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BY THE TIME FREEDOM appears in print the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Pornography set up (privately) by Lord Longford will have been published and the first flush of publicity will be in full spate.

Lord Longford, whose idea the committee was, is in the true tradition of British-Irish eccentric aristocracy. He is a Catholic convert (the most intolerant kind of Catholic), a Socialist convert and a banker (he obviously doesn't go too far with Socialism) and a prison reformer. He has achieved somewhat of a record by appearing in the headlines twice in a week, in different capacities. It is he who claims to have reformed Myra Hindley by converting her to Catholicism—one might say 'a different kind of prison'.

He claims to have turned against pornography at a performance of Oh Calcutta! but no doubt the report that Hindley and Brady were inspired to their dreadful crimes by reading the Marquis de Sade played some part in his committee-crusade.

In November 1971 after the Oz case, but after his 'study group' had been set up, Lord Longford wrote in the Sunday Times giving his views on 'Pornography: What's to be Done?' illustrated by two anecdotes which (alas!) must be reprinted in full to get the flavour and message (which is quite other than that Lord Longford intends).

ING THE DIRT ON S

'I was stopped recently by a healthylooking young man of (it transpired) 35, with a wife and three children. He recognised me and wished to encourage our exertions by telling me how pornography had nearly ruined his marriage. He had been shown "blue" pictures at work of middle-aged or elderly men whipping young girls tied hand and foot, till the idea of sex relations with young girls had begun to play on his mind and excite him violently. Finally he picked up a girl of, he thought, 13-actually she was eleven-who had experience with several men including her father. His future trembled in the balance; he was saved by the love and understanding of a "wonderful" wife.

The same morning I received a letter from a man of high intellectual calibre who, though he has now found peace in the love a fine woman, has been to prison many times. He is convinced beyond all doubt that pornography was the cause of his downfall. When he was 15, he read a number of letters in a picture paper from girls who had received corporal punishment at home. "I tore out the pages. . . . They formed material for my masturbation fantasies. . . I think my sexual impotence, together with a quite genuine disgust against the sort of sex I enjoyed caused me to get myself put into prison for a long succession of petty thefts." And so on downhill. In his own case, and that of others known to him, the appetite for pornography grew by what it fed

There has long been utter confusion in the legal and semantic definition of the words 'obscenity' The word and 'pornography'. 'obscenity' seems to have taken such a bashing that Longford's committee seems to have chosen the word 'pornography' on the basis that 'pornography' is the kind of obscenity that most people object to. (It is probably superfluous to mention that one has not seen a word of the Longford report so this article is utterly unconfused by Longford's 'facts'.)

Such has been the confusion on the matter that Havelock Ellis long ago recalled that Sir Archibald Bodkin (then Director of Public Prosecutions) appeared at an international conference to discuss 'The Sup-pression of the Circulation and Traffic in Obscene Publications'. A Greek delegate (it would be!) suggested the desirability of first defining the meaning of the word 'obscene'. Sir Archibald objected on the score that there was no such definition in English Law, and it was unanimously resolved that 'no definition was possible' of the matter which the conference was called together to discuss. Literally speaking, 'obscenity' is undefinable, except it means in a vague way 'that which is not seen—or should not

D. H. Lawrence who, in his own way, was something of a Puritan, wrote 'obscenity only comes in when. the mind despises and fears the body'. He also defined 'obscenity' as doing dirt on life.

The law did tidy itself up in Britain when it based its obscenity law on the Cockburn judgement (is there a Freudian in the house?). L. C. J. Cockburn (pronounced Co'burn) ruled that to be obscene. matter should have a tendency to deprave and corrupt any person into whose hands the item may fall. Alex Comfort has pointed out (in a letter to The Times) that books on lock-picking and dynamiting might 'deprave and corrupt' upright citizens but such books were not prosecuted. Many years ago Annie Besant was prosecuted for 'depraving and corrupting' by selecting passages of an 'obscene' nature from the Bible. One recalls too that Bertrand Russell was prosecuted for

distributing sedition from the Bible in the form of the Sermon on the Mount.

The history of the fight for freedom of expression is dotted with numerous cases and many martyrs. The permissive society was never permitted, it was taken every inch of the way at the price of jailings and suppression. From Jude the Obscure to Ulysses, from The Well of Loneliness to Sleeveless Errand, from Zola's Earth to Boy, and in comparatively recent times Last Exit to Brooklyn, The Philanderer and Lady Chatterley's Lover, acclaimed as triumphs, and the latter-day reluctant martyr-heroes of Oz and the Little Red Book. All illustrate the constant struggle for freedom of expression. Lord Longford's committee will, despite all their intentions and protestations, narrow this free-

Politically the implications of this witch-hunt for pornography leading to the decadence of this society are familiar. The present Government can blame much of the growth of 'pornography' on the Labour Government whose 1959 Act, they claim, licensed much that they claim is pornographic: in fact the Act modifies the law only to consider the work 'as a whole' and the 'general intention' of the author. Recent cases have driven the proverbial coach and four through the Act, so we are back almost at the same position as before the Act, with the added threat of a moral crusade backed by the forces of light and Mrs. Mary Whitehouse.

This Government has been smart enough to avoid setting up a Royal Commission of its own which it might have to repudiate or ignore (like the Nixon Government and the Lockhart Commission). Lord Longford with his leftist inclinations (if the Labour Party can be described as such) has, in his turn, been smart enough to avoid direct entanglement with the right-wing tinged Mary Whitehouse-Festival of Light complex.

It is an over-simplification, and the history of obscenity is full of them, to label the new Puritanism as either fascist or communist but equally 'this flood of filth' (the usual term) is used by both groups to threaten us.

FOR EXAMPLE WHO SAID?

At the Writers' Conference in this week we have had speakers openly boasting of their homosexuality, drug addictions and so forth, and claiming that all the high traditions of great literature are hopelessly out-of-date. According to them the central issues of life

Continued on page 2

ANOTHER

According to the 'Croydon Advertizer'

A SHABBY SETTLEM

ployers which falls a long way short of their £30 for a 35-hour-week claim. The new agreement gives craftsmen £6 a week increase on the basic rate, giving them £26 a week. Labourers will receive £5.20 increase, taking their weekly basic from £17 to £22.20. The second stage of the agreement,

THE BUILDING UNIONS signed a

settlement last week with the em-

starting June 25 next year, will give craftsmen only another £1 and labourers 80p, with a 'guaranteed bonus' of £2.60 and £2.20 respectively. From October 1 next year a cost of living 'threshold' will operate, giving 20p a week for every 3 per cent increase in the retail price index over the next year beyond an 8½ per cent threshold.

The final part of the agreement will operate from June 10, 1974, and will give craftsmen a £29 basic, with a £3 'guaranteed bonus'. Labourer's basic will go up to £24.60 with a 'guaranteed bonus' of £2.60. Two extra days' holiday will be phased in over the next two years, and the agreement will end on November 11, 1974.

The agreement is the sort of shabby compromise that building workers have come to expect from the executive of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians. It gives no reduction in the hours of work, except a vague promise to review this question by October next year.

Although the first increase is fairly substantial, the 'guaranteed bonus' means little or nothing to the majority of building workers. Such payments are already included in bonus and plus payments. The all-important differential between craftsmen and labourers has again been widened when the reverse should have happened.

SABOTAGE

The unions have also conceded an important bargaining factor, by allowing the new settlement to expire in November instead of June. This last factor has contributed a lot during the twelve weeks building workers have been on strike. Not only is the summer the time when employers achieve most of their output, but it is obviously easier to picket sites at that time of the year than in the winter. The employers surely had this in mind, and the unions' collaboration and compromise went so far as to sabotage building workers' chances if there is a confrontation with the employers when this expires.

After signing the agreement most of the union leaders would not face their members outside, and left the employers' headquarters by the back door. Mr. Smith, general secretary of the UCATT, described the settlement as a 'reasonable agreement'. Those demonstrating booed and jeered. Some tore up their union cards in disgust.

However, at meetings following the signing, rank and file members have rejected the agreement. In Manchester, the Regional Committee of UCATT have voted to reject the deal. In Birmingham and Dundee, Glasgow and Merseyside strikers have rejected the agreement, and are not returning to work. In these areas mass meetings of the rank and file are being organised to give the membership a chance to vote on the deal. The union leaders themselves are not prepared to put the settlement before the members. They know that if they did there would be a rejection. But by announcing an end to the dispute they are relying on members and the unorganised workers, who are in the majority, to return to

In all fairness, it must go on record that the Transport and General Workers voted against acceptance. Rank and file participation has grown in the T&GWU, and their Joint National Committee of the building section is partly made up of lay members, who voted against acceptance the day before the national union leaders met the employers. The national leaders voted against because of the 'bonus payments, no reduction in hours, further monetary widening of the labours' differential, and the duration of the agreement'.

The other two unions, General and Municipal and the Wood Machinists, along with UCATT, out-voted the T&G. In London pickets from four picketing centres, Gower Street, Hornsey Road, Church Street, and Edmonton held a joint meeting. They rejected the deal and decided to meet the Regional Action Committee to put the following points

'No resumption of work without con-

be picketed on Monday morning with a mass meeting in the afternoon. A call from the Action Committee to reject the employers' offer. 'That the Action Committee, co-ordinating committee and picket centres should remain. Lay officials and chief pickets should be retained in order to assist full time officials in the period following the resumption of work to effectively combat the "lump" and to assist in the general organisational work.

ACTION COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS RETURN

Similar resolutions came from other picket centres. However, when the delegates from the centres met the Action Committee they had already passed the following resolution: 'That this Regional Action Committee recommends that there should be an orderly resumption of work on Monday, September 18, with the intention of establishing 100% trade union organisation, and effective Work Committees should be established, coupled with no victimisation or blacklisting. However, on those sites where lump labour is being used there should be a continuation of the dispute on these sites by picketing until such time as the self-employed labour has been removed.'

Delegates felt disappointed and let down by the response. In other parts of the country, already mentioned, Action Committees were making a stand and organising mass meetings for the members to decide whether they return or not. Here in London the Communist Party, along with Labour, have passed a resolution which does nothing to organise a fight to remove the 'lump' from unorganised sites. It says nothing about the all-important question of keeping the picket centres and committees in operation. The Action Committee, made up of lay members and officials, said, they had no power to reject the deal and yet in other areas these committees are doing just that.

At a report-back meeting of the four picket centres they decided to keep the centres in operation to assist sites in sultation of the membership.' Sites to the areas after the resumption of work.

NO MANDATE

Similar deals have been signed by the UCATT executive in the past. Longterm agreements have been signed before when members have mandated one year deals. With the present inflation, Value Added Tax and entry into the Common Market, the increase in the present longterm tie-up will soon be eroded.

The failure to achieve the claim will also encourage the 'lump'. A successful strike would have ended with a phased return-to-work, with pickets eliminating the 'lump', recruiting members and establishing union organisation on sites. However, twelve weeks of strike action has done more to eliminate the 'lump' than all the talk of the union officials. Building workers had a good chance of finally ridding themselves of this cancer. Now with this long-term deal, the 'lump' will continue.

Members have called for the resignation of the UCATT executive. The lessons are that the rank and file have really run this strike. They are realising that the union leaders were always willing to seek a compromise. UCATT did not want a confrontation with the employers. But the members have shown, both the union leaders and the employers, that it is possible to organise a national strike. Both are frightened of this. Union leaders have again proved their worth at pulling out the chestnuts for both the employers and the Government. Although the deal exceeds the Government's policy on wages, it brings long-term wage stability. They have again acted as a buffer between workers and the employers, making an agreement just when, with two or three weeks more of struggle, a major breakthrough could have been achieved. The UCATT executive have played their political role.

It is possible that following the mass meetings, the strike could continue. If it does, building workers in other areas should resume their action and force UCATT to reject the deal. Over the last twelve weeks building workers have effectively organised the strike, they can do it again.

CENSUS JAILING

(8.9.72) Henry Oakley of Walton Green, New Addington, Croydon, has been jailed for 30 days by Croydon magistrates for not paying £20 fine imposed last November for refusing to fill in the

B. R. Miles.

LET DONS DELIGHT

THERE COMES THAT time after every revolutionary trial of strength when the rage has burned itself out and the glory no longer compensates for the daily misery, and it is then that the men and women of the mean streets bow their heads and sink onto their knees like tired lions. It is only when they have renewed their strength and their faith that the flame of the revolution will burn again. There comes that moment for the café patriots when the victories of the national army begin to pall as the economic cost is added to their way of living and the bemedalled heroes of the boulevards begin to bore as they devise new campaigns with old wine glasses. It is then, when the revolutionary forces of the streets are crushed and peace is a desirable political ratting point, that the philistine and the monied bourgeois feel safe to flaunt their wealth and bad taste and the houses of the nouveaux riches become the lumber rooms of every fool with money to

It was then, it is now, little comrade. When the war dead are safely buried and their monuments mock the living, it is then that the children of the bourgeoisie parade in their tailor-made military uniforms in the fashionable coffee houses, and their parents, with hats on heart, praise the dead heroes of the revolution or the rank and file that died for the glory of empire. The Daughters of the American Revolution become heirs to the sweaty peasants who fought for the freedom that they hate, and the bankers and the lawyers weep in public once a year for the men and women who stormed the Bastille, and in Red Square the warders wave to the prisoners a revolution that betrayed its honoured dead.

NEO-CLASSICISM

It is all here within the rooms of the Royal Academy in Piccadilly and at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for the Council of Europe have chosen London to mount the 14th major art exhibition given over to an intellectual or philosophical theme and London has drawn the short straw of The Age of Neoclassicism. With a catalogue of over a 1,000 pages and weighing 3 lbs., supermarket scales, it is an exhibition that should delight the Town and his panting frau, for these crowded and cluttered rooms can offer no lasting knowledge, it is no more than a Reader's Digest trip through instant history. So therefore let superficial knowledge be the key to your visit and enjoy a worthwhile show. Neo-classicism originated in the 18th century as a reaction against the prevalent baroque and rococo style of art, and in rejecting the florid excesses of that art they produced an art form more tasteless and more vulgar. With a wealthy free-spending middle class to dictate artistic values, the artist came to heel, and the newly-risen industrialist and monied moneylenders posed in toga and brass helmet as the new Romans, complete with tin sword.

One wanders from room to room within the Royal Academy, marking the uninspired craftsmanship of that age, and is halted by the paintings of our William Blake, and wonders how that poor, sad mystic could be incorporated among all this accumulation of the art galleries of Europe, but with a 1,000anything is capable of incorporation.

The tragedy of the neo-classic artist was that he turned to an ancient past for his theme and his style, and only a

man like David could surmount the demands of his masters. There is much within this exhibition that is worthy of your time and pleasure, and nothing more so than the paintings of David, for who can deny that his Death of Marat is the Pietá of political violence. It is surely, nay is, one of the great paintings of our times. Clean, cold and beautiful in its artistic simplicity, it is a work of art and a political statement as relevant to our time as in the 1790's when the knife plunged into Marat's

HONEST VULGARITY

It is on the press day that one can feel the full impact of this type of exhibition, for one walks through the empty rooms with only the excited officials and the shouting workmen flitting and stumbling back and forth, and one can take in a complete panorama of this type of exhibition, and its success lies in the main hall with the huge paintings of David, Greuze or Girodet-Trioson blazing down in a wealth of colour like huge film posters for Hollywood history. Ingres's portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul wearing full drag, dominates one wall and possesses all Ingres's talent for turning the living face into a death mask, while Girodet-Trioson's Revolt at Cairo is a bravo whirlpool of colour and motion.

It is an exhibition strictly for the tourist trade, for one enjoys it in the same fashion as one walks through a crowded market, and never more so than at the over-flow at the Victoria and Albert Museum, that houses the furniture of that period. Having thrown aside all aesthetic canons one can mentally bathe in a world of honest vulgarity. A world of gilt and silk drapes. Of imitation Greek and Egyptian carvings wherein everything is inlaid and overlaid like the furnishing of an expensive whorehouse. All in all it is a magnificent exhibition that asks nothing more of the visitor than an open mouth, a closed mind and the strength to carry a 3 lb. catalogue.

GHASTLY VULGARITY

Meanwhile the knife for the collected works of Caspar David Friedrich now on view at the Tate Gallery. Friedrich pursued his painterly craft until 1840, and before leaving us managed to produce a mess of work of not only second rate artistic value but of the most ghastly vulgarity. There is that flaw within the soul of the teutonic bourgeois that has them keeling over on their backs like bitches in heat whenever they happen to see a high misty mountain or a lonesome pine.

Friedrich was of that school of German Romantic painters that led to the cult of leather breeches, feather in the hat gnomes on the walls of the wooden houses, Disneyland and concentration camp musicians playing Holy Night while their fellow captives queued to die in the gas ovens. If you think that I am harsh in my judgement of Friedrich then so be it, but this painter was unable to churn out a single canvas of sentimental slop without adding a page of mysticism regarding his motive. Friedrich is described as an artist almost unknown in this country, and this con-temporary of Turner and Constable is described as having 'searched the inmost resonances of our experiences before nature in a way quite different from anything in the tradition of English land-

All this could be true, but the end product is a badly painted, overcoloured group of birthday card-type landscape paintings, with the 'master' now and then intruding into the composition in cloak and beret. Friedrich may have been out of favour within this country, for we have our own secondrate mystics, but he was never out of favour within Germany, and while painters who did not conform were being hunted down and murdered Friedrich's work was given pride of place, not as worthy works of art, but because he painted work that suited the shallow minds of the master-race masters.

As always with the Tate the catalogue is worth your money, and the exhibition of work by Friedrich should be visited, for in all things you should make your own judgement, but relate these banal, nasty and sentimental landscape paintings to the mystical reasons and writings, and Friedrich condemned himself.

There is always bad art and secondrate art but the Hayward Gallery have succeeded in producing an exhibition given over to non-art under the label of The New Art. Outside the prison of the Hayward Gallery on press day were a small group of young men campaigning for the newly formed ARTISTS' UNION c/o the ICA, Nash House, 22 Carlton Terrace, S.W.1. The recruiting group for the Artists' Union had been refused permission for space within the foyer of the Hayward Gallery, so they sat with their table and their coffee outside on the stones. Yet their problem, and I hold my card in this newly formed Artists' Union, is the same as those who organised the New Art exhibition, and that is to define who and what is an artist. I love the exhibitionist from the late Yves Klein with his non-existent paintings in an empty studio to the man who pays a sign writer to paint a sign claiming that the bearer is an 'Artist', but in that final analysis the artist is the continuation of the craftsman, and it is a craft of giving permanence to a visual experience, a long and hard process of trial and error and hours of laborious training. Like Richard Long one can lay rings of pebbles on the floor of the gallery, scrawl a huge badly-drawn charcoal drawing of a forest to fill one wall of the gallery, as with Gilbert and George, or set various electric lights flicking on and of, but this is not the New Art but the New Exhibitionism. It is worth a giggle and no more, for when the next art circus comes to Town then it will be forgotten.

Meanwhile the militants of the Artists' Union sit and debate the role and the function of the artist, when they should be outside demonstrating, organising and, dare I say it, painting their protests. But all is not lost; for the Town to enjoy next year, another and most worthwhile exhibition is to be housed in London. As the experts churn up the ancient soil of the Middle East we have become a little blasé, and we can take or leave the next tomb or Egyptian mummy, depending on what film is showing at the local fleapit, but in 1968 a squad of Chinese soldiers digging in the limestone hills west of Man-ch'eng came upon the tomb of Liu Sheng, Prince of Chung-shang, who died in 113 B.C., and the tomb of Tu Wang, the Princess of Liu Sheng.

FANTASTICALLY EXCITING

This is a fantastically exciting find, and next year should find the Town and his frau queueing to view tomb finds completely unknown to western cultures. The sorrow of this is that on August 15, 1972, the British Museum sent out a press invitation to view two Chinese bronze wine vessels, within the boardroom of the British Museum. Three of us turned up to sip the sherry and handle the magnificent wine vessels. Cast five centuries before Christ, it offered a rare opportunity to handle these beautiful and functional works of the artist craftsman and to learn how they were cast. In the tomb of Liu Sheng, Prince of Chung-shang, they found a bronze vase 23½ inches high almost the same in appearance as the one we lonely three handled in the empty board-room of the British Museum, and next year the Town will queue to see the treasures they now ignore.

MONSTROUS REGIMENT

But always there is the Regiment of Women, to cowardly ignore a full quotation, with Jeanne Masoero at Angela Flowers Gallery. Lovely broad sweeps of flowing colours in the manner of Paul Jenkins, with Nina Hosali at the Loggia Gallery with paintings of an emotional content whose good draftsmanship and controlled colours make

them valid works of art, and Halima Nalecz at the Drian Gallery with her bold and flowing whirlpools of colour overpowering her subject matter. One should never generalise, but the work of women painters always seems devoid of intellectual content, and in the end becomes no more than decorative. As in politics and religion, so in art, the women are betrayed by a shallow emotionalism, and once that has ebbed away they commit themselves to the slavery of an ornate or disciplined ritual. So it is with Nina, Halima and Jeanne.

IMPRISONED ARTISTS

But the most important and least publicised exhibition was held at Reed House, 82 Piccadilly, W.1. It is, nay was, the '72 Koestler Awards Exhibition. Each year this exhibition takes place, and one only learns of it by accident. Each year, from the various prisons the works of art of the prisoners are placed on view. There is no such thing as prison art, only imprisoned artists, and this is their work. One applauds Koestler for bringing this exhibition into being, and the authorities for organising it as a public exhibition, but I would suggest that in the summer dog days a Bond Street gallery should be strong-armed into giving the next exhibition. It would be wrong to the artists to pretend that the work is of a high standard, but a work from Albany and Wandsworth Prison, 1 and 86, are good, and the Illuminated Mass Book by a prisoner from the Scrubs is a thing of sheer beauty in the pure monkish tradition. There is much sadness in this exhibition, but each and every prisoner is an artist. Artists' Union please note. ARTHUR MOYSE.

Excelsior!

THE BIRTH OF LIBERTARIAN HUMANIST MAN, by Michael Tobin (Medway Libertarians, no price given).

THIS PAMPHLET, dated August 1972, must have been written in prison, where Michael Tobin is serving his sentence for trying to spread disaffection among the troops. It is quite short but very compact. There is a lot in it. In fact it is a brief history of mankind from prehistoric times until the present The author believes that mankind rose first from primitivism to an agricultural civilisation, and there became stuck for about six thousand years or so. Sumer, Egypt, Greece, Rome and all the rest of them had their achievements, but these were no more than the scaling of little hillocks on a table-land.

The ground began to rise again, to continue the analogy, in one part of the world, Europe, at the time of the Renaissance. It rose more steeply with

the Industrial Revolution, and the whole of the world began to be drawn in. Now we are all of us facing a sheer cliff, a wall of rock. To survive we must climb it to a new plateau.

Michael Tobin believes that a new libertarian type of human personality is developing, and he will be able to climb the wall, and (hopefully) he will be able to take his fellow men and women with him. He will be the man of the future. Today he is the anarchist, the hippy, the unconventional type. In the future he will be the normal human. The society he will create will be as different from the one we know as that is from primitivism.

To this all one can say is that one hopes that he is right, and that the new plateau, when reached, will not turn out to have new horrors, at present unguessed at, in store. But will be indeed a libertarian utopia.

ARTHUR WARDO.

Continued from page 1

today, with which literature should deal, are sexual perversion, and the vicious habits of beatniks and lay-

'Our whole public life today is like a hothouse for sexual ideas and stimulations. . . . If we do not lift the youth out of the morass of their . If we do not lift present-day environment they will drown in it.

This cleansing of our culture must be extended to nearly all fields. Theatre, art, literature, cinema, press, posters and window displays must be cleansed of all manifestations of our rotten world. . . Public life must be freed from the stifling perfume of our modern eroticism. In all these things the goal and the road must be determined by concern for the preservation of the health of our people in body and soul. The right of personal freedom recedes before the duty to preserve the race.'

Some of this sounds like Mary Whitehouse or Arnold Lunn and Garth Lean in full spate. The first quote is from Hugh McDiarmid, the darling of Scots Communists, the second is A. Hitler (Mein Kampf, Vol. 1, Chapter 10). We recollect former comrade Kruschev holding

I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half. - JAY GOULD, American railroad magnate.

up his hands in holy horror at—the Can-Can! But it was not for this he was purged. Puritanism and sexual suppression are weapons used by totalitarians of all complexions as Reich pointed out long ago.

The Mary Whitehouse side of the crusade, concentrating on the BBC, has definite tie-ups and affinities with the activities of Moral Rearmament carried on through its Bland-Press publications their red-bashing and baiting and sponsorship of sharing in industry. The contacts of this group in the world of advertising and industry throw some light on their motives for attacking the BBC, presumably in favour of 'Independent' Advertisers' Television.

The other party who seems to have got in on the act is David Holbrook, whose lofty effusions on the corrupting influence of pornography occupy much space. He may be right, but the equally corrupting effects of censorship are overlooked by Holbrook, whilst his convoluted prose obscures his no doubt lofty thoughts, for example: 'the worst possible thing that can happen to an individual, is to be encapsulated in the destructive circuits of the negative side of his personality—in her [Sylvia Plath's] case the malignant animus.'

Time after time it has been pointed out that the Danes have allowed (more or less) free reign to 'pornography' and very little harm has resulted. The Danes have, in fact, become bored with it, leaving the market to visitors from more puritanical countries. At the same time the Danes claim that sex crimes have declined since the introduction of freedom in sexual literature. This was pointed out to our late Home Secretary, Mr. Maudling, on February 25, 1972, and he replied, 'I have heard this used in support of the Danish attitude. I have frankly never been convinced by the figures.' Mr. Maudling was more convinced by Mr. Hoffman's

Longford may be a Don Quixote, an amiable fool, but his report will give the Government (and the Opposition) an excuse—if they wanted one!—for more repressive legislation. As it stands it is merely another way of doing the dirt on

JACK ROBINSON.

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Road, Leeds, 6.

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5. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
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NEW ATTACK ON PRIVACY

which it is proposed to bring in next year, will tell an employer whether his employee is single or married, or even if he or she is supporting an 'illegitimate' child, by a system of letters at the head of the tax form. If the individual does not want the employer to know about his private life, and who does?, he can apply to have the letter T marked on his form. But this letter may mean that he has a second job, in any case it suggests to the employer that the individual has something to hide.

As usual there are arguments put forward by the income tax authorities that this will help to make the system more efficient and more just, if to rob a man of his earnings can ever be described as just. But it would be foolish to believe this. Basically it is all part of the long campaign, which has been going on throughout the present century, but with particular intensity since the First World War, to impose complete state control on every aspect of the individual's life, his comings and goings and all his affairs, down to the last detail.

In this particular case the employer is being fed information hitherto denied him, which in fact draws him into the state machine himself. Although it gives him increased power over his employees this fact might give him pause. Such power is a two-edged weapon. It is in no one's interest to incorporate himself, or let himself be incorporated into the state machine.

As usual the liberal press tut-tuts, and an MP has described this develop-ment as 'frightening', but this does little good. The only solution is to refuse information, as with the census, on principle, if necessary regardless of consequences. In the present state of things we must get used to withholding information from government or private organisations, questionnaires, however innocuous they seem, should be returned unanswered or be destroyed. Too many people today take a pleasure in filling up such things.

BREAD WITHOUT CIRCUSES

A new system 'to help lower-paid workers' is also proposed. Direct taxes

and social security cash benefits are to be tied together in a single scheme. Ostensibly this is to make it easier to help the poorer sections of the population, in practice it will convert them into state pensioners for life, whether they work or not. As inflation continues, and their wages fail to keep up with it, they will become dependent on allowances from the state to supplement their income. Doubtless care will be taken to ensure that, even with this

supplement, their income remains as low as possible, and they will be exposed to double humiliation, being pushed around by their boss and a bureaucrat to whom they must apply for part of their living.

It is a grim picture. Obviously the authorities believe that inflation is going to continue unchecked, and the gap between rich and poor is going to widen. Their scheme has been drawn up with this prospect in mind. The Romans had system summed up in the phrase 'bread and circuses', a free issue of corn and gladiator shows to keep the masses quiet. We shall have to make do with cash 'benefits' and the antics of our

JOHN BRENT

ASSE SOLL

Criminal Law

THE MAUDLING and Poulson cases manded by Lord Chief Justice Widgery revealed ample evidence—for anyone who still needs it!-of the way in which the law turns a blind eye to the corrupt business activities of the ruling class. However, any minor transgression by a humble worker is seized upon by every pompous hypocrite of a judge as an opportunity to deliver a sermon couched in highly moralistic terms about 'betraying positions of trust', etc. At the same time those involved in the game of politics at local and national level who are not involved in it for the old-fashioned motive of lust for power are in it for the equally old-fashioned motive of economic greed. From building flats and motorways to the manufacture of weapons of war, there are lucrative contracts to be shared out amongst the boys.

All of which would make the case of the Lincoln bus conductor, Ronald Bowler, who was sentenced to 9 months in prison for stealing 6p in fares seem farcical—if it were not for the seriousness of the matter for the man and his family. The judge who imposed the sentence (and whose sanity must surely be doubted?), Mr. Douglas Lowe, showed his colours in 1970 when he was repriin the Appeal Court for 'showing constant bias in his summing-up'.

Many of Lincoln's busmen showed their solidarity with Ron Bowler and their contempt for the sentence by walking out and leaving the city's bus service in a state of paralysis. Indeed, many have threatened to stay out until he is released. Solidarity action by other trade unionists may be necessary but there has been such a public outcry that it seems likely that the sentence will be quashed on appeal. The Appeal Court judges will doubtless realize that this insane old fool is bringing their system into further disrepute.

Despite the widespread public expression of sympathy with her case Pauline Jones is still in prison. The thousands of other anonymous casualties of a crazy system of exploitation and authority spend futile years locked away from their fellows. Meanwhile, the real criminals rob us all of the wealth of society which could be used to provide a satisfying life for all, and they protect themselves with their laws, their courts, their police and their army.

TERRY PHILLIPS.

Communists Support Common Market

French Communist Party has just made another volte-face. The Communists, as in Britain, have always denounced the European Economic Community as 'the Europe of Big Business', as a capitalist power-block-

At the beginning of this year, the Communist Party was opposing the Community's enlargement. Georges Marchais, secretary-general of the Party. scathingly attacked the Community during the referendum campaign in April. Now the Communists are saying 'yes' not only to the EEC, but also to its enlargement and Britain's entry. In June, moreover, Marchais actually put his signature to a programme pledging Communist participation 'in the construction of the Community'.

But why the sudden change?

The French CP has formed an electoral alliance with the French 'Socialist' Party to fight the forthcoming elections. A common platform has been drawn up. The 'socialists' insisted on Communist support for the Common Market and its

subsequent enlargement, whilst the Communists demanded that the 'socialists' pledge themselves to fight for more nationalisation. Communist - Socialist candidates will advocate the nationalisation of the banks and a number of large industrial concerns such as Compagnie Générale d'Electricité, Daussault and Gobain-Pont-à-Mousson.

The weekly, Nouvel Observateur, said that such a programme would be '. . . a fatal blow to French capitalism'; and that, if the Communists and 'socialists' won at the polls, 'It would mean the end to the predominance of France's ruling class'. But, of course, it would not. It would merely replace 'private enterprise' monopoly-capitalism by state monopoly-capitalism. The French working class would remain exploited wage-slaves. Indeed, many French workers seem to be quite aware of that. A recent public opinion poll published by Le Figaro showed that 51% of the population Communist - Socialist believe that a government would not change their lot. Plus ça change. . . .

PETER E. NEWELL.

Cars Out! Bikes In!

assembled with our machines outside Euston Station. It was a colourful crowd. Each bicycle decorated with balloons, and the cyclists themselves (mostly young people) picturesquely dressed.

The original idea was to go round

all the London mainline stations, but it was not fulfilled in practice. The police escorted us on motorcycles, and at first to be helpful, directing across red lights, holding up the traffic for us, but it was of course just cunning. Soon we were directed into a series of side streets where there were few cars or people, and thus we travelled until we arrived at Liverpool Street.

Then we were allowed to go along important roads back towards the centre of London. It did not matter to the police. The City is dead at the weekend. Near Cannon Street we were joined

by some little boys on bicycles, our only converts so far as I could see. About a hundred of us left Euston.

Some left the column to visit Waterloo, but we all joined up again at Charing Cross, where leaflets were distributed to a mainly sympathetic crowd. Then on to Piccadilly, where we gave our moral support to the campaign to preserve the area from the redevelopers.

I was told at the end that the police had become irritable at this point and had arrested two cyclists, but I did not see this. We went round Piccadilly

THE SAME OLD TRICK

We went down Whitehall, across Parliament Square and encountered the police out in force, with buses and men on horseback. There had been a racialist demonstration there earlier in the after-

We were blocked from going down Victoria Street, and the police tried to force us over Lambeth Bridge into the wastes of South London, but the cavalcade rebelled. There were cries of 'It's a free country, isn't it?' Well, actually it isn't, but there's no harm in trying to make it a bit freer. We insisted on going to Victoria, and we went, but again we were led down side streets. The

From Victoria we followed more side roads to Knightsbridge, but followed the main road from there to the Albert Hall, where the demonstrators fraternised with the crowds of young people queuing for the last night of the Proms.

CONCLUSIONS

This was really the end, though some of us went on to a little meeting in Hyde Park. It was not a bad turn out. But already there are signs of the usual split between the 'militants' who wanted to block the whole width of the road, there were not enough of us in my opinion, and the 'reformists' who thought this was going too far.

It would have been better I think if a meeting has been called beforehand so that we could discuss and decide what exactly we were going to do. In the event we were directed by one cyclist with a loud voice and an A-Z London guide in his hand. Often he seemed unsure of his whereabouts. In any case reliance on a leader is a bad principle.

All the same it was a good little demo. Cycling in a large group, though one has to be continually on guard against running into one's companions, gives one a great deal of confidence. The car is no longer a terrifying monster. I felt the difference as I cycled home alone.

Social Security Scandal

THE GROWTH of the Claimants' Union movement over the last few years has focussed attention on the appalling conditions to be found within social security offices. It has never been the policy of the CU to attack clerks in these offices recognising that they too suffer at the hands of the system. It is heartening therefore to hear of the present overtime ban within DHSS offices. The purpose of the ban is to press for more staff and improved overtime allowances.

The roots of the present fight go back to the Civil and Public Services Association (which represents about 45,000 clerical staff in DHSS offices) Annual Conference at Margate in May. At the Conference a motion calling for adequate staffing was carried unanimously and generated a lot of heat among the delegates. This motion also criticised the attempts being made by the Civil Service to disguise the serious deficiency in staff numbers by the employment of 3,500 casual staff in the DHSS. 'Casuals' are deprived of any security and can be hired and fired at the discretion of the local Also within already overcrowded offices no space allowance has to be made for casual staff. Casuals also do not become union members and consequently are deprived of even this negotiating voice. The silence of the CPSA on this issue has been deafening. Why has there not been a call linked to the present overtime ban for an immediate upgrading of casual staff to permanent positions? This would also force an improvement in working conditions.

The answer to this question may lie in the relationship between the CPSA and the Civil Service. The union has a membership of about 200,000 mostly the lower clerical grades in the Civil Service. As such it must rank as one of the largest 'white collar' unions. Although it follows a TUC line (it has de-registered under the Industrial Relations Act), suspicions are that it has a cap in hand approach to management in the Civil Service, even more so than some other TUC 'worthies'! New entrants to the Civil Service are not only told that they may but are actively encouraged to join their staff association. The Civil Service is delighted to allow the continued growth of the union as it provides a useful channel for grievances which usually become lost somewhere 'up the ladder' in the hierarchy of the union.

There is a real danger that the present dispute may in fact end in the same way. A few vague promises of better days to come will probably have the union executive pressing for an end to the overtime ban.

There are signs, however, that at local branch levels members are beginning to take a lead from the struggles of other public service employees (e.g. railwaymen, and the miners). The current unrest in the DHSS could easily be stifled by the executive of the CPSA. The reply may come from the membership who have had a rough deal for too long.

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The Dock Strike and Vietnam

Friends and Comrades,

In this reply to two articles in FREEDOM No. 35, I apologise for writing somewhat in blinkers. You see, I read my only copy in an SS queue one morning, then gave it away to a bunch of site-workers, engaged in a violent argument, at the desk next to mine, over SS payments to strikers. I mention this because of my mixed feelings; while eager for them to read the front page article concerning the site strikes and SS, I was embarrassed by the leader 'Oh, Brother' which, I felt, grossly misrepresented the anarchist standpoint over the dock strike. That the Anarchist weekly, of all things, should carry a leader criticising the dockers, whose recent action almost manifested a general strike, and did manifest a heavy blow against the Industrial Relations Act, makes no sense to me at all. The dockers were once in a similar situation to the present situation of the site-workers (whom the article immediately below supported), but have fought and negotiated agreements guaranteeing them greater security, etc. The container companies were subverting this security and those agreements for the sake of cheaper labour. We all know that the capitalists try to wedge divisions into the working class, but the dockers cannot be blamed for that, and in the circumstances they did all that they could.

I would discriminate between this article (a leader by an editor), and the inside article on Vietnam, presumably by a correspondent. This was the personal opinion of a comrade, freely expressed, and while I disagreed absolutely with that opinion, I thank God that FREEDOM does not subscribe to the strict doctrinaire editing that some of the left-wing press does. Again I haven't the article at hand to refer to, but, as I recall, the writer seemed to imply that the Vietnamese war was some sort of territorial conflict between two governments, in which the people are doomed to be enslaved whatever the outcome. It is explicitly NOT a war of that

BRITISH CAPITALISM, WORKERS

AND THE PROFITS SQUEEZE by

Andrew Glyn and Bob Sutcliffe (Penguin

TWO NEW LEFT economists have

traces the decline and predicted fall of

British capitalism. They claim the main

text is intelligible to people 'without

formal training in economics' and relate

the economic to the political aspects of

That British capitalism is not alone as

to a state of crisis but that there is an

international capitalist crisis is argued.

sider what you are about to do, and the

purpose you are to serve. Ask yourself

the meaning of military service and of

war. Do you want to prepare for

murder? Do you want to be trained for

wholesale slaughter and, when ordered,

to kill your fellow-men, men like your-

self, whom you have never even seen

and who never did you any harm?

Think of it, and if there is a spark of

manhood in your heart, you will be

filled with horror and disgust at the very

without money or friends. But better a

hundred times to suffer need and hunger

than to don the uniform that stands for

cowardly obedience and the murder of

your brothers. Consider that it is this

military power which you are asked to

join, that is upholding the conditions

which are keeping you and thousands

of others in starvation and misery. If

you put on the uniform, you help to

strengthen and perpetuate this power

and you become the blind tool of the

class that robs and kills under the guise

of patriotism. It pays them well. They even instil the little school-children with

the spirit of boastful jingoism and mur-

You may be one of the unemployed,

thought of military service.

nature of Britain's situation is made.

produced a very useful book which

Special, 55p).

Can Capitalism Last?

However emphasis on the permanent It's a profitable investment.

Don't Become a Murderer

LETTERS

a guerilla movement, which has taken on French colonialism, Japanese and US imperialism successively. That it has polarised into N-S situation partly for strategic reasons, mainly because of the division imposed by the Western Powers, seems to have confused the contributor. Even a US Senate Committee estimated in 1965, that N. Vietnamese regulars made up only 400 of the 14,000 guerillas. Guerilla warfare has been the emerging global pattern since World War 2, and if the republics that it has produced such as N. Vietnam and Cuba, are not perfect anarchist societies, they are at least genuinely socialist and infinitely, but infinitely, better than the regimes of Batista, Diem and Stalin.

Moreover, to say that if only the two rival governments got together and made a peace settlement then the sooner the bloodshed would stop and the sooner there would be the inevitable stalemate, is like saying the Irish troubles could be settled by a meeting of Lynch and Heath. The fact is that the only way there could be peace, is for the forces of imperialism, both British and American, to withdraw, and allow the emerging nationalisms to take their natural course.

Anarchists should swim with the tide of workers' movements, from dockland to Vietnam, or else we shall become high and dry idealists, hard put to answer the criticisms of both left and

Yours fraternally,

N. Jones.

Black September

Dear Comrades,

the class war.'

their wages.

I don't think the leading article on the Munich massacre sufficiently brings out the significance of the earlier slaughter in Mexico City, just before the 1968 Olympic Games were due to start. If the athletes had refused to participate in games in a country where people were

Added weight is leant to the book by

recent 'Blue Book' statistics from the

Central Statistical Office. According to

City Comment in the Guardian: 'The

figures could be interpreted as meaning

that British capitalists have been losing

by Reginald Maudling who has written

of the fight against 'the political springs

of cost inflation'. He doesn't mean

those who put up prices but the trade

unionists, who in bourgeois ideology

indirectly put up prices by increasing

Anyway buy Glyn and Sutcliffe's book.

ation and inhuman treatment in order

a child of the poor. It is a terrible and

shameful spectacle that in every land the

sons of the workingmen constitute the

army whose purpose it is to perpetuate

the slavery of labour. Can you com-

plain of oppression and exploitation if

you lend yourself to uphold the system

of economic robbery, if you take up

arms to defend it? As long as there are

enough young men who permit them-

selves to be driven to slaughter like a

herd of sheep and who are willing to

participate in expeditions of robbery and

murder (for that's what war really is),

just so long the possessing classes will

continue to rob and to murder, to

slaughter by the wholesale and extermi-

nate whole countries. You, the sons of

the people, you young workingmen of

the land, you alone can put an end to

these terrible things and their frightful

consequences, by refusing to join the

army and navy, by refusing to be used

Young Man! You are a poor man,

to learn how to kill and murder.

This message has not been unheard

nature. It is a guerilla war fought by shot down in the street it would have achieved a stunning effect.

To me sport is the most perfect bore, but to most governments, and the peoples they rule over, it is very important. This is why South Africa gets the jitters when her teams are boycotted or demonstrated against. So suppose there had suddenly been no Olympics? What a shock this would have been!

And why no Olympics? Well the Mexican soldiers fired on a crowd and killed a lot of people. Well then, in future we must see to it that this sort of incident does not happen, at least in any country where international sporting events are likely to take place. Massacres would thus have tended to become taboo.

But in the event nothing effective was The games took place. Nobody could have foreseen that four years later the athletes themselves were to become the victims, but I think one can establish a quite logical connection. Mass killing has become respectable. People who should have protested did not. If they had, the anger and disgust at what was done in Mexico would have spread worldwide. The Palestinians, however desperate, would not have adopted the tactics they did. Possibly they would have found some clever, but non-lethal way of sabotaging the games, gaining some sympathy for their cause, angering many no doubt, but not physically harming any individual.

Fraternally, A.W.U.

The New Bigotry

Dear Editors,

In John Brent's article on the new bigotry (9.9.72), he seems to confuse intelligence with superiority. As an anarchist, I believe there is no such thing as superiority, since it can only exist in a hierarchy where those at the top termed 'superior' are so despicable they would be more aptly termed 'inferior'. Yet I cannot argue with a scientist who says that there is such a thing as intelligence, I have intelligence, everyone has intelligence.

This instigator of the new bigotry, Jensen, might be conducting his intelligence tests in good faith, in vain I would think since intelligence tests are far perfect (objective) and very culturally determined. But even if what he says were true, that Negroes are born less intelligent than Caucasians, which I rather doubt, would it not mean that they were still men, women and children like us whites and equals in every way.

If you cannot accept that Negroes could possibly be less intelligent than whites and still be our brothers, then you are bigoted towards 'superiority' of

Fraternally yours, London, N.16 ADAM FLOWERS.

John Brent replies:

I have no faith in intelligence tests,

and do not believe in any form of social hierarchy. I think the whole thing is a great big con. Individuals differ in their abilities, but not large groups, races, nations or classes. Yes, I would agree that even if blacks were less in-

telligent than whites they would still be our brothers, but it is like discussing the rotundity of the earth. I agree if the earth is flat a ship that sails too close to the edge may fall off it. This is logical. But the voyages of the sixteenth century navigators proved that the world was round (to all intents and purposes, but try arguing with the flatearthers, you'll be surprised at their ingenuity in explaining this away, and all the more modern proofs of the earth's rotundity, including observations from

What I am trying to say, but perhaps I don't express myself very well, is that all this race business was settled, scientifically speaking, way back in the twenties and thirties. To bring it all up again now is too sick for words. It is like trying to revive the belief in magic.

Vietnam

Dear Comrades,

Re R.J.'s piece on "The Coming War In Asia"—is this astonishing farago of ignorant nonsense and American-inspired propaganda paid for by the CIA? It surely cannot be a serious contribution

dence has the author, other than US officially-inspired sources, that Hanoi has 'been left in the lurch' by Russia and China? The past few months with the Nixon visit have caused enormous political difficulties for the Vietnamese, but the practical evidence of their support, namely the continued and improved flow of military supplies is a fact—without this support the struggle could not

His interpretation of the logic of the present offensive is purely that put out by the Americans rather than trying to see what are the military and political objectives of the Vietnamese. He believes, like the bourgeois press, that the attack is to capture territory and cities. The objective is much more to destroy the South Vietnamese army and with it the policy of Vietnamisation. To destroy an army is a different exercise from capturing a city, which would be singularly pointless when the Americans have such overwhelming air power. Territory is incidental rather than primary.

natural wealth of South Vietnamese territorial waters, nor for that matter about the astonishing potential natural wealth of South or North Vietnam's land mass. A modest geographical knowledge would have protected the author from avoiding this sort of conspiratorial nonsense. That the US is interested in some fairly oldfashioned form of colonial exploitation in addition to neo-colonial forms is well worth saying.

policy of killing all children of irregular unions between US soldiers and Vietnamese girls'. Such a hysterical allegation (he can't even say some which would be revolting enough—his hysteria drives him to say all) requires some evidence, or is this again the parrot repetition of US official propaganda?

regard for truth, the gut level of argument which this piece displays seems to display more of the intellectual habits of fascism, than the political phenomenon he purports to analyse.

Fraternally,

to a socialist analysis of Asia.

To take just a few issues. What evi-

There is nothing 'secret' about the

As for his allegation 'the revolting

If we are to talk of fascists, the scant

F.E.



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Comrades seek flat within 1 hour public transport journey Enfield, Middx. Box 001, Freedom Press.

Libertarian Book Club Fall Lecture Series, Thursdays, 7 p.m., 369 8th Avenue at 29th Street, New York: October 12, Nunzio Pernicone, 'The Italian Anarchist as Rebel and Outlaw'; October 26, Olga Lang, 'The Problem of Conscience in Russian Literature'; November 9, Terry Perlin, 'Anarchism and Elitism'; November 23, Judith Malina and Julian Beck, 'Anarchism and Organization'; December 14, Murray Bookchin, 'Ecology and Anarchism'.

Welsh anarchist, male, 22, needs room in London flat. Any area considered. Neil Jones, c/o Freedom Press.

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Stoke Newington 8 Trial. Send all aid to '8' Fund, Compendium Bookshop, 240 Camden High Street. Meals, fruit, papers, books (new ones only), cigarettes and money needed.

must be overcome, and the same sauce must be served with both goose and

Down here we have the closure by the Government of an anthracite mine with redundancies galore in spite of promises, the endless despoliation of the city by replacing beautiful historic buildings by concrete and glass offices, and all TDs and Senior Civil Servants are to have salary rises, Lynch to the tune of an extra £3,000 a year. Over a million pounds in all, but £5 a week is enough for an old age pensioner, and the poor have nowhere to lay their heads.

Young Man! You whom the government is trying to entice into the army and navy, beware! Bethink yourself before taking the step. Con-

SO NOW THE PROTESTANTS of Shankill Road, who were the loudest in their praise of the Paras after Bloody Sunday, have had a taste of their own medicine, and they do not like it. Yet it was administered to them with far more provocation than the Civil Rights marchers in Derry gave, for the latter were completely peaceful and unarmed while the Shankill Road people fired first. None of which alters the fact that the Paras should be withdrawn from Ireland, and indeed disbanded and rehabilitated. They are men who have been trained in brutality and nothing else, and are defended by Brigadier Kitson who says the time is coming when they will be needed to put down subversives in England. NOW is the time for ALL Brits to march and protest until they are got rid of for good. Paisley's party will not attend Whitelaw's conference unless there is a full enquiry into their conduct. Perhaps by Widgery? I have no doubt he has plenty of whitewash left over, but he might hesitate to use it when it is the Loyalists whom the Paras have attacked, for the two-sided 'justice' still holds sway in the six counties, the one law for 'Bloody Fenians' and another for UDA et al. Yesterday 300 indignant loyalists attacked the police in Carrickfergus when

custody for having had illegal arms. Several police were wounded and a policewoman had to have a badly injured eye stitched. THERE WAS NOT ONE ARREST. Had it been 'the Fenians' the army would have been called and shots fired. One is glad to see some Unionists are coming to their senses and leaving the party, realising that Craig and Faulkner's dream of a restored strongerthan-ever Stormont with full authority for security will never come true.

The SDLP landed back in Dublin last night after their talks with both Heath and Wilson. One can only admire them. They were very much their own men and truckled to no one. If internment is not ended they will NOT attend the conference, nor will they accept Special Courts. They told Heath plainly of the conduct of the RUC and soldiery, that quadripartite must come and is necessary. and the political assassinations will not be tolerated. In spite of the Brit technique of diplomacy by handout, the 'old boy' briefing and the attempts of 10 Downing Street to make certain that the 'Whig dogs' don't get the better of the play, it has been proved that the SDLP are the most astute parliamentarians going, and Heath cannot pretend he does not now know.

This terrible fear of the Protestant backlash which bedevils Westminster

derous hatred, because patriotism enlarges profits and increases dividends. Do you want to help them? Published by Freedom Press, London, E.1

as hangmen, manhunters and watchdogs. It is time to show them that the people see through their infamous schemes. Let the young generation remain away from the recruiting offices

and refuse to be used as food for cannon. Feb. 1916 ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

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some of their men were remanded in

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