

The strikers obviously receive no strike pay from their unions and under last year's legislation, they are prevented from getting any State benefits during a period of stoppage, whether unofficial, official or even a lock-out. A recent opinion poll shows that 64% of the population supports their action and this is borne out by the good response to the collections being held in factories, branches of the Social Democrat Party and the State churches. Mr. Arne Geier, Chairman of LO, has said, 'If the wildcat strikes become as common as in England and France, the workers won't get anywhere. Trade unions haven't made progress in these countries.

Certainly the Swedish trade unions have made progress, but it is the direction of the progress that is questionable. The highly centralised and near indistinguishable relationship of the State, private management and unions may have brought a high standard of living, but certainly they seem unable to tackle the problems which are now becoming apparent. It is very appropriate and no accident that it is the iron ore miners of faraway Lapland who are highlighting the grievances of local problems, agreements without consultation of the members and having deals foisted on them in which they have had no say and of which they know very little.

But this situation is duplicated to a greater or lesser extent throughout all industrialised countries. The representatives of labour who make careers out of 'industrial relations' become a part of the State-employer set-up. The trend within the trade unions is away from control by the members to power in the hands of the executive. The conflict is not a simple one between labour and management, for it is also against the power of the union machinery to negotiate deals against the wishes of the membership. This is not just a recent development, but what is important is that the gulf that exists between union executives and members is even more apparent and the rank and file are prepared to do something about it. As this integration of the unions develops, more disputes like that of the iron ore miners will disrupt production, not only in Sweden, but in all industrialised countries.

'CHIPPIE'.

6666666666666666666



Gorrective Comments

Dear Comrades

John Rety's letter (FREEDOM, 13.12.69) is, to a certain extent, a valid indictment of FREEDOM's editorial policy, if any. The failure to make FREEDOM a coherent voice advocating anarchism has been a factor in driving some comrades into, for example, the Solidarity movement; and the editorial claim that censorship is exercised by the necessity for selection is hardly borne out by the usual content of the paper. But perhaps the frequent incursion of noxious weeds may be explained by a dearth of hybrid roses among contributions, and no doubt we are also at fault who see the necessity of refuting some unanarchistic viewpoint and yet omit to do so. It may not be too late to add one or two corrective comments to some recent

The letter in favour of apartheid to which John Rety refers is presumably 'Viewpoint on Ireland' (15.11.69). Depressing as it is to contemplate the present N. Ireland situation, with one section of the working-class community kept from attacking the other only by the intervention of the armed forces of the state, the totally negative view taken by Wobbly should not have gone unanswered, especially when it led him to the fantastic conclusion that the two communities should be completely separated, presumably by the perpetuation of state coercion against

It is precisely because such a degree of 'separate development' already exists that the situation is as bad as it is, so depressing and intractable from a revolutionary viewpoint. However, successive articles in FREEDOM have indicated that there are positive aspects discernible in the struggle, which should have gone some way towards countering the demoralisation of the Wobbly letter.

Dave Coull's letter of 6.12.69 indeed

THE PRE-CHRISTMAS SALE at Freedom Hall, despite lack of time,

helpers and transport, raised £13 towards

the Summer Camp deficit. We have not

recently made appeals for the deficit as

FREEDOM's need for funds deserved

priority. However we would like to

thank those who have contributed. The

deficit has now been reduced to £38. We

are therefore holding another jumble sale

Good jumble is urgently needed: please

sort out what you can spare and collect

from your friends. If possible please

deliver it on the Friday or Saturday prior

to the sale-and transport is vitally

necessary for those who can't. Can any-

one help with a car or van for those

days? Can you help to leaflet in the

sell. Please let us know what you can do

Jean Smythe, 340 9322, or

Ann Lindsay, 674 7886.

And come along on the 25th to buy and

Whitechapel area on Saturday, 24th?

JUMBLE

to clear this amount.

to help by phoning

completely refuted Wobbly, by implication, in its advocating of the diametrically opposite remedy, integrated education; but it still remains to be said that separate development, as well as being fortunately quite impracticable in the N. Ireland situation, is not a

contemplate. Also in FREEDOM, for November 15, are two contributions of further relevance to a critique of the way anarchism presents itself.

'solution' which any anarchist should

Letters

On the one hand, Stephen Halbrook denounces the prevalence of dissension within the anarchist movement, saying that no really significant differences exist between real anarchists; on the other hand, Francis Ellingham waxes philosophically mystical about the great abstractions of truth, equated with good, and power (evil), concluding that any form of militancy is a terrible mistake and denouncing 'idealistic opposition to ruling powers (even "non-violent" opposition)'

Here Ellingham appears quite significantly differing from other anarchist tendencies, to the extent that any who share his views would presumably, in the course of remaining passive, quiescent and complacent in the face of whatever evil existing society perpetrates, refuse to join in the united front against the state advocated by Halbrook. To take issue with such views is not to indulge in 'silly squabbles', and even when the differences are less pronounced the threshing out of theoretical divisions is perfectly valid-at least while both sides may be described as parts of the anarchist spectrum. In fact, theoretical discussion is essential in the evolution of the 'consistent philosophy' mentioned by Halbrook, even if it results in a 'purge' of some elements as having no real place in the anarchist movement.

Lastly, I return to the issue for December 13 for a classical example of the stray 'weed' which should exasperate large numbers of FREEDOM readers. Christopher Hargreaves' letter denouncing 'biased reports on strikes and articles defending the "working class" against the "bosses" ' might have been culled directly from the pages of the Daily Express, and the capitalist Press would clearly be more appropriate reading matter for its author.

Detailed refutation should be redundant. If the editors were indeed to bear in mind that this is supposed to be an anarchist paper', such curiosities as this letter would have no place unless printed in isolation for light relief.

It is their inclusion without comment (as a contribution to anarchist thought?) that leads some people, while adhering to the ideas comprising their own anarchism, to wonder whether it is at all meaningful to go on calling themselves anarchists, in view of the incoherence and confusion of the movement as reflected in FREEDOM.

Fraternally, Belfast.

LA.W.

Freedom Hall

I read John Rety's letter and fully endorse his views. Freedom Press could do with some life round the place. I would like to help organise occasional coffee evenings and dinners or high teas.

The way things are run at Freedom Press concerns me deeply. It seems to me that all the physical effort involving the movement, e.g. production of FREEDOM, selling and dispatch and general office work is being done by just a few people. This isn't good enough and if we are to become a serious factor in Britain we must encourage people to become actively involved in the practical development of anarchism. Without this we will never become a serious threat to the state and the non-libertarian left. Results will come slowly with sheer hard work.

I know anarchists are divided on the question of class struggle but it is the working class that bears the brunt of the economic social ills created by the present immoral and evil social structure. Hence the working class must be in the vanguard of any future change. The bosses can be done without but the workers can't.

British anarchism appears to me to be at times an exercise in intellectual stimulation for student protest groups, dogooders, and people generally of middle class persuasions. Anarchists must identify positively with the daily struggles of the dockers, miners, industrial workers, seamen, the service industries and land workers, and try to understand their fears, hopes, prejudices and emotions even to the point of reading the last two pages of the national dailies.

My own prejudices are in favour of the Liverpool docker and seaman, scousers and diddymen. Liverpool for the league and cup with Everton just behind. Alan Rudkin boxing king, the Beatles, Ken Dodd, Cilla Black. Tony Booth top of the pops, Shanky for king, a bright future in internationals to the darlings of scouseland, Alun Evans, Emlyn Hughes-and forward to our free society, socialism and workers' control.

Yours for the Future,

GERRY OF LIVERPOOL.

Community Relations in the East End

THE BARRIER to a peaceful and harmonious community is lack of communication', said Jo Hunte, Community Relations Officer at Toynbee Hall, London, E.1, at a supper on Human Rights Day, December 10, at St. Hilda's East Community Settlement, by invitation of the Council of Citizens of Tower Hamlets. Both Mr. Hunte and the warden of St. Hilda's, Mr. Brian Stapleton, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Citizens of Tower Hamlets, outlined projects to bridge the communication gap and, by getting to know one another, to create a friendly rapprochement within the diversity of cultures.

The construction of bridges of under-

Continued on page 4

Any book not in stock, but in print can be promptly supplied. Book Tokens accepted. Please add postage & cash with

Secondhand

Beauty in Woman (1892) Alexander Walker 10/-

Women of Today (1938)

Margaret Cole 6/-C. C. Stopes 3/-British Freewomen

The Twilight of Parenthood Enid Charles 3/6 Divorce: as it Might Be (1915)

E. S. P. Havnes 3/-The Generations Emmanuel Miller 3/6

The Nursery Years Susan Isaacs (paperback) 3/-

Live and Let Live: the Moral of Wolfenden Report

Dr. Eustace Chesser 5/-

The Realities of Marriage G. Courtenay Beale 3/-

Parents and Children: an Anthology (ed.) Hugh Kingsmill 4/-

Roman Catholic Methods of Birth Control (1933) Marie Stopes 5/6

Life Long Love Rennie Macandrew 3/-Childbirth Without Fear

Grantly Dick Read 7/6 Contraception: Theory, History and Practice (1928) Marie Stones 10/-

Love Locked Out James Cleugh 15/-Ideal Birth: How to Get the Finest

Children T. H. Van De Velde 5/-**Exercises before Childbirth**

Kathleen Vaughan 3/-

Sexual Pleasure in Marriage
Jerome and Julia Rainer 12/6

Social Hygiene Today (1936) Henry Ernest Garle 4/6

Birth Control and Its Opponents

Frank W. White 3/6 Womanhood and Marriage

Richard Harley 3/-

reedom

publish FREEDOM weekly at 9d. and ANARCHY monthly at 3s. 84b Whitechapel High Street London E1 01-247 9249

Entrance Angel Alley, Whitechapel Art Gallery exit, Aldgate East Underground Stn. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

Freedom: £2.3.4, \$5.40 Anarchy: £1.16.0, \$5.00 Joint Sub.: £3.19.4, \$10.00 Airmail Freedom: £3.3.4, \$9.00 narchy: £2.15.0, \$8.00 Joint Sub.:
Both by Air: £5.17.0, \$15.00
Freedom by Air, Anarchy
by Sea: £4.19.0, \$12.50

SPECIMEN COPIES ON REQUEST Opening Times: Tuesday-Friday 3-7pm Saturday 10am-4pm Closed Sunday, Monday

THE INQUIRIES and arrests in the Milan bomb explosions have for the time being ceased. Fifteen people were killed (including Pinelli, an anarchist), about 90 were injured and six anarchists are held on charges which could involve the death penalty for all for complicity in a conspiracy. It has been estimated that the case could take two years to come to trial. Such are the complexities and delays of the Italian legal system, a condition which it shares with many

A study of the Italian press on this matter shows it to be more corrupt and biased than the British. One would scarce have thought this possible; but Italian law makes it possible for the newspapers to come to a verdict on the case well before the courts, and their verdict is that the anarchists held are For ourselves we are neither judges, nor juries and certainly not executioners

As Malatesta said in Umanita Nova at the time (late 1921) when three anarchists exploded a bomb in the Teatro di Diana killing 20 people:

I do not need to repeat my disapproval and horror for attentats such as that of the Diana, which besides being bad in themselves are also stupid, because they inevitably harm the cause they wish to serve. And I have never failed to protest strongly, whenever similar acts have taken place and especially when it has turned out that they have been committed by authentic anarchists."

Italy has been in a state of governmental and financial chaos in the disguise of law and order for many years. On November 19, 1968, this culminated in a general strike and a series of strikes (including that of anaesthetists) punctuated the Italian scene. Ironically enough strikes were temporarily called off as sign of national mourning for the bomb victims.

Side by side with this was the growth of police repression. For example a Maoist editor was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for 'instigation to hatred between social classes', he said nothing more than the usual Maoist It is estimated that in the last sixteen months there were 28 left-wing 23 right-wing 'terrorist'

FINAL BETRAYAL

Continued from page 1

off to the highest bidder and the Greater London Council took time off from licking its wounds in its battle with its tenants to order the Social Democrats of Mr. Wilson to strip the London bus service down to bare essentials and force fares up until the 'social' service showed a profit of £2,000,000 a

And in a frantic attempt to pay the unsought Danegeld the Government obliged with a promise that 4,000,000 miles would be chopped off the bus routes, that nearly 500 jobs would be sacrificed, and that 36 garages would feel the cold blast of economic death. January 24 was the day named for this shabby betrayal and there was no hint of celebration as in all garages the new schedules and rotas were posted. From the official union there came not one single tiny peep of protest and it was then that the bus workers met the UndergrounD workers and agreed that for the first time the two transport should come out on strike

It was a lone gesture in that all the workers asked was that they should be consulted before being sold down the river and the employers and the GLC ignored them so for one single day, on New Year's Day, there was to be a strike in demand of the right to be heard and consulted in the disposing of Working lives. H was UndergrounD that withdrew on the assumed belief that they could not carry their rank and file with them but the bus workers stood firm and on the last day of the old year they made ready for the one-day strike with notices posted in all garages and strike pickets warned to stand by.

It was here that lunacy took over for at the last hours before the strike the employers said that they would talk. It is the oldest trick in the employers' handbook and may Christ weep, for it worked, and at nine at night the bus delegates were still discussing the employers' 'offer to talk' while the rank and file were frantically trying to find out if they were on strike or not and were being told by London Transport officials to telephone their senior garage 'employers' official at ten or eleven at night and he would let them know if they were on strike or not.

Never in the history of industrial warfare can there have been a time when

WHOSE VIOLENCE?

attacks. Doubtless, each fed upon the other, and the police have no doubt contributed their quota to keep the pot boiling. Bombs were exploded in Milan on April 25, 1968, and two Milanese anarchists were detained but released for

lack of proof. policeman was killed (by a police vehicle falling on him) in a demonstration. There was a police 'stay-in strike' as a brief protest against long hours of duty. The London Observer printed a story of the possibility that a right-wing seizure of power was planned in Italy with the help of Greek generals; Pacciardi, former Minister of Defence in Italy, was named as a participant in the plot-this was, naturally, denied and after the Milan arrests, anarchists were arrested for distributing leaflets with these allegations.

In the Milan episodes, five bombs were involved, all of peculiarly variant calibre, considering their alleged common The one at the National Agricultural Bank killed 14 and injured ninety. The one at the National Bank of Labour injured twelve; two at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior injured two; and the one at the Banca Commerciale failed to explode.

In Milan after the explosion 400 people (of left- and right-wing affi-liations) were detained and in Rome

the pay of the organisers of a Right-

as those of recent memory in the horrors

and slaughters carried out by the fascists

during their 20-year tyranny and by the

Nazis in the 100 concentration camps of

The Italian ANARCHIST Federation,

affirming its faith that full light will

soon shine on the Milan massacre and

possible provocative conspiracy of the

Right-wing fascists—the only people to

wing putsch.

eighty. Police and detectives searched 367 apartments and eighty-one political headquarters. This must have considerably added to their files.

Suspicion finally centred on six alleged members of the 22nd March group (named after the Cohn-Bendit student group at the Nanterre). Many people were questioned including a youth of seventeen who alleged that Valpredo said to him, 'I need professionals and not little boys'. This youth is alleged to have turned informant but it hard to sift any facts from the horde of gossip retailed as news by the Italian Press, from the involvement of the pub-Feltrinelli, to the 'fact' that Pinelli's widow made a telephone call immediately after an interview with Corriere; the 'fact' that Moravia and Pasolini withdrew from a left-wing defence committee after the arrest of the anarchists; to the choice tit bit that two pairs of anarchist-transvestites had been held for possessing dynamite and 200 machine-gun bullets!

Pinelli who was being questioned fell jumped or was pushed from the window of police-headquarters. Valpredo, an ex-ballet dancer with a mutilated foot, is arrested (presumably as a ring-leader), on the identification evidence of a taxi-driver. Both Valpredo and Pinelli have alibis. The identifica-

tion evidence of the taxi-driver is questioned since it is claimed he was shown a photograph of Valpredo before the identity parde. Furthermore it is questioned why Valpredo should do such an identifiable thing as taking a taxi for 100 yards when he had a car. Secondly it is doubted if Valpredo with his defective foot could have made his escape from the bank in the time it took the fuse to operate.

Much play has been made in the press the differences between the March group and the other Italian hints have been made of foreign (Maoist?) influences, the visit of Merlino to Greece and his previous rightwing career (must one always be an idiot?).

But the whole matter is still open to speculation, which is not the purpose this article. The expansion of terest in anarchism and the naturally open form of its organizations have doubtless led to some dilution of anarchists ideas, not to mention deliberate infiltration by some leftists, rightists and police spies! When anarchist activities assume a more conspiratorial nature, there is no doubt that the infiltrators will be among them, forwarding their own special purposes which are not those of anarchism.

The sad echoes of history remind us that the death of Salsedo, in May 1920 by falling from a window, took place circumstances of police raids and a police strike and eventually this led to the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The Diana affair taking place in an atmosphere of strikes eventually aided the seizure of

power by Mussolini in a right-wing Malatesta concluded his comments

thus: 'I have protested when it would have been better for me to remain silent, because my protest was inspired by superior reasons of principles and tactics, and because I had a duty to do so, since there are people gifted with little personal critical sense, who allow themselves to be guided by what I say. But now it is not a case of judging the fact, and discussing whether it was a good or bad thing to have done, or whether similar actions should or should not be repeated. Now it is a question of judging men threatened with a punishment a thousand times worse than the death penalty; and so one must examine who these men are, what were their intentions and the circumstances in which

JACK ROBINSON

(Italian translations and research by S.M. Malatesta quotation translated by V. Richards).

they acted'.



Chris H. (Preston). Do you still want textile design work? If so contact Chris R. c/o Editor.

Catonsville Roadrunner-Radical Christian Monthly, 1/6 for specimen copy to 132 Muswell Hill Broadway, London, N.10.

D.P., Cambridge, Mass. (Press Fund, November 22 issue), please contact Sally Mitchison, R 320, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY 12601.

Manchester Anarchist Group. Secretary: Rachel Golditch, 34 Waterpark Road, Salford, Lancs. (740 2516).

. Anarchist Group. M. Renwick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, Newcastle on Tyne, 6.

Male Anarcho-Communist, 22 years old, wishes to correspond with Anarchist females 18-25 years old. Object open to discussion. Will also correspond with anyone on Anarchist Theory. J. Weismiller, 1301 Louisiana, Apt. No. 10, Lawrence, KS 66044, USA.

Worthwhile work wanted by ex-voluntary worker. Mike, c/o 11 Barway Road, Manchester, M21 1JZ.

There seems to be no set procedure Combat Academic Psychology. Conference at Keele, February 28-March 1. Anti-Behaviourism; Psychology in the service of the late capitalist State; Examination of Alternatives: Body -Freudians (Brown, Reich, Marcuse), Phenomenological Approaches (Laing, Merleau-Ponty), "Humanis-Psychology, Psychedelia, etc. Anyone willing to write a paper or anyone wanting details, please contact Keith Paton, 21 Victoria Street, Basford, Stoke-on-Trent.

AFB Information Bulletin. Money from Groups urgently needed to pay for next issue. Address see Group List. Gerald McKearney ('Mad Mick')-Endell

Street squatter, in Brixton Prison and does not get visitors. Visiting hours 10-11.30 a.m. and 1.30-3.30 p.m. Mondays to Saturdays. Anarchist Revolution. (Leaflet back in

print.) 5/- per hundred. Cash with Malatesta Poster Screen Printed. 7/6 (inc.

post) from Freedom Bookshop.

Agitprop Information, 160 North Gower
Street, London, N.W.1. Tel. 01-387 5406. Information and Communication for the Left: Contacts-Diary-Skills-Red Notes-International-Media. Send SAE for literature list and Brochure.

Floodgates of Anarchy by Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer. Available mid-January at 22/- inc. post. Advance orders to Freedom Bookshop.

Nova Scotia. Comrades please contact Pete Ridley, c/o Newport Post Office. Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards. Tea served.

Visits Please! Two of five squatters remanded in custody do not have family in London, and would welcome visits. Brixton: Diarmuid Breatnach ('Buzz'); Ashford Remand Centre, Middx.: Michael Ali. For rota please phone Sonia Markham at RENOWN 2014. (Letters also welcomed.)

Schools Anarchist Group in Gloucestershire? Contact Kate & Joe, 3 Withy Lea, Leonard Stanly, nr. Stonehouse, GL10 3NS, Glos.

HELEN MAYER.

PROTEST AGAINST PROVOCATION THE MONSTROUS BOMB attacks of be able to profit from the artificial ten-Milan and Rome, like those which sion created in the country and about have been daily perpetrated against the which the enquiries of the magistrates offices and men of the movements of and police seem to have strange hesitathe Left, cannot be the work of Anarchtions-rule out all involvement, even if purely by inference, implying responsiists, but only of agents-provocateurs in

Anarchist movement, of its men and its Those who have the least knowledge ideas, as advanced by the reactionary, or self-styled independent press, which of the Anarchists, of their history, of too precipitatedly repeats, and often antitheir passion in the daily fight for the liberation of man from exploitation and cipates, the contradictory versions of the from every form of authoritarianism, know that we strongly disapprove every The moral conscience of the Anarchact of cold and calculated violence such

ists will not be compromised by anyone, as no one will be able to prevent us from being ourselves the accusers of a system that tolerates exploitation and voluntarily ignores-when it does not favour the daily attacks on the life and liberty of the citizen.

bility, even indirectly, on the part of the

Concerning the presumed 'suicide' of our comrade, Giuseppe Pinelli, 'throw-ing himself' from the fourth floor of

the Milanese Questura after four days of uninterrupted questioning-the only 'reliable' witnesses the four police questioning him-we refuse to believe in the biased police version. Also his militant undisputed record as a Anarchist, excludes absolutely the possibility that Pinelli could have been driven by any motive whatsoever to suicide.

The Italian Anarchist Federation, while reaffirming its horror at the absurd and bestial massacre of Milan, demands full light also on the drama that caused the death of our comrade-an episode very similar to those that take place in fascist countries-in order that a valid answer may be given to the atrocious doubts that torment public opinion and

THE CORRESPONDENCE COMMITTEE OF THE

FEDERAZIONE ANARCHICA ITALIANA. Translated from Umanita Nova, 27.12.69,

Giuseppe Pinelli

THE FIRST TIME I met Giuseppe Pinelli in his home in Milan was on August 3, 1967, when I went to inform him of some trouble with the Police Authority at the Anarchist Camp at Sorico, on Lake Como, of which he was the chief organizer. The camp was surrounded by villas belonging to Germans, probably Nazi, entry to the camp was watched by a French couple having OAS connections, and there had been provocations by the local Catholic youth. These circumstances, to which one did not attach much importance at the time, are now brought into relief by Pinelli's tragic end. For he has died a victim of police hatred, in a context of Fascist plotting and brutality, and with no mule re sponsibility on the part of the present Christian Democrat government.

A bomb exploded in the National Agricultural Bank in Milan killing 13 people and wounding another 100. The police had no clue, but to show their efficiency they started making arrests, chiefly among the anarchists. Other bombs had exploded in the past and anarchists had been arrested, and six

the worker had to ask the employer for information on when or where the strike would be. It is now finished and we have been sold out by the union and by the Social Democrats. A social service, despite its faults, has been handed over to its class enemies. Londoners will now pay more for less as a new form of taxation while the political and industrial rank and file must now face its betrayal by those who love office more than honour.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

of them had just been released after months of detention, during which not the slightest incriminating evidence had been found. This time they arrested Pinelli, and after hours of interrogation he jumped to his death from a window on the fourth floor while three police officers were still interrogating him and, according to their version, had just broken his alibi.

The true facts will probably never be known. But Pinelli was a very active anarchist, a good organizer of demonstrations, and a man who could hold his own with the police. He was singlemindedly devoted to the cause, loved by his wife and children, and working long hours as a railwayman for their keep. He was not a good listener and, if he could be described as somewhat insensitive, he had a good heart. During those few hours I was in his home I saw him warmly welcoming a visiting couple, friends of his wife, generous with a comrade's child, and brotherly protective to a rather subnormal youth. That such a man should have had a hand in the killing of thirteen innocent people is, to say the least, very difficult to believe. His anarchist ideas could not have prompted him to it and, though he was impulsive and not rejecting violence, he had enough intelligence and reasons, had he wanted to kill, to choose his victims elsewhere.

The bomb in the National Agricultural Bank was not the only one to explode in the same short time. Behind these explosions there appears to be an organization which, to the writer's knowledge, anarchists in Italy have not. There was a series of equally well organized bomb outrages last August, too, and their authors were never found. It is more than a coincidence that last Friday's explosions took place at a time of great labour trouble, national strikes and a militant fascist revival. Public opinion has been rightly shocked by the massacre at the National Agricultural Bank. But was not the shock intended? Was it not meant to make people say, 'Things are going too far, it's time to put a stop to them, what we need is another Mussolini'?

The facts will probably never be Especially what happened to Pinelli when he was alone with the police in that room up to the moment of his death. But can it, under the circumstances, be called suicide? By the time this is published anarchists in Italy will have had a chance to speak with more information than is now available so that every doubt be dispelled about Pinelli's innocence, and he be remembered as the first and, let us hope, also the last martyr of a sinister still halfhidden reaction which, with the Fascist precedent still within living memory, it should be possible for the Italian people

JOHN GILL.

THE EAST END

Continued from page 3 standing needs to be a continuous process, but nodal points in the programme for 1970 include a residential con-ference next April (which will lay special emphasis on education), housing and employment, and a four-day inter-cultural jamboree in Victoria Park in July which will enable all the groups in the area to get to know one another's way of life and so acquire a feeling of togetherness in East London.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

Published by Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1. Freedom Press, London, E.I