

INDIA— PAKISTAN WAR

FREEDOM IS THE RIGHT NOT TO CHOOSE

THE BATTLE-LINES in the India-Pakistani war are being drawn up. The battle-scarred warriors are taking up their positions, veterans of many a campaign are sharpening their weapons for the fray. The Press, left, right and centre, are taking up positions on India. God is on the side of the big battalions and everybody loves a winner, so at the moment the trend is towards support of India.

The new *New Statesman* (which is merely the old *politicos* writ large on a different printing process) hired the eminently expendable right-wing labour Woodrow Wyatt to do a pro-India piece. The *Socialist Leader* has a fiery piece by Hira Mukherjee welcoming India's recognition of East Bengal. The *Mirror's* John Pilger went pro-Indian and today's *Mirror* carries a story (from a French trade official) that the Pakistanis bombed their own orphanage. John Grigg (ex-War Minister) writing in the *Sunday Times* declared 'I back Indira and freedom'.

Superficially, it would seem that India is in the 'right'—if one can ever define that word in relation to a nation-state. She had the sudden problem of the acquisition of millions of East Pakistani refugees dumped on her doorstep by the loathsome policy of Yahya Khan. East Pakistan has also a 'right' to self-determination, either within, or without Pakistan. What can be doubted is whether the method chosen—of modern war—is capable of settling the refugee problem and whether India has any sincere intention—and if she has, whether it can be carried out—of granting

freedom to East Pakistan, or East Bengal in the event of victory. As anarchists we doubt if the pretext given by India for her attack upon Pakistan is the only reason. It appears to be the most respectable cause of the war, and everyone knows if one makes a pre-emptive strike (in the jargon of military strategy) even in the form of arming guerrillas, one is in a much stronger position. Pakistan's military pre-emptive strike failed to come off.

Finally, in this examination of objections one would doubt if modern warfare is capable of settling any international disputes, especially when the military equipment is extensively supplied by 'neutral' powers and backers are waiting in the wings, presumably ready to escalate the conflict if their protégé fails to succeed. Any rapid crumbling of the Pakistanis in the West would presumably draw in China, in the same way that any failure of India would bring in more Russian support.

It has been pointed out in the *Observer*, 5.12.71, by Cyril Dunn (their Indian-Pakistan reporter since 1958) that 'it has been difficult not to look quizzically at any statement of intent by India when she has taken up arms against Pakistan. True, the current operations by the Indian Army in East Pakistan are—obliquely at least—in support of a rebellion by East Bengal Muslims. . . . The implied aim is simply to clear a space in which the East Bengalis can set up their own democratic state and to which the millions of refugees forced out into India

may be returned. But', writes Dunn, 'a similar state of affairs existed in Kashmir in 1947. The Indian Army ostensibly went to the aid of the Kashmiri Muslims and were indeed welcomed by their political leaders. It was not until five years later that the chief of these, Sheikh Abdullah, came to the conclusion that the "special status" granted by India to Kashmir was being steadily eroded. He turned against Nehru and thereafter spent more than a decade in Indian jails. Pakistan's belief that Kashmir was being totally absorbed into the Indian Union was a prime cause of the 1965 war.'

The *Observer's* editorial of the same date says, 'Those who do not take India's claims [about East Bengal] entirely at their face value, believe that the numbers and political impact of the refugees in India have been exaggerated. They point out that most of the refugees are Hindus and would not in any case return voluntarily to East Bengal under a Muslim government whether independent or run from Rawalpindi. These sceptics suggest that the refugee issue is being used by the "hawks" in New Delhi as an excuse to effect a huge and lasting shift in the political balance of the sub-continent: the separation of East from West Pakistan would mean a blow to the very idea of Pakistan as a separate Muslim State and homeland and so become the first step to a long-dreamed-of reunification of the sub-continent. For a push in this direction the moment, it might be argued, is also favourable internationally. India's new treaty with Russia offers some reassurance

against Chinese intervention in support of Pakistan and in any case Peking itself seems now to be in a cautious mood.'

Parallels are tempting and dangerous: remember Edward Kennedy's Ulster-Vietnam comparison? But this India-Pakistan war is cursed and heightened by the same religious bigotry which infuses Ireland; it also possesses to an alarming degree the same great-power puppetry factors which make the Vietnam war so prolonged and bitter. It is ironic that the two great 'revolutionary' powers are behind the combatants

—how far behind we have yet to see.

China's embroilment in the successor to what Lenin called 'a thieves' kitchen' has publicised this Marxist-Maoist quarrel and exposed once more, if it were ever doubted, the United Nations' impotence since they are the lawmakers for the absolutely lawless—the States which constitute its membership.

To exercise freedom, is the right not to choose between Pakistan brutality and power-seeking and Indian hypocrisy and power-seeking.

JACK ROBINSON.

Defeating the Census

OUR COMRADE Dennis Gould has scored a victory over the State. A minor one no doubt, but still it is encouraging. Dennis conducted his own defence and succeeded in establishing that the census form was wrongly addressed. He told the magistrates, 'This form is made out to Mrs. Ahmad, who is my common law wife and at no time was I asked if I was head of the household. I don't intend to be the head of the household. We share the household.'

This is a victory on a technicality, but even so it is a good thing to be able to outwit the authorities at their own game, and use their own rules against them.

Our comrade never minced his words.

He handed the census enumerator a card on which was written:

'Census officers. Sirs, I am opposed to the 1971 census on the grounds of gross abuse of civil rights in common law and civil liberties within our society. I shall call witnesses who have only filled in the form through fear of

penalties.' He added that he had confiscated the form to use in evidence. What a pity more people had not his courage! There can't be very many who actually like filling in census forms. If all those who disliked filling them in had refused, the census would have sunk without trace.

AND IN BELFAST

In Belfast alone over 15,000 people refused to fill in their forms. Bonfires of forms were organised, but the only comrade who received a summons was one already in Long Kesh internment camp. A number of priests have refused to do the forms, and have been fined £7 each. They are not going to pay, and say that they will go to jail if necessary. But this poses a difficulty for the authorities. The prisons are crowded. Crumlin Road jail was built to house 475, but at present there are 852 there!

M.H.

'Disciplinary Action' and Union Leaders

THE TUC HAS PUBLISHED its own industrial code as an answer to the document produced by the Government and which is to be presented to Parliament in the New Year. It is a 'guide for negotiations' entitled *Good Industrial Relations* and represents the attitudes and positions of the leadership of the trade union movement. Vic Feather, General Secretary of the TUC, has said: 'This is not just a document for trade union negotiations, but a contribution to good industrial relations' and 'I think it is a real recipe for peace'.

What is interesting and crucial for trade union militants is the TUC's thinking on discipline and agreements. It says that: 'Trade unionists expect the employer to keep his side of the bargain and observe an agreement; he is entitled to look to the union and its members to do the same. Unions should therefore take steps to ensure that there is full observance of agreements by their members, stewards and full-time officials.'

The document goes on that where there is 'persistent breaches' of agreements, 'the union may have to consider

whether disciplinary action is appropriate, since it has the duty to ensure that wherever possible its members observe the collective agreements to which it is party'.

How wonderful it would be for trade union leaders if 'industrial peace' could be achieved. Life would be so much easier, but unfortunately for them, the relationship between employer and employed ensures conflict. Agreements and negotiating procedures are the rules set out to keep this conflict in check and to channel it harmlessly away. Elaborate negotiating machinery slowly turns over and deals with every kind of claim and dispute. Rank and file trade unionists are exhorted to respect and abide by these procedures and agreements when they know that the employer breaks them any time it suits him.

DOING THE GOVERNMENT'S DIRTY WORK?

The TUC speaks of disciplinary action against workers who break such agreements. Isn't this what the Government's Industrial Relations Bill is all about and

isn't the TUC supposed to be opposed to such legislation? Is it that the TUC intends to do the Government's dirty work for them as they proposed when the Labour Government withdrew the legislation they entitled *In Place of Strife*?

Union leaders are men who are interested in power. Many may feel that once they have obtained these positions, they can carry out a militant policy. It is not that we suspect their intentions, but the structure of the unions and the nature of the agreements hold them captive.

There is no doubt that the election of 'left wingers' to union executives reflects a change in the thinking of the rank and file. Members want a more militant policy and a stand to be made against the policies of the Government which attack our standard of living and undermine basic civil liberties. However the result on achieving power is usually that these same 'left wingers' are as ineffective as the 'right wingers' they have replaced.

DALY'S FALL

A perfect example of this is Lawrence Daly, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers. He was elected in 1965 with the full support of the Communist Party, all the 'left wing'

Continued on page 4

Close Oxford St.!

THE OXFORD STREET Action Committee has decided to close the street on the last Saturday before Christmas in protest at the destruction wrought by the motor car on the environment and on the people who inhabit it.

The Committee is formed from three groups, the Dwarves, the South East England Young Liberal Federation and Commitment. The Committee says:

'We have spent too long in petitioning, in letters to MPs, in quiet lobbying of Parliament. The time for politeness has gone. Mild constitutional means have produced no solution to the problem of the car and the vested interests which perpetuate its continued dominance of our cities. This is why, on December 18, we are calling on all Londoners to join us in taking back the streets which are rightfully theirs.'

The Committee has published a leaflet urging people to walk in the streets, play in the streets, plant Christmas trees in the streets and 'be Santa Claus in

the streets (who would dare arrest Santa Claus?)'. People are advised to come in paper hats and gas masks, carrying flowers, musical instruments and incense, and to turn the demonstration into a festival. 'People spending Christmas alone in Earl's Court, Notting Hill Gate, Kensington, Islington and elsewhere are especially welcome.'

The Committee has also issued a manifesto which, after giving horrifying statistics of pollution and death, makes the point that 'it mustn't just stop at Oxford Street. The fight for our homes, health and environment must be carried on in every community around the country. It's Oxford Street now—your street is next'.

For details, contact:

Commitment House,
26 Grosvenor Road,
St. Albans, Herts.
Phone: St. Albans 50910
(Code 56 from London)

JOHN BRENT.

THE MOVING FINGER

THE 110 PAINTINGS and 100 engravings and drawings that represent the life and time of William Hogarth must be rated as a major triumph for the directors of the Tate Gallery. Too often the directors of the Tate Gallery have, over the years, offered the Town a collective demonstration of aesthetic pratfalls but this time the boys have leaped into the air to perform their ritual passacaglia and to our mutual surprise have landed squarely on their well-shod feet.

Hogarth is part of our universal conscience. He was a man who worked hard all his life to be accepted by a society that he despised, for whatever can be said or written about Hogarth one thing must be noted, that he never stood in judgement on his age. It was an age of great and acceptable social evils with the newly-risen *parvenu* gaining control of the economy and the political hucksters gaining control of the mob, and Hogarth's plea was the plea of every rational man living within a corrupt society, for which they can conceive no alternative, that their fellow men in their own interest should discipline their appetites. In canvas after canvas Hogarth painted his message that the only solution

lay in simple honest toil and an acceptance of one's place within the scheme of things. The answer for him lay in his own success, and this stubby cockney, whose springboard into living was the four years he spent with his broken father in the debtors prison cell of the Fleet, when only eleven years of age, ended his crowded years accepted and hired by a society that he mocked in his art.

In 1747 Hogarth published his series of engravings concerning 'Industry and Idleness' with its lesson that the punishment for idleness was pox and the prison, while for the industrious 'prentice there was a finger in the till and his master's daughter for a wife, and the title of Lord Mayor of London as the final reward. I feel that in this series of engravings Hogarth acted out his wish fulfilment, for in life he was the industrious 'prentice who married the employer's daughter, but the office of Lord Mayor was never his, for Hogarth saw success as no more than one healthy apple floating on the surface of a bucket of piss, whereas in life, as the men of the Clyde know too well, it is the industrious 'prentices who go to

stand in the queues at the Unemployment Exchanges, while the office of town mayors are the gifts for the talented idle 'prentices. Hogarth is that universal man recording the human comedy, but he lacks the depth of Shakespeare's feeling or the playwright's glorious anger, for Hogarth made the one fatal mistake that denies him a place among the immortals, and that is that he attacked every target within the range of his brush and pencil.

Francisco de G. y Lucientes and Honoré Daumier attacked the evils of their age by name and face, and the sons and the daughters spawned of those evils still spit upon the work of these dead artists, but William Hogarth fired his painted shot into the face of the world's mob and they laughed, and those that could afford him paid for his services. But for all that I love the man, for his anger and his joy is reflected in every paper and canvas, and what cannot be faulted are his two great masterpieces. His portrait of himself with his pug dog is a hymn to cockney arrogance and parochial loyalty,

and his portrait of the Shrimp Girl has a joy and a virile beauty that puts Leonardo's Mona Lisa back among the studio draperies. Hogarth is such a seable painter that it becomes easy to fall victim to that great fault of over-praising a painting because of the subject matter.

That his huge portraits of unremembered worthies are pedestrian creations in the manner of the time, and that there were and are painters who were and are just as capable of turning out acceptable conversation pieces, is made evident by this exhibition, and then walking through any other room of the Tate's permanent collections. But Hogarth's genius, and it is genius, little comrade, lay in the recorded humours of his world. In an age that could produce the lovely ballads of the street hawkers, pale blue skies and buildings of such sweet, noble and elegant interiors and exteriors and all its mindless social evils, there was a need for one man to point his finger at the world's follies. The fops pranced, and the poxy whores curtisied to the sweet music of the lute,

and the cockney William Hogarth painted them in their foolish dance of death. This is an exhibition worthy of your time and my time and the Tate are to be congratulated on what they have achieved.

For those who have wealth, as well as love for the man, there is Ronald Paulson's *Hogarth: His Life, Art and Times* in two volumes by Yale University Press. A truly magnificent and amazingly well-researched book but with a take-home pay packet of £18.50 a week, the price of £17.50 for the two volumes puts it beyond the means of most anarchists, but for any property-owning anarchist then it is a most worthy Christmas present for their serfs.

And in passing my most contrite and humble apologies to the ladies of the Hanover Gallery at 32a St. Georges Street, W.1, for writing that the artist Wols was introduced into this country via the ICA when the honour for showing his gifted work belonged and belongs to the Hanover Gallery. My most sincere and abject apologies, mesdames.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

The Flight from Rationality

THE WORSENING economic crisis seems to be having the effect of arousing atavistic reactions in large numbers of people. The pattern of the 1920s and 1930s is repeated; a retreat from reason, an increasing reliance on violence, a revival of ideas that would formerly have been considered superstitious. George Orwell pointed out the tendency for Fascist papers to be full of advertisements by astrologers and other soothsayers. He believed that there was a connection between Fascism, which preached the doctrine of a ruling élite, and occultism, which tends towards little groups of the initiated, who believe themselves in the possession of a superior teaching to that possessed by the mass of mankind.

The German Nazi movement was riddled with strange mysticisms, not only regarding race but also the structure of the universe. Some Nazis believed that the earth was as it were inside out, a hollow globe with the sun at the centre, others accepted the theory of a series of cataclysms, of which the sinking of Atlantis was the last.

This is not to say that occultists and mystics are necessarily Fascists or Nazis. Blake was a mystic and a radical. Edward Carpenter was another; he remarked, 'I hang my red flag out of my downstairs window, and then go upstairs to see how it looks from there.' Nevertheless there is a tendency for cults to proliferate at a time when there is a general sense of insecurity, and usually these cults tend to be either repressive or escapist.

The Reverend Tom Willis of Hull seems to have become aware of this situation some time ago. He told the York Diocesan Synod recently that many people are turning to witchcraft and black magic. The Church has not had to meet this problem for the past two hundred years. Priests are finding all over the country that they are having to cast out devils and evil spirits. 'The supernatural is gaining ascendancy. More and more people are dabbling in fortune telling, home seances, witchcraft, black magic and things like The Age of Aquarius,' he said.

Priests were being called out to deal 'with occult disturbances and evil infestations by people who had dabbled in these matters and then become frightened'. Two years ago he had founded a 'ghost squad' after people became terrified by using ouija boards.

One may wonder how a member of a cult which has as one of its principal symbols the figure of an agonised man nailed to a cross, ill-treatment beyond anything the British Army has dared so far to inflict in Northern Ireland, can consistently attack ouija boards, which are about as dangerous as snakes-and-ladders. Nevertheless he has probably correctly observed what they call nowadays 'a trend'.

He lumps together lots of different things: 'home seances', well that is spiritualism, a harmless and intensely respectable late-Victorian or Edwardian survival; fortune telling, which is little more than a game, like the detested ouija board; witchcraft, an ancient fertility religion with its origins in the Old Stone Age, which has somehow managed to survive into our modern, urban world, its function is to enhance

life, not damage it, the worst that can be said of it is that it is an anachronism; black magic, the raising of devils, can only appeal to the mentally sick, and is powerless to hurt those who do not already believe in it; and The Age of Aquarius means gentle hippy types spreading sweetness and light.

It is regrettable that people rush to throw themselves at the feet of gurus, and that more and more are doing it, or that people should frighten themselves with spooks of their own creation, and revert to medieval practices like the calling in of exorcists to get rid of them. But the Christian churches are not without blame in the matter. When I was a child in the thirties and forties religion still played a big part in education, and I expect it still does. Indeed by an act of Parliament introduced at the end of the Second World War, possibly with the idea of combating Communism in mind, the school day begins with an act of collective worship. The seeds are still being sown in children's minds, though the general ineffectuality of the Church of England may later ensure that they will reject it in favour of the witch cult or Gandalf's Garden.

My belief is that, while there may quite possibly be many strange worlds unknown to science but sometimes perceived by exceptional people like William Blake, our business is mainly with this material, everyday world. If we cannot solve our problems here, it is useless to await some divine chariot, some flying saucer, to carry us to a better place. But, except for black magic, everything that the Reverend Willis attacks is amiable. Probably some people are harmed by having their fortune told and some are corrupted and rendered greedy by playing Monopoly. Nothing is so totally safe that in no conceivable way can harm possibly come from it.

All these cults seek to unite people with 'the divine', whatever that may be. They all preach consideration for others and all the conventional virtues. No witch has ever persecuted Christians, no spiritualist has burned anyone at the stake, no fortune teller urged her clients to go out and hunt down the clients of a rival seer, no ouija board enthusiast has urged people to start a crusade. The Christian churches have done all these things.

I am at one with the Reverend Willis to this extent though, I do regard the trend he has noticed as a bad sign. But not for the same reasons. He wants people to come back to his cult. I want people to do without cults, to rely upon their own resources which are greater than they realise. I have a certain instinctive aversion I must admit from too much of gods and gurus and Gandalfs. They add to the colour of life and its variety, but one can have too much of them.

Societies in the past which have been devoutly religious have rarely been happy places to live in. A great deal of physical cruelty, or 'ill-treatment' as we call it nowadays, goes on in them. But, if present trends continue, we might find people taking refuge from an increasingly intolerable world in some cult, which would become the same sort of tyranny as Christianity became.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Reich Remembered

WR — *Mysteries of the Organism, Academy Two.*

THE MAN WILLIAM REICH has a fascination for me because despite his elevation into radical mythology he still appears as a real human being, riddled with the personal doubts and contradictions which few of us manage to entirely escape. Reich's clear insight into the importance of sexual satisfaction to the individual and society, co-existed with a narrow 'scientific' attitude which led him to an obsession with contraptions like the 'orgone accumulator', the device which Reich believed could store 'life energy' for the treatment of sickness. Hounded out of the Communist Party in Germany in the 1930s for his heretical insistence in his psychological and political theories on the importance of sexuality, he eventually took refuge in 'democratic' America — accepting, apparently, what he saw as the lesser of evils without ceasing his propaganda in favour of 'work-democracy'—only to be hounded to his death in prison in 1957.

Curiosity about what the Yugoslav film, *WR—Mysteries of the Organism*, would make of the man and his theories took me to Academy Two recently. The film is a consistently funny and occa-

sionally moving satire on Stalinism, intercut with the activities of present-day sexual revolutionaries in America, and a disappointingly superficial explanation of Reich's theories and therapies. The effect is, at times, to make angels and devils both appear equally absurd which is not surprising with a subject so potentially hilarious as sex.

At the sight of a young American transvestite camping it up about his love-life and his sex-change, and a well-endowed editor of *Screw* having a plaster cast of his erect prick made for posterity, I was left wondering what Reich would have made of the sexual revolutionaries of today. Many would now consider Reich a puritan with his rigid view of what constituted normal and healthy sexual activity. It may be said in his defence that his apparent puritanism may be put down to the idealist in search of perfection unable to come to terms with reality. Would he have considered the sexual exhibitionism of the 'underground' as another symptom of a sick and frustrated society or as a tentative step towards a cure?

The Yugoslav satire concerns a clean-living, girl, Party-member who shares a flat with a randy girl-friend not so

ORA CONFERENCE

LAST WEEKEND (November 26-28) the founding conference of the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists was held in Leeds.

Comrades from North, South, and East London, Nottingham, Birmingham, Telford, Hull, Leeds, York, Sheffield, Lancaster, Manchester, Glasgow, Montrose, Dundee and Swansea took part. Comrades from Aberdeen, Liverpool, Colchester and Plymouth were unable to be there. There were observers from Leicester, Canterbury and Reading.

A minute of the meeting is being prepared for members and will doubtless be available to other people who are interested. The major points of the conference were:—

- the adoption of a draft constitution after discussion and amendment.
- the adoption of a Provisional Statement of Aims and Principles; as well

as the acceptance of a number of working documents which are to be used as the basis for discussion to develop a full programme/manifesto.

—the adoption of a decentralised system of organisation: with the necessary tasks being split up and given over to different groups throughout the country.

—the continuance of the ORA Newsletter and the ORA pamphlet series in their present form.

—the setting up of a newspaper fund based upon a percentage of membership subscriptions.

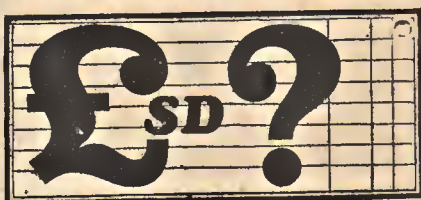
—the arrangement of: an international secretariat; treasurer; newsletter editorial group; pamphlet production system; conference secretary (to organise the next conference); membership/contact secretary.

—an informal working group on women's

liberation was set up.

There were a large number of mundane tasks to be got through and so conference sat until 9 p.m. Saturday night. Because of the shortage of time a number of position papers on various political problems were not/not adequately discussed. For this reason, as well as for a decision on the newspaper, a review of our organisation, and further discussion on a programme, the second conference of the ORA will be held in March in York.

Please send requests for copies of the documents discussed; contact with working groups; orders for lit; applications for membership; and any other enquiries to the contact secretary, Keith Nathan, 68 Chingford Road, Walthamstow, E.17.



DOWN AGAIN!

PRESS FUND
December 2-8 inc.

Falkenberg, Sweden: Y.T.S. £2.75; Harrow: M.J.S.D. 50p; London: M.M. 62p; Romford: J.W. 20p; London, N.W.8: J.B. 5p; Glasgow: A.J. 20p; Univ. of British Columbia, Canada: J.H. 50p; Corby: T.P. £1; Anon: 35p; Wolverhampton: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p; London, E.4: S.R.G. 50p.

Total: £7.17
Income (Sales and Subs.): £80.88

£88.05

Expenditure (1 week): £150.00
Deficit bt./fwd.: £951.29

£1,101.29
Less Income: £88.05

DEFICIT: £1,013.24

afib

Secretary:
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

AFBIB—To all Groups.

Next issue of AFBIB will be run off in Brighton. Send material and contact: Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton, Sussex.

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:

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham.
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.
Manchester: Mat Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancs.
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404, USA.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.

An Open Letter to the Guardian

HOW INCREDIBLE that the *Guardian* should say in its editorial (2.12.71) that 'it is a reasonable assumption that the 25 bomb incidents and two machine gun attacks listed by the prosecution in the trial of Jack Prescott and Ian Purdie were the work of some form of anarchist organisation'. The Angry Brigade have never claimed to be an anarchist organisation, and they have never had any reason to conceal it if they were. Their targets are institutions which anarchists detest, but so do many other revolutionary organisations also.

Anarchists turned to terrorism at the turn of the century. It was called 'propaganda by the deed', and was intended to arouse the people to take action against those who were exploiting and oppressing them. It did not succeed, and the anarchists have given up this method of action.

Unfortunately the use of the bomb has come to be associated in the popular mind with 'the anarchist', seen always as a vaguely Guy Fawkes-like figure in Jacobean hat and black cloak, although no one dressed like this for centuries, and other political movements from the

extreme Right to the extreme Left have also used terrorism and still do. The Palestinian guerillas and the IRA make no claim to be anarchists.

But far worse is the bombing by governments, who have destroyed whole cities, killing hundreds of thousands of people. Recently the Americans have exploded a bomb which the Angry Brigade could never make however hard they tried, a nuclear bomb. They chose to explode it in an area where earthquakes are common, and several major earthquakes have already occurred in this part of the world.

'Democracy', we are solemnly told, 'is a preferable political system because reasonable argument is put to the test of the vote and is assumed to prevail.' The word 'assumed' is good. In practice what we have is rule by the rich, and those who control the state bureaucracy. It is a totalitarian society in embryo. The Angry Brigade consider (and how is the *Guardian* to know that they did not think the problem out and discuss it rationally among themselves before taking action?) that it is no longer possible to change this state of affairs by legal means. The

decline of democracy in Britain has gone too far. If they had come to the anarchists we could have told them that, from our past experience, the use of terrorism is counter-productive, but they did not. We do not support their action, but we consider that they have a strong case against existing society, even if the methods they adopt to try to change it are wrong both from the moral point of view, in that it endangers the innocent, and from the practical one.

'Society has an absolute right to protect itself against terrorism.' If society is so concerned to protect itself, why was so little done to prevent the Americans, Russians, Chinese and French continuing to test nuclear bombs? Is it that society is only concerned to protect itself against the weak, not against the strong? The Americans and the rest are too powerful to be checked, but a small group making home-made bombs is easy to attack, and easy to wax self-righteous over. They possess no military power, apart from their toy bombs, and no vast propaganda machine.

The editorial goes on, quite rightly, to point out that the evidence against

Prescott and Purdie is unsatisfactory. The probability of the matter is that they had little if anything to do with the Brigade. The 15-year-sentence is of course monstrous, and is intended not to punish the guilty but to deter the youth from engaging in rebellion against the *status quo*. The other six awaiting trial are no doubt being held in reserve as future scapegoats and deterrent victims. There is no evidence that the Brigade itself has been touched at all. No doubt they are all at liberty and planning new actions.

'Society sometimes has itself to blame for the violence of its rebels.' What! In this so-rational democracy? I can't believe it. Well, well, who would have believed it? And what about the nuclear bombers, the International Angry Brigade? Are they children of deprived parents and poor homes and unsatisfactory environments? Is anyone going to do anything about them? Psycho-analyse them? Not on your life. Because they have power. They can kill the world if they like, and everybody will applaud them—while they are still alive to do it!

EDITORS.

Shifting Loyalties & New Alliances in Ireland

APPARENTLY PAISLEY has said that on all social and economic issues he agrees with the SDLP. The Irish question will be solved by Irishmen and not by 'foreign troops'. If the theocratic/Catholic elements in the Southern Constitution of 1937 were removed, together with changes on divorce, contraception, etc., the way would be open for eventual reunification. Rumours have it that Paisley has had secret talks with Provo leaders.

At the same time Bole, an ex-Unionist MP, has called on Protestant workers to ensure that the Unionist Party breaks its connections with the Orange Order. On the streets bitter splits have occurred (including murder and IRA-attributed bombings in pubs) between Paisley and his 'steady, boys' line, and McKeague with his 'strike now' line, while Bunting is also re-entering the scene as Paisley 'sells out'.

The big question is whether Paisley will be totally repudiated by his Protestant constituency. Probably partially at any rate, but even so he will have laid foundations for eventual class unity in so far as the 'unthinkable' has been at least planted in the minds of thousands of Protestants, however much they at this stage still dismiss it as a 'sell out'.

The rest is my speculation. The Irish Protestants are not 'colons' who must be fought as white Algerians or white Kenyans were fought. They have been there hundreds of years. They have plenty of guns, they are determined to stay and, for the most part, they are workers or the equivalent of 'poor whites' or 'petits blancs'. Any serious attempt to escape from the *reactivist* politics of inter-class feuding must there-

fore bend over backwards to shake the Protestant working class from their traditional allegiance by not allowing the slightest sectarian identification to be made. PD started on this road and is still paying the price in terms of isolation.

That class-unity is not impossible is shown by the massive marches and street fighting between Belfast workers of both communities, on the one hand, and police and troops on the other. That was in 1932, just a dozen years after major sectarian pogroms in the same city, themselves the Orange Order's ideological reaction to the unity of the Belfast General Strike of 1919. After 1932 the bourgeoisie were able to reactivate the traditional antagonisms which led to the pogroms of 1935. The present events themselves fall into this pattern since the early Civil Rights demonstrations and one or two PD demonstrations did actually succeed in attracting Protestant working class people in some numbers.

Events in the South could well hold the key. The position of the 'Officials' is hopelessly compromised by the Stalinist theory of one revolution at a time (national, then socialist), the appeal to the 'progressive elements' of the 'national bourgeoisie' (who have always veered back towards the colonial or neo-colonial power-structure and against revolution as the working class get under way), and their refusal to challenge the established position of the Irish Catholic Church (many Official stalwarts are devout Catholics). The Provos are even less socialist in theory, often expressing a reactionary petit-bourgeois or peasant opposition to 'Reds', but their social composition is

younger, 'rougher', approaching lumpen, and volatile. Both groups are doubtless highly authoritarian, but both groups have the grateful support of thousands of Catholics who believe (rightly) that without them, estates like Ballymoney would have been completely overrun by the UVF, backed implicitly by sections in the Army.

The question arises: can a new organisation/movement emerge which will fulfil the following criteria?

(1) Socialist, seeing the inseparability of socialist and national revolution, North and South;

(2) Having support of the kind the IRA and the Provos have at present, i.e. a social/cultural phenomenon involving all sections of the oppressed Catholic working class communities in the North;

(3) Being explicitly anti-Rome and anti-Conway, pro-contraception and divorce, anti-special schools, etc. This is the precondition for encouraging Paisley/Bole-type developments in the Protestant working class. It is also the precondition for an effective movement in the 'priest-ridden' South, which relates to women and the peasantry.

Eamon McCann, Bernadette Devlin and others in the South are currently trying to build a new kind of movement. (Round Derry it's the Derry Socialist Resistance Group.) On point (1) they are in the clear, though, as IS Marxists, they may concentrate overmuch on the male worker, rather than also on young lumpen and women. The lumpen 'rough' is preponderant on many Catholic estates, but is also a major category in Paisley's constituency. On point (2) they clearly intend to build a social movement, not just political alliances. On point (3) they probably don't go far

concerned, which has undoubtedly contributed to the positions in which they find themselves. If I did not also regard the judge as a tool used by people even more sinister than him and, I suspect, more insane, I should find it easy to agree with N.W. that 'we would find it difficult to feel the slightest twinge of regret' if he were bombed or even killed. Stern but just, such an action would

send shock waves through the ruling groups. However, they can be taught lessons in other ways.

Fraternally,
FRANCIS DRAKE.

Some Census Information

Dear Friends,

Impertinent questions I ignored and left blank. Others reflected or indicated lifestyles and attitudes I couldn't easily relate to. Some particularly objectionable queries were answered with critiques, others with slogans. Dog and Cat were entered if only to assert that Spring Bank isn't a speciest stronghold. Precise information was impossible here. For obvious reasons, Dog will always have to be under six months.

Cat came from a local strip club, a wild thing, and her age is largely a guess. Grizzel, the naked, hairy, friendly demon, protective deity who lives here, is ageless. Furthermore, he's in the process of destroying the census records by magic. Grizzel is an archetypal anarchist and he pissed on the forms, or was it Dog or Cat.

Brightly Shining,

DAVE CUNLIFFE.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

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revolution would provide a nearby model for British workers/lumpen/women. At present however, Powell is insisting that 'Ulster is British' in a constitutional-blinkered sort of way, and not for fear of anti-imperialist revolution upsetting metropolitan stability.

KEITH PATON.

Norway News

Dear Comrades,

It has been a long time since I wrote to you last. The struggle here in the north of Norway is going quite well. New groups have been built.

'The right to strike, the power to strike', has been translated into Norwegian and was issued in our local paper, *Sort Kamp* (Black Struggle). The pamphlet of Malatesta 'Vote for What' has also been translated and will be out in the beginning of 1972.

Long live anarchism! Good luck in struggle! Happy New Year.

Greetings from,

THE ANARCHIST LEAGUE OF BODØ.

c/o Rune Hagen,
Molov 2,
8000 Bodø, Norway

Prescott & Purdie

Dear Comrades,

It was a joy to read N.W.'s excellent article covering the mistrial of Jack Prescott and Ian Purdie, it is nonetheless necessary to question one or two central points made.

Firstly N.W.'s view of the 'tragedy of the Angry Brigade saga' is that there 'has been no political gain of any kind'. This despite N.W.'s contention that 'They (the State) are playing straight into the hands of the Angry Brigade, since it is now becoming true that we are all angry and getting angrier, and are finding it more and more difficult to remain content with agitation and propaganda'. What is this if it is not the essential achievement of the Angry Brigade? Is it not a significant 'political gain'?

Certainly the State has shown it's scared to hell—to those who didn't already know—by the Brigade and the developing atmosphere of liberation. 'We had best be on our guard' quacks the

Daily Telegraph but they don't understand what they have to be on guard against.

Secondly, I think there is an area which I'll call 'artistic' but might be called 'unconscious' in which the Angry Brigade speaks to a soul force in our society. I think the message of the Angry Brigade is understood and appreciated by a lot of people in our society, many more than the anarchists or the *Daily Telegraph* believe; it's a message the State got and

LETTERS

we know the ruling class is ruling because it has an instinct for the factors that endanger its rule.

Jack Prescott got 15 years because the actions associated with the Angry Brigade scare the State. I bear in mind the unhappy background of the State officials

This Week in Ireland

WE STARTED on a more light note than usual, the escape of the three men from Crumlin Gaol, which everyone in Belfast and most people in Dublin knew all about before the prison discovered they were gone. We coined a jest. 'Faulkner IS right. The IRA are on the run', but tragedy overtook us too

soon. The terrible slaughter at the McGurk pub. I am afraid that in spite of all attempts of the authorities to blame it on the IRA I believe the Special Air Services were responsible for it in their fury over the Crumlin escapes and the bad world press they are getting over the Palace Barracks tortures. Mr.

McGurk himself has said it was absolutely impossible for there to have been any packet or bag placed in the pub, or for strangers to have come in. Then there was the eight-year-old who saw two men put a parcel against the door and run into the nearby Protestant street and jump into a soldier-driven vehicle and go off at breakneck speed, and he has a witness in the man whom he clutched crying 'Don't go there. They've just put a bomb.' This man swears the child has saved his life. Mr. Paddy Kennedy, MP, also says he has plenty of witnesses that it was the work of the SAS. We will never really know. Meanwhile children are dragged from their beds at 4 o'clock in the morning and taken away by troops, their parents not allowed to accompany them or know where they are. One boy was only 9, the average age is 11 to 16. They are beaten, kept without food for 13 hours, bullied, frightened, stuck 10 together into tiny damp cells 9 feet by 5 feet with only a bench, and at last returned hating the English for life, and made into IRA in embryo. What fools are the men who do this to children.

Faulkner still keeps on insisting that

the six counties will stay part of England for ever and that he has the IRA beaten. 'Methinks the Premier doth protest too much.' Paisley bids and bids for POWER, and thinks we have all forgotten what he said in Armagh on November 30, 1968, and at other times. Both Heath and Wilson talk the rot of no political solution until a military one has been achieved, which is as impossible as an American military victory in Vietnam.

Down here yesterday the motor mechanic workers came out on protest march against the EEC which will result in them all being declared redundant and being shipped to the dirtiest and lowest-paid jobs in Dusseldorf or somewhere.

We've had a few explosions down here too, one last night I have not yet traced but it blew my friend and me out of our chairs! Our gardai are almost on strike over their conditions, our unemployed and homeless grow, and more houses are pulled down for foreign offices every day, though who they will get to work as clerks in these offices when there is nowhere for the workers to get a room in which to live beats me. Never mind. We've spent THOUSANDS of pounds on illuminations for Henry Street, and there are dolls for sale in the shops costing over £10 each. The rich get richer and the poor get babies, in the meantime, in between time, ain't we got fun? H.

Tarring and Feathering

Comrades,

We are all too used to distortion from the English press, both gutter and left, as to events here, but the recent front page condemnation of tarring and feathering in Derry was such a gross distortion as to merit reply.

Firstly, let it be said that I regard the idea of tarring with distaste. Nonetheless a few points must be made. The Bogside, an area with 15,000 people, no longer has 'traditional law n' order'. The police, long since discredited as sectarian thugs, no longer go there. The British Army, constantly intent on provocative and brutal acts against the local inhabitants, patrol the fringes. (Lest it be felt that this is an exaggeration, it should be noted that since July in Derry alone the Army have murdered 5 men, 1 woman and one 14-year-old girl—in cold blood. These people were all unarmed. In only one case was there a riot going on (Beattie). This is in addition to several IRA men who have been shot while armed.)

As to the girls recently shaven and tarred. This was not the work of the IRA but of local women vigilantes. They were dealt with in this way to hold them up to public ridicule not merely because they courted soldiers but because they were guilty of giving information to soldiers—information which is used to help the Army in its present policy of 'scooping'—i.e. going into a Catholic street or area, arresting every man over 15, beating them up and holding them for 48 hours, releasing half and detaining and interning—after torture—the rest. In the last 4 weeks no fewer than 430 have been 'scooped'. Anyone who gives information to the soldiers which results in their brothers, fathers and neighbours getting beaten up by the soldiers can only expect harsh treatment—which, again, I must stress, has complete community backing.

Those English papers who whined about 'poor wee Marta Doherty' and her soldier hubby said not a word about another woman that week. Mrs. Emily Groves of Andersonstown, Belfast, shot in the face at point blank range with a rubber bullet by a soldier at 9 o'clock in the morning as she stood in her living room. She has been blinded for life. She did nothing, the Army admit. Marta's hair will grow again. Fleet Street will pay her well. She's got a free wig. The soldier who shot Mrs. Groves hasn't even been suspended. The Army inquiry has not even visited the Groves family.

War is an unpleasant business. We are at war with the British Army who are intent on terrorising the 'Fenians'. I speak neither as a member of the IRA nor as a Catholic, but I can see what is going on. Sure, there are many bad things about the IRA. Sure, they're authoritarian, but to accuse them of being in favour of big business, because someone else tars 3 people stealing from their own class, is ludicrous—as the internees in Long Kesh could tell you.

JOHN BELFAST.

LETTERS

Therefore the people of the Bogside run their own lives. True, it's a war situation. It is very difficult for them to be constructive. They do punish people—but it must be made clear that this punishment is not mob violence. The youths tarred for stealing had not been robbing 'big capitalist firms'. They had been stealing from local people and doing petty break-ins. All (3 have been tarred) were warned on at least two occasions. They persisted in their anti-social behaviour and were dealt with in 'the old way'. We libertarians, purer than the driven snow, may not like this way, but it has the wholehearted support of the people. They don't support it out of fear, but because they approve of it.

The Editors Reply:

FREEDOM stands for the abolition of punishment, by anybody of anybody, for whatever the reason. If we give up this position the paper has no point, and the anarchist movement if it does the same also loses its *raison d'être*. It merely then becomes a not very effective, left-wing Socialist movement. There are plenty of these movements already.

Anarchism is the doctrine of no-rule. Men do away with government and co-operate with each other, or refuse to do so and go their own ways, according to their own wishes. There is no war, no government, no authority and no punishment. Sorry to be so elementary, but this is what anarchism means at its most simple, and this is precisely what is most often forgotten. Strictly speaking anarchism is not concerned with fighting the battles for the oppressed; although anarchists are opposed to oppression they realise that the oppressed may well be potential oppressors in their turn, when they acquire sufficient power. For this reason anarchists tend to use words and reasoning as their weapons, rather than give their support to organisations like the British Army or the IRA. And for this reason they tend to be disliked by both sides, or dismissed as irrelevant.

But, despite our sympathy for the people of the Catholic ghettos in Northern Ireland, we cannot logically oppose corporal punishment in English schools, let us say, and acquiesce in, if not support, a different form of corporal punishment in Irish streets.

The press reported that two young men had been stealing from a large store in Derry, but if, as John Belfast says, these young men were stealing from their comrades, did anybody try to find out why? Theft may be due to poverty, or to psychological compulsions. If people had enough time and energy to first warn these young men, and then later catch them and tar them, surely they would have had

enough to find out a bit about their motives for theft?

It is pleasing to know that the Provisional IRA are not after all supporters of big business. Their aims and methods remain authoritarian, as John Belfast admits, and we, as anarchists, are bound to regard them as part of the authoritarian society we oppose. The people of the Bogside too are presumably for the most part quite conventional people. They are not anarchists, and will resort to authoritarian methods when dealing with 'crime', just as people outside their enclave do. They have, with the IRA, constructed a small, do-it-yourself state, which is run on the same lines as the big states.

With regard to the girls the same applies. The fact that the British Army blinded a woman does not make the tarring any the less bad, though it does reveal the hypocrisy of the British press when the shaven girls are mentioned and the blinded woman not. How are we to say that they will get over it unscathed though? It may well have been a traumatic experience. And can we be sure that they gave information to the soldiers, and were not just victimised as women have been throughout the ages for fraternising with the enemy?

The IRA may not have been directly to blame for these actions, but these deeds are part of an atmosphere which the British, the local population of both religions and the IRA have combined to create. If as anarchists we oppose war, authoritarianism and punishment, what alternative have we but to say so? If we don't we might as well pack up.

Since writing the above news has come in of the explosion in the public house in which sixteen people have been killed. Of course all the various 'armies' disclaim the action, and it hardly matters who in particular was responsible. We oppose terrorism whether it takes the form of bombing, shooting or tarring.

Young Liberals' Reply

Dear Friends,

In your last issue you published an open letter to the Young Liberals by J.W. which unwittingly summarised some of the reasons why libertarians within the Young Liberals have not joined the AFB.

The Young Liberals have an organised national structure, and can therefore take national initiatives, gain publicity, achieve certain minor changes (e.g. the SA Cricket Tour), and try to be an effective campaigning and servicing unit. We pay for this ourselves at local level and would look to a self-financing movement rather than one dependent either on the Liberal Party or on rich libertarians.

To have a co-ordinated movement you have to have activities to co-ordinate. Precisely one major problem with the libertarian groupings has been the lack of activity except in one or two places at local level.

I hope here that previous co-operation on the Census issue and, hopefully, on our proposed closure of Oxford Street

on December 18, will provide the way to effective co-operation and theoretical discussion.

On the theoretical side, I entirely agree with J.W.'s assessment of the excellence of Victor Anderson asserting that 'revolution is festival', but I fear he has allowed himself to be led away by the fact that Simon Hebditch has used the word 'anarchism'. Simon lacks an effective class analysis in his essay and this vitiates the good points he makes in it.

It is all very well for J.W. to say that we shall get 'more than we bargained for' through coming in contact with the anarchists. My fear is that we shall get much less than we hoped for out of it. However this is more of a comment on the weaknesses of the libertarian movement in the UK which we must all strive to overcome.

Yours sincerely,
DAVID MUMFORD, chairman
South East England
Young Liberal Federation.

'Discipline' and Union Leaders

Continued from page 1

section within the Labour Party and many others. Two years ago, when a wave of unofficial strikes by coalminers nearly brought the industry to a standstill, executive members of the NUM instructed miners to return to work and the Yorkshire miners called for the resignations of both the President of the Union and Lawrence Daly. Last year miners voted to strike officially, but failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority for a national official strike and Lawrence Daly had to have police protection during the negotiations with the Coal Board.

Such is the disillusionment that sets in when 'left wingers' do not come up to expectations. Yet time and time again rank and file members are exhorted to vote for these people by the Communist Party, the International Socialists and the Voice Group. These exhortations are made by people and organisations that want to lead. They are not against leaders and leadership as long as it is the right sort. However, for all the power that the 'left wingers' have achieved in the trade union movement, little has changed.

There has been no real opposition to the Government's Industrial Relations Bill and when the Post Office workers took on the Government in a battle that was everybody's, the TUC and the union executives left them to fight it out on their own.

The TUC is both unwilling and unable to unite the trade union movement to face any Government challenge, either on wages or industrial legislation. Each leader guards his union like his own private empire, words like solidarity, brotherhood and socialism are only faint echoes from a distant past. Now it is 'responsible' leaders exhorting their members to keep agreements about which many of them were never consulted. These leaders threaten 'disci-

plinary action' against the people they are supposed to represent.

Surely it is about time that this contrick of voting for leaders was scrapped and that we concentrated our energies on building up alternative organisations. In many struggles the rank and file of unions have shown how effectively they can organise themselves. The leaders have been inept and have therefore been bypassed by the initiative and improvisation of the ordinary members. Bridges cannot be built between the leaders and the led, and so it is up to the latter to disregard the former once and for all. The unions are there, so let's use them without placing any reliance on the leaders.

With the possibility of a miners' strike in the New Year, the Government will be out to defeat another section of the trade union movement. Left on their own, with Daly and the newly-elected Gormley in control, both the miners and the movement as a whole will suffer defeat. It is up to all trade unionists to see that this does not happen.

P.T.

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Published by Freedom Press, London. E.1.

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

Proposed Group—Exeter Area. John and Jill Driver, 21 Dukes Orchard, Bradinch, 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 at Jacquetta Benjamin's, Top Flat, 4 Warminster Road, South Norwood, S.E.25 (near Norwood Junction Station and 68 and 12 buses).

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