

INTERNMENT & CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

THE USE OF torture by members of the Special Branch of the Royal Ulster Constabulary on internees belies the statements made by the British Army and the Unionist Government about the 'increased flow of information to the security forces'. If such is the case then why has it been necessary for both the Army and the RUC to use these methods to extract information? The documentation of the allegations of torture is backed up by signed statements from those affected. These go into considerable detail about the methods used to disorientate internees.

Mr. Heath, with the agreement of Mr. Wilson for the Labour Party, has turned down demands that these allegations should be subject to a public inquiry. They will instead be referred to the existing tribunal under Sir Edmund Compton. Such hearings in private will only whitewash the Army and the RUC. Sir Edmund, a well-paid functionary of the State, is not going to bite the hand that feeds him, as was amply proved in his role of Ombudsman.

The State does not want to wash its dirty linen in public and like the American Army in Vietnam and the French in Algeria, it will deny, make excuses and talk of the stresses and provocation suffered by the Army. Yet the fact remains that systematic torture has been used by the forces of occupation and will continue to be used in the future whenever the rule of an oppressive government or power is challenged

by its populace.

While the *Daily Mirror* cries out for a public inquiry, the 'liberal' *Guardian* gives comfort and support to Mr. Heath and the oppressive Unionist Government. The comparisons with South Africa, Rhodesia and Greece are mistaken ones, says the editorial of the latter, and goes on to comment that this is 'because here the army is trying to protect the whole population, not just a privileged minority'.

DELIBERATE USE OF VIOLENCE

Any Catholic in Ulster would pour scorn on this lie. The welcome the Army first received from the Catholics was shortlived and the mistaken belief held by many. Bernadette Devlin included, that an army of occupation would help the situation soon collapsed about their ears. The shootings by the Army, the smashing of homes, their rough

treatment of those arrested even before internment, their deliberate use of rubber bullets at short range and their abuse of women has made them as hated as the old 'B' Specials.

The hired assassins of the ruling class are there to protect and defend the interests of that class and to enable that 'privileged minority' to continue to exploit a divided working class and source of cheap labour. The Faulkner Government says that continued disruptions will damage the economy. However it does not attack the companies who have taken advantage of the loans, grants and tax concessions, only to move out of Ulster when the period for these concessions expires, neither does it attack the discrimination in employment against Catholics, because its power is based on the exploitation of religious differences. Its hand-outs to the Protestants are only marginally better than those to Catholics. While the former have a better chance of being less exploited as a cheap source of labour, all are oppressed and exploited with low wages, bad housing, unemployment and extreme authoritarian laws which are the envy of the South African Government.

The campaign of the Provisional

IRA has deliberately widened the gap between Catholics and Protestants. The latter genuinely fear a union with the South, which under a Provisional regime would be very authoritarian and right wing. It does not lack for arms or the means to get them and its success would mean yet another privileged minority taking over the reins of power. The campaign of bombings and shootings forces the two communities apart, while the Ulster Defence Regiment is being armed with high calibre self-loading rifles, and Protestants are being recruited. Such a situation will only cause more violence.

SAME INTERESTS

The moderate Civil Rights campaign tried to bring the two religious communities together, while the People's Democracy attempted to dispel the mutual hatreds and fears and to bring the workers to the realisation that their interests are the same, despite the teachings of church and political leaders. The Unionist Government, the Paisleyites, the Provisional IRA and the two churches saw these efforts as a threat to their power and influence for the two communities were beginning to make a joint effort

against Stormont.

The campaign of civil disobedience holds a glimmer of hope, a chance that once again people can forget their religious differences and work together against the exploitation that is common to all. Stormont's emergency legislation, enabling authorities to deduct payments from supplementary benefits and wages of those supporting the campaign, shows how much it fears this civil disobedience. Over half a million pounds are now outstanding and the Government has started evictions and prosecutions. Civic services have completely broken down in some areas and people have started their own do-it-yourself administration to remedy this. Initiative and control is being taken by ordinary people who have lost all faith in Stormont and the alternative assembly of opposition MPs.

The campaign of civil disobedience illustrates what can be achieved by the people themselves. It can prevent community violence, draw support away from the Provisional IRA and bring the Catholics and Protestants together. Ultimately it can, through solidarity and brotherhood, overthrow the whole apparatus of exploitation by the State and the employing class. P.T.

The Queen's Uniformed Thugs

OF COURSE THERE is brutality, thuggery and torture taking place in detention centres and security prisons in Northern Ireland today. Carried out and committed by the sons of the sneaks and the warders of the nineteen-twenties. By the so-called Security Forces in the name of the English Queen.

Has not the same thing happened the world over where British Imperialists have divided the people in order to rule?

How about Egypt, Kenya, Cyprus and Aden to mention but a few?

When it comes to facing up to this sort of thing British people appear blind, gullible and oft-times schizophrenic. They seem unable to believe that their own men (and women) can act as all men in the world act when they find themselves in some kind of uniform and carry titles of security forces and special branch security police, etc.

It is difficult for most of them to accept that the 'good old British Tommy' can and does become a thug and a bully when thrust into a Northern Ireland-type situation. The only difference from German, French, Polish, Russian and American brutality is that the British are so damnably hypocritical about it.

Recently I visited the refugee camp at Fermoy some seven miles north of the City of Cork. In there are approximately four hundred people, mostly Catholic families, who have fled Ulster in fear not only of being hurt or killed in the urban fighting but also because of their dread of being taken by the Security Forces if caught helping their own people.

The British Army and the RUC have mounted a campaign of terror in the six counties designed, in a frantic attempt, to frighten Irish men and women loyal to the cause of a united Ireland into betraying anyone engaged in the struggle for freedom.

Having spoken in the past, and at

length, with men of EOKA, FLOSY, PLF and more recently the IRA, and having lived with, and shared the same 'European' clubs as ex-officers of the Palestine, Hong Kong, Aden and Kenya police and military forces, it seems unlikely that the men in uniform in Northern Ireland today are not the successors of those who invented and employed the special torture techniques like the magneto electric shock applied to the genitals, sitting on a bottle whilst being pressed down at the shoulders, being made to taste human shit at the end of an officer's boot plus many other inhumanities.

I have witnessed British police officers in the Nigerian Police Force take away the driving licence of a Yoruba taxi driver, tear up and throw away the licence and then instruct the driver to report with it the following day. If any of them were ever foolish enough to report to dare ask for a licence renewal a couple of hefty Hausa NCOs were detailed off to take the driver out back and beat him into insensibility.

The British really excelled in ferocious brutality in Kenya. Read in 'Sic Persecution' (Peter Benenson 1959—British and French atrocities in Algeria and Kenya) of the methods employed in that area of operations to extract information from prisoners. It was not always of the most sophisticated kind. Probably because their freedom fighter captives were black and therefore thought not worthy of the more 'refined treatment'.

Many terrible and gruesome atrocities are being committed in Ulster. Some of them will be quite unimaginable to a large number of people in Britain and they will continue until every single British soldier and policeman is withdrawn to allow the free and unhindered unification of the whole of Ireland.

HARRY TURNBULL.

THE DOPPELGÄNGER activities of the paid Brahmins who control the London Passenger Transport Board continues to amuse and bemuse me, the hired help of this dying industry. Each new public advertisement, each new public claim, is a sick joke that fails to amuse the horny-handed proletariat working for this self-destructing social service as we wait for our 'redundancy' notices while the thwarted passengers brood by the hour for buses that no longer appear to operate. Each public holiday the same tired old advertisement appears stating that extra buses will be on the road to carry London's millions on their round of merry-making family-wise or beerwise and each public holiday sees schedules posted in every garage with massive cuts in services and offers by the LTB to grant unpaid leave to the surplus and unwanted bus crews of the day. Posters appear in every garage stating in the language of the confidential ingroup that 'we' must try to win back the lost millions of transport users while at the same time plans are made a year ahead for garages to be closed, services withdrawn and bus routes slashed on the principle that the less you have the less you will need.

It is this workhouse philosophy that is the basis of all contemporary social service administration when the final solution is a complete withdrawal of the service. Bus or children's milk must both conform to this political dogma. But there is no finality of death for the London millions for we exist in time as a permanent social group and we walk, yea, even we with the 'free' bus passes, little comrade, for no bus services means everyone. Every social service is shaped by the party in office and is the product of the class for whom it acts and their political directives are acted upon by the paid bureaucracy in charge. From My Lord Robens to Archibald Gilchrist of the Clyde shipyards is a roll call of industrial and social murder, and never at any time have the clerks in office refused to act out their political brief

ONE-MAN BUSES & REDUNDANCY

for they are the bureaucratic front men for whom Malthus wrote his manifesto and Thomas Hobbes gave authority to in his *Leviathan* Tory bible, that the role of the State should be no more than the physical protection of private property and that the welfare of the individual, be it poverty or profit, is a matter of private practice and conscience.

The Tory Government, with their usual vulgarity, chose as their new hatchet man for the slaughter of Britain's railways the political opportunist Richard Marsh and this creature, with the mass-media smile and the palest of pale pink backgrounds, has walked into the shadow left by Doctor Beeching to join that infamous company who have crawled into the boardrooms across the unmarked graves of our revolutionary and evangelising dead. And their task? Destroy. One must surely ask why it is necessary for any political party to choose men like this for there must be a sufficiency of capable and intelligent men within each doomed industry to take full command and responsibility to make it a valid factor in the nation's life but each time a Hill, a Robens, a Shawcross, a Beeching or a Marsh floats to the surface like shit on stagnant water. And their actions are our hurt when the miner is forced to leave his ancient valley, the ship-worker sees his honoured yards closed, the small village is isolated and you have to walk the long wet streets in the early morning dark where once a bus service ran.

If in this matter I sound parochial it is because I write as one of the rank and file of London's bus service and for too many long years I and others have spelt out the facts and given our detailed account of how a major city's bus service should operate. We explained, all those long years ago, that every society is drifting into a moneyless economy and that it should be anticipated and organised not as a managerial paternalist way of life but as the answer to the old socialist dream of from each according to his ability to each according to his need and that the foundation of an anarchist-socialist society could be laid in our own lifetime and one of the first faltering steps could be a moneyless public transport system. It simply means that one would use the public transport system without any payment of fares and the running costs, as with armies, libraries, parks and prisons, would come out of the public treasury. To many, inside and outside the anarchist movement, it was a lunatic fringe joke until the Tory-controlled GLC made it a matter of a long and public examination and rejected it on political grounds. We have explained how towns should be built up as small collective units and this was dismissed as another 'lunatic fringe' joke until the Drummond Report arrived at the same conclusion with their 'honeycomb' town planning but it was now too late for all the vast and mindless working-class estates had

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Political Art

David Cate: **THE DEMONSTRATION** (£1.40); **THE ILLUSION** (£2.50); **THE OCCUPATION** (£2.00). (All André Deutsch.)

THESE THREE BOOKS are, respectively, a play, an essay and a novel, and form together a trilogy called *The Confrontation*. I have not yet read the essay *The Illusion* which deals with different techniques used by politically committed writers: therefore I shall not refer to this, which will anyway have a smaller audience than the play and the

novel which illustrate some of the essay's conclusions.

One of the problems facing a committed writer in particular is how to get his 'message' across clearly without falling into crude propaganda which, besides usually being bad art, tends to be rejected on sight by the 'unconverted' and to produce a righteous glow or an unproductive renewal of anger in the 'converted'. This play and novel probably aren't going to radicalise anyone, and probably aren't intended to: what they do is to examine certain issues and

certain contradictions in revolutionary politics which tend to be neglected on washing-dirty-linen-in-public grounds. They attack simplistic attitudes and try to examine the complexity of the position of the radical academic, the incipient fascism of some student politics, etc. Cate uses a 'dialectic' method of juxtaposing scenes and ideas, obscuring the border between illusion/imagination and reality, jumping around in time, etc., to oblige the reader or the audience to think for himself and make his own conclusions: there is no simple message (this may explain the refusal of German actors to perform *The Demonstration* as they considered it would offer comfort to a bourgeois audience—which, even if true, seems no worse than offering comfort to a radical audience).

The novel *The Occupation* centres on

a visiting English professor at an American university and his involvement with political history, student politics, Black Power, publishing, women, etc. Cate's 'dialectic' method is sometimes a little more tiresome (self-conscious) than seems necessary but it is essential to his intentions and does not prevent the reader from following the narrative which is otherwise straightforwardly written.

The play *The Demonstration* (which was recently broadcast on the radio) is basically when performed a physical demonstration of some aspects of the novel. It takes the professor and students, transposes them to an English university as a drama professor and his students, and concerns the performance of a political play written by the professor and a replacement written by the

Book Reviews

students involving the take-over of the university. As a partial retreatment (or pre-treatment) of themes in the novel, its primary importance is as a performed play, but there is enough new material to make it worth reading in addition to the novel.

What I have so far failed to convey (and it is no footnote) is that both these works (especially the novel) are very funny and very readable—which is not so common in political art, and should encourage you, and others, to go out and enjoy them.

MICHAEL SKAIFE D'INGERTHORPE.

Be not Forgetful to Strangers

BLACK BRITISH WHITE BRITISH, by Dilip Hiro (Eyre & Spottiswoode, £3.95).

DILIP HIRO has produced a useful and well written book on the question of race relations in Britain today. He claims the aim of the book is 'to create a better understanding of the problem by highlighting the historical perspective'.

To do this he divides the book into three parts, with one section on the West Indians, another on the Asians, and a third on White Britons. He draws the historical lines together and reminds or reveals the vital need to always bear the past in mind when looking at the present.

The emphasis is on the fact that black people in Britain from the West Indies have three centuries of slavery as a recent heritage, that Asians suffered a similar fate as indentured labourers transported to be a working force where they were required by their overlords. The most useful reminder is that white Britons have therefore a recent heritage of being slave owners, inculcated with

the idea that black people are inferior. It is not a matter of simply ruling class savagery around the globe, but eager acceptance throughout society of the stereotypes and caricatures of the coloured people in the world.

The consequences of slavery are not forgotten in the years since its legal control, the whip has borne very deep into the psyches of both black and white. The system of the slave society is well analysed: 'The total helplessness implicit in the slave system made the slave dependent on the master. . . . The cruelty of slavery bred into the slaves a deep hatred and distrust of the white man. But since open expression of dislike or disobedience was summarily and barbarously punished, the slaves devised subtle means of expressing their feelings. . . . In short, they developed repression of their feelings and "playing it cool" as defence mechanisms against the system. . . . the white masters dubbed them as "devious, shifty and habitual liars", the traits which are still today, to a certain extent, associated with negroes by many whites'. (A useful tip, as regards the

informers who report to the 'massa', is that 'in modern times "moderate" black leaders in America and Britain are known to be in the habit of briefing the white authorities on what they have seen or heard in the black districts, a service for which they are duly rewarded'.)

Today, the concept of black pride is vital to black people. It is an attempt to drum out what centuries of humiliation drummed into the black consciousness.

The Asians as a separate cultural entity are well portrayed by the author. To the libertarian there are aspects of Asian culture which are anathema, however it is as well to understand and appreciate the length of historical continuity involved in the Asians' heritage.

Asians are unlike West Indians in many ways. They are possibly less unlike the British—yet the fact of colour undeniably places the Asians and West Indians against the whites. British legislation has seen to that.

I think the English reader should find much of value in Dilip Hiro's explanation of the Asians' communal cohesive-

ness, studiousness and religious identity. Their languages, religions and customs put them in many ways further away from white society than does the culture of the West Indians.

That slavery and exploitation have not simply affected the coloured peoples who suffered but destroyed the humanity of the owners and rulers is well portrayed in this book. In terms of black liberation, as with women's liberation to my mind, it is vital for the libertarian to remember that emancipation is in the real self-interests of the exploiter. The white male will be a happier fellow with black and white brothers and sisters—his soul is burdened with the shackles and the oppression and freedom from the master/slave relationship is in the interests of all.

Dilip Hiro depicts the sordid journey of recent post-war race relations in Britain with a healthy realism. Anyone with doubts about the Labour Party should read *Black British White British*. Anyone who believes the working class is free from racism (anyone?) should read Dilip Hiro.

As the *New Statesman* (13.68) put it about the '68 Immigration Act: 'this is the first incontestably racist law to be placed on the statute books' from a Government whose Prime Minister, Mr.

Wilson, had said 'Love thy brother does not mean the white race, but people of all colours'. The North Wolverhampton Working Men's Club, by the unanimous consent of its members, barred coloured people 'under any pretext, either as members, visitors or visiting artists'. And yet on its walls stood the following motto: 'Honour All Men. Love the Brotherhood. Use Hospitality One To Another. Be Not Forgetful To Strangers'.

The author's views that racial prejudice is widespread in Britain, that the official bourgeois race relations industry is probably doing more harm than good and that 'if past history is any guide, the chances of a future government yielding to popular pressure, howsoever generated, and promoting repatriation of black immigrants, are high'—these coincide with my own.

World society will not tolerate this however. Someone's going to wake up soon and realise the world is not accepting the claptrap of racial bigotry any more. That modern industrial capitalism grew from the enforcement of an inhuman slavery and exploitation is the lesson of the past. The message of the future is that the new emancipation must destroy the exploitation of capitalism.

J.W.

One-man Bus

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now been built and all that the planners can do is to discuss the 'mistakes'. And we were always right for we argued from the standpoint of social service to a community that can accept the responsibility and administration of its own tools of living be it schools, housing or transport.

In 1965, after years of union negotiation, the LTB foisted the One-Man Operated Bus onto the Londoners. Its only reason for being produced was to reduce the crew-operated wage by paying one man a small portion of another man's wage to do both jobs. We of the

minority rank and file spelt out the case against them and the old cries of 'commie', 'reds' and 'trouble makers' were bruited about by the vested interested. Yet everything that we stated is now an established fact. The OMO buses do lose money, they are an inferior service and they have been responsible for a massive wave of job losses in the London area alone. There are 23,000 weekly-paid bus staff employed by the LTB and this month the LTB stated that 'the change to all one-man operations by the end of the decade will mean that there will be 10,000 fewer bus jobs to be filled'. October 1971 and the LTB's own statement. If you are a thirty-year-old man or woman then this and the 1,000,000 unemployed figure offers a grim hope for the future. With garage after garage closing down it is futile to talk of 'alternative employment'

for, slice it how you will, it means the sack and no hope of employment for too many men and women.

William Francis was sixty years of age. He was not an employee of London Transport, just one of their millions of unremembered passengers. The firm that employed William Francis in the 1984 jargon of our age made this sixty-year-old worker 'redundant' after 25 years' service. Three days after getting his cards (the sack), William reported to the Ponders End Labour Exchange and 'they asked him what he was doing, being out of a job, and told him he was simply being lazy'. For two weeks William walked the streets looking for work sick in heart and spirit and then in despair PLACED HIMSELF UNDER A LORRY. This is not 1931, little comrades, but 1971, and his death is the black image for every worker streamlined onto the streets. The TGW union have always failed abysmally in dealing with the matter of garage closures, route-slashings and the operation of one-man buses. We stated all those long years ago that a moneyless transport system was a workable system and that as it operated from stop to stop a conductor or guard was a necessary factor in the public interest and that if the fare-collecting system was to be retained then a conductor working within the huge buses was the only way that it could be made commercially viable for the loss of fares and the time spent at each bus stop defeats not only the transport management interest but, more important, the community interest for to double the length of time spent on a journey to save one man's wage is a poor return to a community who merely wish to be transported from A to B in the quickest and most comfortable way.

But let the worker within any and every industry due for the political chop be honest in his claim to survive. The worker's claim to a job may be a matter of fear for his physical survival and, with the Prime Minister, we do not make the point that jobs should be created and maintained as an end in themselves. No one, least of all a coal miner, would wish a man to spend the rest of his working life in the depths of the earth digging for coal simply because that had been the only regional way of earning a living when cleaner, easier ways for creating fuel power were available.

What we do argue, nay state, is that no man should be displaced from his region and social group without his consent and that a workman should stay on the payroll of his parent place of employment until fresh employment for him has been created for him. Lunatic-fringe stuff again, little

comrades? The Dutch Social Democratic Government did it and found that it was acceptable to the rank and file and they did not close a coal mine until a new and better place and way of employment ABOVE GROUND had been made ready for their miners. When they closed a mine, the miners walked from the mine head into their new employment that same week and even as apprentices those men continued to draw their full adult pay rates. This is what the Labour Party in government in this country never learned to do and this is what social democracy means.

No one will argue, among the working

class, that men should be carried on a payroll at the expense of other men but when labour-saving methods of work become available they should lead to shorter hours of work and a phasing out of the old methods with the welfare of the workman involved as its major factor. That the conductor should form a crew of a passenger bus is not only in the interest of the community as a whole in the matter of safety and comfort but his welfare and his job is the pattern of your own treatment, little comrade, when your own future is at stake.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

VIOLENCE & ALL THAT

Dear Comrades,

Quite possibly there are liberatory tendencies in the various nationalist and separatist movements all over the world, but to me they seem to be mainly authoritarian. They aim to set up new governments, although these are local governments. They are based on 'national identity', which is something of a myth anyway. The horrors of Biafra and Bangla Dosh should not blind us to the fact that these countries are as much

were tyrannies, waged war upon each other. An example of progress and freedom?

I am not sure about economic causes being the origin of war. They are part of the picture, but I don't think that one can explain things so simply. The same applies to religion. Religions vary enormously. Peasant cultures are much the same in their economic structure all the world over, but they have thrown up the most amazing varieties of religious belief.* What possible economic basis can there be for the Parsees' belief that bodies must be neither buried nor burned, as this would pollute the elements of earth and fire, but that they must be exposed on 'towers of silence' to be

*Practically all modern religions, however urbanised they have become, originated in pre-industrial, peasant societies. Perhaps foodgatherers and urban workers can manage without it. At least they lack the impulse to create new religions. Continued on page 4

LETTER

artificial creations as Nigeria and Pakistan. All nations are the artificial creations of ambitious politicians, and of the masses who misguidedly believe that their interests are the same as those of the politicians. Latin America was once all one country, part of the Spanish empire, a tyranny but at least there was peace. When the empire broke up the various independent republics, which also

40,000 say no to Fascism!

MILAN IS NOT the 'capital of the protest of the silent majority' as Almirante affirms, and yesterday this was clearly proved. Only 5,000 'sympathisers' attended the fascist meeting, and many of those came from far away, chiefly Rome. The anti-fascist demonstration, organised by ANPI (National Association of Italian Partisans) on the other hand mobilised almost 40,000 people.

A day of rioting was feared. The attack of three days ago by a fascist squadron against four trade unionists

who were distributing literature in Piazza Cinque Giornati was a serious provocation, and Almirante's invitation on behalf of the central committee of MSI had the air of a challenge. Besides ANPI two other anti-fascist demonstrations were staged—Unione Studentesco and groups of the left. The exceptional number of 6,000 police armed with guns and clubs guarded the fascists. There were only two incidents.

Translated from *Stampa Sera* by Stuart Maxwell.

afib

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**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

Address all letters to AFBIB at above address. The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is available for urgent information. Please inform AFBIB of new or changed addresses of groups and federations. New enquiries should write direct to the Regional addresses listed below or AFBIB office in Birmingham.

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Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

IT WOULD SEEM that the interest in consumers' rights, stimulated by the activities of Mr. Ralph Nader, is a completely new phenomena. Not so. Where does the following quote come from?

'As turnover is the chief aim of the advertiser, a tremendous temptation is always present to adulterate goods, limit their service, ability, shorten their life, and bring the purchaser back the sooner for another sale.' It comes from a book called *Your Money's Worth* by Stuart Chase and F. T. Schlink in 1927 (sub-titled 'A Study in the Waste of the Consumer's Dollar'). This preceded the setting-up of Consumers' Research in the United States and was followed by many other books such as *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs* (1933), *Counterfeit and Skin Deep*.

That thirty years later we should still have to agitate and ferret out the truth about the products we consume might give one to quote the cynical proverb, 'The dogs bark but the caravan passes on'.

The latest watch-dog of consumer in-

terests, Ralph Nader, came into public prominence with the publication of *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965), a critique of the motor-car. Criticism was directed to a great extent to General Motors Corvair model and Nader's criticisms were sufficiently damning to get the car withdrawn from the market. General Motors were unwise enough in retaliation to harass Nader by putting spies on to follow him. He brought suit and was awarded \$270,000 damages for 'invasion of privacy'.

At the moment the motor show is going on in London, so it is Nader's contribution in the field of motor-safety which is chiefly prominent but he has had notable victories in other fields—air-pollution, the quality of food, pesticides, the medical profession, and the treatment of old people in nursing homes to name only a few.

Voluminous reports have been issued by Nader on the motor-car. Recent reports have been issued on (among others) the Volvo, the Volkswagen Beetle; and Nader's criticism of British cars called down a strong criticism upon

him from the Minister of Transport. Nader's retort that he thought the M of T was a servant of the people and not of the motor trade was well said and well deserved.

On the car in general Nader quotes an engineer's saying: 'Every car is a compromise with economic and stylistic factors.' Nader criticizes this as a meaningless statement, even if true and adds: 'Who authorizes what compromises of engineering safety?'

At a shareholders' meeting of General Motors it was said by the management that it would have been too difficult to recall the Corvairs in order that life-saving stabilizing components could be installed. It was calculated by Nader that on an estimate of 750,000 cars having survived for recall it would cost \$25 million—equal to under half-a-day's gross sales and less than five days' net profits (after taxes). This was not done, despite the fact that General Motors knew of the fault in design having had a report of the instability of the Corvair from the head of research and development of the Chevrolet division of General Motors.

It is revealed by Nader that the American postal authorities had a problem of children standing close by postal vehicles and being 'invisible' in the standard driving mirror to the van driver when starting off—consequently children were occasionally injured and killed. A postal worker solved the problem on his van by using a saucepan lid which gave the driver a full view of the entire front of his vehicle down to bumper-level. No mirror of this type was marketed since it could not be patented.

The whole field of research into motor accidents was in danger of being abandoned for lack of financial support when the Army discovered that more soldiers were being killed and injured in motor accidents than were being killed and injured in Korea. This was under the technical guidance of the Armed Forces Epidemiological Board! The main findings of much of the research is that each motor accident is really two accidents:

(a) the effects of the impact of the car upon whatever it hits; and (b) the impact of the occupant of the car with the car's interior surface. Nader and the researchers' case is that by accident-proof designing the results of accidents could be considerably minimized—to the occupants of cars that is!

A Mr. Wilson, chairman of General Motors, went down into history by saying 'What's good for General Motors is good for the United States'. Mr. Peyton, the Minister of Transport, in his reaction to Nader's criticism of British cars for their lack of safety features, seemed to take up a similar stand. Nader described this in an interview with Adam Raphael in the *Guardian* as a 'kind of dignified idiocy' and suggested that Mr. Peyton should resign immediately.

The impression is often given that the motor-car trade is a sacred cow and the decision of the Ministry of Transport to omit publication of holiday accident figures and the institution of motor tests on the basis of age smack more of a concern for the motor trade rather than a concern for public safety.

The newspapers too, in the interest of their advertising income, are not above falsifying the implications of Nader's research. A collection of news-cuttings about Nader's reports on motor-car defects is an interesting sidelight. The *New York Herald-Tribune* (3.9.71) reports Nader as criticising the Chevrolet and General Motors (which manufactures the Chevrolet), the *Sunday Times* (12.9.71) and the *Guardian* (13.9.71) mentions Nader's criticism of the Volkswagen, and the *Evening Standard* (6.9.71) mentions his criticism of the Volvo. All of these were presumably referring to the same group of reports but all of them picked out different cars and not one picked out an English car which no doubt gained a mention. The *New York Herald-Tribune* may be thought to be lacking in patriotism but the issue seen was published in Paris. Patriotism begins at the advertising cash till.

It will be seen from this brief survey of some of Nader's work on the motor-car industry that he is a man to be reckoned with. Perhaps a closer survey of his ideas will reveal some limitations of his approach, beliefs and methods. For example Mr. Nader is a lawyer and quoted (with regret) from the *Harvard*

Business Review that 'lying and cheating is institutionally functional, one couldn't have the system [American capitalism] operate any other way'.

One is inclined to think the *Harvard Business Review* correct but nevertheless people like Nader, Consumer Research (US) and the Consumers' Association deserve support.

JACK ROBINSON.

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## Converts or Hypocrites?

Comrades,

I realise that we might be a bit short of ideas in the British Anarchist movement and that it is natural at times to grasp at the weakest of straws in order to encourage oneself that things are not quite so bad as they seem. But are we really so bankrupt and demoralised that we have to embrace the nonsensical demands being made by some people (who believe that a majority of the people who would bother to take part agree with them on some particular issue) for referenda? And even talk as though this would be a 'system of direct democracy'. These demands have been given incredible coverage in FREEDOM recently culminating in John Lawrence's plea for a referendum over the Common Market. This coverage contrasts sadly with the lack of informed news or comment about the situation in, say, Northern Ireland, an archetypal State v. the People situation in which the State encourages division between sections of the people in order to maintain power over all of them.

I agree that we have not yet had an article in FREEDOM calling for a referendum in Northern Ireland as a 'system

of direct democracy', but, really, what sort of anarchist is it that can talk thus of working 'towards a system whereby ordinary people can run the country themselves'? How naive can you get? And anyway, what bloody country? Run it? All of us? What do we have in mind exactly? Suppose a referendum supported entry to the Common Market, say—or rejected it—so what? What about those who disagreed with the result? Surely anarchy is not about how to run the State but how to abolish it?

### LETTERS

Let's face it—we don't have much support for anarchist ideas or action despite the current trendy academic interest—we won't get (and certainly won't deserve) any more by the dishonest practice of taking up ideas because they seem to have some support (in the Labour Party??). That is the politician's way. Converts or Hypocrites?

Fraternally,

ARTH HUMPHREY.

## VICTORY FOR PALACE WORKERS

MILITANT WORKERS have reason to be proud of the victory of their comrades at Buckingham Palace. Despite the actions of the anti-working class Tory Government and despite the claims of various industrial employers that they will not pay the wage increases demanded by their workers the lads and the girls working at the Palace have won a massive wage increase that should be the red light for every militant shop stewards' group in this country.

There are those, and we can have little sympathy with them, who feel that our Palace comrades have won a wage award that the rest of us can never hope to attain but that is for us to test. Are we to sulk because a band of workers by their own efforts have broken the Tory percentage figure for wage increases when their action should be a flag to urge us on to greater efforts in the industrial battle.

Elizabeth Windsor has long been known as a tough fighter and negotiator and for her job as Queen she has upped the ante from a miserable £475,000 to £990,000. True that this is only a yearly wage and not a weekly take-home pay but Brenda, as we know her, has set the pattern for future wage claims on behalf of her fellow workers.

Her husband Philip who works alternate shifts with Brenda takes his pay up from £40,000 to £65,000 while little Anne their working daughter pushes her rate up from £6,000 to an £11,000.

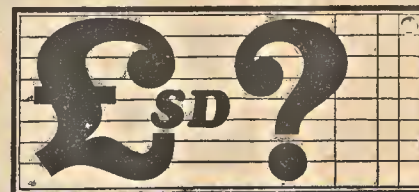
What we have to admire is the fact that the Palace workers kept the wage rates of the old workers in the forefront of their wage battle and Brenda's old mother found her pay packet weighed down with an extra £25,000 for no longer will this sweet and gentle old lady have to eke out a living on £70,000 a year for with her £95,000 she can live her last years in some small degree of comfort. Even the old Duke of Gloucester managed to get his small retainer bashed up from £35,000 to £55,000 and we all wish the old lad well for he has been a good and loyal worker and an honour to his class.

The working class can feel proud of the fact that Brenda's curvaceous and

vivacious sister Princess Margaret has landed a pay rise from £15,000 to £35,000 and for family reasons Meg has need of the extra money for her photographer husband Jones Imperial, bending the family car in the course of duty, has need of the money for a paint spray job on the old family bus. We of the militant working class in our industrial battles can only wish Brenda, Phil, Meg and the rest of the Palace workers a thumbs up for they have fought the good fight and they have won. There are still battles to be fought and won at the Palace in the matter of working conditions and lodging allowance when working away from home but we know that Brenda, with the loyal help of her husband and her sister Meg will sound a rallying call for all the embattled workers within these islands.

They have fought and won their battle, so let us send fraternal greetings and congratulations to our fellow workers at the Palace who, by their action, have placed themselves in the forefront of the battle. Long live the workers, long live the proletariat, long live the Palace soviet for we of the revolutionary working class salute you in the name of the revolution.

LUMPENPROLETARIAT.



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# This Week in Ireland

I WILL BEGIN by the one good and cheering heartening thing. As fast as the British troops crater the border roads so do the farmers from BOTH sides of the border bring out their tractors and working together in amity fill them in, or make new roads across the fields. They call the cratering 'Taylor's Folly'.

Meanwhile the toll of torture at the hands of the brutalised British Redcaps and the RUC Special Branch rises. Mr. Shannon was missing for nine days and his whereabouts were only told to his wife after the Opposition had made a great fuss. She then went to see him in Crumlin Gaol. He was still disorientated, and Surgeon Lane who has seen him is willing to testify he has been tortured. This surgeon served many years with the British Army in Colonial places, but has given back his medals, etc., as a token of his disgust with Army tactics in the six counties.

Faulkner actually had the utter idiocy to say on the BBC last Sunday there had been no ill-treatment of internees, yet interested people have compiled dossiers of sworn statements. The Compton Inquiry is just whitewashing tripe. Does Faulkner really expect any Catholic internee to have faith in a man paid £6,000 a year by Stormont? Especially as Stormont insists the Inquiry must be held in private and the internees who complain may not call witnesses. Is Heath quite blind and mad as well? Ireland is so sick that major surgery is necessary if she is ever to recover. The Catholics in the six counties are the 'white niggers' and their equivalent Protestants the 'poor

whites'.

Yesterday a young man who had never belonged to any political party, and who had lain bleeding to death on the floor of a house while the Army refused to let anyone leave their house to phone for ambulance or doctor, was buried. Paisleyite women turned out to spit and jeer at the funeral cortege. One almost believes in diabolic possession. Incidentally when (after he was dead) an Army ambulance took him to an Army hospital they took his brother too and kept him 24 hours and beat his up and tortured him.

The President of Sinn Féin went by invitation to speak at Queen's on the EEC as did Michael Sweetman, TD, the former being against it, the latter for it. Presently a girl student noticed that troops were surrounding Queen's and soldiers had let the air out of Mr. MacGiolla's tyres. When he went out a plainclothes man manhandled him and tried to arrest him. This some 200 students prevented. They took him back inside and barricaded themselves in and rang Mr. Callaghan. He in his turn got in touch with Mr. Maudling. Troops withdrew, but the students thought it unwise for Tomas to leave unless they had a written guarantee of safe conduct to the border. A high-ranking officer had given a verbal one. However about 10 next morning Tomas slipped out and accompanied by a posse of students got safely across the border at Newry though he was tailed all the way. Paisley is furious, stating it is another give-in to the IRA (Mr. MacGiolla does not be-

long to the IRA. He is a gentle somewhat timid and diffident man) and he should have been arrested under section 10 of the Special Powers Act.

We have had the boxes of arms found at Cobh first thought to have come off the Q.E.II, but now there is an air of mystery about the whole affair.

The Dail reconvened early yesterday to discuss the six-county situation, and Mr. Lynch has threatened to go to the UN himself if British troops again cross the border as they continually do. To

me Mr. Lynch seemed stronger and more forthright than heretofore, but the Opposition are scarifying him. The debate continues today.

Our students have come out in protest about the raised fees, and the instant dismissal for political reasons of two art teachers.

On the Saturday before last our writer spoke in the border town of Monaghan. She thought her speech, which dealt with Gandhi's philosophy of satyagraha and swadishi, very moderate. Truly, she said at the end, was it not time that the Unionists became Irish? Those of Norman, Danish and Huguenot descent were proud of it but considered themselves Irish and did not look to Normandy or Denmark or France and gave their loyalty to Ireland not the

countries of their distant forebears. Was it not time the Unionists did the same? Ireland had need of them. If they couldn't do this and insisted on being 'British', well, as de Gaulle had said to those who refused to integrate in Algeria, 'There is the ship back home forenennet yez'. She had to leave then as buses are like time and tide, but some 'kind' person sent her down the Northern papers. She is surprised to learn she is a vicious war-maker. She thinks she will keep out of the six counties for a wee while!!!

I could tell you horror story after horror story, but what is the use? The abscess that is Ireland MUST burst some time soon or the whole limb will have to be amputated or the whole 32 counties will die of septicemia.

H.

## THIS WORLD

### Appeal Heard

AID FOR THE Stoke Newington six got a boost in the Marquis of Granby last Sunday (anarchists meet there every week from 7.30 p.m.—location Cambridge Circus) when it was decided to raise funds there on a regular basis. The first collection returned six pounds fifty—a good yield for a spontaneous whip-around.

### Bureaucracy v. Humanity

For seven hours on Wednesday another brother and myself—the law required two sureties—languished in police station, magistrate's court and Pentonville Prison in a vain attempt to secure the release of Paul Pawlowski. While the indifference and smug self-satisfaction of clerks in the public service is notorious, the actual experience of it leads one to the conclusion that, at least at work, these vermin have entirely lost their humanity. Strangely, perhaps, the collar and tie clerks of the court seemed to be more degraded and inhumane than either the police or the prison warders.

Objectively, we should investigate the nature of the work and the conditions (not overlooking the security which supports the smugness) under which bureaucracy is maintained. Clerical work is almost invariably boring and causes intense dissatisfaction to those engaged in it except for those who manage to become utter morons and are consequently insensitive to life itself. This dissatisfaction finds a perverted relief in the superiority which somehow the bureaucrat acquires in his attitude to the public. As it happened I was down in the Social Services department the next day where in one room fifty applications for aid were attended to by one sour-faced bitch who then referred each person—average waiting time to that stage was an hour and a quarter—to another interviewer involving another long wait in another queue. The government service is not exactly short-staffed (for any person of easy conscience I would recommend it for short hours, relatively high income, excellent sick leave and precious little to do in most

positions—a recommendation based on personal experience) but applicants for aid may be excused if they arrived at the conclusion it was.

The sad conclusions of our investigations probably would be that the bureaucracy is a terrible enemy of society—another monster which man has found foisted on him in the name of progress, law and order, efficiency and impartiality. So much for pious intentions.

### Schoolboy revolt

Oakbank Grammar School in Yorkshire was recently thrown into turmoil—gaining widespread newspaper publicity thereby—when the prefects asked to be relieved of their duties as one of their number had been punched by fourth formers. No doubt conventional-thinking people were aghast at this display of insubordination and indiscipline. Prefects are part of the authoritarian structure of modern schools and, in effect, are serving an apprenticeship in leadership. Tradition—carefully nurtured by the Establishment—dictates that this is how things should be. Anarchists seek not merely to overthrow such traditions but to indicate alternative methods of organisation such as co-operation and participation in decision-making by all those affected. The disturbances—often violent and unpleasant—which arise from unilateral and dictatorial decision-making will be seen by us as inevitable and while we may not always assent to such acts we will always sympathise with those who seek justice and a more equitable society and try to counsel them where this can be done to some effect.

### The Idiot Box

At the annual meeting of the American Academy of Paediatrics last week it was disclosed that the young child, on average, spent 64% of his waking time watching television, will have seen 18,000 people killed on the screen by the time he is fourteen, will have seen 350,000 commercials by the end of his secondary schooling, will have spent 10 years with the box by the time he has died. A

most sinister form of rape. Parents, and husbands in the role of finding a wife-pacifier while drinking with the boys, find in this monstrous intruder an easy but treacherous way to peace. No doubt television may be watched with discernment and discrimination. By a very tiny minority in practice. No intelligent lifelover would instal television in the sitting room or whatever room is used for social intercourse as the idiot box would certainly greatly diminish or eliminate the latter.

### Some evidence

The notorious Police Constable Pulley, giving evidence in the Mangrove case, described this famous restaurant as 'a haunt for criminals, prostitutes, ponces and the like. Anyone going there is likely to be corrupted if not corrupted already'. In a letter to *The Times* some months ago Colin MacInnes, the famous author, remarked on the wholesome pleasure he derived from frequent visits there, the open hospitality and atmosphere of goodwill. Having been there a number of times myself since then, I can support the latter's testimony. The evidence of Pulley is obviously based on his antipathy to black people. No doubt men of his Powellite mind regard all black people as criminals, etc.

### A fine body of men

Violence of every description, corruption and gross privilege have for so long been part and parcel of life in New York that it scarcely comes as a surprise to learn—as discovered by the Knapp Commission currently investigating the police—that every plainclothes cop there takes bribes. When I lived in Sydney, Australia, it was widely accepted that this was so there also but the smug bourgeois citizens connived as they concluded police corruption was limited to the criminal classes. Which is largely the case in New York also. The Knapp Commission is now coming to the conclusion that their police force will have to be rebuilt from scratch. In the meantime we are all being reminded by various politicians all over the world what a fine body of men the police are. As if the New York police were really all that different.

BILL DWYER.

## VIOLENCE

Continued from page 2

people. If economics is the basis why don't they have the same religion?

I am all for people, young or old, long-haired or short, readers or producers of *Oz*, or workers on the Clyde, who are for sexual freedom and creative work. So long as they do not muck up other people's freedom and creativity. Unfortunately it often happens that people who are accustomed to an authoritarian structure around them behave wildly when they have succeeded in breaking free from it, or when it has been removed. It's probably inevitable and cannot be helped. However I don't think one should say, 'Oh well, they'll get over it.' And leave it at that. One should point out that even the smallest organisation can only be run if those involved act responsibly and consider the interests of others as well as their own. Particularly in the present authoritarian and

repressive atmosphere it is desirable that those who rebel or drop out should be eaten by vultures? I think religion has more to do with human fantasy than economics, though of course the clergy have never failed to profit from the appeal of these fantasies to the masses. The Ulster Catholics and Protestants are both poor, working-class ready to organise themselves efficiently, so that they will have a chance of surviving in an increasingly harsh and hostile environment.

As far as violence is concerned all I can say is that I cannot see how anarchists can expect it to bring about the sort of society that they want. Hatred, cruelty and destruction can surely only bring about more of the same. These things are inseparable from violence and warfare. Bakunin, Malatesta . . . well they were men of the nineteenth century, when wars in Europe were relatively brief and small-scale affairs. The twentieth century is an odd period. Along with the increase in social welfare and the rising standard of living, and greater humanitarianism and permissiveness in time of peace, has gone an increasing remorselessness in time of war. The Russian Revolution and Civil War was a period of extermination and tyranny, ending in the Stalinist state. Almost anything would be better than having that again. Modern people seem to go raving mad as soon as fighting starts, and pride themselves on their cruelty (as in Algeria, where torture was gleefully practised by both sides).

Most anarchists are kind people who don't believe that they would ever do such things, but I think they might be carried away.

Persuasion or threats . . . well when workers strike they are using a non-

violent tactic against the employers or the State. Non-violence does not mean just talking, it can be a form of compulsion that does not involve physical violence. Of course a strike may become violent, but most strikes are not, and many, if not the majority, are successful.

Violence is the trend today, as non-violence was ten years ago. At the time I was writing this letter I came across an interesting article in *Peace News* (8.10.71) by Jean van Lierde, 'The Pacifist's Duty to Violent Revolutionaries'. The author says, 'I expressed my solidarity with the Algerians struggling against France, by collecting signatures for the *Manifesto of the 121*, providing identification papers for men in hiding, buying cars to aid the escape of Algerians on the run from the French or Belgian police, and in similar ways. It was well understood when I agreed to organise the clandestine network with my friend Francis Jeanson, that I was a conscientious objector, and that we were bound from the beginning by a moral contract, namely that the traffic of arms or the paying off of scores between the FLN and the MNA (Algerian National Movement) would never be linked with our political resistance to the Algerian war.'

He adds sadly that Algeria is now under the rule of colonels, while the Congo, another country he helped non-violently, is now a victim of neo-colonialism, and he is again forbidden to go there. This tends to suggest that these violent struggles were less effective than they were expected to be.

However this does show that the fact that one believes in non-violence does not mean one has to stand aside and leave people to struggle unhelped.

A.W.U.

## Contact

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**Agitprop Bookshop**, 248 Bethnal Green Road, London. E.2. 01-739 1704. Radical Bookshop/Information Education Collective. 'Stepney Words No. 2', 30p. 'Bust Book', 25p. 'The Woman's Movement', 25p. 'Black Skin White Mask', 40p. Send SAE for literature list.

**Wols: 'Aphorisms and Pictures'** of a profound natural anarchist. Copies 45p, post free (one-third discount on 5). ARC, 11 Byron Road, Gillingham, Kent.

**Carlmobile Summer 72**. A group of idiots going to Ireland. If there is anyone idiotic enough to want to come and who knows about cart-horse and donkey hiring, contact Julia Darling, 'Arundale', Burnington Road, Letchworth, Herts.

**Weekend School**. Independent Labour Party at Keir Hardie Hall, Cumberland Road, Plaistow, E.13, November 6 & 7. Saturday Morning (10.30 a.m.-12.45 p.m.)—Terry Liddle: 'Why Socialism?'. Saturday Afternoon (2 p.m.-5 p.m.) — David Alexander: 'Socialism and the Labour Party'. Sunday Morning—Brian Dean: 'The Industrial Relations Act'. Sunday Afternoon—'The Social Service Cuts and How to Fight Them'. Admission: 2 days—25p; One day—15p.

**Brian Shuttleworth**. Please get in touch with Liverpool Friends.

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

**American Readers**: The following talks have been organised by Libertarian Analysis: 'Education in a Free Society', Friday, November 5; 'The New Anarchism', by Sam Dolgoff, Friday, November 12. All held at 7 p.m. at 1155 Broadway (south of 27th Street). Further information Box 210, Village Station, New York, 10014.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Croydon Group** meets first Tuesday of each month, 7.30 p.m., at Jacquetta Benjamin's, Top Flat, 4 Warminster Road, South Norwood, S.E.25 (near Norwood Junction Station and 68 and 12 buses). Tuesday, November 2: Bill Millis on 'Towards the Insurrectionary Intellectual — First Phase'.

**Wanted**: second-hand pottery wheel and/or kiln. Please contact: Terri, 36 Latimer Road, Headington, Oxford, or ring Oxford 62955.

**Politics of Psychology Conference**, November 26-27, London School of Economics. Of interest to Mental Nurses and 'Patients', School Kids and Teachers, Student Psychologists, Social Workers and everyone in industry. Articles, ideas and help and SAE to 'Politics of Psychology', c/o Three Mills (Psychology), Abbey Lane, London, E.15.

**Leaflets**: The Tolpuddle Martyrs, Six Men of Dorset. 15p a 100, plus postage, from Freedom Press. Old Leaflet but still relevant.

**National Secular Society Lectures**. The Clarence, Whitehall, London, S.W.1 (Trafalgar Square end). Friday, November 5, 8 p.m., Avro Manhattan: Religious Treason and Plot, Past and Present. Friday, November 19, 8 p.m., Richard Handyside: The Little Red Schoolbook and Related Issues.