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THE CHANGE that comes over politicians between the time just prior to their election to power and after is a remarkable one. Put it down to the realities of being in power and the Government if you like, but certainly it has nothing to do with honesty. The art is to say one thing and do another, while convincing the people that you are carrying out your verbal promises.

In the hustings the Tories, contrary to the name, gave the impression that they were the party of change. Probably with our dull consensus politics, it is inevitable that the opposition party should falsely acquire this image. However three weeks of power have substi-tuted the image for reality, for whatever party forms the Government, they, by the reality of power, become the Tories. It is the Government who wish to conserve and the nature of their power, whether 'democratic' or 'despotic' determines the degree to which they are prepared to go in order to hang on to that power.

In this country we are saddled with 'democratic institutions', but the powers that are behind the

IF THERE IS a disease to which the left is prone (besides Mao-ism) it is Me-too-ism. This is the inborn tendency of left-wing channels of opinion to echo the prevailing protest by deploring the activities of, by viewing with alarm the tendency of the Government, by joining in the concern expressed by all liberalminded citizens and, in short, to get on whatever protest bandwagon is trundling.

At the present time with Labour in opposition this is particularly insidious, since the hidden implication behind all protests, backed unofficially-and officially-by the Labour Party and its supporters is that such a thing would never have happened under Labour. One has heard a complaint from hippies that

The Realities of Power

changing faces at Downing Street give impetus to a sluggish economy. remain the same. While anarchists have always stressed this point, those who voted Tory learned this week that the promises given only short time ago are now being delayed or hedged with conditions.

The Tories have said that they will reduce taxation and abolish Selective Employment Tax. These measures, we were told, would stimulate greater initiative in the individual. It would help investment and give people more freedom to use their money in the way they choose. The Tories also wanted to

NO RELAXATION

Now that the new Chancellor, Mr. Macleod, has been briefed by the Treasury, the reality is that these promises cannot be implemented, at least not for the time being. It seems that despite that favourable balance of payments, and both the Tories and Labour agree here, we still cannot afford to relax. We are still having too much of a good time and the Tories are to re-examine Labour's spending projects. Economies and cut-backs in expenditure lift the monetary restraints imposed will have to be made if the 'diffi-by the previous government and so culties' mentioned by the Prime

Minister are to be overcome.

the people is not hard to imagine. Certainly they will not be made on defence, for the Tories envisage an expansion in the armed forces. They talk of a tough line on the nationalised industries, but this is hypocrisy. With the exception of steel, it was only the unprofitable industries which were taken over by the State and, by their ruthless management, are now beginning to climb out of the red.

The economies that will be implemented will, as in these Statecontrolled industries, be those which will affect the vast majority of the

country. The cut-backs in expendi-How these economies will affect ture will not be made in the purchase of weapons of mass destruction for the forces, or equipment for the police, but in the social services that we now enjoy. Inroads on these were made by the Labour Government and the Tories will continue, not because they are the Conservatives, but simply because of the reality of power.

The economy dictates what the Government can or cannot do. The permanent officials in the Ministries in Whitehall give all the up-to-date information and formulate the policies to fit the economic situation of the time. It is true that each party may put a different emphasis on their policies, but the results are the same. They are the continuing exploitation of people's lives for the gain in power, privilege and profit.

P.T.

Hard Cases Make Bad Law

harassment has increased under the Conservatives; this, disregarding the fact that the Piccadilly commune clearance happened under Labour, drug laws were tightened up under Labour, and the cases against IT and Student Service were initiated by a Labour Government with a crusading Labour Home Secretary intent on 'Law and Order'.

The comforting myth that this would not have happened under Labour is inherent in attitudes about the Cambridge students' case when eight students were sentenced to six jail terms of nine to eighteen months and two Borstal sentences with the inclusion of double jeopardy of deportation for a Brazilian and a South African. It is true that

appeared from dockland, under Lord

Devlin's modernisation plans, through

natural wastage and early retirements.

These men have gone quietly and the employers, under the Devlin plan, are

Under new local port productivity deals, dockers are being offered double

shift workings, without piece-work, with

weekly wages of £35 and over. As it is,

the average wage in the industry is £35

and employers see the minimum basic

increase as a method whereby dockers

will push piece-work earnings up so

high that they will reject the new productivity deals.

Contingency plans by the Government,

If it does come to the troops being

brought in, then other workers should

offer their solidarity and show the Tories

If the Prime Minister does act out a

its firm opposition image.

soaking up the profits.

Judge Melford Stevenson is inherently vicious and wildly reckless in his sentencing and statements but this is, as it were, the weather. The climate of the law is always severe. Organized vengeance may seem worse under the Tories but the rigours of the law freeze the heart and numb the had whether the voting lottery came up Labour or Tory. All sentences are life sentences.

Today in prisons up and down the country there are men and women doing time for social protest; they are no whit less political prisoners than their fellows South Africa, Greece, Russia or Brazil. The law just happened to be different and the penalties greater but their offence was the same-defiance of the established institutions of property, international relations, morality and militarism. Some squatted; some were really dangerous-they defended themselves when attacked; some were romantic revolutionaries and paid for their dreams in 'porridge'; but all bear the witness and scars to the viciousness of law and order when roused in defence of property and the status quo. The idle myth of freedom of speech is shown up when the believer resorts to freedom of

Human memory is short but 'progressive' memories are shorter. When Labour was in power many such cases happened. In all the comment about Cambridge, there has escaped notice the equally vicious and in some respects more noteworthy case of the Brighton 'squat'. Readers of FREEDOM will, one hopes, need little reminding of the facts of that case, indeed of the whole era of squatting, which it typifies. It may be that as

there is a concensus of opinion betwixt Labour and Tory about squatting and there is none about Greece, this explains press and 'progressive' neglect of Brighton.

Last Thursday at Lewes Michael Mountford was jailed for eighteen months (plus a hitherto suspended sen-tence of twelve months), Anthony Ballerini was sent to Borstal, Paul Miles was jailed for eight months, Michael O'Neill was given a suspended sentence of six months and Michael Mitchell was jailed for fifteen months. Another was put on

The judge orated on, as judges will, about 'callous and wicked' men who encouraged provocative action in the hope of starting civil strife and had sought sympathy and pity in the guise of helping the homeless. Their mood was 'very ugly and dangerous one' and the

squat was 'a direct challenge to the civil authorities'. Mountford was described by the judge as 'the most culpable and most responsible for the people on the squat'. Furthermore he said that the premises had been 'deliberately selected

with the view to being defended.

The sentences were brought in under a fine piece of very necessary legislation brought in to protect the modern citizen coming home from a hard year at the Crusades to find that the local peasants had 'forcibly detained' his property. The judge, probably and properly feeling the inadequacy of this piece of mediaeval flummery, asked the jury to decide whether a 'Molotov cocktail' was an explosive substance within the meaning of the Explosive Substances Act. The jury apparently did so, so a new accretion of 'case law' has added its polyp to the reef

Continued on page 2

THE DOCK STRI

NOW THAT the Transport and General one-third of the labour force has dis-Workers Union has introduced democratic procedure whereby the wishes of the members can be expressed by their delegates, a 76 to 1 vote in favour of a national dock strike has resulted. It is important to remember that while hardly a week goes by without a dispute in a port, this is the first official national strike since 1926. This is, I think, indicative of the strength and solidarity which we have come to take for granted in portworkers.

By the standards of other workers, the docker is highly paid, but to reach this level, he has had to put up a struggle second to none. This is the stark reality for the working class. The employer does not hand over any part of the worker's surplus labour value unless he is forced to. It is also important to remember that in any high average wage figures, there are those who earn less than that figure.

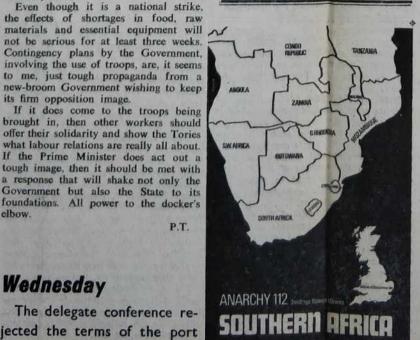
In the present situation, the port employers have been stalling now for eighteen months and have refused to reply to a demand for an increase in the basic minimum wage from £11 1s. 8d. to £20 per week. The union has put this claim forward six times without reply and so it is hardly surprising that the delegates voted to strike. The employers only offer was to increase the minimum earnings guaranteed fall-back from £16 to £20 per week.

The claim, by any standard, is high, but it would give those at the bottom of the scale a more realistic take-home wage. It will also affect the bonus, overtime and holiday payment, all of which are calculated on the basic minimum and here the employer estimates a 50% increase on the wage bill.

THE DEVLIN PLAN Although dockers earn high wages,

Wednesday

The delegate conference rejected the terms of the port employers-the Strike is on.



Is This a Private Fight?

T IS TYPICAL of the arrogant English attitude to those conquered or held in subjection that we make a joke of their different cultural outlook and different habits. Thus the Irishman has been a stock figure of fun on the English stage. Paddy' has been the subject of many One of the oldest jokes is that of the Irishman poking his head into a saloon where a fight was going on and asking, 'Is this a private fight or can anyone join in?'

The present situation in Northern Ireland bears a suspicious resemblance to the mythical Irishman and the mythical pub-fight. It is being fought on so many levels and on so many issues that one hesitates to join in a situation of such baffling complexity. It exists on three levels at least: nationalist (North v. South); religious (Catholic v. Protestant); and economic (Protestant employers and workers v. Catholic workers). Different interests appear to be backing different factions for their own advantage. The British government knows a divided Ireland is easier to rule, the Free State would like to unite Ireland under its rule, the Protestant workers would like to exclude Catholic workers from the dwindling labour market. The left-wing groups have thrown in their lot with the Catholics since they can fill the role of the down-trodden masses. The Catholics are quite obviously joining in in their own interests. The anarchists have as usual plumped for the persecuted minority (at the moment, the

Catholics).

The religious factor is so dominant that one hesitates even to give full support to the Catholics. As Adrian Mitchell said, 'To Hell with organised religion! In Ireland, the basic needs of liberty, equality and fraternity go to blazes while the two big local superstitions fight it out. To Jesus the churches of England and Rome would have been strictly science fiction. Vast, rich propaganda machines, thriving on political blackmail.

George Gale in The Spectator suggests that as a solution to the problem in Ireland the churches should be closed. This, while excellent in theory, has its drawbacks; it would lead to allegations that the others were responsible for the closing. A more excellent way would be to import missionaries from the National Secular Society (UNESCO k them), the would be flooded with anti-religious literature and the Protestant doctrines of pre-destination, redemption through grace and original sin would be argued out of existence. The virgin birth, immaculate conception and the holy shroud of Turin would be torn to tatters. The ape and tiger in Catholic and Protestant would die out and a new reign of sweet reason would follow under the auspices of secularism.

An alternative to this would be that the Catholics and Protestants would unite together to sweep the National Secular Society missionaries into the sea and a new ecumenicism would be born.

Seriously though, the issues in Ireland are too serious to be left to the clergy. It is not a private fight. The forces that persecute in Ireland persecute both Catholic and Protestant alike. The workers have no country to wave flags and beat drums for. Mankind alone is sufficient country.

ROBERTS MURPHY.

The Anarchist: a new Samurai?

'YOJIMBA', directed by Akira Kurosawa,

THIS FILM IS nasty, vicious and brutal-and I enjoyed it immensely. On the surface Yojimba is not a political In fact one can almost say Kurosawa seems to have leant over backwards to prevent himself appearing to have any political message. The film, however, is much more subtle than it

On the surface the plot is conventional. Whilst it appears as yet another samurai period piece with most of the trappings: its small-town plot, its rival gangs dominated by property owners, its stock characters-innkeeper and undertakercould have come from any Western. The appearance of the hero as a wandering samurai-he could so easily have been a Western gunfighter-clinches it. The appearance of one of the villains with, of all things, a sixshooter, hammers the point home. (If this is apparently out of character, it should be noted that Colt brought out his revolver in 1837

and Japan was not 'opened-up' until 1872-anything is almost possible in such a context of cultural technology.)

Here the plot seems to go rather peculiar. The whole town is in pawn to the two businessmen, the result of gambling, we are told. My Japanese could be better but this seems to be either a mistranslation or an under-However it is a film plot and a vehicle for ideas and action so it is just possible. On the other hand do we really need an explanation as to why two capitalists-a silk merchant in a silk producing area and a brewer with a monopoly-are at the bottom of the trouble? It would not be the first time that capitalists have caused apparent trouble with each other in order to take the people's mind off other things and then fallen out in reality. One thing is certainly clear and that is, it is the monetary system that has given them power-power to gain personal wealth, control men, destroy the happiness of women and

break up families, power to bring outsiders into the community as killers and Kurosawa, with his talk of gambling, has cleverly disguised the reasons for the social malaise by forcing us to look for and into the subtlety of his meaning. In analysis where the evidence is too conventional, almost too trite, we must look deeper, think harder, analyse. The institution of money, for it is essentially a social institution, and the evil power it holds as its essence, forcing us to be its slaves, is at the heart of most trouble in the world today.

To digress from the film for a moment. The realisation of a problem is the ground for action and not its solution. The solution is a matter for individual decision and individual action. It is a stark reality. Revolution begins when revolutionaries start to act.

The plot, as I have said, is apparently conventional. The film opens on the back of a man, it could be you or I, except for his dress, walking aimlessly yet somehow impatiently down a road, like so many comrades. He comes to a crossroads and stamps around. could, at another time, be waiting for a bus, or something to happen. He sees a stick, throws it, and follows where its direction leads. Symbolic? But no less valid. Some of our decisions are matters of chance, these are important however only to the observer or the historian, it is what we do afterwards, after we have made our decision, that makes history. Our film, however, has

Pausing by a farm to ask for a drink of water, the samurai hears a conversation between a farmer and his son. The son wishes to leave the dull life on the farm. He desires to go to the town, to have adventure. He could, in our time, be saving he could become a soldier or a police cadet-'I don't want to go down the mine, daddy'. He thrusts his father aside and dashes off with his sword. A prologue.

Arriving at the town, watching the film, one wonders if this is real. And yet we later realise that hardly matters. Reality is not society's props. Reality is our actions in relation to people and Violence has as its sole justification, our personal digisions in relation to

AUTHORITARIAN CONDITIONING,

SEXUAL REPRESSION AND THE

IRRATIONAL IN POLITICS, Solidarity

THIS PAMPHLET is mainly based on

the earlier theories of Wilhelm Reich,

the ideas which he put forward in 'The

Mass Psychology of Fascism' and 'The

Sexual Revolution'. The first-mentioned

of these books is still unfortunately out

of print. It is probably Reich's best

work, and his most radical, and that is

perhaps why it has not been republished.

timely pamphlet. Britain looks as if it

is on the road to something like a latter

day, and perhaps slightly more moderate

and gentlemanly, Nazi regime, with

Powellites coming into power. Of course

everything will be done in a traditional, English manner, according to the 'rule

of law', 'moderation' and 'compromise'.

But the situation looks very ugly to me.

pamphlet points out, that rational argu-

ment is ineffectual against the 'irrational'.

The revolutionary "ideal" must be made

less remote and abstract. It must be

shown to be the fulfilment-starting here

and now-of peoples' own independent

lives.' Still, writings such as this at least

help to strengthen the spirit of the

'Between 1914 and 1918 millions of

already converted

The trouble is, as the author of this

'The Irrational in Politics' is a most

REIGH

REVISITED

Pamphlet No. 33, 2/-.

The town appears to be deserted. A gloom, an evil, hangs over the town like a fog. Eyes watch from behind wooden shutters. This almost takes on the aspect of a horror movie. The samurai strides purposefully around-to what end-an actor uncertain of the relevance of his part? Or wondering if there is a play at all? A bowed figure detaches itself from a house-the town constable. Taking the samurai by the arm-Judas as a talent scout-he indicates a house. 'Go, and say who sent you, tell them I want one rye, no one rve fifty for my trouble.' police, as always, is corrupt.

On arrival at the house a mob flows out, it could be Bronson's hippies, Hell's Angels, or the Young Liberals. Either way, one's flesh crawls. The samurai turns away in disgust. A friendly innkeeper, realising he is a stranger, but different, takes him to his home and advises him to leave before he gets killed. Here the story begins in earnest and here the message for us unfolds.

One boss is understandable but two is frightful.' The peasants and townsmen are in agony. Terrified by both sides, the town is disintegrating, held together only by its fear. Silk merchant and brewer-financier and factory-owner -jockeying for position as the local warlord, are daily holding pitched battles, ambushes, hand-to-hand encounters. As men are killed off more are hired. Only the coffin-maker works.

The samurai listens patiently and makes his decision. As the capitalists and their retainers are evil they must be destroyed. Not the system. Kurosawa is too subtle for that. The samurai recognises that he is part of the system, a hired killer, a highly-trained knight in a medieval tradition with all its rules and traditions and as such a ronin, a mercenary, a soldier for hire, a killer. The samurai recognises his position in the society and society's contradictions. He recognises his own power as an individual in relation to the world. He owes nothing to anyone unless he chooses to do so, except those people who offer him something for himself freely, however pathetic they may

appear to him. A man is obligated only to his friends, to no one else, unless he personally determines it. This is crux of the film and the important point for anarchist revolutionaries. A man can choose to be a hired killerhe might have to be to survive-but his decisions about killing cannot be passed to another; whatever the reason it is the killer's responsibility-he makes his own decisions.

You cannot-as a revolutionary-wait for others to catch up with you-working class, middle class, or anyone. Sometimes it is necessary to destroy and sweep away evil, not because of any abstract ideas nor ideological philosophies but merely because evil is there and because you recognise it, because you have the time to spare, because you have the means, because you have the energy, and because you have the individual will.

This film is one that will appeal to most so-called revolutionaries for the wrong reason, will horrify the so-called pacifists because it is too real, will considerably shake the rest of you and mystify most as well, but until you have understood the message of Kurosawa's Yojimba you will not understand the significance to anarchists and the resemblance and relevance of the doctrines of propaganda - by - deed and anarchist-individualist-egoism. Anarchism is more than destroying the illusion of the legitimacy of the State, abolishing money and smashing capitalism or introducing workers' mutual aid and control. It is all these but it is more. Anarchism, of its essence, implies a commitment to personal actions based upon personal decisions which, of themselves, imply a recognition of the nature of evil and the destruction of the individual soul by evil.

Sometimes we merely propagandise; sometimes we act as well. We anarchists fight our own fights on grounds of our own choosing to our own rules. owe to others that which we determine in relation to that which was freely given us, relative to each other's desires and needs. We do not wait for other's democratic decisions. We are all leaders in our own fight and others can choose to imitate us or equally do their own thing from our example. Some may find our path too hard. For us, we are anarchists, and like Yojimba we are samurai, we must not suffer evil to live.

PETER NEVILLE.

Reflections on Violence

ON VIOLENCE, by Hannah Arendt, Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 25/-.

TWENTY-FIVE SHILLINGS is much too much to pay for what is, after all, no more than a big pamphlet. It is a pity that this work has been published in this way, with hard covers and wide margins, beautiful though the result is. No doubt it has been done because Hannah Arendt is a fashionable writer, who sells on the strength of her reputation. The result may be that 'trendy' types will buy this book, which will be wasted on them, and the people who ought to get hold of it may well pass

It is an interesting mini-encyclopedia of contemporary theories about violence. Practically everyone gets a mention from Konrad Lorenz to the Black Power militants, practically every theory-from those relating to guerilla warfare to those which derive human aggression from the 'territorial imperative', the instinct that causes certain animals to lay claim to a territory and to defend it against

The author is distinctly sceptical about the validity of all these fashionable theories, and has a jolly time of it debunking some of the more absurd. This is why I think the book should be published as a cheap pamphlet and widely circulated. These theories are all at bottom saying the same thing, 'Violence is good'

It can be expressed in different ways. 'Violence is natural. Rats form clans and defend territories. Therefore you can vote for Enoch Powell with a clear conscience.

Or, 'Violence is liberatory. Therefore take up your gun and shoot into that bus full of Palestinian/Israeli/Greek/ Turk/Protestant/Catholic schoolchildren, and don't feel guilty about it.

is to kill two birds with one stone . man.' With members of the intelligentsia all humans, the freedom of the individual giving expression to such views one is and even common sense. surprised to wake up in the morning

and find oneself still alive.

In short, 'Violence is good for you.' You may not like it of course. But then very often things we dislike are in reality good for us. Any schoolteacher will tell you this. Most children have it rammed down their throats from the moment they can understand words at all.

BOOK REVIEW

The fantasies of one century become the realities of the next. This justification of violence may be creating much trouble for the future. I have a feeling of distaste when scholars and gentlemen, who live sheltered lives, paid for by other people's toil usually, justify conduct which might cause the most degraded barbarian to blench, and which would result in the destruction of the very civilisation which makes their books and scientific studies possible.

it seems to me, the fact that it can sometimes be a means by which one can protect oneself. Unlike those who commit themselves wholly to non-violence, I do not say that to take life is so monstrous an evil that one should never kill, even to save oneself, or one's loved ones, or one's cause. No, if there is no alternative, then it is better to kill than to be killed or enslaved. But to make a cult of violence, to seek out animal societies, and probe the unconscious, in order to make violence, which is generally revolting, respectable, is a very different

It is obscurantist too. Hannah Arendt has fun at the expense of those Black Power chauvinists who want students who are black to realise their 'blackness' even more thoroughly by studying Swahili, thus putting themselves into a cultural ghetto. The very thing indeed which the South African whites are attempting to achieve by means of their apartheid policy.

The cult of violence is obscurantist, Sartre said, To shoot down a European reactionary and divisive. It destroys the national faculty, the recognition of the



The AFB information office will produce an internal bulletin. Comrades interested in its production are to meet in Birmingham on the second Sunday in September. 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.

There will be no August issue owing to holidays.

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

North West Federation: Secretary, Tom Howard, 163 Ryelands Road, Lancaster.
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.
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, 5 Marlborough Grove, Leeds, 2.
Scotland: Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Anglepark
Terrace, Edinburgh 11.
Waless c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
S. Ireland: Bill Dwyer, Island, Corner Merrion
Road and Nutley Lane, Dublin 4.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.
(Abbreviations: M—meeting: Ma—magazine;
B—badges; Q—Quarterly; FL—free leaflats)

working people aughtered one another for ends that were not theirs. . In the early 1930s the economic crisis hit Germany . . . at this crucial juncture millions of men and women (including very substantial tections of the German working class) preferred to follow the crudely nationalistic exhortations of a reactionary demagogue. . . . In New Delhi in 1966 hundreds of thousands of half-starving Indian peasants and urban poor actively participated in the biggest and most militant demonstration the town had ever known . . . to denounce some contemplated legislation permitting cow slaughter under specific circum-

The author believes, with Reich, that the reason for sexual repression childhood, with compulsive potty-drill and the taboo or masturbation. He be-

lieves, also with Reich, that the whole business of sexual repression arose at a particular period in human history, in answer to a specific situation. He is critical of the old Bachofen, Morgan, Engels school of thought, on the grounds that these men and their followers tended to construct rigid theories, which do not fit all the known facts. On the other hand, he is equally, and I believe rightly, suspicious of the modern anthropologists and sociologists who despise all concern with the past evolution of society as romantic rubbish. He thinks that they do this because such research into the past might lead people to question the present, and I am sure he is right. At least the nineteenth century theoreticians had a vision of what might be. They did not want to justify the status quo.

Our author does not believe that there was ever a matriarchal society, in the sense that there was once an age when women used to beat up their husbands, after returning from the taverns on Saturday night rolling drunk. This is probably a fantasy created by male guilt. But there may well have been a time when both sexes enjoyed much greater sexual freedom, and freedom from each other's domination than they do today. This seems to be supported by what we know of some tribal societies, and of course those inescapable Trobriand islanders. But he warns us not to look upon such societies as necessarily archaic survivals, preserved like flies in amber. They may have evolved into freedom quite recently. And such societies are not necessarily technically or culturally backward. The Nayars of Southern India, who enjoyed a fair amount of sexual freedom, and perhaps still do, are literate and highly cultured.

Reich collided with a seemingly inescapable conundrum, no social revolution without people liberated from their repressions, but no liberation from repression without social revolution. He ended his life in bizarre theories and Goldwaterism. The author of this pamphlet believes that this was due to his theory being too rigid. (Reich was unfortunately quite an authoritarian personality.) The truth is that people, some of them, can emancipate themselves a bit from their repressions, and perhaps make a bit of revolution too, without necessarily achieving a complete emancipation or overturning the whole social order. So the struggle is worth continuing, and all is not lost.

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Bad Law

Continued from page 1

of 'British justice'. It will no doubt be remembered by readers, as it has not by judge, jury and the press, that the Brighton squat was staged to house the homeless; in that it succeeded. The premises were not selected with 'a view to being defended'. They were selected because they were empty and there were homeless. It was not, at first, a challenge to the 'civil authorities'; it was, in fact, a challenge to the military authorities since they owned and were doing nothing with the houses. The squat spread over several months and the houses were 'forcibly detained' or 'used' by several families and their helpers. As in the Cambridge case, to pick out these six was an act of legalized roulette. In fact months after the squat was over, certain of them were hunted down in Manchester at their place of employment. Long months followed on remand with some unable to get or raise bail.

To describe Mike Mountford as 'the most culpable and most responsible for the people on the squat' is a judicial error. The squat was anarchistic to a great degree and the picking out of Mike Mountford was obviously due to his previous convictions, one suspended sentence was reactivated for additional punishment although doubtless, knowing Mike, it had nothing to do with squatting. The inherent conviction of the law that all these projects have a master-mind, the catching and punishing of whom will automatically stop all demonstrations, squats, etc., is the illusion to which Mike fell victim.

There is much more that could be said on the Brighton squat-the amazing episode of the police informer for example -but this will doubtless follow if comrades will make the same agitation where it counts, as is being done in the Cambridge case. An appeal must be entered and the case must not be allowed to go unnoticed.

When the Cambridge students were sentenced the Greek Government responded by heavily sentencing some of their own protesters. When the Springboks' match was cancelled, South African students protested against apartheid at Witwatersrand. Squatting is not yet dead and the Brighton sentences must be shown up for what they are-crude vengeance.

JACK ROBINSON.

WE KNOW THAT elections have very little significance. Everything changes to remain the same. Whether one takes Heath's arsenic or Wilson's prussic acid, one is dead just the same. Connoisseur-like discussions on the bouquet and vintage years of one's particular poisons have no relevance for anarchists.

Yet it is the end of an era. The politicians have seen the red light (or green light as the case may be). They will draw from what happened on June 18 hints on what they should do in future to keep control of the voters.

Millions of words will be expended by the presses of the Left on 'Why We Lost', regardless of the truth or even the meaning of the phrase. One of

A Friend in Need

FRANK KEANE, an Irish Republican, is in Brixton jail awaiting extradition proceedings. He is faced with the death penalty for allegedly killing a policeman during a bank robbery.

It would seem that the State's case was a bit shaky. It would also seem that the prosecutors are more interested in putting away political threats, than in finding the real perpetrators of the crime. Within hours of the robbery, the police issued the names and addresses of seven men from whom they wanted 'help' with their inquiries. All seven are militants associated with left-wing groups.

This was not the first apparent frameup attempt on the part of the Northern Irish police. In 1966, Joe Dillon, another leftist, was arrested for an attempted robbery that had taken place six months earlier. In an identification parade, none of the witnesses identified him. Despite this clear lack of evidence, he was tried and given a five-year sentence. Due to public outcry, this sentence was reduced to three years.

Keane, a victim of harassment in the past, will soon be faced with extradition. Those familiar with the case say that the Irish Authorities are going to fabricate evidence for this extradition. They seem to believe that the attempt will be successful.

The most important actions at this time, according to the Frank Keane Defence Committee, is to bring the case to the attention of the public, and to raise money necessary for a successful defence. In order to do this, there will be a social some time in mid-July, and a demonstration in August. For further information and details, call the Frank Keane Defence Committee at 01-HAM 5492 in London or 061-445 8864 in Manchester.

'A man's life is at stake here. That's what's most important,' said one member at their last meeting. If you feel that way also, you can contribute your time and/or money to: The Frank Keane Defence Committee, c/o Joe Quinn, 4 Nightingale Lane, London, N.8.

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the conclusions not long in coming is that the Left has been too fragmented and now we must unite the Left and smash, dish or sweep out the Tories. There has been dark mutterings about anarchists losing votes for the Left, (A slight fracas is developing in Peace News about a non-voting intervention in Fulham by an editor of Peace News.)

'Anarchists' will doubtless agitate for joining in the now officially-sanctioned Labour Party protests against Tory policies which are merely more realistic continuations of Wilsonian policies. South African arms, council housing sales, immigrant restrictions, US support, will all rally the Left under the true Labour Party banner. Many former 'anarchists' will be dead-scared and see, in the return of the Tories, the advent of Fuhrer Enoch Powell and his Monday Club SS.

This is arrant nonsense; an anarchism that flourishes only under Harold Wilson is a mere fashionable trendiness and we have suffered too much from trendy between-election 'anarchists' and the mindless bully-boys who saw in every 'demo' a good 'giggle' and an occasion for a punch-up.

The facile assumption that anarchists belong emotionally and intellectually to 'the Left' (wherever that is) is too complex—and controversial—a subject to be dealt with at this moment. But it is a

cause of countless misunderstandings.

Now that the 'permissive society' (to use a hackneyed journalists' phrase) has been wound up, we, that is, the anarchists, will be free of the trendy anarchists who thought it smart to be libertarian and enjoyed the luxury of an 'anarchism' existing in the cracks of Wilson's Welfare State which, according to Crossman, needed only another term of office to institute real Socialism.

Even with the conditional and qualified support given to Wilson by the IS and other like-minded Maoist and Trotskyist groups, the Labour Government failed to get elected. All this despite the allegedly self-fulfilling prophecies of the pollster pundits. With hardly any Left left in the Labour opposition, it can readily be forecast that the innumerable leftist groups will sacrifice the luxury of a separate existence and the bliss of a party organ to merge into the greater totality of a rejuvenated Labour Party strengthened by the cohorts of Clapham and the infantry of the 'IS'.

The strange exotica of the permissive society, those journals of the 'unreadable in pursuit of the illiterate' will wilt away in the Tory wind of change. Those who live by the trendy will die by the trendy.

This leaves, we hope, FREEDOM. One may gather that the new permissive society, like the old compulsive society.

did not elevate FREEDOM into a masscirculation paper, nor grant the editor an OBE. The withering away of the Labour majority will see, and has seen, a thinning of our ranks of readers they can't have read very carefully anyhow! But these we can afford to lose.

What we cannot afford is the failure to maintain our message even during a Tory Government! The Press of the far Left has lost its job as unofficial opposition and has become part and parcel of the official opposition, whether they like it or not.

The anarchist case which we need to put over every week is still in need of stating. It is thought by some that we are merely preaching to the converted. All right, if you're converted, how many more can you convert? Some think that FREEDOM isn't the paper to do it with. All right, do your own thing, but FREEDOM's the best weekly paper appearing that puts an anarchist case, it's the only one, so you might as well sell and subscribe until the real one comes along!

We really need subscribers, money and sellers if we are to survive and under Tory disinflation, like Labour inflation, it'll take a lot of running to stand still and keep on publishing.

EDITORS.

ALL POWELL TO THE PEOPLE

Dear All

I thing Mike Broad's article, and his comments on the dangers inherent in letting in the more reactionary government are insufficient, or rather the comments lay themselves open to misconstruction—particularly dangerous in the case of a racist situation, and worrying as one of the Trot groups (the Militant) is accusing the 'curse on both your houses left' of Third Period Stalinism.

First there is a basic difference between a fascist party, and a conservative party; even if the latter is led by would-be fascists, contains a preponderant element of racists, and supports an authoritarian state-even a state as authoritarian as This difference is that fascism unlike Conservatism does not rest on merely the indifferent and tacit support of a large section of the working class and petit bourgeoisie, but on the active A fascist party is geared to support. being able to send blacklegs into factories to break strikes, it is geared to having militants prepared to beat up leftistsnot just call for the state coercive organs to do the job for them.

The Tory Party is not such a party. The Tory Party is incapable—whatever it may wish—of banning all trade unions, all leftist groupings, parties, federations, papers, of suppressing all dissent, all strikes, and incorporating a timed and defeated industrially organized working class into state-run Labour fronts. (It may be true that a fascist party can dispense with storm troopers, as the night of the long knives suggests, but only because every member of a fascist party is at least in part a storm trooper.)

If the Tories were such a fascist party, then certainly no anarchist with any intelligence could sit back and say that there is no appreciable difference between the parties. Though this does not mean that we would have said we must support a government such as Wilson's against fascism; but it does mean we would have had a different case for non-participation in the election.

support popular front and similar anti-fascist movements against fascism depended on the fact that those popular fronts hamstrung the opposition to fascism by confining the struggle within bourgeois liberal democracy. The anarchists said that fascism arises when bourgeois liberal democracy has proved itself incapable of retaining the loyalty of large sections of the masses and that to try to prop up that defunct system against fascism was tac-tically foolish. We argued instead that only by posing a clear revolutionary alternative to existing society which would be more attractive than the fascist proposals was it possible to fight fascism on a viable plane.

To some extent this applied even in the last election. Powell is only a temporary danger, for his laissez-faire social and economic policies will never let him build a permanent basis among the working class (when we picketed a speech he made in Croydon, concentrating with our banners on his economic policies, the Powellite counter-picket was discon-

certed, it was unfair to confuse the housing and the race issue, apparently, even though they had for long been claiming that the housing shortage was the fault of coloureds) but working-class Powellism is certainly a potentially fascist force, and the fact that it is the product of the social system—a social system which while Powell positively advocates, Wilson does nothing to oppose, and in fact props up, when pure Powellite policies would make it unworkable, needed to be said.

needed to be said.

I think it is overly optimistic to assume that the workers once given another taste of Conservative Government will be forced to embrace anarchism and we can expect a spontaneous rising; this, the assumption behind the Stalinist arguments in the Third Period (though

LETTERS

in reality the Stalinists embraced the position because Stalin feared a revolution in Germany which might spread back into Russia), grossly underestimates the conditioning powers of the system.

I think we must assume on the contrary that a Tory Government will breed a new set of illusions amongst the working class that Labour is our party and will change things. To this extent we have lost a point. On the other hand, the revolutionary Left has proved itself in the recent period too weak to beyond a very small limit, and to initiate any large scale direct action campaigns for social change, and there is good evidence that had we been less weak the Labour Party could with impunity have suppressed us totally. Whereas with a Labour Opposition, which dare not allow the Tories to suppress us (since any action of ours will inevitably-while the Tories are in office -involve Labour party workers and other potential canv ers to get Wilson's arse back on the Treasury Bench), we should be able to launch such campaigns

and thereby make direct action an issue for far more people; so that at the very moment that illusions are emerging again about Labour there will also be a growing awareness of the necessity of direct action to get any worthwhile change. (The two attitudes are not necessarily incompatible. The early social-democrats talked of building a parliamentary party reinforced by a mass movement outside parliament using direct action to enforce the will of their representatives and defeat any attempt at anti-democratic measures by the military and other rightist forces.)

It is notable in this context that a large section of the working-class vote for the Tories came from skilled workers generally the most militant industrially (though often, since they are in trades which have largely barred coloureds, the most ignorant about coloureds and the readiest to listen to racist follies), who may be expected to react more vigorously than most to any Tory attempt to shackle the unions. Ulster will in all probability be an issue on which the Tory Government will alienate a large section of its support; there are certainly some more liberal Tories who will be unhappy about arms for South Africa. This will mean that as time goes by the areas of Tory support will contract, unless the Tories play the Powell card harder and if they start by doing this they will have to go beyond Powell on the race issue and jettison his laissez-faireism on the economic ones in order to replace their lost support with racists drawn from the Labour Party ranks. Obviously no government can arrest the rise in prices, unless the downturn in America turns into recession and slump, and so obviously the housewives will react against Heath, but they will react to Popular Frontism in the first instance, Popular Frontism which will express itself in renewed support for Labour. If we can add to this Popular Frontism an element of direct action, we will be in a far better position, next time Labour is in power, to pose a revolutionary alternative

Thornton Heath, Laurens Otter.

Art and the Working Class

Dear Comrades

In an article I sent recently you cut out a long statement on increased wages and workers' control and its anarchist connections; and began the column with questions which asked—What has poetry to do with anarchism? and so on. Since it seemed to come out of the air I would like to explain.

Just as I see every poet as a worker and as an anarchist—something to strive towards whilst doing concrete things to create, hopefully, more and more anarchists, I would like to see every worker a poet; and every anarchist a poet; which I believe every person is if he or she feels that way inclined. We are bedevilled by labels and all three—worker, poet, anarchist—are very vague until you meet the living person.

However unless we continue to move outward and never cease to question our own accepted doctrines, I see little of the politics and philosophies of anarchism touching the working class, the middle clarse or the farting aristocracy.

Our own role in this time and space must basically be agitation and education—and the week by week distribution and sales of anarchist papers and magazines like Freedom and Anarchy supported by our own local poetry and politics.

If we sit back and wait for 'the workers'; 'the anarchists'; or, 'the poets'; we shall see no libertarian revolution. It is a very large number of individuals who together maybe create insurrection?

Onwards, Inwards and Outwards!

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Anarchism & Behaviourist Psychology

JIM HEWSON'S LETTER raises an issue that has been hanging around FREEDOM for some time and needs clarification. Is there any connection between anarchism and different orientations in psychology? Apparently some writers to the paper are very confused as to the meaning of behaviourism and look on it as a threatening bogey. Hewson declares: 'Behaviourism seeks to control and manipulate human beings (ostensibly in the interests of scientific objectivity).' The sting, you see, is in the word ostensibly. Now my dentist seeks to control and manipulate human beings (me included) and as far as I am concerned I welcome such manipulations. But he does not do it 'in the interests of scientific objectivity' but in the interests of the dental health of human beings. Scientific objectivity is not some sort of god to be served; in my work I try to use it-it serves me

As I am a behaviourist psychologist I meet many others. Some are anarchists, many are vaguely radical and some are downright authoritarian and reactionary. But one meets the same spectrum of attitude among civil engineers, psychoanalysts, schoolteachers and bus conductors. Some people would say, therefore, that there is really no point in pursuing the discussion-it is not relevant to anarchism. Here I disagree: orientation in science is relevant to what anarchism is all about, and it is well worth while pursuing the matter further.

The relevance of orientation in philosophy and science to socio-political thinking has long been recognized. Today, when science is largely swamped by technology, this may be lost sight of. In Kropotkin's Modern Science and Anarchism he writes:

'What place, then, does Anarchism occupy in the great intellectual movement of the nineteenth century? Anarchism is a conception of the universe based on the mechanical interpretation of phenomena, which comprises the whole of nature, including the life of human societies and their economic, political and moral problems. Its method is that of the natural sciences, and every conclusion it comes to must be verified by this method if it pretends to be

Bakunin, from whom apparently Kropotkin had no direct influence, took the same line. In that collection of his writings which is sometimes published

under the title of God and the State he attacks what he calls the idealist trend in nineteenth century thought because it trammels the human mind with metaphysical chains. He argues that the methods of natural science applied to human affairs are essentially liberating.

THE STUDY OF BEHAVIOUR

Behaviourist psychology did not begin out of the blue with Watson in 1913. There had been plenty of forerunners in the nineteenth century and earlier. Some of what Watson claimed we know now to be basically untrue. There is now a great wealth of evidence indicating the extent to which behaviour is determined by genetic and instinctual factors which are not completely modifiable by experience, as Watson believed. But Watson was a useful figure in making psychologists face up to just what sort of science they were developing.

Today most people calling themselves psychologists (and recognized as such by their professional organization) would agree that what psychology is about is the study of behaviour.

Can psychology be used for anti-social Yes of course it can-and is. Given a proper understanding of the mechanisms of human behaviour, people can be efficiently brain-washed. But this is not really an argument against psycho-All science gives power. The same sorts of science can be used to raise food production or to lay countries waste; knowledge of human physiology can be used to cure disease or poison people with nerve gases. Anarchism is not antiknowledge, but opposed to the abuse of that knowledge by power groups.

HANGOVER FROM RELIGION

Now the ordinary layman feels that he can understand what science is about in matters of physics and chemistry, but he is rather uneasy about scientific psychology. This fear is a hangover from religion. He fears that the brutal behaviourist will disregard his tender psyche, do horrible things to his shy unconscious and somehow undermine his human dignity. Many would rather trust the blandishments of such ambiguous characters as the existential psychoanalysts who practise all the worser faults of psychiatry under the guise of 'anti-psychiatry'. They, like a very similar mob, the Scientologists, make a bid for influence by wrapping

up everything they claim in such vague and woolly jargon, and appeal to every high-sounding principle and libertarian exhortation, that their meaning is suitably obscure. They are the modern equivalent of the idealist philosophers against whom Bakunin railed. They are the purveyors of hocus pocus who are stepping into the places left by the priests of the dying Christian religion.

As a scientist I have a natural antipathy to hocus pocus whether it is purveyed by Aliester Crowley, Ronnie Laing or Ronnie Hubbard. Also, in my stiffnecked and prejudiced way, I have a contempt for those who become dupes because they are too feeble to question the authority of anyone who sets up to be a Master. My heart warms to old Kropotkin who wrote more than half a century ago:-

When metaphysicians wish to persuade naturalist that the intellectual and emotional life of man is unrolled "according to the inherent laws of the Spirit", the naturalist shrugs shoulders and continues his patient study of the phenomena of life, of intelligence, and of emotions and passions, in order to prove that they may all reduced to physical and chemical phenomena. He endeavours to discover their natural laws."

Jim Hewson is probably wondering now who this writer Kropotkin is, and how on earth any anarchist publishing house came to publish such stuff! I would say that this that I have quoted is in the true tradition of the French Encyclopaedists, Godwin, Darwin, Bain, Herbert Spencer, Reclus, Thomas Huxley, Bertrand Russell and all those who have

Church and the obscurantism of the establishment. They have helped to develop a tradition of hard-headed empiricism which is one of the central themes in anarchism. William James characterized the anarchists as 'tough-minded lovers of facts in all their crude variety'. should be sorry to see growing up within the anarchist movement today a sect of befuddled mystics characterized by their ignorance of anarchism and by their devotion to whatever phoney gurus are the pop thing of the moment.

I am well aware that some brash behaviourist psychologists like B. F. Skinner (his initials may be significant) are only too eager for his techniques to be used by the US navy. This is on a par with Leonardo da Vinci prostituting his great findings in the services of the wars of the Italian princes. But long after Skinner's daft ideas about trained pigeons directing naval torpedoes are forgotten, his sound work on the mechanisms of learning will have their place in science.

A LASTING RECOGNITION

Let me make it quite clear that I do not repudiate the essential value of the work of Sigmund Freud to modern psychology. His great insights into the nature of man deserve a lasting recognition. But Freud was no scientist, and many of the latter-day Freudians and pseudo-Freudians are not fit to lick his boots intellectually. I have defended the work of Freud against silly attack in the columns of FREEDOM in the past. As well as being no scientist, Freud was essentially an authoritarian in outlook, and

this authoritarianism is part of the Freudian tradition. It is not authoritarianism of the jack-boot variety, but authoritarianism of a spiritual variety such as forms the core of orthodox Judaic philosophy. They hold that only the initiated are in possession of the truth, the man-in-the-street just has to believe and follow. In contrast, behaviourist psychology is essentially radical and Popularizers like Eysinck have shown that everyone can come to grips with the problems of psychology. We think with our heads, not with our blood as the late Adolph Hitler enjoined

What we are up against is ignorance and fear. As I stated earlier, I trust and value the manipulations in which my dentist is skilled. Likewise I value the manipulations of other specialists-even those who have 'manipulated' my mind by teaching me things I wanted to learn. But I am my own owner, in Stirner's sense, and it is up to every man to own himself. If we own ourselves we will not be frightened of the bogey of the behaviourist psychologist. Rather we should be chary of the claims of the guru who promises some sort of spiritual salvation if we will only trust to his analysing us or processing us, and lead us to a Higher Reality.

TONY GIBSON.



Paisley in Leicester

Thursday, June 25, to 'Preach the Word of God' (the Word according to Paisley, that is) at the Evangelical Free Church, Melbourne Hall. That 'Word' is, of course, a word of hatred and intimidation and is designed to widen the split between the people of Northern

A strong contingent of protesters accepted the invitation to 'come yourself bring your friends' and succeeded in giving this 'Man of God' one of his warmest receptions. According to a policeman afterwards Paisley had 'never been so frightened by an audience. The 'sermon' was in fact a political tirade in support of separatist Protestantism and against Roman Catholics and was punctuated by hecklers who were immediately and violently ejected by stewards, many wearing National Front badges.

In an overflow meeting in another part of the building we called down the wrath of the uptight respectable audience by ripping out the loudspeaker wiring when Paisley was in full flight. We were lucky to be 'rescued' by the police!

After the meeting the streets around the hall were crowded with people and the angry crowd, waiting to give Paisley the send-off he deserved, was provoked into sporadic fights and scuffles as anxious police tried to 'move people on' and arrest them for 'obstruction'. Following a particularly vicious attack on a West Indian 'obstructer' comrades (including Alan Ross) attempted to prevent the police van from moving. Soon after

AN PAISLEY VISITED Leicester on it did get away Paisley managed to scuttle out of an unattended exit and escape, nearly two hours after the end of the meeting! As the police van returned from the station Alan shouted, 'Were you in the Gestapo, then,' at the driver who immediately stopped and arrested him. Unfortunately Alan still had in his pocket a bag of flour which had been thrust at him by a demonstrator but which he had not wanted to use. When this bag was discovered a policeman accused Alan of having thrown a flour-bomb at him (he had not thrown any). When Alan denied this the policeman replied, 'Well, somebody did!', and charged Alan with assault and using threatening behaviour. Seeing no way of establishing his innocence and being anxious to avoid an adjournment Alan pleaded 'guilty' to both offences. As a result he was fined the incredible sum of £75 (his grant amounts to £90 per term) which he is to be allowed to pay off at a rate of £5 per month. Other cases, including other assault cases, have been adjourned but we now have some idea of the vindictive penalties to be expected. If you can contribute towards a fund to help meet these fines please send whatever you can to:

Black Flag Bookshop. 1 Wilne Street, Leicester.

We will acknowledge all money received and keep you informed of the outcome of the adjourned cases.

Squatting Story of Dublin WEDNESDAY, JULY 1, was Black Wednesday in Dublin. At dawn somewhere about 150 gardai attacked 148 Pembroke Road, and effected the

arrest of Mr. James McMahon, against whom there was an order of attachment, and the other people who were in the house with him to try to protect this family. The occupants resisted with coloured water, paste, etc., but the gardai outnumbered them hopelessly and were wearing riot gear and carrying chain saws and steel shields which they held over their heads. After a time those inside flew a white flag and perforce surrendered.

Meanwhile the house next door belonging to a jeweller, Paul Stritch by name, was entered by police with a search warrant, on the excuse of searching for arms. They had already done this before and found NOTHING. This time they found five rounds of .45 in a lavatory, but no gun. Some people think these cartridges were planted by Branch men. Certainly the man arrested for having them is as innocent as a babe unborn. The women and children in the house were made to get dressed and taken to the police station where they were searched. They were then driven back to the house which was now in possession of Mr. Paul Stritch, some of the Gallagher group who own 148 and a collection of God knows who. The men were retained in custody. The Stritch-Gallagher men intimidated the women so much that they were bundled out to sit on the steps in the cold dawn while the gardai did nothing to protect them or help them in any way. There they sat on the steps sans most of their possessions, terrified and dazed until the writer, having heard what had happened on the news, dashed down and took them

rang them up from time to time. In the evening a very good and kind doctor took them to her house where a room—I think her own children's new playroom—had been arrangd as a tem-porary dormitory and home for them,

to her tiny room. There they remained

all day while she was at the court and

generally running around, though she

There were two dogs in the One, an adult, came out with its owner and for the moment is a boarder at the Cat and Dog Home, but the writer cannot pay for more than a week for its board. The puppy is still in the garden. The Cat and Dog Home man went down and received a very hostile greeting from the millionaire now occupiers and those men so blind to the rights of their own that for money they are acting against other working class people. Up to time of writing the poor pup is still there.

On the same morning, 'The Island' home of a working commune in Ballsbridge, had been invaded while some members were having breakfast and others were still asleep and the lodge where they lived was literally pulled down over their heads, their possessions being destroyed and three little kittens killed by falling bricks. No one knows to whom this derelict house with its enormous garden (before the commune took over a wilderness, but owing to their hard work rapidly turning into a useful plot, potatoes, cabbages and lettuce, and an adventure playground for children) belongs. The writer has a damn good idea but cannot prove it!

Meanwhile the Dail is rushing a bill through to make squatting a crime and also trying to get the notorious Criminal 'Justice' Bill made law. Decent poor people in Ireland have Hell ahead of them with so much utter corruption and money grubbing and God help the 10,000 homeless families. Yet smug fools write to the papers and say we are a wonderful country and never had it so good and why don't everybody (except of course themselves) stay single and work! This sort of writer has obviously never had soiled hands in his life but wants to keep his privileges for himself like all Fianna Fail Government members. If I was not old and a woman I'd use

LANGUAGE MOST FOUL. I assure you it is an unforgivable crime to be poor in Ireland and if you are old too you have had it, chum. The dark night of despair lies ahead.

Reich Revisited

Continued from page 2

The second part of this pamphlet deals with Lenin, and the Russian Revolution.
The Bolsheviks, in their attitudes to sex, and indeed to life in general, often differed not at all from the Boy Scouts. (Medical books are published in Russia today warning against the 'evils' of masturbation.) Lenin's famous remark that while sex may be no more than a glass of water no sane man will drink from a dirty glass shows that he saw sexual freedom in terms of prostitution, or half did so, for he then went on to qualify his statement by saying that in the case of sex, unlike drinking, two lives are involved. Unfortunately the second half of his statement tends to get forgotten. The first half was seized upon by all the petty bureaucrats and anxiety makers in the Soviet Union, in order to justify a policy of repression. The Russian Revolution, begun so hopefully, foundered in patriotism and mysticism. Stalin was the last of the Byzantine emperors. Poems, quoted in Ethel Mannin's Christianity or Chaos, suggest that to some Russians he was a Sun God. 'Hail to thee, great Stalin, who makes

the sun to shine, and the crops to grow.' An ancient Egyptian would find this sentiment perfectly comprehensible. Lenin would have been bewildered, but he had some hand in it.

The present spectacle of the British nation, enthusiastically harrying a defenceless, but unfortunately easily identifiable minority, should be a warning to us. It can happen here. The youth seem freer than they have ever been before, but are they, are we, free enough from our repressions, and are we sufficiently numerous, to resist the present wave of the 'irrational', survive it and even check

There are only two kinds

of government; the good and the bad. The good has never vet existed. The bad operates on the principle of transferring the property of its opponents into the pockets of its supporters.'—Dean Inge.

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Anarchists in Enfield area please contact Leroy Evans 01-360 4324. Bitman out now. Articles on Communes,

Progressive Schools, Radical Theatre Groups, Claimants Unions. From 141 Westbourne Park Road, London, W.11. 01-229 8219. Costs 3/-

Accommodation. Two young Irish anarchists seek accommodation. London area for five days in early August. Brian and Martin c/o Freedom Press. House wanted by Drug Dependants' Care Group; London or Home Counties;

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East London Festival. Victoria Park Fairground, July 17-20. Dancing, Folksinging. Camping equipment can be brought.

Please help. Union of American Exiles in Britain: c/o WRI, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Proposed Group. Alex Bird, 23 Rosewell Court, Kingsmead, Bath.

Comrade wanted to receive one mailing from Europe each month, repackage same and re-address and mail to USA. Expenses and reasonable fee will be paid. Box 1015, G.C.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10017, USA.

R. Rocker: 'Anarchy and Anarcho-syndicalism'. Anyone willing to sell or lend a copy to comrade for research please send to: K. Doush, Box 21, c/o Freedom Press, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London,

Task Force: Does the community need you? We want full-time people now. Must drive. We are evolving from a clearing centre for voluntary work to an organisation that stimulates community action on a wider scale. We wish to encourage community responsibility for old people, and individual responsibility and initiative in everyone. We need your help to accelerate the process. Phone, and come to the centre to learn more. Lewisham Task Force, 34 Watson Street, S.E.8, 01-692 5166.

Lowestoft Libertarians contact Ann & Gordon Collins, 9 Ontario Road, Lowestoft, Suffolk, Tuesday evenings. Comrades welcome for short stay by the sea.

Notting Hill Libertarian Society. Meetings every Monday at 7.30 p.m., upstairs room of 'The Ladbroke', Ladbroke Crescent, Ladbroke Grove, W.11. Nearest tube station Ladbroke Greve. Correspondence to Sebastian Scragg, 10 Bassett Road, W.10.

Oxford Anarchists. New group being formed, contact Dave Archard, Corpus Christi College, or John Humphries, Balliol.

Merseyside Anarchists: Meetings 8 p.m. on first Sunday of each month at 172A Lodge Lane, Liverpool 8. Contact J. B. Cowen at above address. Wednesday discussion meetings at Free-

dom Meeting Hall from 8 p.m. Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards. Tea served.