



## ACTION ON IRELAND

## FISHING IN TROUBLED WATERS

A STATEMENT to be published as an advertisement in this week's New Statesman will mark the launching of a new campaign to end the military and political involvement in N. Ireland. The statement signed by over 100 signatories gives an historical and political analysis of Ireland on a non-sectarian basis with which anarchists will probably find themselves broadly in agreement. In essence, it opposes both British control of N. Ireland and imposed unification with the Irish Republic. It argues that the people of N. Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, must have control of their own communities as part of a wider decentralisation towards local community control in Ireland and Britain. Obviously, withdrawal of the British soldiers is an essential pre-requisite for this kind of social development.

Of course, a grandiose statement with signatures headed by a number of radical chic "big names", including John Arden, Adrian Mitchell and Malcolm Caldwell, is in itself useless, but to the activists involved in the campaign it is merely a base for a direct action campaign which will include encouraging soldiers to stop being paid killers in N. Ireland. The original statement included a paragraph which committed the signatories to asking soldiers to "consider refusing postings to N. Ireland, staging sit-downs and demonstrations in barracks, and in the final resort deserting" but this was too much for the fair-weather defenders of free expression at the New Statesman who fainted at the legal risk in publishing such a challenge to the law of incitement to disaffection.

The campaign already shows the tensions inherent in a broadly-based movement which were apparent in the Committee of 100 campaign against nuclear weapons in the 1960's. The obsession with attracting the support of "big name" do-nothings was a cause of dissension at the first meeting on May 19. For a campaign committed to practical direct action there is also a ludicrous preoccupation with the publication of the signed statement as a significant act in itself. The £300, or so necessary for a full-page advert. in the New Statesman, as if they were the only people in Britain who matter! It can be assumed that the capitalist press is only too happy to oblige with delightfully lurid (and free) publicity about a group of people intent on subverting "our" soldiers.

The closed meeting for signatories on 19 May did have its moment of farce when during a discussion on planning secrecy a journalist from Fleet Street jumped up to announce that he did not know it was meant to be a private meeting and he inquired if he should leave the room! However, apart from this light relief the meeting was a depressing experience of how people who believe in direct action can get bogged down in irrelevancies. For instance an incredible time was spent discussing which public building should be chosen for a symbolic posting-up of the statement. (Wait and see ....my lips are sealed!). Seriously though, a few worthwhile points did emerge. implicit in encouraging soldiers to desert is the responsibility to provide them with a practical and safe escape route. Also welcome was the awareness by many people of the desirability of autonomous local groups producing their own leaflets for soldiers and civilians, encouraging subversive contacts with soldiers, and generally conducting the campaign in their own way.

If the campaign can survive its painful birth then it may mark the beginning of a long-overdue movement to get the British troops out of Northern Ireland, and as such it would provide an important area for anarchist participation.

Terry Phillips

For further details write to the British Withdrawal from N. Ireland Group, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N. 1.

## CORRUPTION — EAST & WEST

WHEN MR. BREZHNEV, the Soviet leader, was questioned about cancelling his forthcoming visit to America because of Watergate, his reply was "I do not see the signal". From this it seems that the Soviet authorities still look upon President Nixon as a credible leader and that the discussions are far too important to them to be abandoned merely because of the Watergate affair. In fact the whole Watergate affair has been played down in what passes for news and opinion in the Soviet press. The whole affair has been treated as a right wing plot against Mr. Nixon's foreign policy and nothing has been printed about the deep involvement of his whole administration which could bring about his resignation. As far as Mr. Brezhnev is concerned Nixon is their man and to use Watergate as an example of the corruptness of the capitalist imperialist West would only bring home to the Russian people how very much alike are the two regimes.

Unlike Mr. Brezhnev, Mr. Nixon has to get the consent of the people for his administration to govern the country. But the methods used by his followers are

those which the Soviet authorities use constantly in order to maintain them in power. The methods employed at Watergate are used every day in the Soviet Union and are part and parcel of the totalitarian state which the Bolshevik Party imposed on the Russian people. That is not to say that all is sweetness and light in the capitalist West. States here also maintain their own secret police, discreetly called in this country the Special Branch, to keep under surveillance those who oppose the system of exploitation and the rule of the State. Far from being opposed to one another the Soviet and the American systems have a lot in common. The methods of exploitation and control may vary but nevertheless capital, State power and their law and order are what makes the two systems tick.

Recent events in the Soviet Union illustrate how close the two systems are to one another. While Mr. Brezhnev was in "West" Germany Mr. David Rockefeller, a name that personifies western capitalism, opened a new office for the Chase Manhattan Bank at, wait for it, No. 1 Karl Marx Avenue.

ONE OF THE ever-perceptive readers of the New Statesman contributed to their "This England" column the following gem from The Daily Mirror - "Iceland must stop exploiting the fact that she is a small and weak country up against a large and powerful one". It is not known whether this came from the correspondence or the editorial columns of that august daily; one rather suspects the latter, judging by the attitude of the press in general. In any case, the mere size of Iceland would never stop Britain bullying her were anything to be gained by such an attitude. It never stopped Britain bullying Anguilla or, during the war, occupying Iceland in order to prevent German occupation.

Britain was not very popular during that occupation - a British soldier wrote home that 'eighty per cent of the population were fifth columnists' - and the Prime Minister of Iceland was interned in Brixton under 18B. The strategic importance of Iceland was, of course, its attraction, and a large American base was succeeded by a North Atlantic Treaty base still maintained at Keflavik. Due to Britain's and West Germany's belligerence about 'the cod war' Iceland has made motions to rid itself of 3,300 U.S. troops on its territory. A Communist minister in the cabinet, the proximity of Russia and the reported (but routine) presence of Russian ships have all underlined (if that were necessary) Iceland's need for a tangible reward for services to NATO. The restrained attitude of the British Foreign Office on the whole matter may be explained more by our being bullied by larger and more powerful countries in NATO than by our reluctance to bully others.

The whole trouble hinges on the chaotic condition of international law and tendency (if not a habit) of all countries of the world to absolutely ignore international law and the International Court. The French attitude on its nuclear tests is typical. But on the law of the sea the law is even more

confused, the expression 'territorial waters' is capable of unlimited definition and further complications are caused by the introduction of terms like 'continental shelf' and various geological quibbles. Britain's apparently restrained fifteen-mile limit is partly due to the narrowness of the Channel and has been frozen at this limit, not due to any benevolence on our part but owing to the omnipresent EEC regulations. The whole sea-scene has changed and nations are now not so happy to allow internationalization of the seas largely owing to finds of undersea gas and oil which belong to the international cartels who exploit them.

Iceland's claim to exclude British and West German fishermen is based upon the necessity for conservation of the dwindling stocks of fish. There is no evidence that Iceland itself has taken any steps to conserve fish. Indeed, the whole pattern of fishing today is, like that of modern farming, quick cash profits and the devil-take-the-hindmost. The exhaustion of fishing grounds is common, the whale and the haddock appear to be going the way of all fish. New methods of fishing - factory ships with refrigerated holds, usage of smaller fish for agricultural fertilizer, have all drawn heavily on breeding grounds. The fish finger points the way to oblivion. The size of the mesh is no longer a protection.

Additionally, world-wide effects of pollution on beaches and at sea have taken their toll of this dwindling stock of fish. For example, the oysters for which Colchester was once famous are no longer safely available.

### The Decline of Fishing

Indeed, fishing itself seems to be an archaic survival, like the hunting of game and the buffalo before the domestication of cattle

Continued on page 3

The Soviet economy, like any in the West, has to continue to expand and to do this it needs western loans and development aid. Foreign capital is needed to provide the abundance of consumer goods which are taken so much for granted in the West. Whole new car plants have been built with western capital and expertise. The car plant at Togliatti, named after the Italian Communist Party leader, is now producing half a million cars a year. These resemble closely those produced in Italy by Fiats, who built the Togliatti plant and supplied £180 million worth of equipment. To the capitalist West, Russia is a vast underdeveloped market which could prove a very profitable source of investment. This opening up of markets could also, say the political commentators, bring freedom to the Russian people. Some even look upon the car as a symbol of those freedoms. But freedom is a relative thing. Things might be better now than they were under Stalin but certainly an anarchist weekly would not be allowed in present day Russia.

### RUSSIAN UNDERGROUND

Recent reminders of Soviet oppression are that the author of Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984? is still being kept in

prison although he has just completed his three year sentence. 279 scientists from 11 countries have appealed through the United Nations for clemency for a fellow scientist, Mrs. Nina Strokata. She has been jailed recently on "trumped-up charges". It also looks as though the K.G.B. has finally tracked down all those involved in producing the underground bulletin Chronicle of Current Events. The last one appeared

The head of the K.G.B., Mr. Yuri Andropov, has just been promoted as a full politburo member. Far from any slackening of State control, the secret police is still a very powerful organisation defending the State against all who criticize and oppose. Despite the Communist Party's dictatorship people are still opposing the State. The news of an arrest, a strike, a demonstration in the streets are signs that people are still prepared to struggle against one of the most formidable State machines. This is not being done in the name of capitalism or parliamentary democracy, but their criticism stems from the fact that the Party and its takeover of the State has failed to achieve the communist society they were brought up to believe in.

P.T.

# PERMANENT REBELLION

PART TWO

Camus was fully aware of the demands which freedom and the struggle for freedom entail, and the price, solitude and exile, which it may exact. 'Freedom is not a gift received from the State or a leader but a possession to be won every day by the effort of each and the union of all.' It requires 'a daily effort and a constant vigilance in which pride and humility play equal parts.' It is possible then to understand why so many choose to renounce their independence and subordinate their consciousness to the master whether it be the dogmas, lines, orthodoxies of States, parties, sects or conventional wisdoms. The despairing hero/narrator of Camus' novel 'THE FALL' argues 'without slavery, to tell the truth, there is no definitive solution... freedom is not a reward or a decoration that is celebrated with champagne... It's a chore, on the contrary, and a long distance race, quite solitary and very exhausting... Alone in a forbidding room, alone in the prisoner's box before the judges, and alone to decide in face of oneself or in the face of others' judgement... At the end of all freedom is a court sentence... alone, without God and without a master.'

## On revolution

Freedom and, with it, the demand for justice have been the motivating force of revolutions. Every revolutionary is either a rebel or a policeman/bureaucrat. In the course of revolutions freedom has been suspended allegedly in order to achieve justice. The rebel then becomes a heretic, the bureaucrat the oppressor, the terror begins. Camus acknowledged the perspicacity of the anarchists who know that the definitive (i.e. social) revolution has not yet occurred. As soon as a new government is formed the next cycle begins. The supposedly revolutionary government pretends to maintain its revolutionary character in opposition to other governments but in effect seeks only to extend its dominion.

## On Marxism

Camus recognised the fallaciousness of the bourgeois elements in Marxism - the 19th century idea of progress (related to the growth of science, technology and production), of history moving towards an end, a consummation. He recognised too the paradoxes in Marxism's revolutionary elements without deprecating the importance of Marx's work. For example, Marx retrieved the dignity of man in protesting at the degradation implicit in the reduction of the worker to an object, a commodity, but in his economic determinism reduced man's consciousness to a product of history. Marx was anti-State and accurate in his analysis of the role of States, particularly the Bourgeois State, but in his concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, however temporary he thought it might be, however vague he was in its delineation, however he might point to the Paris Commune, allowed for the creation of yet another moloch State.

## On the Bolshevik revolution

Lenin believed in the withering away of the State and was on occasion, even if only for tactical reasons, almost libertarian, as in his 'STATE AND REVOLUTION'. Yet Lenin created the bolshevik State and indicated the nature of that totality which totalitarianism seeks with 'as long as there exists on earth and no longer in a specific society, one single oppressed person and one proprietor, the State will continue to exist.' The Bolshevik state in the name of History and a distant future, leads to the world of the trial wherein the accused must confess to his objective crimes. The anarchist knows as did the essayist quoted by Camus that 'if socialism is an eternal evolution its means are its end.' These means then must be validated by reference to a value other than history. The historical success of Bolshevism does not invalidate anarchist criticism. There are means which cannot be excused. For Camus 'real freedom is an inner submission to a value which defies history and its successes' and without freedom there can be no socialism except the 'socialism of the gallows'.

## On the State

In justifying his choice of Spain as a set-

wrote in 1948 '... That evil (of our times) is the State whether the police state or a bureaucratic state. Its proliferation in all state countries under cover of the most varied ideological pretexts, the revolting security granted it by mechanical and psychological means of repression make of the State a mortal danger for everything that is best in each of us. From this point of view, contemporary political society, in any form, is despicable.' Camus saw the State as an effect of ideologies which demand or at least tolerate the reduction of freedom whether the ideology is nationalism, bolshevism or bourgeois property relations. The State is an apparatus, a machine and 'when they (the States of societies of money and exploitation or police states) oppress and exploit, they are merely doing their job.' Camus was on occasion inconsistent e.g. in his essay 'Homage to an Exile' he writes of the State's duty to respect the law... the libertarian becomes on occasion liberal towards the end of his life. (With the recent experience of Hungary Camus felt that at least in Western Society there was a quarter truth which could be seized on and extended and that it was facile to talk of freedom of the press as illusory etc... Camus died in 1960.) Partly because he saw the State as an effect not as a prime cause he concentrated upon emphasising freedom not its corollary, the abolition of the State. 'We must proclaim, in our principles and institutions, that the Individual is above the State.'

## On violence

Camus indicted the modern State for the terror and the murders it has committed in the name of right, logic, history, nations, classes, future societies, murders far outnumbering private murders. But again he was primarily concerned with the individual and the relationship between his freedom and murder. 'The most extreme form of freedom, the freedom to kill, is not compatible with the motives of rebellion' since to kill is to deny the existence and freedom of others. He was well aware of the dilemma in which the rebel might find himself... Camus had played his part in the French Resistance. He knew that in certain circumstances such as an insurrection or State violence to 'decide not to act at all... comes down to condoning other people's murder.' But if the rebel chooses to kill he must not legitimise murder and must accept the guilt of his act. Camus was therefore attracted to the 'fastidious assassins', the Russian terrorists who accepted death willingly in expiation of their guilt at the assassinations they had committed. The issues raised by individual terrorism are explored by Camus in his play 'Les Justes'. While it is possible to dissent from his interpretation of those terrorists the attraction they had for him can be understood.

In his essays on Algeria Camus as an Algerian Frenchman intimately involved, elucidated principles that many anarchists could readily approve and apply to other situations...

- that there can be no justification for torture or reprisals against civilians by whomsoever committed, on the grounds of efficiency or any grounds whatsoever - that one cannot choose one set of terrorists to approve or prefer over an opposing set of terrorists. Camus rightly castigated those intellectuals who engaged in the casuistry of blood, who tried to justify or excuse the suffering caused by one side by reference to a greater suffering caused by the other. Yet Camus would again quite rightly accept that someone immediately involved in a violence situation might have to take sides.

- that there can be no alliance with those who do engage in this casuistry of blood. (For example Camus found it incomprehensible that within a year of Hungary 1956 French Socialists were seeking alliances with the Communists. Consequently he rejected 'any complicity even temporary, even and above all tactical with regimes or parties, whether of the left or of the right that justify, however little, the suppression of a single one of our liberties.') - that an intellectual must accept, without abdicating it, the heavy responsibility that his condemnation of wrongs e.g. French imperialism can become the ter-

children.

- and that there must be no stereotyping of groups e.g. the French Algerians the easier to condemn and murder them.

## On art

As a writer Camus believed that art must reject the world as it is not by escaping from it but by making the most obstinate demands of it. Art should testify to human dignity and thereby emancipate. Art must seek to reconcile the unique with the universal and this is unity. Such art is far removed from bridled social realism which serves the needs of totalitarianism. In 'CREATE DANGEROUSLY', a title in itself an anarchist credo, he wrote of the commitment of the writer and I would add thereby the commitment of everyman, '... we must know that we can never escape the common misery and that our only justification, if indeed there is a justification, is to speak up, insofar as we can, for those who cannot do so. But we must do so for all who are suffering at this moment, whatever may be the glories, past or future of the States and parties oppressing them; for the artist there are no privileged torturers. This is why beauty even today, especially today, cannot serve any party; it cannot serve, in the short or long run, anything but men's suffering or their freedom. The only really committed artist is he who, without refusing to take part in combat, at least refuses to join the regular armies and remains free.'

B.S.

## ANARCHY AT COLEG HARLECH

COLEG HARLECH (Harlech College) was founded in 1926 as a Fabian type enterprise, and is now commonly regarded as a 'poor man's Ruskin'. Its policy is to take only 'mature students', i.e. people over 21 with at least 5 years work behind them, and a history of involvement in working class or social organisations. Consequently, most students are ex-shop stewards, ex-social workers (full-time or voluntary) or Welsh!

In recent years a student organisation has existed, as part of the N U S, and has been increasingly militant over the last few years. One particular action should be of particular interest to anarchists, and that is that at the recent termly elections of student representatives and officials it was decided to abolish the traditional positions of President and Vice-President. This was done because it was thought they were merely figure-heads and of no real useful value, that it was a symbol of elitism, and that the student union did not need a 'leadership'.

The fortnightly meetings are now chaired in rotation by members of the S R C (Student Representative Council), which is a body of students, elected termly, all with functional jobs; and all of which come under scrutiny at each meeting.

It is hoped (and expected) that the new leaderless system will continue, and thereby prove the practical nature of the anarchist idea that functional, examinable, recallable representatives are O.K.; and that figure-head leaderships are unnecessary.

We hope other student unions will take note, and follow our lead, and prove further that anarchy is not disorder but the new order.

A Coleg Harlech Student

## HANG ON TO YOUR BALLS!

IT IS REPORTED that cyproterone acetate, a new 'chemical castration drug', has been tested on patients in various psychiatric establishments in Britain. The drug works by blocking male hormones which are responsible for sex drive. It is debatable whether the use of this kind of drug is ever necessary or desirable, but its experimental use on people in psychiatric institutions gives cause for concern. For instance, men who required 'sexual gratification' more than 20 times a week have been put on daily doses of the drug. (Better start counting, comrade!) Its potential use by the State to impose sexual 'norms' is obvious in implication. It has been used experimentally on homosexuals and it is remarkable that apparently responsible psychiatrists should express surprise that it cannot 'cure' homosexuality.

T.P.



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## Dirty Work

IN A FREE society, where both physical and economic compulsion no longer exists, who will do the dirty work?

The slick answer is: 'No one. There won't be any, as society will have no need of politicians, bomber pilots, rent collectors, bailiffs and the like.' And such jobs (professions) as surgery or even nursing, despite the 'dirt' and the like, are not considered to be dirty, even today.

Dirty jobs are usually equated with poor pay, which in turn generally signifies lowly status. Cleaning, maintaining and repairing sewers, for example, is a dirty job. Despite his use to society (far more useful than a politician, or a bomber pilot, or a rent collector) a sewage worker's status today is a lowly one. A doctor tries to cure sickness (in a society that breeds it); a sewage worker prevents it.

It is, therefore, the status and low pay which most people object to in our present society: not the dirt involved. There are, of course, always a few delicate souls who don't like getting their hands dirty, or poking excreta about. And a few can't stand the smell (a recent female mayor of my town refused point-blank to attend any ceremonies at our new automatic sewage works because she 'didn't like the smell!'). But most people do not mind dirty or even arduous work, assuming that they can get into a hot bath afterwards - and, perhaps more important, no one will look down on them as being social outcasts, or 'just' sewer men, or road sweepers or hospital porters.

Of course, in a free society, if certain dirty or arduous tasks, which few people would be prepared to do voluntarily, can be eliminated through the use of machinery (as, in fact, many have already been even under capitalism), then society will see that they are eliminated.

To end on a personal note. To the reader who still asks: 'In an anarchist society, who will go down the sewers?' I shall answer: 'I will!' And so will all the other sewer men I know!

Engineering Technician  
(Main Drainage and  
Sewage Treatment)

## Letters

PROFESSOR

EYSENCK'S

NOSE

Dear Comrades,

If Tony Gibson quotes the example of Darwin and his theories to justify Prof. Eysenck's publication of what Peter Worsley has aptly described as so-called proof of "the inability of Black men to do White men's 'intelligence' tests", then equally one can quote the example of scientific publications of work which resulted in the use of Atomic and Hydrogen bombs. I would remind Tony Gibson that I did not ask for suppression but for a socially responsible attitude towards enquiry. Something Alex Comfort asked for long ago.

Because Eysenck's tests have been published the intellectual respectability of those who wish to drive black people from Britain has been enhanced in many people's minds, with the assistance of the mass-media. Eysenck may think discrimination on grounds of race is wrong but his work has assisted those who support racial discrimination. He therefore courts the anger of those who know of the harm he has done.

As for Tony Gibson's wide ranging remarks about white liberals and muddled antics over racial issues, they are not exactly original. Those so far placed above the wood are, of course, well

# THE END OF SUMMER

THE RUSSIANS will not need to send their tanks into Belgrade! Since October 1972, Tito has undertaken the 'normalisation' of his people. Both ideologically and economically, Yugoslavia is in the process of settling into the orbit of the Soviet Union, while the West looks on with generally indifferent eyes.

It will be remembered that the Yugoslavian summer began in 1952 after the sixth Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Under the influence of Milovan Djilas, the Congress' chief spokesman, and member of the Central Committee, the regime underwent considerable liberalisation and decentralisation. The workers' councils gained more power, certain companies and business concerns were allowed self-control, small farmers (those owning 10 or more hectares) were able to cultivate their land as they themselves saw fit. More freedom of speech became possible and many intellectuals established fruitful relationships with their western counterparts. Fifteen years before the events of spring in Prague, socialism in Yugoslavia acquired a human countenance.

This liberalisation was, however, little more than a façade, concealing the fundamental police-state authoritarianism of the regime. Censorship survived; companies remained, in reality, under the control of the state, the Party and the Police (the directors, chosen by the state, were all party members). The lion's share of all profits were devoured by the state (approximately 85%); the workers remained mere wage-earners, with no control over production resources, nor over the ultimate fate of their output. There was a voice doomed to be silent in all discussions of production policy and decisions about distribution methods. From 1954 onwards Djilas was himself excluded from the Central Committee (following the publication of some articles which were later to form the nucleus of his 'La Nouvelle Classe' [the emergent class]). The appearance of other works, published abroad, has cost him nine years of imprisonment.

In reacting to the pressures of economic difficulties, and disputes, both internal and with the Soviet Union itself, the Yugoslav regime has now revealed itself in its true colours. At this very moment the whole country is being subjected to an 'ideological purge', set in motion by Tito in October, 1972, and many Marxist and Humanist thinkers have already fallen victim to it.

Thus it is, that eight members of the Department of Philosophy in Belgrade

placed to inform others of their mistakes. Others can speak for themselves, I am an anarchist not a liberal whatever Tony Gibson suspects and if he's referring to anything I've done in this field perhaps he could be specific. In the meantime, I've earned the contempt of some black people and the fraternal support of others. There is no one who has entered the area of race relations without engendering the ire of someone else. Those who don't get involved and are of unblemished motivation and untarnished reputation - they, of course, have earned the contempt of no one. Because no one knows of their existences!

Yours,  
Jerry Westall

Dear Editors,

What a curious attitude displayed by Jerry Westall regarding Eysenck! Here is a self-styled anarchist arguing that Eysenck should not research into racial genetics because the results might 'hurt' some people. On the same grounds one could interdict research into the origins of religion or of government because this might 'hurt' true believers, priests and politicians. Such sentimental sob-sisterism is hardly an answer to Eysenck. Can Jerry Westall refute him by citing any comparable research by similarly qualified psychologists? If he can't, his smear technique (Eysenck = Powell = racialism) is nothing but a confession of impotence.

Sincerely,  
S. E. Parker  
London

cannot continue to teach - for political reasons. The views of these writers, published in such periodicals as 'Praxis', 'Filosofia' and 'Gledista' are considered to be incompatible with the political and ideological outlook of the Communist League. They are held in contempt for their insistence that, 'the human rights and civil liberties of certain intellectuals are in jeopardy; that future democratisation of society is impossible without a similar democratisation of its governing body; that the very constitution is arbitrarily changed every other year and that, ultimately, the power of the regime is virtually unlimited' etc. The government has had an official pronouncement of its attitude to such views published in the dailies and weeklies: henceforth those who espouse such beliefs are not to be considered fit to educate others.

Further to this, Tito accuses the teaching profession of exerting a pernicious influence on the country's youth; he holds them responsible for the students' revolt in Belgrade, May 1968, during which the participants denounced the bureaucratic and authoritarian character of the regime and called attention to the rise of a new class: the 'red' bourgeoisie. This was a movement which forced Tito to give way to some extent, although he was never wholly in sympathy with it.

The present purge is directed primarily at the 'humanist' lecturers Stojanovic, Injic and Popov. Meanwhile Jakcic has been arrested in Sarajevo. Publication of Pr. Marcovic's 'Re-examen' (Re-examination) has been prohibited and all his work destroyed. What is more, this same purge also constitutes a threat to

other leaders, who, after the 6th Congress, have fought to promote a widespread democracy, in defiance of the authoritarian and bureaucratic leanings of the regime. There is good reason to believe that this repression will not stop there; already several members of departments of philosophy and sociology have had their passports confiscated or travel refused - this being in January, February and November of 1972. In the same year one or two intellectuals have already been victimized: in July, Dr. Djivic, a professor in the faculty of law in Belgrade was sentenced to two years of imprisonment, while, in November, Pr. Bodizar was also arrested.

One of the last bastions of pseudo-liberal marxist thinking is about to collapse in Yugoslavia. The repressive measures taken by Tito confirm us once again in our belief that 'state communism is incompatible with liberty and authentic socialism'; it is essential to realise that it is 'by dint of necessity and strategy' that it occasionally dons the mask of liberalism 'never out of true conviction'.

It is unfortunate that, during this 'liberal' period, the opponents of state authoritarianism are prepared to unveil themselves and they will thus become the first victims of the phase of repression which will inevitably ensue - the scape-goats about whom will crystallize all discontent arising from the basic inadequacies of the regime itself (as has been seen successively in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and, after the 'Hundred Flowers' in China).

Mathilde Niel  
(Le Monde libertaire)  
Translated by R. A.

Icelandic cod war . . . from page 1

made such pursuits out of date. Inevitably, increases in the efficiency of catchment methods, their exploitation to the full for the sake of profit, must lead eventually to exhaustion and to nationalist clashes such as we see in Icelandic waters. It is not solely a problem for Britain and Iceland. In 1961 the British Association for the Advancement of Science gave figures for the effect of mechanization on the national catches of fish. In Ceylon, for example, the average had risen, per boat per day, from 13.3 pounds to 139 pounds. Ireland's catches rose from 450,000 metric tons (in 1945) to 558,000 in 1958 and 840,000 in 1959. Japan's rose from 2 million metric tons in 1945 to 5½ million in 1958. This increase (due to mechanization) has very little concern for the conservation of human life, let alone the life of young fishes.

The decline of fishing in this country began with the drifters who fished on the surface, mainly for herring. Like all producers with a perishable crop they were at the mercy of market forces and transport costs, and soon the small individual fishermen were squeezed out by the monopolies and the fisherman found he could make more from the tourist trade - in season - than from fishing.

The deep-sea trawlers in Icelandic waters fish on the sea-bed for cod - the haddock has already been almost exhausted. Most of the boats, if not factory ships are fitted with refrigeration and are owned by monopoly companies. In 1968 (according to Anarchy 86 which is invaluable on this topic\*) there were three monopolies in the fishing industry in 1966/67 (to take one year only), the White Fish Authority contributed £1million to the fishing interests as subsidies for new vessels. Now the industry requires a further 'subsidy' in the shape of naval protection against their Icelandic business rivals. The Icelandic fisherman has more in common with his British counterpart than he has with his boss.

Whose fish is it?

The Sunday Times (3/6/73) states that "Britain has an economic interest in fishing off Iceland. It is worth £22million a year and gives employment to about 2,000 fishermen. This from a swift calculation means £11,000 per year

Fishermen and Workers Control, Anarchy (first series) 86, Freedom Press, 15p.

per fisherman. One would doubt if his wages approach anywhere near that amount. The general attitude seems to be 'how dare Iceland stop our fish?'. Rather like the 'Fifties fess when Persia nationalized our oil. The crude fact is that the workers have only the fish and the oil that they can pay for. With the obvious gap between wages paid and prices of the fish-catch they can never even buy their catch. If we allow Iceland to catch the fish and sell it to us, we might, such is the craziness of economics, be able to buy it at a cheaper price.

Death in the Net

During recent weeks a British trawler fetched up a torpedo in its nets which exploded, killing some of the crew. (The Guardian's first headline was curiously ambiguous: "Ship hit by 'a torpedo'", giving an impression that the ship might have been torpedoed by the Icelandic navy). This is a comparatively unusual disaster but, disasters in the fishing industry are commonplace. Indeed, Anarchy 86 states that in 1965 Professor Schilling of the London School of Hygiene estimated that the death rate in the fishing industry was twice that for coalmining and many times that in manufacturing industries, and that between 1960 and 1966, 223 fishermen were killed on British vessels, then about 1% of the workforce. In 1968 three trawlers were lost which proportionately is as great a disaster as 1883 when twenty-three fishing smacks were lost in a storm.

\* \* \*

It is obvious that the present methods of fishing and exploitation cannot go on without further disasters and clashes.

But the potentiality of the sea with a lack of exploitation of man and fish is enormous. Seven-tenths of the world's surface is water, with great uncharted deeps where fish can be farmed rather than hunted down to extinction. The obvious people to run the fishing industry are the fishermen who, with an understanding of the ways of fish shared by fishermen of other nations, can pool resources of weather information, fish movement information and supplies, which must be done on an international scale if the growing world is to be fed.

What the sea has to offer is not to be unlocked by the competing forces of nationalism or the restrictive market-economy of capitalism. Only the co-operative action of the world's fishermen can feed a hungry world.

Jack Robinson

# Kirkby Rent Strike Hots Up

THE TOWER HILL Unfair Rent Action Group was formed in May 1972 by tenants of Tower Hill Estate, Kirkby (near Liverpool) to fight the government's Housing Finance Act which was to be imposed on them in October of that year, which meant that their rents would be increased by £1 per week. From May to October the tenants started a massive campaign on the estate. This included mass meetings every week, the leafletting of every house on the estate, and going from door to door to discuss the effects the Housing Finance Act would have on council tenants.

At every weekly meeting from May to October we discussed over and over; we thought the best way to fight the unfair rent act was to embark on a total rent strike, which means the withholding of rent and rates, we planned the organising of area, street and block committees to prevent evictions, and how to mobilise tenants as quickly as possible to come to the aid of any tenant who might be victimised. The reason why we took the decision of a total rent strike with non-payment of arrears was because we felt and still feel that if we had embarked on a partial rent strike (the withholding of the increase only) it would have no effect at all. The best way and the only way is to hit the council and money lenders etc. is to hit them in the pocket as that's where it hurts them most.

## Mutual Aid

Since we've been on rent strike from last October quite a few things have taken place. There was a demonstration in Liverpool last October which was called by the Liverpool Trades Council in protest against the Housing Finance Act. On this demonstration there were twenty-four men from the Birds Eye factory in Kirkby, two of whom were shop stewards. Anyway twenty-two of these men got letters from Birds Eye management telling them that they were suspended for taking part in the aforesaid demonstration. As for the two stewards, they got sacked. At our weekly meeting a call was made for support on behalf of these men. It was agreed by the women that they would organise pickets to go to Birds Eye in the morning to protest against the company's actions. On the morning after our meeting the women of the 'Action Group' went round the estate with megaphones and knocking on doors getting women to go to the Birds Eye factory and support the twenty-four men, who were picketing the factory themselves. The women also made phone calls to the Scotland Road and Bootle areas in Liverpool asking tenants groups there for support. This they gave. At 10.30 that morning an army of housewives with children and babies in prams joined the twenty-four men who had been laid off. The result was that Birds Eye came to a standstill because the women had completely blocked off the main gate and turned back all wagons and lorries, explaining to the drivers why they were picketing the factory. The shop stewards inside the factory were telling the rest of the workers that no one had been laid off and not to listen to the rabble outside as they were only troublemakers.

The outcome of this incident was 1) the 24 men got reinstated. 2) the chairman of the Birds Eye Group flew up from London and told the workers that he didn't want politics brought into the factory and threatened to close the factory down. He also spoke of 'totally sinister outside influences' (women and babies were the sinister influences). The women were also called 'rent-a-mob'. 3) the 24 men who all work in the cold store department pledged industrial action to the Tower Hill Action Group in the event of eviction. If the cold store goes out on strike, Birds Eye comes to a standstill.

## Facing threats

On Saturday, November 11th eight tenants on Tower Hill received eviction notices. Seven of these were told that they had up to 20th November to pay off their arrears

\*Birds Eye is a brand of frozen food.

or get thrown out. But the other one, who was by the way the secretary of the Action Group, was only given to Monday the 13th to pay up.

On Monday the 13th at 4.30 p.m. about 1,000 people sealed off all roads leading into Tower Hill, thus causing traffic jams for a radius of seven miles - and we all know what it is like on the roads at that time of the day. These 1,000 people gave notice of the blocking of the road only two hours before it was due to take place. While the Action Group's secretary was on the road block there were 75 people in and around his house just in case the council managed to get the bailiff onto the estate. For six weeks or more after the road block there were pickets in the lad's house day and night in case the bailiffs tried anything on the sly.

On Tuesday 14th November the Action Group received 'phone calls from various industries on Merseyside pledging industrial support for Tower Hill if the council attempted to evict anyone.

It is now Kirkby Council's policy and it's in the standing orders that no tenant on rent strike will be evicted. So the only way they can try and get their money back is to take us (the tenants) to court as debtors, the same way a firm would take you to court for hire-purchase debts.

Some of the tenants who are on Social Security and are on rent strike have been getting their rent stopped out of their benefits. I will come to this subject further along.

## Facts and Figures

April 1973 brought in increases in our rates and increases in the rateable value of council houses. Rates went up between 35p and 45p per week on Tower Hill. Last October (1972) we were hit with an increase of £1 on our rents per week and another increase in rent is due again in October of this year. This increase will be 50p a week. If you add these increases together you will find that from October 1972 to October 1973 we will have had an increase in the region of £2 per week, all within 12 months. No wonder we are refusing to pay rent.

Now let's look at the rateable value of a house on Tower Hill. The 1972 rateable value of £74 per annum of a three bedroomed house with a carport has gone to 1973 rateable value which is £222 per annum. A four bedroomed house went from £90 p.a. to £234 p.a. A two bedroomed fifth floor maisonette has gone from £78 p.a. to £190 p.a. Two years ago Kirkby Council claimed that the average economic rent for dwellings on Tower Hill would be in the region of £9.50 per week. The Tower Hill Action Group has got well documented evidence that the rents on this estate could be as high as £6 per week, and this does not include the rates.

On Monday, March 12th Kirkby Council's Health and Housing Committee held a meeting in the council buildings. This being just a committee meeting the public are not allowed in. On the agenda for discussion was the Tower Hill rent strike. We heard that the housing manager Winstanley was intending to put forward a proposal calling for eviction orders to be served on the tenants who are on rent strike. Although the council has openly stated that no evictions will be served on rent strikers, this man who is obviously worried about something is doing his damndest to get evictions served on people. That evening between 150 and 200 tenants turned up outside the council building in protest against any action that might have been taken against the rent strikers. Police were on duty inside the building to prevent any of the tenants from getting inside. When one of our local councillors turned up late we took the advantage of pushing our way in with him. About a dozen tenants managed to get in. Four never got any further than the foyer when they were dragged out by the hair. Two of these were women, but that made no difference to the police. Inside the council buildings the other tenants were set upon by the police, there were cases of ten-

ants being dragged down four flights of stairs by the hair, one policeman (806) used his baton openly on a tenant. Earlier on one tenant was held by the throat and had his testicles squeezed. One of the women who was pregnant was violently thrown against a wall.

## The last round?

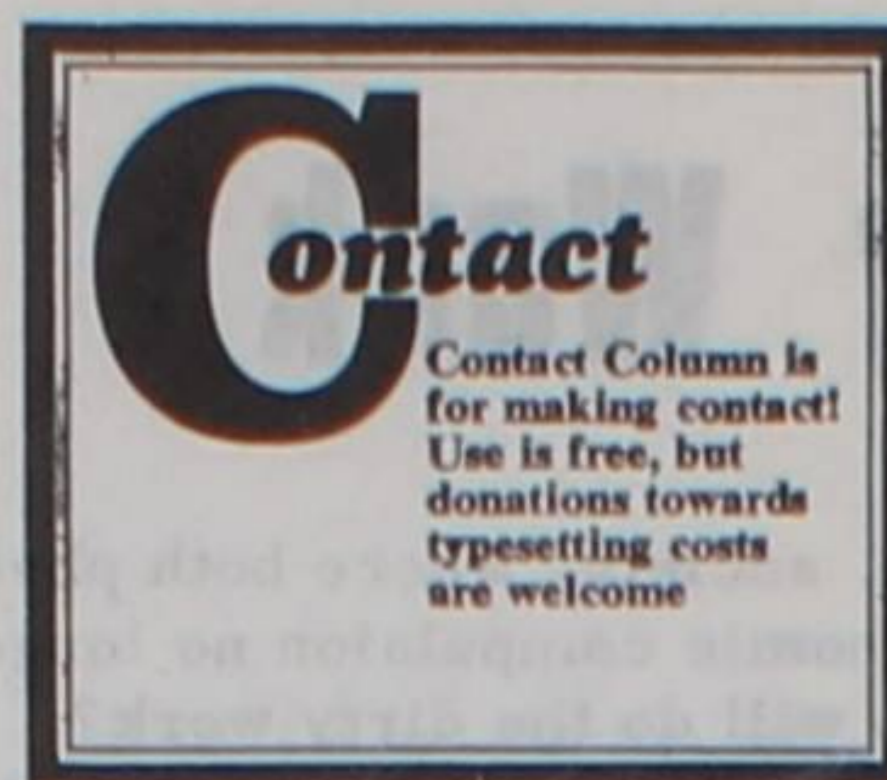
ON MONDAY, 26th March two bailiffs were on the estate delivering court orders to tenants who are on rent strike. These summonses were not possession orders, they were only money judgement orders. We gathered all these court orders in and sent them back to the court en bloc. The people who received them signed them and wrote across them in bold letters 'ON RENT STRIKE'. And as I've said we sent them all back to the court. It is Action Group policy not to appear or go anywhere near the court, as the struggle is taking place on the estate and not in the court.

About two weeks ago Kirkby Social Security offices paid over to Kirkby Council rent money that it had been withholding from claimants who have been on rent strike. Delegates from the Action Group went down to the S.S. offices to find out who had authorised the paying over of this money. They were told that Kirkby was not the only S.S. office to do this, it has happened throughout the country. The Social Security had received orders from the Government to pay the money over to the local councils. Yet local and national newspapers are saying that the fight against the Housing Finance Act has fizzled out. If this is true, why is it that the Government is so worried about the tenants on social security? Quite a simple answer. By paying over this money it's obvious that they are trying to do their best to demoralise other tenants who are on rent strike and are working, hoping that they will start paying. We understand that there is little can be done concerning the money that they've paid over, but we can put the blocks on any further money being paid over. Section 17 of the Social Security act is about the protection of tenancies. Any tenant whose rent has been paid over can appeal against this decision, so while higher appeal is being heard the S.S. can't pay over money to the council.

Another thing that has happened in our struggle this month (May) is that seventy tenants who are rent strikers on Tower Hill received letters from the Liverpool County Court and a similar letter from Kirkby Council. The court's letter asked the tenants to go down to the court on 24th May to have a meeting with the registrar. It's obvious the registrar would have given the tenants a bit of patter, telling them that he was in sympathy with them but don't you think it's time you started paying your rent. The council's letter also told the tenants to go and see the registrar and they (the council) would expect to see us there - and they refuse to accept that being 'on rent strike' is any defence for not paying rent. At one of our meetings (15th May) it was decided after a lengthy debate on the subject, to ignore the letters. Now that day, 24th May has passed and no tenant appeared in court.

On Friday 25th May some tenants received letters from the court informing them that starting from 22nd June and on the 22nd of every month that they have to pay to the court, and the court will pay it to the council, the sum of £27 per month; some tenants have been told to pay £32 per month. At our meeting on Tuesday, 29th May it was decided to gather all these letters in and write on them one of our earlier slogans, 'We won't pay' and send them to the chairman of the council.

As far as we are concerned it is now back in the hands of Kirkby Council because on the 22nd June no one intends to pay this money. What action will the council go for now? Will it be an attachment of earnings? Who knows what they will do now. The fight is beginning to warm up now. COMRADES, GO TO YOUR PLACES OF WORK AND UNION BRANCHES AND DISCUSS OUR RENT STRIKE WITH YOUR WORKMATES. TRY AND GET INDUSTRIAL BACKING FOR US.



THURSDAYS 2 p.m. onwards. Help fold and despatch FREEDOM at Freedom Press

SATURDAY 9th June. British Withdrawal from N. Ireland, meeting for those interested in taking part at P.P.U. 6 Endsleigh Street W.C.1. 2 p.m. Also demonstration Sunday 10th June in Parliament Square, 3 p.m.

JUMBLE SALE Saturday 16th June, 2.30 p.m. Brotherhood Church Hall Chingford Mount, London, E.4. Jumble and helpers needed. Write Douglas Kepper, Walnut Cottage, Moorland, Bridgwater, Somerset.

EVERY SATURDAY 2 - 4 p.m. Picket outside Brixton Prison. BELFAST TEN DEFENCE COMMITTEE (88 Roslyn Road, London, N. 15)

NOTTINGHAM FREE SCHOOL urgently needs full-time and part-time staff (esp. full-time) for September start. Please contact thro' 10 Milner Road, Sherwood, Nottingham, or Trent Poly. Anarchist Gp. Fine Art Dept., Dryden Street. Money also required - crossed cheques & P.O.s to Nottingham Free School and Community Trust.

Young man requires job - not everyday boring grind. Committed to non-violent revolution and would like to work towards this. John Nightingale, 14 Northside, Clapham Common SW4 (tel. 01-720 3827 anytime)

Another young man, going crazy through unemployment, willing to do almost anything, money virtually unimportant. Am a trained & qualified projectionist, have worked in peace movement, PPU, WRI, CND C'tee of 100 etc. If you have anything contact Colin Clarke 32 Huxley Rd., Welling, Kent

GEORGE FOULSER is at present in St. Pancras Hospital, Ward 3, 4 St. Pancras Way NW1 and would like comrades to visit him. 2.30-8 p.m. every day. Tel. 347 4411

CORBY ANARCHISTS. Discussion meetings first Friday in every month at 7 Cresswell Walk, 7.30 pm

LIVERPOOL ASA contact May Stone, 0.32 Summerfield, Tower Hill, Kirkby, near Liverpool.

LONDON ASA meetings - for details 'phone 226-0817. Black & Red Outlook always available, by post 5p + 2p from 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange, London, N.5.

S.E. LONDON MENTAL PATIENTS UNION meets every Tuesday 8 p.m. at The Albany Community Centre, Creek Road, Deptford, S.E.8.

MICHAEL TOBIN DEFENCE COMMITTEE 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, 54 Harcombe Road, London, N. 16

BLACK RAT, paper of Norwich Anarchist Group, available by post (2p + 2p) from Rupert Williams, 141 Earlham Road, Norwich, Norfolk. For details of regular meetings contact same address. BLACK & RED OUTLOOK, monthly paper of the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance. No. 13 current issue produced by Sheffield Group. Available (pay what you like) from 4 Havelock Square, Sheffield 10.

INSIDE STORY No. 9 May/June. What the papers don't say about Vietnam, more about Spies for Peace, etc. 20p + 3p from 3 Belmont Road, SW4 (or Freedom Bookshop)

LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE, monthly paper of ORA. 5p + 2p post from 29 Cardigan Road, Leeds (or from Freedom Bookshop)

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