

THE PRISON OF THE STATE

ANARCHISTS HAVE always maintained that the State and all its forces of oppression are the real enemies of people and of freedom. While other political philosophies have argued that it is only necessary to capture the State and take it over for the benefit of all, anarchists have pointed out that this is a contradiction, which only puts a new and often more oppressive ruling class in power.

A prime example of the anarchists' position has been borne out with the Russian revolution. The Soviet regime has been but a continuation of the old Tsarist rule when looked upon in terms of freedom and human dignity. Under the new dictatorship of the Communist Party the State's capacity to crush opposition has increased and is much more efficient than the old Tsars ever dreamed of. The new rulers are just as despotic and intolerant as their autocratic predecessors. The Soviet government are persecuting

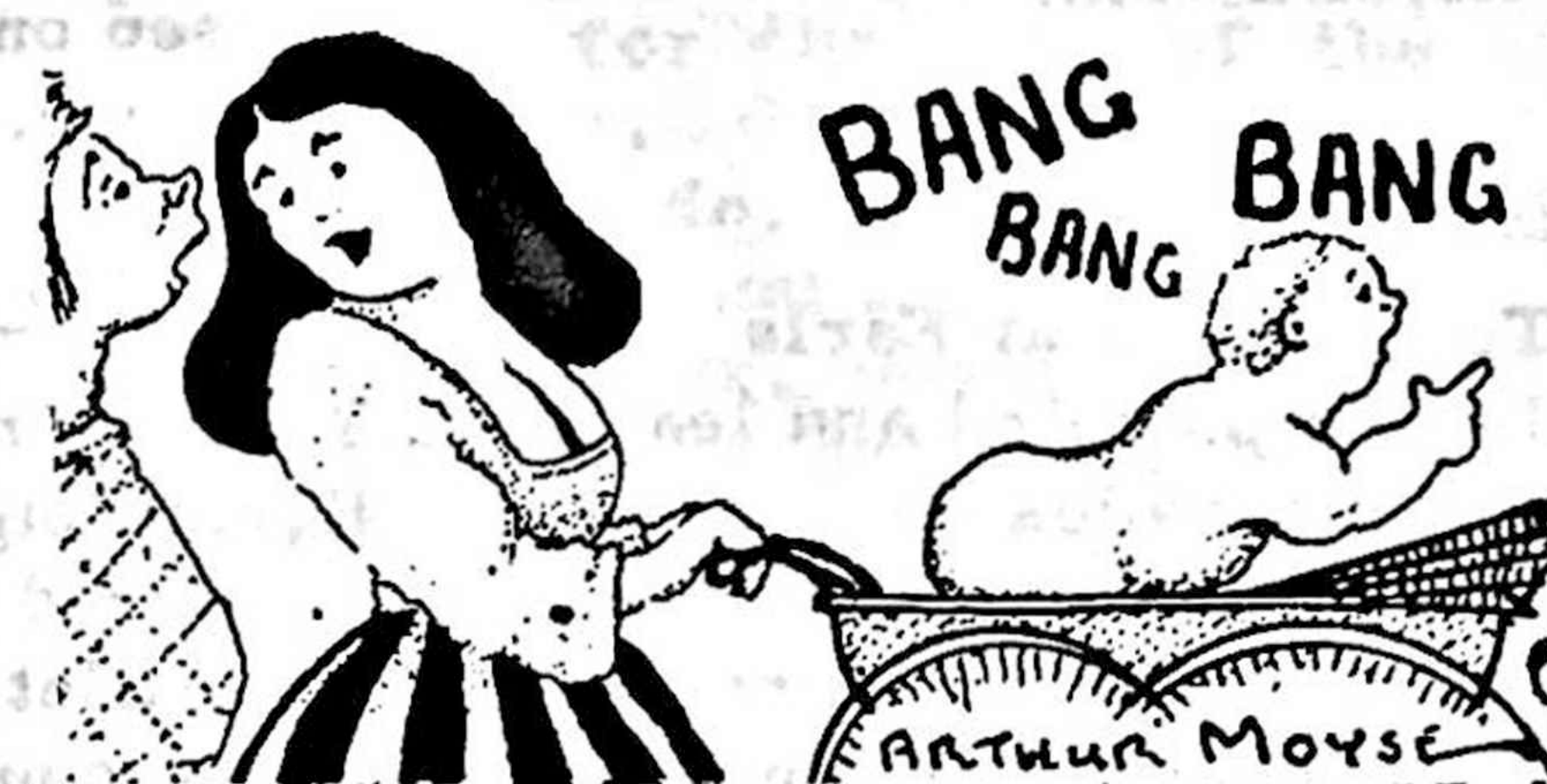
writers and others who don't toe the party line and who make known their opposition to the world at large. The new stage-managed trial of Yakir and Krasin is similar to those in the past, in that the authorities have forced them to make confessions. The Soviet government can now, like in the Stalinist days, use this collaboration against other dissidents. This makes it harder, and at the same time isolates forthright critics like Solyhenitsyn who has and is still attacking the Soviet regime. His present brave stand deserves every support. He has attacked those on trial for their collaboration and has given the example of Amalrik who received another three years' imprisonment for refusing to testify against Yakir.

In last Sunday's Observer a leader article entitled "Living With Tyrannies" looked at the present inter-State co-operation that is now taking

place between the "great powers" and implied it was because the "avoidance of nuclear war has rightly been regarded as the highest priority for all mankind". But nation states co-operate solely for their own mutual self interest. At the moment America is seeking co-operation with both the Soviet Union and China while these two Communist regimes are once again verbally at one another's throats.

However, the liberal conscience wants it both ways. They abhor the South African regime but still accept their

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"WHEN HE GROWS UP
HE'LL PROBABLY GO IN FOR
POLITICS"

APART FROM ALL THE BOMBS

THE CURIOUS INTERLUDE of episodes of three separate techniques of bomb-planting in England (including letter-bombs in America and France) occurring simultaneously is too much of a coincidence to come from any differing sources. It is just possible that two groups, but hardly likely that three, should decide separately that now is the time to turn English public opinion against the Irish (not to particularize). It may be that someone thought that Mr. Heath's visit to N. Ireland would have a good effect for peace which they must try and spoil - they misjudged Mr. Heath's talents.

It is still a mystery who done it, and even the obtuse Peter Gladstone Smith of the Sunday Telegraph now realizes that the IRA and the anarchists have no common aims; neither the Provisionals nor the Officials have admitted to the bombings (which, to their credit (?) they usually do); Sean MacStoifan, a late and

lost leader of the Provisionals, denied that they had done it, - if they had, he hinted, it would have been better done - he accused the British Government's 'dirty tricks' department (who presumably sponsored the Brothers Littlejohn).

In the course of the usual enquiries the International Marxist Group were questioned regarding the possible harbouring of IRA men on the run by sympathetic groups and made 'no comment' although Gery Lawless of the Irish Commission I.M.G. claimed to have received a message from the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau that London bombings were to take place. However, Derek Brown, the Guardian correspondent, reported that the Irish Citizens' Army (who they?) had threatened in early August to bomb London unless Michael Farrell and Tony Canavan of People's Democracy are granted political prisoner status (our emphasis).

Nevertheless the Socialist Labour League in their 'daily'

Workers Press denounce Lawless for giving information to 'the bourgeois press and Scotland Yard which has opened the way to attacks on our respective groups and the Republican movement' and furthermore, the S.L.L. Political Committee has made it clear 'that there can be no joint meeting with the I.M.G. and the International Socialists in defence of basic democratic rights until the position of Lawless has been clarified'.

Following their usual technique, Special Branch raided homes of many Irish men and possible IRA sympathisers. Among homes raided was that of Nick Turner. Twelve officers with dogs searched his flat in Gloucester Road, Kensington, London. Floor boards were ripped up and an inch-by-inch search of the house was made. Notes were taken of papers found in the building. Mr. Turner said, "I still don't

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SUBVERTING THE MILITARY

The direct action campaign for the withdrawal of British troops from N. Ireland has gathered momentum in the last couple of months with a number of comrades undertaking anti-recruitment activities, direct contact with soldiers and general propaganda about the repressive role of the army in N. Ireland. Although the campaign has received verbal support from most of the revolutionary Left, the practical agitational work on the streets has been undertaken by a small number of anarchists and pacifists.

The ideological splits and personal differences which characterised the early days of the campaign have been resolved in the best of anarchist ways: by everyone doing his or her own thing! Far from being a recipe for inactivity as the obsessive organisers would have us believe, it has, in fact, proved a perfect structure for agitational activities. Two or three comrades who are personally and ideologically compatible can undertake leafleting, for instance, on their own initiative without the endless wrangles which reduce a larger group to sterile debate instead of practical action.

What's been done?

The Royal Tournament at Earls Court in July was picketed and leafleted by 2 or 3 comrades on three consecutive Saturdays. Two thousand leaflets were distributed demanding the withdrawal of troops from N. Ireland, and pointing out that the Army was not a colourful circus (as the Royal Tournament presented it) but a ruthless killing machine. The officers' wives who made up a large part of the audience scared the pants off your intrepid reporter but many young soldiers were surprisingly eager to enter into discussion. An irate police inspector never got beyond threatening to do us for 'conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace'!

At the Colchester Tattoo on 4th August a picket and demonstration was organised by the Anti-Internment League and a few familiar subversive faces were to be seen - though not enough. Pat Arrow-smith was arrested for 'conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace' and she will have appeared in court by the time you read this article.

At the poorly attended (where were you?) Anti-Internment demonstration on 12th August 2 comrades distributed a practical leaflet pointing out the possibilities for anti-recruitment activities and helping soldiers to desert, etc. This contrasted sharply with the 1001 varieties of revolutionary rhetoric distributed by the politicians.

On 18th August 2 comrades visited Aldershot and distributed a leaflet pointing out the disadvantages of being in the Army which concluded with the advice: 'BE UNEMPLOYED - IT'S BETTER THAN BEING DEAD!' A leaflet was also flyposted around the town and barracks which gave details about deserting to Sweden. The reception at Aldershot was less hostile than expected in view of the IRA bombing which killed a number of civilians last year. The sight of people giving out leaflets was obviously quite a novelty and it seems reasonable to assume that the bombing drove the Left off the streets of Aldershot.

Other barracks around the country (including Caterham, Putney and Chelsea) have been leafleted with information about desertion, conscientious objection, etc. and the matter has been reported to the Director of Public Prosecutions following an incident at Caterham.

Our intelligence needs to be as good as the Army's and any information sent to me about the location of barracks convenient for leafleting, military displays, troop movements, locations where a large number of off-duty soldiers can be found, etc. will be passed on to activists and put to good use.

What you can do

Your town probably has an Army Recruiting Office where young men are lured into the Army. Picket it, leaflet it and do everything you can to counter the Army's propaganda. (Examples of leaflets which have proved successful can be obtained from me c/o FREEDOM.)

Get into conversation with soldiers in pubs, etc. Talk to them about things which touch a nerve like the danger of being killed in N. Ireland, the boredom of barrack life cut off from the company of girls, etc. Quite possibly you will meet a soldier who is so frustrated that he is considering getting out of the Army by any method. You can, at the very least, help him with information. In October a new Servicemen's Advisory Bureau, 'AT EASE', will answer enquiries about all legal ways of leaving the forces (i. e. conscientious objection, buying himself out, etc.). Phone 01-387-5501. Information about deserting to Sweden was originally published in PEACE NEWS and reprinted in FREEDOM on 30th June.

Army recruitment dropped by 46% in April-June this year. Carry it on!

Terry Phillips



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HOLIDAY - PLEASE NOTE:

WE SHALL BE CLOSED THREE DAYS
THURS. 13th, FRI. 14th and
SAT. 15th SEPTEMBER.

In brief

Santiago, Chile-- Army Chief of Staff, General Carlos Prats, went on a shooting spree in response to a woman who had stuck her tongue out at him as their cars passed on the road. After forcing the woman's car to a halt, the General held a gun to her head and demanded an apology. President Allende placed the entire province under martial law as a result of the incident.

The unabridged, re-translated (including the hero's name) The Good Soldier Sveik, translated by Cecil Parrott has been published by Heinemann at £2.50. Hasek, the author, was in his youth an anarchist and a friend of Kafka.

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LETTER

TACTICS FOR TODAY

Dear Comrades,

To read a piece of vintage Main Kampf (somewhat re-hashed by John Tyndall, leader of the National Front) quoted at length in FREEDOM ("British Anarchism - tactics for today" 1-9-73) with approval, is quite an event.

As Peter Newell, the author of this piece, desperately desires to be involved in what is the very kernel of fascist philosophy, it is understandable that he should feel very personally frustrated by his contact with the anarchist movement. I would suggest that the solution to his personal dilemma lies in his joining the National Front. At the moment

IN BRIEF

A new format of the magazine Lunch will be published in October. Lunch "will take a radical look at the straight and gay societies in which the homosexual lives; will explore the possibility of more aggressive approaches to social and cultural change and will examine the personalities and problems of the gay scene. Until recently Lunch has been the house magazine for the Campaign for Homosexual Equality but is now "effectively independent and hopefully more radical". It will sell at 25p (from 59 Bridge Lane, London, N.11.)

Eight members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War were acquitted at Gainesville, Florida on charges of plotting violent disruption at the Republican National Convention. The Government's case rested largely on testimony from informers and undercover agents.

SPAIN's new law on conscientious objection changes only to remain the same. Objectors are still liable to four years' imprisonment with longer sentences in wartime and under martial law. 'Cat and mouse' clauses will still operate for non-religious objectors. Finally, objectors must have no connection with a trade union dispute.

Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Street, London, N.W.1 is reported as looking for new scripts. Small cast plays of 'social significance' are required both for staging at the theatre and on tour. No objections to revues, pantomimes or musicals. Send to Raymond Cross c/o the theatre with a stamped addressed envelope.

he says that he abhors "most" of the views "espounded" (sic) by its leader, John Tyndall, but surely that could be put right by Newell replacing Tyndall in a struggle for leadership? After all, the revolutionary socialist Benito Mussolini did very well when he "espounded" (=espoused + expounded) views which appealed more to the emotions than to the intellect, in contrast to his earlier socialism. It is true that Mussolini ended up hanging upside-down outside a petrol station riddled with bullets -- a tribute to the crude, working-class opinion of him in Italy. But perhaps such a "hero's death appeals to people who write as Newell does. At least it ensures that we do not "just fade away and die".

Tony Gibson

London.

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Billy Graham believes that God has a computer. A correspondent in The Times suggests that people faced with the problem of bureaucracy which answers all enquiries by access to a computer should write a letter on the enquiry in an uncommon foreign language. He tried Swedish and got an immediate and satisfactory (human) answer.

A writer in Siren: newsletter of Anarcho-Feminism (c/o Solidarity Bookshop, 713 Armitage Av., Chicago, Ill. 60614 USA) says, "I don't feel anarchism should be accepted uncritically by anyone. It is still a male-originated theory and we will still have to develop a feminist critique of anarchism before we can accept it..."

S. E. Parker (of Minus One) and Albert Meltzer (of Black Flag) effectively demolish in the same journal the myth of Boxcar Bertha's radical views. Such a pity!

Martin Sostre (see FREEDOM 7 July 1973) has been transferred to Clinton Prison (Box B), Dannemora, N.Y. 12929. He is still in solitary confinement (since last November) and his new location makes visits more difficult. His Defence Committee: P.O. Box 839, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York 14205.

Jim Greenfield of the Stoke Newington Four has been transferred to Wakefield 'top security' jail. The Defence Committee would be glad to know of anyone living in or near Wakefield who can offer hospitality occasionally to visitors. Write to the Committee c/o Mike Cohen, 54 Harcombe Road, Stoke Newington, London, N. 16.

According to the London Evening Standard participants in the Bank Holiday Festival of the People (in Windsor Park) scored a victory after a 'summit' meeting of senior policemen who said, "We have a firm promise that they [the 'people'] will leave on Monday and on that promise we do not intend to take any action to move them at the moment." Bill Dwyer is reported as saying, "This is a great victory for commonsense. We have said all along that we intended to stay for ten days and we shall keep our word."

Our comrade George Leaf of Leeds tells us of a fellow pensioner who spoke to a social worker about her difficulties in shopping. She was given the advice: Have you ever thought of shopping by taxi?

ANARCHISM & SYNDICALISM

N O T E: THIS ARTICLE BY MALATESTA IS TO BE CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE.

It was written for FREEDOM in November, 1907; and where the word 'syndicalism' is used it is synonymous with trade unionism.

THE QUESTION of the position to be taken in relation to the labour movement is certainly one of the greatest importance to anarchists.

In spite of lengthy discussions and of varied experiences, a complete accord has not yet been reached--perhaps because the question does not admit of a complete and permanent solution, owing to the different conditions and changing circumstances in which we carry on the struggle.

I believe, however, that our aim may suggest to us a criterion of conduct applicable to the different contingencies.

We desire the moral and material elevation of all men; we wish to achieve a revolution which will give to all liberty and well-being, and we are convinced that this cannot be done from above by force of law and decrees, but must be done by the conscious will and the direct action of those who desire it. We need, then, more than any the conscious and voluntary co-operation of those who, suffering the most by the present social organisation, have the greatest interest in the Revolution.

It does not suffice for us--though it is certainly useful and necessary--to elaborate an ideal as perfect as possible, and to form groups for propaganda and for revolutionary action. We must convert as far as possible the mass of the workers, because without them we can neither overthrow the existing society nor reconstitute a new one. And since to rise from the submissive state in which the great majority of the proletarians now vegetate, to a conception of anarchism and a desire for its realisation, is required an evolution which generally is not passed through under the sole influence of the propaganda; since the lessons derived from the facts of daily life are more efficacious than all doctrinaire preaching, it is for us to take an active part in the life of the masses, and to use all the means which circumstances permit to gradually awaken the spirit of revolt, and to show by these facts the path which leads to emancipation.

Amongst these means the labour movement stands first, and we should be wrong to neglect it. In this movement we find num-

bers of workers who struggle for the amelioration of their conditions. They may be mistaken as to the aim they have in view and as to the means of attaining it, and in our view they generally are. But at least they no longer resign themselves to oppression nor regard it as just--they hope and they struggle. We can more easily arouse in them that feeling of solidarity towards their exploited fellow-workers and of hatred against exploitation which must lead to a definitive struggle for the abolition of all domination of man over man. We can induce them to claim more and more, and by means more and more energetic; and so we can train ourselves and others to the struggle, profiting by victories in order to exalt the power of union and of direct action, and bring forward greater claims, and profiting also by reverses in order to learn the necessity for more powerful means and for more radical solutions.

Again--and this is not its least advantage--the labour movement can prepare those groups of technical workers who in the revolution will take upon themselves the organisation of production and exchange for the advantage of all, beyond and against all governmental power.

But with all these advantages the labour movement has its drawbacks and its dangers, of which we ought to take account when it is a question of the position that we as anarchists should take in it.

* * *

Constant experience in all countries shows that labour movements, which always commence as movements of protest and revolt, and are animated at the beginning by a broad spirit of progress and human fraternity, tend very soon to degenerate; and in proportion as they acquire strength, they become egoistic, conservative, occupied exclusively with interests immediate and restricted, and develop within themselves a bureaucracy which, as in all such cases, has no other object than to strengthen and aggrandise itself.

It is this condition of things that has induced many comrades to withdraw from the Trade Union

movement, and even to combat it as something reactionary and injurious. But the result has been that our influence diminished accordingly, and the field was left free to those who wished to exploit the movement for personal or party interests that had nothing in common with the cause of the workers' emancipation. Very soon there were only organisations with a narrow spirit and fundamentally conservative, of which the English Trade Unions are a type; or else Syndicates which, under the influence of politicians, most often "Socialist", were only electoral machines for the elevation into power of particular individuals.

Happily, other comrades thought that the labour movement always held in itself a sound principle, and that rather than abandon it to the politicians, it would be well to undertake the task of bringing them [the unions] once more to the work of achieving their original aims, and of gaining from them all the advantages they offer to the anarchist cause. And they have succeeded in creating, chiefly in France, a new movement which, under the name of "Revolutionary Syndicalism", seeks to organise the workers, independently of all bourgeois and political influence, to win their emancipation by the direct action of the wage-slaves against the masters.

That is a great step in advance; but we must not exaggerate its reach and imagine, as some comrades do, that we shall realise anarchism, as a matter of course, by the progressive development of syndicalism.

Every institution has a tendency to extend its functions, to perpetuate itself, and to become an end in itself. It is not surprising, then, if those who have initiated the movement, and take the most prominent part therein, fall into the habit of regarding syndicalism as anarchism, or at least as the supreme means, that in itself replaces all other means, for its realisation. But that makes it the more necessary to avoid the danger and to define well our position.

Syndicalism, in spite of all the declarations of its most ardent supporters, contains in itself, by the very nature of its function, all the elements

BOMBS

know what the heck it was all about. All the police would tell my flat-mate, who let them in, was that they were looking for hand-grenades and sub-machine guns. I am really annoyed at the heavy-handed way they carried on... I am terribly against the idea of people being blown up, and I don't want people thinking we support these attacks." Mr. Turner is a pop-singer with a group called The Warkwind which has recorded a number called 'Urban Guerilla' including the words, "I'm an urban guerilla. I make bombs in my cellar. Watch out, Mr. Businessman. Your empire will explode." Mr. Turner, who is the singer on the record, has asked the recording company to withdraw the disc.

Such would-be 'urban guerillas' as Nick Turner and Gery Lawless contribute to the romantic myth of the IRA seeking to unite Ireland and drive out the British imperialists and their lackeys. "The Republicans have been called many things, but only in the mirror of their own propaganda are they revolutionary. Central to these ideological nonentities is the belief that they are waging a crusade for national liberation. In the course of their antique polemics on 'the vicious shackles of Orange capitalism', occasionally they forget themselves enough to denounce Irish capitalism but only insofar as it has sold out to British capitalism." This criticism has been made by a group known as APID Ireland (112 Thomas Street, Dublin 8) in a pamphlet called (perhaps) The Sheep Will Reveal Their Fangs.

The utter banality and boredom of Irish political and national polemic makes it almost impossible to read, let alone distinguish what is behind all these usually wild and whirling words on Ireland. The APID group's pamphlet despite its situationist cover and language lapses is one of the best and clearest voices to come out of Ireland for some while. The effect of the bombs and gun fire is to deafen us, but for centuries discussion on the politics of Ireland has been a 'dialogue of the deaf'.

Drowned by the exploding bombs was the issue by the National Council for Civil Liberties, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and the Association for Legal Justice of a demand to the United

Nations for an investigation of the 'gross and reliably attested violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Northern Ireland'. Claims made are that more than a hundred innocent civilians have been killed deliberately, recklessly or carelessly by the security forces. Since the introduction of detention without trial more than one thousand people have complained about torture, brutality or ill-treatment. Since 1968 no police officer has been convicted of assaulting a civilian.

Not quite forgotten was the indiscreet remark of a brave coroner, Major Hubert O'Neill, that the shootings in Londonderry were 'bloody murder', and the words of the Bishop at a memorial service to Lord Brookborough that his late lordship was responsible for the policy of Northern Ireland as we find it today were explained away as a misinterpretation or an unfortunate choice of phrase. But dear Mr. Heath was there under heavy guard acting the petulant prefect ticking off the Irish politicians and telling them to 'sort themselves out'. What it seems Mr. Heath should have said is that they should get together for the sake of the status quo. This they probably will do. One finds particularly touching (and fitting) that Mr. Heath should have been presented with a model of Morning Cloud, his yacht, in lard. The attitudes struck by politicians will no doubt melt away like lard in the sun. When it shines promisingly upon them. Even the Provisionals and the Officials have been meeting this weekend to reassure each other that the Provisional who was shot last week was, indeed, as the Army claimed, shot by the Army.

Jack Robinson

SUNDAY 9th September. Bike-in. Organised by COMMITMENT. Meet Euston Station forecourt at 11 a.m. Crash helmets and gas masks to be worn if possible.

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We welcome news, articles, letters. Latest date for receipt of copy is Monday of the week of publication. Earlier is helpful.

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LETTERS

ANGRY BRIGADE ECHOES

I

Dear Comrades,

A few notes pertaining to the Christie/Walter diatribes:

What does N. Walter mean when writing "revolutionary syndicalism, based on the class struggle and the organisation of the proletariat, rather than true anarchism, based on opposition to authority and the liberation of the people"? (my emphasis). This statement, implying that class struggle and the organisation of the proletariat are not part of the 'true anarchist' struggle, stinks of a liberal outlook. Doesn't N.W. think the fight against authority relationships is implicit in authentic class struggle (ruling class against ruled), and obviously also the liberation of the people. Any anarcho-syndicalist or class-struggle anarchist would think so, I am sure. Wake up N.W., unless you want to end up along with many other so-called 'anarchists' on the "dustheap of history". The only place where libertarian ideas can be relevant, authentic, and effective is in the class struggle.

Fraternally,

Rupert Williams

Norwich

II

N.W. asks (FREEDOM 25 Aug.) what I'm talking about calling him naive. He's written (Listener 2nd August): "There is in fact no evidence to suggest any members of the Angry Brigade were anarchists." Without accepting the five people sentenced after the trials were AB members I think it naive to take as lack of evidence of belief the non-espousal of anarchist views by people who might have suffered from such opinions being known. Stuart Christie was chastised for his views at the trial and others did not fail to observe the open bias against a person having anarchist views.

N.W.'s writings are not blamed for just being critical, the SN8 publication "If you want Peace Prepare for War" criticised the AB. It would be wrong to deny credit to N.W. for some of the letters and articles he wrote concerning aspects of the trial (I'm thinking especially of the Guardian letter after the

trial), but so many remarks were ill-timed and unnecessary - the petty criticism of the use of the word Angry comes to mind. At a time of trial criticism should be secondary and fraternal, support is the greatest need in such a situation.

Lastly. To avoid misunderstandings, the review of "Anarchy in Action" in Time Out 181 was not by N.W. but by myself.

J.W.

III

Dear Freedom,

Once again we are treated to Mr. Walter's distortion of facts and his defence of non-violent progressive liberalism masquerading as Anarchism. He attempts to palm his ideas off as Anarchist, at the same time dismissing true Anarchism and calling it by another name, revolutionary syndicalism. What a disgusting piece of double-think!

Revolutionary Anarchism implies not only the recognition of the class struggle and the organisation of the proletariat, but also opposition to authority and the liberation of the people. While others are active in building the Anarchist movement and spreading libertarian ideas. Walter makes a name for himself as an "Anarchologist" and the friendly local apologist for naughty militants to the liberal press. If Walter believes himself to be an expert on the history of Anarchism, he should look at the creation of the modern Anarchist current (from 1865 onwards) and the writings of people like Bakunin, Malatesta, Makhno, yes and...Kropotkin! where he will find all these obscene references to (goodness gracious!) the class struggle.

But it looks as if Mr. Walter is impervious to facts so we should stop wasting time arguing logically with him, and tell him, along with all the others of his ilk, to take a long walk off a short pier!

Yours fraternally,

Nick Heath

Oxford.

M.C. asks "What Do The Bombs Say?" - yet never suggests they might speak of a realisation that the possibility of changing the direction of events by any other means is extremely remote. She only suggests anarchists should "get talking to ordinary people" which is something FREEDOM has not conspicuously succeeded in doing over the years. Nor is any attempt made at distinguishing clearly between terrorism - the deliberate attempt to kill or maim innocent people and violent action that is aimed at demonstrating resistance and attempts to damage or destroy property.

We have the communique from the Freedom Fighters for All described as a manifesto, which it never pretends to be, we have the petrol cans at Aldershot as being "addressed to the Aldershot army officers" when they were obviously intended to damage property not people, we have workers in the motor industry "only in it for the mone money to buy the plush rubbish in the plush shops" (food from the market?) equated with those who make Harrier jets for Franco.

On another page Peter Newell describes some events that have taken place on the British anarchist scene recently and has the effrontery to exclude work designed to assist Spanish anarchists in Franco's jails by the Anarchist Black Cross.

One recalls some 15 years ago a survey in FREEDOM of its readership which demonstrated the lack of young working class readers. Most of those associated with FREEDOM seem determined to keep the situation as it was discovered to be. There must be a time when those who abhor FREEDOM's bias against working people and complete lack of understanding of those who set out to resist oppression must leave a sinking boat.

Yours

J.W.

I established in the title and in the first sentence that I regarded the London and Aldershot bombs as propaganda, i.e. as a message. The distinction between 'deliberate attempt to kill or maim' and 'demonstration' is therefore made. Is J.W. suggesting that communication by this means is likely to change the direction of events and that no other form of propaganda is? I apologise for using the word manifesto instead of communique. Further points require longer reply.

M.C.

From time to time in anarchist circles and elsewhere one comes across the name and exploits (usually juridical) of Paul Pawlowski or to give him his corny self-bestowed title Father Fuck. Paul is basically a nice nut but lately one has to dig deeper to get at the niceness. One remembers a class-conscious comrade being visibly impressed by Paul's presentation of the dilemma faced by an anarchist turner (a skilled craftsman) in modern industry. This was at the time when Paul was embroiled (as he still is) with the cult of Aphrodite, the legalization of cannabis (pot) for religious purposes and a Festival at Windsor Park. The class-conscious comrade was astonished to find that this Paul was the self-same 'Father Fuck'.

Readers of FREEDOM have been entertained, if not entirely enlightened by Paul's exposition of squatting and whilst one can appreciate such a viewpoint, many of us cannot share it. As to his long, and not without merit, campaign for cannabis' religious use, here is not the time and place to go into it.

When Paul got religion he got it bad and the cult of Aphrodite is, one supposes, no better and no worse than any other religion. It's just Paul's thing and since religion is what a man does with his loneliness it is his own affair.

But now Paul, with that logic which is the undoing of any system of thought has become involved with one of the least prepossessing aspects of the mumbo-jumbo of Greek Religion, viz a living sacrifice. For this purpose Paul secured a sheep (a lamb was the original proposition) which was found wandering in King's Cross - for heaven's sake! The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals stepped in, took charge of the sheep and denied possession of it to Paul.

Theoretically we should, I suppose, regard this as an invasion of Paul's civil liberty to do what he likes with an animal he has bought. We might even quote pseudo-Voltaire 'We disagree with what you say but will fight for your right to say it'. But in this case it is not only what Paul is saying, it is what he is doing. If one considers that what a man is doing is stupid, anti-social (in the full anarchist sense of 'society'), self-defeating and inefficient, one has a right to disagree with what he is doing and leave him to fight for his right to do

it.

Vegetarianism apart, the deplorable obscurantism of religious sacrifice, the wanton killing of an animal in a pointless ceremonial (comparable with foxhunting without even the virtue of exercise) and the sloppy preparation leading probably to a messy bungling all turn one's mind against such an idea. Even if mankind exists, at the moment, by virtue of the fact that we exploit the animal kingdom, such exploitation is carried out with the minimum of suffering to the animal concerned (this is the general idea, the numerous exceptions only serve to point the rule). Whether such exploitation should take place or could be eliminated is another matter but Paul's sacrificial lamb (or sheep) is a step backward.

* * *

Not unconnected with Paul's religious dilemma is the apparent dilemma of Sikhs' wishing to drive motor-cycles or scooters. It is said to be written down in the sacred writings of the Sikhs that they must always (surely, on hygienic grounds, not always!) wear their turbans, keep their hair long and carry a ceremonial sword. It is written down in the sacred writings of the British law relating to road traffic that drivers of motor-cycles and scooters must wear a crash helmet to minimize the unfortunate results of crashes. Unfortunately, the Sikh law does not allow them to wear a crash helmet over the turban; one doesn't see why not - but it is useless to expect religious dicta to be sensible!

The agonizing complexity of the internal combustion engine and its ramifications admit of very little anarchistic simplification. It is quite true that it is an invasion of the individual's right to scatter his limited amount of brains over the motorways. It is difficult to see why this minority should be chosen for this infringement but government departments are always reluctant to take on majorities - for example, compelling manufacturers to make safer cars would not be popular. The unpopularity of the motor-biking minority is probably the reason for this puny contribution (have you ever seen a cracked crash-helmet?) to an insoluble problem.

As for the Sikhs, it is not the first time that this has arisen. A conflict with London Passenger Transport Board was settled (since conductors are needed) by Sikhs being allowed to wear the turban (plus

IN BRIEF

Once More?

Again the German ruling class intends to ban groups which endanger "law and order".

In 1933 the Nazis prohibited all trade unions, political organisations and groups. 1973 the Minister of the Interior of Nord-Rhein-Westfalen, Mr. Weyer, stands up for the banning of all groups left of the West German Communist Party.

If such a ban becomes effective, all "political" activities such as demonstrations, 'wild-cat' strikes, squatting, etc., not organised at least by the Communist Party, will be "illegal".

Then the witch-hunt against persons who fight the repressive establishment is "legalised".

BECAUSE OF LACK OF EVIDENCE ALL CHARGES AGAINST WILLY HUPPERTZ, CO-EDITOR OF THE GERMAN ANARCHIST PAPER Befreiung HAVE BEEN DROPPED BY THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR. (Freedom 11/8/73)

LPTB badge) on duty. Similarly the armed forces make adjustments for Sikhs and others whose religion does not prevent them joining the army. Since motor-cyclists and scooter-riders are not needed adjustments are improbable.

The martyr in this battle of conscience is, of course, a converted Englishman; not only has he been done on the crash-helmet charge but he has been sentenced for carrying an offensive weapon (described as a small bayonet but in reality the prescribed ceremonial sword). How many birthright Sikhs have gone so far as to carry a sword? Only the excessive zeal of a convert would go so far. Organized religions, and one does not exclude Paul's cult of Aphrodite, have survived by adjusting themselves to the State. The test of firmness of any belief is its production of martyrs. The introduction of a 'conscience clause' (which is government's usual get-out) is more a way to make a bad law work than to do away with it altogether.

If Paul's occasional sacrifice providing he stops at the animal kingdom, religious cannabis and the Sikh turban as crash-helmet are allowed by law they will not destroy the law, they will only help to sustain it. Even legalized cannabis for all will not bring the free society nearer.

J.R.

Prison State

advertisements in their newspapers. They are all for co-operation between the governments of nation states but we should also demonstrate outside the Russian embassy if the Soviet authorities silence "a great scientist and generous thinker, Sokharov, and a most courageous and talented writer, Solzhenitsyn". The liberal has all the correct attitudes but no passion and commitment. They only see evil within the State when the real evil is the State itself. Nation states will always have laws to protect themselves and it is no good condemning Article 70 of the Soviet Penal Code when our own government operates the Emergency Provisions Bill in Northern Ireland which abolishes trial by jury, something which our so-called democracies condemn the Soviet Union for doing. Governments will always enact legislation to protect those in power if they think their position is threatened. Certainly the Soviet government feels threatened. No doubt a great deal of pressure has been brought to bear to force those on trial to collaborate. Pyotr Yakir has in fact already spent 17 years in prison and labour camps following his father's execution in 1937 in Stalin's purge of army officers.

OTHER DISSENTERS, OTHER METHODS

The Working Group on the Internment of Dissenters in Mental Hospitals* has published a translation of a samizdat text in the form of a report to the Human Rights Committee by three Soviet psychiatrists, unnamed in the report, expressing their conviction that compulsory treatment is being used to isolate mentally sound people who openly express their disagreement with the Government. Basing their diagnosis of the case of Major-General Grigorenko on a study of Grigorenko's articles, his commentaries on the psychiatric examinations to which he was subjected, his correspondence, accounts of friends, the medical documentation, etc., they conclude:

"Pyotr Grigorievich Grigorenko is not suffering from mental

illness and his condition during the period of his activities...cannot be considered as a psychotic one of non-accountability. Our analysis has also shown that his actions were rational and purposeful in character. Grigorenko deliberately pursued a goal which was punishable by law...It is not within our professional competence to decide on the legality of the prosecution of P. G. Grigorenko. But we think it necessary to demand from the authorities of the special psychiatric hospital in Chernyakhovsk...that they appeal to the Court for a reversal of the decision concerning his compulsory treatment... We cannot conceive that the experts... were not able to...assess correctly such a minor case which could have been dealt with by any psychiatrist... Leaving aside the details concerning compulsory treatment which are known to us, we demand that public control be exercised over the whole of the psychiatric services in our country and in particular over the special psychiatric hospitals of the MVD and the psychiatric hospitals of prison type. Psychiatry is a branch of medicine and not of penitential law. The practice of isolating political dissenters without publicity by confining them to psychiatric hospitals must be discontinued and the doctors who knowingly commit inhumane acts should be prosecuted according to the norms of international and Soviet law, [as were Nazi medical practitioners]."

One of these three psychiatrists is Dr. Semyon Gluzman, who was sentenced in October 1972 to seven years of strict-regime camps and three of exile, apparently mainly for his involvement in writing this diagnosis. The Working Group's secretary comments in his covering letter to us: 'While British psychiatrists try to nerve themselves to a tiny squeak of protest, at least one Soviet doctor has found the courage to get himself a 10-year sentence.'

* * *

It is no good relying on other States to protest against the continuing hounding of dissidents in the Soviet Union. They know that people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones. It is only by the efforts of people who care for the freedom of the individual to write and act against any system of government which imprisons and certifies those who oppose them. It has to be shown that people do care for those who suffer because of their convictions, whether they live in the Soviet Union, Spain, Greece, Turkey, or in this country.

P.T.

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Published by Freedom Press, London, E. 1. Printed by Vineyard Press, Colchester.

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