

# Freedom

## Anarchist Weekly 6d

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### Dublin Squatters Sent to Prison

**T**HREE DUBLIN FAMILIES live under the tyranny of an order for the committal of their breadwinners to Mountjoy Prison. The Order was made at the High Court, Dublin by Justice Kenny on August 28. The three men, young workers, had not obeyed an injunction ordering them to discontinue squatting in the Carlton Hotel, thus in effect they were guilty of the 'crime' of not putting their families out on the street.

The Carlton Hotel is 'owned' by Mary Duignan, a middle-aged spinster. She is financially secure. She has stated that she has contracted to sell the hotel for £23,000 and that the sale could not be closed until she could give vacant possession. So, we have in the 'Irish Republic' the ethic: property before people.

Patrick Geraghty, holding a baby in his arms, said that for the past two years he had been looking for unfurnished accommodation through the Corporation, through TDs (Irish MPs) and through landlords: there was no unfurnished accommodation to be had in the city, legally, though at the same time there must be 200 big houses lying idle waiting to be knocked down to make way for office accommodation.

Two weeks ago he went after a flat in the North Circular Road and they wanted nine guineas a week. Almost overcome with emotion he said, 'Your Honour, we are only labouring men, none of us earn more than fourteen pounds a week, what chance have we?'

The Judge then asked if Patrick would give an undertaking to leave the Carlton Hotel.

He answered, 'No, I am not going to ask my wife and family to get out on the road for anybody.'

Then the Judge said, 'You do realise that a judge's order must be obeyed and I have no choice in the matter?'

Patrick replied: 'I realise one thing, I realise the landlady has a problem but she has money. We have a problem but we have no money.' He would, he said, get out if he got other accommodation; otherwise, he was staying.

Repeatedly the Judge asked if he realised that he (the Judge) had no choice in the matter.

Yes, he said, he realised that.

In answer to the Judge, John MacNamee said, 'The same goes for me.' John, holding one of his children in his arms, was asked by the Judge if he realised the severe hardship which would be imposed on his wife and children if he went to Mountjoy.

He replied: 'They need a home.' The Judge then asked if John was prepared to leave by next Monday. In answer, John said he would go if he got a home from the Corporation, otherwise he would stay.

Patrick Brady told how his wife was in hospital, at which the Judge said, 'I am sorry to hear that.'

In answer to the Judge he said that he was prepared to move if he got a place to go to, otherwise he would stay, he would not give a promise to leave by Monday.

The case against Edward Chambers, the father of a family squatting in the same building, was dismissed on the grounds of hearsay evidence. Applause filled the crowded court as the Judge said, 'Mr. Chambers, your best course is to say nothing.'

Maureen Burke of the Housing Action Committee read an extract from the proceedings of the First Dail (Par-

liament) which stated explicitly that the family was the fundamental unit of society and had rights prior to private property or any matter whatsoever, and that some of the members had afterwards affirmed the promises given with their blood.

Many times the Judge said, 'I don't want to send young men to prison, I have no choice in the matter, I am obeying the law.'

Patrick Geraghty said, 'We are only being sent to prison because we ignored the court, not for being squatters in 74 Harcourt Street.'

Justice Kenny then asked if they were still determined. Each answered, 'I have no alternative.' The Judge said, 'I am sorry, neither have I.'

A young man in the body of the court read, despite efforts to stop him, from the 1916 Proclamation: 'The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally. . . .'

Patrick Geraghty said: 'You are depriving our kids of a living.'

The Judge stated, 'This is the end of the matter.'

This was answered from the body of the court, 'This is not the end of the matter, you may be sure of that,' and 'This is only the beginning of the matter.'

There was cries of 'Shame'. An elderly lady quoted Jesus: 'I was homeless and ye took me not in.' This was loudly applauded. A young man read a relevant extract from the Constitution which was further applauded. As the case closed, there were cries of 'This is a crime' and 'This will be settled on the streets of Dublin.'

This is going to be a long and a hard fight. When squatter Dennis Denny was imprisoned, demonstrators were baton-charged by gardai and blood flowed on the streets of Dublin. We, the Workers in Ireland, will fight for liberty whenever and wherever it is denied.

DONAL MCCARTHY.

**AFTER MANUFACTURING CS Gas,** supplying the police with it and firing over 1,000 grenades of it into a small residential area, the Government has decided that it might be interesting to have an inquiry just to see what the stuff does.

CS Gas is standard equipment in the UK, USA, France and a host of other countries where the umbrella term 'tear gas' or 'riot gas' is used to denote its equipment.

CS Gas, or O-chlorobenzalmononitrile for the chemically-minded, is manufactured at the Ministry of Defence, Nancekuke, Portreath, Cornwall. From there it is transported by road to Schermuly Ltd., Sprta Works, Newdigate, Guildford, Surrey, where it is put into canisters and grenades. CS is also exported and estimates have been as high as £250,000 worth. Nancekuke has a capacity of 60 tons per year which, in simple language, is enough gas if given in clinical dosage, to kill the population of the world twelve times over.

CS Gas is supplied in hand grenades, launched grenades, cluster canisters and canisters to enable it to be sprayed from helicopters. Its effects as recorded by

**IT IS NOW IMPORTANT** that we should consider at length the circumstances of the struggle, the manner in which it was carried on, and the subsequent effects of the various confrontations which have taken place all over Northern Ireland. Since I was present only in Derry during the week of August 12, I shall concentrate on conditions in that area and leave details of the fighting in other centres to correspondents who should also be reporting in this issue.

Many of the cancers in Ulster society have already been well documented in FREEDOM, notably No. 23 (Derry: Springboard of the Struggle). In the light of reporting of the conflict in the mass media, where it has been represented simply as a sectarian Protestant versus Catholic squabble, it is necessary to reiterate that in Derry, at any rate, the conflict is between the people and the police as representatives of the state.

This is not to deny that religious elements enter into the problem. It is true that Catholics are system-

atically discriminated against. It is true that the Protestant working class are conned into believing that what marginal advantages they have can only be maintained by the continuation of this discrimination. But it is also true that the vast majority of the Protestant working class did not take part in the invasion of Bogside with the police.

The two hundred or so Paisleyites, with their white armbands, who attacked the area in conjunction with the police are indeed Protestants; it is more important to recognise that they are also fascists. They did not come from Derry itself, but mainly from small rural areas like Molenan, Ardmore and Kilaloo (areas which also provided the attackers of the PD march at Burntollet). They had a clearly-defined role to assist and support the police. Usually they remained behind police lines, content to smash up houses in Rosville Street when the police made a drive into the area.

On other occasions they manifested a little more courage and

allowed the police to retreat behind their lines and bombarded the Bog-siders with petrol bombs from prepared positions. On the Wednesday night of the fighting, after 36-hours non-stop battle many of the police handed over their riot shields, helmets, batons and weapons to their fascist friends, while they themselves took a well-earned rest.

Most of the fighting took place at very close quarters. This was especially true after the police began to fire batteries of tear gas shells into the area. Since most of the fuzz themselves did not have gas masks, we discovered that the area freest from tear gas was the area nearest to the police. For this reason, there was a gap of only ten to twenty yards between the people and the pigs, and this facilitated the accurate throwing of petrol bombs. (A new refinement was a bottle filled with grass, some sugar poured in, and topped up with petrol—very adhesive and long-burning!)

Tactically the fighting was rather

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### Stop Press News: Belfast

**T**HIS WEEKEND has seen some of the most important events take place since British troops moved into Belfast and Derry. A man has been shot dead in Belfast and troops have used CS gas against Paisleyites (who were joined by the RUC).

The man who was shot dead was a Protestant. First news reports stated he was shot in the street from a passing car. Latest reports from Belfast contradict this. According to friends in Belfast, a Catholic house off Manor Street was being attacked and petrol-bombed. The family inside had been ordered to leave earlier but had refused. They had requested protection from the CDC on the Falls and received two guards. During the attack on the house shots were fired and the dead man was found lying in the back yard of the house.

Earlier in the day a group of 3,000 'loyalists' had attempted to march into

Falls Road. Troops and RUC arrived on the scene. The troops appeared to be very hostile to the Paisleyites while the RUC took the opposite view and actually lined up in front of them. When the advance continued the major in charge of the troops ordered tear gas to be used. Those who suffered most from the effects of the gas were in fact the RUC, who were immediately in front of the crowd. When the gas cleared, one of the RUC officers harangued the crowd stating the army had used the gas without his permission. The major promptly retorted that he didn't need any RUC officer's permission to use gas and if he didn't keep quiet he would get another dose up his arse!

The mutual hostility between the army and the Paisleyites, the coming together of the Paisleyites and the police, and the shooting which followed the gas incident has serious implications for N. Ireland.

The Paisleyites are going to be even more enraged than ever at their inability to get their hands on the Papists on the Falls. They are unlikely to want a straight up fight with the army, but they are so stupid that it is possible they will manoeuvre themselves into a position where a shoot-out between themselves and the troops is inevitable.

The RUC are absolutely demoralised. The Burntollet book noting their connivance with the Paisleyites, the announcement that 16 of their members are to be disciplined, and the forthcoming Cameron Report, which is to indict them even further, have been a series of such shattering body-blows that they are on the point of mass resignations and go-slows. This is pushing them even further to the right, and can only result in closer co-operation with the Paisleyites, with what fearful results it is only too easy to imagine.

The barricaded areas are preparing for further attacks. A series of bloody reprisals is expected. Radio Orange (a pirate station) is calling on all able-bodied volunteers to assemble on the Shankill Road tonight (Monday). At least 10,000 are expected. With Madman McKeague there to whip them up Hitler-style into a frenzy, there can be only one result.

At this time, it is expected that the Unionist right-wing, waiting in the wings with daggers drawn, will soon be making their bid for power. It remains to be seen whether slippery Wilson will use the situation to gain some badly-needed electoral advantage among the Irish voters in England, or whether, true to his pragmatism, he will take the same action against a right-wing take-over in N. Ireland as he did in Rhodesia.

COLUMCILLE.

### CS Gas

Prof. E. H. S. Burhop are 'Extreme burning and tearing of eyes; constricts respiratory tract; burns moist skin; induces nausea'. At a concentration of 1.6 milligrams per cubic metre of air, incapacitates. At 20 mg/m<sup>3</sup>, irreparable lesions. Irreparable lesions can lead to systematic poisoning. Over 30 mg/m<sup>3</sup>, possibly lethal (Operation Crimp 1.12.66, Australian Capt. R. Bowtell died of asphyxiation from CS while wearing mask).

The grenades used by the CRS in Paris last year were 1gm grenades, in the UK the police have 40gm grenades. The military use 200gm grenades, and 80lb drums for helicopter use. The British police are equipped with 'pure' CS, or more properly termed CS1. However, this name CS1 implies a CS2 or 3 thus giving weight to the rumour that the French had extra irritants added to their CS. A spent grenade can contain a caustic, corrosive substance and there was at least one report that this residue has been poured over the bare skin of demonstrators captured by the French CRS. In Bogside six-year-old Keenan Barret was put in hospital after picking up a spent grenade that could have been

lying in the gutter for anything up to five days.

The Americans seem quite happy about CS Gas on the strength of their own experiments, but the results obtained from muscle-bound, football-playing marines is hardly valid for, as they say, the man on the Clapham omnibus. Nevertheless, a British ex-serviceman whom I spoke to who had been given a controlled exposure to CS claimed that he was still vomiting three days later.

Schermuly's managing director, H. C. Fairbrother, said that 'properly used CS is not lethal and added that if anyone in the factory wanted to get rid of a cold or sniffle then they should 'work for an hour or so in the CS section'. On the other side are people like Mr. McDowell who was gassed unconscious in Derry. A few days later his lungs began to fill with liquid and Mr. McDowell, a bronchitis sufferer, was admitted to hospital. The US Federal Police Manual says 'CS may be extremely dangerous to persons with cardiac or pulmonary (lung) conditions. . . . Buildings, rooms and furniture cannot easily be decontaminated.' Dr. Matthew Meselson said, 'As CS is so easily dispersed in the lungs the possi-

bility of carcinogenesis (cancer) ought to have been investigated.' If CS is normally destroyed in the liver, a person suffering from a liver disease may not be able to detoxicate it properly. The former director of Canadian medical services in Vietnam reported a 10% adult and 90% infant mortality rate in patients treated after being gassed with CS. But then it was being 'improperly used' by the Americans, it wasn't reliable old CS!

On July 4, 1968, the Home Secretary said that it was misleading to suggest that CS gas might be used for maintaining public order.

LARRY.

# John Neal Lies Dead

ANY MAN LYING pinned under the wheel of a ten-ton lorry and vainly waiting for the arrival of an ambulance must, by the very nature of his circumstances, take a jaundiced view of any inter-union dispute. What are valid principles in the comfort of the committee rooms, the cosy bar, or the plastic-walled directors' office, become matters of minor interest to an audience of one who has to pass away the fleeting minutes in watching his life-blood drain into the waiting gutter.

To argue that this is an extreme view is correct, but two things are indisputable and that is that the newly-formed Federation of Ambulance Personnel have won their demand that the Greater London Council should begin immediate negotiations with the view of giving the Federation official union recognition, and that 64-year-old John Neal is dead.

John Neal did not die in the dramatic manner of the opening paragraphs, but for all that he lay in the public road a dying man and it was left to a

passing striker to minister first aid and to hurry to his own ambulance station 200 yards away to try and then to succeed in getting the officials there to send out an ambulance that 200 yards.

As in all these matters, the ancient industrial ritual took over in that a faceless authority had rejected any moral or social responsibility unless the men returned to work. John Neal is dead and the striking ambulance men have claimed all through the fifteen-day-strike that they were willing at any time to turn out on a voluntary unpaid basis to answer emergency calls but this the GLC, as with almost all employers, have refused to accept and for this John Neal died. For the GLC had ordered that any man who did not do his full day's work as laid down by the GLC should be sent home and that if any station was undermined as a result of the GLC ruling then that station must not accept emergency calls.

It is surely a matter of classic irony that it was a striking ambulance man who tried to save John Neal's life and

that the Bromley station, only 200 yards away, was not allowed to accept the emergency call as a deliberate part of GLC industrial policy as it related to this strike action for it took 21 minutes for a second ambulance to arrive from Lee only to find that the striker had talked the officials at the Bromley station into sending out their own ambulance but it was now too late to save the life of John Neal.

I for my part have little faith in break-away unions for, while one can understand the daily feeling of frustration that particular groups of workers feel when they believe they are isolated within a major union structure, the answer has never lain in splitting the ranks but working and fighting within the whole. Every employer loves the small union or the breakaway union for it is so easy to handle and to defeat, and in any prolonged dispute the workers within the small or breakaway union must turn once more to the mass of their fellow-workers for help and support.

It has taken a generation to smash the craft unions with their contempt for the unskilled workers and one views with nausea Clive Jenkins' well-paid attempt to breathe new life into the managerial white-collar workers' elitist union. Contempt for a fundamental reason in that these people always and almost without exception feed like carrion from the industrial battlefields of the rank and file workers. Always the white-collar union base their claims for better wages and working conditions on those that the rank and file workers have managed to win after months of mind-dulling negotiations or bitter strike action, and after every strike one has the sour knowledge that the white-collar unions within that striking industry are waiting like unto some cancerous growth to drain off their unfought-for rewards.

These are the very men and women who deliberately stand aside in the rough-house of strike actions rather than soil their lily conscience and for them the plaudits of the sewer press and the greater rewards.

The Federation of Ambulance Personnel have won their fight for official recognition but they will find that they have merely taken the same old evils with them. Frustrations and delays in matters of working conditions will still be their lot as with all of us, and wage negotiations will still continue to drag on month after month, and without the white-collar back-dating, for a change of name and a public affirmation of splendid isolation in the industrial war

has never impressed an employer. Solidarity all along the line is our only chance of survival for, as workers, it is our only strength. Within a united working-class front we can fight and fight again and win and win again but let any group of workers isolate themselves and they become meat for destruction. There are always workers who rightly feel that they have a self-accepted moral obligation to perform those tasks for which they have a paid public acceptance.

The fireman, the ambulance man, the nurse, or any worker who is called upon to give immediate aid to the old, the sick, or those in physical danger, feel that they cannot walk away from that self-accepted moral obligation and we, in our turn, be it worker-consumer or just consumer, must in our turn accept their cause if we are prepared to accept their moral obligations.

The striking ambulance men at Bromley did their best to honour a self-accepted moral obligation and the Greater London Council, nameless as in all these matters, ignored the phone call and the cry of common humanity in the matter of John Neal. The GLC principles are those easy ones that can be filed away when the office closes and in that most unimportant of battles, the recognition of another breakaway union, no one has won. Only the strikers at Bromley can hold their heads high for they waved aside the rules in the cause of humanity but for all that John Neal died.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## On the Isle of Wight

WELL, BOB DYLAN has been and gone, and much, possibly too much, has already been said and written about his visit. Tom Paxton was also on the Isle of Wight. He is the nearest thing I know to a modern-day troubadour, with the possible exception of Pete Seeger. Tom in fact came dangerously near to stealing the show from Bob Dylan, singing some of his oldies like 'Ramblin' Boy' and bringing the house down with his fine 'Talking Vietnam Pot Blues'. It was largely this that earned him three encores.

He certainly got the best reception of the entire three days—including Dylan. Tom is also largely venturing away from the realms of protest into the realms of poetry, and why not?

But let us approach the weekend more chronologically—what actually happened? First, to my surprise, the amplification set-up was first-rate. There was a free concert on Friday evening, including the Marsupial Army, Heaven, Mighty Baby who gave us some nice flute work, Eclection, a very fine group with a fine lead singer in Doris Henderson, who recorded some time ago with John Renbourne. This is a folk-rock group rather after the style of Fairport Convention.

They were followed by Free, Gypsy, Blonde on Blonde and the Bonzo Dog Band—who put on a genuinely funny but entirely musical entertainment of their own. They are unique and brilliant. The Nice were the evening's finale—by now most will be familiar with their considerable instrumental virtuosity—representing the classics of everyone from Bach to Khachaturian in a way that does not show any disrespect for these worthies of music, rather its own kind of reverence. It is pleasant also to hear a purely instrumental group once in a while.

The Saturday and Sunday concerts were mammoth affairs of twelve hours each, midday to midnight. Despite the fact that Dylan and others were making a bomb out of this, one could not complain of not getting value for money, at least not yet.

On Saturday we heard Blonde on Blonde again, Blodwyn Pig, Edgar Broughton, Marsha Hunt, Free, Who, Fat Matress, Aynsly Dunbar, Joe Cocker, White Trash, Pretty Things and Family. For me the hit of the day were Family, who rightly were the evening's finale. Of the sing out, shout loud and rave groups that proliferate at present, Family strikes me as being in a class of their own as regards presentation, imagination and musical ability. They were superb.

Apart from Dylan and Paxton, Sunday would still, however, have been the day for me. Gypsy opened—followed by the utterly incredible Liverpool Scene—Adrian Henri is his own kind of pop group; and Andy Roberts has struck me, ever since the original Liverpool Scene LP came out with Roger McGough, as one of the finest acoustic guitarists around in his own stream—as Renbourne, Jarsch, and Graham of fond memory are in their's—all of them unique, incomparable. Liverpool Scene presented an excellent skit on Powellism, which went as near to slander as pop can get. They were followed by the Third Ear Band—another instrumental group employing the unusual combination of oboe, violin, cello and bongoes, and using Eastern-influenced techniques and moods in a

way that brought some of the Incredible String Band's sounds to mind. I enjoy them very much indeed.

The staggeringly high standard of this day's proceedings was maintained by Indo-Jazz Fusions and Pentangle presenting respectively their Eastern-influenced music and folk-jazz, rather than folk-rock sounds, that have lent to these two groups individuality, imagination and inventiveness that is all their own.

In between we had Gary Farr—the brother of MC Rikki Farr, backed by the Mighty Baby, who has, for a change, an excellent singing voice, and Tom Paxton whom I have already mentioned. By the way, while on the subject, despite his somewhat cloying mannerisms of speech, Rikki Farr did an excellent job right through the weekend—he kept things moving—gave the people as far as possible what they wanted, and had none of the condescending superiority one sees at, for example, the National Blues Festival, when some aged square from the National Jazz Federation or Marquee Club has a go. Rikki managed to remain fairly popular to the end. No easy job in a situation like his.

After Pentangle came Julie Felix, whose material was slightly better than usual, including a pleasant performance of Cohen's 'Bird on the Wire', but she was a bit hesitant on stage.

Ritchie Havens was in good voice, and has quite a personality, and can communicate with an audience. After him came the first bad idea programmatically of the entire thing, an interval of 1½ hours. People got up, left the vast arena—holding 120,000 at this point—wandered around, and it was a difficult and time-consuming job to get them settled down again even for the Band.

The Band were a well-drilled lot who obviously know their material well. Here was C & W given a professional tinge that may rob it of some of its earthiness, but gives it a polish that is in many ways its own compensation. It is not better than other, more 'ethnic' (to use a horrible word) C & W sounds, it is just different, that's all.

Then Dylan—I have not heard 'Nashville Skyline'—so I was immediately struck by his singing, which is different in tone, and in many ways better than his earlier recordings. He was as good as on record, something that one cannot say of many performers. He sang 'St. Augustine', 'Lazy Lady Lay', 'Tambourine Man', 'Will Ye Go Lassie Go' (a pleasant surprise that), 'Highway 61', 'One Too Many Warnings' in a lilting C & W style, 'Pity the Poor Immigrant', 'Like a Rolling Stone', 'I'll Be Your Baby Tonight', 'Mighty Quinn' and others. In fact it was developing into a fine climax to a fine weekend's music when he walked off, and that was that.

Dylan gave us an hour when at least two had been confidentially forecast by the promoters and expected by the audience. At £35,000 per hour, Dylan is doing pretty well. Admittedly what he gave us was pure gold—was it ungrateful to expect more? Personally I do not think so, and yet was still a little disappointed quantity-wise. Apart from that he was first-rate.

There were really only one or two hang-ups, continually noisy, low-flying aircraft and helicopters during the music that I could cheerfully have shot down, people walking around too much (but

that is inevitable in an affair like this), not enough entrances to the arena, only two for 120,000 people—it took you 14 hours to shit! Queuing for everything was another inevitable drag. The press reports that appeared subsequently, apart from the *Guardian* and *The Times*, and this one of course, were a load of unmitigated lies and crap, as far as I could see.

Finally, British Rail fell from grace a little on the way home because of the way they shut many people up in the railway station all night, with 10,000 others behind crowding them in and not realising what they were doing, and one of those iron-railed gates in front of us threatening to grate us like so much cheese, if the shoving kept up. The uniformed stalwarts of the Isle of Wight railways and constabulary were on hand of course to jeer from a distance through the bars at our plight. A plight that included not being able to sit for fear of being trampled, fainting and not being able to fall down for the crush, falling and being trampled on and not being able to get medical help through to the injured, being sick, inevitably over your next door neighbour, in short it was like the black hole of Calcutta.

As far as I could see the promised all-night trains and boats were not running until 5.30 a.m., and neither was the loud-speaker system, which surely some twit could have used in order to try to alleviate, in some cases, the very real distress of the trapped and angry crowd.

The crowd, however, were fantastically self-disciplined, a fact that had been an outstanding feature of the whole weekend. It was only thanks to this that there were not serious injuries—especially with the fuzz provocatively leering through the bars at us all night, and laughing their shrinkable heads off, as if we had been bound for some convenient concentration camp.

Isle of Wight fuzz, Ryde British Railways staff—may you get yours when the revolution comes! Still, fantastically, it didn't rain, did it?

PADDY FIELDS.

## SUMMER CAMP DEFICIT

THE International Summer Camp in Cornwall ran at a loss. Although well over 200 comrades attended, many were unable to pay their camping charges. Money was given to help out foreign comrades in need, also equipment was unfortunately destroyed and a big loss was incurred by the camp shop. The deficit is in the region of £80 owed to the site owner and to individual comrades who lent us money. Therefore we are making an urgent appeal to all groups and individuals who can help financially to send a donation to: Ann Lindsay, 39 Upper Tulse Hill, London, S.W.2. Those who were unable to pay their camping charges at the time are invited to send their money as soon as possible.

## NATIONAL (Liberation) FRONT—A Denial

Dear Friends,

A. Meltzer's piece on Palestine and its supporters in this country in your edition of August 23 was misleading and factually incorrect. It is possible to point to many mistakes and half-truths in it—indeed, it reads as if it were written with the deliberate intention of misleading, to persuade FREEDOM readers that all pro-Palestinians were either pro-fascist, fascist, or prepared to co-operate with fascists. The gratuitous insults, against Tony Cliff or the IMG for example, might tend to obscure the fact that the demonstration against Golda Meir was one against the Prime Minister of a state which is based on a racist, exclusivist ideology, which has occupied the land of others and is engaged in exploiting them. A state moreover which is identifiable with other imperialist powers such as the United States.

The issue of the Palestinian Revolution is one worthy of more serious attention by anarchists than A. Meltzer seems prepared to give. He might, for his part, like to spend some more time studying the subject before he rushes into print again, linking pro-Palestinians with the National Front. He might, for example, like to do some research into the Committee for Solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution, to find that it does not support Nasser, but does, in

fact, support the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which has consistently attacked Nasser, and the other 'socialist' regimes in Syria and Iraq as being petty bourgeois.

PETER HELLYER.

A. Meltzer replies:—Not that all 'pro-Palestinians' were pro-fascist but that those who attended a demonstration together with fascists were doing what the CP did in Germany. The CP was not 'pro-fascist' either. It was demonstrating against the very state that had killed the German Revolution, murdered Luxemburg and Liebknecht, etc. The question is whether in demonstrating against that State one could not act in a somewhat different manner. I have given a little study to the Palestine question—Peter Hellyer might care to look up the files of this paper thirty years ago for the first, when (one may say) Zionism was still popular among the Trots. The anti-Zionism they profess was only picked up with the Russian switch.

If friend Hellyer, imagines that criticising this type of anti-Zionism plays into the hands of the Israeli Government, he might ask himself how the Shin Beth manages to infiltrate Westernised Jews into Arab countries except by posing as militants of the broad 'Trot' left.

## TACTICS ON DEMONSTRATIONS

ANALYSIS OF OUR own experiences is one of our primary tasks now, not just debating May '68, Makhno and Malatesta. It is in this light that the experience of last Sunday's Irish Demonstrations must be seen.

The Anarchists, who very often prove themselves to be among the most militant sections on demonstrations, this time proved themselves to be lacking in political and tactical judgement. It should have been obvious to anyone on the march who reflected on the possibilities of militant action that the necessary factors were not present. The London Irish workers, who had been the most active element in the previous Sunday's demonstration, were not present, due to lack of publicity, inefficient organisation on the part of ICRSC and lack of time, the cool-off in Ireland, and the march being confined to Central London as opposed to starting off in an Irish area. The police were highly concentrated compared with the numbers of demonstrators (showing how seriously they took the demonstration as a threat after the previous week). Lastly, the march was largely made up of social democrats whose conception of a march has not changed from CND days. It should be noticed that the basis for militant action is in the quality of the demonstration not the quantity—500 Irish workers are proved more violent than 5,000 students and armchair revolutionaries.

Despite this, the majority of the Anarchists on the march, about 50, led their abortive breakaway in Parliament Square. This breakaway, which was as sectarian as their rigid grouping throughout the demonstration and their 'Anarchista' chants (how would you like to hear chants of 'Mao Mao?') was extremely ill-

prepared and carried out. No attempt was made to carry a larger part of the demonstration with them by stopping, linking arms, telling everyone about the new target, etc. As it was, they dashed off screaming 'Anarchista, Anarchista'. This was totally irrelevant and meaningless to everyone else on the march who obviously thought 'Oh, another Anarchist freak-out'. They should have been shouting 'To the Unionist Office, the Unionist Office', which was extremely relevant to all on the march.

The lessons of this action are that Anarchists must understand the dialectical relationship between minority activist groups and the mass of demonstrators. That for a small group to be effective in initiating mass actions they have to be a part of that mass, to have common aims with them and not be manipulative. In militant situations, the services of affinity groups and the experience of militants can be invaluable in creating and developing new forms of struggle. The revolutionary concept of a demonstration is surely that of a publicity/morale boost, of practical and self-educational lessons in street tactics, mass-actions and as part of the ongoing struggle against capital and its guardians.

Thus in future there must be a responsible involvement in a demonstration, its creation, aims and organisation. We cannot afford people just going on demonstrations as an excuse to riot for its own sake and to indulge in narcissistic heroics.

This was written after much self-criticism on the part of the authors, of their own role in last Sunday's demonstration; which was in some cases similar to that of the criticised Anarchists.

NOTTING HILL LIBERTARIANS.

# A Home is Everbody's Right!

## The Fulham Squatters

**Y**ET ANOTHER NIGHT has passed in the squatters occupation of an 8-roomed house in Rumbold Road, Fulham, where once as many as 20 to 30 comrades gathered prepared to use all the force necessary to hold the property for the family then in occupation (the Fosters) who, no doubt every comrade knows, were rehoused in Camberwell. Then we must not forget Grace Craig who, after a short period of squatting, allowed herself to be put into the homeless hostel (Battersea Bridge Buildings, known locally as Battersea Bridge 'Mansions') because the Council would not take care of their responsibilities to the family (or any family!).

We are resolved to carry on the campaign for the homeless without authorities or personalities. We intend to ensure that no more sell-outs take place. We welcome the help of anyone who is prepared to work and contribute for future operations. We regret that at the moment we are unable to support any more who are unable to support themselves.

The squatters have held this house since May 13, 1969. Thanks to the many, many people who have helped in the fight for adequate housing for all, but we must stress the fight is not yet won. There are still homeless families, one of which we squatted in Rumbold Road last Friday after they were evicted from 20 Redcliffe Square, Chelsea, by the County Court bailiff Ronald George Bevan who was wearing a blue shirt and black tie (maybe trying to prove how superior he was). Members of the South West London Squatters' Group arrived on the scene at the same time as the bailiff and the squatters were told they could not

enter the premises. They then pushed past the bailiff and another man and the police were called but, once again, the squatters were within their rights and were allowed to stay after PC B.489 had threatened to smash the camera of one of our supporters.

The squatters then helped to load the family's furniture on to a lorry which had been supplied by a friend of the squatters. Mrs. Keene and six-year-old daughter Susan then started the short journey to Rumbold Road while Mr. Keene went to the Chelsea Welfare Department to ask for accommodation for his family.

The accommodation offered to him was by Mrs. Tribe, head of the Chelsea Welfare Department. Mr. Keene was offered one room, a small kitchen and one toilet shared by eight other families. The rent was £3 17s. 6d. a week for one month only, then out again. Mr. Keene did not accept this offer and that was when he finally decided to squat.

Joyce and David Keene have spent most of their married life in homeless hostels including four years in Battersea Bridge Buildings. They have been on the Hammersmith Housing List for nine years and were still homeless. While there are homeless families we cannot, we must not, give up squatting.

We need all the help we can get physically, mentally, and financially. We appeal to all comrades—do not forget us or what we are fighting for.

For and on behalf of  
SOUTH WEST LONDON SQUATTERS,  
c/o 22 Rumbold Road,  
Fulham, S.W.6.

## Collect Money for the Homeless!

**Sir,**  
I would like to draw the attention of your readers to the terrible housing situation in Dublin. We have 10,000 homeless or housed worse than rats. Yet all over the city are large solid empty houses that would provide flats of great comfort for from 3 to twelve families and 2 to 6 bedsitters for our almost below-the-breadline old-age pensioners.

The Government has the power to requisition any of these houses that it does not indeed really own. It prefers to sell them to rapacious English speculators who bulldoze them down and erect monstrous concrete office blocks.

We have the worst housing programme in Europe. True, the Corporation has built a few ghettos miles outside the city, which it lets at rents few working-class can afford to pay, especially when living out in one of these ghettos means bus fares of about 5/- a day.

The Dublin Housing Action Committee exists to help these victims of speculation, capitalism, and imperialism. We take over suitable houses and put families in squatting. This leads to bureaucratic reactions.

Last January, Mr. Dennis Dennehey

was committed to prison for occupying a room in a house owned by a millionaire who was (and still is) letting it decay away. Dennis repaired and did up one room. Dublin citizens en masse turned out onto the streets in protest at this wicked gooning, and we were cruelly batoned by the police. Nevertheless our protest led to the release of Dennis who was given a caravan on a Corporation plot.

Yesterday in the High Court three more men were committed to prison because they refused to put their wives and children out onto the streets so that a monstrously rich elderly spinster could sell the building (once a small hotel) to an English firm to convert into offices. The price she is getting is £23,000. We are all poor working-class people and need money desperately to support these families while their brave husbands are in prison indefinitely. Can you help? Will every reader send even 1/-. More if you can afford it. All will be gratefully acknowledged and received.

Meanwhile we will continue the battle and brave the batons.

MRS. HILARY C. J. BOYLE  
Dublin Housing Action Committee,  
c/o 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin

## Token Squat in Harrogate

**A**S THIS COPY of FREEDOM comes out on sale, the squatters move into an empty Council house in Knaresborough, near Harrogate, Yorkshire.

### BROADSHEETS

#### The Anarchist Revolution

4s.6d. a 100

30s. a 1000, postage 6s.

Cash with order—please!

FREEDOM PRESS

This will be only a token 24-hour squat as the house is shortly to be demolished to make way for a Council flat development. The reason for the squat is that it has stood EMPTY FOR SIX YEARS. This, coupled with the fact that there are 300 families, in a town of only 9,000 people, on the Council waiting list, shows the criminal attitude of the Council, which is made up of small-minded shopkeepers and retired managing directors.

We will be handing out leaflets all day Saturday to passers-by and shoppers. We will be pleased to welcome any comrades to our beautiful house, which is in Castle Ings Road, if they are in the area. The comrades of the Leeds group have already promised major support for our campaign.

ROGER WILLIS &

Harrogate Group

DAVE HOWES.



Who will be evicted on September 15?

## Squatting Victory in Edinburgh

**T**HE EDINBURGH SQUATTERS group was contacted on August 27 by Bill and Sheila Henderson, a young couple who had moved into an empty flat in the centre of Edinburgh. The flat, at 6 Brighton Street, which had been empty for five years, was owned by the Ministry of Public Building and Works. Bill and Sheila had been there for two weeks before they were discovered and visited by police who told them to move out as they were trespassing.

On hearing this news a small band of activists were collected on the day of the threatened eviction and advised Bill and Sheila to barricade themselves in. They agreed to do this, not having had anywhere decent to live for a long time. They put a chest of drawers behind the front door. Two Ministry officials, two policemen and two joiners came to the door. In the presence of the squatters' lawyer, they took no action and went away saying that they would return in the afternoon.

By 3 p.m. in the afternoon about 30 sympathisers had gathered to lend their moral support and decide what action to take if there was a forcible eviction. The officials never turned up.

The neighbours had been rather antagonistic, mainly because of the long hair

of some of the helpers, so we leafleted the street explaining how the issue of the squat affected them.

The excellent press coverage so embarrassed the Ministry that they decided to drop the thought of any legal action and instead said that they would want to move in a more deserving homeless family. (Bill and Sheila have no children and Sheila is a student... thus making them less deserving we supposed?) However they seemed unable to find a more deserving case as, after the weekend, Bill and Sheila were told that they would be offered the tenancy at a reasonable rent.

The flat is in 19th century property sandwiched between the university and the museum. The whole area is being bought up for 'educational' buildings and will soon be a ghetto of culture without a house in sight. The traditional element of working-class homes will have been deported to the outskirts of the city. In a recent speech a rector of a central church called the university a 'vandal gobbling up property'. Perhaps nearly a third of the centre of the city will be owned by the two universities or the art college or a big teaching hospital. The last area of housing is being gobbled up in a deal between the university and a branch of City Centre Properties Ltd.

Bill and Sheila's direct action has paid

off and has set a marvellous precedent. Not only did the police not take action under the Trespass Scotland Act 1865, but the Ministry has been forced to rent out property that might otherwise have stayed empty for years, till the area became due for redevelopment. We are now looking for more empty property in the area. Edinburgh has a housing list of 6,000 and a recent report showed that there are over 10,000 families living in overcrowded conditions. Ultimately we must battle for a complete change in priorities so that more people are housed in the centre and organisations like the university and the Ministry stop speculating with property.

Edinburgh Squatters is a loose grouping of people interested in various types of community action. We are involved in helping people to start tenants associations and a newspaper about the housing situation and recent vicious rent increases in the city.

There will be a conference on Community Action in Scotland on October 25 in Edinburgh.

Details of these and other subversive activities in a city ripe for revolution from: Tom Woolley, 14 West Preston Street, Edinburgh, EH8 9PU (031-667 7241).

## Ho Chi Minh

**'UNCLE HO'** DIED a paternalistic leader of North Vietnam. The tribulations of war sometimes soften the harsher features of dictatorship when the state is doing well; or make brutal facts more obvious when the state does badly. The Vietnamese people still do not entirely understand that nobody intended victory, that it was all a move on the chessboard, and Ho Chi Minh acquired the image of a Churchill.

Born into the mandarin class, Nguyen Tath Thanh became one of the many gumshoe men of Michael Borodin in his ill-fated 'Red' Chinese ventures back in the twenties. The bureaucracy survived all disasters like the legendary talking head after the axe had fallen.

One after another the professional agents gravitated to Moscow as the schemes failed all over the world. Patiently the apparatus was rebuilt. Some became party leaders, some became professional spies, others remained in the mysterious Stalinist hinterland where the distinction was often blurred. With the 'Great Patriotic War', as Moscow called the second half of the Second Imperialist

War, the cadre of professional agents was combed out, to be utilised or executed. National origins became of importance once more. Dimitrov remembered he was a Bulgarian, Nguyen that he was an Annamese (as they then were). The 'rootless cosmopolitans' were sent to Siberia, but Nguyen returned to the East as a Vietnamese patriot, to rally his countrymen around the French and Americans in the cause of 'national liberation' which was his from then on. 'World communism' had become a name only.

As 'Ho Chi Minh', the latest in many aliases, Nguyen became the post-war leader in Hanoi, where he was to become a figurehead in the struggle first against the French, then against the Americans. When French imperialism ceased to be expansionist, Moscow re-discovered it was imperialist.

A persistent, plodding bureaucrat—his patience born in years of inter-party manoeuvring and the endless gambles the Russians had played in China—he came to the top and could not be moved. Skill in diplomacy, noticeable in almost all

those who served under arch-Machiavelian Borodin, enabled him to play Russia off against China, so that even now, nobody knows which of the two rivals is going to influence North Vietnam. Nobody repeated Trotsky's mistake, not turning up at the funeral of the leader because of a cold in the nose. But the Chinese were outflanked into leaving too soon.

Ho Chi Minh, whose greatest achievement before the war had been (as Lien Fu) to penetrate the Chinese seamen's union and become president in order to dissolve it (since Moscow could not dominate it), became the most revered hero in the Marxist pantheon. War-time gave the old diplomatist, like Churchill, a charisma that he may have dreamed of once but must long since have ceased to hope for. It is amazing that when he died, at 79, he was being hailed as a symbol of international student rebellion and the hopes of youth. Nothing in his life was so revolutionary as the name he had when leaving it. It was the best alias he ever used.

INTERNATIONALIST.

# A LETTER TO THE ANARCHISTS

As a former anarchist and frequent reader of *FREEDOM* I was interested by Farquhar MacLay's article (26.7.69) 'Wha Kens Maist Marx?' It made the point that nowadays it is much more difficult to know your enemy and he makes the analogy between the man suffering from T.B. who could be 'palliated' by drugs and thus be less aware of his condition and modern man under the State System being in this position also.

Unfortunately F. MacL. appears not to know very much Marx himself or he would know that the State is a mythical being which symbolises the rule of a dominant class, it is therefore impossible to know it or to hate it, you come in touch only with its representatives who, like the attendants in the gas chambers, are 'merely carrying out orders'.

F. MacL. mentions that there has been an Anarchist Group in Glasgow

from about 1908 which grew, then declined most markedly in recent years. His analysis of this decline rests upon the assumption that your enemy, the State, is much less obvious than in pre-Welfare State eras. I would suggest that this is only a half-truth, more importantly I think the Anarchists in Glasgow, and in other parts of Britain also, have failed to capture any considerable portion of the working-class movement. Most of the advances made by the workers have been gained through the Trade Unions and the now much-discredited Labour Party. The Anarchists have always stood aside from the real struggle, they have rejected organisation and all elementary forms of leadership and kept to their moral absolutes with politics, voting and elections as primeval taboos. It has been this failure to become involved that has kept Anarchism an exclusive sec-

tarian movement no less innocuous than the SPGB and other splinter socialist groups.

Although the State may appear to most Anarchists as the main enemy it is significant that Anarchism in Britain at any rate poses no problem to the faceless men who wield power and make the main decisions. In the unlikely event of the present State machine breaking down, there is little chance of an Anarchist alternative being realised because the so-called Anarchists are not organised to be in a position to do so. Anarchism is another of the impossibilist religions that has to wait for the last man in the world to be converted before salvation can be attained. If there was any evidence that any mass conversion was taking place, then there might be some justification in holding on to the ideas of nineteenth-century figures like Kropot-

kin, Bakunin and Proudhon (two aristocrats and a peasant, and scarcely forward-looking figures). It's no good dressing up the old platitudes of State hating in more modern garb as F. MacL. does. If the Anarchists really want to destroy the bogeyman of a State, then let them understand it and evolve some alternative which is not merely 'pie-in-the-sky'. Without some attempt at re-think, the Anarchists will continue to remain café debaters and saloon bar revolutionaries 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing'.

Freedom is an idea. Ideas are communicated by discussion, by argument, by debate. Slogans—whether daubed on walls or shouted in processions—convert nobody. The man you think converted by a slogan will be converted back again tomorrow by another slogan shouted louder. Freedom will spread by the intelligent portrayal of its benefits, by the clash of mind upon mind, not of fist upon flesh—or of paint upon wall!

Anarchism and the State (or present-day society) are like two different worlds; unlike the astronauts, however, the Anarchs have still to build their vehicle to get them to their destination.

TOMMY PHELAN.

145 Stockwell Street, Glasgow

## Discuss, Argue & Debate!

Dear Friend,

If A. Meltzer wants to quote the scriptures, I can offer him something more to the point—his point—than Mene mene, etc., namely, 'If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?' Enthusiastic young rebels daubing Anarchy on the walls of Dulwich (or any other) College certainly do not give an uncertain sound. No one at the college can now be unaware of the existence of anarchists (whatever they may think of them) and if there should be any there who had leanings towards anarchism but were faint-hearted, this event may have given their morale a boost. . . . If A. Meltzer had used arguments of this kind instead of wasting space on personal abuse of me based on the entirely erroneous supposition that I am a schoolmaster, we might have had the beginnings of the dialogue I had hoped for.

Instead he talks of wanting to abolish Dulwich College, thinks that end can be achieved by burning it down, but as he cannot burn it down just now

(I want to abolish

Dulwich Collish

But as I cannot burn it all

I'll just slap paint upon the wall)

I suggest that he reads Steinbeck's *The Moon is Down*. . . . 'You cannot shoot the mayor; the mayor is an idea in the minds of free people'. In the same way you can't destroy Dulwich College and all it stands for simply by burning the building. If only it were as easy as that! Those who believe in the Dulwich College kind of thing—and some of them may be men who have ideals which they cherish just as warmly as Meltzer cherishes his—will still believe in it when their building has been destroyed. Furthermore (and this is the point I tried to make in my first letter) they will have had their prejudice against our kind of thing greatly strengthened by such an occurrence. To assume that your opponents are evil men fit only for destruction is to make enemies. To assume that they are intelligent and well-intentioned is the first and essential step towards making them allies and converts.

## Individualism— or Commonsense?

Dear Editors,

Mr. Parker's extreme ideas on individualism have taken him to the anti-socialist position. This is not surprising since these ideas are merely those of existing Society with the power of the State to check the worst excesses removed. Without this safeguard, capitalism would have been unable to function. The individualism of which Mr. Parker dreams, if ever it could be tested, would fail for the same reason. Inevitably the 'strong arm' individualist would take over and instead of the libertarian utopia of Mr. Parker (and his ideas really are 'the path to utopia', of which he is so scornful), what would emerge would be the Slave State all over again, barbarian, ruthless, and we know that, as compared with latter-day barbarians, Genghis Khan was a mere amateur. If we consider liberty to be a desirable thing, we cannot at the same time set any limit to it.

'Liberty is absolute.' It can be neither qualified nor conditioned. Is this agreed, Mr. Parker? If not, where does the limit apply and who, in a free society, will determine when? 'Consistent with the liberty of others?' An impossible precept. Only two corrections to abuse are possible, the coercive power of the State under individualism (and this has a very limited effect, as the front page

horror news of the press demonstrates every day) or the removal of the cause of strife, conflicting interests consequent on the private and State ownership of the instruments of wealth production.

True individualism will be possible only in a free Society (I know you hate the word but you persist in confusing it with the State). When people have an incentive to give of their best and determine their own needs, Society will be free. Your way does not lead to liberty, Mr. Parker, quite the opposite. To be free, people must be independent and this they will be only when they have economic liberty. To dream of liberty on any other basis is to build your castle on sand (or in the air).

To make a 'profit', someone else must be exploited, and anyway it would be without meaning in a Society where wealth was free. A society based on the elimination of existing evils is not utopia, it is common sense, or what might be common sense. We may not be able to transform lions into sheep but we can live sensibly, in accordance with natural social instincts, when wealth is produced for use instead of profit. If you value freedom, Mr. Parker, think again.

Woldingham, Surrey HENRY BALL.

## LITERARY NOTEBOOK

LAST YEAR TWO of Victor Serge's novels were published in English, one, I think, for the first time. This is *Birth of our Power*, a moving and well-written story of Spanish anarchism in the early and mid-thirties, and it is published by Gollancz at 30/-. The other is the better-known *Case of Comrade Tulayev*, first published in this country by Hamish Hamilton in 1951, and now reprinted as a Penguin Modern Classic at 7/6d. Actually, I discovered that it went out of print almost immediately but it probably won't be too difficult to find a paperback bookseller with an odd copy or two still on his shelves. Both these novels are well worth reading, and although the first will probably be of more interest to readers of this newspaper, the second novel, dealing with Stalinist Russia and a purge of the 'Old Bolsheviks', is, by far, the better from a literary point of view. I hope that those who have already read *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* will bear me out in saying that nobody has succeeded in describing revolutionaries in such a vivid and memorable fashion as Victor Serge.

Still on the subject of reprints, Edgar Snow's *Red Star over China* has also just been re-issued by Gollancz at 70/-. This was, I believe, the first account in English by an on-the-spot observer of the Chinese revolution and was first published in 1937 (?)—a Chinese equivalent, perhaps, of John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World*. However, as a corrective to Snow's somewhat rosy optimism—justifiable I suppose at that time—I recommend readers to have a look also at Jacques Marcuse's *Peking Papers*, (published by Barker at 36/-), which is witty, urbane and very much to the point in its exposure of some of the worst failings of Mao's China. (Marcuse, incidentally, is the Belgian journalist who offered to exchange places with Anthony Gray, the Reuter correspondent now held prisoner in Peking. Considering his outspoken criticism of Chinese Communism, M. Marcuse is either a very courageous or

a very foolish man.)

Finally, as part of the series of books issued under the collective title of 'The Documentary History of Western Civilization', Macmillan have just published *Modern Socialism*, edited by Massimo Salvadori. This sells at 90/- and frankly, unless one is totally ignorant of socialist literature, it is largely a waste of money. Such a well-known and easily available work as the Communist Manifesto, for instance, is reproduced here in full, as are selections from Thomas More's *Utopia*, (which is available in its entirety in a Penguin edition) Mao Tse-tung's infantile quotations, G. B. Shaw's Fabian Essays, and, inevitably, the first chapter of *What Is Property?* taken from the Tucker translation. The Anarchist interpretation of socialism is further expressed by a few chunks of Bakunin (Maximoff edition) and two articles by Sorel (?), the first being the Introduction to *Reflections on Violence*, and the second on the proletarian strike. I find it hard to imagine how somebody by the name of Salvadori could overlook Armando Borghi, Errico Malatesta, Ugo Fedeli, and Luigi Bertoni—to name but a few!

I suppose though that, as far as this book is concerned, anarchists shouldn't complain too much. Trotsky is allocated about 17 pages, Lenin one more, Stalin 14, while Che Guevara ends up with three. If you really want to know what fills up the rest of the 396 pages, you can get a copy of the book for yourself and look. But I wouldn't advise it.

The myth surrounding the life and death of Che Guevara continues to grow. Last year saw the publication in English of *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, (Allen & Unwin, 42/-), *Venceremos: Speeches and Writings* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 50/-), *Bolivian Diary* (Lorrimer, 25/-), *Complete Bolivian Diaries* (Allen & Unwin, 42/-), and odd pamphlets. Castro is reputed to have said of Che, 'He wrote with the virtuosity of a master of our language.' It's certainly more than one

## The Law Can Boomerang

THE LAW is basically and essentially constituted to protect the interests of the wealthy. It is merely incidental that it protects the working class from time to time. And this is only to conceal its real function: the legal sanction of the exploitation of labour.

But the law can boomerang. When the work-to-rule strike was born it was illegal for French railwaymen to withdraw their labour. The railways in France were then as now nationalised for the convenience of transporting

armies at a given notice. However the French syndicalists had a way of surmounting this obstacle. They pointed out to their fellow workers in the railways that there were thousands of laws and rules made for the running of the railways. If these were adhered to instead of using commonsense in the running of the railways there would be chaos. The French railwaymen decided to adhere to the rules and made the law look an ass. The work-to-rule strike was born and the law had boomeranged against the powers-that-be. Since then the work-to-rule has been used by many workers.

can say of his translators! As well as the books, the film of his life, starring Omar Sharif as the man himself and Jack Pallance as Castro, is getting a good deal of advance publicity which Allen Lane are turning to good use as they have just published a new biography of Fidel (50/-). If the film is a commercial success, it could set a dangerous precedent and we may yet see Orson Wells 'doing' the life of Bakunin ('I have manned the barricades at midnight. . .')

DAVE POULSON.

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

OF COURSE WE are up against the old dilemma. We need men who are independent, self-reliant and widely skilled to fight for our free society, but our present society tends to produce men who are dependent, acquiescent and largely unskilled. To change society we need to change people, but if people are shaped by society, how are we to change them without first changing society? It is necessary to break out of this vicious circle at some point. Fortunately it is not complete, the existence of an anarchist movement, small as it may be, shows this. As long as the gap exists there is hope. Perhaps we should be trying to consolidate the breach by making ourselves more independent, more self-sufficient, as well as trying to persuade others to do the same. If enough of us do this, we may one day make the state redundant.

GEOFFREY BARFOOT.

## Anarchism demands Mutual Aid

I THINK MY VIEWS on anarchism must be somewhat idiosyncratic since they don't seem to run with any sort of main current. I dislike tying labels on myself, but I have been called an individualist.

I find the picture of the individual competing in a divided society not only repugnant but impossible. We are all forced to co-operate at some time or other, even in our present jungle. Freedom is not an absolute, it is conditional on the large majority placing some voluntary restraints on their behaviour. Helping others is part of this behaviour. Thus, while I am against any brand of communism, I am in favour of co-operation and mutual aid. Furthermore, I believe that the complete abolition of capitalism and the monetary system is essential for a free society.

I don't have a utopian view of what that society should be like, because I believe that we are certain to remain in a state of change and there will be no point at which we can say we have arrived. What concerns me is the direction of change. I am in the anarchist movement because I think that society is moving in the wrong direction, that is in the direction of greater centralisation, larger and larger units of production, bigger and bigger interdependent communities and consequently less and less freedom. I would like to see society moving in the opposite direction, in the direction of greater individual independence, self-sufficiency and freedom—in the direction of anarchy. It follows that I am against the welfare state, local authority housing, state education and the health services, against any of the paternalistic services that go to rob a man of his individual initiative. There would no doubt be less security in an anarchic society, but I would rather have freedom than security.

## Self-sufficient Units

WHAT I WOULD particularly like to see is the break up of our mass society into smaller and smaller self-supporting units. Here is something to think about in this connection. Holland is the most densely populated country in the world, yet there is enough land to give every unit of ten people (including everybody from new-born babies to the bedridden old) 7½ acres, which would make them self-supporting in food. It has often been said that this country cannot produce enough food to feed the population, yet our density of population is only five-eighths that of Holland. If we take another example, there is enough productive land in the Argentine to give every unit of ten people 165 acres.

It must not be thought from the above that I am advocating a back-to-the-land, rurally primitive sort of society. I am trying to bring some light to bear on the possibility of creating very small self-sufficient units. It seems to me that the rapid advance of technology is actually making this more possible, particularly the little advertised progress in micro-miniaturisation. We are possibly within sight of a technology that could give to a unit little more than the size of a large family, the means to support itself entirely at a highly sophisticated level. Of course this would require large resources in manpower and materials for its initial creation and would therefore be too expensive in capitalist terms to spread widely; but if we can devote enormous resources to landing men on the moon, we can surely devote them to making the men on earth independent.

## Need for Independence

OF COURSE WE are up against the old dilemma. We need men who are independent, self-reliant and widely skilled to fight for our free society, but our present society tends to produce men who are dependent, acquiescent and largely unskilled. To change society we need to change people, but if people are shaped by society, how are we to change them without first changing society? It is necessary to break out of this vicious circle at some point. Fortunately it is not complete, the existence of an anarchist movement, small as it may be, shows this. As long as the gap exists there is hope. Perhaps we should be trying to consolidate the breach by making ourselves more independent, more self-sufficient, as well as trying to persuade others to do the same. If enough of us do this, we may one day make the state redundant.

# Kropotkin as an Encyclopaedist

ANYONE AWARE that Kropotkin was, in his early life, an explorer and geographer of note would not be surprised to find articles by him in journals and encyclopaedias of the turn of the century. He had explored from Finland, across Russia, to Manchuria, and soon after his thirtieth birthday produced a map and paper that showed the existing maps of Asia entirely misrepresented the physical formation of the continent.

Recently I had the time to thumb through a set of Eleventh Edition Encyclopaedia Britannica published in 1911. Twenty or so articles in these volumes on subjects from the Cossacks to Estonia, from the geography of Russia to Turkestan, are by a contributor credited as 'PAK.' A glance at the list of contributors reveals this to be Peter Alexieivich Kropotkin.

Inevitably, I looked for the section on 'Anarchism'. Those who have seen this section in recent encyclopaedias will have quickly read the half a page or

so of notes and come away with the impression that someone, somewhere, has missed the point. Not so in the 1911 edition; the article is complete, concise and one of the best on the subject that I have read. It runs to over 7,500 words (nearly three times the length of the article on Communism in the same edition) and is, of course, by Kropotkin.

Kropotkin traces anarchist philosophy from Zeno (270 B.C.) through Godwin to his own contemporaries. Kropotkin said that Godwin's answer was communism and criticizes him for not having the courage of his opinions because he later rewrote much of his work. (This is heartening to many anarchists who, like myself, feel that although Godwin was a piercing critic of the system, his solution has as much to do with anarchism as Micky Mouse.) Kropotkin mentions the important anarchist newspapers of that time, *Freiheit* (since 1878), *Le* (and *La*) *Revolte* (since 1878), and the only one now remaining,

FREEDOM (since 1886).

The attractive and readily understandable style which Kropotkin used was obviously too much for the editor, Ernest Babelon. He felt that he should put a note at the bottom of the second page to explain the name 'anarchist'. He eventually takes up half a page with his 'note' which starts off as an attempt to vindicate the name 'anarchist' from criminal connections, then he changes his mind half way through and rambles on about spies and the Haymarket affair, eventually in the last paragraph gives up all pretence of impartiality and adopts the familiar 'nasty-anarchists-threw - a - bomb - at - our - beautiful princess' routine.

In the same edition is a biography of Bakunin and a short biography of Kropotkin himself. The latter appears shortly after Kropotkin's factual and impersonal article on Kronstadt, written in ignorance of the betrayal that was to leave the streets littered with dead but a decade later. LARRY LAW.



## SOLIDARITY ACTION WANTED!

Continued from page 1

disorganised, with no overall strategy, otherwise the pigs would have been beaten much sooner. Some flanking attacks were carried out by individual groups. The most spectacular was an assault on Rosemount Police Barracks. This was carried out at a time when Bogside was under severe pressure, and required some police to be drawn off. Rosemount Barracks was attacked, and all the doors except one were petrol-bombed (even a rat needs an escape hole!). One lad managed to get on to the roof and was merrily pulling slates off so as to be able to chuck bombs in.

Reinforcements were rushed from Bogside and were neatly ambushed by a Corporation bus which was commandeered for the occasion. Trapped in a narrow street, their way out blocked by a bus, with petrol bombs raining down on them and their only escape route through the burning barracks, the fuzz began to fire tear gas and revolvers all around, but they need not have feared for help was close at hand.

The well-known moderate and

champion of the downtrodden, John Hume, having rounded up a couple of frightened women, intervened and allowed the pigs to scurry to safety.

In Bogside, meanwhile, they had managed to push the pigs out of Rosville Street across a road junction, and just as they were about to complete the push into the wealthy Strand Road commercial area, the people were surprised by a police charge from their left—the same police who had been freed twenty minutes earlier by Hume.

Much of the fighting was like this, with the pigs never shy to use their guns. Two people were shot in the mouth and chest from close range as they were caught in a gateway during a police rush. On another occasion the vanguard of the Bogside charge was machine-gunned when the police had to retreat to Strand Road. All this time, of course, tear gas was being fired in bursts of five or six shells every couple of minutes. After fifty hours the battle came to an end when British troops arrived on the scene and interposed themselves between us and the pigs.

### DEFEAT OF THE RUC

This obvious defeat of the RUC was hailed as a victory for the people of Derry by the local opportunist politicians who had been no nearer the scene

of the fighting than their television screens. Having arrived to claim their share of the victory, these hacks are now attempting to sell out. They opposed street meetings because, as P. Doherty, vice-chairman of the 'defence committee' said, 'Public meetings are too dangerous. People tend to ask awkward questions and they are not prepared to compromise.'

When the revolutionaries, anarchists and socialists began to hold public meetings every day, we were denounced in statements by the defence committee. When its chairman was foolish enough to appear on our platform, and tried to tell the people, 'your committee will instruct you how to behave', he had to leave very quickly with the crowd yelling for his blood.

Now this same defence committee is attempting to manoeuvre the people into a general feeling of discontent so as to get them to take down the barricades.

### FAILURE OF 'REVOLUTIONARIES'

Despite all the 'troubles' of the past ten months the revolutionary and political consciousness of the people is not very well developed. They are aware that their struggle is against the state and its hired thugs. They are as yet unaware that those people who claim to represent them do not have their interests at heart, that they are prepared to sell them out in order to further their own devious ends. The most unfortunate aspect of this was the total failure of many of the local left in Derry to participate in any meaningful way.

The most notorious culprit in this respect was Eamonn McCann, who has always had a reputation for being an ardent revolutionary. Yet on this occasion his failure was abject and total. When the fighting was at its toughest, McCann was spending most of his time talking to reporters, and drinking with Mary Holland of the *Observer*. When the fighting stopped, McCann was just as elusive, refusing to participate in the setting up of Radio Free Derry, or in street meetings organised by those who had been fighting. His only contribution to the struggle has been to duplicate broadsheets for the reactionary 'defence' committee, and thereby increase their stranglehold on the minds of the people, giving them an apparent legality, and making it more difficult to demonstrate to the people that their wishes and the wishes of the committee were not alike.

As libertarians you can sit back smugly and say, 'As usual, the leaders sell out on the people.' This is true, but it was as difficult to find an anarchist at the barricades in Derry and Belfast as it is to find a revolutionary (not the armchair kind) on the streets of London. This is where it's at, comrades, and when we needed your help, your money, your physical presence, and your political experience, it just was not there (with a couple of honourable exceptions). When it breaks out again, and make no mistake it will, and soon, it will be a hundred times worse. Let us hope that your help will also increase to the same extent.

COLUMCILLE.

## Anarchist Federation of Britain

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN 1969 CONFERENCE  
September 26, 27 & 28 — LONDON

Friday & Saturday in Conway Hall Sunday in Freedom Meeting Hall  
Agenda to be sent to groups. Any not listed please write. All motions and written papers submit to LFA in good time for study by the various groups. Papers to be duplicated where necessary.

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press. **BLACK KNIGHT GROUP.** 5 Nelson Road, N.8. Meeting Wednesday, September 17, 8 p.m. **LAVENDER HILL MOB.** Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086). **LEWISHAM.** Jon Raines, 12 Oakcroft Road, S.E.13 (852 0951). **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 Lem, 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 Wednesday. Correspondence c/o Freedom Press. **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 Cecil Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, CR4 9QH (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. **FARNBOROUGH.** 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey. Tel.: Farnborough 43811. **HERTS.** Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage. **LANCASTER.** John King, 4 The Grove, Lancaster. **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, Carrage 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. **ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson. **READING.** 26 Bulmershe Road. Tel.: Reading 65645. Meetings every Thursday. **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 Nowell (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 Dallas, 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 Stonecroft 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 Roly Pollock, 6 Jermyn Street, Liverpool 8. Meetings Tuesdays, 8 p.m. **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, Chesham, Bucks. **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 Tisbury, Findon Road, Whitehawk, Brighton. **BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton. **CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Richard Ashwell, 57 Buckswood Drive, Gossops Green, Crawley, Sussex. **SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP** (see details under Student Groups).

### YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Secretary: Contact Leeds Group. **HARRGATE.** 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, Cardiganshire, 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 Llwynnedy 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 Stevenson, 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

No address available. Letters c/o Freedom Press.

### 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, Liege. **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. **NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.** All those interested in forming a group contact Terry Phillips, 40 Grosvenor Way, Kettering, Northants. **NOTTINGHAM** and area. Contact Dave Smalley, top flat, 43 Burns Street, Nottingham, or through folk club at the Central Tavern, Monday nights. **NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP.** Mick Renwick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 6.

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# THE RITUAL

LOOKING around the industrial scene one sees the usual skirmishes, odd sections of workers struggling to improve their wages and conditions. Fifty members of the NUG&MW entering their twentieth week on strike, whilst Lord Cooper, their General Secretary, was busy supporting the Prices and Incomes Board at the TUC Congress.

What about the 101st Trades Union Congress at Portsmouth? In terms of names it would appear that the left wing is making a bid to call the tune Scanlon AEF and Jones T&GWU. They carry a hefty block vote between them. In their speeches they informed Prime Minister Wilson as to their views on Prices and Incomes. Frank Cousins laid the law down about equal pay as did his successor on the plight of the lower-paid workers.

Many speakers mounted the rostrum on many subjects and it is possible to learn how the other half live, so to speak. Speakers from the medical profession and the Health Service in general can always be relied upon to impart new and startling information to delegates.

What about major policy decisions on economic and foreign affairs? Do they really mean anything? If the resolution passed in 1800 on equal pay is any criterion, one is forced to say 'No!' The Congress provides a platform for an expression of opinion, in the final

analysis the Government of the day will make the decision, no matter how reactionary that decision may be. If the decision is difficult to implement it will persuade the TUC to implement for it as per the wage freeze.

Year by year the drift is from one conference to the next, union conference to TUC Congress to Labour Party Conference. Each year sees the facade of Left versus Right in each gathering. What precisely does it all mean? 'Bugger all'. But this is democracy, we are told, and yet

## One Law for the Bosses

WHEN AN ORDINARY bloke breaks the rules or a worker ignores 'proper procedures', most managements come down like a ton of bricks. But when the culprit is a boss, then the firm turns a blind eye.

Such was the situation at Dunlop, Rochdale, where the tyre men struck last month. Where on Friday the 15th, an employee, who is aware of certain misdemeanours committed by a supervisor, was harassed and mucked about to the verge of victimisation.

A meeting of the 'unofficial' Works Committee was called to consider the case. And it was on returning from this meeting that the shop steward was told by the manager, Burke, that his name had been put in the works' punishment book (three warnings, then the sack), and that his sentence would follow.

The following Monday it came. The shop steward was to be sent home for two days for holding an unofficial meeting.

A mass meeting of workers agreed to strike for two days if the firm didn't reverse the suspension decision. A manager from Fort Dunlop, Birmingham, agreed to meet the men at 7.30 Tuesday morning, but he didn't turn up, though he was seen boozing with Foster (personnel) the night before.

So it was that pickets turned waggons away, and the Dunlop tyre store was at a standstill.

TWO DAYS' PAY AND PRODUCTION LOST by the actions of a pair of silly supervisors, who are, in the words of one worker, 'not fit to look after a flock of sheep, let alone men.' These two trouble-makers have long been the cause of trouble at Dunlop and further revelations can be expected, if Dunlops don't act to bring about good working relations in the department. It is worth saying that the other supervisor, Murry, is a decent bloke.

It is the aim of the North West Workers to weed out and attack these industrial trouble-makers, 'little Hitlers', and roughnecks, who seek to set themselves up as miniature dictators and make the lives of ordinary folk a hell on earth. The factories are full of these people, they are like maggots, and but for papers like FREEDOM showing them up, nobody would be the wiser.

Now the North West Workers, who are in fact a handful of ordinary workers, and, more important, the scores of working blokes who supply us with the facts at their firms, can slam this seedy section of society.

### DANGEROUS DUSTBOWL

It is now said that the lads in the Regent tyre store are hiring a chimney sweep to help them siphon the shit from their noses.

Such are the dirty conditions in the Regent department.

We now know that as a result of our reports on working conditions some Dunlop shareholders are showing concern. We hope that recent falls in share prices won't prevent them doing everything to influence the management to improve the working conditions at Dunlop.

One thing is sure—the Municipal Workers' Union hasn't done much to right these things.

Both among the Dunlop and Regent workers there have been shortages of gloves and other working materials. This

the cards are still stacked in the same order. The lower half may be shuffled slightly but the top half is status quo. 80% of the national wealth is still in the hands of fewer than 10% of the population, after 101 TUC Congresses.

People still go to the polls in the hope they can change this situation. Or do they? Is it a fact that, because we can go to the Costa Brava every year for two weeks, we are satisfied? Or, if we cannot do that, make sure we have a car?

A minority of the younger generation say 'No!' to this emphasis on materialism. Are the rest of us drugged by the persuasion of the mass media? If we are, then the outlook is bleak to say the least. What can be done? For God's sake not the ritual of the conferences.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

# Freedom

## For Workers' Control

SEPTEMBER 13 1969 Vol 30 No 28

## CHIVERS STINKS

THIS IS WRITTEN mainly for people living in and around Montrose. As some of you will know, I had a rather violent disagreement with a representative of 'Chivers' management. I'd like to start by making it clear that, though occasionally short-tempered, I have no ill-feeling towards any person whatsoever. I blame the system.

The royal burgh of Montrose (pop. approx. 10,000) doesn't have much industry. This suits the few main employers. They want to keep it that way. For instance, take the outfit which is still referred to locally as 'Chivers'. This firm affects the lives of many people, yet most of us aren't even sure who owns it. First, Hartleys took over. They were swallowed up by Schh... you know who. Now, Cadburys are said to be in control. One thing is certain—none of the bosses give a damn for us, their wage slaves.

'Chivers' (whoever that may be) have actually prevented new industry from entering their territory. A big engineering firm wanted to build a factory in Montrose. 'Chivers' and Glaxo joined forces with the tourist trade, retired colonels, et cetera, in claiming that 'this proposal would destroy the character of our community'. Their successful opposition to the 20th century was concurred by the *Montrose Review*, sometimes called 'The Two Minutes Silence'.

The atmosphere in 'Chivers' is terrible, and I don't mean the smells which are inevitable for a food factory. I'm talking about a situation where you have to be careful what you say, because there's always somebody ready to seek the management's favour by informing. The reasons are obvious. While the strawberries, rasps, peas, beans, and so on, are rolling in, a lot of people are employed. So, for a few months each year, the regular workers are able to look down on somebody. Not only is a temporary worker the lowest of the low—he is a rival. After all, if he's a good boy, he might get kept on 'permanently'.

An incident occurred a few weeks ago which illustrates what is wrong with

'Chivers'. One of the chargehands—a big, hefty bloke—spat in a student's face; not once, but several times. I don't know what the boy is supposed to have done, but this kind of behaviour from a foreman is like something out of Dickens. At the very least there should have been an immediate stoppage of work by the whole factory, forcing the management to suspend the chargehand until he had learnt his lesson. Nothing happened. Scotland the brave? I've seen more spirit in a Babycham.

During the busy time some 'regulars' work ridiculously long hours. I know one or two who wouldn't go home at all if the management allowed them a couple of hours' kip on the premises. Of course, they do it for their families' sakes—but perhaps the wife and kids would prefer to see them a bit more often? The sensible thing to do is fight for a decent basic wage so you don't need the overtime.

It won't be easy. The workers are divided. Though night shift is more or less finished for another year, there are still daytime 'casuals', and the evening shift, who will carry on till just before Christmas. The women must learn to stand up for their rights also. Many of you are young, and quite a few are bonny. But if you want to know what is meant by big words like 'exploitation' or 'bureaucratic indifference'—just take a look at some of your older workmates, who have had a lifetime of toil and drudgery.

The first step is to discuss things openly with each other, and decide to act. If you want to join a union, by all means do so, but don't expect somebody with an office in Dundee to solve your problems for you. It has to be 'do it yourself'. Friends, fellow workers—if ever you are to act like free men and women, the time is now.

DAVE COULL.

P.S. We anarchists believe in free speech. If anyone connected with 'Chivers' has a comment to make on this article, FREEDOM will print it.

## Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

FREEDOM MEETING HALL, 84b Whitechapel High Street, E.1. This Sunday, September 14 at 7.30 p.m. GLC Rent Struggle: Plan of Action.

WEA Day School. Poetry and Jazz. Lascelles Girls School, Porlock Ave., Harrow, Saturday, September 20, 2.30-7. Jeff Cloves and Poetsdoos Jazz and Poetry Group. Tickets 4/—(including tea) from Mrs. A. Russell, 24 The Gardens, West Harrow. 01-427 5539.

British IWW.—First leaflet out soon. AFB Conference (September 25, 26, 27).

Offers of accommodation from London comrades please and requests from Provincial comrades to Brenda Mercer, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

Blackguard!—libertarian student magazine appearing on September 25 (copy date September 19). Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow, Essex.

Nick. Congratulations on surviving for so long.—P. F. C. Wintergreen.

Badges? Contact Pendarves Workshop, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne; tel. Camborne 3061.

Artist/Cartoonist wanted to turn idea into poster—an adaption of illustration on front of Pelican 'Anarchy' by Woodcock—able to caricature different types of London people. John, 229 9994.

Students—going to Cardiff/Newport area? Drop a line to Chaz, c/o Cardiff Anarchists soon.

Synic-10 now out: libertarian broadsheet for September. Send 2 x 4d. stamps to Room 209, Abbey House, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

Leveller One, a new libertarian magazine; includes articles on education (David Page); revolutionary organization (SDS); and 'Politics and Culture' (Tom Barrett). 2/6 post paid, from above.

JSR-CNT—39 rue de la Tour d'Auvergne. Articles wanted for Combat Syndicaliste on strikes, industrial struggles, anarchist activity in factories and of social concern to workers. Address to Michel Le Marec, c/o above.

London Schools Anarchist Group. T. Swash, 49 Popham Road, London, N.1. Regular Friday meetings.

Manchester Schools Anarchist Group. Sylvia Lerner, 15 Chandos Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester 21.

Birmingham discussions. Every Tuesday 8 p.m. at the Arts Lab, Summer Lane Peace News. Six weeks trial offer for 5/-. 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

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in one case led to an outbreak of what might have been a mild form of dermatitis among some tyre men, and it took a nurse to complain before things were put right.

A dire shortage of drinking fountains is also in evidence throughout the seven flats of Dunlop, Rochdale. Brewing is made hard by a faulty boiler.

### ALL CHANGE

This month could be critical at Dunlop. As has already been said, the Dunlop workers want to change from the Municipal Workers' Union into the T. & G. FREEDOM backs this move mainly because it's what the workers want.

But it isn't the only reason. The Dunlop workers can't safely look out for themselves without linking up with tyreworkers at Liverpool, Birmingham and elsewhere in the Dunlop Group. Membership of the T. & G. would make this easier.

The T. & G. is against the Government wage freeze policies, and favours free collective bargaining, thus making pay claims free from political interference.

A worker at the Windmill (workingmen's pub where some Dunlop lads hang out) last week suggested that to swop shops to the T. & G. won't in itself bring better things at Dunlop, and that what matters is the determination of the men to put things right whatever union they're in.

Such comments often appear in FREEDOM.

All right! But what can we do when the Municipal Workers' Union is deliberately dragging its feet? Backing the Government clamp-down on wages!

A union should do its best for its members. How can the Municipal Workers' Union do this when it is bent on keeping the Government in power, so that Lord Cooper and the likes can collect titles and jobs for services rendered?

Trade unions should be free from party politics!

Meanwhile back at Dunlop, Rochdale, the management and the officials of the Municipal Workers' Union are still stopping the workers from joining the T. & G. Perhaps when these people talk of rules and 'proper procedure', they really mean forcing people to do things they don't want.

NORTH WEST WORKERS.

## The Price of Freedom

READERS MUST have noticed that the Press Fund's financial statement has been omitted in recent issues. The reason for this is that we are trying to re-assess our financial position in the light of many price increases. These include paper, ink, typesetting and the recent 10% increase in blockmaking charges. It seems to us that we may have to raise substantially the price of FREEDOM because of the present rate of inflation.

We would not like to raise the price without adding further pages and/or issues and we are considering these alternatives and would welcome your suggestions and views.—Editors.

## APPEAL TO ICI WORKERS

ICI, as a mammoth industrial corporation, manufactures many things.

For the capitalist bosses money doesn't talk, it screams. But one of the nastier things that ICI manufactures is cartridges for CS gas. Maybe some of you turn out these pretty pale green containers, with their copper bases and their distinctive red lettering, and you haven't thought how they are going to be used against Vietnamese peasants, French workers or students or American Yippies. But now they've been used in Britain, and against women and kids as well. Perhaps some of you are Irish, maybe some of you even come from Derry. If so, perhaps your mother or younger brothers and sisters spent the night of August 12, or the 13th or the 14th, lying on the floor of their slums coughing their lungs up, wheezing asthmatically for weeks, or lying in their own diarrhoea all night. According to the 'Sunday Times', hardly an alarmist paper, the 'police fired the 1 1/2 in. cartridges with reckless enthusiasm, at anyone in the street and into the bedrooms of most of the flats'. This is the gas that they know very little about—the 60 babies suffering from severe diarrhoea in the Bogside today, three weeks later, and the men and women whose asthmatic conditions have been gravely worsened as a result of coming into contact with it, are the guinea pigs. This is the gas that is TWENTY-FIVE times as powerful as the gas used by the police last May in Paris—and that is the gas that Professor Kahn says can cause severe damage to the kidneys, lungs and brain. This is the gas that smiling Jim Callaghan, the coppers' friend, said, in the House of Commons (July 4, 1968), 'will only be used to effect the arrest of dangerous and violently insane persons or armed besieged criminals'. Is this a description of Keenan Barrett, aged six, who picked up one of the cartridges you made, two days after the RUC and B-men's vicious attack and as a result is still in Altnagelvin Hospital? Did the scientists who made CS try it on on themselves first—or did your ICI bosses?

I have in front of me one of your cartridges. Its markings are CY 7/60. Lot 12. QWIOGF. A/RIOT L2A2. IRRT CS. ICI) 3/60. Did you make it? Did you ruin the lungs of a six-year-old boy? Are you an ally of the murderous B-Specials who've killed eight already? Or will you go into work tomorrow and make some more gas containers for them to use tomorrow?

BELFAST WORKERS.