

THE TRAGEDY OF IRELAND

NOBODY LIKES to be associated with failure. Thus the resignation of Major Chichester-Clark from the Premiership of the Northern Ireland Government is a clear indication of the failure of that Government to solve the problems of that unhappy province. Stormont is now about to endure the failure of the third Premier in three years, for if there is one thing that is absolutely clear in this particularly messy situation, it is that there is no possible solution to be hoped for from Stormont.

By a coincidence, the British Army of Occupation is also enjoying its third Commander since it began its thankless task 19 months ago, and he is in the unenviable position of knowing that his men are regarded by both sides with resentment and hatred; that there can be no military solution any more than a governmental one, and that all he can hope for is that a worsening of the situation is not forced upon him so that he looks a failure, too.

The Army's brief in Ulster is a limited one: to maintain 'law and order'. Nothing else. It has to try to keep the warring Protestants and Catholics apart and it feels entitled to shoot anybody coming at it with lethal weapons. Its presence is supposed to be a holding operation to cool the situation and buy time for political solutions to be applied.

This is essentially a policing operation, which has to be done by the British Army because the province's own police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, was undisciplined and panicky, cracked under

pressure, as a Protestant force were hated by the Catholics and stood everywhere for provocative repression. It was a panic shooting by the RUC of a child in the Falls Road in 1969 that led to the force being disarmed and replaced by the Army.

But, as we argued last week, the very presence of the Army has aggravated the situation rather than eased it and nobody even pretends that the military has a constructive role to play.

No more has the Stormont Government, dominated as it is by bigoted Protestants determined at all costs to protect the inequalities that have put them 'on top', fostered by religious hatreds that go back three hundred years and have never been allowed to be affected by any such Christian rubbish as 'love thy neighbour' or 'forgive thine enemy'.

Add to this bigoted Protestantism the fact that the Province's Government has been dominated also by upper-crust landowners whose ownership goes back to their support for Cromwell's bloody reign of terror and who are more concerned with maintaining their privilege than solving the country's economic problems and we can see why even the pathetic reforms proposed first by Captain O'Neill and then Major Chichester-Clark have never got off the ground.

Stormont's traditional answer to any demand for change has been the Royal Ulster Constabulary. The Westminster Government's answer has been the Army! Typical governmental behaviour!

LEARNING THE HARD WAY

So: no hope from above. What hopes for constructive solutions from below? Here lies the real tragedy of the situation, for working class solidarity is so clouded by religious differences that it is easier to get workers at each other's throats than at each other's sides.

There are those comrades who see the Northern Irish situation as in some way like Vietnam, and our attitude similar inasmuch as we say in both cases 'A plague on both your houses'. In fact, however, the Ulster situation is more similar to that in the Deep South of America, where the poor whites (Protestants) resent the fight for civil rights of the blacks (Catholics) and law and order is maintained by the Federal troops (British Army). Here again the oppressed who should be joining hands against a common enemy are divided by irrational prejudices; they make their own 'divide and rule' situation.

One big difference here, though, lies in the fact that a black man cannot shed his skin, whereas the Catholic can shed his religion—although it is clearly nearly as difficult! And for the Protestant in Northern Ireland to shed his version of revealed truth is obviously as hard as for the Southern racist to grow out of his prejudice.

Yet there are glimmerings of light. Just as, in the States, the young are rejecting the old racist and patriotic junk which filled the heads of their fathers, so in Ulster a new awareness is growing—under the pressure of events and in the heat of battle.

Nothing, after all, could be more calculated to open the eyes of intelligent workers than the kind of experiences which are being forced upon the people of Northern Ireland today.

On the one side the lunatic fringe of Paisleyism, the stolid reaction of the Protestant Government and the interests it represents; behind and above that, the forces of the state, which offer nothing constructive but continued exploitation. On the other side various Catholic-dominated parties and organisations culminating in the IRA and its split-off, the 'Provisional IRA', whose function is nominally to protect Catholic areas from Protestant attack, but whose long-term work is obviously to further the interests of the Eire Government. (By seeing it like this, there is an analogy with Vietnam, however much watered down, in that the Vietcong appear as a revolutionary movement, but are actually the fighting wing in South Vietnam for the government of North Vietnam.)

ANARCHIST INTERESTS

Those comrades who feel some sympathy for the IRA, or the Provisional IRA, since they are the ones escalating the struggle against the British Army, should ask themselves whether they would like to see Northern Ireland come under anything like the Government of Mr. Lynch in Dublin? And what it would mean in terms of civil strife to attain that unattractive goal? While we recognise that a revolutionary situation will inevitably entail some violence, unless it is the expression of mass working-class support, it can only work in the interests of an elite of some kind. A 'revolutionary' militia without a revolutionary mass is doomed to

failure, as Che Guevara found out in Bolivia.

In any case, the revolution which anarchists are interested in is the social revolution, overturning the whole economic and social structure of authoritarian society and replacing it with the free associations of free people: workers' control in the factories, free communes, free access to the means of life, with the abolition of the wages and money systems and all the apparatus of government and exploitation. It's the extension of what some of our friends call libertarian socialism into anarchism.

Now the only organisation working to any degree in this direction, as far as we can see from here,* is People's Democracy, with whom some of our comrades actually on the spot in Northern Ireland feel they can work. PD certainly cuts itself off from the religious hang-ups and stresses working-class solidarity across the religious differences. It split off from the Civil Rights Association on account of the respectability of the Members of Parliament CRA had thrown up and the pressures from its Catholic right-wing, but in describing itself as 'radicalising' the civil rights movement by its demands for 'One Man One Vote' and 'One Family One House' (*Free Citizen*, 16.10.70), PD clearly shows how far short of anarchist aims are 'radical' demands in the context of Northern Ireland!

It is in that context that we have

to try to assess the revolutionary potential of the situation and, bluntly, the interest it holds specifically for anarchists. We have good comrades there working to build an anarchist movement and certainly, in times of ferment like these, not only should there be much interest in ideas but anarchist action is very relevant. In fact, of course, it is only anarchism which has real relevance as a solution to the appalling problems which face the Northern Irish working class.

Only if they get rid of that shoddy crew in Stormont; only if they turn their backs on the priests and ministers; only if they can find the strength to hold out their hands in solidarity to their fellows across the barriers that the centuries of bullshit have built up; only if they want to solve their problems themselves and run their own lives themselves; only if they take over the factories and the docks and the railways and the land themselves will they ever be able to break out of the ghastly prison that the priests and the politicians have made for them.

JUSTIN.

*We have been criticised by comrades both in Ulster and here, for not dealing enough with the situation there. Can we hereby appeal, therefore, for good, up-to-date, anarchist material from on the spot? If we don't get it from you, comrades, we have to do it ourselves—but don't blame us if you don't like what we say!

Free Speech in Manchester

AFTER WORLD WAR II, up till 1958, Manchester's 'Speakers' Corner' was a bomb-site near Deansgate. When that site was lost owing to redevelopment, we got a site outside the old Shambles.

This site was never very satisfactory and was only available on Sunday nights, and it was not until November 1965, during a march against the Vietnam war, that a group of Manchester anarchists, ban-the-bombers and pacifists took steps to lay claim to another site for central open air meetings (see *FREEDOM*, 11.12.65, 'Where is Free Speech in Manchester?'). In the middle of this march a large group broke away, took over part of ALBERT SQUARE, and held a brief meeting, while all the good comrades in IS, CND and the CP crept off to a back street car park meeting which the police had laid on for them. Meanwhile back in Albert Square, not far from the site of Peterloo, anarchists and the others clashed with the police, and one 16-year-old was badly beaten up by some officers back in Bootle Street police station; 11 arrests were made.

Since then other groups have made a stand, including the dustmen who tried to hold a meeting in Albert Square during last year's strikes, but it wasn't until the Shambles site was closed late last year that the position became critical. While the Manchester Council had voted in favour of a new 'Speakers' Corner' back in April 1970, this had been shelved when the Chief Constable rejected all the proposed sites in central Manchester.

At two small meetings held in Piccadilly during early January the police took no action, and it wasn't until the Rev. Willetts got up to speak on the steps of the Queen Victoria Statue in Piccadilly on January 17, that the police began making arrests. The vicar went first, followed by his wife, accompanied by

two anarchists who hadn't managed to get out of the way quick enough.

Other libertarians were among those arrested at similar meetings held later in the month, and the free speech movement began to get wide coverage on TV and in the Press. Though the local Borough Surveyor suggested in an interview that he would prefer a site well out of town 'where no more than 20 or 30 people would be likely to turn up', a *Guardian* editorial at the end of January supported the Piccadilly site.

On January 30, two members of Manchester Anarchists spoke for over 20 minutes with a loud hailer from the steps of Queen Victoria in the middle of Saturday afternoon without incident. And the National Council for Civil Liberties' national spokesman announced that he regarded the Manchester campaign as a 'test case'. It was even rumoured that the Bishop of Manchester supported the campaign, and that the local Communist Party was planning some sort of action on the issue.

By early February there had been no less than 40 arrests connected with the campaign for a 'Speakers' Corner', and on February 5, a Manchester magistrate dismissed some obstruction summonses arising from earlier Sunday night gatherings in Piccadilly. This lack of success for the police encouraged them to call for a permanent 'Speakers' Corner' through their federation before the end of the month, and on March 12 they withdrew 21 summonses against free speech activists.

It now seems certain that the Manchester City Council will be forced to find a site for a 'Speakers' Corner', meanwhile meetings continue to be held on Sunday nights in Piccadilly.

NORTH WEST WORKERS
(Main Source: *Mole Express*)

News from Ireland

These articles from Ireland arrived before further developments in Ireland (also we go to press on Mondays). They therefore bear the deficiencies of sub-edited works.—Eds.

ON FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26 court cases were being held in Belfast against a number of men who had worn IRA uniforms—black berets and combat jackets—at the funerals of the supposed IRA victims during the heavy fighting and rioting which occurred at the beginning of February. This particular confrontation with the British Army occurred for various reasons.

After the ending of the six-month ban on processions imposed by Chichester-Clark & Co. at the behest of Heath & Co., Paisley organized a march for February 4. What is significant is that the previous weekend serious rioting occurred between the British Army and Protestant Shankill. Paisley's march was intended to proceed down the same Shankill—passing the local Housing Trust 'Fortress'—the mainly Catholic Unity flats situated at the bottom of Shankill.

The week prior to the rioting on the Shankill, skirmishes had broken out nightly between the Catholic Ballymurphy estate and the Army. This provoked a call from the Unionist Parliamentary Right-wing (Craig, West, Boal, etc.) for immediate implementation of intercom and much tougher measures to deal with 'hooligans' and rioters. This, coupled with a political demand for a meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council—the 'grass roots' movement on which the Ulster Unionist Party is based—to try and force a vote of no confidence on the aristocratic stutterer Chichester-Clark. This demand fell rather flat when the Protestant Shankill erupted. An analysis of what followed will attempt to point

out why strategically the Lower Falls rioting was (in part) provoked by the 'Security Forces' as part of the plan brought over by Sharples and Carrington in an attempt to paint an 'everything in the garden is rosy' attitude before British capital becomes a mere extension of European monopoly capital.

Had Paisley's proposed march taken place direct confrontation would have occurred on a very large scale mainly between the Army and the 'loyalist' populace with its 'right-wing' base. It would appear that the time is not yet ripe for such a confrontation—for surely physical clashes on the streets would assume the political connotations of a power bid, however feeble, by the Unionist Party right wing.

Paisley's march having been 'postponed' was counteracted by a forceful arms search in Lower Falls calculated to provoke the maximum possible effect from the Catholic populace—the militant wing, of which the Provisional IRA are the trained and armed section. The strategy of capital appears to be one of 'defeat and subdue the relatively weaker section of militant opposition', i.e. annihilate either by direct military confrontation or arrest and intern without trial under the Special Powers Act both the Provisional IRA and the counter-threat of the equally powerful militant wing of Protestant Unionism, the 'UVF&B' special elements.

Whether the practice will be as perfect as the theory remains to be seen. In conclusion it can only be assumed that the paranoid-style detention of nearly 50 women Catholics (or pro-nationalist types) outside a Belfast court house at the end of February surely lends credence to what has been posited above.

SEAMUS.

Continued on page 3

HIRELING, GO MAKE ME A MASTERPIECE

ANDY WARHOL'S INVASION of the ancient city of London is always one of the great non-events of the season. Like the Queen's speech at the birth of each dying Parliamentary session we attend to it not for what it will profit us but to read into the stilted phrases when and where the next goolie kick will come. Warhol provides that aesthetic and intellectual vacuum that will always find an audience, for by masking the obvious in garish colours or meaningless pseudo-philosophical jargon they provide the sub-intellectual *avant-garde* with an excuse for their attendance and their own inadequacies.

Warhol's exhibition at the Tate Gallery would appear to be no more than an excuse for the production of an extremely good catalogue and as an example of the printer's craft it will justify the labour that went into dragging these huge panels and mock-up of Brillo soap powder boxes across the Atlantic. Andy Warhol is that parasitical type of activist who in the process of destroying the body of the host, be it art or politics, puts into effect a series of emotionally disturbing dead-end reactions that through their sheer nihilist excitement demand and destroy the talents of all its victims.

Warhol's contribution to the arts is to take some trivial piece of public print and to get his hired help to enlarge it to the limits of the gallery wall or to repeat it ad infinitum according to the size of the frame or the gallery. What Warhol and others do is to take some commercial advertisement or newspaper photograph and by removing it from its economical or social context produce a minor work of art but the garish Campbell's soup label was and is still bad art and the blurred photographs of broken bodies divorced from the agony of readership immediacy is now only a badly enlarged photograph.

One accepts that a single label taken from a tin of Campbell's soup and repeated a hundred times within the same frame makes a pleasant and mind-dulling geometrical abstraction and is a credit to Frank J. Thomas who is one of the workmen paid to churn these things out for the Warhol factory. That a silk-screen of the American electric chair, the Mona Lisas, the bloodied and broken bodies of American road accident victims, Elvis, Marilyn Monroe or police mug shots of men wanted by the American police could have the Town's *ton* foaming in the gutters of Carnaby Street with vicarious excitement if art handled as commercial silk-

screen products for the Bond Street trade, but one could ask as of a one-legged ballet dancer performing a hop, skip and a jump leading into a fantastic grand *jeté* off the roof of the Hilton Hotel to cynical applause for an encore, that though it is a magnificent spectacle... is it Art? (*Pseud's Corner. Private Eye please quote.*)

Taking the Warhol exhibition for what it is, a Disneyland for emotionally-retarded adults seeking a bright toy anchor for their own futilities, then the Warhol exhibition at the Tate offers a bright nursery for them to mentally masturbate in, but if one wishes to judge Warhol as an artist, then the shy-making exhibition of work by him that he produced some twenty years ago, that died the death at the Institute of Contemporary Arts at the same time that the Kulture mob were storming the steps of the Tate Gallery, should have acted as a salutary warning to all that gelled rabble cheering the enlarged versions of our society's bad taste.

But salvation was waiting for the Town and his hot pants frau as they dashed from the Tate Gallery to Trafalgar Square and into the National Portrait Gallery. The National Portrait Gallery has now gone madly gay and the current exhibition which is the first joint project of the Arts Council of Great Britain and the Welsh Arts Council offers the Town a cheerful funtype fair ground. It is a valid exhibition that fails to come off but the organisers are to be praised for attempting it. The exhibition is called SNAP and SNAP 'is about portraying the human image. How do we record ourselves, when do we do it, and why.

It is an essay in exhibition form of what *portraiture* or *image-making* in 1971 is about'. It is a worthwhile exhibition, cheerful and extrovert, and is built around the work of three artists, the painter David Hockney, the cartoonist Gerald Scarfe, and the photographer David Bailey. It fails because it does not justify its own terms of reference and what we have is a happy-type rag-bag from junk shop *bric-a-brac* to the works of fashionable Bond Street artists and a cartoonist from the *Sunday Times*. What I would have wanted to see put into action was not a collection of any available works hung to fit an intellectual thesis like illustrations to an article on sociology, but a practical demonstration of the theme of the exhibition, and the way that this should have been done would have been to commission Scarfe, Hockney, Bailey and various other artists and photographers to give their interpretations by pen, paint and camera of five or six of the permanent attendance staff or counter staff within the exhibition and when the public met these hitherto unknown people, working within the exhibition, we could have formed a true judgement on the abilities of the artists to realise, not some public cliché personality, but six men, and women isolated for a brief moment from the faceless crowd.

It is Gerald Scarfe who, as always, takes the palm at this type of exhibition for he is a brilliant draftsman and a number of his drawings will become classics of that particular art form. In this exhibition Scarfe exhibits a brilliant take-off of one of Aubrey Beardsley's erotic drawings. More vulgar and obscene than Beardsley ever dared to be,

it mocks the master yet enhances Beardsley's work by daring to mock him. Drawn in 1967 for the *New Statesman*, it was rejected by that august journal of middle-class Shavian morality and now it hangs in full public view with the gay portraits of the Town's gay blades, the full frontals of Helmut Berger and girl friend, and Hockney's painting of Mr. and Mrs. Ossie Clark at home.

Hockney, of my arrogance, I would dismiss as no more than a fashionable painter of the hour who, like Cassius Clay, dances like a butterfly but failed to sting like a bee, while Bailey's photographs are good until the next bright young man comes along. Only Scarfe dares touch the forelock to history but even this with reservations. As a social commentator Scarfe is inferior to good second-raters like Cummings of the *Express* or Jak of the *Standard* for all he gives us are individual grotesques existing in historical isolation and for that one reason he will never rank with Rowlandson or Gilray but like Beardsley he is a magnificent master of the line who brings a puritanical hatred into his subject matter for one cannot compromise with evil, and Scarfe's failing is that he only attacks the worm within the rotting body.

But for all that the exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery is a happy and worthwhile event so if you are passing through the Town and the Square, on the way to save the human race with the ol' leaflet, then drop the stern upper lip for an hour and take the children to see SNAP. 25p Adults, 15p kids.

ARTHUR MOYSE

Continued from page 1

More News from Ireland

IT IS A LITTLE DIFFICULT to know where to take up after seven weeks and the growing horrors that are leaving us all numb. One turns on the crack o' dawn news to hear, 'It was a quiet night. Three fires in Dublin. Six in the North, three petrol bomb incidents and six stonings of troops and four lots of firing. Two men are in hospital in Belfast, but not seriously injured, and fifteen people have been arrested.' A quiet night... and we have become so inured to all this that unless we personally are attacked we think of it as a quiet night.

The terrible murder of the three boy soldiers in cold blood in Belfast on Wednesday has shocked nearly everyone. It was NOT an IRA incident whatever the McKeagues and Beaties, Paisleys and Craigs say in their frantic desire to bring down the Government, re-arm the police, recall the B-Specials and introduce internment without trial. In fact all informed people think the foul deed was done by Protestant extremists for the sole reason of discrediting the IRA as murderers and getting repressive measures instantly introduced while they jostle for personal power.

Frank Gogart is in prison for the terrible 'crime' of calling British Tommies who had beaten him up, flung him against a wall and generally rough-housed him, 'Bastards'. The soldiers

admit they did these things and found nothing on him but the judge sends him to prison and the soldiers do not get one word of reproach from anyone. Frank McManus is in prison for taking part in an illegal parade at Enniskillen. John McKeague and John McQuaid did the same thing but as they are Orangemen got off with small fines and you may be sure they did not have to pay these out of their own pockets.

In Dublin the Dail are rushing through the so-called 'Forcible Entry and Occupation' Bill. This operates against not only squatters, but fish-ins pickets, and trade union sit-ins such as the recent one at Fiats. It allows the police to arrest without warrant, it completely muzzles the news media, and has the ghastly guilt by association clause, so that if one of my editors prints something the Government does not like, not only will he go to gaol but everyone who is on the paper down to the office cat will go also. Or if the secretary or PRO of an organisation issues a statement—with which indeed you may not as an individual agree—the whole organisation is fined and gaoled unless you immediately and publicly denounce your comrades, which no one with one spark of honour would do. Well may Noel Brown, Labour TD, say this bill is straight out of the books of Hitler, Franco, Salazar and Mussolini.

CORP, the Committee to Oppose Repressive Legislation, has been formed and we are hard at work with plans. The ghastly thing is the smug silent majority who have been deceived by the Government into thinking this bill will protect them against thugs, and anyhow, don't care as long as they are comfortably housed and have their TV sets.

We have already lobbied our TDs. Three hundred people turned up two Tuesdays running, out of which six on the first and eight on the second had interviews with their TDs. The rest were kept for three hours out in the bitter cold by a huge posse of gardai, while our 144 Representatives crept out of the back door. Some democracy.

At the recently-held Ard Fheis we picketed outside the RDS where it was held, while we could hear them inside bawling like a herd of mad bulls as they attacked each other. There was a photo in all the papers of a woman delegate trying to speak while a real culchie in a cloth hat was not only shouting her down but actually swiping at her with a rolled-up paper like the gurrler he was.

After the Ard Fheis they announced they were in perfect harmony and

agreement!!

The enquiry into the arms trial drags on and to the ordinary person all that becomes plain is that Fianna Fail can't speak the truth if they try. We are growing weary of being slaves both sides of the border and even wearier of platitudes grinding the faces of the poor and all the fascism and deceptions. The pot MUST boil over, alas, and I fear this will happen only too soon. 'God Save Ireland' sang the heroes. Faith, she needs their prayer.

H.

LATER

IN THE SIX COUNTIES confusion worse confounded. Charge and counter-charge by each branch of the IRA, as they kill and maim and torture each other in the name of freedom for the six counties.

Craig, Paisley, McKeague and Co. are determined to have internment without trial, the rearming of the RUC and an armed militia. McKeague stated categorically on RTE 'that we would settle the IRA in 48 hours'. The Unionists blame everything upon the IRA, although all the evidence shows the Protestant extremists are just as likely

to have been guilty of at least half the 'goings-on' as the IRA. The march to the cenotaph to lay wreaths in memory of the three Scots soldiers killed was supposed to have been spontaneous, but in fact Paisley had got the shop stewards to organise it, and the very few Catholics who took part had been terrorised into doing so. Anyhow a spontaneous march has not got wreaths galore ready to lay, a fact that seems to have escaped all commentators except this writer.

Today's strike and march against the Industrial Relations Bill has been skillfully turned into an anti-Government 'C-C must go' march by Paisley and Craig. Could Westminster stand for the sort of UDI government that Craig and his allies would immediately put into being with all reforms backtracked? As far as the common man is concerned they are only paper reforms anyhow. We are almost over the brink, and civil war in toto will not be confined to the six counties. It cannot be.

Meanwhile Jack Lynch and his wife make merry with Mayor 'Shoot-to-kill' Daley in Chicago and the Indo-China murderer Nixon, handing out shamrocks and mouthing non-meaning platitudes and waffling.

Continued on page 4



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

ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press. **BLACK KNIGHT GROUP,** 5 Nelson Road, N.8. Meeting Wednesdays. **LAVENDER HILL.** Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086). **NOTTING HILL.** Sebastian Scragg, 10 Bassett Road, W.10. **LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION.** Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, N.W.7. **NEWHAM.** Pat Keen, 26 Farringford Road, E.15.

REGULAR WEEKLY MEETINGS
Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Freedom Hall, 84B White-chapel High Street, E.1 (Aldgate East Station).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary, Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park, 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. **BOURNEMOUTH AREA.** Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset. **BRIGHTON & HOVE.** Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton, Sussex. **UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX.** Felicity Frank, Keynes Tower, University of Essex, Colchester, Essex. **BRISTOL.** c/o Ian Stanley, Flat 1, 32 Station Road, Bristol. **CORNWALL ANARCHISTS.** Brian & Hazel McGee, Hillcrest Farm, Hicks Mill, Bissoe, Truro, Cornwall. Visiting comrades welcome. **PEACE ACTION.** Rory Weightman, P.C.T. Peace

Action Group, St. Pauls Road, Portsmouth, Hants. **CROYDON LIBERTARIANS.** Laurens and Ceila Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, CR4 8QH (653 7546) or contact Keith McCain, 1 Langmead Street, West Norwood, S.E.27. Phone 670 7297. **EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP.** Contact Melvyn Estrin, 94 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Midds. **FARNBOROUGH.** 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey. Tel.: Farnborough 43811. **HERTS.** Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage. **LEICESTER.** Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester. Tel.: 29912. **LOUGHBOROUGH.** Peter Davies, 67 Griffin Close, Shephed, Loughborough, Leics., LE12 900. Tel.: 2117. **MUTUAL AID GROUP.** c/o Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire. **NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.** Terry Phillips, 70 Elenheim Walk, Corby, Northants. **NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact M. Renick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, Newcastle on Tyne 6. **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 Greensway, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2916. Brian and Maureen Richardson. **PORTSMOUTH.** Ken Bowbrick, 26 Stambledon House, Landport, Portsmouth, Hants. **READING.** 26 Bulmershe Road. Tel.: Reading 65645. Meetings every Thursday. **TAUNTON.** c/o Dave Poulson, 473 Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset. **WEST HAM ANARCHISTS.** Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. J. Plant, 10 Thackeray

Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162. **MERSEYSIDE.** c/o John Cowan, 172a Lodge Lane, Liverpool 8. Meetings first Sunday in each month, 8 p.m.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

NORTH ESSEX. Write: Peter Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. **BASILDON & WICKFORD.** Mick Powell, Glamis House, 24 Cameron Close, Brentwood, Essex. **BISHOPS STORTFORD.** Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts. **CHELMSFORD.** (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Parleigh, Chelmsford, Essex. **EPPING.** John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex. **HARLOW.** Stephen Murrell, 34 Sharpcroft, Essex. **LOUGHTON.** Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

N.W. Federation Sec.: Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Primrose, Lancaster. **BLACKPOOL.** Contact Christine and Graham, 2 Fenner Avenue, Southshore, Blackpool. **BOLTON.** Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton. **CHORLEY.** Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley. **LANCASTER & MORECAMBE.** Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Primrose, Lancaster. **MANCHESTER ANARCHISTS AND SYNDICALISTS.** Jenny Honeyford, 33 Clyde Road, Didsbury, Manchester, 21. **PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Rob Wilkinson, 73 Trafford Street, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

SURREY FEDERATION

DORKING. Mungo Park, 16 Overdale Road, Dorking, Surrey. **EPSOM.** G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom. Tel. Epsom 23806. **KINGSTON.** Roger Willis, 69 Woodlands Avenue, New Malden, Surrey. **GUILDFORD.** Contact Epsom Group. **MERTON.** Elliot Burns, 13 Amity Grove, London, S.W.19. Tel. 01-946 1444.

YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Secretary: Contact Leeds Group. **HULL.** Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull. **KEIGHLEY.** Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street,

Keighley. **LEEDS.** Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9LB. **SHEFFIELD.** Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10. I. C. Wood, 4 Havelock Square, Sheffield. **YORK.** Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

WELSH FEDERATION

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS. J. Smith, Nanteos Mans, Aberystwyth, Cards. Bobus Marsland, c/o Students' Union, Lauro Place, Aberystwyth, Cards. **CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Spint, Cardiff. **SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. Meetings at the above address every Sunday at 7 p.m.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Temporary Secretary: Neil Munro, 203 Cornhill Drive, Aberdeen. **ABERDEEN & PETERHEAD ANARCHISTS.** Contact both groups via Neil Munro, 203 Cornhill Drive, Aberdeen. For 'Freedom' Sales: Ian & Peggy Sutherland, 8 Eslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. Also for contacts in Inverness. **EDINBURGH.** Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11. **FIFE.** Bob and Una Turnbull, Raith Home Farm, Raith Estate, Kirkcaldy. **GLASGOW.** Moira Young, 91 Urquhart Drive, Glasgow, S.W.1. **ROSS-SHIRE.** Contact David Rodgers, Broonsfield, Evanston, Ross-shire, Scotland.

NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP. No address available. Letters c/o Freedom Press.

SOUTHERN IRELAND

20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.

STUDENT GROUPS

LOUGHTON. c/o Students Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex. **KEELE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Pete Hannah, c/o Students Union, University of Keele, Staffs. **OXFORD ANARCHISTS.** Contact Jeremy Brent, 1a Woodstock Road, Oxford.

SWANSEA. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. **TAUNTON.** Contact Dave Poulson, 47b Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset. **YORK.** Contact R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York. **LSE.** St. Clements Buildings, Houghton Street, W.C.2. **LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY GROUP.** At the Anarchist Bookstall, Union Foyer, every Friday lunch time or write Anarchist Group, Student Union, Liverpool University. **SCHOOLS ANARCHIST GROUP.** Kate & Joe, 3 Withy Lea, Leonard Stanly, nr. Stonehouse, GL10 3NS, Gloucestershire. **SCHOOLS ANARCHIST GROUP — BELFAST AREA.** Michael Scott, Longshot, Ballyaghis, Lisburn. **UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX.** Felicity Frank, Keynes Tower, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000. **BELGIUM.** Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivignis, Liège. **RADICAL LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE.** Box 2104, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017.

PROPOSED GROUPS

BERMONDSEY. Roy Heath, 58 Thurburn Square, S.E.1. **MONTREAL, QUEBEC.** Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Sigler, Tel. 489-6432. **EAST ANGLIAN LIBERTARIAN GROUP.** John Sullivan, c/o Students Union, U.E.A., Wilberforce Road, Norwich, Norfolk. **NOTTINGHAM** and area. Contact Jim Hewson, 43 Henry Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham. **NOVA SCOTIA.** P. Ridley, c/o Newport Post Office, Newport, Nova Scotia, Canada. **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.

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

General Strike— what for?

MOST OF THE 'REVOLUTIONARY' groups of the Left and even a respectable union bureaucrat like Hugh Scanlon have called for a General Strike in response to the Industrial Relations Bill so perhaps it's time we anarchists reminded everybody what we are talking about.

Well, the idea isn't just to 'make the Tories see sense', to 'kill the Bill' or to 'return a Labour Government with socialist policies'. (Yes, that last one's my favourite too!) You might be forgiven for thinking that we are getting warmer when Hugh Scanlon talks of 'laying the foundations for a permanent socialist society'. You might, that is, if we weren't painfully aware of the fact that Hughie means the same old state-capitalist crap when he talks of 'socialism'. We want more than the 'right' to strike—we want to be free: free from all politicians, capitalists, union bureaucrats and 'revolutionary' leaders.

If we can use a General Strike to make the Government change its policy, then we can go all the way and use this

powerful weapon to free ourselves from the tyranny of all Authority: we can make a Social Revolution. Instead of a stay-out strike we can have a stay-in strike; we can lock the employers out and establish workers' control of industry with production for use instead of profit.

But the reality must be more than just glib phrases. The Trotskyists are talking a lot about 'workers' control' today, but they have conveniently forgotten the reaction of the 'great man', Trotsky, to the demands by the workers of Kronstadt 50 years ago for real workers' control. Trotsky's reply was the only argument of dictators: murder and imprisonment.

The lesson to be learnt is obvious: we cannot trust 'leaders' or the Party to free us—we must do it for ourselves. The road to freedom is via our own conscious action as free individuals building a society on the basis of voluntary co-operation and mutual aid.

Let's have a real General Strike for a real Social Revolution!

TERRY PHILLIPS.

AT ITS EMERGENCY Congress at Croydon the TUC obtained a majority for its moderate and constitutional opposition to the Government's Industrial Relations Bill. Resolutions in favour of the TUC organising strikes and instructing unions not to register under the new legislation were outvoted. It will mean an end to the one-day strikes against the Bill which the Transport & General Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers have called.

This vote against industrial action was not unexpected. The TUC is mainly made up of very cautious and constitutionally-minded trade union leaders. Those of the white-collared unions made it plain that they would register even if it meant leaving the TUC.

The opposition of the TUC to the Bill has been weak and futile. A far more effective campaign could have been mounted which did not even involve industrial action. Where were the leaflets, the factory gate meetings and the general propaganda campaign. They failed to organise a basic educational campaign to bring home to trade unionists the effects of the legislation.

Judging by what some of the trade union leaders said at the Congress one would not think that they were really against the Bill. Frank Chapple, General Secretary of the electricians' union, even went as far as to suggest that the TUC guarantee a strike-free year in return for the Bill's withdrawal.

Mr. Feather, General Secretary of the TUC, said, 'No trade unionist must contribute to a process of debasing the principles of law.' This statement and that by Jack Peel, General Secretary of the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers, typify the attitude of trade union leaders when faced with legislation. He said: 'Even if the strike succeeded (March 18 one-day strike), you would be losing not only a Government, but our system of Parliamentary democracy. This battle will be won by using our heads and getting public opinion behind us, winning the next election, and repealing the Act.'

AGAINST STRIKE ACTION

Like the employers and the government, trade union leaders are against the only effective weapon which can be used to defeat the Bill, namely industrial action. They realise that such action

Birds of a Feather

could bring an end to 'Parliamentary democracy' and wage exploitation which is a part of the capitalist system. They fear such action because it would mean that they would lose control and that the initiative would pass to ordinary working people. Once having gained that then the workers might start organising production for the benefit of their own class. The employers could be locked out and the trade union leaders no longer needed as bargaining agencies.

Mr. Feather's argument is part of the same line of thought. He does not relish being outside the law, for being the good citizen that he is, he thinks that trade unionists should not fall foul of the law. However, if they are to continue to organise and to take action to defend and gain higher wages and 'better conditions, then they will find themselves in this position.

When the Bill becomes law we shall see how trade unions will adjust their attitudes to conform with the law. They may not all co-operate at once, but slowly and surely they will register for their state licence. The Bill is class legislation designed to help solve the economic problems of the country, by attacking the working class freedom to organise and struggle for a higher return for their labour.

LABOUR'S SIMILAR REMEDIES

The TUC have said that they are

P.T.

THE PASSION FOR JUSTICE

EVERY NOW and again the mailed fist of brute force slips and shows itself beneath the silk glove of law and order. Cells are filled, lives are ruined and every now and again the lime pit beside the prison wall is occupied with a victim of 'injustice'—which to anarchists not obsessed with lofty abstractions—we might as well call justice.

Saddest among the wreckage are the parents. Shattered by the disaster which has stricken them, they do not understand why officials and police who were supposed to help them have turned against them and they feel that their case is the exception. Bravely the Evans parents, the Hanratty family, Stafford's father, each say, 'My boy was a good boy, he did not do what the police say he did, it did not happen like that, the

police are lying', and with that fierce devotion which keeps families together—even to their own detriment—they go on persisting in their conviction of innocence and passion for justice.

In recent weeks in London, meetings and demonstrations have taken place regarding an escaped Borstal boy, Stephen McCarthy of Islington who was apprehended by policemen at a bus stop, was allegedly banged by the police against a bus standard causing his eventual death. In a leaflet, Mr. and Mrs. McCarthy print a photo of Stephen subtitled 'Murdered by Police', and setting out 'We charge: 1. Policemen N 456 Leonard and N 385 Kilshaw with the murder of Stephen McCarthy. 2. Policemen from Upper Street Station and others with conspiracy and perjury. 3. Coroner Davies with returning a false verdict, i.e. "accidental death". 4. The Governor of Wormwood Scrubs, Wheeler, with gross negligence contributing to Stephen's death. 5. Maudling, Home Secretary, with conspiracy to cover up a murder.'

One knows by experience that items 2 and 3 could well be true. It is far from the duties of coroners and police stations to see that absolute truth emerges. Personal experience and knowledge of prison 'medical' services makes item 4 highly probable. All Home Secretaries have been accessories to murder if one takes into account Evans, Hanratty, and Roger Casement to name only three victims of justice.

The demands of the McCarthy family are naive but forthright and, were the real purpose of the law to be, as is carved over the Old Bailey (if one remembers correctly), to protect the children of the poor and to punish wrongdoers, they would doubtless be conceded. The McCarthys demand: 1. The murderers be held in custody pending trial. 2. Full compensation to the McCarthy family for this murder. 3. Access to all medical evidence including the coroner's report. 4. The list of names and addresses of all who have contacted the police regarding this murder. 5 An apology from TV and newspapers for having slandered Stephen McCarthy in their reports.

They appeal for witnesses and they are holding a community enquiry into police brutality in Islington. The address for documentation purposes is 42 Matthias Road, N.16. Phone 01-455 6968.

At one of the public meetings a deputation to the police station clashed with police returning from the Arsenal football match and several arrests were made. The police are notorious for their lack of tact and no doubt the McCarthy clan got as good as they gave, if they gave anything besides leaflets.

It is to be hoped that the McCarthy agitation will bear fruit but it is to be feared, knowing police, press and officialdom's talent for hushing things up and doing nothing, that another victim of the State's passion for vengeance called justice will be forgotten. However, as long as the McCarthys keep up their struggle there will be those in the community who will see manifest the brute force that is the reality of law and order.

JACK ROBINSON.

Pamphlet Supplement

We will not be publishing 'Freedom' next week. Our next issue will be out for the Easter Holiday and the CND demonstrations. This issue will include a Pamphlet Supplement on Workers' Control and the Trade Unions. Topics will include articles on breakaway unions and the role of the Communist Party in trade union and industrial affairs.

Comrades and groups might like to order extra copies either to sell on the CND demonstrations or at their local factory. Extra copies of the Pamphlet Supplement can also be ordered to be sold on their own.

This publication could prove a useful introduction to trade unionists for our ideas on Workers' Control.

All orders can be made on the usual sale or return basis.

EDITORS.

LEEDS CONFERENCE

ARRANGEMENTS had been made for the conference to be held the first weekend in March. But because of the postal strike, comrades in Leeds are postponing the event until April.

If comrades can get in touch with the organisers with any pre-conference literature, money or suggestions for the conference, their addresses are:

Trevor Barage,
Flat 35, Richmond Road,
Leeds 6.

Martin Watkins,
Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road,
Leeds 2.
Phone: Leeds (0532) 59762

Freedom Press

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London E1 01-247 9249
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More Bigotry, more Violence

ALAS, WE MUST say something about the 'governmental crisis' in Ulster. It has headlines in the press, and yet, what real difference does it make? As contestants for the office of Prime Minister we have Brian Faulkner and the backwoodsman William Craig. According to the *Evening Standard*, Mr. Craig's faction demand law and order at any cost, while Mr. Faulkner wants law and order with reforms, while there is a 'moderate' faction who do not want either man. They want law and order with one or two reforms more than Mr. Faulkner. It is like the morbid schoolboy query, 'Would you rather be burned alive, buried alive or die of cancer?'

We are asked to take an interest in which of these men becomes Prime Minister. It will not make a bit of difference! The idea of setting up internment camps is now being put forward, and probably something of the kind will be instituted, whatever they are called, and whatever faction of the governing class gets their man into the office of Premier.

It would be nice if we could say these Faulkners and Craigs are wicked exploiters of the people, and leave it at that. Of course they are exploiting the fears and the credulity of their followers, but that is not the whole story. Mr. Faulkner and Mr. Craig represent slightly different versions of the average man, the ordinary John Citizen, not only in Ulster either. But they are at the top of the tree, and so attract more notice to themselves. The Ulster horror, like the Biafran horror, the Vietnam horror and many others is the product of the imperialism of Britain, the US and the other big powers, the ambition of local leaders and the barbarity and superstition of the ruled themselves.

No doubt the rulers have done their best to keep the ruled drugged with religious or other ideological rubbish, but it is the business of the ruled to resist this, and unite for their emancipation. 'Black and white unite and fight!' Catholic and Protestant together against those who exploit both! If people prefer tribal loyalties then they will continue to be enslaved. We at Freedom Press have been criticised for being too detached in our attitude to Ulster. Perhaps this detachment has some value in a world increasingly dominated by racial and religious bigotry, to such a degree that it seems sometimes as if the Middle Ages were returning.

If saying this means that FREEDOM can no longer be sold on the streets of the cities of Ulster this is a sad comment on human irrationality. It

seeking a pledge from Harold Wilson that the Labour Party will repeal the Bill once they regain office. However if faced with similar economic problems, a Labour government would seek similar remedies to those of the Tories. No doubt Labour's legislation would be framed in such a way that it would not affect the leadership of the unions but only the rank and file.

The Tories' Bill will in fact strengthen the authority of the union leadership. The Registrar and the law will give the executive wide powers to discipline and control the rank and file. However the latter has two weapons, namely numbers and solidarity, which can defeat their powers. If enough workers stand together against victimisation or legal action then the authorities will have to back down.

It is time that these facts were recognised. Political action through the Labour Party or following the TUC will not solve the problems facing the working class. They can only do this for themselves by organising at their place of work and building an effective organisation to defeat the government's laws. That organisation could lead to the abolition of the system that needs class legislation and the building of a movement that demands complete control of industry.

is no reason for us to join in the general clamour of hatred. It is easy to start a stampede by panicking people. The present writer was stampeded in this way at the time of the Israel-Arab war. It looked as if there was going to be another massacre of the Jews, instead of which, we were later to hear grim stories of massacre and torture of Arabs. It is a mistake to take sides.

However difficult it is, and it is often extremely hard and very awkward for the individual when personal friendships are involved, we must stick to our position. Otherwise there is no point in our existing at all, either FREEDOM or the anarchist movement.

Red and Black Outlook, a new publication of the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance, in an article dealing with Northern Ireland, describes the situation in the IRA at this moment. The organisation is split, and the writer of the article obviously favours the break-away 'provisionals', because they are more militant. (He gives them the name Provos, although this was the name of a Dutch non-violent movement.) However, he tells us that they have 'no carefully thought out ideology', unlike the 'official' IRA which he describes as having a kind of Marxist-reformist line.

The 'provisionals' aim, he tells us, is 'a 32 county DEMOCRATIC socialist republic', which sounds rather reformist too, but there is worse to follow. This concept 'they rarely tried to define', he says, but it 'was specifically pro-RC church, puritan and fervently "anti-commie"'. Yet there have been those who feel that we should give our support, critical of course, to this organisation!

We can only repeat, as we have done for nearly a hundred years by now, no support for authoritarian individuals or bodies of any kind, least of all for racially or religiously exclusive groups! Neither Faulkner, nor Craig, nor Paisley, nor IRA, official or unofficial! The freedom of human beings to organise their own lives is our aim.

A.W.U.

Another 4-page leaflet. Two articles from FREEDOM: *The relevance of Anarchism today and Anarchism and Nationalism*. Available from Freedom Bookshop for 30p a hundred including postage.

Anarchists meet

SOcially in the Marquis of Granby, Cambridge Circus, every Sunday from 7.30 p.m. Meetings are held in Freedom Press Hall every Wednesday at 8 p.m. Details may be obtained by phoning 247 9249 and will be published in this column on alternate weeks. From June 30, as of now, there are no fixed engagements so if you want to give a paper or arrange a function please advise.

Help!

Every Sunday in Hyde Park there is at least one anarchist platform and the opportunity to sell anarchist literature. Unfortunately this potential is not being realised. For instance, I sometimes find myself addressing a crowd of several hundred but there is no one at hand to sell. If I get down from the platform the crowd soon drifts off and it is impossible to keep an eye on the police who are constantly seeking opportunity to harass us. While on the platform the police can be kept under close surveillance and any seller can be warned of their approach. I estimate that the sales of FREEDOM alone in the park could be increased several hundred percent by just two more workers there. The work is not without its rewards as one comes into contact with visiting anarchists from many countries and, more importantly, one can personally introduce interested persons—who abound—to anarchism. For anyone desirous of gaining experience and proficiency in public speaking there is ample scope. Anyone willing to assist please phone Freedom or myself (business hours) on 248 4690 or 248 3771. Or just turn up at Speakers' Corner.

Technology—Friend or Foe?

Only sixteen of the two hundred people who live in the village of Lowfield Heath are willing to stay on there. The new airport of Gatwick has been built right behind their back gardens and not only the fearsome noise of the jet engines, but the very odour of their fuel constantly assails the inhabitants. Their plight is intensified by their inability to sell their homes—which, naturally, nobody now wants.

THIS WORLD

The question is whether technology should be our servant or master. Only the unrealistic want a return to primitive living and most of us see great benefits in modern technology but these are in danger of being completely undermined if the only criteria are those of the bureaucrat or executive who gauges results only in terms of economic growth and gain. The devaluation of the individual and of humanity generally is something anarchists should particularly fight. It is not merely capitalists who are at fault, but our communist foes, ever ready to brand us as bourgeois, are probably the most guilty with their construction of a super-state where the individual, his rights and personal needs are denied.

The King came

In feudal times the peasants, oppressed by their barons, looked to the king as protector and the one to redress their wrongs. Naturally, the king played this naive belief for what it was worth. Modern kings seem less intelligent than their predecessors. Only recently King Henry Ford came to inspect part of his vast empire here and, with customary simplicity, the workers and their representatives thought an interview with the great man might help solve their current strike for which the Ford executives—modern barons—are held responsible. Much to their distress the King refused to meet his peasants and departed in a cloud of sanctimonious warnings.

Socialist states

With a piety that is only surpassed by the most odious hypocrisy, communists refer to the countries on the other side of the iron curtain as 'the socialist countries'. Long ago Oscar Wilde, in his famous essay *The Soul of Man under Socialism*, which can fairly be seen as an anarchist masterpiece, pre-

dicted that socialism in the hands of the authoritarian state would be a worse tyranny than that it replaced. Every week since October 1917 there has been an increase in the evidence to support this proposition. Frankly I must admit it has become almost a bore and would be were it not for the cant of those who support (or rule) the 'socialist countries'.

Last week sixteen young radicals were given terms of imprisonment ranging from one to four years for the 'crime' of founding a political party, producing illegal leaflets and organising demonstrations in Czechoslovakia. Even in so-called liberal Yugoslavia criticising the government is a criminal offence and many have been thrown into prison for just that. In as much as socialism has any real meaning today, the socialist governments have completely discredited it.

Poor lawyers

According to the British Legal Association solicitors earned eight times as much as engineering and brewery labourers and ten times as much as dock workers in 1917. By 1970 they were earning only 80% more than the former and 1% less than the latter. The association's chairman, Mr. F. Morris Williams, considered it 'a serious indictment of our social and economic structure' that this section of the community should have fallen so low.

Peter Kropotkin, probably the greatest anarchist thinker and writer, said 'that without equality there can be no justice and without justice there can be no morality'. There is a profundity in this assertion that, were it widely understood and embraced, would convey the philosophies of greed and acquisitiveness and inequality to the garbage cans of antiquity. Within the present system, dock workers have proven that solidarity and militancy pays off. But the two latter qualities without thought or social awareness merely show the poverty-stricken nature of economic progress unrelated to human values.

Prostitutes and Sophists

Under bold headlines the findings of four Oxford academics appeared in the daily press concluding that cannabis is unsafe for humans. Next day Dr. Peter

Chapple, a research specialist at the National Addiction and Research Institute, refuted the findings and said that he knew of not even one human fatality from the use of the psychedelic. More trenchantly, the sociologist Mr. Michael Schofield ridiculed the 'statistical manipulation' engaged in by Professor William Paton, one of the four. Schofield, a member of the Wootton Committee, pointed to the highly-paid positions, under Government control, held by Paton and his long history of partisanship during which time he proved himself a willing tool of Government prejudice. In fact what Paton and his associates had done was to inject some mice with the equivalent of between five hundred to twenty-five hundred times the amount that a normal human user would take. The crass and blatant dishonesty of this 'experiment' was pinpointed by Don Aitken of *Release* who stated that a similar injection of, say, soya sauce would have the same lethal effects. The Science Correspondent for the *Guardian* reinforced this view by informing his readers that an inoculation of alcohol three times greater than the intake of a heavy drinker would also cause death.

The general issue at stake is how seriously can we take any 'scientific' reports, of a partisan nature, where the Government pays for 'experts' to do a job on the results of which it has already made up its mind. The present case is a good example. The Government has already passed severe and repressive laws against the users of psychedelic drugs. Any 'inquiries' it may conduct into the effect of these substances must be highly suspect.

Welcome

To the new rank and file anarchist paper *Outlook*. Some three thousand copies of the first issue have been published and I am told half of these were paid for before publication. A tribute to the organisers! The group responsible is the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11, and they aim at inspiring the workers 'to lock out the bosses and administer production and distribution on behalf of the community which they are a part of'.

Modern society being pluralistic, it is obvious that various sections of the community need particular attention and

IRELAND

Continued from page 2

The Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill has had its second reading and the Committee Against Repressive Legislation are working overtime. All this bitterly cold week we have taken up a stand outside the GPO in O'Connell Street getting signatures from people who are opposed to it. 'The reactions one gets are amazing. Large numbers of people have never even heard of it. Overwell-dressed young women pass by thinking of nothing but clothes and boys. A few priests signed but most were on the side of the speculator and made idiotic remarks about 'not stealing other people's property'. Other people said they were all for the Bill and it was long overdue. Once when I was briefly alone a man actually spat at me and I had to wipe my coat clean. I did not achieve my ambition of getting a garda to sign, though in fact they will be among the chief sufferers under it.

Senator Mary Robinson is trying to get a bill passed to make the sale of contraceptives legal. Oliver Flannigan, TD, says, 'There was no sex in Ireland until people wanted to go in for these anti-Christian heathen abominities' (presumably his mother found him under a gooseberry bush!), and 'Mother of Ten' writes to the papers saying, 'Thank God we keep the faith and still have wonderful mothers who obey God and the Pope and Bishops, and there would be no Ireland but for our large families'. She overlooks the fact we export most of these families when they grow up, to work in London, Birmingham and the other British cities as unskilled labourers on the lowest wages. We also export our better educated doctors and nurses to serve the British. No one mentions the literally thousands of young mothers who are permanently on Librium or some other tranquilliser in order to prevent them committing suicide from despair, let alone the hundreds who have given up and are in our mental hospitals while the children are farmed out in 'Homes'. The writer is speaking on the subject next Tuesday if the lumbago her three days on the streets has engendered permit her to do so!

One cannot but feel hopeless. A very great deal of emotion was set off by the murder of the three young soldiers in Belfast. It would be wholesome to remember the real murderer is the British Government who sent boys to Ireland to kill. Those who draw the sword shall perish by the sword.

I, for one, would like to see a number of anarchist publications endeavouring to fill this need. My one qualification is that there be no mean partisanship or rivalry—to those who are large-minded enough to see the need for variety this will not occur.

BILL DWYER.

Contact

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

'Tincan'. Midlands poetry, prose and art-work. Photo-litho anthology. Blue or grey cover. From G. Charlton, Arts Lab., Tower Street, Birmingham, B19 3UY. 20p, incl. post.

Free literature. Young Atheist League, Box 1761, Seattle 98111, USA.

Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group contact John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge.

Charlotte Wilson, 1854-1944. First Editor of *FREEDOM*. Information about her life and work sought by Philip Venning, Old Wyldes, North End, N.W.3.

Girl Members wanted for a commune in South of France. Write before coming to Alain Rous, Rue du 14 Juillet, 66—Canches, France.

Black Flag. Now monthly. 6p. (Bulletin of Anarchist Black Cross). Jan. & Feb. includes 'Anarchism in China', 'Angry Brigade'. From Freedom Bookshop.

CND Festival for Nuclear-Free Europe. April 11 (Easter Sunday), 1 p.m.-6 p.m., Alexandra Park Racecourse. Edward Bond has written a play to be performed by Brighton Combination. Plus the Barrow Poets and groups.

March and Rally. Monday, April 12, Hyde Park 1 p.m., Trafalgar Square 3 p.m. Speakers: Frank Allaun, MP, Paul Oestreicher, French, Trade Union and Student Speakers.

Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications. 'The Revolutionary Catechism', Neecheyev, 5p + 2½p post. 'Song to the Men of England', Shelley; 'Post Poem' with Walter Crane's 'Workers' Maypole', 10p + 2½p post. 'Poems', Jim Huggon, 5p + 2½p post.

Available soon: 'International Anarchist Summer Camp 1969 Cornwall—Report of Speeches and Discussions', 5p + 2½p post.

'Peace, Freedom and Non Violence, For use in Schools', 5p + 2½p post. Discount available on bulk orders. Jim Huggon, c/o Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Spanish lessons written in London. Rates on request. Write, in first instance, to Box 02/71, Freedom Press.

All Women's Library, 2325 Oak, Berkeley, Calif. 94708, USA. Send a stamped, self-addressed envelope or 2 International Reply Coupons for information.

AFBIB needs subscriptions urgently. Any other donations would be very welcome. To Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham 16.

Urgent. Several new families have moved into Burrell House and urgently need electric cookers and beds and mattresses. Would anyone able to help with these—or any other pieces of furniture—please contact us via Freedom Press, phone 247 9249—or direct. The Tenants of Burrell House, The Highway, Stepney, E.14.

1971 World Anarchist Congress, August 1 to 4 in France—exact place will be notified. Contact CRIFA, 132 Rue de Paris, 94—Charenton, France.

Meetings at Freedom: Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. For details see 'This World' column.

Socialist Medical Association. A Day Seminar on the 'Social Causes and Consequences of Addiction'—to Drugs—to Alcohol—to Smoking—to Gambling on Sunday, March 28, 1971, at the NUFTO Hall, 14 Jockey Fields, London, W.C.1 (off Theobalds Road), Holborn. Two sessions: morning 10 a.m. to 12.45 p.m.; afternoon 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. Fees: 5/- per session, 10/- per day, per person. Send to 54 Finchley Court, London, N3 1NH.

George Foulser, now squatting at No. 090123, HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, S.W.2. Letters, books welcome.

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

RIGHT TO LIFE & LIBERTY

A GIRL STUDENT of the *Faculté de Lettres* of Nice has been the victim of a trap laid for her in a private clinic, where she has been held against her will to be subjected to psychiatric treatment.

The mother of this student, on the pretext of saying goodbye to her before her departure abroad, arranged a rendezvous with her in a very strange place: a clinic. The girl, without mistrust, went there. She has not emerged, having been, on the order of her mother, given an injection and drugged, and held in secret by a psychiatrist of the clinic. The facts are all the more monstrous in that the girl is of exceptional intelligence and is perfectly balanced. She had decided to devote herself totally to youth work. She will be of age in two and a half months.

Her name is Beatrice Le Mire, daughter of His Excellency Monsieur Paul-Hubert Le Mire, Ambassador of France in Santo Domingo. It is her own mother, present in Nice, who, with the full agreement of her husband, asked Dr. Jean-Yves Girard, psychiatrist, to 'take charge of her'. The place of the trap was the Saint Francois Clinic, 10 Boulevard Pasteur, in Nice. This event took place on January 26, at 11 a.m. Since that time not the slightest contact has been had with her.

Extremely worried, some of Beatrice's teachers and friends, who have known her very well for four years and a half, have laid a request, through the mediation of Maître Roger Temman, before the tribunal of Grande Instance of Nice, in conformity with article 351 (L. no 68-5 of the 3.1.68) of the Code Civil. They demand the immediate release of the young girl, for they believe that 'her stay in the Clinic is in no way justified and is on the contrary gravely prejudicial to her health and her psychological condition'.

At the foot of the petitions demanding that justice should be done, and that Beatrice should be liberated, thousands of signatures have been attached by the teachers and students of the University of Nice, also by merchants, artisans and inhabitants of Nice and of Villefranche-sur-Mer, where Beatrice has lived since 1966.

But a campaign of slander has been started against all those who have intervened to save Beatrice.

Pressure has been brought to bear on the press and the radio, which have been gagged (only the *Patriote-Cote d'Azur* has dared to penetrate the wall

of silence, without citing some other names), on the professors of the University of Nice and even on the Tribunal, which has not come to a decision.

To defend Beatrice Maitre Emile Polla, of the Aix-en-Provence Bar, has joined with Maître Roger Temman. The scandal has grown to national proportions.

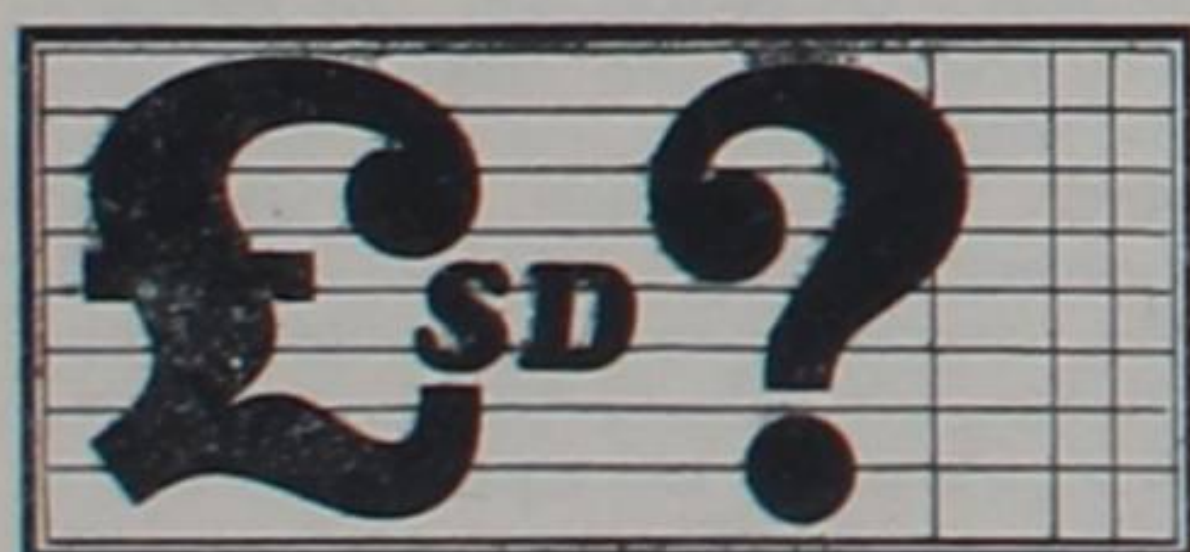
Meanwhile a young girl, perfectly sane, remains imprisoned and cut off from the outside world in a clinic, subjected to a treatment which each day endangers her health and sanity more and more.

Such events call into question the legitimacy of family authority, the strongest arm in the arsenal of social repression.

In a country where the methods of repression are more subtle and more refined than in the totalitarian countries we must all act, for we are all involved.

There are enough lives already broken by a so-called justice.

GRUPE COMMUNISTE LIBERTAIRE
NICE SPARTAKUS.
(Trans. A.U.)



PRESS FUND

March 16 to 22 inc.

Glasgow: J.M.B. £1.50; St. Cloud: M.G.A. £4.10; New York: L.M. £2.15; Wolverhampton: J.L. 25p; J.K.W. 10p; Auckland: W.O.D. £2.70; Harvey: R.C. £3.67; Castle Douglas: M.A. 50p; Hove: H.C. 70p; Brighton: P.P. 50p; New Zealand: R.J.H. 50p; London, N.W.5: J.R.H. 20p; Hitchin: L.A. 25p; Lewes: A.J.S. £1.50; Wigan: E.H. 50p; London, E.7: J.R. £5.70; Florida: R.C.S. 10p; Isleworth: M.W. 50p; Chelmsford: E.A. 50p; Birmingham: L.E.G. 50p; Bristol: R.G.J. 75p.

Total:	£27.17
Income Sales and Subs.:	£343.69
	£370.86
Less Deficit b/l.:	£790.27
	£419.41
Expenditure:	£150.00
DEFICIT:	£569.41

THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS

THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS is the first film to be shown by The Other Cinema, formerly the Odeon, Kings Cross, which is a non-profit-making concern set up to show films which would otherwise quite possibly not get a showing.

Made by the Italian director Gillo Pontecorvo, this film tells the story of the Algerian resistance to the French in the Casbah of the city of Algiers itself. It is an excellent film. The picture it gives of guerilla warfare and its horrors should put anyone off such methods, but of course it will not do so. One of the French parachutist colonels remarks, in the course of defending torture, that some of his colleagues had survived Buchenwald. Evidently this experience had taught them nothing, and so I don't suppose a film is likely to teach anybody anything. A depressing thought.

We see a group of French *colons* setting off a bomb in the Casbah, in revenge for a number of policemen killed, and some devoted Algerian girls and housewives, disguised as Frenchwomen, setting off with bombs in their shopping bags, to blow up cafés, teenage dance halls and airline waiting rooms. The Algerian leader justifies this by saying that the French drop napalm on villages. On the whole the film gives both sides the chance to say their piece, and one is left with the feeling, as time goes on, that both are much the same.

In the end, in scenes reminiscent of Ulster, the Algerian masses come out on the streets, with dancing and flags, but without weapons, except sticks and stones, and finally we are told that independence has been won. This telescoping of events is unsatisfactory, but the film has already lasted 120 minutes, so I suppose it was inevitable.

I emerged from the cinema confirmed in my non-violent, or at any rate anti-terrorist, feelings, only to be confronted with another 'Angry Brigade' headline. Not encouraging. When will we ever learn?

A.W.U.

H.