

BUTTER BEFORE GUNS!

IT WAS A PITY about the Nazis.

They just went a bit too far, and against Europeans too. If only they could have stayed within the bounds of decent ordinary governmental repression and kept it within their own sphere of influence and played the diplomatic game just a bit more cleverly, they might have been with us yet. Their buddy Franco is, after all, and only because he has been so discreet in the international sphere. No anti-semitism helps, of course, for this tends to stir people up all over the world; Franco has had the sense to keep his firing squads busy strictly on the Spaniards, thus encroaching on no other government's preserves.

The Nazis, however, in their own way, were too honest. They always made perfectly clear what they were after and went straight after it, slaughtering their way into a very special niche in modern history. One phrase which the Nazis coined summed up perfectly what their economy was about and what their policy was to be, and they shouted it for all the world to hear. 'Guns Before Butter!' they screamed, and summed up precisely the policy of every government in the 20th Century.

THE STATE IS NEVER DEPRIVED

No British Government is ever so foolish as to state a case like that so openly. They don't have to, of course. The British people will cheerfully accept any economic policy which cuts their standard of living while leaving untouched the armaments expenditure of the State, precisely because it is never expressed in such brash terms.

Under Stafford Cripps we had austerity; under Selwyn Lloyd, restraint; under Wilson, a wage freeze. Under all of them, a steady increase in the astronomical sums allocated to the State's military 'needs'. Not one of these good democrats came

right out and said 'Guns Before Butter', but the apparatus of the State, not only in terms of armaments, but in the whole range of State expenditure—police, prisons, civil service (no wage freezes for them!), secret service and political police, riot equipment, Regional Seats of Government... the lot, all on top of what is spent on research and production of Polaris submarines and atomic bombers and the hardware they carry, and stacks of 'conventional' arms. Governments come and governments go, but the State goes on for ever. Forever building up and extending its own power and techniques for retaining power, from CS gas to telephone tapping.

Even in the richest countries millions of families exist in squalid conditions, millions of children are deprived of proper education, but the State never deprives itself of guns or their modern, sophisticated equivalent.

ARISTOCRATIC GAULEITERS

Let us take Northern Ireland. Poorest province of rich little Great Britain, it was artificially created precisely so that Britain could retain a toe-hold in Ireland and come to terms with the rebellious republicans of the South, having first established their Knoxious fifth column of bigoted Protestants from Scotland and awarded large areas of land to a few trusted families, the Chichesters and Clarks and O'Neills, who have managed the province like gauleiters before their time. By political gerrymandering, by cruel and blatant exploitation, by divide-

and-rule, these privileged few have governed and manipulated an ignorant people deliberately kept in ignorance by Christian bigots. The highest rate of unemployment in the United Kingdom—and the lowest rate of new housing development, these have been the rewards for the Northern Irishman's loyalty to the Union Jack. Isn't it pathetic to see the slums of Derry dancing with the red, white and blue—bunting—the banner of those who have cheated them down through the centuries?

It is even more ironical than that. Apart from its textile industry, the staple industry of industrial Ulster has been around the dockyards of Belfast. Harland & Wolffs and Short Brothers—making ships and flying boats for the British Navy and Air Force—have been the main sources of employment for skilled and unskilled workers alike and have been very sensitive to the ups and downs of military requirements. The Northern Irish have made the guns for the British, without demanding too much butter for themselves, and when the British have said from time to time that they don't need any more guns just now thank you, the shipyards close down and a thousand families starve. Precious little bread and no butter at all.

THE MILITARY OPERATION

And when the people of this servile province decide not to be so servile any more, what happens? First they hit out at each other, as

to tear up their union cards, and one worker is reported as saying, 'The only thing this union will understand is mass walk out'.

At Pilkingtons in St. Helens last week, a strike was caused when the Municipal Workers' Union tried to stop some shop stewards from carrying out their duties at the firm. These rebel stewards are of course in the act of forming a new trade union at the plant. Already membership of this new union is said to be about 4,000, and the company has had to stop deducting union subs from the pay packets of these workers, who will not officially cease to be in the Municipal Workers' Union until their union contributions have lapsed 6 months into arrears.

This unstable situation represents a serious threat not only to the union, which, in the North West at least must be getting the jitters as the threat of a membership slump grows, but also to Pilkington's. Fears are already being expressed that the firm is becoming strike prone, the existence of a militant break-away union will tend to encourage such fears putting off investors and lowering share prices.

Realising this, Pilkington's last week began a rescue operation to save the Municipal Workers' Union, by offering £1 a week rise to more than 11,000 of its production workers. This is seen as a 'down payment' to help prop up the crumbling union and help it win the support of the men.

If this attempt to revive the Municipal Workers' Union in St. Helens succeeds, the company will overcome the problem of shop-floor representation, which could damage the firm if the ailing Municipal Workers' Union has to fight for survival later this year. More important, since the company would no doubt welcome a return to the kind of cosy relationship which existed before this year's strike, it would clearly pay them to help resuscitate a deadleg union like the General & Municipal, rather than risk the upset likely when the new militant shop-floor union gets cracking.

NORTH WEST WORKERS.

a direct result of two centuries of religious argy-bargy, provocation and hate. Then into their midst come marching other hirelings of the masters they have helped to arm—with their guns at the ready, behaving like occupying soldiers always behave, with contempt for the people they were putting down. It's guns before butter all right. Government runs true to form and although now, just a little bit too late, reforms are promised, nothing gets done.

If things are as bad in Ulster as we all think they are, then economic aid should have been organised with every priority, pushed through and mounted like a military operation. But no. The only thing that gets mounted like a military operation is a military operation. In go the troops, in go the riot squads, in goes the CS gas ('Not made for use against civilians in the United Kingdom', they used to say at Porton) and in go the bullets and the threat of 'something better than CS gas'. Down comes the curfew.

A typical picture of how governments operate. A fine example of 'Guns Before Butter', the true policy of governments everywhere. On such a level there is no glimmer of hope. From the people, there is some, and directly linked with butter! Into the Bogside area, where the curfew had prevented many a family from being able to get enough food into their houses (to which they had been restricted for 35 hours) and children were going hungry—into this area came storming, ignoring an army order not to have any demonstrations, hundreds of women carrying loaves and milk and butter and packets of tea.

Here was the answer of the people: solidarity.

Here is the next step: solidarity across the religious barriers!

THE REAL ENEMY

For Christ's sake, can't these Christians see who their real enemies are? They are not their neighbours who go to a different church on a Sunday, but the rest of the week share the same economic slum; enmity does not lie in the difference between an Irish Catholic name and a Scottish Protestant one.

The real enemy is the common enemy: the bastards who sit on all their backs and crack the whips for all of them, the bosses and the politicians and the bishops of both sides.

The most relevant thing in Northern Ireland today is no doubt what both sides in the shouting match would think of as most irrelevant: revolution! This is the one and only answer that makes sense: a sweeping away of that old landed aristocracy which has governed for so long; a rejection of any political alternative which would recreate a new ruling class; the establishment of workers' control in the factories and a collectivisation of the land, with free neighbourhood communes to ensure egalitarian distribution according to need. In other words: BUTTER BEFORE GUNS!

But if they are gathering arms and if they are arming just to fight once again the Battle of the Boyne, they will create nothing but a legacy of bitterness for another two hundred years.

BERNADETTE DEVLIN

OUR READERS will know our attitude towards Bernadette Devlin's politics, but we don't like to see her thrown in prison any more than we like to see her wasting her time in Westminster.

One thing stands out: the utter stupidity of the Government which arrested her in such a way as to make a martyr out of her and which lit the fires in Bogside once again. Bernadette was on her way to surrender, and as a Member of Parliament she could do nothing else, when she was arbitrarily arrested and bundled off to jail without a farewell word to her comrades.

That the Government should act as it did was an act of provocation and puts the blame for the violence and deaths that arose immediately from Bernadette's arrest fairly and squarely on their shoulders. What has our new Home Secretary to say for himself?

JUSTIN.

Deadleg Union does it again

THE BOSSES of the National Union of General & Municipal Workers must be about as thick as two short planks. Not content to ruin their St. Helens branch during the Pilkington dispute, these union officials seem set on suicide.

At a meeting last month of 1,000 workers involved in the 9-week-old strike at Renold Chains, Manchester, the North West regional secretary of the Municipal Workers' Union was faced with cries of

'Blackmail' and 'You've done another Pilkington', when he told them their strike was unofficial, and that the union wouldn't give any strike pay. Yet, according to the men, all other unions involved in the dispute were paying out full strike pay.

Later the official claimed that if the Municipal Workers' Union paid full strike pay, many strikers would lose social security benefit for their wives and kids. Workers here are now threatening

Double Blank for Cambodia

PRESIDENT NIXON has achieved some probity and honesty at no cost to himself or his shifty reputation by drawing out of Cambodia at the stipulated time. It has already been pointed out (by Graham Greene in *The Times*) that the rainy season in Cambodia starts in July and that any further operations would have to be sub-aquatic.

The well-known domino theory was brought in to justify the extension of the war to Cambodia but a moment's reflection would reveal that President Nixon (or rather, the Pentagon) pushed over the Cambodian domino himself. More than that, the involvement of Thailand in this war has been brought closer by the mad gamble in Cambodia.

It is obvious that the whole Cambodian project was a brilliant product of the military mind designed (a) to protect the flank of the American troops during withdrawal; (b) to 'Vietnamize' the war; or (c) to wipe out Vietcong

sanctuaries. In all these aims it seems to have failed. Cambodia's 'neutrality', illusory though it may have been, has disappeared beneath the 'justifiable' invasion of the Vietcong and the equally 'justifiable' invasion of the South Vietnamese. Prince Sihanouk has taken refuge in Peking (the NLF now have a benevolent despot as an ally), he has been condemned to death in his absence and dissident Cambodians will rally to the Vietcong.

'Vietnamization of the war' is the sort of military gobbledegook which is an atrocity of language parallel to normally atrocious military behaviour. It betrays the fact that the war—from a military point of view—is no concern of the Vietnamese and it has been decided for political and social (not military) reasons to involve the Vietnamese military, who, up to now, seem to have just profited from the war, in the war. Some bright

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Good News is No News

LAST SATURDAY, the village of Tolleshunt Knights (population about 900) in Essex held its annual fête. Ostensibly, the aim was to get funds for the village hall. But one suspects that the main reason is that the people of Tolleshunt Knights just enjoy having a get-together.

The fête is always held in a beautiful wood near the village. This year, as in the past, it was very well organised. Tolleshunt Knights is one of the few villages that doesn't bother to send or elect a permanent representative to the local rural district council. Its inhabitants seem somewhat anarchic in their attitude to the powers-that-be who sit on Maldon Rural District Council. All the same, when something like the fête has to be organised, the villagers soon set the wheels in motion. They managed to get a well-known Anglia TV personality, Dick Graham, to open it. This was followed by a novelty dog show, Maypole Dancing by local children, a children's fancy dress competition (actually all the kids got prizes) and a piano-smashing (more anarchy?) session. There

was plenty of tea—and beer.

The temperature was in the 80sF. And almost the whole of the village, from the youngest to the oldest, turned out and thoroughly enjoyed themselves. In Tolleshunt Knights (a somewhat classless village, with very few of the 'upper crust') most people seem to know each other, or at least of each other. Mutual Aid seems to come quite naturally to many of the residents. There is only one policeman. Last year, he came along on his bike, just to see that we were not breaking any laws. We weren't; so he didn't bother to come this year!

So, you see, dear readers, this isn't a very exciting story: no murders, no fighting, no robbery, no rape, no one out for a quick buck. Everybody had a good time. When half-a-dozen members of the National Front attempt to break up a Colchester Action Group meeting, or when some poor devil commits suicide in Clacton, that's news. But Tolleshunt Knights' fête didn't even get a couple of lines in the local newspapers. Good news, it seems, is no news.

PETE NEWELL.

Riff-Raff

WE KNOW THAT many young people hardly ever read anything—even papers like the comics, *Melody Maker* and *International Times*. They will switch on their radio or flick down longplaying records but rarely look at a book. It isn't surprising since 'books' become associated with school—and that is enough to put anyone off.

Apart from reading Humphrey Lyttelton's *I Play As I Please* and Rudi Blesh's *Shining Trumpets* I read little or nothing until the age of twenty-two, having left a grammar school—a wretched, formal and trivial institution—almost illiterate at fifteen.

However, on discovering that books discussed ideas seriously, and that books could be enjoyable and helpful, I began to read a few.

It wasn't easy to struggle through the language of Tolstoy or Proudhon; to understand the prose poetry of Ceresole; or the politics of, and within, groups like CND and the Committee of 100.

Most of us, however, learn by personal experience—by trying things which seem too difficult, or even too remote from our previous experience. I have just read two books which recreate recent events and history. Z is a simple story of a well-known and much-loved doctor, ex-athlete and anti-war politician (who spent two evenings each week at free surgery for the poor in Piraeus) whose life ends in a police-inspired traffic

accident in Salonika.

Contrary to liberal thoughts the police involvement was afterwards clearly proven; though due to a lucky series of incidents, just as in Donald Room's case (The Halfbrick Challenger Affair), and some bright-eyed intelligence. Z was in real life Gregory Lambrakis, murdered by arrangement on May 22, 1963.

His involvement in the Bertrand Russell League had attracted so many supporters—and must have posed a problem to the Greek Communist Party which had not a complete stranglehold on this movement—not quite complete anyway. Lambrakis was not a communist. He had come to accept the ideas of nonviolent resistance. He was fearless, speaking and acting as if in a long-time aged democracy and not a heavily policed and militarized state employing many officers who held similar positions right through from the days of the dictator Metaxas, the German Occupation of Greece and the Civil War, up to today.

This in itself is a parable of anarchist thought, since it is not an exceptional thing for the never-changing branches of government, particularly the organizations for keeping the people in order and under law, are in office everywhere more or less for good.

At his funeral half-a-million people chanted 'Lambrakis Lives' in Greek; 'Lambrakis Z', 'Lambrakis Z'.

He had been the only person allowed

to walk from Marathon to Athens just a month before his death as he had MP's immunity. This was the first peace walk, the Greek Aldermaston, which in 1964 became the most massive public turn-out I've ever seen.

And the theme, the spirit, was 'Lambrakis-Z' Lambrakis Lives! That is, his ideas of an anti-war, anti-military, nonparty movement was growing and there, taking part, were some 400,000 (or was it 500,000?) people. From every island and mountain village, from each harbour and inlet, from each family—someone.

This 1964 march was a festival. The local dress; the songs; the dances; the banners. All colours and variety. Of course many, many people were of the communist and socialist side of the civil war, together for the first time in a legal demonstration. The first since well before World War Two and probably the very first one in which the police were ordered to remain in their police barracks, or on the side roads holding up traffic! You could say it was Old Papandreou's symbolic gesture and snub to the right wing which has nearly always governed.

I was there as a Committee of 100 supporter from the British Isles, with Pat Pottle (who was at first refused entry), Douglas Brewood and Peter Moule. We walked with the international contingent and were able to see the reaction at each village along the route.

The very appearance of Mikis Theodorakis at the head of the march was enough to have every looker-on clapping, cheering and running up to the songwriter and composer and hugging, kissing him. Much more because of his songs and his music than his politics, because his bouzouki-music had become the popular music of the taverns and coffee-shops all over Greece. (They banned his music—the colonels.) Now Mikis Theodorakis is free again.

Beyond this was the unforgettable fact that Lambrakis' ideas live. The book, just published in paperback, is the story of his end. But it is an end with many new beginnings within many Greek minds and bodies to be placed on the streets and in the road. 'He's in the road!' Lambrakis.

Z by Vasilis Vassilikos (Sphere, 7s.)
The other paperback is *Bomb Culture*

by Jeff Nuttall. This is an egocentric look at the world of the uneasy atom-bombed mind; high and wild long before the inertia of LSD.

It is an insight into the mind of the middle-thirty age-group. The evacuees and children of rationbooks and spiv-suits. Charlie Parker and Norman Mailer negoes. English DaDa artists.

Groping intellects and groping hands. Zany, deranging, if sometimes sensationally trivial acts and actors. Guerillas and Gorillas in the art world. CND rioters on a ritual picnic revelling in jazz: folk/skiffle: pacifists and socialists of uneasy membership in any group. Healthy madmen.

An introduction to the four-minute-warning world with radiation clouds; atomic and hydrogen 'tests' underground (well, it's out of harm's way!). Names strung together and set off in your face.

Written by the founder of *The People Show* and *My Own Mag*. A person who whenever he is quiet looks like a friendly teacher but when loud like a bull-in-the-ICA offices.

Bomb Culture by Jeff Nuttall (Paladin, 8s.).

DENNIS GOULD.

The Army in Belfast

BELFAST, FRIDAY, JULY 3—
SUNDAY, JULY 5

AT 6.00 p.m. following a tip-off by informers of Scotland Yard, who had been investigating the capture of an arms cache in the Hammersmith area of London, a joint force of military and RUC raided a house in Balkan Street in the Lower Falls area of Belfast. (The term 'army' in Belfast is used to indicate the IRA.) Using the hated Special Powers Act, they burst into the house and discovered a few guns. Reacting to this seizure, the men of the area, fearing further raiding, attempted diversionary tactics to get more arms out of the area into safer dumps. A couple of home-made grenades and a shower of rocks were tossed at the military. The troops' response, and subsequent counter-reaction of the 'army', led to a totally unplanned and disastrously bloody escalation of the conflict. 3,000 troops were poured into the area which was then saturated with CS gas. Snipers opened up to delay the advance of the troops and running gun battles went on until 5.30 a.m. the following morning.

The following morning the military searched every house in the area and seized about 50 rifles, 50 pistols, 6 machine guns, 46 lbs. of 'jelly' and 21,000 rounds of ammo. This is hailed in the national press as a 'sensational haul'. It is not. Only the loss of ammunition is serious enough to cause concern in the logistic sense. What will cripple the area is the large numbers arrested—at present over the 300 mark. The Unionists will be delighted to put them inside, before the tribal ritual of the glorious 12th.

port, refused to take on the work. When further labour was hired, these farm workers blocked the paths of the lorries, but the cargo was eventually off-loaded elsewhere.

In a situation of this sort, cement was fetching very high prices. Supplies purchased in Ulster at £9 per ton were sold for £30 in the South. With money like this to be made, many a lorry carried this precious cargo, but as the strike lengthened, this means of transport became more hazardous. At first tyres were cut and bags of cement slit open, but just before the settlement, seven lorries in Readymix Dublin yard were blown up.

This dispute has shown the vast amount of solidarity which exists amongst workers. These men have put up a tremendous struggle and for 22 weeks have relied on their £5 per week strike pay and collections. The settlement might not meet all the original demands, but it certainly will not be long before they are back for another bite of the cake.

COMPANY MERGER
However, next time they might be facing an even tougher company, because Cement Ltd. are considering a merger with Roadstone Ltd., the large cement products and aggregates group. As a consumer of 20% of Cement Ltd.'s output, Roadstones are in a powerful position, especially as they were recently granted a licence to manufacture cement themselves and could break in on the monopoly of Cement Ltd.

According to *Construction News*, 'Cement is Ireland's number one private

The Lower Falls area is the only major area under the control of the 'Official' IRA (or Red IRA) in the six counties. This area has been totally quiet since last August pursuing the official line of social reform. The 'Provisionals' or Green IRA have been pursuing an indiscriminately militant line aimed at the British troops, in effect, however, often backfiring into sectarian warfare which it did little or nothing to try to control. The 'Provisionals' claim that it was a lack of liaison that prevented them from staging a province-wide diversion to take the heat off the Falls. A small action in Andersonstown, blowing up a bank, only succeeded in drawing troops from Lisburn and some from the Falls.

Numerous bomb explosions, some IRA, some UVF, rocked the city on Friday night, the main casualty being the offices of the official Unionist paper and crypto-fascist rag *The Newsletter*. Deaths so far are officially five, but the military now say only three bodies are to be found, two snipers and one of a civilian run down by a Saracen armoured car. Certainly more died, and hundreds were wounded.

No soldiers were killed which would make me wonder about the accuracy of those gunmen defending the area (the soldiers wore bullet-proof flak jackets and bullet-proof helmets). Only 12 of the 3,000 were wounded.

The curfew on the entire area which lasted 20 hours has now been lifted, but movement is still restricted. Resentment, fear, rage and bewilderment amongst the residents of the Lower Falls has been increased by the behaviour of those gallant British troops, the 'Royal Scots' who, in the course of searching for arms, looted two pubs and ransacked small houses for money and any valuables they could get. Nearly all the gas meters in empty houses were broken into. Those that complained to senior officers were told 'Fuck off, you Fenian bastards' and similar epithets.

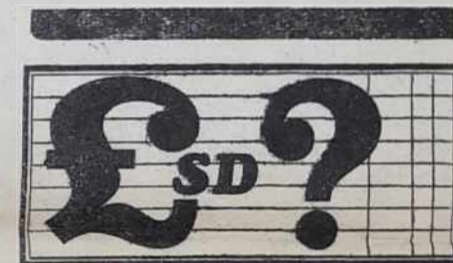
The main argument here is why the military suddenly decided to invade the Falls where there had been an unofficial truce since last August. There had been no trouble at the time of the Ballymurphy and Springfield riots, nor last weekend during the murderous sectarian fighting in the Newtownard Road area. Most subscribe to the view that now the Tory Government is in, the Unionists can get away with a lot more, like jailing Bernadette Devlin and disarming the Falls—needless to say the Shankhill still bristles with arms, and enjoys immunity. While there may be some truth in this, I feel that the military had taken such criticism of its incompetent handling of last week's fighting in which seven died, that they felt they had to take action to redeem their reputation, and they had a *carte blanche* to do it. Many of the soldiers are openly sick about the taunts they have to endure and their inability to retaliate so that discipline is becoming a serious problem for the units.

When one considers that the average IQ of these troops is about 90, the average reading is the *Beano*, the average background a deprived squalid and depressed slum, their reaction is understandable.

No one can be optimistic about the 12th passing off peacefully unless there are major re-routes. (One particularly provocative Orange march is through the 100% republican village of Pomeroy in Co. Tyrone.) The Special Powers Acts are being increasingly used for

seizures and searches without warrants, also for closing Belfast pubs at 8 p.m. Many feel that mass internments are on the way—again with a one-sided bias. Seven PD members were jailed only last week on perjured police evidence on charges arising out of a peaceful protest meeting against cement strike scabs. The massive arrests of left-wingers as well as the traditional green gunmen might well suit the Government. If this happens 'diversionary action' on a massive scale should take place in England. But will it?

AUGUSTUS BERKS.



PRESS FUND

Half-yearly account, bringing forward all income that has been held to our account by the monthly income figures that have been printed in FREEDOM.

But first, the figures for June.
Donations, June 23 to 30 inclusive:
Swansea: J.G. 3/1; London, S.E.10: N.P.E. 4/-; New York: T.A. 16/-; I.T. £5; Cardiff: L.E. £1/0/6; London, S.E.5: J.McE. £2/11/8; Urbana: N.B.V.G. 10/-; London, N.W.2: D.S. £2; Glasgow: A.J. 1/2; Reno: D.L.M. 8/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W. 6/-; K.F. & C.F. 6/-; J.L. 9/-; Leicester: C.J. & P. 10/-; London, N.5: R.D. £2/5/8; Bookshop: Anon 4/6; G.H. 2/-.

Total: £16 12 9
B/f.: £74 6 6
£90 19 4

MONTHLY INCOME

Sales and Subscriptions: £40 0 0
January to May: £219 2 0
£259 2 0

EXPENDITURE

1 Anarchy and
3 Freedom at £150: £600 0 0

June deficit: £340 18 0
Jan. to May deficit b/f.: £2,183 13 10

£2,524 11 10
Less Press Fund: £90 19 3

DEFICIT TO DATE:

£2,433 12 7

MONEY IN HAND

January: £610 10 0
February: £296 16 0
March: £277 9 4
April: £346 18 3
May: £253 4 0
June: £440 0 0

Total: £2,224 17 7

Deficit b/f.: £2,433 12 7
Cash in hand: £2,224 17 7

Therefore at the end of six months we have a total deficit of £208 15s. 0d., and as from next week we shall be showing an account weekly, one week in arrears. As you see, we sadly have to start with a deficit, but this month's Press Fund has been the highest in four months—please try and keep it up!

Report of how we have done in our publishing over the last six months, and what we hope to do in the next, will follow next week.

END OF CEMENT STRIKE

THE 22-WEEK-OLD STRIKE of production cement workers in the Republic of Ireland is over. All the men concerned were employees of the State-guaranteed monopoly company of Cement Limited. They took action to support their claim for a substantial increase on their £13 average weekly earnings and for improvement in their working conditions.

The settlement exceeds that recommended by the Labour Court and gives workers £18 14s. per week. A salary scale, similar to that for craftsmen, will also be introduced, giving yearly increases of 4s. 6d. a week to a maximum £21 12s. 6d. Two extra days' holiday and improved overtime and sick pay are also part of the settlement, which is reported to be an open-ended one. Because of this, according to one Irish Transport Union member, 'the production men will be watching the new negotiations with the greatest of interest'. A new agreement for craftsmen is due soon.

The dispute has been a long and, at times, a very bitter struggle. The cement workers faced not only a stubborn employer, but also the State. Furthermore an extra drawback was the amount of cement which managed to cross the border as well as that entering at sea ports.

25,000 LAID OFF

The very length of the strike has been seen by many as a deliberate means used by the Lynch government to deflate the economy. It has meant that at times 25,000 building workers have been laid off as unemployed. According

to *Construction News*, this 'is equivalent in UK terms to 500,000 laid off'. These figures illustrate the magnitude of the situation and how the State cynically used the hardship and misery to keep the economy from over-inflation.

Free Citizen, newspaper of the People's Democracy, said in April: 'The serious threat of inflation in the Southern economy is being checked by the fact that an additional 13,000 are out of work. The strike and its repercussions could not have come at a better time for Lynch and his cronies. This is the main reason why there has been no Government intervention in the dispute to date.' The State, however, was quick to intervene with injunctions when dockers at Kilheel and Warrenpoint refused to unload cement from England. 'Scabs' under *Gardai* protection were used to unload 'black' cargoes.

Good support has come from dockers. At Newry, a French ship left without discharging its cargo of cement, while Cork dockers have struck in support and transport workers in Limerick have showed their solidarity. In Dublin, strikers have sat-in at the Company's headquarters and for the last eighteen weeks of the strike, protest meetings have been held at the City's Post Office.

However, large quantities of cement did get through from Spain, France, Poland, Belgium and England, while some also got in at unorganised ports. It is known that members of the two Transport Unions, the Amalgamated and the Irish, were still handling 'black' cement. At other places, like Roundstone in Galway, farm workers, hired to unload cargo at this small fishing



All correspondence to
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

The AFB information office will produce an internal bulletin. Comrades interested in its production are to meet in Birmingham on the first Sunday in August. All groups will be informed in detail. Address all letters to:

Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Tel. 021-454 6871. Material that cannot wait for the bulletin to be sent to R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York. The Contact Column in *Freedom* is also available for urgent information.

Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should

write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:
North West Federation: Secretary, Tom Howard, 163 Ryelands Road, Lancaster.
Cornwall: A. Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell. (M, Ma, B.)
East: E. Herts., P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)
Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, 3 Marlborough Grove, Leeds, 2.
Scotland: Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Anglopark Terrace, Edinburgh 11.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
S. Ireland: Bill Dwyer, Island, Corner Merriem Road and Nutley Lane, Dublin 4.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare. (Abbreviations: M—meeting; Ma—magazine; B—badges; Q—Quarterly; FL—free leaflets)

Continued on page 3

THE ELECTION AND AFTER

SURPRISING as it has been to many workers, the Tories have won the election. On this occasion it has not been preference for the devil known, but for the devil unknown. One need not be an expert in political science to sense that many workers were dissatisfied with the Labour Government. For much of its time in power, the Labour Party has attempted to freeze wages and, at the same time, encourage rationalisation and increased productivity in industry. A Labour Government, like all governments, has been blatantly anti-working class. In power, the Labour Party has done its best to run and administer capitalism. Despite its proletarian and Trade Union origins, the Labour Party is as much a capitalist-reform party as the Tories or the Liberals. Moreover, throughout this year, unemployment has been the highest in this country for thirty years. It is not surprising, therefore, that the British working class has had enough.

But because of their social and political backwardness, the workers are still prepared to flock—sheep-like—to the polling station; and, even worse, vote for their traditional enemies, the Tory Party. As in the past, they have jumped from the frying pan into the fire. Still bemused by leaders and aspiring leaders, they are prepared merely to exchange one set of rulers for another—whilst the real owners and controllers of this nation, the five percent, continue to sit back and draw their rent, interest and profits from the labours of the vast majority, the wage and salaried working class.

The purpose of this article is not, however, to delve into past history. My concern is the future. What should the anarchists and libertarian socialists do? What should our tactics be? Are we sufficiently organised to meet the challenge of Tory-administered capitalism? What is our objective? These are the questions we must ask—and answer, unless we are to continue as ineffectively as we have in the past.

TORY POLICIES

Economically, and therefore politically, things are likely to get worse rather than better. American, European and Japanese capitalism all appear to be heading for crises this year. And there does not seem to be the slightest indication that a Tory administration will be able to deal with the internal and external problems, and contradictions, of British capitalism any better than the Labourites. Their only 'solutions', according to their manifesto, are: the reduction in income tax and surtax and the abolition of SET, all of which may assist the property-owning sections of society, but not the propertyless; the abolition of the Land Commission; the stopping of what they term 'unjustified' price increases in the 'public' sectors of industry; the bringing in of an Industrial Relations Bill, with the intention of making agreements between employers and Trade Unions binding by law, the providing of secret ballots and a 60-day 'cooling off' period for 'disputes endangering the national interest'; and, last but by no means least, the tightening up of the law dealing with demonstrations and demonstrators. That is, if necessary, more repression against the working class and, particularly, its younger sections and the student protesters. In this, the Tory Government is likely to get—at the beginning, at least—the active or tacit support of the 'silent majority', the bourgeoisie, the 'uptight' unpolitical, so-called middle-class workers of the suburbs, and the neo-Fascist

Powellites and racist sections of the 'blue-collar' workers and lumpenproletariat.

If, and when, the crisis or crises come, opposition will of course develop. Trade Union leaders like Jones and Scanlon have already muttered their opposition to Tory policies. And for purely political reasons, such leaders may well support working-class action during a Conservative administration. But like all leaders, industrial or political, workers would be well-advised not to put their trust in them. If it suits their 'book', they will be prepared to do a deal with the Tories as they have with Labour in the past. Workers can only rely on themselves, and their own local and factory committees and groups, federated perhaps nationally if, or where, necessary. If anti-Trade Union legislation of the type threatened by the Tories is passed, new (but in fact old) forms of struggle against the employers and their State may be necessary. 'Everybody Out!' may not always be practical or possible; long official, or unofficial, strikes may prove to be too costly. Workers may find that such forms of struggle as locking the management out, occupations of factories, sit-in or sit-down strikes or just strict 'work-to-rule' procedures might prove far more effective against employers and State-legislated law. In such circumstances, local shop stewards' committees are likely to be more effective than national Union officials and bureaucrats. If they are not going to allow their standards of living to be driven down, workers will have to be prepared for any eventualities and use the weapons best suited to the situation. Workers in Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia and elsewhere have often shown the way.

LAW AND ORDER

As yet, it is impossible to say what will happen on the law-and-order front; this will depend on just how much unrest there is at any given time. All indications are that the police will get more encouragement from the Government to repress demonstrations, particularly if, as is likely, there are crises later in the year in, say, Ulster or in areas of relatively large-scale immigration. University 'demos' are more than likely to be pounced upon if only to please the anti-student 'silent majority'. This may pose problems for would-be protesters and demonstrators. If the State becomes more repressive, small-scale, badly-organised, 'adventurist', confrontation may be inadvisable. A little more self-discipline, common sense, and improved organisation will be the order of the day, I feel.

Much of the above is mere speculation. It is also only defensive speculation—how we may react to crises, the worsening of living standards, or increased State repression. More important must be our—libertarian—policy; our positive, offensive, activity; our objective. Although not necessarily opposed to all political reforms, anarchists do not support or advocate reformism for two obvious reasons: one, because we believe

Pamphlet Supplement

THIS MONTH'S supplement pamphlet will be devoted entirely to Emiliano Zapata. It will be printed as previous issues and will be included in the last 'Freedom' for July.

Recent books on the Mexican Revolution have awakened a new interest in Zapata and what he tried to achieve. The plight of political prisoners is also causing concern and arousing a questioning attitude towards the so-called 'revolutionary' party which has been in power for so long.

The supplement pamphlet gives an account of the Mexican Revolution and the part played by Zapata in this. It includes a reprint of the text of a statement by Zapata, written in August 1914, and concludes with a review of two recent books and an analysis of Zapata as an anarchist.

We feel that this supplement pamphlet will prove to be an important contribution to our range of propaganda material. As such, it can be sold on its own as a pamphlet which will not become dated.

Would Groups and individuals interested in selling extra separate copies order them now. The usual sale or return terms are available.

EDITORS.

that men and women should free themselves, and that others—particularly politicians—cannot do it for them; and, two, that reformism as a policy leaves the socio-economic structure basically the same as it was in the past (e.g. in 1969, the Labour Party admitted that one percent of the population owned around fifty percent of the wealth of this country, and five percent owned eighty percent—almost exactly the same proportion of owners to non-owners as in 1900!). However long it may take us to convince a majority of the workers that they must emancipate themselves, that they must radically change the structure of society, that they must establish a new, free, classless, governmentless, and stateless, system, this must be our priority. In the words of the Russian anarchist, Alexander Berkman, 'The revolution must be prepared'. Spontaneous action there will always be; but the old Wobbly (IWW) watchwords are still relevant. They are: Education, Organisation, Emancipation.

IMPROVE OUR ORGANISATION

Mere struggle or spontaneous action is not enough, important as it may be. Anarchists are not just rebels against the status quo. They do not, unlike some 'inverted' authoritarians, rebel against one set of authorities, one government, and at the same time, or later, submit to another stronger. Unlike in the past, I think that we shall have to concentrate particularly on organisation. Although

Sticking to their Pitch

THREE Leicester comrades have now been selling FREEDOM on a regular pitch in the market, near the town centre, for just over a year. The particular pitch has been used on and off for at least 10 years for the sale of libertarian papers, Peace News and FREEDOM. During our year's selling we have been 'moved on' or questioned or threatened on about six occasions by representatives of the law. Usually we have been able to hold our ground by saying, with a look of honesty, that the bye-law only forbids selling and so we were giving the papers away, or if the policeman wanted to do anything he actually had to see us sell a copy. On one occasion a seller sold a copy while the fuzz was questioning us and he took her name and address and said she might be summoned, but nothing more was heard of the matter.

Whenever we have definitely been forced to move on we have normally called into a nearby café for a cup of tea and gone back ten minutes later. This seems sound because we have recently learnt that the morning fuzz shift ends at noon, and as we don't normally start the sale until 11 o'clock, the fuzz is nearly always on his leisurely way back to the Station to sign off and so he won't be along our way again anyway.

A few weeks ago, however, we were confronted one Saturday morning by a fuzz of the sergeant rank who informed us that we were contravening a bye-law, which he had obviously looked up because he quoted it to us. The Leicester Corporation Act, 1968, intended if you please to keep the city centre clear of hot dog vendors, in Section 33, reads 'Consent of the Corporation is given as follows:—to vendors of political magazines and papers between 9.0 a.m. and

CEMENT STRIKE

Continued from page 2
company in terms of profit earned and capital employed. Roadstone has expanded rapidly since 1965 and is number four by capital employed, though it is Ireland's biggest private employer.

Strikes of this length not only can be used by the Government for political reasons, but also prove little hardship to companies of this size. With the increasing State-private-monopoly control, it is important that workers forge closer links with their industrial brothers. Isolation is the workers' biggest enemy today. Failure to really get support from other unions in the cement strike meant a long drawn-out affair which suited the Government. Support from other workers could have led to a better and earlier settlement.

The lessons are plain. Workers simply have to stick together. Solidarity is a most important weapon which, if used effectively, will split and divide the employers. It is for workers to unite and fight the employers and the State.

P.T.

anarchists reject authority and imposed discipline, we do not—despite what some of our opponents and some others on the 'fringe' of the movement might think—reject organisation. 'Anarchists actually want more organisation, though organisation without authority' (Nicolas Walter). Now, and in the near future, should be the time for us to improve our organisation. This should be Top Priority! It is also the time for us to improve our Press, both locally and nationally. If we fail, we will be unable to meet the challenge of a system in crisis, of a capitalist system intent on increasing the exploitation of our class, of State repression against various individuals and/or groups. The increased support for Powellism in the recent election should be a warning to us all. We may neglect it at our peril. Powellism aims to divide instead of unite the working-class.

The British Labour Party has failed, as it always must, in its attempt to administer and reform capitalism in the interests of the vast majority. Despite the promises, the 'compassion' (vide Wilson), and the 'welfare', all governments whatever their colour or intentions, are the same. They rule us in the interests of private and/or State capitalism, in the interests of that unholy trinity: rent, interest and profit. In the Labour Party we had a conservative government which thought it wasn't; in the Tories we have one which is proud to be called conservative. It, and the system it strives to conserve, will sooner or later have to be destroyed. So, now is as good a time as any for us to 'prepare for the revolution' (Berkman).

RANK-AND-FILE TRADE UNIONIST.

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Any book not in stock, but in print can be promptly supplied. Book Tokens accepted. Please add postage & cash with order helps.

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We have a large stock of second-hand books. Please let us know what you want. This week's selection.

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'Government has committed more crimes than it has prevented.'—Robert S. Ingersoll.

ANARCHY 112

SOUTHERN AFRICA

THE ISLAND COMMUNE IS DEAD

ON WEDNESDAY, JULY 1, a demolition squad descended on the anarchist co-operative Island and proceeded to destroy the cottage in which residents were still asleep. In the melee that followed, two girls received injuries from falling masonry. The defenders were overwhelmingly outnumbered and the result was a triumph for brute force. On the same day police had a similar win over the Dublin Housing Action Committee in Pembroke Road when they succeeded in evicting a number of families from two houses which had been valiantly held for some months during which time the police had attempted eviction with great shows of strength and violence as a result of which many of the defenders were taken to hospital.

Despite official denials it is obvious there is blatant collusion between the police and thugs employed by the demolition companies. This, of course, only mirrors the far more sinister collusion between the government and finance companies behind the scenes.

An interesting difference between the Island and Pembroke Road evictions is that the latter was executed as a result of a number of court orders while the former was a direct strike by violent thugs unsupported by the slightest legal pretence—no papers of authority

from the as yet unknown owner and no legal authority whatever. At least theoretically, the demolition may have been carried out by an entirely uninterested party (i.e. someone without any ownership rights). Even the daily press was puzzled by this aspect and one paper commented:

'The gardai did not interfere in any way. One sergeant simply said: "I don't see why decent men (the demolition crew) shouldn't be allowed to do an honest day's work".'

Unwittingly the sergeant had hit on one of the two main points made by the Dublin anarchists when they established the project. For over seven years the land had been allowed to lie idle and undeveloped. We had, with our bare hands and the most primitive tools, converted it into a fruitful garden representing a great many 'honest days' work.'

At the date of eviction there were an estimated twenty tons of garden produce—potatoes, cauliflower, cabbages, lettuces and tomatoes all now savagely butchered—in the soil with only two to three weeks to harvest time. This work had been achieved by enormous effort and self-sacrifice on the part not only of the residents but the many supporters and visitors who came in in their spare time to aid the undertaking. Most impartial

observers have been staggered by the progress made. Not only was the difficult virgin soil a great challenge to dig and plant in but the whole area had to be extensively drained to permit any growing at all.

The first main point was, then, protest against the system which permitted rich land to lie idle, which permitted wealthy speculators to wait for the value of the land to increase for their ultimate greater enrichment. The second point corresponds with the alternative offered by all constructive anarchists in rejection of an authoritarian, exploiting society. In our case this was the formation of a co-operative but we were fully conscious that this was but a facet of the 'society organised without authority' defined by Malatesta. We were continually stressing to the mass media and our host of casual visitors that we were not opting out of society but offering an alternative, an example. We wanted society organised on co-operative and non-authoritarian lines. We believed we could show it would work by our ready acceptance of unpaid work on our commune, the main immediate reward for such work being that it was done without employers or exploitation and in a co-operative spirit.

The inner working of the co-operative

could be the object of a major sociological study (an article will be submitted to *Anarchy* in due course) and has many lessons for anarchists. The project was undertaken by idealists who for the most part were students. For various reasons, ranging from family pressures to mundane consideration of examinations, they were unable to sustain the initial effort and for a considerable portion of the commune's existence the anarchists were a small minority of those living on it. After a split—largely between anarchists and non-anarchists—we unanimously established machinery for the running of the society. This was a Quaker-like meeting held after the evening meal each day, where everyone in turn gave an account of their work and voiced opinions on any problem or idea they chose to raise. This machinery served a two-fold purpose—it provided an easy means of communication between residents and it made for a type of group discipline which tended to weed out parasites which such a society as ours, located near the centre of a large city, tended to attract. Later we were obliged to consider the question of greater discernment in admittance of new residents. A terrible tragedy which involved an attempt on the life of a completely innocent youth together with the suicide of his assailant brought to a climax this need. Another, perhaps obvious, problem was our inability to defend our undertaking. It was plain brute force, superficially unsupported by the State or its agencies, which defeated us. Thirty solid anarchists would probably have defended themselves successfully. As it is, an illegal coup, with undoubted legal approval, has won the battle. Of course, the war has yet to be decided. Anarchy forever!

BILL DWYER

LONG LIVE THE ISLAND COMMUNE!

THE LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT

in Southern Ireland reminds me of the Nile; the annual flooding with its consequent enrichment of the soil and eventual return to its proper banks resembles the annual growth of the libertarian movement here, its advances in agitation, and the eventual erosion of the growth with the yearly June to October migrations of the majority of anarchists to the United Kingdom. This factor has been long recognized as one of the main reasons for the difficulty in producing a lasting anarchist movement in Ireland.

It was after one of these migrations that anarchists planned to restart the old agitations and schemes—schools, printing, literature distribution, demonstrations . . . but amongst them were a few new ideas, one of which was the occupation of a large house on Merrion Road, Dublin. Three weeks' secret planning and organizing prepared a band of a dozen people to take the building one dark March night. Manifestos were posted up and the following morning the press were informed of

our presence.

The squat was a *commune*, the first genuine attempt at an egalitarian society since the Limerick Soviet which was crushed by De Valera's IRA during the 1919-22 Independence struggle. A real anarchist commune—the Mecca of Dublin anarchists . . . it was a patch of Free Dublin . . . it was a vision of the future.

The Island Commune was the living incarnation of the red painted slogans of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' painted on the yellow door. It was a black flag flying over an Irish building, it was Salvador Dali's crucifix beside a picture of Malatesta, it was a day of hard work planting an acre of potatoes or a night spent talking Spain, mysticism, Atlanta, Hundulini, yoga, revolution, Lemuria, Freedom Press, anarchy, around a hot blazing fire.

It attracted local kids, bourgeois straights who gave us 'advice' to beware of migrants from the Lovedon Street Commune, flower children, and those elements which a criminal authoritarian bourgeois society considers 'criminal'. It

also housed genuine homeless families of evicted workers who had literally been walking the streets of Dublin after being turned out by police from a police station and who were eventually squatted in their own houses by the Dublin Orphans Social Action Committee (alternative, but not rival of the Sinn Fein/Communist Party-dominated Dublin Housing Action Committee) of Island and the Dunlaoghaire Housing Action Committee.

The attack on Island took place just a week before the Government introduces its Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill, 1970, aimed at tackling the squatting problem and shortly after Dublin Corporation had announced a clampdown on existing squatters.

It is curious to note during a two-month period Pembroke Road squat

must recognize that it's their hands which are stained with workers' blood.

To the 'left' in England we say: 1. To ignore the efforts made against overwhelming odds and the successes, however small they may be, of the PD and the comrades who work with them, is to proclaim your own impotence; 2. You have done virtually nothing for us in the past (I realize this may 'shock' an editor of FREEDOM who objected to my 'arrogance' and said, 'But we've had an article on Ireland on the front page nearly every issue for six months'—big fucking deal!); the FREEDOM 'fighting fund for Ireland' raised the princely sum of £8, whoopee! and other leftist groups, while sending a bit more bread, nicked more than they sent and used the deaths of people here to try to rally Paddies into their various organizations or use the publicity value of wee red Bernie. Only two individuals have actually helped materially in any way.

So, if you couldn't be bothered to get some urgently-needed bread or equipment for us, one last thing—spare us the revolutionary tourists for Christ's sake! They've already started to arrive and we haven't the time or inclination to deal with them. We are working full time (and 17 of us are due to go in jail unless we can get a new trial this week) and are not here to run guided tours of the barricades—'Oh, yes, your son was shot, wasn't he, Mrs. —', provide crash pads for parasites, give instant analysis of the 'scene', or rescue amateurs from the clutches of the army or pump gas out of their lungs. Real comrades who can give practical assistance and have done so in the past are always welcome, but this year tourists are banned—it's not even July 12 and at least six people are dead. I always regarded myself as an internationalist without a patriotic fibre in my being, but really, after three years of the English left, I can't help getting slightly chauvinistic!

So, to the left, put up or shut up!

JOHN BELFAST.

If anyone does want to send bread, either do it through FREEDOM, or the PD treasurer, Gerry O'Hare, 88 Ladybrook Park, Belfast 11. Since mail is almost always opened or intercepted, you could use the PD Giro Number which is 68 101 2005.

Contact

Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

Accommodation. Two young Irish anarchists seek accommodation. London area for five days in early August. Brian and Martin c/o Freedom Press.

House wanted by Drug Dependents' Care Group; London or Home Counties; low rent. c/o Freedom Press.

'Ulster Paranoid'. Available now at Freedom Bookshop, 2/-.

East London Festival. Victoria Park Fair-ground, July 17-20. Dancing, Folk-singing. Camping equipment can be brought.

Please help. Union of American Exiles in Britain: c/o WRI, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Proposed Group. Alex Bird, 23 Rosewell Court, Kingsmead, Bath.

Comrade wanted to receive one mailing from Europe each month, repackaging same and re-address and mail to USA. Expenses and reasonable fee will be paid. Box 1015, G.C.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10017, USA.

R. Rucker: 'Anarchy and Anarcho-syndicalism'. Anyone willing to sell or lend a copy to comrade for research please send to: K. Doush, Box 21, c/o Freedom Press, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

Task Force: Does the community need you? We want full-time people now. Must drive. We are evolving from a clearing centre for voluntary work to an organisation that stimulates community action on a wider scale. We wish to encourage community responsibility for old people, and individual responsibility and initiative in everyone. We need your help to accelerate the process. Phone, and come to the centre to learn more. Lewisham Task Force, 34 Watson Street, S.E.8. 01-692 5166.

Agitprop Information will continue during the summer months. In addition we will be maintaining a left bookshop from 2 to 8 p.m. at 160 North Gower Street, London, N.W.1 (01-387 5406). A sample copy of *Red Notes*, our monthly information newsletter, and the literature list, especially useful for community organizers, are available, s.a.e.

Lowestoft Libertarians contact Ann & Gordon Collins, 9 Ontario Road, Lowestoft, Suffolk, Tuesday evenings. Comrades welcome for short stay by the sea.

Drug Dependents' Care Group needs accommodation. Flats or Houses with understanding landlords. Offers or help to Liz Johnson, 2 Bullfinch Close, Riverhead, Sevenoaks, Kent. Also meetings alternate Thursdays, July 2, 16, etc., 7.30 p.m., 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. Jumble is needed to raise funds, and any offers to visit drug offenders in Prison and Remand Homes. Contact Liz Johnson 0732 51061.

Any Comrade wanting a Continental holiday with beautiful scenery available, a fine library of Anarchist books in many languages—about 150 books and pamphlets in English—and very friendly comrades, should visit CIRA (International Centre for Research on Anarchism), Beaumont 24, 1012 Lausanne, Switzerland. Sleeping bag accommodation could even be arranged if good notice is given of intended visit.

Notting Hill Libertarian Society. Meetings every Monday at 7.30 p.m., upstairs room of 'The Ladbroke', Ladbroke Crescent, Ladbroke Grove, W.11. Nearest tube station Ladbroke Grove. Correspondence to Sebastian Scragg, 10 Bassett Road, W.10.

Oxford Anarchists. New group being formed, contact Dave Archard, Corpus Christi College, or John Humphries, Balliol.

Merseyside Anarchists: Meetings 8 p.m. on first Sunday of each month at 172A Lodge Lane, Liverpool 8. Contact J. B. Cowen at above address.

Wednesday discussion meetings at Freedom Meeting Hall from 8 p.m.

Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards. Tea served.

Home Truths from Belfast

ONCE AGAIN ULSTER has erupted and pictures of corpses and burnt-out families have flashed across your TV screen and again the question must be asked, 'What can the self-styled left in England do?' One traditional answer has been to throw up their hands and say, 'Bugger all. It's just a stupid sectarian riot, it hasn't anything to do with the revolution (what revolution?) here'. Another response has been, 'Oh, we must go over and see what's happening. Who do we know there? Yes, we've got a few PD addresses, they'll be only too pleased to put us up for a few days.'

Well, comrades, it's about time a few home truths were told to most of you. Firstly, as anyone with a glimmering of insight into the situation could gather, it's not just a simple matter of sectarianism. In Derry and the Bogside the fighting is always against the police—and since they've been withdrawn, the British army. The Bogside went up last week, quite predictably, when the ham-fisted pigs arrested Bernie when she was on her way, as arranged, to give herself up at the Strand Road Barracks in Derry. Instead of sticking to arrangement, the pigs seized her just outside Derry (two miles from Burntollet), and naturally the Derry young hooligans (and it's a proud name) didn't like it and responded in the only way that they traditionally can—attack authority. For, make no mistake about it, Devlin was jailed for what everyone in the Bogside did—defend the area against the forces of repression, the murderous 'B' men and drunken RUC, and she was the only politician so to do, and so she does four months in Armagh jail while they sit on their arses making capital out of her 'martyrdom'. No one's asking you to weep for her—she's got a seat for life and thousands in prison memoirs—but

to the Bogside she is, quite rightly, a symbol of courage and defiance, since she has more guts than the rest of the MPs put together.

Belfast is a different story. Of course a lot of the fighting is sectarian, but not all. In Ballymurphy for the last two nights, and doubtless again soon, they (the young people) have taken on the might of the British army, CS gas, armoured cars and all, and held their own. Those who would decry this activity as senseless should try living in Ballymurphy! In Belfast trouble was caused by deliberately provocative Orange processions going through RC ghettos, whose inhabitants had suffered, been shot and burnt out of their homes last autumn in the organised Orange pogroms. Scarcely surprisingly they were stoned, replied, got the guns out and soon three people were shot down in broad daylight on a Saturday afternoon in a city in the British Isles, not 200 miles from Manchester.

In the sniping, burning, looting and shooting that has gone on in the little slum streets all around the city, three more have officially died (and quite a few others whose relatives haven't reported the fact for various reasons) and the city is almost under martial law. This is because the ghetto system has been perpetuated for over 100 years by those with a vested interest in its maintenance—the Unionist government (and in the past big business) and the RC church. Now that sectarianism harms the field for the foreign investor (i.e. profiteer), the government is frantically trying to sell out those Protestant workers whom they had successfully conned for so long but with little success—witness the rise of fascist Paisleyism—and soft pedal the Orange link. But it's too late for the Mad Major and his cronies, and we

CAMBODIA

Continued from page 1

brain (or was it a computer?) in the Pentagon decided that involvement in Cambodia would give the Vietnamese a chance to show their military skill. The fact that Vietnamese (North and South) are sworn enemies of the Cambodians and the US move which has placed the South Vietnamese in occupation of Cambodia is a feat worthy to rank with the award of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to the Soviet Union.

The Great American Dream of a Vietcong Pentagon somewhere in the jungles of Cambodia has evaporated. This was obviously a reflection of the military mind which cannot conceive of a war being fought except under the conditions in which they are fighting. That they are obviously fighting the wrong kind of war (whether it should be fought at all is a point) escapes the American military mind entirely. As it does all military minds.

The Cambodian operation reminds one of the Rabbi who was asked by one of his flock what she should do. Her rooms were too small, her daughter had a cat, her son had a dog, and her husband kept chickens. The Rabbi considered the problem. 'Buy a goat,' he said. The good woman was startled but trusted the Rabbi. A week later she contacted the Rabbi in desperation. 'The goat is noisy, it destroys everything and has a dreadful smell. What shall I do?' 'The answer is simple,' said the Rabbi. 'Move out the goat.' President Nixon has moved out the goat.

He will be acclaimed by the silent majority as a peacemaker (for ending his own war), as a military genius (who doubled the size of the war), and a saviour of Cambodia (who handed it over to its enemy). Thus are political reputations made.

Meanwhile the Vietnam war has become unconstitutional by the rescinding of the Tonkin Gulf resolution, and the war in Cambodia has become unfightable by Congress withdrawing sanction for supplies.

Nevertheless Vietnamese civilians and soldiers, American soldiers, Cambodian soldiers and civilians die. The Cambodian domino is a double blank.

JACK ROBINSON.