

# Freedom

Anarchist Weekly **6d**

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## SHUT UP STORMONT!

LAST WEEKEND, Belfast experienced rioting and violence on the streets on a greater scale than anything since the thirties. Lurid newspaper headlines proclaimed sectarian strife. Television showed the aftermath of smashed windows and looted shops. And everyone fell over themselves to congratulate those men in the middle, the boys in blue of the RUC for their courage, gallantry and 'discipline'.

A close analysis of what actually happened will enable comrades to judge whether the mass media were actually presenting the truth for a change or whether, as usual, they had accepted the facile and convenient explanation of a Catholic versus Protestant punch-up.

The trouble began on Saturday afternoon as a march of Junior Orangemen, ages 7 to 16, passed by a block of flats at Unity Walk, housing mainly Catholic families. There was an exchange of cat-calls between some onlookers in the area and the neophyte bigots. However the parade passed by without any trouble and the Junior Orangemen continued to their destination for further indoctrination by geriatric hate-mongers.

Meanwhile, back at Unity Walk, trouble was brewing. A small group of Paisleyite agent-provocateurs had been assiduously fomenting rumours on the nearby Shankill Road, heart of Belfast's 'loyalist' area, that the 'wee childer' (i.e. Junior Orangemen) had been attacked and stoned by RC thugs at Unity Walk. The result was that a group began to build up to 'protect' the Junior Orangemen on their return.

Despite the fact that the 'loyalists' were armed with cudgels, bottles and bricks, the squad of police allowed their numbers to build up to about two thousand without taking any action. In fact John McKeague, chairman of the fascist Shankill Defence Association, spoke to the DI in charge of the police and gleefully announced to his followers that the DI had given a promise they would not be baton-charged.

At this point, the Junior Orangemen arrived on the scene returning from their brainwashing jamboree and, immediately, McKeague led an attack on the flats, while others stoned and broke every window. Hand-to-hand fighting took place as the people defended their homes. Then the police moved in and proceeded to baton the people of Unity Walk back into their homes, smashing in windows and doors in the best traditions of the Riot Squad. The Paisleyites were then pushed out of the courtyard of the flats and in frustration began to smash shop windows and loot the contents.

The police, seeing that property was being attacked, not people, moved in and for the first time, baton-charged a loyalist group. As a result, an unprecedented situation developed with a confrontation between the people of the Shankill Road and the police.

Barricades were set up, petrol bombs were manufactured and thrown at the police, and the struggle between the people and the police continued for three nights.

A similar situation developed in Hooker Street, a militantly anti-Unionist area. There, the people who had suffered previously from attacks by the police, set up defensive barricades to protect their homes. In their usual pig-headed fashion the police interpreted this as 'anarchy' and attacked Hooker Street for three nights running.

From this short factual account it is clear that the Catholic v Protestant strife was a typical exaggeration of the gutter press. This is not to say that sectarianism does not exist, in fact from the above

account it is clear that sectarianism provoked the fighting. But this does not mean that Belfast is on the verge of a religious war. The number of bigots whose only desire is to 'sink a Tague' or 'chin a Prod' is relatively small, though on the Protestant side much better organised (understandably so, led as they are by that 'man of God' Ian Paisley, and tutored by the well-known military buffoon Corporal Bunting).

Seeing their plans for a sectarian bloodbath fall through and instead lead to a much more natural struggle between the people and the police, these two latter-day fascists have delved once more into the collected writings of the Führer and come up with one of his storm-troopers' nastier bits of thuggery—eviction by terror. Catholic families living in so-called Protestant streets have been visited by gangs of Paisleyite thugs and have been given one hour to 'get out or be burned out'. An interesting aside to this is that on several occasions the Paisleyites were accompanied by uniformed constables who told the people that they had better get out as there was nothing the police could do.

This kind of activity gave an opportunity to the Catholic bigots to demonstrate their fascist capabilities and they evicted some Protestant families from 'Catholic' streets, though the figures to date of 66 Catholic families evicted and 8 Protestants show the traffic is nearly all one way.

Our task in this situation is quite clear. Firstly, we must welcome the turn of events which has made the Protestant working class realise that the police are not their friends. We must try to get across to them that, as they showed by their actions, the police are there to protect property, not people. This gives us the opportunity to tell the Protestant workers that they have more in common with the Catholic workers than with the aristocrats and landowners who purport to represent them. There is no radicalising force, as we have found on marches, to equal that of a policeman's baton across the skull.

Secondly, we must give all possible help and support to those families, Catholic and Protestant, who have been evicted from their homes by fascists. In some cases this will take the form of squatting (13 evicted families are already squatting in a Housing Trust Estate after being told to join the end of the housing queue by the authorities). In others we must be prepared to guard and defend the houses of those families who have been evicted and wish to return, or are under threat of eviction.

Finally, we must nail the Unionist Government. We must place the blame fairly and squarely on their shoulders. For the past 50 years, since the inception of this state, the Unionist Government has sedulously fomented and exploited sectarianism in order to keep power in the hands of a few aristocratic families, mentally crippled by in-breeding. We must not allow them to escape responsibility for this, and in so doing hasten the mental and physical disintegration of these aristocratic anachronisms.

COLMCILLE.

### URGENT

Send in Now! Reports, photos and drawings of Squatting and Direct Action activities.

# TENANTS AGAINST THE GLC

IT APPEARS at the time of writing that the GLC still intend to go ahead with their plan to evict the 6,000 tenants who have remained determined to resist the new rent increases. An eviction on this scale would be a major operation. The tenants have threatened a general rent strike, physical resistance and industrial action in the docks and markets. In fact the situation could develop into a quite violent and bitter struggle. *The Times*, after saying what a strong case the GLC have, then go on to warn the GLC not to forfeit the good opinion of the public, which 'is easily forfeited over anything to do with homes. An appearance of callousness, excessive haste, or the misuse of strong-arm methods will have to be studiously avoided.' Of course people are touchy about anything to do with homes. Their security is threatened. Unlike the primitive nomad, who is at home wherever he may be, at least within his native forest, modern civilised man needs an elaborate structure within which to live. Without it life is sheer Hell. Homelessness, particularly for those with families, is a fate worse than death. The man who recently committed suicide by blowing himself up was threatened with eviction.

As for strong-arm tactics, it is a little difficult to see how 6,000 people are to be evicted without it, and it will need an army of police and bailiffs to do it. *The Times* of course wants to have it both ways, to support both sides, either openly or by implication. If the tenants can remain united, and if they turn to industrial action as well as physical

resistance, there can be no doubt of the ultimate outcome. Most of the resistance appears to come from the Tower Hamlets (Bow, Bromley, Mile End, Stepney, St. George's in the East, Limehouse, Poplar and Whitechapel), where there are GLC 'estates', massive blocks of flats.

The conditions in some council-owned homes leave much to be desired. One tenant who complained about the presence of large numbers of mice was blandly informed by the Council that the keeping of pets was not allowed! Cracked walls and leaking roofs are not unknown. Therefore to up the rents by as much as 7/6 a week comes like an insult added to injury.

*Anarchy* No. 83 (January 1968) discusses the idea of tenants' co-operatives. The tenants would pay into a common fund, which they would themselves control, and from which they could draw in order to run the estate. This experiment has been successfully tried in (of course!) Scandinavia, where tenants have been willing to contribute more than they had been willing to pay as rent to an authority over which they had no control. Basically this issue is a matter of 'control of one's environment' rather than an old-style struggle of the poor against the rich. England is in many respects a very backward country, a veritable Northern Tibet in its isolation and adherence to ancient forms and customs which have outlived whatever usefulness they may once have possessed.

Says *Anarchy*, 'The ways in which householders hold their houses in Britain are limited. They are in fact

more limited than in any other European country except Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Roumania. The three modes of tenure in this country are owner-occupation, council tenancy and tenancy from a private landlord. The sole exception to this is, of course, ownership by a housing association, and this includes the only examples we have of co-operative housing. Statistically it is insignificant.'

The idea of a tenants' co-operative would lead to the creation of self-governing communities, instead of either the isolation, 'keeping oneself to oneself' that seems to go with home ownership, or the lack of freedom that goes with being a tenant, 'no pets'—even when they are wild mice!

Tenants' associations already exist. They could form the nuclei of tenants' co-operatives. They deal with welfare work and negotiate with the local authority, as well as organising socials and protest meetings. Although they have been criticised as unstable and temporary, some have lasted many years, one for forty-six and others for fourteen, ten or five years.

In the meantime the only thing to do is to resist the demands of the GLC. Perhaps out of this struggle will develop the self-confidence and community spirit which will make possible the kind of developments suggested above. This is an age of the resurgence of the small nations and cultures. It may well be that of the self-governing communities also.

A.S.

## REMEMBER CZECHOSLOVAKIA ANNIVERSARY OF SOVIET INVASION

THE FIERCE FIRE of our protest should sear the gnarled roots of repression, char the choking tentacles of tyranny! The Russian rulers show themselves still yet as unsavoury a parcel of poisoners as ever befouled the face of the earth.

The black flag of Anarchism remains an untamed enemy of the squalid caucus of dictators in Moscow. We Anarchists are against all tyranny, all domination over the individual, ALL state authority—everywhere, at all times—both the infamous brazen dictatorship of the Communist states and the hypocritical, cloaked, masked dictatorship of the liberal states. The latter may often be more comfortable to live in, but even recently their kid-gloves have slipped, baring the steel fists of police power in Belfast and Battipaglia, Berkeley and Buenos Aires, where persons protesting have been cruelly crushed and murdered by the state. The Anarchist Max Stirner said:

**'The State is not thinkable without lordship and servitude, for the State must will to be lord of all it embraces. . . . Every State is a despotism, be the despot one or many.'**

The monstrous Russian oppression in Czechoslovakia, the vile British-backed Nigerian onslaught on Biafra, the atrocious American oppression and massacres in Vietnam, the obscene Chinese military occupation and massacres in Tibet, all spring from the same septic source—RULERSHIP and DOMINATIVE AUTHORITY—which strangle the self-management of the individual. The stench of the concentration-camps in Left-wing Bulgaria AND Right-wing Greece is the same. The Eastern 'People's Democracies' and the Western 'Free Democracies' squelch hand-in-hand through the same cesspool—centralization, monopoly, officialdom, 'security', militarism, oligarchy, conformity and obedience. They trample heedless across the interests, the needs, desires, appetites,

tastes, preferences, aspirations and uniqueness of each actual individual with hide and hair. East or West, the individual writhes under the heel of rival gangs of berserk bureaucrats intent on their own power, privilege and prestige.

But there are still some men who do not want to be led on a leash.

We Anarchists want maximum freedom and self-determination not for abstractions like 'the Nation', 'the People' or 'Mankind'—which turn out to be cruel frauds—but for the concrete flesh-and-blood individuals such as you and me. We mean by 'fullest individual self-determination' that the individual should have the powers, the strength, the actual facilities and the practical opportunities to initiate and decide the decisions affecting his or her own life; this is prevented, as they are decided by governments, bosses, officials, police, financiers, gen-

erals, planners, politicians, etc.

If we resent being mere regimented refuse, at the mercy of rulers and managements; if we do not wish a maimed and faded existence, shrivelled by the rationalized jungle 'Civilization'; then against it we can but bend the battle-bow of our rebellion.

*'Be the fortune of our fierce oppressors weighed,*

*With our ruin, our resistance and our name!' (Shelley)*

BERNARD R. MILES.

NOTE: Some of us would like to picket or demonstrate at the Soviet Embassy with Anarchist flags, banners, etc., during the week of the anniversary—August 17 to 24, if possible. Comrades are invited to do likewise.

The above article may also be published as a leaflet.

## HAPPY FAMILIES

BRIGHTON SQUATTERS have installed another four families during the past week and now hold 11 interconnected houses plus a huge drill hall and gymnasium. There is little to report, neither the Council nor the Ministry of Defence have made a move yet. It is felt that the attack will come when the tourist season is over, as Brighton Corporation is anxious to avoid a pitched battle which might frighten trade away from the town. But there are a number of guards in readiness for any eventuality. (The local paper puts the number of guards at 200 from 'Hford University and the LSE', which is a pure fabrication. No one has seen an LSE student for ages, have they all cycled off to Greece and Spain for their holidays?)

The squatters are slowly turning into a community, with people popping into

each other's flats, whether it is for a chat, romance or just to have their hair dyed or permed. Last Saturday night there was a rather exciting get-together in the drill hall to music from a brilliantly repaired amplifier that was found smashed and abandoned.

It is not exactly a commune, but more like a big happy family with kids and dogs, rabbits and pregnant cats. Every now and then there is also a big violent row in which everybody joins, but once a score is settled it is forgotten by the morning. As the political groups like the IS are avoiding the scene there is no 'politicising', nothing much divides the anarchists and the socialists except a label, the families get on with living and when the time comes they will defend their homes in Wykeham Terrace, there is no doubt about that. J.R.

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**ONLY MINUTES' WALK** along the pavements of Piccadilly separate these two exhibitions yet these framed paintings and drawings are the products of groupings within a society completely alien to each other.

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire has granted the Royal Academy the privilege of showing the Old Master Drawings from the Chatsworth Collection and the Royal Academy is deeply grateful to His Grace. Having bent the knee and tugged the graying forelock, we too can thank His Grace for the privilege, and softly pad among this magnificent collection of drawings with a pencil in one hand and a full wine glass in the other.

It was Willie Cavendish who was responsible, in the main, for forming this important collection, for early in the eighteenth century Willie had acquired drawings from the collections of Lely and Lankrink. In 1723 he made his major killing as a collector when he bought the greater part of Nicolaes Flinck's collection for it included remarkable groups of drawings by Rembrandt, Rubens and Van Dyck. The 2nd Duke, as Willie had now become, was made conscious of his good fortune when Crozat, a French dealer, wrote his letter of congratulations to the 2nd Duke for buying the Rotterdam collection for, wrote Crozat, 'It is in my opinion the finest and best collection I have ever seen and will materially enrich yours and make you the richest nobleman in Europe'. Crozat was right on both counts but both he and Willie are long time dead and the drawings are ours no matter where they are housed, for no man can claim to own a material thing. He only pays a lifetime rent for it and then it is back into the greasy hands of the dealers until it is finally absorbed by the State for the State collections.

The Devonshire Drawings are now on public display within the Diploma Gallery at the Royal Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1. It is truly a magnificent collection for these drawings cover a range of two centuries of European art from 1450 to 1650 and the mighty names of Rembrandt, Leonardo, Holbein, Mantegna, Durer, Rubens and Van Dyck are contained within the catalogue. In this period of instant Art and instant Glory, when any well-hung, well-publicised demonstration of Porroy's Complaint in Disney colour can have the various arts councils panting like bitches on heat on the Bond Street gallery doorsteps with an open cheque in their soft pink hands, this exhibition at the Academy is a needed demonstration that the craft of the artist demands a solid grounding in the basics of their chosen trade. Here are the layouts and the drafts for the major paintings of our culture and each brilliant drawing is a work of art in its own right.

There are the heads of a woman and a child by Leonardo modelled in his soft and gentle fashion though I would dismiss the child's head as too mannered for my taste. Peruzzi's intricate

# Tombbed Dead & the Imprisoned Living

design for the frame of an altarpiece and Van Dyck's head of a straining horse should be nailed, in reproduction, to the wall of every art school that places theory before practice, while Burgkmair's black chalk drawing of Wolfgang von Maen is but that good pedestrian work that can still be found in the Royal Academy's Summer Exhibition in the work of artists such as Hillier, Kelly, de Montford and Eversen, but with this fundamental difference, that for the Royal Academicians this is the end product of their obvious talent while for the artists in the Devonshire Collection within the same building these drawings are but a means to a greater and mightier end.

But enough of the tombbed dead when the imprisoned living demand the Town's attention for minutes walk from the grace and pomp of Burlington House stands Reed House, a gaunt and ugly square of glass and concrete in the

fashionable mindless mode of contemporary architecture. This year the Reed House give space to the 1969 Koestler Award and I and the Town trip in and out of this Piccadilly building as in previous years we made the pilgrimage to Foyle's or the Charing Cross Underground Station, for the venue changes with each year but the supply for the exhibited work stays constant.

Koestler is a man who has known the inside of the Authority's prison cells for here is a man who hourly awaited for death during his imprisonment during the Spanish Civil War and as his gift to the gods for his salvation he gives this yearly award of £400 for the best of the creative work produced by men and women held within Her Majesty's Prisons.

It is a fine and noble gesture and I for my part commend it but I feel that a time has come for a reassessment of its terms of judgement for one must

surely challenge the values that the judges seek from those who offer their work. I have little use for prizes, even though they be called awards, and the prizes for the 1969 Koestler Awards have been singularly ill-used in that, of the 108 paintings and drawings contained within the printed catalogue, every one gets a prize with but two exception. Many of these money prizes are for as little as ten shillings and to give every exhibitor a prize with but two exceptions is extraordinarily insensitive to put it at its politest.

What must be paramount in the spectators' minds when viewing this exhibition is that this is not paintings by prisoners but paintings by men and women in prison and it is a fearful and fundamental difference. The Town always tends to regard this exhibition in the same fashion as they would an exhibition of paintings by children or the mentally retarded but what we are viewing is work by men and women who have never painted before and work by men and women of pre-prison skill and talent all hung on the same wall.

No commercial gallery would lump together the primitives from Dartmoor (10), Michael's (78) 'self-portrait' from Wakefield, and Wright's (9) sad little primitive 'Dear John' cell scene, with the fine study of a head (11) from Dartmoor, or the good abstracts (42) from Lowdham Grange or Liverpool (34). Space demands that those in charge must do this but surely those who judge should not judge these works in this manner for to deny 'Boy on a Tryke' (107) from Perth and 'Summer' (108) from Albany a ten-shilling award is a thoughtless slight for one of these rejected works is an excellent display of draftsmanship.

At the monstrous Pop Art Exhibition that threatens the Town from the Hayward Gallery in but a single week, one of the star performers will be Malcolm Morley who learned his painting basics while a prisoner in Wormwood Scrubs Prison, so let the judges take heed when next year's exhibition rolls around and you of your leisure and freedom pause to give a passing glance to the painting by Miss Parmentia (28) of Holloway. A sad and beautiful painting in Cocteau's gentle melancholy nineteen-thirty style, Miss Parmentia's 'A Room at the Top' is a document and a plea of fractured images taken from the sour present, the remembered past and the dreamed future.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

# Our Friends or Theirs

'WAR RESISTANCE', the quarterly publication of War Resisters' International, has just published a special issue. The first part is a summary of the WRI's activities in the past three years. The second part contains concise reports from organisations affiliated to the WRI. A world-wide list of pacifist organisations is also included.

The WRI's broken rifle badge is worn by many anarchists and there are many thousands of anarchists all over the world who prefer to work through pacifist organisations. The attraction is obvious because organisations like the WRI are perfectly impartial, simultaneously they oppose, and not just with words, the war in Vietnam and the rape of Czechoslovakia. The list is endless where anarchists can co-operate with pacifists without a moment's hesitation. Their support of the conscientious objector surpasses our own.

Yet anarchists sneer at pacifists, whilst pacifists misconstrue the anarchist philosophy.

The time has come, especially when pacifists in this country are in the doldrums,\* to give them a helping hand.

The first observation to make is that WRI are much more positive in their approach, have not lost sight of their

objective and have initiated whatever pacifist activity and direct action stems from this country.

The second point to make is that it is not enough to oppose wars, one must oppose the system that produces wars. Pacifists oppose armies, but support the police. Help cochies, but let other prisoners rot. Tell the ammunition factory workers to stop work, but dabble in shares of Vickers Armstrong. The contradictions are endless.

The most disturbing example of pacifist muddle-headedness was the report that one of the ablest and dedicated pacifists, who was in jail for anti-Vietnam War activities, found a bunch of keys to the cells lost by a warder. Instead of using them for escape, the keys were duly handed in to the Authorities and a subsequent remission in the prison sentence was gratefully accepted.

As long as the nation states exist there

**Continued on page 4**

\*See Bob Overy's statement on page 20; and also this honest assessment by Myrtle Solomon, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union. Under the subtitle 'Problems' she observes: 'Strangely enough one (problem) is that Britain itself is not directly engaged in a major war nor has conscription.'

## Anarchist Federation of Britain

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press, LAVENDER HILL MOB, Contact C. Broad, 116 Tynham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086).

**LEWISHAM.** Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, S.E.13. (852 8879).

**PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.

**FINCH'S ANARCHISTS.** Regular meetings. Contact P.P., 271 Portobello Road, W.11.

**BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT.** Steve Lenan, 28 New Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2. Tel.: ET 35377. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway.

**S.W. LONDON ANARCHISTS.** Meeting alternate Wednesdays. Phone Brian 672 8494.

**NOTTING HILL S.P.S.H.,** 18 Powis Square, W.11.

**EAST LONDON LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION**

Support wanted for numerous activities in area. Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11. Meetings fortnightly on Sundays at Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, E.11. Ten minutes from Leytonstone Underground.

Active groups in: LEYTONSTONE, STEPNEY, NEWHAM, ILFORD, DAGENHAM, WOODFORD and LIMEHOUSE.

**OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS**

Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

**REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS**

**BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary, Peter Le Mare, 22 Hallowell Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 16. Meetings every Sunday, 8 p.m., in the smoke room of St. Martin pub, corner of St. Martin's Lane and Jamaica Row.

**BLACKBURN.** 'Global Tapestry', c/o BB Books, 11 Clematis Street, Blackburn, BB2 6JP.

**BOURNEMOUTH AREA.** Local anarchists can be contacted through Nigel Holt, Rossmore, Harvey Road, Canford, Wimborne, Dorset (Wimborne 2991).

**CORNWALL ANARCHISTS.** Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall. Meetings on the second Friday of each month at 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne. 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.

**CROYDON LIBERTARIANS.** Meetings every 2nd Friday of each month. Laurens and Colin Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, CR4 8QH (653 7546) or contact Keith McCain, 1 Langmead Street, West Norwood, S.E.27. Phone 670 7297.

**EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP.** Contact

Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.

**HERTS.** Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage.

**LIVERPOOL ANARCHISTS & SITUATIONISTS.** Contact Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool.

**LEICESTER PROJECT.** Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.

**MUTUAL AID GROUP.** c/o Borrowdale, Carrington Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.

**NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Peter Ridley, 4 Rockcliffe Gardens, Whitley Bay, Northumberland. Phone 25759.

**NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.

**NOTTING HILL.** Meetings at John Bennett's, Flat 4, 38 Clarendon Road, W.11. Every Monday evening, 8 p.m.

**ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

**READING (town and university) and WOKINGHAM.** Contact address: Larry Law, 57 Kiln Ride, Wokingham, Berkshire.

**REDDITCH ANARCHISTS AND LIBERTARIANS.** Contact Dave Lloyd, 37 Feckenham Road, Headless Cross, Redditch, Worcs.

**WEST HAM ANARCHISTS.** Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackeray Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.

**WOKINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.** c/o Larry Law, 57 Kiln Ride, Wokingham.

**ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION**

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Peter Newell (see N.E. Essex Group).

Group Addresses—

**BASILDON & WICKFORD.** Steve Grant, 'Piccola Casa', London Road, Wickford, Essex.

**NORTH EAST ESSEX.** Peter Newell, 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex. Regular meetings.

**BISHOPS STORTFORD.** Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.

**CHELMSFORD.** (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.

**EPPING.** John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.

**HARLOW.** Ian Djalas, 18 Brookline Field, Harlow and Annette Gunning, 37 Longbanks, Harlow.

**LOUGHTON.** Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

**NORTH-WEST FEDERATION**

Secretary: Phil, 8 Stopcroft Road, Leyland, PR5 3AE.

**BLACKPOOL.** Contact Christine and Graham, Top flat, 4 Ruskin Avenue, South Shore, Blackpool.

**BOLTON.** Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.

**CHORLEY.** Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley.

**LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE.** Contact Les Smith, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Meetings Monday at 8 p.m., Phil Woodhead's, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Regular literature sales.

**MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.** 'The Secretary', Felix Phillips, 6 Draycott Street, Manchester, 10.

Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.

**MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS.** Contact Pete Duke, Flat 6, 70 Huskisson Street, Liverpool, 8.

**PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Rob Wilkinson, 73 Trafford Street, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

**STOCKPORT.** Dave Crowther, 1 Castle Street, Edgeley, Stockport.

**SURREY FEDERATION**

**EPSOM.** G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom. Tel. Epsom 23806.

**KINGSTON.** Michael Squirrel, 4 Woodgate Ave., Hook, Chessington.

**GUILDFORD.** Peter Cartwright, 33 Denzil Road, Guildford.

**MERTON.** Elliot Burns, 13 Amity Grove, London, S.W.19. Tel. 01-946 1444.

**SUSSEX FEDERATION**

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Findon Road, Whitehawk, Brighton.

**BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton.

**CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gossops Green, Crawley, Sussex.

**SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP** (see details under Student Groups).

**YORKSHIRE FEDERATION**

Secretary: Contact Leeds Group.

**HARROGATE.** Contact David Howes, 16 Park Parade, Harrogate.

**HULL.** Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.

**KEIGHLEY.** Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley.

**LEEDS.** Direct Action Society. Contact Martin Watkins, 6 Eberston Terrace, Leeds, 6.

**SHEFFIELD.** Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10.

**YORK.** Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

**WELSH FEDERATION**

**ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS.** Contact Steve Mills, 4 St. Michael's Place, Aberystwyth, Cardif

ganshire, Wales. Aug.-Sept. correspondence only.

**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff.

**SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. Meetings at the above address every Sunday at 7 p.m.

**LLANELLI.** Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llywennedy Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

**SCOTTISH FEDERATION**

All correspondence to Bobby Lynn, Secretary, 12 Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.

**ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS & SYNDICALISTS.** Contact Ian & Peggy Sutherland, 8 Eslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. Regular 'Freedom' Sale, leafletting, etc. Visiting comrades welcome.

**GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.** Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E.

**EDINBURGH.** Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11.

**HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP.** Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.

**FIFE.** Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar.

**MONTROSE.** Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden, Montrose, Angus.

**ROSS-SHIRE.** Contact David Rodgers, Broomfield, Evanton, Ross-shire, Scotland.

**NORTHERN IRELAND**

**BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP.** Meetings every Saturday 2 p.m., 44a Upper Arthur Street (top floor). 'Freedom' sales.

**SOUTHERN IRELAND**

**ALLIANCE OF LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUPS IN IRELAND.** c/o Freedom Press.

**ABROAD**

**AUSTRALIA.** Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000. Phone No. 69-8095. Open discussion and literature sale in the Domain—Sunday, 2 p.m. Call at 59 Eveleigh Street, Redfern, NSW 2015 for personal discourse, tea and overnight accommodation.

**BELGIUM.** Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivignis, Liège.

**TORONTO LIBERTARIAN - ANARCHIST GROUP.** 217 TorYork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Libertarian'.

**PROPOSED GROUPS**

**MONTREAL, QUEBEC.** Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Sigler. Tel. 489-6432.

**VANCOUVER I.W.W. and Libertarian group.** Box 512, Postal St. 'A', Vancouver 1, B.C., Canada. Read 'The Rebel'—please send donation for postage.

# Where is the Error?

TWO OR THREE TIMES I have seen in Libertarian papers in the last year reference to the 'Liberal error' of equating fascism with Stalinism. Undoubtedly there is an erroneous and Liberal version of this equation: the belief that 'all extreme meet' which lumps us in with the Fascists, Stalinists, Trots, and so forth; but let us look at the original statement, and see whether it is either in error or merely Liberal.

Fascism is a political creed advocating a corporatist state type of capitalism. The intention is to integrate the leaders of industry and also the leaders of labour into the directing body of the state, thereby imposing what is called 'Industrial Peace'—that is a truce imposed because the will of both worker and capitalist is overridden by state functionaries. Obviously this is done in the interests of Big Capital industries, but it is not unknown for Fascists to shoot big capitalists, so it is not the individual capitalist who is ruler but a state bureaucratic and managerialist elite. Politically fascism was in the thirties defined as the authoritarianism of the centre, and

it is a known fact that it arose where the traditional Right and Left had reached deadlock in their struggles and the 'forces of order', irritated by the constantly swinging pendulum, adopted a new position to impose both against Socialists and against Monarchists.

Many varieties of fascism—though not the original Italian variety, nor some others—have preached racialism as an element of their philosophy. (Vile though the Salazar dictatorship is, it oppresses whites as much as it oppresses Africans, and many 'assimilado' Africans either in the colonies—or those who have migrated to Portugal—are better off than white workers in Portugal itself.)

All forms of fascism are nationalistic; it is possible, and indeed has been done by Swiss politicians themselves, to describe the Swiss Constitution as Democratic Fascism, and even if one does not allow that exception, the Irish Constitution is based on the Portuguese and so is evidence that it is possible though unusual to have multi-party fascism.

Stalinism is a political creed which

## BURNTOLLET: THE BLOODY BRIDGE

TO ANYONE FAMILIAR with the situation in the North of Ireland, the Belfast to Derry March on January 1 this year seems like an age away. So much has happened and so little has changed that one staggers away blinded by the bloody kaleidoscope. Of all the incidents and marches, one stands out, the ambush on Burntollet Bridge. Bowes Egan and Vincent McCormack have produced a detailed examination of what occurred, collected from eye-witness accounts and press evidence at the time. The book is in fact about the entire march and what occurred right up to and after the end of the march. In particular it treats in detail the behaviour of the NI Government and its armed force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary. The readers of FREEDOM are no doubt familiar with the stories of brutality about this fine body of men.

The sheer bigotry of the whole Ulster set-up comes across very clearly in microcosm. At the very outset of the march it was very clear that the marchers were going to be obstructed as much as possible by the RUC and not protected from attack by the lunatics led by Major Bunting. In Belfast the attitude of the RUC was clear at the start of the march as the account shows.

A number of Civil Rights supporters spent the afternoon with the hostile crowd. One person who had the opportunity of talking with the obstructionists and the police gives this account: "The constables and sergeants mixed freely with the group around the Union Jack and lambe drum. An excited crowd leader explained to a sergeant and two constables how they should drag a few over as an example and take them to a barber's shop, shave their heads to the

bone, then throw them off the bridge. One policeman said that he thought that 'it would be just the medicine'."

A grimly prophetic remark. The entire book is full of material like this with eye-witness accounts of the assaults committed by the police both in uniform and out of uniform.

Perhaps the most important section of the book is the chapter entitled 'Responsibility'. This seeks to evaluate the information in the light of the denials of responsibility by both the RUC and the Ministry of Home Affairs. This chapter which goes over the evidence point by point clearly indicated the collusion of the Chichester-Clarks and, what's more to the point, the collaboration of the RUC with the attackers at the Burntollet Bridge. In fact, the RUC become almost indistinguishable from the mob. This is an important document, the reader who cannot grasp the intricacies of Irish history is recommended to read it, as it makes very clear what are the issues, and the fate of any attempt to change the status quo of the Ulster landed gentry's rule.

Perhaps as we see the escalation of these incidents which have taken place in the last nine months this book will help to put things in perspective for the people in Britain. Sooner or later the shit will hit the fan if the idiocies of this gang of gentlemen gangsters continue. The lies and distortions of the popular press here, protect this establishment, this book exposes the lie. So read it and recommend it. Get your library to buy it.

**BURNTOLLET** by Bowes Egan and Vincent McCormack. Published by L.R.S. Publishers. Illustrated. 64 pp. Price 10/- (plus postage), available from Freedom Press. DIGGER.

## LETTERS

education factories and tried to be a bit tolerant. So far as his strivings to 'express the ideal' of freedom, it is not possible to do so under State control or capitalism except by acts of rebellion. If daubing 'Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin' on the walls is not an act of rebellion or the expression of freedom, what is? (I am sure Dulwich College will appreciate the Biblical reference.)

Is it, perhaps, saying patronisingly that you can call teacher by his Christian name and by refraining from using the cane? Come off it, you're a liberal, not an anarchist. Where did you get the opposite view? The suggestion that 'those who talk about freedom should consult those of us who have tried to practise it' apparently before they undertake the most elementary act of rebellion is outrageously authoritarian. Those of us who talk about freedom in education should, it seems, educate ourselves in freedom.

Who of us has 'tried to practise freedom'? The liberals, with their striving to fit 'the ideal' into the prevalent system? I hope that the young comrades under attack do not get discouraged in

defends one or other of a series of 'Communist' states and advocates their reproduction elsewhere. These states are normally regarded by anarchists as state-capitalist. Integration of Labour Unions and Industry into the state system is a normal feature, and as in the corporatist state, the state intervenes to overrule the subjective aims of capital and labour in favour of what is considered industrial peace. Invariably Stalinist countries allow of no opposition, though some permit what is considered a multi-party system with a number of parties subordinated to the Communist Party. The states impartially attack workers and representatives of classical capitalist and pre-capitalist parties. Though racism is a fairly late development within Stalinism and is still broadly an extraneous factor, it is not unknown, and nationalism

would seem to be an invariable factor.

Both systems engender forced labour camps, both systems appear to necessitate frequent purgations of the ruling party as the only way normal internal power struggles within the ruling class can find expression. Both systems have led to very rapid expansion of industry, and a 'norm' system of forcing workers to work, using the stick more than the carrot and thereby surpassing Taylorism and the NEP (the last refinements of bourgeois cruelty) in their sadism. In both the secret police is a more ever-present factor of the system than it is in the West.

No doubt, aspects of what these two systems have in common are to be found in lesser degree throughout Keynesian social-democracy and New Dealism; but is it so fantastic to say that

in fundamentals there is more resemblance between Stalinism and Fascism than there is between either and any other political philosophy? That despite all the crimes of Social Democracy or of Lenin-Trotskyism they are not commensurate or of the same order as those of Fascism and Stalinism and that the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Red Brown Referendum, the Bavarian National Communist phase were not episodic aberrations of Stalinism but were typical of the phenomenon? If so, where is the error? Where the mere Liberalism? But if this is not mere Liberalism, and if some comrades believe that freedom of speech is not an absolute and it should always be withheld from fascists, do they include Stalinists? If not, why not?

LAURENS OTTER.

## Squatting in South East London

### LEWISHAM

BEFORE we helped Heather Bonadie to squat in Lewisham we went with her to the Housing Department and contacted the Public Health and Welfare Departments to see if they could suggest any alternative—a procedure I recommend. Since they couldn't, we squatted her, publicized her case and immediately offered to meet and discuss it with Council officials. Having convinced them that we were responsible people and being concerned to avoid the mistakes of Redbridge Council, they agreed to let Heather (and another family we had moved in nearby) live rent free until the houses were required for demolition: on our assurance that when that time came they would move out. They also agreed provisionally to collaborate with us in squatting Lewisham families in other houses on the same basis. There was some opposition to this on the Housing Committee (from the Labour minority!) but the principle was finally approved and, rather than leave it to the housing associations, we are now trying to involve other local groups in a popular front squatting campaign, which although it may be too tame for revolutionaries—without opposition—will show that squatting can work smoothly and make it that much more difficult for more reactionary authorities to resist us.

their attempts by liberals who 'daub' FREEDOM with letters that even the *Express* might hesitate to print and could just make the *Mirror*. I must be getting old—I tend to deplore these acts of vandalism by senseless schoolmasters. London. A. MELTZER.

### Flights of Fancy

Dear Comrades, Along with thousands of other people (perhaps hundreds of whom are anarchists or similar), I've imagined for 20 years what the moon landing would be like. Now that it has happened, FREEDOM's page one bringdown of the feat also brings down those of us who are able to desire freedom and space travel at the same time. (It is not only the moon which has a hidden side.)

The same idealistic part of our minds that started us hoping to one day walk around on the moon, also started us hoping to one day walk around freely on the earth.

Yes, the cost is astronomical, but then so is the destination! If you believe that 'the money spent on space travel could feed millions', remember the mechanics of political priorities; any money not spent on trips to the moon would be diverted to war, not want.

By the way, it is not true, as suggested in FREEDOM, that the moon is suitable as a military base. Artificial satellites have obvious military uses, but the moon is three days away and of more interest to astronomers than generals.

When my own astronomical dream began, I was 10 years old and space-travel existed only in science-fiction. As with most (sic) other scientific, social or existential innovations, you can usually read about them in S-F first, followed a few years later by 'science-fact', FREEDOM and Oz, respectively.

These innovations often include concepts of alternative societies.

The S-F readers of the 1940s have had at least one of their dreams come true. Let us hope, moon-watchers and earth-watchers together, that, by the 1980s, at least some of this other dream will have come true.

While you sleep tonight, see if you can find room in your dreams for a few flights of fancy as well as worldly hang-ups.

If you can't sleep for worrying about space-finance, try watching the other worlds in the night sky for a few minutes; you will still have several hours

### GREENWICH

MRS. MORLEY was about to be evicted from her flat when she contacted us. Her husband is in prison (don't assume he deserves to be) and she had fallen behind with the rent. She has two children, 16 pigeons—her husband's hobby since childhood—and a dog. She also had a letter from her doctor which said that she ought not to live in a halfway house (or presumably any kind of hostel) because of a lung infection. Again we contacted all departments plus voluntary housing associations, none of whom could offer her anything, before installing her on July 7 in 60 Vanbrugh Hill, a house that the Council had repossessed from a defaulting mortgagee 18 months earlier. Following the usual letter, we talked to the Town Clerk who accepted that this family ought not to be stripped of everything that gave them an identity (pigeons, dogs and furniture are not allowed in hostels) and who very quickly arranged with a housing association (the same one that had refused her earlier) to give her a flat with a garden. The most sensible solution would have been to leave her in the house she had squatted in as a tenant. It was not on the housing stock so she wouldn't have been queue-jumping, but Councils don't like admitting that we are right and they are wrong,

left to watch the one we happen to be standing on. After all, alien anarchists on other planets throughout the galaxy may be doing the same as you! Fulham, S.W.6. TONY HULSE.

### NO ROOM THIS WEEK

Owing to shortage of space many long letters on the Ilford settlement have to be held over until next issue.—Editors.

**WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY LATEST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF MSS., LETTERS, MEETING NOTICES IS THE MONDAY IN EACH WEEK OF PUBLICATION.**

## FURTHER CLASH BETWEEN EXTREMISTS

A VICIOUS SECTARIAN dispute over non-sectarianism, which ended in a free-for-all took place at the ironically-named 'Friends House' a few Fridays ago between the International Socialist and the militant groups. The occasion was a meeting of the rank and file teachers group—allegedly a group of 'left-wing teachers within the NUT' but obviously created and controlled by IS. The meeting was to elect the editorial committee of the next issue of their newspaper.

The meeting started with a deviation from the strict timetable which had been arranged to facilitate the passing of the decisions of the leadership. This was necessary to meet the new menace of militant! Duncan Hallas (IS?) proposed a 'surprise' motion (duly seconded and thirded) that non-teachers should be expelled (a reference to some SAU members of militant) and that only card-carrying members of the NUT be allowed on the editorial committee. This was in order 'to prevent criticism' from the NUT executive! A certain amount of discussion was allowed, but as some of this was against the resolution, a vote was taken which showed the 50:20 split

and so long as they provide an acceptable solution the message is still plain to see—squatting works.

### SOUTHWARK

THE O'CONNORS are a fine family who have been living in the most atrocious conditions—five people in one room. We moved them into 12 Gomm Road, S.E.16 on July 25. Following the usual threats from GLC officials including a Mr. Barber, who was under the impression that since we had vacated a house in Brockley Rise some weeks earlier, after he had proved that it was being given to a housing association, the GLC would have no further trouble from us, we explained to him that house-stealing was a regular occupation for us, and got on to Mr. Cutler, who knows us and our capacity for sustained struggle. Once he had checked the facts he informed us that he would recommend that the house be handed over to a voluntary housing association with the O'Connors as tenants. There are more houses in Gomm Road!

### BROMLEY

THE WITHERS have been squatting since April at 22 Kingswood Road, Penge. Since I wrote the leaflet they have heard nothing more from the owner, who probably has his own reasons for not wanting the kind of publicity we would expose him to. We prefer to take Council-owned property, but where private houses are empty through disputed ownership or disappearance of owner—don't let them go to waste.

Squatting is spreading—slowly but steadily. More and more Local Authorities are being compelled to accept that our suggestions and actions make sense. We need more active support. If 5% of our sympathisers became involved we would have an unbeatable national campaign. We need more money badly. Everything we do involves expenditure. Even mailing has become frighteningly expensive. You and your organisation can help in this practical way. If you know of any more likely sources—put us in touch. If you have any doubts that what we are doing is worthwhile—write or visit any of the families mentioned here and ask them.

JIM RADFORD.

## A 'Reasoned' Defence

Dear Comrades,

David Wills writes (26.7.69) demanding a 'reasoned defence' (a phrase that reeks of the schoolmaster) of someone 'bursting into Dulwich College and daubing on its walls "Anarchy"'. His is not a reasoned attack (note the emotive words 'bursting' and 'daubing', as if he would not have minded had they walked in slowly and elegantly painted the slogan on the walls).

If, of course, one's aim is the preservation of Dulwich College, the most one should do is to write a book on 'Humanizing the Public Schools' and explain to the staff that they can combine respectable careers with liberal ideas. Such an action as 'daubing' the walls would—as he rightly says—prejudice them. If, however, one aims at abolishing it, one cannot very well, for the moment, burn down the place; painting on the wall seems to me a moderate expression of opinion.

David Wills says he has 'devoted his life to the furtherance of freedom in education', a pompous Speech Day phrase that means probably no more than he has been earning his living around the

between the two groups that characterized the meeting. Indeed, this was so blatant, that at one point Chairman Picton decided to do away with voting as 'he could gauge the meeting!'—but to maintain the semblance of something, it was retained. Supporting the motion, Eric Porter (CP?, IS? any difference?) started babbling about 'a revolution in parliament' if his tactics were obeyed, whilst his militant opponents had already (it seemed) succeeded in calling a general strike to better teachers' pay.

By this time the meeting had become very noisy. The paper was firmly in the hands of IS (it is printed on their machines). The meeting served no more purpose and it broke up with noisy argument resounding around Friends House. This meeting advanced neither education nor even wages (and the emphasis is now very much on the latter—to 'involve those with a TU consciousness'). It provided me, however, with a very useful education in the tactics and antics of extremist groups, their front organisations and of 'democratic centralism'.

TONY LEVENE.

# Winning Hands Down

**T**HE BLASTFURNACEMEN at Port Talbot have again shown their determination to press home their full claim for a £1 a week increase. Their magnificent stand continues and despite the British Steel Corporation's decision to close down the whole plant, they have again rejected appeals from their union to return to work and accept the TUC formula. They have done this even after the unprecedented action of Mr. Feather, Acting General Secretary, who travelled to Wales for a secret meeting with the strike committee, arranged by the local Trades Council, to explain the finer points of his formula.

The Government has intervened and has set up the usual Court of Inquiry, headed by the usual members, with Prof. Robertson of Glasgow University as Chairman, Mr. Carlile, Managing Director of Babcock and Wilcox, and Mr. Dan McGarvey, President of the Boilermakers' Union. As is normal on these occasions, the Inquiry will

open with an appeal by the Chairman for a return to work and no doubt its final report will include a censure of all the parties involved, but will also attack the blastfurnacemen for taking unofficial action and support the management for not negotiating 'under duress'.

However, the surprise of the week has been the failure of the executive of the National Union of Blastfurnacemen to back the strike officially. As I wrote last week, their sanction would have got everyone off the hook. Indications pointed to official backing and Jim Barry, the union's General Secretary, must be even more unpopular now in Port Talbot than he was before.

What influenced this seems to be a change of attitude on the part of the executive, for the decision was reported to be unanimous by the 18-strong executive, 16 of them lay members and the other 2 full-time officials. The answer must lie with the announcement by the management that they would not negotiate until the men returned to work. The executive knew that the strikers would not do this and they, as a union, were not prepared to take up the struggle on behalf of their members. This is just one more example of the uselessness of this union. All along the blastfurnacemen have looked to them for a lead and have appealed again and again for official support, only to be rebuffed. Now they and the local officials, who have supported them, must surely realise that they can expect little from Jim Barry, who I imagine is just hanging on until his retirement in six months' time.

## BREAKAWAY UNION?

The blastfurnacemen are very resentful about this decision and are now talking about the possibility of forming a breakaway union. Certainly, from the way they have conducted the dispute, they do not need the efforts of their union. All the decisions, as far as one can be certain, have been of a collective nature. Even the strike committee has acted mainly as an administrative group, looking after social security claims for families and negotiating about the postponement of rent and HP commitments, as well as getting financial and moral support. They have not become a leadership and have not recommended any proposal at mass meetings. They have reported back and then left it to the lads.

The Port Talbot strike is a good example of the type of strike that the proposed legislation of the Labour Government was supposed to solve. But judging by their present determination, they would have probably defied a Government-ordered cooling off period. Having handed over the job of policing unofficial strikes to the TUC, one can imagine that Barbara Castle must be breathing a sigh of relief that she has not got to use the law against

1,300 men. It would just not work and she and the Government know it. They know that the blastfurnacemen have a good case, for they are as much against the management as they are the union, which is completely out of touch with its members. This is why everyone is playing it cool. What can the TUC do? Get the union to expel them when they are already discussing the formation of a breakaway union of their own. The union, the Government, the TUC and the management know that at the moment the blastfurnacemen are winning hands down.

## SCRAMBLE FOR MEMBERS

However, Lord Melchett, the Chairman of BSC, has other problems and even if the blastfurnacemen returned to work, the Iron and Steel Trade Confederation's members could be out on strike unless all workers operating the new LD converter are members of that union. At the moment 32 belong to different white-collar unions. This scramble for members on the part of the unions is sad commentary on an industry which very shortly will be sacking them wholesale.

According to *The Economist*, 'Monday, the day of the Port Talbot shutdown, was also the day on which two new steel converters were due to start. They were of the Austrian basic oxygen type, each capable of producing 300 tons of steel at each "melt". More important for the steel unions, the new LD converters require only 330 men whereas 2,500 workers are needed for Port Talbot's ten open-hearth furnaces (producing 60% of its steel) and four very low nitrogen converters (making 40%).'

'The leader of the largest steelworkers' union, Mr. Dai Davies of the ISTC, has agreed to accept this 87% reduction in manpower in return for a productivity-linked wage increase which is still secret and the employment of 170 men on "ancillary" duties. But this deal hinges on who works on the LD plant in his union.'

These are the changes which nationalisation is bringing to the industry, which could lead to a shorter working week, but the unions only see them as a way of getting members. They are far more militant in this direction than they are when it comes to getting a wage increase for their members. Both the antics of Jim Barry and Dai Davies are enough to show that it is not union leadership that the men want, but a determination and solidarity of purpose that the blastfurnacemen have shown. If this example is emulated by enough workers and directed towards the achievement of workers' control, then Lord Melchett and the union leaders would be redundant.

The improved methods of production could be used for the benefit of the workers at the steelworks and for the community. At the moment the steel industry, particularly the plant at Port Talbot, supplies raw material to the highly profitable manufacturing industries, like the motor industry.

The Port Talbot strike is an example of what solidarity and determination can achieve and it should not go unnoticed. These men should get as much support and help as possible in order to ensure that they win their demands and point the way for other steelmen in the coming struggle against redundancies.

P.T.

## WRI

will be wars and pacifists and anarchists will be (and are) helping each other in opposing such wars. But an infusion of anarchist ideas may revitalise the pacifist movement. (This is already happening in Switzerland.)

Bob Overy in his heart-searching article says that the slogan 'Wars will cease when men refuse to fight' is in fact a pretty radical proposition. Exactly the opposite is true. The anarchist slogan 'Against War, Against Peace, For a Social Revolution' is not as paradoxical as it sounds. 'Wars will cease when men destroy the State', is more to the point.

JOHN REY.

## BROADSHEETS

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# Freedom For Workers' Control

AUGUST 16 1969 Vol 30 No 25

## COURTAULD PICKET LINE

**T**HE UNIONISTS are proud of Courtauld's which employs almost 2,000 men and is one of the largest firms in Ulster. Yet every year almost thirty men die at this prestige plant from the fumes and chemical dust. But profits are high and so Courtauld's are expanding. The new extension site has been given to sub-contractors, including Stewarts & Lloyds, Ameliorair, Beck & Politzer, Shaw Petrie and Heating and Industrial Pipework, whose HQ is in Birmingham. Contract workers here get no redundancy pay or terminal grants or strike pay. Seven weeks ago, during negotiations for a policy of redundancy and for appreciation pay, five shop stewards and 10 men were dismissed without warning. A strike was called and after negotiation all were reinstated and a redundancy policy agreed upon, but two weeks later HIP Ltd. paid off the five victimized shop stewards and 31 men without prior consultation, thus breaking their agreement. So, three weeks ago the present strike ensued.

All were threatened with the sack and the unions involved arsed around about recognizing the strike. (Unions involved are ETU, T & G, AEF, Boilermakers and Plumbers.) In order to bring pressure to bear on the sub-contractors the strikers have been picketing Courtauld's and stopping all supplies coming into the factory. Members of the Belfast Anarchists, PD and the YS alliance have been down for the last couple of days helping on the pickets and have been very well received.

On Wednesday the violence started.

The strikers sat down to prevent scabs driving a lorry through and the police moved in. Constable Knox went berserk and, screaming 'Bastards' attacked James McDermott, one of the shop stewards and Harry Wright. Courtauld's Securicor guards and their chief engineer Mr. Tallis joined in and kicked the sitting pickets. John Bradley of the PD was also beaten and several brothers ended up with black eyes. On Thursday more brutality was used by the police.

Next day the strike was made official and leaflets from the PD which the strikers had requested were handed out to all drivers trying to deliver supplies to the factory and no one tried to cross the picket lines. Paddy Devlin, the Labour MP, has made official complaints about the police brutality to the Minister of Home Affairs but naturally bugger all will be done. The unions have a meeting with the bosses called for next week but suspicion of a sellout exists and the men are getting ready for a large-scale scabbing onslaught from McLoughlin's, a non-union firm of suppliers. Support from the left is promised and spirits are high despite no strike pay and the intimidating tactics of the national assistance board who've been cutting the men's money each week. The strike is totally non-sectarian with both RCs and Protestants manning the pickets, a good sign in Ulster.

HIP Ltd. later sacked those on strike, thereby locking out men because they took action after the company had broken an agreement, made only 2 weeks before.

MIKHAIL.

## IRA SPEARHEAD AGRARIAN AGITATION

**T**HE 900-ACRE Carrollstown Estate, the possession of Nigel Lindsay-Fynn, was the target of bomb attacks on the 1st of this month. The explosions shattered two milk parlours. Responsibility for the acts was claimed by the Irish Republican Army. This is the fourth farm to be attacked by IRA forces in the last two months. All the property had been bought by aliens—Lindsay-Fynn is English, and the other properties attacked are in the possession of Germans. Small farmers have persistently demanded that large farms when up for sale should be bought by the Land Commission and divided up among small-farmer families.

A great deal of agitation has been felt by the small-farmer community but as they are one of the poorest sections of the people their voices were not heard and their claims were not met. Now, through the IRA, they speak with action. Action that will not go unnoticed by landgrabbers, native or foreign, nor by the gommeen (bourgeois) speculators who advertise Irish land and hotels in foreign newspapers.

Here follows part of a statement issued by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau:—

'The owner of the estate is one of the biggest milk producers in Co. Meath, supplying 700 to 1,000 gallons of milk per day and receiving 7d. per

gallon subsidy, taking £150 to £200 in milk subsidies alone. Compare this and other subsidies to foreign landowners with the subsistence level of most of our small farmers. Whither now, the principles of Easter Week, the principles of equal rights and fair distribution of the wealth of this country and of course the old principle that the land of the people of Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland?'

'We in the Republican Movement stand by these principles and will continue to struggle to achieve the full social, economic, cultural and national emancipation of our people.'

Nigel and Adrien Lindsay-Fynn denied that the estate had been sold to foreigners as their father was Irish; they also claimed that neither the Government nor B & I (this was claimed in the IRPU statement) had ever held it.

They were, they said, 'deeply shocked and grieved by the wanton destruction and vandalism inflicted on us by our fellow countrymen'.

The IRA and the small-farmer families would do well to remember that all land-grabbers and property speculators, native or foreign, are their enemies; the Irish land-baron is no better than his foreign counterpart. The land belongs to the people; the time has come when they can take decisive steps towards repossessing it.

DONAL MCCARTHY.