

A FAST has been taking place in St. Martins-in-the-Fields for the past four days in protest against the trial of Basque militants by the Franco regime.

The Basques are an ancient and mysterious people. Their language is non-Indo-European, that is to say it is not based on Sanskrit as most other European languages are. No one knows for certain where this language originated, though there are many theories. Basque social customs also are peculiar to themselves. Their sense of national identity is strong, and until 1839 they possessed a fair degree of autonomy, and indeed did not lose it completely till a hundred years later with the victory of Franco.

Guernica is famous as the first town to be subjected to a full-scale, modern aerial bombardment. But for the Basques it is the place where the Spanish monarchy swore to support the rights of the Basques. The remarkable thing is that this small people, unprotected by natural frontiers—they live on both sides of the Pyrenees—who number less than two million, have not been absorbed by the Spaniards long ago.

At present 15 militants face a military tribunal at Burgos. Originally there were 16, but one has gone

mad. They have been tortured. They are accused of planning or carrying out the murder of Inspector Meliton Mazanas, the chief of secret police in San Sebastian, in August 1968. Six of them face a possible death sentence, which in Spain means the garrote, death by strangulation, a medieval horror.

The Basque resistance movement, ETA (the initials stand for 'Basque Land and Liberty'), is indeed a violent movement, and has carried out bank robberies, and fought gun battles with the police. The authorities seem to be badly frightened, even though ETA has not been able to live up to its threat of a sustained campaign of terror.

Herr Eugen Beihl, the German consul in San Sebastian, has been kidnapped, and a message has been received to the effect that his fate depends on that of the accused militants. The accused however say that the kidnapping is probably not the work of ETA, but of an extreme-

Right Wing group.

There is probably not much that we can do, but at least we can raise our voices in protest against the barbarity of this trial, and in particular against the use of torture. (One of the accused says he was tortured for nine days, and, knowing what has happened in Spain in the past, one sees no reason to disbelieve him.)

We hold no brief for nationalism. Even small-nation nationalism can be oppressive. However no people should be persecuted, subjected to torture and discriminated against. The treatment of the Basques is in the same category with the treatment of the Gypsies, the Ulster Catholics, the Black people and the American

Indians. Small peoples who do not fit in are everywhere the victims.

This being so, it is encouraging that there is so much solidarity shown to the Basques by non-Basques. The prisoners in Segovia, including anarchists, are declaring a hunger strike. 700,000 workers are out all over Spain, undeterred by the fact that striking is in itself a

crime, which is tried by court-martial. Students in secondary schools and at universities are in it too. Amnesty International is pressing for an inquiry into the use of torture. It looks as if the Spanish government, if its motive was to intimidate the opposition, has badly miscalculated.

A.W.U.

Francisco's Hostages— THE BASQUES

The Trouble with SOGAT

THE ARBITRARY WAY in which Richard Briginshaw, the General Secretary, and the Executive Council of Division One of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades have split this union is another example of the utter contempt that union leaders, in this particular case it being a left-wing one, have for their members. After taking legal advice Mr. Briginshaw, together with the Divisional Executive, declared that SOGAT had ceased to exist and that the members of Division One would now revert back to membership of NatSOPA. This was the union to which they belonged prior to the 1966 amalgamation with the National Union of Printing, Bookbinding and Paper Workers. Following this amalgamation the constituent unions were known respectively as Division One and Division A of SOGAT. They both retained their own executive, general secretary, rules and funds but formed in addition a joint executive and fund and elected a General President, Mr. Vincent Flynn.

However there were those amongst the Fleet Street membership of SOGAT who rejected the action of splitting the amalgamated union on the democratic principle that the membership itself should decide such an important question. Both the Press Association and the Guardian clerical chapels objected to this decision of their executive councils, stressing that the dissolution of SOGAT should only take place after the consultation and approval of the membership.

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PAYMENT OF DUES

Those who opposed the split were now faced with the dilemma of deciding to which union they should pay their dues. Because they had not been consulted about the split, they considered that they were still members of SOGAT and therefore refused to pay their dues to the newly reconstituted NatSOPA. However because the validity of Division One's decision was subject to a Court Action, Division A (SOGAT) did not want to know about dues from the PA and Guardian chapels and so in order to avoid accusations of non-payment of dues, the members of these chapels asked the Official Receiver, appointed in connection with this Court action, to accept their monies for the time being.

NatSOPA threatened expulsion of one member of the PA Chapel if he did not pay his dues to them and only by resorting to the Courts to obtain a Court Order restraining NatSOPA from such action was this member able to retain membership of his union and his job as this is a 'closed shop' industry.

Richard Briginshaw has tried to prevent the whole issue being aired in the columns of the *Observer*. He threatened strike action on the part of the machine members if an article, which reported on the opposition of these two chapels to his action of breaking up SOGAT, was published. When the *Observer* printed the article the following week it had the following comment to make: 'Throughout, Mr. Briginshaw and his colleagues have taken the view that for the *Observer* to publish the story would give an altogether disproportionate importance to the whole incident involving the PA chapel. The union leaders' view seemed to be coloured by the opinion they held of the Father of the PA chapel, Mr. John Lawrence.'

DISCIPLINARY PANEL

Chapels have tried to discuss the issue at a quarterly delegate meeting, but they have been overruled by union officials and prevented from presenting critical motions, after which they walked out in protest. These same members have also been summoned to attend a disciplinary panel of NatSOPA, which they have refused because they do not accept the validity of this union or its panel. A further injunction has been obtained restraining NatSOPA from ex-

polling these members and so their union membership and livelihoods are, at the moment, subject to the decisions of a Court of Law.

To understand why the Division One Executive made the decision to break up SOGAT it is necessary to have some knowledge of the internal politics and the wrangles that take place in order to gain positions of power in any future amalgamations of print unions. The National Graphical Association, with some 106,000 craftsmen, is a possible target in the sights of NatSOPA for a future merger. Such a move would eliminate demarcation disputes on the operation of new machinery, for at the moment the majority of NatSOPA's membership is from the semi-skilled and clerical staffs. Already these two unions are working very closely and such a merger would not only have the blessing of the newspaper owners, but could also lead to a new rationalised wage structure, which was agreed to, in principle, following the print dispute in June.

CONCERN OF EVERY

TRADE UNIONIST

However, the present important issue is a basic one of the rank and file's struggle to control the affairs of their own union. The action of Division One's Executive points to a bid for more power in the print industry and it is obvious that they want to gain complete control so that they are in a position to dictate terms to their members. The chapels that have opposed Richard Briginshaw are fighting on an issue which is the concern of every rank and file member of every trade union. It is a question of who should run and control the unions and who should make the decisions—the members or the bureaucratic leadership.

The union leadership in print have shown more militancy against members who want to be consulted about their future union structure than they have against the employers. They have threatened the livelihoods of these members rather than run a democratic union. Further Court injunctions restraining NatSOPA will be applied for this week, but the necessity of doing this shows the extent of the gulf that separates the rank and file members from their executive. It is apparent in this case that you get more justice in the Courts than you do from the union leaders.

P.T.



Primates in Orbit

NOT SO LONG ago this heading would have referred to chimpanzees in sputniks. This month, however, the words are infused with a new meaning as the Primate of the Church of England and the Primate of the Church of Rome have zoomed round their extended parishes cheering up their faithful for all the world like a couple of parish priests at jumble sales. Well, no, not quite like that. The amount of high-pressure salesmanship and stage managing that went with the tours of both these holy old gentlemen was much more with it and up-to-date than anything your actual parish priest can hope to provide. And after all, an attempt was made on the Pope's life in the Philippines, something that has certainly not happened in our parish—yet.

The purpose for both these tours was of course the same—to cope with the falling membership, lack of faith, crisis of authority, call it what you will, in the Christian Church.

GOD IS IRRELEVANT

For the Pope, the times are specially hard. The mumbo-jumbo and unbelievable rubbish rammed down the throats of Catholics gets harder to digest as the problems of the modern world press harder and harder on the faithful. When everybody lived in black ignorance, it was easy to dominate by fear and superstition, but, whatever reservations we may have about science—and usually it's the misuse of science about which we have those reservations—the one great thing that has developed as a result of technology is the attitude of mind that people can control their own lives and deaths (technically speaking) and that if we don't, it's because of earthly authority rather than divine. In other words, God is irrelevant.

Although Catholicism still flourishes in poor and technically backward countries

(forgive our shorthand phrases, but you know what we mean), and belief in the myths central to the Christian faith still exists, hard as it is for us to swallow, nevertheless, the pressure is on for relief from the peripheral dogma—especially that relating to sex. All over the world Catholic laity is in a state of revolt—some quite open, some more discreet—on the subject of the Pill, for example, and on divorce and even on celibacy for priests.

In Holland, the priesthood itself is in open revolt on the latter issue, while the poor old Pope went home from his South American tour to find a new law in operation in Italy making divorce possible for Catholics for the first time. And everybody knows that he dropped a real clanger with his reactionary dismissal of the Pill a couple of years ago—an issue on which direct action is being taken by millions of women all over the world.

As Papal bull is being defied and the world does not fall in on the disobedient sinners; as, in fact, they find life more enjoyable and, demonstrably, a family of two or three is better off and happier than a struggling swarm of twelve; as literacy and knowledge and confidence and a rebellious urgency replace ignorance and fear and apathy, so demand for a heaven on earth—right now—replaces the patient hope for paradise to come. Even, as sputniks and space craft pierce the skies and bump into no angels, invade no heavens and meet no God, belief in his existence falters and dies. If he's up there, somewhere, then he's further away than we thought! Further and further. Out of sight... out of reach... and out of mind.

CRISIS OF AUTHORITY

The Catholic Church is suffering from a terrible crisis of authority. All Chris-

Continued on page 4

THERE IS NOTHING WRONG with popularisation in itself. After all, FREEDOM is a weekly attempt to popularise anarchism. There are the obvious dangers of exaggeration and over-simplification, but with care these can be overcome. For many people, in fact, some kind of popularisation is the only way of learning about things outside their direct experience. In science, for example, most of us would know nothing

BOOK REVIEW

if it were not for the vast work of popularisation going on every day. History is rather different, though, because even the driest academic research into past events can be understood, if not enjoyed, by anyone who is interested; so popular historians have to take great care not to produce mere pop history—the kind of instant entertainment that is churned out for radio and television programmes, or printed in colour supplements and in weekly serial histories of the two world wars, the twentieth century, and so on. One particular temptation of pop history is to pick a single year—often a special number of years ago—and

Scissors-and-Paste Job

stick together some kind of scissors-and-paste scrapbook about it. The BBC does this sort of thing all the time; and this is what David Mitchell has done, though his book seems to have been published too late for the fiftieth anniversary it was presumably intended to celebrate. Another popular historian, Richard Watt, wrote a book about 1919 called *The Kings Depart* which was published last year; but *1919: Red Mirage*, though somewhat delayed, is more interesting because its theme is not so much the fall of the old regime after the First World War as the revolutionary movement which thrust them aside and for a short time looked like taking their place. Mitchell has previously written books about women in the First World War and about the Pankhurst family; this one is much more general in scope, and the author seems to have got out of his depth (Watt had similarly written a book about the French army mutinies of 1917, and also got out of depth in his subsequent book). There is a most eccentric bibliography which mixes all

kinds of sources up without much distinction between official publications, genuine primary material, first-hand (but prejudiced) memoirs, scholarly studies, and purely synthetic books like this one itself; and the text shows the same lack of discrimination between significant and insignificant evidence and events. Nevertheless, there is something to be said for the book, and when it appears in a cheaper paperback edition it will be worth buying. There is no attempt at a pattern—just a chronological rush through 330 pages covering the political upheaval which began with the end of the First World War in November 1918 and subsided during 1921 (it clearly proved impossible to confine the story to the events of 1919 alone). Many of the episodes are interesting, but Mitchell's treatment is too unreliable for them to be more than that. His summaries of the ideas of Bakunin and Kropotkin are crude caricatures; Sorel is described—yet again—as the 'theorist' of French syndicalism; the Munich revolution is treated as pure farce; the description of the Italian events

concentrates on the posturings of Gabriele D'Annunzio rather than on the occupation of the land and the factories. A typical muddle occurs when Mitchell states that 'Trotsky jeered at "that old fool Kropotkin" [who] had expressed horror at the violence of the revolution'. It was in fact Stalin who called Kropotkin an 'old fool', but that was in 1915 when he read Kropotkin's articles in the Russian liberal press supporting the war effort; Trotsky's jeer was later and different—in his *History of the Russian Revolution* (written in 1930-1932) he called Kropotkin a 'superannuated anarchist' and attacked him for still supporting the war effort after the February Revolution. Kropotkin expressed

horror not at the violence of the revolution, which he always said was inevitable, but at the ruthless dictatorship of the Bolsheviks. A typical muddle, and quite unnecessary. The most interesting part of the book from our point of view is a chapter on Nestor Makhno, as one of two 'great outsiders' (the other being D'Annunzio), and even here the scrapbook method means that the later history of his movement has to be picked up in subsequent chapters; Mitchell's account of Makhno is anyway considerably inferior to those in existing books—especially W. H. Chamberlin's *The Russian Revolution* and David Footman's *Civil War in Russian*, to say nothing of the original accounts by Arshinov and Voline. So this is an entertaining read, not a serious study—none the worse for that perhaps, so long as it isn't taken for more than it is. N.W.

MEN AGAINST THE STATE

Dear Editors, Towards the end of his review of *Men Against The State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America 1827-1908* (FREEDOM, 10.10.70), S. E. Parker once again expounded his case for 'permanent protest'—the doctrine that anarchism can never be 'universalized' or 'translated into a social reality', but is only to be realized in the lives of 'a few, select individuals' waging an 'unending struggle' against 'the sovereignty of government'. Parker believes in an 'iron law of oligarchy'—a law that oligarchs must arise 'in all organizations of any scale or permanence'. He maintains that 'any extended, organised social application of anarchism' could only, at best, lead to an 'anarchism of groups' as

took this extremely pessimistic view of human affairs. Not even Stirner took it. So why, we may wonder, has Parker taken it? If we were to ask him, he would say (I have had some experience of this) that his view is based on the evidence of history. History, he would say, shows that the vast majority of men have always been stupid. They have always supported oligarchic governments, in spite of all the disastrous consequences, and have never shown any sustained interest in a radically new civilization. They have always been traditionalist, authoritarian, and incapable of learning from experience. There is no sign that they will ever change, and therefore any talk of a new civilization is moonshine. I think it is important to realize that this argument of Parker's is not really based on history but on his own subjective interpretation of history. From the historical fact that most men, up to now, have behaved in certain deplorable ways, it does not logically follow that they will continue to behave in those ways for the rest of time; that is only a guess, an opinion which some may accept and others—not necessarily idealists or social revolutionaries—may reject. David Hume, for example, who was no starry-eyed Utopian (in fact his political philosophy has served for the past two centuries as the cornerstone of British Conservatism), wrote as follows:

'I am apt . . . to entertain a suspicion, that the world is still too young to fix many general truths in politics, which will remain true to the latest posterity. We have not as yet had experience of three thousand years; so that not only the art of reasoning is still imperfect in this science, as in all others, but we even want sufficient materials upon which we can reason. It is not fully known what degree of refinement, either in virtue or vice, human nature is susceptible of, nor what may be expected of mankind from any great revolution in their education, customs, or principles.' (*Of Civil Liberty*.) I see no need to hazard any opinion, pessimistic or optimistic, as to whether

anarchism will be universalized. My position as an anarchist is not based on subjective opinions, but on the obvious fact that power corrupts. What we can say is that those who really see that fact (and all its great consequences) must necessarily change their whole attitude to life, and that this psychological change will have its effect, not only on them, but on others. Thus a process will be set going which, in time, naturally and spontaneously, and without any idealistic effort to build an anarchist society (I am at one with Parker in deprecating all idealism and all such efforts), could lead to a world-wide perception of the truth of anarchism, and so to a new civilization. Whether there will be a new civilization, nobody can say. Perhaps it is now too late, and Man is doomed to self-destruction. But nobody today can deny the vital need for a new civilization—one that is not based on power—and those who pour cold water on the very idea of a new civilization seem to me to be doing great harm, quite unnecessarily, to the cause of human survival. BRISTOL FRANCIS ELLINGHAM.

LETTER

opposed to 'an anarchism of individuals'. And he sees Man's social and political future as being so collectivist and totalitarian that even small-scale attempts to turn anarchism into a social reality (such as Warren's 'equity villages') will be virtually impossible. Let us be clear as to what Parker, in effect, is saying. He is saying that human society will always be organized and controlled by oligarchic governments; that the social division between rulers and ruled—oligarchs and the rest—must be accepted as a permanent fact of life; that all the fear, envy, ambition and strife generated by that division is inescapable; that there must always therefore be a brutal struggle for power; and that class warfare (oligarchs versus the rest) and international warfare (oligarchy versus oligarchy) will never end as long as society exists. He is saying, in effect, that all the turmoil, chaos, waste, destruction and untold misery of our phoney civilization must continue until all life on earth has been wiped out. And he is saying that most of us are so stupid that we shall never see any necessity for a radically new civilization. Not even the original individualist anarchists (as Parker himself points out)

Sympathetic Strike

GEORGE FOULSER has been sent for trial at the Old Bailey on five charges of causing actual bodily harm, with four charges of 'making petrol bombs in such circumstances as to give rise to a reasonable suspicion that he had not made them for a lawful object, and that he had them in his possession and under his control in similar circumstances'. He pleaded 'Not Guilty' and reserved his defence but was refused bail, it was opposed by the prosecuting counsel. George seems to be in good spirits and says he told a screw that if the screws went on strike on the eighth 'all we prisoners would immediately come out in sympathy—disappearing in all directions'. J.R.

afb ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN All correspondence to Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

AFBIB—To all Groups. Next AFBIB Meeting and Production, Sunday, January 3. Please send a delegate to Birmingham. (Accommodation provided if necessary.) Address all letters to: Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford 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 part of the country. To find your nearest group write to: North West Federation: Secretary, Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Primrose, Lancaster. Cornwall: A. Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, (44, 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, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9L. Scotland: Temporary Secretary, Neil Munro, 203 Carnhill Drive, Aberdeen. Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above). N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press. S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2. University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare. (Abbreviations: M—meeting; Ma—magazine; B—badges; Q—Quarterly; FL—free leaflets)

Anarchist Radio in Russia

ACCORDING to the BBC Radio World Service broadcast (which may well be propaganda itself) at 10 minutes past midnight 22.9.70 there are thousands of illegal pirate radio transmitters in the Soviet Union. Apparently they have been worrying the Russian authorities for years—the Soviet press has apparently been complaining about them since 1964 when there were only a few hundred of these clandestine stations—though this is the first I have heard of them. Now there are thousands of such transmitters, especially in Central Russia and the Ukraine—there are hundreds of them in the Ukrainian town of Krivoi-Rog alone. Many of the pirate Soviet radios are just young people having fun—broadcasting pop, 'vulgar conversation', 'rude language', etc., but others are more serious, being political, religious, or satirical, etc. The BBC broadcast gave the names of some of the secret radio

stations, and at least one has CALLED ITSELF 'ANARKHIST'. This is one more welcome hint that even the appalling oppressive weight of Communist dictatorship has not been able to totally eradicate our movement and that Anarchism is still alive in Russia. The BBC said that some of the illegal transmitters have disorganized quite seriously railways and other industrial and service facilities in some regions, by broadcasting false orders and so on, on the appropriate wave lengths! The news of such sabotage is most welcome. The BBC said that thousands of young people are breaking the law and risking heavy penalties by this illicit broadcasting. It all stems from the spread of Soviet education, which has meant that more and more enterprising individuals have the technical and scientific knowledge to build their own transmitters. This all shows, like aircraft hijackings,

All that Jazz

WHO'S WHO OF JAZZ (Storyville to Swing Street) by J. Chilton. Published by The Bloomsbury Bookshop, 31-35 Gt. Ormond Street, London, W.C.1. Price £4 10s. JOHN CHILTON is a better-than-average English trumpet player who has a very great knowledge of Jazz History. This book, a WHO'S WHO OF JAZZ, has been done with a great deal of research. So much indeed that it staggers one to think of the amount of time it must have taken to gather all these facts. It is very well done, though the first thing that I noticed, on browsing through the book, was

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that Peanuts Hucko's name appeared under a photo of Irving Fazola, and vice-versa, but I guess that this was a printer's error. In another photo Red Norvo is down as playing drums, though he is obviously standing behind the vibes which are his usual instrument. There is a very great deal of information here. For example I never knew that Irving Fazola (whose real name was Prestopnik) 'Gained his professional name from three notes in the tonic sol-fa, FA-SOH-LA'. Here is all the information about the very best of jazz musicians from the guitarist Bernard Addison to the boogie woogie pianist Bob Zurke. The names and dates are all there. When they were born and when they died, what bands they played in. Even what jobs they did in their spare time. To one who has heard quite a bit of jazz, and has heard most of the musicians listed, this book is very interesting. To one who has not heard much and does not know much, it gives names and dates and very little more. I feel a little guilty for knocking it because it is very well done for what it is, and it contains plenty of information, but does it contain enough? It has many photos that I have never seen before, and this is nice because quite often a book like this is just a rehash of old photographs and old information. Perhaps I'm not in favour of who's-whos at all, for the book seems very cold with all its dates and facts, and jazz is not cold (well, not until the advent of the likes of Miles Davis

anyway). What I would have liked it to have been was the dates and the facts and some descriptions of the way that the guys actually played. For example I know that Rod Cless was a fine Dixieland clarinetist with a slightly husky tone who made some fine records with the Muggsy Spanier Ragtimers and Art Hodes and that Irving Fazola played the same instrument but with a full round clear tone that was very woody in the low register and that his best records were with Bob Crosby *Washington & Lee Swing, Jazz Me Blues and Till We Meet Again*, but does everybody? Recordings are the only way you can hear these guys anyway because most of them are either dead, or can't play well any more. Why not tell us how marvellous Bill Coleman's tone was on Fats Waller's *Dream Man*, about the terrific swing that Charlie Christian could generate, about the crackling warmth of Armstrong's trumpet, about the glorious sound of the 1940 Ellington band playing *Concerto for Cootie*, about Hampton playing *Stardust*, about the hotness of Roy Eldridge at the Metropolitan Opera House Jam Session. The trouble with this book is that, like most of the jazz that is played today—not all, but most—it doesn't swing and it has no joy, but for all that, it's a marvellous who's who. JACK STEVENSON.



DIG DEEP !!

PRESS FUND December 1 to 7 inc. Table with columns for Income Sales and Subs., Expenditure, Deficit b/l., Less Income, and DEFICIT. Total: £20 7 2. Income Sales and Subs.: £112 6 7. Expenditure: £150 0 0. Deficit b/l.: £1,190 19 0. Less Income: £1,340 19 0. DEFICIT: £1,208 5 3.

*Denotes Regular Contributor. not merely that 'technology' sometimes backfires against the rulers who promote it, but that even one of the most suffocating and 'efficient' bureaucratic and despotic régimes in the world has not managed to exterminate individuality and personal initiative. The fiery 'breath of the living ego' (Stirner) can still singe the most steel-clad and solidly organized statist society. BERNARD R. MILES.

THE STORY OF A STRIKE

THE PILKINGTON WORKERS, who have been sacked and blacklisted by the employers because they came out on strike against victimisation, are now engaged in a bitter struggle with the Pilkington management for full reinstatement of 600 workers who were sacked—because they came out on strike over one of their mates who they believed had been victimised. We are demanding the right to strike, and the right to work. These are the two principles we are defending.

We wanted more money, we wanted to be consulted before steps were taken that affected us and our families. We eventually succeeded in getting more money, but to allow the workers to fully participate in decisions that affected themselves and their families was something the management—and the official Union—didn't want. What they DID want was to keep the loyal stewards in the same positions and get rid of the militant strike leaders. A campaign was launched by the Union, alleging that a 'Red Plot' was being hatched, and that the Rank-and-File Committee was behind it. The loyal stewards were used as strike-breakers, and were escorted into the factory between columns of police on horse-back.

In this kind of a situation it was inevitable that violence would break out, and it did, when a loyal steward—blackleg—who was going into the factory gates, ran out to the end of the picket line, grabbed hold of an elderly man of about 64 or 65, and butted him in the head. That was the outbreak of violence that you may have seen on television or in the press. The result of this was, eventually, three of our men were arrested, tried and sent to prison for three months.

When they were arrested, I was in Liverpool together with two other members of the committee, giving evidence to the Government's enquiry on the strike, which had started that day. When we came back we found that three of our lads had been sent down for three months for breach of the peace, and 15 others had been arrested and were going to be tried that night at a special court—so we had to get hold of our solicitor, take him to the station in St. Helens, and tell all our pickets to change their plea from 'guilty'—which the police had told them to plead—to 'not guilty'. None of them got sent down, a couple of them got off, the rest were fined very heavily. We appealed against the prison sentences, and were successful at Preston Quarter Sessions in reversing two of the decisions.

The arrests by the police, and the vicious sentences dished out by the magistrates, were all part of co-operation

between the establishment to beat the strike. But all attempts failed. We were educated through our bitter experience, because now, more fully than ever, we recognised who the enemy was, and who their supporters were. We've been given an education that money can't buy.

It was now clearly recognised by the management—and the G&MWU—that the only way to get the workers back to work was through the rank-and-file strike committee. They realised that the strike committee had the support of the workers, and the vehicle that was used was no less a figure than Victor Feather. We received a telegram from Feather inviting us down to London, providing we advised all the workers to return to work. This telegram was put to a mass meeting, and they agreed to return. We all came out together, we were all going back together, with the largest single increase in our history. After we'd led them in, we travelled down to London for discussions with Lord Cooper of the G&MWU, with Feather in the chair.

At that meeting we agreed on two principles. One of them was that on their return to work, no one would be victimised for the part they played in the strike. The second one was that 27 truckers in Pontypool hadn't gone back to work when the factory in South Wales went back because, they said, 'We came out originally not for more money but in sympathy with the Pilkington's workers in St. Helens who were on strike.' The Pilkingtons workers were still out, so they were still out in sympathy—but they were on their own—for taking this action they were sacked. We were promised by Lord Cooper that he would write . . . and get the 27 re-employed and reinstated. Nothing at all has been done by Cooper, or by Feather. He didn't lift a hand to help the Pontypool men, they're still on the stones now. Out. Sacked. Some of them have got other jobs, menial jobs, some of the other lads, 19 of them, have still no jobs at all.

On the other part of the promise, no victimisation; when we did get back to the factories, almost immediately large-scale redundancies were announced, especially at Triplex, one of the more militant factories during the strike. Jerry Caughey himself was taken off the job he was doing before the strike and put into a job some £7 a week less—he was put into a training school! The purpose of this was to isolate him from the workers on the shop floor, to demoralise him with the £7 a week less in his pocket, to get him to throw in the sponge and pack in. It didn't—he soldiered on.

It was because of these sinister developments that we arranged the second

meeting with Feather and the G&MWU. At that moment in time it was the idea to try and work within the G&MWU, to try and change it. We still felt there was a chance. When we got down to London, Feather was there, we all went into the conference room, we were waiting for Lord Cooper. The meeting was scheduled to start at half-past six that evening. At twenty past six Cooper rang Feather, said he wasn't coming to the meeting, the strike was over, there was no purpose in having the strike committee, and the right course of action was for them to disband.

You can imagine how the Rank and File Committee felt. It was about this time we decided we had to get out of Cooper's union, and try and take our supporters into another trade union. We did try to join a number of trade unions—but because of the Bridlington agreements which prohibit one union poaching another union's members, we never succeeded. So it was put from the shop-floor, a lot of pressure was brought to bear from our supporters, that we should go ahead and form our own organisation.

This we did. And it was because we formed our own organisation and were getting a considerable amount of support from factory workers in St. Helens, that Pilkingtons—and, I have no doubt in my mind, the G&MWU also—were looking and waiting for an opportunity to try and get rid of the rank-and-file strike leaders as quickly as they possibly could. They chose the time and the place to do this. One of the lads in our organisation was in a three-man job on a shift work system. The standard custom and practice was that if you were working shift work, you would fill in the sheet today, I would fill it in tomorrow, this lad would fill it in the next day. If there were any discrepancies in the figures put down on that sheet, all three of us would be taken into the office and asked to justify it.

In this case one man was singled out. He was taken, the other two men were not taken. This man was a very strong supporter of the rank-and-file committee, and I have no doubt the management anticipated some kind of action would be demanded by the men. They realised also that all the workers in the factory had just come through a traumatic experience—a 7-week dispute, the first they'd ever had for about a hundred years (apart from the General Strike of 1926). And they knew they'd got debts piled up—mortgage commitments, HP commitments, the rest.

When they sent Amos Topping through the gates, demands were made by our supporters to take some action. They said, 'We'll have to have a showdown one

day, this is the time to do it'. We didn't think it was the time to do it—but the resolution was moved, seconded and practically passed unanimously, that we should withhold our labour for three days in support of Amos, who'd been sent through the gates by management without a hearing.

So we did. Came out on a three-day token strike. First day, we had a big meeting outside the factory, everyone agreed to support the strike. Management, who'd anticipated our action, had already printed letters threatening that anyone who supported the dispute would be sacked. When the people who should have gone on that afternoon didn't turn up at 2 o'clock—BY 5 O'CLOCK THAT EVENING someone had knocked on their door in a staff car and delivered them an ultimatum—'If you don't turn in for work tomorrow afternoon, you can come and pick up your cards and your money. You're sacked.'

And this weapon of fear used by the management did its job very well indeed. 600 of us stuck by the decision to hold the three-day strike and never went in. But a helluva lot of us didn't for the reasons I've already told you. And IMMEDIATELY the 600 stayed outside, isolated from the rest, Pilkingtons drew up two lists, a black list and a white list.

They started to ring round the various departmental managers—'Is John Smith one of the militants, or can we make him toe the line?'—'if we offer him re-employment'. And by this process they drew up a list of 350 names who they believed would go back to work and toe the line in future, and 250 that they'd have a hell of a job with, and they weren't under any circumstances going to offer them any employment at all.

The blacklist didn't just apply to Pilkingtons—for after some of these lads went round to other places for employment, they were blacklisted there also. The 350 who were offered their jobs back, for punishment for supporting a 3-day strike, lost all their rights and their redundancy payments, all of their rights of the Control of Employment Act, and some of them who had 20, 30, even 40 years' service—one man had only 7 or 8 months still to do—were completely lost. You've been out on strike, you come back now as a new starter. This means that if any redundancies occur within the Pilkington factories—and redundancies have been announced within the last few days—these people, these re-employed people, will be the first ones to be sacked, even if they have 20, 30, 40 years' service. That's the punishment.

A victory for Pilkingtons is a victory for the Government and its anti-trade union laws. The fight of the sacked Pilkington workers is the fight of every trade unionist in the country.

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Towards a Black Australia

ONCE THE RED-OCHE deserts and wet eucalypt forests lay in dusky silence—disturbed only by the rustle of marsupials, the songs of sparkling lyre-birds and the corroborees of blackburnt nomads. The black tribes wandered through the open spaces gathering food and singing of the 'Dreamtime'—the creation of their eco-system. These cool, natural societies were destroyed with the bullets of the white trash—who rampaged the country looking for anything to exploit. They set up the usual exploitative, centralised, imperialist, capitalist mess.

Australian racism is similar to South African—the remaining blacks have the highest infant mortality rate in the world. Australia forms a fascist bloc in the United Nations with Portugal and South Africa—and has several colonies in which the natives are put down every time they cry for independence. Australia (and its colonies) are controlled by US, Japanese and British monopoly capitalists. Australia fights on in Vietnam against the yellow hordes, fearfully urging Nixon not to promise to withdraw. The Labour Party and the unions here are close to their British equivalents, always betraying the fools who support them (e.g. a Labour Government sent troops to break strikes). The working class has always held to ruling class ideology—exceptions being IWW and Communist activity during and after World War I and a huge strike over the goaling of a union leader in 1968. The large influx of money-seeking Greek and Italian workers has not helped the struggling radicals amongst the workers.

The 'Left' here is often united due to its minute size: there is a pseudo New Left (all Gramsci theoreticians at the moment), large groups of Maoists (unnoticed by Mao), Students for a Dying

Structure, and the other pimply brands of authoritarian political freaks. However, there has been an upsurge of interest in anarchy over the last year and a national anarchist movement is beginning to form. Anarchists here are eclectic and some of the tools used to sharpen their minds have been: Zap comix; A. S. Neill; the IWW; French Situationists; the Cohn-Bendits; Bakunin; Malatesta; Ken Kesey; Gary Snyder's Zen anarchism. Periodicals which make it out here are FREEDOM, Anarchy, Solidarity, Black and Red, Noir et Rouge, etc.

Here briefly are the anarchist scenes in the three major cities (the rest of the country being rather dormant):

ADELAIDE: The student paper at Flinders Uni. is run by anarchists. The Revolutionary Commune of Adelaide Anarchists consists of a bookshop, poetry readings, discussion groups and a paper called *Up Against the Wall*. The anarchists here were the first to set up a multi-media arts workshop. They have created the militant, adventurist nature of anti-war demonstrations—the pigs realise this and arrested and belted almost every active anarchist on the September Moratorium. The Builders Laborers and the anarchists have helped each other in their anti-capitalist activities.

SYDNEY: Has the longest established groups of anarchists and libertarians. Fagan's anarchist bookshop sells much imported revolutionary gear, as well as producing posters, badges and pamphlets. Every Sunday on the Domain there are speakers and a bookstall.

The Kronstadt group is active at Sydney Uni. At the Uni. of New South

Wales, *Tharunka*, the student paper, was run by anarchists with much gusto, 'obscenity' (Eskimo Nell, cunnilingus-fellatio pictures, banned poetry, a serialised 'Do It'), wobbly stuff, overseas movement news, do-it-yourself urban warfare. *Tharunka* and its editors are on numerous obscenity charges and they have been goaled with contempt of court (Wendy Bacon wore a nun's habit to court with 'I've been fucked by the steel prick of the Almighty' emblazoned on the front). Sydney anarchists and libertarians produce a magazine, *The Anarchist*, and the Libertarian Broad-sheet, as well as a new underground rag—*Thorunka*.

Anarchists here have been active against the war and at least one has been goaled for refusing to be conscripted. They have joined in the Gurinji tribe's fight for its land against the government and capitalists such as Lord Vestey (Vestey's sucks black blood). It is also hoped to revive the revolutionary elements among the workers by setting up an IWW.

MELBOURNE: There are anarchist groups at each of the three universities. These groups are doing their best to ferment student unrest, to make anarchism common knowledge, to expose Maoists and SDS sterility by giving examples of spontaneous, creative and participatory revolutionary actions. Anarchists have been at the forefront of occupations, sabotage, and always press for total liberation of the universities (forming Black Bases). LaTrobe Uni. produces *The Black Flag* and Melbourne Uni. produces a weekly sheet *Treason*.

There are anarchist workers' movements beginning to take effect at the railways and on the wharves. *Solidarity*

magazine is published and distributed around the street, offices and factories by about 50 drop-outs/young worker/student comrades. Solidarity Bookshop was forced to shut by the pigs and health authorities. However a larger anarchist centre (printing, sleeping, bookshop, etc.) will begin here shortly.

Anarchist activity in the last year were: a Mayday march through the city on May 1; an attack (play-money, streamers, crackers, flour-bombs) on the Stock Exchange; a free picnic, for the people, in the city square. Black and Red and Black Flags as well as anarchist slogans (1 2 3 4 We don't want your fucking war, 5 6 7 8 Organise and smash the state) almost dominated the last Moratorium, attended by over 50,000 people. Anarchists joined with Greek migrants to oppose their eviction from their homes, and also contributed to about 2 million dollars damage to US property to celebrate July 4.

Anarchy is entering the schools with greater effect each year—strikes and boycotts occurred this year. There are many anarchist pamphleting their schools, they also produce *Insurrection* magazine.

Proposed activities include increasing our contact with schoolkids, housewives and workers in an effort to relate local, everyday life to revolution—instead of concentrating on national political issues such as the Vietnam war. Anarchists are also becoming involved with arts co-operatives, city and country communes, free schools and tribal guerilla theatre—while still promoting class warfare.

LOU COSTELLOE.

NOTE: All the literature mentioned is available from the Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A389 Sydney South, NSW 2000, Aust.

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Irish Fascists

THE IRISH GOVERNMENT threatens to revert to the use of the concentration camps it has periodically run since the start of home rule in 1921. It says it has uncovered a plot to kidnap leading personages and carry out a series of bank robberies. No evidence of either has been produced and no proof is necessary. The government in its relatively brief tenure of office has learned that the wielder of power and violence in the community can call any tune he chooses.

In fact there is considerable unrest in the Republic. The original declarers of independence, in the famous proclamation of 1916, promised a new way of life, free of the old imperialism, in which the wealth of the community would be vested in all and there would be equal opportunity for every person. The survivors, when they achieved power, soon went the way of all political 'revolutionaries' and merely replaced one set of rulers with another. There was not even a change of class rule as the entire structure of the old society remained basically unchanged. Various dissident groups have been pointing this out until now there is widespread disillusionment with the old patriots and their flag waving. Imprisonment without even the facade of a trial is now to be re-introduced, a device which even the English had rarely used.

Who are the criminals?

Defence counsel in the My Lai trial do not pretend that their clients are innocent of the crimes with which they are charged. On that count there is overwhelming evidence that the Americans have perpetrated the most savage horrors against the innocent peasantry. The American Army seeks to exonerate itself from guilt by demonstrating that the outrages which have occurred are isolated instances of individuals abusing their power. The defence is now adducing evidence to prove that while individuals like Lieutenant William Calley may have killed unoffending civilians the overall policy of the Army was such that his actions were normal and officially countenanced.

In support of this argument former servicemen engaged in Vietnam held an enquiry in Washington into the general conduct of the war. This enquiry produced a mass of evidence showing that villages had been indiscriminately bombed and suspects as well as prisoners tor-

THIS WORLD

tured. Former Corporal Robert Osman gave evidence that he saw one North Vietnamese soldier crucified to a tree by vengeful Americans. Summarising the various testimony Captain Robert Johnson, who presided at the hearing, said:

'We have developed substantial evidence that war crimes were not isolated acts in Vietnam but a way of life. Lieutenant Calley is a victim of our national war policy. He is a scapegoat.'

Old traditions in peril

One of the redeeming features of English society has been the freedom of access to public libraries, museums and parks. The government now intends to introduce admission fees to art galleries and museums. There are further indications that this is to be widened to cover all such amenities. The trustees of the New Forest are also proposing to reap some profit from the four million visitors who visit it annually by introducing an entry fee. The local authority on the Isle of Wight has a petition before Parliament to the same end although this piece of nonsense has been countered by councils on the mainland demanding a reciprocal charge on residents from the Isle of Wight when they venture into their dominion. The overall tendency, however, needs to be fought with the utmost vigour as it represents a perilous encroachment on the already narrow area of freedom remaining to us today.

Migrant smuggling

Nobody will sympathise with the individuals who are reaping rich dividends from trading in the human cargo (often scandalously handled) which has become the lot of many Pakistanis attempting entry to this country. But it is utterly wrong, to state that the traders, not to speak of the ordinary victims, are the main villains. These are beyond doubt the law and the government who are responsible for forbidding freedom of movement and migration to people—a discrimination rendered no less vicious by its racial character.

In a civilised world everyone would be free to migrate to whatever country

he wished. This would result in a fair distribution of the world's population and lead to closer bonds between mankind everywhere. We are not, today, living in a civilised world although those in power claim to be the custodians of moral values as against the agitators and disrupters who would lead us to 'anarchy'.

Friends of the Police

If there is one thing all politicians are agreed upon it is the necessity of maintaining a police force. Last week the question of police pay was raised in Parliament by the Labour Party. They were quite outdone by the Conservatives who promptly undertook to grant large increases in pay to the police and to recruit even more to the ranks.

In Hyde Park when I notice members of the worthy constabulary in the audience I hasten to assure them that they have nothing to fear from the Communist Party. In fact, in terms of enlightened self-interest, there is no party which should appeal to them more. Once in power the CP will recruit far more stalwart men to the ranks with considerably increased pay all round. A policeman under the CP would enjoy a far more privileged and powerful position in society than he does today. And it is only the anarchists who want to abolish the police force.

Workers' opportunity

While the Industrial Relations Bill may

seem repressive in many aspects there is implicit in the situation a solution. This was highlighted recently when the executive council of SOGAT (Society of Graphical and Allied Trades) had an injunction taken out against them forbidding their encouragement of the one-day strike called for December 8. This solution—which will have no appeal for union officials—is a radical reorganisation of the trade unions on non-authoritarian non-official lines. If a union has no officials then the only option to those who would prosecute is to take action against the entire membership—a difficult task and one which would ultimately lead to a revolutionary situation where the government would legally be obliged to imprison entire memberships of trade unions.

It might be recalled that the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist federation of trade unions, with a total membership of over 1,500,000, found it necessary to employ only one official. In England all sorts of unions with memberships of only a few thousands in many instances employ several officials. The reason for this contrast is the very different methods of organisation. The Spanish structure was based on principles of co-operation, absence of authority, autonomy for each unit which did not fail to result in amazing solidarity when the occasion warranted it. The English structure is highly authoritarian and hierarchical. The membership is often apathetic and uninformed. The leadership constitutes a new class with political aspirations and vested interests of its own. Indeed until the English workers take over control of their own unions they will have as their enemies not merely the bosses but their alleged friends and leaders who continually sell them short.

Long March in Latin America

STRATEGY FOR REVOLUTION by Regis Debray (Jonathan Cape, 38s.).

IN THIS COLLECTION of essays Regis Debray outlines his theories about the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. He believes in the primacy of the rural guerilla. The urban guerilla has an important role to play, but it is a secondary one, because in a city he is in a trap from the start. The rural guerilla can drive his own paths through

form of liberalism, lest this lead on from reforms to social revolution.

Imperialism is Regis Debray's enemy, and North American imperialism at that. Readers of FREEDOM probably do not need to be told that the United States controls Latin America, which it rules as its empire, by economic domination. The various republics enjoy only a nominal independence. Indeed to some extent this is also true of the countries of Western Europe, but these have more power and the domination is less brutal.

I wish though that I could share this feeling that there was one enemy, the American Empire. I wish I could share Regis Debray's faith in Castroism, guerillas, armed struggle and all the rest of it. The trouble is that, as far as I can see, there is nothing to prevent the guerillas forming a new élite. The evil United States itself was created by a revolution, if I remember right.

I suppose that Regis Debray would say, 'You have no alternative to offer.' Indeed in this book he attacks reformist policies in no uncertain terms. He shows how the American Empire was able to buy up reforming governments in the pre-Cuba period, and how since the Cuban Revolution it has felt itself strong enough to crush such movements outright.

Anarchists have a more radical solution than the reformers, but they seem to be fairly thin on the ground in Latin America, and it looks as if the situation is going to remain in the hands of the 'toughies' of both Right and Left for some time to come. A.W.U.

BOOK REVIEW

the wilderness, the urban guerilla is dependent on fixed streets, which can be controlled at crucial points by the army and police.

This is no doubt true in the vast South American continent, much of which is still wilderness. European admirers of Che Guevara and Regis Debray would do well to reflect that most European countries are just great towns. The surviving wildernesses are no more than big parks. One cannot imagine a guerilla army in the Scottish Highlands or the Welsh mountains.

Even in Latin America the prospect at present is grim. The first essay in the book is entitled 'The Long March in Latin America', and the author shows himself to be well aware of the appropriateness of his chosen title. He knows that the ruling class of the United States is on its guard now, as it was not at the time of the Cuban Revolution, and is determined to stifle even the mildest

FLAG OF CONVENIENCE

I KNOW Harland & Wolff employ only 10,000 of Northern Ireland's population, and I believe at one of the worst moments of the present troubles they claimed that there was no religious discrimination in employment at their yards and that there was harmony between their Catholic and Protestant employees (an improvement on earlier days when the job situation used to be illustrated in folklore by a little cameo: Man applying for a job at the shipyard, 'Any chance of a job?' (crossing himself), 'No' (thumping nose)); and yet the rumoured takeover by Aristotle Onassis sets me speculating. For now at the heart of one of the most important centres of Northern Irish life is a man who, although nominally a Catholic of one species, owes allegiance neither to the Pope nor to King Billy. And this dreary, pathetic, fratricidal historical enmity between Catholic and Protestant has remained, despite the involvement of so many groups who are partisans of neither, the channel through which the anger of deprivation and frustration, and fear, has poured out during the last couple of years.

Coming on top of their disappointment that the British troops did not become allies in a crusade to crush the Papists, this handing over to a foreigner of one of Northern Ireland's chief sources of livelihood must be a sore disillusionment to the ultra-English, Union Jack-wearing Tories of the working class who must make up the majority who have maintained the consistently right-wing status quo up to now.

Will this be more eloquent than the propaganda of anarchists, trotskysts and revolutionary socialists has been in explaining to working men and women that they've been fighting the wrong enemy; that capitalism has no country and no religion; that the only struggle that is worth their strength is to get under their own control the gaining of their livelihood and disposition of their lives, and with that it doesn't matter a damn whether the hands that held the power and wealth are Catholic, Protestant or Fireworshippers; English, Greek—or Irish.

M. CANIPA.

Primates in Orbit

Continued from page 1

tian Churches are, but for the Catholics, as the most authoritarian and with the biggest burden of intellectual and mystical garbage to hump around, and, in fact, one of the most repressive political institutions in the history of mankind—for the Catholic Church, the crisis is crucial. And it is not for nothing that the Popes have so steadfastly set their wrinkled old faces against any letting up on their traditional anti-sexuality. Centuries before Wilhelm Reich proclaimed the relationship between orgasm and the urge for freedom, outlined the sexual revolution and showed us how the sexually free find the strength to be ungovernable, the Catholics knew it all. St. Augustine and St. Paul crushed love out of the Christian message—except that sickly, pallid 'spiritual' love for non-existent Nobodaddy upstairs.

(Incidentally, not centuries, but long before Wilhelm Reich, the Anarchists knew it, too, and to the embarrassment of socialists and more puritanical 'revolutionaries' have always proclaimed free love and demanded the technology that goes with it in terms of birth control and abortion, with a long cool look at the family—etc., etc.)

So, the Pope thought that a personal appearance tour, a whirlwind programme of one-night stands, a whistle-stop parade to show the holy body to the masses, would help the box office. By a great stroke of good fortune, a near-miracle was provided, by the assassin in Manila. Whether it was the hand of God that came out of the clouds to save his holiness, or whether it really was the fist of that fifteen-stone bishop from Bradford that deflected the fourteen-inch blade, we shall never know. But it is already being spoken of as a miracle!

What always puzzles us is the reluctance that Popes seem to have actually to join their makers. By all accounts Pope Paul is a sick man and has not long to live. Should he not have welcomed the opportunity to go to God and sit on the right hand of Jesus and all that? When his predecessor (was it John?) was ill, he actually saw a vision of Jesus beckoning him to come on in—but fourteen doctors pulled him back! Can it be that they don't really believe their own propaganda?

Anyway, what about the Archbishop of Cant? He, never having had the authority of the Pope, is not facing the same crisis

of authority. What he is up against is a crisis of congregations. Churches are closing all over the country as the people simply stay away. Protestants are supposed to be governed more by their own consciences than are Catholics, who have it all laid on the line for them, and if this is so, then we can only assume that Protestant consciences are sickened by the Protestant Churches—for most non-conformist congregations are dwindling as well as the Church of England's.

It is also a crisis of faith which is assailing the Protestants (in all this discourse we naturally exclude Northern Ireland, where bricks and petrol bombs sustain the faiths of both sides most comfortably) so that we have bishops scratching around to dream up a godless Christianity, honest Christians become more concerned with making things better on this earth like with housing and famine relief, etc., and spending no time on their knees talking to God, while the World Council of Churches actually allocates money to help arm guerilla movements against apartheid.

NOTHING TO LOSE

Realising that the official Christian Church has got to be seen to relate to the real world, Dr. Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, flew off to South Africa. Was it coincidence that he was doing this at the same time as the Pope was flying about South America, or was it a bit of me-tooism? And, wonder of wonders, the old man said all the right things and pulled no punches. Going even further than Harold Macmillan's famous 'wind of change' speech after his trip to SA, the Archbishop forecast bloody revolution (with the aid of Christian arms?) if the South African whites do not put their house in order. Well, good for him, and after all, what has he got to lose? The Dutch Reform Church of South Africa must be a right embarrassment for the Churches everywhere else, and if sports organisations can sever connections on matters of principle, can the Christians be far behind?

It is not often that the Church of England (once and properly described as the Conservative Party at prayer) comes out on top of the Catholics in a straight battle of wits. But there is no doubt that Dr. Ramsey won on points over Pope Paul. And why? Because the Protestants are desperately trying to keep up with the 20th Century, while the Catholics stick to medieval dogma. Fancy trying to run up to the year 2000 with a load like that on your back!

JUSTIN.

BILL DWYER.

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