

VIVE LA BOMBE!

UP TO THE time of writing the French do not appear to have exploded their bomb near Mururoa in the Polynesian islands. We cannot even say, knowing the French talent for debacle, that they will successfully explode the bomb. Pressure from the New Zealand Government, the British Trade Union Congress and the International Court have only served to stiffen France's patriotic backbone.

It has passed without much comment that the New Zealand Government and the British Trade Union movement have taken steps which would have been considered highly revolutionary in the palmy days of CND and the Committee of 100. The New Zealand Government chose by ballot a cabinet minister to go on a boat (the Otago) which will sail into the test area. The Unions arranged a week-long boycott of cargoes and post to and from France. These would be, if carried out by individuals against their own governments, thought of as direct action and civil disobedience. On the international scale they are obviously considered quite respectable, lawful and an acknowledgement of the failure and limitations of so-called international law.

True, the unions have limited their action to one week and left the option open to unions but such a move, at the time of Suez, say, would have been denounced as rank syndicalism. As for governments going in for non-violent resistance, soul-force or whach-jamacallit, one's mind boggles. True, the New Zealanders did not consider the whole cabinet expendable. Also we are told firstly that the N.Z. ship Otago is not going into the test-zone, secondly that it is radiation-proof and finally, that they or their supply ships do not intend to help any other 'peace' ships (about five in all) in the area. The other 'peace' ships are, of course, voluntary, non-governmental in their origins.

It will be interesting to see what the French government will do in the face of this highly unconventional move by the New Zealand government. It may be that the New Zealand government may back down but it is unlikely that the Minister of Mines will suffer the fate of the Japanese fishermen (one dead, 22 with radio-activity induced diseases - this of course, was in American tests which don't really count.)

The French have made the

usual shabby excuses. "A bad nuclear peace is better than a good conventional war" says Le Monde (12.7.73) and the French White Paper says, "At the origins of certain campaigns is there not a desire to harm our defence policy and contravene our will to independence?" The French claim that the argument of biological harm from tests is exaggerated and that no dangerous fallout whatever has been recorded from the recent Chinese tests. (The Evening Standard (2.7.73) reports from Tokyo that the radioactive content of dust from Northern Japan was 1,500-3,000 times above normal after the recent Chinese tests.)

The British arguments about the French tests have started with the accusation that there has been little protest on the Left about the Chinese nuclear test. French protests were stifled by a police ban on a united demonstration on 2nd June and the Greenpeace March was turned back at the frontier by inevitable C.R.S. brutality. In protest thirty people chained themselves in Notre Dame Cathedral. But neither the 'socialist' Mitterand nor the 'liberal'

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Caetano - an acceptable face?

THE MANNER in which Edward Heath welcomes the Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr. Marcello Caetano, to the shores of this country tells us that massacres of women and children may be unpleasant to Heath but they represent the acceptable face of capitalism. It is fairly clear now that a series of massacres took place over the last two years in the Tete province of the Portuguese colony of Mozambique - they were measures taken by the military against African villagers suspected of being sympathetic with the Frelimo guerrillas. General Kaulza de Arrigan, commander in chief of the armed forces in Mozambique in a book just published says supporters

of guerrilla movements can expect "relentless suffering and frequently death". This is exactly what has happened and the shocking reports of Catholic priests in the area of Tete province are witness to the declared policy of rule by terror.

And what terror. From the report by Father Hastings published in The Times on 10th July we learn of the 400 people killed in Wiriya (or Williama): "One group of soldiers got together a part of the people in a courtyard to shoot them. The villagers were forced to sit in two groups, the men on one side and the women on the other. By means of a signal a soldier indicated

whom he wished, either a man or woman. The indicated person stood up, separating himself from the group. The soldier shot him. Many children at the breast and on the backs of their mothers were shot at the same time as their mothers." Others were herded into huts which were then set alight and grenades were thrown into the fire. Children were killed one by one in front of their mothers, some by having their heads dashed to the ground. And on and on...

The expelled Rhodesian journalist Peter Niesewand spoke the following day in the Guardian of other massacres. In particular he mentions reports from Father da Costa that on May 7, 1971, 14 men were beaten to death in the village of Kapinga and Catacha, on September 1st

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LETTER

THE CRUTCHES OF ORGANISATION

-- ANOTHER VIEWPOINT

Dear Comrades,

As an anarchist who, in a small way,* helps in the production of FREEDOM and is, therefore, associated with an informal "structureless" group, but is also a member of two formal "structured" organisations - a Trade Union and the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists - I would like to comment upon the statement ("The Crutches of Organisation" FREEDOM 30/5/73) by the two editors of FREEDOM, Jack Robinson and Peter Turner.

I am not sure who Jack and Peter have in mind when they suggest that anarchism in this country "seems to be going through a phase of organisation fever". Whilst agreeing with them that organisation for organisation's sake is counter-productive, I think that despite their assertion that they are not against organisation, they are still "throwing the baby out with the bathwater". It is fairly easy to produce a small, low-circulation paper by an informal structureless group (though I would personally prefer to see a larger and more structured and formal group, with a greater division of labour, producing FREEDOM); it is a different matter, however, if one is concerned with the development of an organisation, or organisations, whose aim, nationally, is the "desire to work together to make anarchist propaganda for the anarchist cause and the social revolution more effectively."

At the moment, there are probably some thousands of people in Britain who would call themselves anarchists. Some are individually active; others are, to use a word, "quietists". They do not seem to be interested in anarchist organisation or organisations. That, therefore, leaves us with the three groups mentioned in the statement - ASA, the SWF and the ORA, which is generally accepted as being the largest of the anarchist/libertarian groups in Britain, has around 70 to 75 members at the time of writing. Its membership twelve months ago was about 30. As yet, hardly a fever - unfortunately! We should keep a sense of proportion in these matters.

* Too modest. Peter does the major job of lay-out and letraset.--Eds.

In my view, there need not be anything wrong with having a highly structured organisation, if that organisation serves a specific purpose. One should not necessarily equate structure with bureaucracy. Furthermore, a highly structured organisation need not be centralised. It need not have an executive committee, though again an executive committee need not be authoritarian. "We do not need the organisation to look after us and fall back on. Organisations should not be crutches..." Of course not! But where, in the anarchist/libertarian movement is this happening? I agree that, to some extent, this could be read into the SWF statement ("Syndicalism") wherein they state: "Any wage or salary earner may carry a SWF card... It is not, however, an organisation for Card Carriers, for cowards or those who would substitute words for deeds. It does not want men and women who unquestionably follow leaders. The SWF is an organisation devised for men and women, and growing numbers of these workers are uniting with us. They want an organisation which will rebuild society in the interests of the working class. SWF need them and they find they need the SWF." Is this what Jack and Peter mean by crutches?

Our critics then suggest that formal membership, voting and expulsion is wrong. But why?

There is nothing totalitarian about formal membership of an organisation. One does not have to join. But if one is a responsible person, one should be prepared to defend that organisation when it makes certain decisions, and undertakes certain activities of action. And how can one know what should be done unless decisions and proposals are voted upon and agreed by majority decisions? If such activity is unanarchistic, then Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta, Makhno and thousands of others were not anarchists. Indeed, rather than digress at length, I can only refer readers to Errico Malatesta: His Life and Ideas compiled by Vernon Richards and published by Freedom Press.

And why the expulsion bogey? Abhorrence of throwing someone out of a group or organisation is merely cowardice. For example, if a group exists to propagate anarchy (the absence of rulers) and a member of that group starts to advocate government whilst remaining in the group, then the only sane thing is to ask him to leave,

and if he does not expel him. It's as simple as that!

Of course, some organisations should be informal, structureless or, under certain circumstances and in certain places, conspiratorial. Bakunin well understood that. Obviously, the "Spies for Peace" mentioned by Jack and Peter are a case in point. The form that an organisation takes naturally depends on one's objectives. I would, however, agree with Jack and Peter that with some highly structured organisations there is a tendency for them to continue to exist merely on paper. Witness the ILP and to some extent the SPGB. But as such groups have no real authority, they harm no one. Perhaps they even provide a few crutches for some old men! And, no doubt, even a free society would accommodate them.

Just one last point. Our editors remark: "Sadly, comrades often place more emphasis on the hyphenated part of their anarchism. Some have even substituted libertarian socialism". Oh, horror of horrors! Presumably they have in mind anarcho-syndicalism or anarchist-communism (or in America, anarcho-capitalism whatever that is).

Well, I for one plead guilty. Anarchism "pure and simple" is a completely negative theory; and anarchy is merely a condition of affairs without rulers. The positive side of anarchism is where the hyphen comes in. Bakunin may have written "The passion for destruction is a creative passion, too" (in 1842 before he was an anarchist), but the mere negative desire for the abolition of the State and, in a rather vague sort of way, authority, is a barren philosophy. That is why almost every anarchist of any note from Bakunin onwards has put considerable emphasis on syndicalism and/or communism and socialism. If that is what Jack and Peter mean by being "exclusive and inflexible", then I am all for it. A week or two back, the irresponsible Peter Neville, tried to scare the pants off FREEDOM readers by announcing that I was a "communist" (I hope he did not mean a Stalinist or Trotskyist). This is so. I am a communist; I am, in a very small way, working for a society wherein the means of life will belong, not to individuals or the State, but to society as a whole. I, therefore, belong to an organisation (ORA) which has as its objective the "common ownership of all means of production and distribution, on the basis of voluntary co-operation". If that's the bogey, then I'm in good company! With or without my crutches!

Peter E. Newell

'ANGRY BRIGADE' ECHOES

LAST WEEK'S APPEAL for action to be taken on behalf of Hilary Creek has been overtaken by events. On July 10th the Guardian carried a story by Jackie Leishman with the heading "Brigade Girl to leave gaol" which is an inaccurate description of a 24 year old woman which, one supposes, is an effort to imply her immaturity. In the report Hilary Creek was "almost certain to be moved to an outside psychiatric unit"; the following day the position was definite: "Hilary Creek is to be moved to the psychiatric unit of Halliwick Hospital, Southgate as soon as a bed is available". However I have a copy of the letter from "Robert" at the Home Office sent to Shirley Williams, M.P. and it is made quite clear that "she Hilary Creek will have to return to Holloway to continue her sentence as soon as she is well enough to do so".

The ridiculous situation is that, despite medical opinion that Hilary's condition of anorexia nervosa is likely to recur if she returns to prison after being treated in a hospital, the steps likely to prevent a return of illness are not to be taken. Perhaps even psychiatrists could put pen to paper to protest at this particular bloody nonsense!

The Stoke Newington Five Defence Group is pressing for Hilary Creek to be granted an amnesty and have informed me that they welcome actions by people other than themselves to take up her case. So can we get a few letters written to Shirley Williams, M.P. (House of Commons, Westminster, S.W.1.) and others indicating that it is inhuman to set out to cure an illness when action is not being taken to prevent the illness recurring.

* * *

Readers may be interested in a BBC 1 documentary due to be shown on Friday, July 20th. It is about "The Angry Brigade" and according to The Listener (12 July) alleges to have discovered the Spanish connection for the Angry Brigade equipment. He is said to be Octavio Alberola, "known to his friends as El Largo or Gros Jean: a revolutionary anarchist, a man of action, a friend of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, a dashing romantic figure...", one of Jose Alberola, an anarchist activist and intellectual in Spain in the Twenties and Thirties who helped found the CNT and who after the civil war became Professor of Literature at Cervantes University in Mexico City.

An interview with Octavio Alberola is said to be included in the documentary and he is quoted as saying: "Mankind's progress towards Anarchist ideals will continue through successive and inevitable acts of revolt, individual and collective. The things that anarchists have always demanded - sexual freedom, communes, abolition of frontiers - are now sought by the great mass of opinion. The present leftist orga-

LIBERTY &c ... contd. from p.1

Lecanuet have condemned the test (according to Sam White, Paris correspondent of the Evening Standard).

There seems to be little examination of Sam White's theory that the Nixon-Brezhnev meetings have fortified France's long-expressed intention of having a bomb of her own. In fact an 'official spokesman' has denied it (Times 29.6.73). White seems to think that the French believe that the Nixon-Brezhnev meeting indicates that the Americans will withdraw from European defence and France will have to rely on her own devices. Judging by France's pre-1939 choice of a Maginot Line defence policy, her choice of an independent nuclear deterrent is probably no wiser and just as unsafe.

The Daily Mirror's John Pilger reported (28.6.72) on Mangareva (near the previous test site) saying "Last year we were put in the fall-out shelter in the morning. All day and night we just sat there, knowing nothing, then the next morning we heard the explosion and the wall shook. A couple of hours later we were told to come out and not to drink water, or eat fish 'for a day or two' but after that it would be all right.

"Ships came and took away boxes of fish, pigs and chicken, and birds that had died. Several women who had eaten fish in the lagoons became very ill and were taken away.

We can't eat the rock fish at all now, and depend on tinned tuna coming from Tahiti. Everyone is always complaining of illness and it's always the same thing: back pains and diarrhoea, and some of them have patches on their body where the skin has gone pale."Pilger goes on "the story is repeated a thousand miles to

nisations condemn imperialism. But it's just words. Young people have seen through the old generation's demagogy. They can't get along with that. They want action."

The article in The Listener includes photos of Hilary Creek, Alberola and Francisco Sabate and is by Gordon Carr who also wrote and produced the TV documentary.

J.W.

the north, in the Marquesas group where a schoolteacher on the island of Ua-Huka said, "We heard last time on Radio Tahiti that there had been an explosion. Soon after, those who received the rain lost some of their hair, and everybody had some kind of pain in the backbone, and the big bone in the legs, and the legs were weak like cotton."

Pilger reports: "At the Research Institute in Tahiti a marine biologist, Dr. Bagnis, agreed to see me after first getting a clearance from the Governor himself. 'The natives have always suffered from a fish poisoning called Ciguatera,' he told me. 'The fish are made toxic by coral eruptions which are often caused by tidal waves coming from South America.'

"Dr. Bagnis produced statistics that showed that the number of fish poisoning cases had doubled since nuclear testing began. Was it not possible, I asked, that radioactive fall-out had poisoned some of the fish? 'No,' he said, 'fish poisoning is quite normal around here.'

"As I was leaving his office, Dr. Bagnis mentioned, with something of a smile, that he had taken the precaution of giving himself and his family regular radiation checks. 'Why?', I asked. 'Because of what I read in the papers,' he replied."

Cynicism can go no further, and whilst governments through their officials take so little care of the peoples they are supposed to be safeguarding we can understand their welcoming invaders as 'liberators' or starting national liberation movements of their own. France is once again sowing the wind and will again reap a whirlwind of death, pollution and contamination.

INSTANT GENIUS

WE WERE no more than ten who assembled within the high ceilinged General Assembly Room of the Royal Academy within Piccadilly to pay, if not homage, then at least a polite attention to a small exhibition of the work, writings and personal possessions of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first president of the Royal Academy. Sir Joshua handed in his pension book and left to meet his maker in 1792 and this small and polite exhibition has been mounted to mark the 250th anniversary of his birth. There are no more than a handful of paintings, including his self portrait on sale in miniature reproduction as a 3p Post Office stamp, and while the lower middle class mob rampaged in the room of the Summer Exhibition below us and the dealers marked their cards within the Diploma Gallery loaned out as a super market for the Sale of Modern Art, we ten made small and meaningful conversation as we inspected Sir Joshua's journeyman paintings.

It is good solid uninspired work and one does not cavil at his for Sir Joshua worked out his life and his work within his own limitations, discoursed on art and harmed no man. Of interest however was the, rare, opportunity to view the small sculpture attributed to Michelangelo that hangs on the wall of the Assembly room. Its claim to be the work of Michelangelo has been publicly doubted by that great non-authority on the Italian renaissance period John Bratby, Royal Academician and like Sir Joshua a rather uninspired painter but we ten inspected the marble carving and I stated, and no man contradicted me, that it was definitely the work of Michelangelo and Nicholas Usherwood, the Press Officer, gave a smile of relief for an adverse decision would have knocked a £1,000,000 off the selling price.

Wiener and Klein

It was now high noon and the uniformed attendant announced that the free whisky was ready for the lapping and we ten made our way to the buffet to purge our souls with five straight whiskeys before descending the ornate stairs into the streets below once more to do a vanguard battle with the Bond Street barbarians. There is a belief among the philistines and too many of the proletariat that every work of art should be judged as a work of genius, and failing to enjoy an amusing essay in the pictorial they bare their teeth and cry villainy yet who could deny that Martin Wiener has given the Town

and his frau much pleasure without producing any work of lasting merit. Klee once described his own minor and pretty art as taking a line for a walk and Wiener does just that, and like Euclid he takes the line to a logical conclusion in that beginning with the written word he turns it into a witty and non-malicious drawing of the neo great. A pictorial Wittgenstein who gives laughter to the town he appears like the flowering of London Pride of the old bomb sites in undisturbed cracks within our civilisation. Within a public house, an avant garde cinema, the punch up of a book fair, last week within the American Embassy and now at the Argonaut Gallery opposite 60 Blomfield Road, W.9 he provides the aesthetic graffiti for the mode.

And there is cause for tears with the exhibition of the visual wit of the late Yves Klein.

Klein died in 1962 and like Warhol he produced artist fodder for the fashionable galleries without ever painting a painterly painting and he allowed us to share the joke with him. One recalls with sadness and affection his first London exhibition in 1957 at the Gallery One among the stewpots of Soho with Kasmin, now a brooding figure of the Bond Street art establishment, running for the wine and Victor Musgrove lending an air and a hint of forbidden grace as the dealer. Klein offered a series of his platonic blue paintings and these unframed canvases were no more than a flat over all covering of Royal Blue paint applied with a Woolworth's paint roll-on and all out of the same tin of house paint. They sold for a minimum of 15 guineas and with Klein we shared it as an in-joke, and now his IKB 67 International Klein Blue is on sale and display within Gimpel Fils international gallery at 30 Davies Street W.1 and the huge golden mean of unframed Royal Blue hangs in space as a tombstone without a tomb, sacred to the memory etc. Klein was the wit who, like all commentators, lived off the talent of other men and because his wit was of the sophisticated cafe society he was accepted and rejected as an artist. He poured paint over a naked woman and spun her around on a canvas flat upon the studio floor. He asked one to stare at a blank brick wall and visualise a painting of his and one was allowed to keep that mental image of a Klein painting as a personal gift. None of these mental image paint-

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ings are on show within the Gimpel Fils gallery but his Victoire de Samothrace as mass produced by the Garden Gnome industry is on display. Produced by some unknown French entrepreneur for the Christmas trade, Klein in 1962 bought his set of 175 50cm.H. Charles Adams' horrors and dunked them in his Royal Blue and ten years later they grace the London fashionable art scene and for that one must love the man.

* * *

Only the Situation Gallery in Horseshoe Yard off Bond Street W.1. offers a challenge to the laughing ghost of Klein but in an alley meant for romantic Victorian murders this mysterious gallery continues to function even before Richard Cork of the Evening Standard discovered it. A huge and empty shell of a cell it will offer the passing horde no more than three or four small postcards fixed to the bare white walls. Hamish Fulton, with and without horse, followed on the photographs of Braco Dimitrijevic the young Yugoslav artist and, one adds, whose ploy was to take and photograph the face of an unknown man within the crowd and having blown the face of the unknown man up to a huge poster, banner size, to hang that huge poster on the facade of public buildings and street hoardings as a making of instant reputation of an unknown man from the crowd. Unfortunately Hollywood in one of their light comedies beat him to the draw ideawise, and the technocrats of capitalism reduced a good idea to mass participation for one now works out the angle of the internal television camera within the supermarket and having taken up the pose noble can now watch oneself on the supermarket's internal TV camera, for with the speed of communication, art and Horseshoe Yard are falling behind in the avant garde stakes.

But for the Town and his frau determined to have culture no matter what the foot mileage there is Max Ernst in all seasons from the youthful marvelous to banal old age at the Mayor Gallery at 14 South Molton Street, W.1., the work of Dahl, Ginsborg, James, King, Medcalf and Hawkes at the Serpentine Gallery, Kensington Gardens, W.2 by a group of young people with much talent well displayed in this greenery gallery, and Penelope Makins' lovely drawings and David Remfry's good solidly handled introspective paintings at the New Grafton Gallery at la Grafton Street, W.1., but for myself it is a courtly bow to the memory of Sir Joshua Reynolds P.R.A. and back to the the supermarket internal television camera for my own private Watergate.

Arthur Moyse.

Squatters

Part 3

WHEN I was going squatting I asked Sid Rawle what was it like and he said it's like living in an ordinary flat only you don't pay rent.

I soon realised it meant more than that: it meant changing my life-style and this change is so fundamental that only a few people are able to make it, and this means that squatting is not for everybody, certainly not for the working class. If you accept the concept of a working class then you accept the existence of, indeed the need for, a worker -- a person who turns himself into an automaton and keeps on working for his masters, capitalists, socialist or what have you.

A squatter is not like that; rather he is a person who has opted out of -- indeed rejected the life of a worker, and what goes with it, rejected the master as well.

What kind of a person is he then? Let us have a closer look.

An active squatter, Dr. John Pollard of Camden, conducted a social survey of the 500 squatters in Kentish Town. Out of 100 persons interviewed about one third had a university degree or some sort of academic achievement.

The Charrington Street squat (Somers Town) where I am living, consists of 300 squatters occupying 50 houses. Most of the people are young, in their mid-twenties, and the proportion of sexes is about three men to one girl.

One of our girls here, a sociologist, conducted a social survey of this community. Out of the 180 persons interviewed only 17 were drawing social security. When one considers that out of these 17 one is a paralytic cripple unable to lift himself out of his wheelchair, and about 10 are mothers with small children, one realises that hardly any squatter draws SS and parasites on society.

The vast majority of the 300 Charrington Street squatters were either working or living off their savings.

But it must be understood that by 'working' we do not mean the bourgeois trip of

having a steady job with prospects of advancement and saving up to buy a car and a house and a wife and a family.

It means when I need a square egg I go to work to get one. Having got it I stop work.

Personally I am a toolmaker and earn about £60 p.w. I work for two months then live the next six months off my savings and doing the things that I really like doing. Most squatters here work like this and live off their savings like this.

We call ourselves the Great Joint Happiness Commune and really we are one.

We are a community where everybody knows everybody else, where everybody's house is open to everybody else and spiritually life is so fulfilling here that hardly anyone goes out of the community for anything.

We have a community supply shop here and the slogan above the door proudly proclaims "Licenced to sell F all". It has no owner. We look after it in turns, and it works.

We even have our own capitalist, Aiden the Irishman who conducts international business with the Continent: he sends crews to Holland to bring back secondhand V.W. vans which he reconditions and re-sells. He employs local labour and any squatter short of cash finds work with him at 50p an hour.

We have a plumber who can re-plumb a derelict at a cost of £5 per house or less, using heavy duty Telcon plastic pipe and secondhand fittings. He charges the cost of materials only, providing his labour free as a community service.

And of course we have a brothel here staffed by sacred male prostitutes serving women customers.

As far as I know we are the only anarchist society in Britain: the 300 of us have no leaders and prefer to have no government. If, as so often happens in life, a decision affecting the community has to be made, then it is made not by a leader or a politician or any one person in authority, but a meeting of all the squatters is called to discuss and decide.

This, fortunately, doesn't happen too often and we seem to be functioning quite well without any decision-making structure.

We don't talk politics or anarchy -- we live it.

Reverend Father Fuck DD
(to be continued)

VICTORY CLAIMED FOR
EQUAL PAY STRIKE

CLERICAL WORKERS at S.E.I. (Heywood, Lancs.) have been on strike for six weeks now in an attempt to get this company to fulfil its obligations under the Equal Pay Act. After nine months of negotiations with the management, the workers, mainly women members of APEX, were offered a derisory £1.75. No attempt had been made to pay a third of the differential between male and female rates, as permitted under the Government's Phase Two legislation.

The Union's chief staff representative at Heywood explained that the plant had only recently become unionised, the clerical workers previously being isolated and unable to object to the company's cheap handouts. There are 50 clerical workers at the plant, 42 of whom are in APEX. They are mainly women but their equal pay demands are being fully supported by the men. Strike action was only reluctantly resorted to when the management refused to concede the equal pay demands and in fact attempted to split the workers' solidarity.

The firm is a subsidiary of the mammoth GEC/AEI combine and the union representative said that the firm could easily afford to meet the claim, which amounts to about £200 per week out of the £110 million profit they made last year. It seems to the members that the firm has been deliberately using this issue to break unionism inside the factory and allow them time to regrade women's jobs downwards and so avoid having to meet the requirements of the Equal Pay Act, in both factory and office.

Since May 30th a round-the-clock picket, often by women in their 40's and 50's, has been maintained at the factory gates, and the feeling is high that they must succeed in this fight for equal pay.

A mass picket was held at the Eccles factory of S.E.I on Friday last, 13 July, and Sheila Cohen, a member of Manchester Women's Lib (who were active in the strike) was arrested and charged with 'assault'. She was remanded until August 4th.

A representative of the NCCL will be attending the press presentation of Internment, a new book written by John McGuffin and published by Anvil Press.

Internment gives a straight account of the legal processes and the conditions in the internment camps, as well as presenting a view of the failings of the intermittent use of internment in Northern Ireland. The book also explores some of the aspects of internment which have been previously misunderstood; among these being its use against not only Republicans but a whole range of dissenting opinion. John McGuffin also points out that Brian Faulkner failed to realise the changing structure of the Northern Irish Society, and that therefore internment would have a drastic social and political effect on the attitudes of the Catholic community - and the use of legal forms to try to legitimise what were clearly executive decisions.

The NCCL has always maintained that internment, by embittering the minority community and deepening hostility, has caused far more friction than it has solved and continues to delay a settlement. This book shows exactly how internment has failed.

of the same year a Rhodesian party arrived and during a week killed three boys and a further 18 Africans. In October 1971 the Portuguese special group tortured and killed another 19 innocent villagers. In yet another case 23 Africans were killed and 5,000 villagers fled to Malawi.

The ultimate responsibility for these massacres lies with the man being wined and dined as "our oldest ally", the Prime Minister of Portugal. But it is appropriate that it should be thus for the "civilisation" that is being protected by these massacres would not be possible without support from Britain. This support comes through the NATO alliance, by means of capital investment in Mozambique and Angola and most importantly through vast economic support for South Africa on which the Portuguese lean so dependently for moral and financial support.

The Labour Party and the Liberals cry in horror at the spectacle of Caetano's visit but Wilson was eager to grasp Nixon by the hand at the height of the Vietnamese war and the Liberals are forever defending capitalism which rests so much weight on the exploitation of Southern Africa. Others in the Monday Club have sought to draw the red herring of the timing of the revelations into prominence and the media have spent a lot of time on this topic rather than on the massacres themselves. Similarly the ignorant Portuguese reaction of being unable to find the name of the village on a map - which anyone with knowledge of Africa would expect - has been given generous reporting.

Subsequently, it seems, there will be some sort of inquiry into the report of the massacres and one hopes the two priests held in prison who wrote the original report will be the first people to be questioned on the affair. Only a fully independent inquiry has a hope of finding the truth.

NATO's assistance for Portugal demonstrates that the capitalist world is very concerned with the pressure exerted by Frelimo and the inhuman terrorism used to combat Frelimo's influence indicate the fear of collapse felt by the Portuguese. America is especially concerned that South Africa's buffer states do not collapse and endanger the profitable investment reserve of the apartheid system and it is known that the Portuguese army is being trained by Americans in guerrilla warfare.

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It was reported in the Manchester Evening News (Monday July 16th) that the strike 'had ended' with a new offer from the firm. The News reports that "the offer came as thousands of APEX members throughout the country were told to black S.E.I. products".

(Information from R A P (Rochdale's Alternative Paper) and B.B.)

NO PRIVACY FROM PARLIAMENT

A YEAR after the Younger Committee's report on Privacy, parliament has at last got round to debating it. Even then, as is usual on a Friday, only about two dozen M.P.s managed the effort before heading off for the weekend.

The Younger Committee was set up by the Labour Government in 1970, under the Chairmanship of Sir Kenneth Younger, a former Minister of State at the Home Office. Its limitations were obvious from the start since its investigations were restricted to the private sector. The reason given by the then Home Secretary, Mr. Callaghan, for this was because public bodies "were answerable for their conduct either directly or indirectly to the electorate".

The Government is now considering new legislation to curb "harassment and pestering" by the press, and others who work for the mass media. While a great deal of this can be described as an invasion of privacy other investigations like those done by Private Eye into the Poulson affair were of general public concern. One is very sceptical when it comes to the protestations from M.P.s and business men about the right to privacy and freedom. Perhaps what they really mean is that they don't want their own activities under the pub-

lic gaze. However, most of the newspapers are not so much concerned with revealing corruption in high places but the private lives of public figures.

Such new legislation might safeguard the dubious activities which go on throughout private business and local government. Bugging devices will probably be outlawed except, and here's the rub, as one M.P. put it, "except in the interest of the State". Those who threaten this interest can still expect to be followed, raided and bugged. However the State has always placed itself above the "law". We know that the reasons given by Mr. Callaghan for restricting the Younger Committee's investigation to the private sector do not hold water. The electoral system does not provide the necessary safeguards against "harassment and pestering" by the State. Government departments, local authorities and the police use computers which among them could put every individual in the country onto a data bank. The Local Authorities Management Services and Computer Committee has a proposal to put everyone on such a central data bank (see Time Out no. 177). It is the nature of bureaucracies to seek more and more information, and they always give good reasons

for supplying this information. It is now possible for computer technology to cope with this task. A computer can store all the information necessary for all local council departments, but the reasons for this are not so much to assist the ordinary citizen but for "prevention and screening systems".

The Police National Computer Unit based at Hendon will be in operation from 1974. It will hold 2,500,000 files in Scotland Yard's Criminal Records Office. In Swansea the Motor Licensing Unit computer now has 25,000,000 car owners recorded. This unit will be fully operational in 3 years' time. The Government also has a Communications Headquarters in Cheltenham which intercepts all communications from this country. Added to all this there are numerous organisations in the private sector which use computers to record information about their customers.

While legislation might come to curb some of the worst abuses in the private sector, Big Brother the State continues to record and codify the people of this country. The technology available for surveillance purposes is growing all the time. The State will jealously guard its power over people and will use all available techniques to control the mind, thoughts and actions of populations. But as was shown during the 1971 census, many people refused to fill in the forms or gave the wrong information. While at times it is difficult to resist this creeping control by the State, each and every one of us can make a stand by refusing to give the bureaucrats the information they greedily consume.

P.T.

CONSPIRACY IN THE LORDS

(From Civil Liberty (NCCL) 7/7/73)

The long-awaited House of Lords decision in *Kamara and Others v. the Director of Public Prosecutions* will have far reaching effects for the future of civil liberties in this country. On 4th July, by a unanimous verdict the Lords announced through Lord Hailsham, the Lord Chancellor, that:-

1. Conspiracy to commit any act which could be regarded as criminal, no matter how trivial, is an indictable offence. He specifically referred to actions that could be brought 'in the vast majority of the squatting cases, or the 'sit-in' cases or many of the cases in which sports grounds are forcibly occupied or disrupted.'
2. Conspiracy to commit a public mischief is an indictable offence and the categories of public mischief already known to the law can be extended.
3. Conspiracy to trespass is a criminal offence in the following situations (it is worth quoting Lord Hailsham in full);

'Either (1) Execution of the combination must invade the domain of the public, as, for instance, when

the trespass involves the invasion of a building such as the Embassy of a friendly country or a publicly owned building, or (of course) where it infringes the criminal law as by breaching the Statutes of Forcible Entry and Detainer, the Criminal Damage Act, 1971, or the laws effecting criminal assaults to the person. Alternatively, (2) a combination to trespass becomes indictable if the execution of the combination necessarily involves and is known and intended to involve the infliction on its victim of something more than purely nominal damage. This must necessarily be the case where the intention is to occupy the premises to the exclusion of the owner's right, either by expelling him altogether or otherwise effectively preventing him from enjoying his property.'

Immediately after the judgement was delivered, the NCCL announced that this takes us a stage nearer the day when the right to demonstrate will disappear completely. The right to participate in legitimate protest is gradually being whittled away: squatting, sit-ins and other forms of

direct public protest have effectively been declared illegal. The chickens of the law and order lobby have at last come home to roost.

Moreover, the political overtones of this decision cannot be ignored. Notions of the 'public domain' have been used to justify the extension of the criminal law to protect property rights. By effectively seeking to set the limit of the law of conspiracy to trespass to political protest, the Lords have created an artificial dividing line which will not only produce a legal quagmire of the highest order but will also open the way to politically motivated prosecutions at every turn.

This decision cannot be allowed to stand. The NCCL intends to continue to press for severe limitations in the law of conspiracy. It has already submitted a detailed memorandum to the Law Commission and is now preparing its further observations as a result of the serious implications of this case.

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LETTER

MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION

Comrades,

Another letter from one of the stalwart few in North America. I have just read in the local capitalist press of a spreading movement of worker takeover of factories in France. It seems disappointing to me that a little capitalist paper in this part of the world (the rectal area) should have reported this movement before an anarchist paper in Britain. I hope that your staff will do some research on the subject and will report something of it to your readers.

Another comment, perhaps it could be called a complaint, which I wish to make is that the theory of class behind much of the writing appearing in your paper is outdated. Many of your writers seem to be stuck with a 19th Century version of class-struggle as the proletariat versus the bloated capitalist. In this they seem almost as stuck in dogmatic muck as our Marxist opponents. Anarchists, of all people, should be the first to recognise the form of the new ruling class which has come to power, not just in the bureaucratic socialist countries but in Western industrial states also.

Make no mistake about it, the managers are the new rulers of our society. The means of production have already made the traditional capitalist obsolete. He no longer has any control over the decisions made by the company he holds stock in. All in all he is much like the nobility of your country, a decaying parasite, without any real means of control. Just as many of the more forward looking nobility, however, became capitalists at the dawn of the bourgeois era so now many of the former capitalists are attempting to install their children in a place within the bureaucratic hierarchy. Yet still, because the children of the bourgeois are few in number, there has to be a massive recruitment of managers from other strata of society. This gives the new class of managers the characteristics of a rising new ruling class, much like the early capitalists.

Another thing which should be examined in respect of this new class is how it has gained ascendancy, not just through the multinational

corporations but also through the state (a subject dear to the heart of anarchists). Even in my country, fully one-third of the gross national product is mediated through the function of the state. Many workers find that their oppressor is not some capitalist but rather the government. I am a government employee myself, working at a ridiculously low wage. Much of the new managerial class finds its place on top of the heap in the government machine. In a country like yours, with a history of national social democratic governments perhaps even more of the new ruling class exercises its power through the state machine.

There are of course many other attributes of the new ruling class to be described. I, myself, am not entirely clear about the whole picture at this moment. What I wish to make clear, though, is that at this point in time we anarchists have the opportunity to forge the theoretical tools necessary for a clear-headed application to social revolution, which our Marxist opponents will be unable to forge due to their glorification of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. Any reformulation of the concept of class will of course have to take into account the divisions within the working class (industrial, clerical, technical, scientific, casual, service, agricultural etc.) and how they can be overcome if we are to struggle against our common enemy. I hope that therefore my words may perhaps prompt some comrade abler than myself to begin mulling these questions over. As for myself I claim no special knowledge of the sociology necessary to understand this question. Yet I know that there are other anarchists who are able to take up the work.

Fraternally,
P. Murtagh

SCHOOLCHILDREN'S STRIKE 1911.
Half Moon Theatre, Alie St., E.1. Any comrades who would like to join others in a party to see this play leave message for Mike at Freedom Press.
DATE NOW CHOSEN: Friday 27th July. (Seats 50P)

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