

## Military Dictatorship in Northern Ireland

**T**HE BRITISH GOVERNMENT has suspended the constitution of Northern Ireland, dismissed the Elected Government at Stormont, and appointed a Westminster puppet to rule over the people of Ulster. To ensure that Gauleiter Whitelaw, the 'Lord President of the Council', can carry out the will of his masters in London, a further 4,000 soldiers are to join the 14,000 who already stalk the streets of Belfast and Derry. This is a military dictatorship and it has been imposed without the slightest opposition from the 'democratic', 'liberal' and 'socialist' politicians of both Britain and Ireland. Indeed, these gentlemen have not only welcomed the imposition of naked military rule, they have praised it. All pretence at democracy has been abrogated yet the 'democrats' actually applauded Heath for his 'courage'. One Labour MP said he admired the Tory dictator, while Liberal leader, Thorpe, sent up a public prayer for the protection of the Lord President of the Council in his 'arduous' task. It was a truly revolting spectacle which reminded one of Germany when Hitler came to power and some of the Social Democratic MPs declared their support for him because he had been 'elected constitutionally'. It didn't, incidentally, save them from the concentration camps.

### THE BOG OF NATIONALISM

The 'Left'—the communists and 'revolutionaries' of numerous varieties—are so far sunk in the bog of Irish nationalism that they have not even noticed that a military dictatorship has been smoothly set up before their very eyes. They are so accustomed to seeking 'solutions' through government action, that is, through violence, that Heath's move is studied only to see whether it will provide such a solution. That it is wrong in principle, that it is naked military rule, that it reduces the people of Ulster to the status of colonials, that it makes more bloodshed absolutely inevitable, has not even occurred to them.

The Southern Irish nationalist movement has welcomed the creation

of a military dictatorship in the North. Lynch, the leader of the Irish Republic, and the unacknowledged leader of the IRA, has praised the 'initiative' as a step in the right direction—towards a United Ireland. His supporters in the North, Gerry Fitt, John Hume and the rest of the SDLP (affectionately known as the Semi-Detached Labour Party) having had a dramatic midnight conference with Mr. Lynch, flew back to the North and announced their willingness to co-operate with the Westminster puppet ruler. The Provisional IRA, likewise, caring nothing for the fate of the people under military rule but seeing only the possibilities for a united Ireland, have called off the bombing to see how the dictatorship works.

The 'socialist' wing of the nationalist movement, whilst not opposing Heath's move in principle, have voiced a few reservations like 'fighting' the Tories to establish a 'Bill of Rights' in Northern Ireland. All have welcomed the dismissal of the Stormont Government. This is the position of both the British and Irish Communist Parties, the 'official' IRA, and the rest of the nationalist 'socialists'.

### POLICY CHANGE

Lynch knows, and so do his supporters, that the British Government is tired of maintaining Ulster as a part of the United Kingdom. It is unprofitable, it costs a lot of money, it creates difficult international relations (especially with the United States), and just as they got out of India, Africa, and the rest of the old colonial empire, they are ready to get out of Ireland and hand the whole thing over to Lynch and his friends who have given cast-iron proof over the past 50 years that such a move would in no way threaten the rule of capital in the

### RESPONSIBILITY

All unsigned material has been written by John Lawrence, Jack Robinson, Peter Turner and Steve Kibble who take full responsibility.

whole of Ireland. But alas for the City of London, they are visited by 'the sins of the fathers'. Their six-hundred-year-old rule over Ireland was bolstered by the creation in the North of a population of settlers from England and Scotland who were more British than the British. Furthermore, they have a different religion and hate and fear any union with the Catholic South. They are a different nation consisting of more than a million people—most of them workers. Any move towards a United Ireland was impossible so long as Stormont existed, for it consisted of unionists devoted to maintaining the British connection—and it had mass support. So Stormont had to go and it has gone, sent packing by Heath. And all the ingredients of another violent nationalist movement are thereby put in the pot ready for boiling.

The Unionist Party, with good reason from their point of view, see in the rule of the military a betrayal of the Protestant cause. They are not at all impressed by Heath's protestations about not creating a united Ireland without the consent of the majority. Faulkner and Craig have been members of Governments and know only too well that Government pledges mean nothing, that Governments make laws to suit their own interests. Both Lynch and Faulkner see these moves as preparing the road for a United Ireland. Lynch supports it, Faulkner opposes it.

### UNIONIST NATIONALISM

Meanwhile, the million or so Protestant workers of the North, deserted and condemned by all the 'left' because they don't fancy living in a Catholic-dominated Republic, are ripe fruit for the plucking by the Unionist nationalists. William Craig, a nationalist and a fascist leader in

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### An Appeal to British Soldiers in Ireland



**E**NGLAND invaded and carved up Ireland for the benefit of English landowners hundreds of years ago, and as a result British soldiers have killed Irishmen and been killed by them at intervals ever since. It never solved anything—in the end the problem will only be solved by the Irish themselves within Ireland.

The 'law and order' you were supposed to bring to Northern Ireland has escalated the violence and made things a thousand times worse. You have been put on to the Irish streets to hold the ring while the politicians cook up their deals, which will certainly not improve anything for the Irish people, who suffer as we do in Britain from chronic unemployment and rotten housing.

You can only do such a job because you are trained and disciplined to kill people whom you have never seen before in your life, let alone had a quarrel with. That is why you have been able to see children die, from babies upwards—why you were able to shoot down 17-year-old boys at Derry—why you were able to smash in the face of a middle-aged mother with a rubber bullet and blind her. You have had to learn to regard Irish Catholics as less than human in order to be able to do these things.

That is how the American troops in Vietnam used to regard the Vietnamese—'gooks' they called them. After years of bloody, sickening slaughter they no longer think like that. American soldiers now seek refuge from the horrible reality in drink and drugs—they no longer take sides—they just want to go home.

Ireland could turn into another Vietnam—and you will have to do a lot of the dying—and for what? You may yet be called on to treat Irish Protestants as you have treated Irish Catholics. You are expected to take orders and fire wherever they point the guns.

What sort of a society is it that offers you a good living out of killing? Miners, who do one of the most useful jobs there is have just had to strike for six weeks to get anything like a living wage. Two years ago the dustmen and sewage men had to do the same. These men, by their hard and dirty work, help to prevent epidemics and save life. The miners give light and heat to young and old—but what is your end product? Dead bodies!

Some of you have no doubt escaped from unemployment into the army—that is how most volunteer armies are recruited—and we are sure that few of you thought much about killing. But when the chips are down that is what you have to do. The common people of Ireland basically want what we all want—a job—a home—and a peaceful life. They should be left to themselves to find it.

Sure you can be punished if you say 'No More', if you refuse to kill, as the American GIs have done in large numbers. We too can be punished for addressing this appeal to you. But somebody must call for an end to the killing—we all have humanity in common—we are all responsible.

## Violence and Workingmen—



Bomb in Belfast

## an Appeal to Soldiers of the I.R.A.

**W**HAT SORT OF SOCIETY do you think will come into being in Ireland when the killing has ended? The terrible legacy of bitterness you are helping to create will form a barrier between North and South a thousand times stronger than ever the border was. The dead will be mourned and the maimed will drag out their lives in misery.

If you were handed a knife by your commander and told to go out and hack off the legs of a young girl, or plunge it at random into any passer-by you could not do it, and yet that is what bombing means. 'Soldiers' of 17 and 18 have been killed—what did they know of life or of Ireland at that age? The escalation of violence you have helped to bring about is brutalising everyone and making an end to the

fighting more and more unlikely. If you think you are fighting for a noble ideal—forget it. You may in the end get the whole of Ireland under one flag—but what sort of Ireland? All through her history there have been great and courageous men who fought for freedom for Ireland. But after all the suffering of the Irish people—the poor are still poor and the rich still rich.

The Catholics of the North, poor and oppressed as they are, do not want life as it is in Southern Ireland. Like common people everywhere they want to live at peace with their neighbours and get a living wage and decent housing. And for the Protestant worker it is the same, what have they in common with the landed gentry who claim to speak for them? What have you got to offer

them—the Catholic or the Protestant worker? 'Power' you say 'grows out of the barrel of a gun.' Power for whom—power for what? Power, when you get down to it, always means somebody exercising it over somebody else.

We have already had a taste of your kind of power in the tarring and feathering, the maiming and killing of IRISH men and women (some of them Catholic) who have offended against your code. Is this what you offer for the future?

Liberty and Equality is what the Irish people need, Catholic and Protestant alike. Freedom from economic exploitation and religious persecution from whatever quarter it comes. It can be done—in the end it must be done—if peace is ever to come to this tortured land.



# Reading about the Commune

ALTHOUGH INTEREST in the Paris Commune was greatly stimulated last year by the commemoration of its centenary, and by the appearance of several publications on the subject, it is still difficult for people who don't know French to find out what really happened in France in 1871 and to work out why it is still important a hundred years later. One problem is that, immediately after the Versailles captured the Commune in practice, the Marxists captured it in theory, and they have held on to it ever since—with the result that most people (even anarchists) tend to begin with a Marxist interpretation of the episode.

Certainly of all the polemics on the Commune, Marx's Address on *The Civil War in France* is the best known. It has often been published with his two previous Addresses on the Franco-Prussian War, and all three appear in most collections of and selections from the works of Marx and Engels, together with Engels's introduction of 1891. There are four available editions of the three Addresses in book form, of which three were published last year. The worst is an English edition by Christopher Hitchens—*The Paris Commune, 1871* (Sidgwick & Jackson, £1.95)—which is based on an American edition of 1913 and contains the Engels introduction and the three Addresses, with a dozen pages of insignificant extra material, some scrappy editorial apparatus, and a sloppy new Trotskyist introduction by Hitchens; it omits the two crucial drafts for *The Civil War in France* which were first published in Russia in 1934 and are included in the other three editions.

Two of these are hardback collections of the relevant writings of both Marx and Engels: an expensive American edition by Hal Draper—*Writings on the Paris Commune* (Monthly Review Press, £3.60)—which contains the Engels introduction and the three Addresses, with the two drafts, twenty pages of extra material, good notes, and an interesting unorthodox Marxist foreword by Draper; and an inexpensive anonymous Russian edition—*On the Paris Commune* (Progress Publishers: Lawrence & Wishart, £1)—which contains the Engels introduction and the three Addresses, with the two drafts, seventy pages of extra material, good notes, and an uninteresting orthodox Marxist preface. The American edition is clearer and better, but the Russian edition is fuller and cheaper. The best value of all, though, is a very cheap anonymous Chinese edition published in 1966 and reprinted in 1970—*The Civil War in France* (Foreign Languages Press)—which contains the Engels introduction and the three Addresses, with the two drafts and good notes. This is a small paperback which is sold in Chinese shops and some left-wing bookshops for between 10p and 30p.

Two useful editions of the most important Marxist writings since Marx and Engels appeared in 1970: a Russian collection of those of Lenin—*On the Paris Commune* (Progress Publishers: Lawrence & Wishart, 40p)—and an American collection of those of Trotsky—*On the Paris Commune* (Pathfinder Press, 40p). The anarchist polemics are much less well known, but some of them are available. The first full English edition of Bakunin's essay *The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State* appeared last year (CIRA, 15p). The old translation of Kropotkin's essay *The Commune of Paris* (first published as a Freedom Pamphlet in 1891) is included in Martin Miller's recent edition of *Kropotkin's Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution* (reviewed in FREEDOM on June 26, 1971), and my new translation of it appeared in Free-

dom Pamphlet 8 last July and will be included in my edition of Kropotkin's *Words of a Rebel* later this year. But most of the relevant writings of Bakunin and Kropotkin and of several other anarchists (especially French anarchists) remain untranslated.

There have been some other recent editions of old polemics. Royden Harrison last year compiled a collection of contemporary English writings from the Commune to William Morris—*The English Defence of the Commune* (Merlin, £2.25)—which have some interest. Eugene Schukind has this year compiled a collection of all kinds of left-wing writings from 1864 to 1921 in the new 'Writings of the Left' series edited by Ralph Miliband—*The Paris Commune of 1871* (Cape, £3.50, paperback £1.50)—which have much more interest; of the post-Commune passages included, most are by Marxists, but there are also a few anarchists—Bakunin and Kropotkin, and also James Guillaume and such libertarians as Benoit Malon and Arthur Arnould, though no Louise Michel or Elie Reclus. The book is in general a very useful documentary guide to what the Commune has meant to the left.

Of new polemics, the only ones that seem worth mentioning as something more than weary return journeys down worn-out party lines are the Solidarity study *The Commune*, first published in 1961 as an article in *Solidarity* (1:6) and reprinted last year as *Solidarity Pamphlet 35* (5p), and the Situationist *Theses on the Commune*, first issued in France in 1962 and published in several English editions since then.

But after a century we need more than polemic. The trouble is that, while there are literally hundreds of books on the Commune in French, hardly any have been written in or even translated into English. Of the memoirs of participants and observers, there is still only Lissagaray's classic *History of the Commune of 1871*, which was published in English in 1886 and last reprinted in 1967 (Monthly Review Press, £5.80). Of the huge mass of historical work done across the Channel, there is only Edith Thomas's *The Women Incendiaries* (published by Secker & Warburg in 1967, and already reissued—shall we ever see Edith Thomas's biographies of Louis Rossel and Louise Michel?).

So anglophones have to rely on a ludicrously small number of books. There is E. S. Mason's *The Paris Commune*, an interesting short study concentrating on the socialist mythology of the Commune, published in the United States in 1930 and reprinted there in 1967, but still hard to get here. There is Frank Jellinek's *The Paris Commune of 1871*, a lively and stimulating study concentrating on the socialist aspect of the Commune, published in England in 1937 and reprinted in the United States in 1965, and now here too (Gollancz, £3). This was well known to a previous generation as a Left Book Club choice, and despite the passage of time and increase in price it is still excellent value. One drawback is that Jellinek seldom gives precise references, but he does supply a detailed bibliography. This has been brought up to date for the new edition, and there is also a new introduction re-emphasising the Marxist bias (incidentally, although Jellinek says that 'obvious mistakes' have been corrected, the references to Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin are still obviously mistaken).

For all their qualities, neither Mason nor Jellinek has pictures, and as one of the most illustrated episodes in history the Commune cannot be considered in

isolation from its iconography. A recent Jackdaw folder by Jonquil Antony—*The Siege of Paris and the Commune* (Cape, 80p)—exploits this aspect of the episode for educational purposes, using facsimiles of documents, leaflets, and posters, as well as some engravings and photographs; but the written material is barely adequate, and the pictorial material is disappointing. Alistair Horne's *The Fall of Paris* is a superficial narrative of the Siege and Commune concentrating on the anecdotal aspect of the subject, published in 1965 and available in paperback (Pan, 75p). The second half of it has recently been rewritten in a shorter form as the text of *The Terrible Year* (Macmillan, £3.50) which, despite its use of the title of Victor Hugo's sequence of poems on the same subject, is little more than the 'coffee-table' book Horne calls it himself. The text takes popularisation to the edge of mere vulgarisation, and the 250 pictures are debased with pointless tints and decorations. It all looks like the scenario of a superficial television programme—which in fact it was ('The Terrible Year', BBC-2, June 5, 1971). They order this matter better in France, where every big book on the subject is excellently illustrated and, for example, the standard Marxist history—*La Commune de 1871* by Bruhat, Dautry and Terson, published in 1960 and in a new edition in 1970—has 400 magnificent pictures as well as an outstanding scholarly text.

For scholarly texts, we have Roger L. Williams's *The French Revolution of 1870-1871*, a patronising American study concentrating on the general crisis of the French establishment, published in 1969 and available in paperback (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £1.05). Then last year came Stewart Edwards's *The Paris Commune 1871* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, £4.50). Edwards edited a disappointing anthology of Proudhon, which was published in 1969 and is available in paperback (Macmillan, £1), and he has actually managed to write a dull history of the Commune. But it is the fullest and most useful treatment of the subject in English, frequently referring to recent French research, and including a chronology, a glossary of organisations and people, useful maps, and adequate illustrations, as well as a good bibliography. Edwards comes to life only when he describes such things as clubs and festivals, and his more general material is particularly poor. Like so many writers on the Commune, he smothers us with surface facts, and takes a third of the book to reach the rising of March 18. So while Edwards is now the best single source of information we have, though not entirely accurate, Jellinek is still the best single introduction to the subject; though it is worth adding that Eugene Schukind has just written a pamphlet—*The Paris Commune of 1871* (Historical Association, 25p)—which gives a very useful summary of the present state of historiographical thinking on the subject.

The most disappointing thing about nearly all these books, and even most French books on the Commune, is that they are so confined in both space and time. They pay so much attention to Parisian municipal politics and French national politics, and so little to the activity in the districts of the capital and the regions of the country—and beyond. There was after all a communalist movement in the streets as well as the town halls, in dozens of other towns as well as Paris, for a long time before March 1871 and a long time after May 1871, in Spain and Italy as well as France. They also pay so much attention to Marx (who opposed

## Contact

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

Help Fold and Despatch 'Freedom', Thursdays from 2 p.m.

Harringay and District Anarchists meet every Thursday from 8 p.m. in the Saloon Bar of the Osborn Tavern, Stroud Green Road, Finsbury Park. S.E. London Dwaris newly established. Anyone interested should contact Jeff Dixon, 44 Pendragon Road, Bromley, BR1 5JY (Phone 01-698 8596); or Nick Brown, 185 Hawes Lane, West Wickham, Kent (Phone 01-777 5103).

Edinburgh Group. New Secretary is Chris Kerr, 9 Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh, 9. Tel. 667 2939.

Anarchist Meetings. Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. 271 Commercial Road, E.1 (1st floor).

London Anarchists meet socially at 'The Marquis of Granby', Cambridge Circus, Charing Cross Road, Sundays from 7.30 p.m. onwards.

Liverpool Anarchist discussions normally held first Sunday in month. Write to 39 Lillie Road, Liverpool, 7, for venue, or ring 263 4890. John Cowan.

S.E. Anarchist Groups. Conference April 8/9. Suggested discussion on industrial activity and regional organization. Details from c/o Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton, Sussex.

Croydon Group meeting at Top Flat, 4 Warminster Road, S. Norwood, S.E.25, at 7.30, Tuesday, April 4. Speaker: Vik van Brantegem, Flemish Catholic Students Union, on 'The Work of SMOG Committees'.

Anarchist Dwarf Group forming in Enfield area; contact Terry and Val, original poems by Tina Morris. Send 24p for 6 cards (3 different designs) 89 Mapleton Crescent, Enfield, Middlesex.

Oxford. Anarchist meetings every Friday 8 p.m. Clarendon Press Institute, Walton Street, Oxford.

Corby. Public meeting on 'Anarchism and Workers' Control' planned for June 29. Green Room, Civic Centre at 7.30 p.m. Local help with publicity appreciated. Contact Terry Phillips, 70 Blenheim Walk.

Help! Stoke Newington 8 Fund. Comrades now on remand in Brixton and Holloway need financial aid urgently

the Commune until it actually happened and had to change his ideas to accommodate it) and the Russian Revolution (which was a very different kind of episode and led to a very different kind of regime), and so little to the people who consistently supported it (like Bakunin) and to the later episodes which genuinely resembled it (like Cartagena 1873, Berlin and Munich 1919, Kronstadt 1921, Oviedo 1934, Barcelona 1936-1937, Budapest 1956).

Even more disappointing is the failure to recognise the particular significance of the Paris Commune—not the rising of March 18, not the elections of March 26, not the number of working-class leaders, not the proceedings of the Commune Council, not the meagre social legislation, not even Bloody Week when more people were killed than in

for meals, fruit, papers, books (which must be new) and cigarettes. Please send donations to the Stoke Newington 6 Fund, c/o Compendium Books, 240 Camden High Street, London, N.W.1, a.s.a.p.

Free Valpreda Campaign needs help, not just by way of support, but also involvement in planning and organising. Please contact c/o N. & E. London Group ORA.

Glasgow Anarchists. New Address: c/o Whyte, 138 Fergus Drive, Glasgow, N.W.

'Peace News'—the other anarchist weekly—every Friday 7p from your newsagent or by subscription. FREE with trial sub. of 7 issues for 50p two sample copies which include Illich on Deschooling and Communes Special. 'Peace News' for the theory and practice of nonviolent anarchism, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Libertarian Teacher 8 now on sale 10p + 3p post from Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester or Freedom Bookshop.

'Inside Story'. New monthly paper now available from Freedom Press or the editor, Wynford Hicks, 3 Belmont Road, London, S.W.4. 25p or £1.50 for 6 issues.

Libertarian Book Club. Spring Lectures Series. Thursday evenings, 7 p.m., 369 Eighth Avenue, New York City. April 13, Irving Levitas: G. B. Shaw and the Anarchists. April 27, Sam Dolgoff: Bakunia and Nechaev. May 11, Murray Bookchin: Marxism and Anarchism.

Petition forms against The Night Assemblies Bill—from Bill Dwyer, 40e Holland Road, London, W.14. Phone 01-602 4027.

Comrade who might return to UK and live in Hay (Herefordshire/Breconshire) would like to get low-down on area from comrade living in these parts. Box No. 002.

Spanish Civil War Film Cycle. March 26: 'Fury over Spain'; April 2: 'To die in Madrid'. Centre Iberico, 125 Kingsway, Holborn, at 7.30 p.m.

Would Box 001 please send Freedom Press his address as we have mislaid it. We have a number of replies from your ad.

Wrekin Anarchists' 'Voice'. First issue now being produced. Contact 13 Albert Road, Wellington, Salop.

London School of Non Violence. Series of Lectures—Man and his Environment. April 10, 7 p.m., Edward Goldsmith, Editor 'The Ecologist': 'Future of the Industrial Society'. April 17, 7 p.m., Alec Wilding-White: 'The Severed Head of Humanity'.

Catch — CONTACT COLUMN — Individualist Forum. Meeting April 2, 7.30 p.m. Alfred Reynolds 'The decline of man through his intellect', at Peace Centre, 36 Romilly Street (Basement), London, W.1.

the whole Reign of Terror: but the declaration of independence of a great city in revolution, and in a special kind of revolution. Most revolutionism is concerned either with *macropolitics* (elections, coups d'état, insurrections, the capture or destruction of the state) or with *micropolitics* (personal life, self-contained communities, the emancipation or escape of the individual); true revolutionism must also be concerned with 'mesopolitics'—the elimination of authority on a middle level between state and individual, the emancipation of existing communities, the development of new methods of social organisation on a local scale. It is because the Commune took this middle way that in only ten weeks it shook the world, and still shakes us a century later.

N.W.

## Rhodesia 'Blacked'

Dear Comrades,

It is encouraging to observe the American dock workers refusing to assist the United States Government in breaking sanctions against Rhodesia. Those who take the United Nations seriously are shocked to see the US defying a mandatory resolution by the Security Council, along with South Africa and Portugal.

The United States through NATO and by means of economic exploitation is tied very tightly to both Portugal and South Africa—as are the British ruling class. To be surprised that the US wants to get chrome from Rhodesia and buttress its war effort (or to use this as an excuse for backing dear old Smithy) is naive. It is typical of liberals who confuse window dressings with reality.

The example set by American dockers who are 'blackening' Rhodesian chrome has caused acute embarrassment for the

American administration. By violating UN sanctions the US Government has copied the British Government by misjudging the position as regards Rhodesia.

It is unlikely that Africans in Zimbabwe are greatly influenced by ideas propounded in FREEDOM, yet it is satisfying to note that a suggestion by 'Francis Drake' in these columns, that the African nationalists in Zimbabwe should get together and fight the real enemy instead of each other, is being followed. Perhaps one or two thoughts about the timing of incursions from the north coinciding with developments in Zimbabwe could be borne in mind. You never know!

When the African people of Southern Africa recognise the potential of their power for change (not just for successfully enunciating the word NO) the Governments of Rhodesia, South Africa, Portugal and Britain will become very

## LETTER

worried. Capitalism is closely involved with Southern Africa and those who resist the evils of capitalism need to appreciate the importance of the struggle in Southern Africa to their own struggle. The time when African liberation and liberation in this country are part of the same frame of reference is upon us.

Circumstances have ensured that change in Southern Africa will be revolutionary and the emergence of so-called 'responsible' African elites has been substantially curtailed. The extremism of the situation has caused the movement for national independence in Southern Africa to merge with a revolutionary stream of concepts.

## POSTSCRIPT

The means whereby the American authorities have now imported Rhodesia's chrome by using white labour to move the material, exemplify the international nature of the race issue today. One hopes that future action in the US against Rhodesian chrome will be more effective. J.W.

# afib

Secretary:  
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,  
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

### AFBIB—To all Groups.

The next AFBIB will be produced in Sheffield at 4 Havelock Square, Sheffield, 10. Send material to Secretary, Peter Le Mare. Also needs offers of help from Groups to bring out further issues.

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:

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham.  
Essex & E. Heris.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, PL.)  
Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.  
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9L.  
Manchester: Mat Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancs.  
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.  
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).  
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.  
The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.  
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.  
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.



THE TUC has disciplined the National Union of Seamen for using the Industrial Relations Act. The union is now suspended from membership until a final decision is taken by the delegates attending Congress later in the year. Congress could well decide to expel the NUS for going against the TUC's policy of de-registering.

The NUS decided to risk this in order that they might apply for a closed-shop in the Merchant Navy. Under the Industrial Relations Act, closed-shop agreements are outlawed, except when the employer and the union can satisfy the National Industrial Relations Court that such arrangements are beneficial to the industry.

From the number of disputes in the Merchant Navy and the discipline maintained by the NUS executive over its members, the employers are only too willing to accept a closed-shop. For many unions a closed-shop agreement is the meal ticket of the officials.

But now the situation has changed. Many union leaders are more worried about the outlawing of the closed-shop than they are by the restrictions placed on industrial action.

These restrictions are now coming to light. This complicated piece of legislation has already been shown up as a monster which could easily get out of control.

#### LEAVE WELL ALONE

Mr. Carr, the Minister of the Department of Employment, has said that the legislation is a framework in which the unions and the employers can operate. By this he must mean that the legislation should not be used only as a last resort. As the Bill contains 170 sections and 9 schedules this monster is a nightmare to both the unions and the employers. The big companies, like ICI, are making arrangements with the unions that they will continue to operate the same agreements and procedures agreed to before the Act. They have agreed to leave well alone. Neither side wants a confrontation.

## No Power in the Barrel of this Gun

THE APPALLING sentences imposed on the group of Scottish revolutionary bank robbers, Matthew Lygate, Colin Lawson, William Macpherson and Ian Doran, show how completely ruthless the capitalist system can be when it feels itself threatened in an especially sensitive spot. The combination of crime, bank-robbing, an offence against property and the economic system based on it, with ideology seems to arouse the most profound fears in our masters.

The sentences were heavier than some of those imposed on participants in the Great Train Robbery, heavier than that imposed on Howard Wilson, who shot dead two Glasgow policemen. The lesson is obvious. If you want to frighten your rulers combine crime with Left-wing ideology.

Unfortunately that seems to be about all you can do. You can frighten them, but are still no nearer to actually overthrowing them. It is a fallacy to believe that the rulers of society are wise, if

# Industrial Relations Act IGNORE THE LAW!

However where the big companies can come to such agreements or are willing to turn a blind eye to recent 'unfair practices' in car factories, many others will use the law when they think they can put one across on their employees. Such a thought must have crossed the mind of James Wallace, managing director of Ideal Casements.

Shop stewards at Ideal Casements had given a seven-day notice of strike action over a wage claim. The procedure agreement operating had ensured that the company could drag out talks on the claim for five months. Exasperated with this, the local district secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, had terminated the agreement and had requested for a new one as part of a wage increase package deal.

Mr. Wallace decided that since the union had terminated the agreement they no longer legally existed as an organisation in his factory. He referred the issue to the NIRC under section 45 of the Act on recognition of unions.

Following this, three shop stewards acting, for reasons of the law, as 'agents for the 600 workers', gave seven days strike notice. Mr. Wallace then under Section 54 of the Act on 'unfair industrial practices' while a question of recognition is 'pending' took them to the NIRC.

All this was done quite legally and yet when the case came before the NIRC, the president criticised the company for acting in a precipitate fashion. An interim injunction was made against the three shop stewards and an agreement was reached whereby the company recognised the union and resumed negotiations.

#### FINED AND IMPRISONED

All this came about because the shop

stewards attended the NIRC against their own union's policy. The president of NIRC was obviously embarrassed by the company's use of the law, but it illustrates the ridiculous nature of the Industrial Relations Act.

If the shop stewards had not cooperated or had carried out their strike threat then these men could have been fined. The law now allows any employer to take workers to court who threaten action during negotiations. All strikes are illegal during re-negotiations of procedure agreements. These shop stewards could have in fact gone to prison for contempt if they had ignored the injunction.

## Engineers' Sit-Ins Spread

IT'S NO HOLDS BARRED in the all-in wrestling match that is developing over the mass of carbon copy claims of Manchester's engineering workers for extra holidays, a shorter working week and a 40% pay rise.

This is a locally organised campaign, which came about as a result of the breakdown in national negotiations. Manchester became the spearhead of the engineers' struggle, when the workers at Bredbury steelworks took over their twin factories a fortnight ago, after the local management threatened a lock-out.

From last Monday 250,000 engineering workers have been on work-to-rule, and are banning overtime and piecework at factories in the Greater Manchester Area. This action alone should have cut output down to a quarter of full production.

But the militant tone of the dispute was already well developed before the official kick-off date (27.3.72) was reached. A few employers were trying to rush jobs through before the union's official deadline for the work-to-rule. This brought on spontaneous work-to-rule action by workers at some plants and the 15,000 Stockport workers started their action a week earlier than planned.

The threat of lock-outs, lay-offs and suspensions by some employers, set off a chain reaction of strikes and sit-ins.

#### MORE TAKEOVERS

Already at the time of writing workers have taken over at GKN, Bredbury; at Laurence Scott, Openshaw; at Davis & Metcalf; Metal Box Co., Cheshire; Peart & Co., Hyde; Merlees, Stockport; Cherstones, Cheadle Hulme; and Cheswick & Wright, Blackpool.

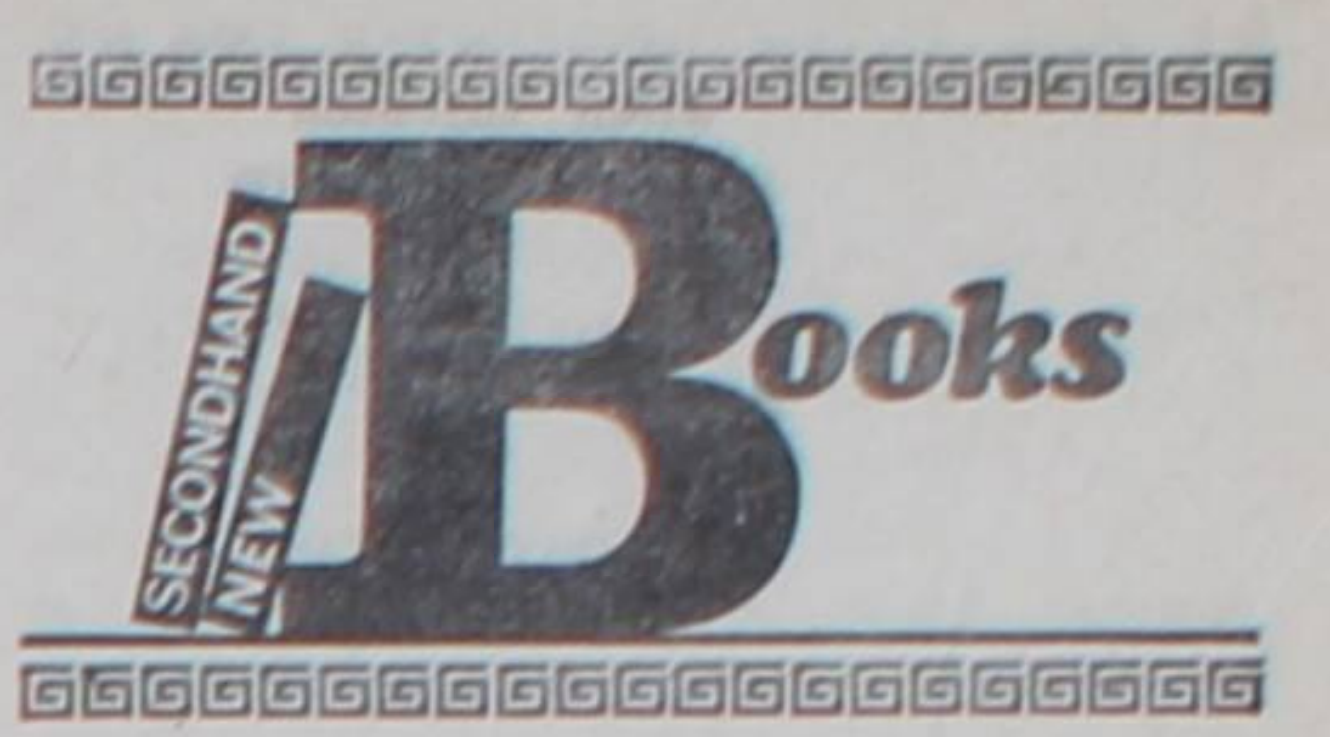
The chances are that by the time you read this more factories will have been occupied by their workers; more

Ideal Casements are an example of a 'bad employer' who has reluctantly in the past accepted union organisation. Ninety per cent of the workers there are immigrants. They have succeeded where others before them have failed to create strength through organisation.

Laws we are told are only guidelines for behaviour but when used they become monsters used to restrict, repress and enslave. The big companies might not use the law on every occasion for fear of solidarity action but when they consider it is worthwhile to have a show-down, then they will not hesitate. As it is every tin-pot small employer will use the law to defeat attempts to organise, to increase wages and improve conditions.

Workers simply have to ignore the law. If our forefathers had worried about the law, things we now take for granted would not exist. As always it is the strength of organisation that counts, the solidarity between one worker and another. With that we can defy and defeat any laws.

P.T.



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JOHN BRENT.

## Franco Puts the Boot In

THE FRANCO GOVERNMENT of Spain has used martial law to get shipyard workers back to work in El Ferrol. They were threatened with conscription into the Navy if they did not return to the Government-owned Bazan shipyard.

The threat of conscription was used in 1970 to force Metro workers back to work after they had come out on strike in protest against the shooting by police of building workers.

In El Ferrol two workers were killed and many wounded when police opened fire on their demonstration.

A wave of solidarity strikes followed these killings. In Bilbao 2,000 shipyard workers stopped work and demonstrated. Workers at the General Electric factory joined them.

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The El Ferrol branch of the National Movement, Spain's only lawful political organisation, has said that the demonstration 'was managed by a few agitators dedicated to violence who infiltrated the honest and hard-working labour force to lead them along the path of subversion'.

Similar statements have been made in this country. Such utterances are not only stupid but are an insult to the workingman.

The church in Spain which backed Franco during the civil war, has stated that, 'the privileged classes must get used to the changed position of modern life. After the deaths of our brethren we can only listen to the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill".'

No doubt the church feels it must side with working people in their present struggles if they are to maintain a position of influence in the future. But with friends like the church, who wants enemies? Certainly the church would not support any attempt at revolutionary change. They fear that Franco's inflexible attitude will create a situation where both the privileged position of those in government and the church might be threatened.

The repressive laws and threats of conscription are being answered with further solidarity action from other workers. This marvellous spirit of revolt that continues to burn in Spain is an inspiration to all working people.

CHIPPIE.



IT HAS LONG been known that the US draftees, when threatened with transfer to Vietnam, have departed over the border to Canada, many (posted in Europe) have gone to neutral Sweden for their exile; those less lucky have been turned over to the American authorities in Britain where they have unwisely taken refuge. Many, including volunteers, or conscripted men have revolted against an unjust war when they have found themselves in Vietnam. Some have deserted to the Vietcong, many are engaged in sabotaging the war by one method or another.

The American GIs have set up a soldiers' Trade Union with extensive literature and contacts stressing the soldiers' civil rights which, even in the services, are still extensive. GI Counseling Services of 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012, have published a pamphlet outlining these. It is probable that Queen's Regulations have similar loopholes which might repay study.

The American approach through *Bond*, etcetera, is open to discussion. Insistence on civil rights is associated with racial discrimination which is habitual, even in the army. Black soldiers form a great proportion of the American regular army largely owing to job discrimination, a career in the army is very often the only one open to coloured unemployed. The same thing can be seen in Ulster where a small proportion of coloured soldiers are serving. Unfortunately, the eagerness of many black soldiers to distinguish themselves and a latent aggressiveness which can be worked off in military service presents an Uncle Tom image which fosters racial hatred in civilian popu-

# VOTING WITH THEIR FEET

lations persecuted by an army which includes black soldiers.

A certain political *naïvete* pervades the American soldier trade union; for example, one group advocates desertion to the Vietcong; this is, to the anarchist mind, as illogical as placing one's destructive talents at the service of the IRA. The military machine itself is the enemy of society and the human race. To change shoulder-flashes is not to be free. In any case deserters are never welcomed by any army. The top brass have a comradeship which goes across national boundaries. Witness the matey greetings with which high-ranking prisoners-of-war are received. Other ranks are just herded into camps.

However, desertion is not the only card in the soldier's pack. A fictional Czechoslovakian soldier conscripted into the Austrian army (1914-18) gave a whole philosophy of military non-co-operation the name of 'Schweiking'. The GIs have added to this—pot-smoking and 'fragging'. Pot-smoking has little to recommend it, except, like booze, it is a form of escape, but alas, only temporary.

The laws about sedition and incitement being what they are, it is unwise to dwell too long on 'fragging'. However, since a respect for human life is one of the principles which turns one against militarism with its callous disregard for human life, even the lower manifestations

(such as the upper ranks) have a right to live.

The war in Vietnam is drawing to a close, at least as far as the GIs are concerned. Vietnam's agony will still go on. The demoralization of the army has made it impossible for the US to carry on. The demoralization of a soldier is the creation of a human being.

Few soldiers have deserted in Northern Ireland. Unlike the Americans they are volunteers but it is possible that the number of soldiers refusing service is greater than we have been told. It is equally obvious that the known deserters are only the tip of the iceberg. How many soldiers have sustained self-inflicted wounds? (Several cases of suicide were reported in early days in Ireland.) How many have gone sick or committed civilian offences in order to avoid being sent to Ireland?

Groups have distributed literature amongst the soldiers in Ireland. The War Resisters' International of 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1, have sponsored some thinking on this subject. It is obvious that if a man makes the decision no longer to be a soldier—especially in a combat situation—he will feel alone in this. This is not so, there are people ready to help.

For example the WRI has circulated details of an American group, The Life Center Association—Philadelphia (1006

South 46 Street, Philadelphia, Penn. 19143, USA) which is prepared to assist British military personnel who may come to the United States, by trying to find them safe places to stay; by putting them in touch with lawyers competent in immigration, the law of political asylum and military law and to help them with travel arrangements.

This group, like the WRI, is non-political and has no commitment to either side in Ireland. The WRI is, as its name denotes, an international organization of war resisters. The Philadelphia Life Center Association is concerned with non-violent social change projects, analysis of social change, training and action projects and alternative institutions such as food co-operatives. A subsidiary organization was responsible for taking medical supplies to North and South Vietnam in 1967-68.

The political leaders of the world are

only concerned with power politics, chiefly the maintenance of their own power. Hitler threatened to carry on the war to the complete annihilation of Germany. His soldiers decided to surrender. Bombastic leaders in Pakistan and Biafra recently made similar threats but when the crunch came the common soldier decided and the leaders fled or capitulated. In 1917 the Russian soldiers decided they had had enough of the war against Germany and in Lenin's vivid phrase 'voted with their feet'.

No soldier or citizen is allowed to vote for war (we are not even allowed to vote for the Common Market) but every human being has a right, almost a duty, to vote against war by his individual action.

The present 'initiative' in Northern Ireland is just another aspect of power politics—on a minor scale. Soldiers and civilians, like the Stormont Government—are expendable. It is highly probable that if the Protestants do not accept the terms laid down for them it will be the soldier's duty to shoot down belligerent Protestants in the same way as he has been previously ordered to shoot down belligerent Catholics. Will he do it?

## U.S. NAVY MEN RESISTANCE

THE US Carrier 'Constellation' was being ordered to the seas off Vietnam. The sailors didn't want to go. They had had enough of war and killing. Some of them decided to go absent and take sanctuary in San Diego, the big naval base, and arouse support for their action among the local people. They very largely succeeded. The following account is taken from the American magazine 'WIN' and shows how soldiers and sailors are more and more refusing to be killers. It has obvious lessons for British soldiers in Ireland today.

Eight men of the 'Constellation Nine' have been released from the United States Navy with general discharges under honourable conditions. The men also received travel pay and will receive various veterans benefits.

Released with them was Jim Mohler, who was unexpectedly transferred from Saigon after he organized an anti-war petition that gathered over 1,000 signatures from GIs in Saigon and stimulated other organizing efforts in Vietnam.

The men consider their early releases on general discharges a significant victory. Apparently the Navy did not know what else to do with them, except release them. They had continued to have an effect on the other men on the USS *Constellation* when they were held in the brig of the ship. The men had expected to spend up to a couple years in prison, though they were not necessarily anxious about it or prepared for it.

The eight men released are Darryl Larrabee, Ronald McLeod, Charlie Andrews, Scott Flannagan, Jon Obe, Charles Lawson, David Clay, and Jim Mikell. The ninth man, Dan Hoag decided after taking sanctuary to sail with the ship, reportedly because of incredible pressure from his family. The other men still consider him very sympathetic to the cause.

The 'Nine' refused to go to Vietnam with their ship, the USS *Constellation*, when it sailed October 2 and instead took sanctuary at Christ the King Catholic Church in San Diego. After two days in the sanctuary the men were taken from the church at 4.30 a.m. by 27 federal marshals and Officers of Naval Intelligence. The federal officials were reportedly so nervous about the affair that they entered declaring, 'Surrender or you will be executed!' when actually they meant to say 'Surrender or I will execute a warrant for your arrest!' One officer also was so nervous that Charlie Andrews had to handcuff himself because the officer couldn't do it.

The sanctuary grew out of an eight-month educational project in San Diego aimed at making the citizens of that city more aware of the role the USS *Constellation* played in the Indochina War. The project included a city-wide vote in which 45,060 out of 54,421 people that voted wanted the Connie to stay home from the war.

Larrabee and McLeod were transferred to Treasure Island Naval Station near San Francisco on October 29, where they officially finished their brig time. The two were able to stagger their brig time at TI so that they could work with the Peace Brigade, Congressman Ron Dellum's Office, the sanctuary churches, and the Coral Sea crewmen during the month of November. While on the base they also launched an anti-war petition campaign which met with good success, though many people who were sympathetic did not sign because they said they were afraid of reprisals.

The other six arrived at Treasure Island on November 28 and were put in the brig there the next day. Immediately

they began going through discharge procedures and were finally all released on December 6.

Lawyers and clergy working with the Peace Brigade and Ron Dellum's office watch-dogged the Navy's procedures and kept in touch with the men daily in spite of the brass's increasing reluctance to let civilians visit them.

The evening of their release there was much celebration as the Peace Brigade meeting for that night turned into a big reunion and a party with home-made music and home-made beer. People's Union folks from Palo Alto and others who had worked on the Connie project joined in to make the whole thing joyously warm and uplifting.

The following day the men held a press conference to talk about their experiences over the last two months. The coverage was quite good, and even somewhat sympathetic from many of the various media that were there.

Soon after the men were off to San Diego where they had another reunion with the folks down there who had been involved with the project and the sanctuary. Then most of the guys split for a while to their respective home towns. Some plan to stay in their home areas, while the rest plan to come back to either the San Diego or San Francisco Bay Areas to work in ongoing projects aimed at attack aircraft carriers based in California.

For many of the people who worked on the Connie Project, seeing these guys released was the culmination for them of that particular project. It was a moment that they (as well as the men) had waited for, but had not expected nearly so soon.

For me the incredible, but simple, strength that these guys had was a true inspiration. They aren't hero-types, nor are they men to be idolized. They aren't heavy politicians, nor overly intellectual. They're basically just average people who somehow found the strength to make a courageous and moral decision amidst death, destruction, and repression. That is perhaps what makes them so beautiful and so important.

STEVE LADD & RICK ECKEL

### ON SANCTUARY

When you take sanctuary you know you have no legal stand. Everyone who is associated with it pretty much has to understand that. This is especially true in our case where we were in the 'Missing Ship's Movement', and we knew we would be up for desertion. We knew the federal marshals would be brought in not just the local navy. We had to take into consideration the charges we were going to be faced with. I myself expected at least six months in prison. However, they handled it all on the ship. We got thirty days correctional custody. The navy used this to their advantage. They really couldn't condemn us for what we did. Yet we did break navy law, so we did have to have some kind of punishment. I think we got off about as easy as anyone can expect to get off. Anytime you have sanctuary, you're trying to lay everything on the line and not trying to hide anything. If anyone goes underground, it more or less looks as though you really don't want to face up to anything, that you just want to run and withdraw. In sanctuary you are not scared to put your beliefs and reasons on the line. Everything is out in the open and you can draw public support. Underground you're just among your personal friends, and they're the only ones who know it.

—RON McLEOD,  
One of the Nine.

## Military Dictatorship

Continued from page 1

the making, has called for a two-day general strike which will undoubtedly be powerfully supported. He has also called on the police to join the strike and that, too, will be received with sympathy. Workers of Northern Ireland whose record in prosecuting the class struggle over the last hundred years has been as good as any, who were out solid in the 1926 General Strike, who have fought for and obtained much better wages and conditions than workers in the South (whose efforts were always bedevilled by Irish nationalists) are now being trapped into aligning themselves with their own bosses in a bloody and useless struggle against the British Army. For what?

The nationalist struggle led by the IRA has brought death, maiming, and misery to the Catholic workers, but has not built a single home or put a single penny in the wage-pocket. The nationalist fight which William Craig and his Vanguard Party are spoiling for will, in the same way, bring nothing but misery and death to the Protestant workers who support it.

Gauleiter Whitelaw and the British Army are installed in Ulster to crush any opposition to the policy of the British Government. We cannot say it too often: the State is organised violence. Without armed men trained to impose its will on the people,

a force ready to kill at the order of an officer, Government policy cannot be enforced and Government itself is nothing. Heath and Wilson have not been converted to pacifism, their concern for the misery in Ulster is just so much hypocritical eyewash. They have sent troops in to kill all over the world. They will kill till the cows come home if it suits their purpose. Today in Ireland they are increasing the armed forces—not bringing them out or disbanding them. They are there to kill. Violence is not being ended, it is being directed elsewhere and on an even bigger scale. If the Catholic people are deluded by their leaders into thinking that the setting up of direct military rule is in their interests and should be supported, then the people who will soon face the guns, the CS gas, the bullets and the beatings-up, will be the Protestants who formerly cheered on the troops against the Catholics. Wherever armies are let loose on the people, wherever army commanders dominate the life of a community, it is absolutely certain that someone is going to get killed and a lot are going to be hurt.

As Northern Ireland is now to be ruled as a colony by Westminster, the British people are going to be involved whether they like it or not. (Of course, they already are involved insofar as it is the people

who pay for, support, maintain, service, and provide the men to do the fighting.) But now, if the Protestant workers are deluded into following Craig into armed resistance, there will be plenty of politicians in Britain who will try to arouse the workers into supporting or opposing such resistance. Fighting and racism could spread to cities like Glasgow, Birmingham, Liverpool, and London.

There is no easy way out, and there is no way out at all through politics. The people themselves must take a hand. Not by lending themselves to the violence of the politicians. Not by supporting the nationalists of the IRA or the nationalists of the North and Craig. Both these groups are devoted not to the liberation of the people from oppression and injustice, but to the securing of power for themselves. Catholic workers have suffered at the hands of the British Army and now it could be the turn of the Protestants. The only hope is that the people will unite against those who would lead them into another bloodbath.

Only if the Catholics repudiate the IRA and the Protestants repudiate the 'Vanguard', and if both unite in opposing the setting up of a military dictatorship can the interests of both be served. The army, for all its training, is still a body of workmen in uniform. They must be won over to the cause of justice and decency. Not with violence but with the sort of appeals which we have printed elsewhere in this issue.

Nationalism is a curse. Flags don't feed babies, build homes, or end wage-slavery. For that there is required not nationalistic fervour, but mutual aid, co-operation, and brotherhood. Irish men and women have suffered enough at the hands of colonial rulers and their counterparts, the fanatical (and religious) nationalists. To hell with them all—with the IRA, with the Vanguard, with the Green and the Orange, and with politicians of all breeds. The strength of the workers is in their numbers and in the simple fact that society can't live without them. The army can't oppress us if it isn't serviced, maintained, and supplied, and especially if its ranks are disaffected. If Craig wants a fight, let him fight all on his own. The people should fraternise, not fight. Fraternise with each other, Catholic and Protestant, and fraternise together with the soldiers. Avoid nationalism like the plague, for that's what it is—a plague. Millions have died for flags and religions but none have yet become free men in these causes.

## THIS WEEK IN IRELAND

SOME ANONYMOUS PERSON in Belfast sent me the Unionist publication *The Terror and the Tears*, produced obviously for British consumption. It is a very expensive booklet of excellent photographs which are supposed to depict the horrors of what the IRA are doing. They do too, BUT at least two of the horrors so shown were in fact the work of the other side. I keep thinking of the thousands of pounds that Stormont have wasted with the production of this piece of super-propaganda which again might have been used to help the underprivileged, but then Stormont wants to hang onto its privileges come hell or high water and devil take the hindmost.

Meanwhile people in the 26 counties who have United Ireland ideas in their heads are receiving parcels through the post that blow up when they open them. No one has been badly hurt, only mild burns, but it shows the conflict is an all-Irish one, not only a six-county one.

Yesterday the House at Leinster House had to be dismissed in disgrace by the Ceann Comhairle as a terrific row blew up when the Deputy for Co. Monaghan asked that the gardai on border duty there might be issued with gas masks at least as the British soldiers the other

side of the border not infrequently fired canisters across the border to get farmers and the like who were filling in craters and, as the gardai had to be on duty there, they got suffocated. It seems to me to be a very reasonable request but it led to such name calling by the Minister for Justice (a pup if ever there was one, who attained to his position far too young by reasons of nepotism). A shouting free-for-all broke out and the session was adjourned as nobody could be heard.

Rates are being put up to £6 in the pound in Dublin and there is to be a Ratepayers' strike. We have had no Mayor and Corporation for it must be three years now as the Minister got rid of them in a huff because they refused at that moment to strike the very high rate he demanded.

The Government are spending millions on pro-ECC propaganda which they know their opponents cannot meet equally to counteract. What can I tell you that is not black? Only the silly stories we invent to prevent us all having breakdowns and half of these would not be comprehensible to the English because of dialect, so I will end my jeremiad. H.