

BARRICADES COME DOWN

THE BARRICADES came down last week in Belfast. This was inevitable and ultimately necessary if we are to reorganize and prepare ourselves for the next onslaught of the corrupt unionist regime. But it is important to understand why the barricades came down when they did, in order to prevent future sellouts.

The barricades came down, quite frankly, because the RC church, in the shape (and bulk) of Bishop Philbin and Father Murphy, the local priest, ran rings around the CDC. The Central Defence Committee was mainly republican, anti-clerical—and inexperienced. It was they who had defended the area; it was they who had built the barricades and found the men prepared to man them, night in, night out, no matter what the weather. And it was they who had the support of the majority of the people who were determined that the barricades stay against the very real threat of hordes of Paisleyites and B-men, drunk after the bans closed—or on looted liquor and whipped up by 'Orange Lily', Shankill Loyalist Ulster radio's own virago.

But the CDC while quite capable of maintaining the defence of the area were not up to other kinds of organizing. The radio was manned and run by the PD; so was the *Citizens Press*, which sells 12,000 and appears 2 or 3 times a week, and so was the poster workshop, started by English comrades who have now taught some local people.

The CDC exercised some 'control' over the radio and the press which was quite prepared to put out their statements but their ideological 'commissars', relying as they did on orders from the south, were mere jokes—out of their

depth, unorganized and incompetent.

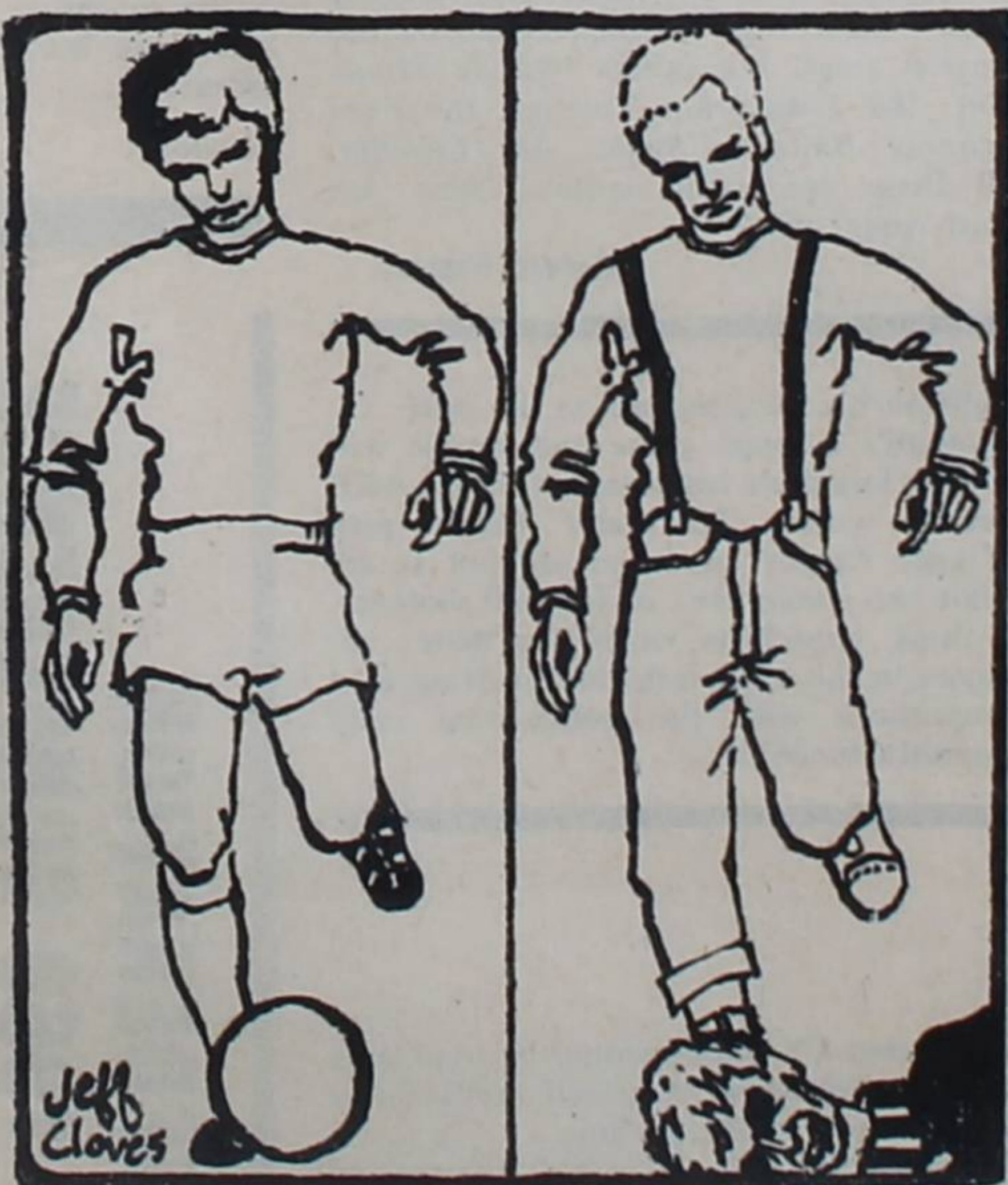
This contrasted strongly with the RC hierarchy. On their side they had centuries of authority, and thousands of local people, mostly women let it be said, who had been so conditioned by the dogma that they would die rather than hear any criticism of the 'priest' or 'the bishop'—at one street meeting when Philbin was hysterically ordering the people, 'I am your leader, go to your homes! Do as you're told,' a republican, attempting to point out to him, 'Bishop, the residents here took a democratic decision last night to keep the barricades up,' was interrupted by a little 'woman screaming, 'How dare you call him "Bishop". You must address him as "Your Reverence".' Smugly Philbin agreed. 'Quite right, my good woman. Listen to her, she's talking sense'.

By outmanoeuvring, double-dealing and connivance—as well as doing the dirty work while the men were at work, the church managed to breach the barricades and let the army in—some resisted, some clergy were heckled and abused, some locals put the barricades up again, some women and children blocked the troops' path, but by Tuesday evening it was quite clear that Murphy had got the better of the CDC and had come to terms with the GOC Freeland. The CDC could either defy the clerics and split the area or they could give in. Predictably, they chose the latter course.

The 'concession' gained by bold Father Murphy that the Special Powers Act would not be used against inhabitants of the area who defended it against the murderous attacks of the B-men, RUC and Paisleyite mob on August 14

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SOCCER HOOLIGANS BREAK THEIR NECKS



'BREAK HIS LEG'... an exhortation heard on terraces at football grounds nowadays (George Best claims he hears it quite often).—JEFF CLOVES.

AS A FOOTBALL FAN of long standing—I'm delighted to see a piece about the game in *FREEDOM*, 30.8.69 ('The Real Troublemakers'—Notting Hill SPSH Leaflet), but as usual, agree with very little of what was said. Once again, it seems to me, the facts of the situation have been exaggerated to the point where our (the anarchist) case has been de-

stroyed. Over the years I've met many anarchists who have argued that competition in sport, is by its very nature, undesirable and encourages a mindless surrender of individual personality to a state of mass hysteria identical to that induced by Nuremburg Rallies, etc.

I've always argued that this is a very alarmist view and fundamentally still believe it to be so. I've been standing on the terraces watching the Spurs for getting on for 20 years now because I like being part of the mass, I like the companionable emotion of being part of

THE IDEA THAT there should be no unoccupied houses whilst there are homeless families is a simple one. No wonder that when it was advocated by libertarians the squatting idea was readily accepted by the large majority of the people. The property owners and their press had great difficulty in trying to combat, by and large and unsuccessfully, the spread of the idea. But tacit support of the majority is not enough. It is **action** for homes by the homeless that was advocated by the many squatter groups that sprang up after the initial hard-fought campaign by the East London Libertarians.

The campaign had many successes. Comrades have helped to install families all over the country and it is to the credit of the Squatters Campaign that most of the families are still in occupation. But what the idealists had hoped for did not materialise as yet (still early days) and what they never imagined to be the outcome of their agitation came to the surface last week. If we can understand this problem, we shall be on our way in realizing the enormity of the tasks in front of us.

THE APATHY OF THE REGIMENTED

What most of us hoped for was that the many thousands of families who live cooped in the sordid hostels provided by the State would take direct action themselves and occupy empty properties. This did not happen. There were many brave people in Ilford and Brighton and elsewhere who took exactly such steps but for every Chris Fleming, John Saunders and Mrs. Foster there are thousands of others who are so institutionalised, so beaten and so helpless that it is impossible for them to act for themselves. Many comrades have visited such places and whereas some of them were more successful than others, most of them will agree: the homeless in such institutions are afraid to throw away their crutches.

A comrade recently visited such an institution and leafleted every family and talked to every one of them and could not get even one family to move into a vacant house open to them. They were afraid, they hoped against hope that the Council would provide a home, they feared the unexpected. In theory,

the home crowd, I like being (for just two hours) on the same side as everyone else. Yeah! For just two hours! So far it's not turned me into a fascist zombie ready to put the boot in against rival supporters, programme sellers, hot-dog stallholders, bus conductors, railwaymen AND policemen or to vent my disappointment (or joy) on the windows of the team manager's office, the players' cars, railway carriages and even local shops. But these things are happening!

The SPSH leaflet says 'They (incidents at football matches) aren't new of course, nor are they the slightest bit different from what's been going on for years. So why the change in attitude towards them on the part of the police and the club management?'

Well in my experience the things that are going on now are different. 'Those arguments with supporters of the other team, a lot of shouting and fist shaking, and then it dies down after you've made it quite plain that you're not standing for any slander and nonsense.' If only it were like that!

What about the running fights between Spurs and Arsenal supporters and Chelsea and Arsenal supporters last year, the now familiar rampages after local derbies, the unexploded hand grenade found behind the goal at Highbury last year, attacks

yes, they were in favour, but in practice what could they do? They had many children to worry about, risking a squat (bailiffs, strong-arm men, sometimes no water, no electricity), if they were single men yes, but they had large families. What else could the agitator do but leave and hope for a revolution?

THE DISPOSSESSED YOUNG

Not that squats are not taking place practically daily, if unpublished. Today we have heard of a squat being attempted by a woman who had found a rat in her bed last night! But some families have come to accept filth and squalor as better than facing the storm-troopers of the State.

Where the idea did take root was amongst the young who have partially or fully dropped out of society, what the national press fondly labels as 'hippy' whereas there are many different viewpoints amongst them. The hippies did what we expected homeless families to do. By now, although they have been defeated (or 'conned') and thrown out of three large houses, they still hold the Endell Street School and are determined to continue the fight to hold houses for their commune.

The press have described in minute detail the great police victories in Piccadilly and Russell Square, so most of our readers probably know what happened there in more detail than the people who were actually there. What we have to discuss here is the climate of opinion and the divergent views that make up the London Street Commune.

For most of them Piccadilly Circus is a symbol of a mismanaged town centre where people would like to meet but cannot because of traffic, dirt and police harassment. **They are not masochists sitting there, they wish to reclaim the Dilly for the people.** The basic philosophy of the London Street Commune centres on this idea, the reclaiming of the streets, the towns and the land and the destruction of authority's vile institutions, the prisons, the educational system, the family. Many of them have been skipping for years, individually and unnoticed they have been staying in houses that were left empty, and moved on. Lately, because of their numbers they slept out together, until Authority woke up to their presence and chased

on players by spectators ON THE PITCH?

What about Harry Catterick, the manager of Everton, being beaten up by his own team's 'supporters' after a bad run? What about the referee held hostage in a ground while a lynching party of football 'fans' clamoured for his blood outside? What about poor Billy Wright at the Arsenal a few seasons back, running the gauntlet of a mob demanding his resignation every time he entered the ground, his office windows smashed, his home privacy upset by abusive phone calls?

What about the proven cases of collusion and corruption by players and management, the persistent rumours of throwing games that are widely accepted on the terraces, the transfer fiddles, the new 'tactics', the respectable euphemism 'physical' which has now replaced what we used to call 'dirty' play, the unpleasant nationalism aroused by England's world cup win, the emergence of football as a branch of show business, the enormous emphasis on winning at any cost?

WE MUST win, MUST be top, MUST be invincible! What does that remind you of?

Of course I know that when the Hunt Ball hurls bread rolls at the waiters and

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WASHED OR UNWASHED

HANDS OFF THE HOMELESS!

them out of the parks. When there was a great sudden downpour there were, reportedly, 3,000 young people wandering the streets unable to gain admission to the State hostels. This may have decided them to act and this is how their urban guerilla tactics (**forget** Che) married with the squatting idea. From this some confusion has come about. Some of them believe in revolution, some of them want a place for the winter.

SUBCULTURE OF THE YOUNG

When all the furore about 144 Piccadilly has died down, someone will point out that the place would still be in the hands of the Commune if the many different groups that were holding the place had time to thrash out their differences. But there was a division amongst the young; the imitation Hell's Angels who joined the hippies were a great nuisance in the beginning, sorted themselves out after a few days, but when all their chapters arrived they became once more a separate body obeying mysterious rules.

Another complication, and a very tiring one for the defenders, was the arrival of a large group of 'skin-heads', all young people who have not reached puberty, without girls, and rather determined to have a scrap with anybody present. Unreported in the National Press, but rather encouraged by the BBC and the police, they spent their time shouting abuse, throwing missiles and burnt five motorbikes belonging to the Hell's Angels. The night before the attack by the police, the defenders were constantly provoked and when they retaliated it was at the risk of hitting gaping bystanders.

ONE LAW FOR THE RICH

Now that the Press and TV have done their worst, and established the hippies as worse than vermin, the judiciary have also managed to rescue the situation for the authorities. Until now it took a lot of legal wrangling for the Establishment to try to dispossess the poor from their ancient right to squat in empty houses. A man had to be named, and if there was an eviction order, another man could take his place ad infinitum. Against the hippies they used a blanket possession order, which barristers tell us is wrong in law. Possibly, again, when everything has died down, Authority will admit this and say sorry. But in the meantime, this is a blanket approval **for mob law by the police**, who, relying on sheer numbers, can do whatever they like. The public must be made aware that if this mob law by the police, backed up by the conniving judiciary, and hurried on by the unthinking press, can continue, then we have arrived at a situation similar to that in Northern Ireland. Stop applauding friends: **THE SPECIAL POWERS ACT HAS BEEN INTRODUCED INTO THIS COUNTRY.**

JOHN RETY.

STOP PRESS (MONDAY): SQUATTERS VICTIMISED

We have just been informed that 70-100 police have sealed off Rumbold Road where comrades were holding a house for a homeless family. They have wheedled the family out of the house, then stormed the building and arrested two of our comrades (Buzz and Dave) and charged them with assault!

This without any pretence of a warrant. So much for the law!

J.R.

'Some of My Best Friends are Hippies'

Barricades

Continued from page 1

IN A TOKEN squat at Samels Court, Hammersmith, last Monday, a police sergeant asked one of the Fulham and Hammersmith squatters, 'Did you come from Piccadilly?' 'No', was the ironic reply, 'we're squatters pure and simple'.

The Samels Court 'squat' which lasted 2 hours (it was planned for three) was carried out to call attention to the fact that Hammersmith Council are selling off these flats—originally built under the Labour Council for letting—for £8,000-£9,000 and it has been stated that consideration for a mortgage will only be given to people with an income of £40-£50 a week.

The hippies appear to have complicated the situation as regards squatting by their simplicity. I use the word 'hippy' as a convenient shorthand, I could use the word 'dropout' but all one can indicate is what the press, which also prefers simplicity, uses. Last year the key word was 'flower people', before that it was 'beatniks' and before that 'mods and rockers' and way into the

past 'teddy boys'. This all indicates the type of youngster which the press dislikes at the moment and will build up into a menace—until the next menace, also created by the press, comes along.

One of the property tycoons who intervened at one point in the Piccadilly squat with a rejected offer, said that he didn't mind the hippies but he didn't want anarchists going through the house.

Something of criticism has been heard even in the anarchist movement of hippies when in fact hippies should be anarchists while anarchists need not necessarily be hippies.

The hippy squatters, unlike squatters 'pure and simple', were trying to find accommodation for themselves and could not find a social justification for their action except a nebulous idea of a 'Commune of the Streets' and the absolute fact that many large buildings suitable for this purpose in London have been empty for a very long time. The very size of their operations is one of the things which have made for publi-

city—the Press loves the Big Thing—and also made for their defeats and inconsistencies. One of the anarchistic principles the hippies need to learn is that the smaller group is more effective, more likely to function since communication is easier through face-to-face relationships and there is more possibility of a common purpose and common ideas.

The wild profusion of 'hippy' journals with their pop and pot culture have failed to convey a consistent, purposeful philosophy as would a more anarchist approach. *International Times* (or 'the unreadable in pursuit of the illiterate') has made several about-turns. Its hasty retreat from the 'drug scene' was an early example. In a recent issue it carried an article commenting on police harassment in Piccadilly Circus with the usual appeals for what the anarchists would call 'solidarity', and towards the back was an announcement that they required IT sellers for the streets of London but with a warning to avoid

Piccadilly and Carnaby Street since the police were too active in these areas. 'Cool it', was the advice.

As to the hippies' other pre-occupations, flower power, 'beautiful people', pot, Eastern religions, outrageous clothing, there is very little that the anarchists can object to in all this, since it can be conceded that 'Everybody's hooked on something'. If the hippies want to 'do their thing' let them. It may be argued that public opinion is against the 'hippies' or 'dropouts'; in fact they project a bad image, but when the anarchists have the support of public opinion (whatever that is), and are projecting a good image, it will be time to move on.

JACK ROBINSON.

and Plug-Drawers, (Frank Cass & Co., 60/-), embellished with a new and informative introduction by E. P. Thompson, which tells us that Peel's book went through at least three stages before it arrived at the present form, beginning as a series of articles in *The Heckmondwike Herald* and *Liversedge Weekly Courier*. For those who have an ear for the quaint, this book should be a source of delight. In it are included snatches of old Luddite songs, and passages of reported direct speech which give it the air of a Gothic novel, e.g. . . .

'Now, then,' said Mellor, turning to Walker, 'thou must make up thy mind, Ben, whilst I am away at my drinking. It's Hard if poor Booth and Hartley are to be shot down like wild animals and we are never to have revenge for the murder of our brethren.' However, the bizarre sound of much of this narrative should not be taken as evidence that this is not a serious and valuable piece of research. As E. P. Thompson says, '... what is remarkable is, not the occasional errors and discrepancies, but the fact that the general account of Luddism preserved in the oral tradition has proved, both in particulars and in larger terms, to be so accurate.' Well worth looking at in some detail.

*All books can be ordered through Freedom Bookshops.

D. POULSON.

Black Mass is the publication of West Ham Anarchists costing 3d. plus postage from 85 Upton Park Road, Forest Gate, E7. Apart from reprints of part of the 'Black Flag of Anarchy'—anarchist revolution leaflet—and the schools leaflet 'Who the hell do you think you are?', there are articles on school leaving, the social scene in East London, poetry and other smaller articles—again the cover is printed although the inside is duplicated. The layout is good generally, with a variety of techniques being employed on the pictorial side, the only thing that does not come out well, funnily enough, is a small back page advert for FREEDOM.

There are many other anarchist mags, of course, most of them well known. Here I have tried to concentrate on the smaller ones, but others include *Minus One*, the *Libertarian Teacher*, the *Free Schools Bulletin*, *Synic*, the *Leveller*, all these are worth seeing. Why not start your own?

PADDY FIELDS.

Literary Notes

Ian Turner does a painstaking job of unravelling the knotty business, and writes of the Wobs with sympathy and understanding. Don't take my word for it: read it. A must.

Dr. Alex Comfort remains fairly prominent on the literary scene. Apart from his latest Pelican book, *Nature and Human Nature* (6/-), he is also editing for Thomas Nelson a rather peculiar series called 'The Natural History of Society'. A more appropriate title would be 'The Unnatural History of Society', or 'The Natural History of Sub-Society', since the series includes books on Nudism, Witchdoctoring, Flying Saucers and Prostitution, but the volume of most interest to anarchists is the one by Edward Hyams, just published at 42/-. Its title is *Killing No Murder: A Study of Assassination as a Political Means*, and it is a historical treatment of the point of view which Hyams made the central theme of his latest novel, *The Mischief Makers*.

I personally found the introduction to *Killing No Murder* the most interesting part of the whole book. Hyams makes his attitude quite plain by using such phrases as 'the Church-State gang-up on the people', and later on, even more explicitly he says, 'Towards the end of his life Tolstoy . . . said that he regarded " . . . all governments as intricate institutions, sanctified by tradition and custom, for the purpose of committing the most revolting crimes . . . national governments whose evil, and above all whose futility is in our time becoming more and more apparent." And if we consider, first carefully putting off those sanctifying rosy-tinted spectacles of tradition and custom, what the national governments of this world have done, are doing, and will continue to do, in our own lifetime, it is impossible not to agree with this opinion. Now clearly

only criminals are attracted to the task of manning a criminal institution. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to put this argument forward as a justification for assassinating, i.e. executing, political chiefs.'

There is much more of the same—with counter arguments of course—but Hyams digs so deeply in his efforts to justify assassination that the end of his introduction reads as follows: 'So . . . the would-be assassin in a socially or politically admissible cause has a licence from St. Thomas Aquinas, John Locke, the British House of Commons, and the highest court in the English judicature, four ponderously respectable authorities.' Now respectable is as respectable does, I'd say, but if you want to know how Hyams arrives at that interesting conclusion, you certainly won't find it a waste of time to have a look at this provocative and intriguing study.

Of the many hundred books I have handled in the last year, the most disappointing has been Walter Kendall's gigantic flop, *The Revolutionary Movement in Britain, 1900-1921*, published by Weidenfeld & Nicolson at £5 5s. Kendall, a Labour Party member, would have been more honest to call his book by the sub-title, 'The Origins of British Communism', for the anarchist movement in England, then surely in its heyday, doesn't get a mention in 453 pages! No mention of Rudolf Rocker, no mention of Malatesta, nothing about Aldred, nothing about Freedom Press, the finest mention of Kropotkin (to the effect that he once testified on Lenin's behalf), in fact, no index reference at all to anarchism or anarchists. I wonder if Mr. Kendall has read *The London Years* . . .

Finally, a lovely book, first printed in 1880 and just republished in its fourth edition. It's Frank Peel's classic work, *The Risings of the Luddites, Chartist*

BREAK THEIR NECKS

Continued from page 1

when debutantes throw champagne glasses out of windows, this is explained away as high spirits, but when an apprentice brickie chucks a coke bottle on a football pitch this is damned as hooliganism.

I know too that wide publicity has been given to wrongful arrest and harsh punishment dished out to young football fans, e.g. the young coloured West Ham steward who was arrested and beaten up when he was trying to STOP a fight on the terraces. OK, a case of victimisation maybe, BUT there was a fight, it was on the terraces, and young (probably working-class) kids were involved.

It's far too simplistic a view to explain these things away in terms of class victimisation. I've seen the growth of the terrace gangs, the 'bother boots', levis, braces, crew cuts which is their uniform . . . seat cushions thrown from the grandstand can hardly hurt anyone, a mouthful of steel toe-capped boot is another thing altogether.

The last game I watched at the Spurs was from the stands BECAUSE of what has been happening on the terraces . . . the people around me also paid ten bob for their seats. They weren't posh, just ordinary working-class blokes as far as I could tell. They didn't fight or throw things and they may have been there for the same reason as me—as a matter of

fact there was no trouble at the game and things seem to be improving at Tottenham.

I believe it to be a FACT that a lot of trouble (not all the trouble) is being caused at matches by semi-organised gangs of young blokes—many of whom will be working-class—and it's ridiculous to make martyrs of them BECAUSE they are working-class. The people who suffer from their activities are other working-class people such as I've listed above.

Friends of ours like Arthur Moysé (see his accounts in FREEDOM) tell of the risks that bus drivers and conductors run in simply going about their jobs.

I regard these gangs as my enemies, just as I regard working-class racials, working-class fascists and working-class blacklegs as my enemies.

If there is discrimination against working-class kids at football matches then some of the things happening on the terraces give the police a very good opportunity to get away with it. All I know is that I should hate to be a policeman on duty at a Leeds/Liverpool match.

That leaflet is well intentioned, but wrongly directed. Better to explain what is going wrong in football and why, and show how this is affecting crowd behaviour than to wilfully ignore what is going on because it conflicts with a dogmatic view of 'the class war'. Some of the behaviour on the terraces is what one would expect from the National Front

not from supposed football fans . . . when the Spurs played Leeds a couple of seasons back a gang of skinheads treated Johansson, the black South African player, to a chorus of 'fucking nigger . . . get back to the jungle', every time he got the ball . . . what is going to happen as more and more English-born black players come into the game?

I'm not arguing for all sweetness and

light on the terraces and on the pitch . . . football's a tough game and people will always lose their tempers, but things ARE getting worse. The Peter Terson play 'Zigger Zagger' made an attempt to explain the phenomena of football violence. I think anarchists would be better engaged in the same task than inciting confrontations with the police that can't possibly succeed.

IN GOOD FAITH

Hansard, March 20, 1969.

MR. DALYELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department when he expects to complete his review of the effects of CS smoke in case of riot control.

MR. ELYSTAN MORGAN: There is no intention that CS smoke shall be used by the police for controlling rioting crowds and no review is being made of its effects when so used.

MR. D.: Is no review to be made?

MR. M.: No review in this connection is to be made. I should like to make it plain once again to my hon. friend that there has been no change since the statement made by the then Home Secretary in this house on 20 May, 1965, to the

effect that CS smoke would be used only for the dislodging of armed criminals or dangerously insane persons.

No reader will, I suspect, be amazed at the Secretary of State's hypocrisy in the light of the recent events in Ulster. (Note though his attempted evasion of Mr. Dalyell's initial query as to when the report was to be completed.) What IS somewhat more surprising, even illuminating, is Tom Dalyell's own comment on the matter (see 'New Scientist', September 18, 1969): 'I have no doubt that Mr. Elystan Morgan, Under-Secretary at the Home Office, spoke in good faith.' Who is kidding whom, Tom?

B.M.

LETTER

I Did It!

Dear Friends,

I painted the Dulwich College walls and everyone must be as fed up as I am reading about it week after week. No wonder so many people can't take Anarchists seriously!

But there are a few points:

1. In the circumstances I feel the painting was a valid, though sadly minor, form of expression. There was little else to be done.

2. I just can't work up much sweat at the prospect of further alienating the 'sympathies' of those who find it natural (and profitable) to be against us anyway.

3. Does David Wills really think his brand of introspective hair-splitting any more valuable in helping the worker or student find a way out of this whole rotten set-up?

Can we leave it at that and do other things?

London

HARRY

**ANARCHIST FEDERATION
OF BRITAIN—1969 CONFERENCE
September 26, 27, 28—London
FRIDAY & SATURDAY IN CONWAY HALL
SUNDAY IN FREEDOM MEETING HALL**

LSE (continued)

NEXT WEEK hundreds of thousands of students return to their mental cells. A few thousand of them, those at LSE, will have to decide on the desirability of their new prison regulations. There is little doubt what they will decide they think about them; there is considerable speculation as to whether they will actually do very much about it.

Without consultation, Walter Adams has issued a new set of 'Regulations for Students', coming into force this Monday. The rules are apparently the work of the Standing Committee of the Court of Governors, and can only be altered by them.

The three issues which are most likely to arouse rebellion over the new rules are the generalised form of the prohibitions, which make the mildest form of direct action unlawful; the absence of any real student representation; and the provision, in 'small print', for the Director to declare a state of emergency and do what the hell he likes.

UNLAWFUL

The rules state that:

- 'No student of the School shall:
- disrupt teaching, study, research or administrative work, or prevent any member of the School and its staff from carrying out his work, or do any act reasonably likely to cause such disruption or prevention.
 - damage or deface any property of the School, or do any act reasonably likely to cause such damage or defacing.
 - use the School premises contrary to the Rules and Regulations (i.e. contrary to the pursuit of learning—Lord R.), or do any act reasonably likely to cause such use.
 - engage in any conduct which is, or is reasonably likely to be, clearly detrimental to the School's purposes.'

That lot leaves the door wide open for prosecutions if we do anything apart from sitting back and listening to the senile rantings of our beloved professors. Note also that the rules apply to students only, whereas it was Walter who last year broke the first rule by closing the School, the second by erecting ugly iron gates, the third by stationing 500 police in the building during demonstrations, and the fourth by taking students to court, sacking lecturers, and employing as Governors those so decadent as to have no other qualification save a feudal state of mind.

TRIALS

In the event of a breach of these rules, a student is liable to a fine of £25, or suspension if tried by a Summary Tribunal, plus expulsion if tried by a Board of Discipline. The Summary Tribunals will consist of two academics and one student (members of the above Panels), the Chairman being an academic, and decisions being by a majority. There is an Appeals Board of two, either academics or Governors. The Board of Discipline is to be drawn from 'a Disciplinary Panel of ten lay Governors appointed annually by the Court of Governors and ten members of the academic staff' and a Student Disciplinary Panel consisting 'of ten persons'.

They will consist of two Governors, two academics, two students, and a barrister Chairman, with decisions by a majority. There is an Appeals Committee of two 'neither of whom shall be members of the School'.

REPRESENTATION

Students and academics have 'participation' in these courts, but they don't have 'representation'. They are to be selected 'using a random selection process' with 'the advice of an Appointed Teacher in Statistics!'. No doubt for added flexibility in fluid situations, the Panels so democratically chosen will hold office for only one whole year!

There is to be a Rules and Regulations Committee, which makes recommendations to the Governors. It will consist of Walter, three academic Governors, three other academics, the President and Deputy President of the Students' Union, and three other students. The latter are to be elected by postal ballot. The Conservative Soc. have advocated this method for a long time in order to secure for the right wing the votes of those apathetic and studious hordes who eke out a meagre existence in the depths of the libraries of Bloomsbury.

Any academic or student may file a complaint against any student thought to have broken the rules. But there is an escape clause in the unlikely event of a court having a left-wing majority, trying right-wingers, viz. 'students shall have the right . . . to be heard by a disciplinary body without student members'. And on top of all this, it is Walter who decides if a case is to be brought at all.

EMERGENCY

As a short-term measure, Walter can temporarily suspend anyone whose case is being considered for reference to the Board of Discipline. As long-term measures, Walter may 'at his discretion refuse any applicant admission to a course of study at the School or continuance in a course beyond the normal period required for its completion'; and, most importantly, 'The Director (Walter again) . . . may also, in circumstances which in the opinion of the Director . . . constitute an emergency, issue instructions for the duration of that emergency'.

To cut out as many grounds for appeal as possible, 'an accidental defect in the constitution of a Summary Tribunal or Board of Discipline shall not invalidate its procedure'.

Anticipating the first vote of the students this term, the rules make special provision for our disapproval: 'If at any time there shall be no duly constituted Student Disciplinary Panel in existence, a Summary Tribunal or a Board of Discipline shall be duly constituted if (it) has no student members.'

So, the only committee with elected student representatives—the Rules and Regulations Committee—has a minority of students, chosen by postal ballot, and has only advisory functions. All roads lead back to Walter. The only thing he doesn't control is the Student Disciplinary Panel. The Wheel of Fate controls that.

OCCUPATION?

But this time he has overstepped a little. The new rules are too blatantly autocratic. Had they tempered them with a sprinkling of real student participation, even a dash of natural justice, they would have had the students accepting the principle of Disciplinary Panels, and arguing only about more student representation. Instead, the very basis of discipline in a university serving the interests of the capitalist State is likely to be challenged.

Will the challenge come from Soc. Soc.? They control the SU Council, which they have not, as they promised, 'withered away'. Marxist structures never wither away, they have to be hacked away by those forced to endure them, and unless they make a decisive stand for real direct action—occupation and expulsion of the administration from the building—they will once again find themselves outrun by the rank and file militants.

If the new rules are not smashed from the start, there will be a good many expulsions this year, and I appeal to all comrades to come to LSE in the event of an occupation; and to students elsewhere: if Walter gets his way, it will be your turn next!

LORD R.

Your Views on 'Freedom'

WE ARE HOLDING over the list of groups usually published in FREEDOM in order to devote the space to suggestions made by comrades about the paper. We have received a large number of letters on this matter.

S.B. believes that the price of FREEDOM and Anarchy should be increased, 'really because in both we get much more than our money's worth—which doesn't say very much—but also because I find the extra appeals embarrassing. But I can see that with appeals you can hope to get cash from those who have more than enough.'

T.P. believes that the price should be increased to 9d, 'this would not only cover increased costs, but would also allow publication every week, and make possible two six-page issues a month.' On the other hand P.M. believes that the price should, if possible at all, be held at 6d, and the size of the pages reduced.

The middle pages (or supplement) are generally popular. J.M.D. would like 'at least 8 pages per week', while J.O.C. believes that four middle pages a month would be better than an extra two at the end, and favours raising the price to 1/-. Much the same opinion is expressed by I.B., who also suggests that the list of groups be printed once a month, and the list of contents be omitted from the top of the front page. He is in favour of leaving out the secondhand books as well, and wants the design of the paper improved. He adds that going to press on Monday and coming out on Friday makes the paper seem out of date, so why not send it out to sellers by train, instead of by post? (The writer lives in Swansea.) If the price is raised,

WHO WAS THERE?

Dear Comrades,

The article on the Palestine demo that appeared in your issue of August 23 needs a fuller reply than Peter Hellyer gave in your September 13 edition. The inaccuracies and distortions are so numerous that it is worthwhile pointing out a few in the hope that Comrade Meltzer will feel forced to justify himself.

To quote, 'The IS, together with ISRAHA . . . called for a demo . . . against Golda Meir with such revolutionary slogans as "self determination for the Palestinian people". (They cannot even talk in any language but that of nationalism.)' The rest of the article makes clear that Meltzer had in his possession a copy of the 'ISRAHA Bulletin No. 2' which listed nine of the 12 slogans carried by the ISRAHA demonstrators. He carefully selects one slogan and ignores the rest which included, 'We refuse to become cannon-fodder for oppressing the Palestinians', 'No imposed "solution" will halt the revolution', 'Down with Zionism, Imperialism and Arab Reaction'. These slogans, many in Hebrew and carried by Israelis, hardly suggest that nationalism was the driving force behind the ISRAHA demonstrators.

The next sentence is even more fantastic. 'Tony Cliff, having forsaken his extreme right wing Israeli nationalism to become eminence gris of IS, is now the most fervent anti-Zionist of them all, and is also associated with ISRAHA.' Firstly, Tony Cliff is not associated with ISRAHA; secondly, what evidence does Meltzer possess that shows Cliff was ever 'an extreme right wing Israeli nationalist'; and thirdly, what is wrong with being a fervent anti-Zionist? Surely Zionism is a form of Jewish nationalism which has caused the expropriation and expulsion of large numbers of Palestinians from their homeland. The ISRAHA Bulletin quotes Dayan as saying, 'We came to this country which was already populated by Arabs and we are establishing Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. . . . Nahalal, a Hebrew, that is a Jewish state here. (Dayan's own village) arose in the place of Muhlul, Gvat (a kibbutz) in the place of Jibta. . . . There is not one single place in this country that did not have a former Arab population.' Comrade Meltzer's present attitude to Zionism is somewhat unclear. He may have written an anti-Zionist article some thirty years ago but this was before the State of Israel was established and many years before the June War.

As I was present at the demo, perhaps I may give my account of what happened? There were two demonstrations, one ISRAHA and the other PSC, separated by a distance of about 10 yards and a police cordon. I was in the ISRAHA contingent and, as far as I could see, there was no evidence of National Front participation in the PSC demonstration. There were certainly no banners openly proclaiming a fascist 'presence' and it

was only towards the end that I was told that two or three members of the PSC demo had been recognised as fascists. ISRAHA had been careful to differentiate itself from the PSC and had NOT 'invited' them to attend, as Meltzer says.

His argument implies that if you demonstrate against something such as the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, then the presence of two or three fascists on another section of the demonstration, that you carefully differentiate yourself from, means that you are 'playing the role of the old German CP in uniting with Fascism'. Accepting Meltzer's argument would mean that any demonstration against a Communist regime would be attended only by fascists, confirming popular prejudices that all left wingers are recipients of 'red gold'.

It would be a pity if Comrade Meltzer restricted his reply to the demonstration and its aftermath. What would be interesting to read is his opinion on the struggle of the Palestinian people and what criticism, if any, he has to make of Zionist ideology and policies.

DON KIRKLEY.

'LIBERTARIAN RIGHT'

Dear Editors,

I would like to make a few criticisms of S. E. Parker's exposition of the individualist-anarchist position as set forth in the August 23 FREEDOM.

First, Mr. Parker states that he used to think 'that anarchism was a school of socialism' but that he has since come to realize that in fact they are 'opposites'.

Most anarchists (with the possible exception of Stirner, who didn't even accept the anarchist label) I think would disagree with that statement. Certainly Bakunin and Kropotkin would. Even Benjamin Tucker, the American individualist who Mr. Parker favourably quotes in his article, says that the true anarchist must be a socialist. The essence of anarchism is to approach individual freedom; the essence of socialism is to approach economic equality and justice. These two I find, far from being opposites, complement each other.

Second, Mr. Parker quotes Tucker as saying anarchists are 'those who deny all external authority over the individual. . . .' I'd like to know the source of this quotation because it doesn't sound like the Tucker I know. At least not the Tucker who found police, courts, prisons, and even capital punishment perfectly consistent with his brand of anarchism. It seems to me that hanging a man is definitely exercising 'external authority over the individual'. I'd find the quote more believable had he used the phrase 'non-invasive individual'.

Third, Mr. Parker says 'one might look for them [allies] more amongst what in the USA is called the "libertarian Right", than amongst the jarring sects of the socialist church'. As an American anarchist, I find this statement incredible! I venture to say that Mr. Parker has never had any dealings with the American 'libertarian Right'. For if he had he'd realize that they're not at all interested in freedom in the anarchist sense of the word. Freedom to slit the other guy's throat to make a buck: yes. Freedom to colonize the world under a Pax Americana: yes. But true freedom with all it implies, that's another story. The day that the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists show their hatred of big government by coming out against government-financed armies and the day that the disciples of Ayn Rand come out for laissez-faire for the unions as well as the bosses, that will be the day that the anarchists can strike up an alliance with the 'libertarian Right'. Have you ever seen a red and black elephant, Mr. Parker?

Geneva, Switzerland KEN KNUDSON.

FIAT

Continued from page 4

people fold their arms: this has not been seen for twenty years. A huge procession of workers demonstrates to the whole town that wages and rents are the same problem. But they were not able to leave the Mirafiori workshops. Charged by the police, the procession became a street battle.

The barricades have been torn down. The production lines have started up again. Not for long, as was shown last week. The summer truce is past, the glowing embers have flared up again. At Fiat, as in the whole peninsula, the October rendezvous looks like being a violent clash.

(This is a translation of an article by Mariella Righini in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 8.9.69.)

LETTERS

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FAILURE TO RESPOND

THE failure of the workers at the GEC-English Electric plants on Merseyside to respond to and support the occupation and running of their own factories is a sad and disappointing commentary on the unwillingness of workers to defend their jobs.

The shop stewards' action committee has done a lot of preparatory work and had gained support from many other factories. Some, like the Lucas workers, were going to picket the works while they were in occupation. The action committee was helped by the International Socialists and the Institute for Workers' Control, but the plans ended when the idea was rejected by a mass meeting at the largest plant at Fazakerley, which was the least affected by redundancies. The other two factories affected at Netherton and the Napier Diesel Works followed suit the next day. But at least the idea has been sown and there is no doubt that it caused more than a little consternation to the management and the national press.

LEAST AFFECTED

There is, it seems, little doubt that the organised opposition to the takeover was given help by the management. I've never known employers to allow and even encourage workers to make banners and placards dur-

ing working hours, unless they supported those slogans. Not only did an organised group of workers shout down the action committee, but also their resolution, proposed by Bill Bewley, a shop steward in the Amalgamated Union of Engineering, included a call for the ending of the ban on overtime which had operated since the announcement of the 3,000 redundancies.

The workers who first took this vote were the least affected by the redundancies. No doubt they thought that if an occupation did take place, then they would have the most to lose. The proposed action could be described as 'unlawful' and there were plenty of people to point out this aspect, such as the management, the press and those workers who are just concerned with their own narrow material interests.

The proposed occupation was a new departure in industrial action in this country. Workers were worried over its 'unlawful' implications and also by the unfounded rumours that this action would jeopardise any redundancy payments. Was there sufficient discussion involving all the workers at the factories about the full implications of occupation? There now seems some doubt about this. The militancy of the stewards left their fellow trade unionists behind and more spade work seems to have been needed.

IDEA LIMELIGHTED

However, it was good that this

type of direct action has been limelighted, for as one AEU steward said, they realised they would be 'entering into an illegal act' and called it 'a challenge to capitalist society'. Of course this is what it was. By an occupation, the workers would have made it very plain that they did not accept sackings and would have been a perfect reply to the management. 'If you cannot run the factories with the present labour strength, then we can.' By doing that they would have attempted to take control and challenged the management's so-called right to manage. A successful occupation would have made the management redundant.

The management described the proposed occupation as 'irresponsible' and 'unconstitutional', but the irresponsibility lies with the management because 3,000 more people will be seeking work in a Government-development area which already has 4.1% jobless and while those who remain work overtime, others go down the road. It is ironic that public money is used to assist companies to move to these development areas, to assist companies to merge, who then start large-scale sackings. It is also ironic that public money is once again used to soften the blow, and to lessen the resistance in the form of redundancy payments.

It has been written on this page before that the present Government is an able instrument to assist the rationalisation of British industry. The introduction of redundancies payments was not so much to help the sacked man as to help the management to sweeten the pill. Industry has to be big in order to compete. So far workers have failed to resist any major rationalisation plans and the takeover of the plant would have been a good weapon to use. However, it has not failed, only the failure to grasp the idea has occurred. Another workers' struggle for some measure of control at the place of work has been lost, but this is by no means the final battle.

P.T.

Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

CONFERENCE SOCIAL

Sat. 27 Sept 8 pm 3s.

The Metropolitan
95 Farringdon Rd EC1

Films From Cinema Action. Derry, Belfast and Squatters. Sunday, September 28, at 4 p.m., Freedom Meeting Hall.

Next issue we are starting a regular Student Column. All news and announcements relevant to this should be addressed to the above c/o FREEDOM.

Blackguard I — now out. 1/- plus 6d. postage from LSF, c/o Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow, Essex. On sale at Conference.

Guttersnipe Poets tour reading and talking poetry and anarchism begins next January. If your group/school/college/society is interested in booking us write: Dennis Gould, Six Chimneys, Bolenowe, Troon, Camberne, Cornwall.

East Suffolk. Any anarchists or anarchist activity? Christine Cook, 9 Oxford Drive, Woodbridge, Suffolk.

Speaker on anarchism wanted for Kingston Revolutionary Socialist Youth. Meet on Wednesday nights. Be prepared to face IS criticism. Contact Mike Squirrel, 4 Woodgate Avenue, Hook, Chessington, Surrey.

Will John O'Connor get in touch with Gerry, c/o Freedom Press.

Anarchist Theatre Group. Meeting at 7.30 p.m., Friday, October 10, at Freedom Press Meeting Hall. REHEARSAL of Shelley's 'Mask of Anarchy'. All musicians especially welcome.—Bring your own instruments.

Meeting: Friday, September 26, 8 p.m.—10 Fry Road, Stevenage.

Badges? Contact Pendarves Workshop, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camberne; tel. Camberne 3061.

Artist/Caricoonist wanted to turn idea into poster—an adaption of illustration on front of Pelican 'Anarchy' by Woodcock — able to caricature different types of London people. John, 229 9994.

Peace News. Six weeks trial offer for 5/-, 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

A MAN'S SKILL REJECTED

THE FOLLOWING APPEARED in *The Times* this week. 'Mr. Welch, now self-employed' said at his Council home last night: 'I am not bitter or disappointed. I knew what they were going to say. I have been a joiner for 40 years and I take a pride in my work. I like to do a good job, and think everyone should. When I was an apprentice, I was taught my craft well.' He did not think that his standards were unnecessarily high for the job he did.

He added: 'It is just that I cannot stand to see a bad job. It is just as easy to do a good job as a bad one.'

Mr. Welch now makes wall plaques. He said: 'So far I have not sold any, but I am enjoying my new venture. I am living off my savings.'

Mr. Clare said at his home in Cromwell Avenue, Billericay, last night: 'I have no comment to make at all. It was all said at the tribunal.'

A company director told an Industrial Tribunal in London yesterday that a man the company had dismissed was a first-class joiner but was not prepared to use modern methods of work. The unnecessarily high standards the man maintained meant that the company could not make his work pay, said the director, Mr. J. Clare, of Ron Scrivener (1968) Ltd., of Folkes Lane, Cranham, Essex.

'Private Armies'

THREE WEEKS AGO there appeared in *FREEDOM* a report that No. 3 Ealing Group of the Amalgamated Union of Engineers and Foundry Workers had asked the Home Secretary to hold an inquiry into the use of 'private armies' against squatters and strikers by Southern Provincial Investigations. Southern Provincial is one of the Barrie Quartermain companies and includes in its repertoire the hitting of pregnant women with

iron bars. It is known in the 'trade' as 'Rent-a-thug'.

Yesterday they got their reply from the Home Secretary.

'Re: Southern Provincial Investigations. The Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis has told the Home Secretary that enquiries have been made more than once into allegations against this company, but he has not found evidence to justify proceedings.'

LARRY.

Freedom

For Workers' Control

SEPTEMBER 27 1969 Vol 30 No 30

FIAT IN THE VANGUARD

THE 140,000 Fiat workers of Turin are not concerned with the politics of the central government in Rome: they have just engaged in their own battle on the home ground.

More than 10,000 workers of the Mirafiori workshops went on strike last week. Some stoppages here and there in the factory, workshops closed down because of lack of supplies, 27,500 workers 'suspended by the management'—and hence a confrontation, spontaneous, premature and violent. The 'social calendar' agreed between the management and the unions has just been thrown out of the window. The base has not waited for the 'rendezvous of October', when five million Italian workers will see their collective contracts expire, when blue and white collar workers, public sector and private, town and country, North and South, must engage in the battle for the renewal of the contracts.

'SO AS NOT TO DIE'

The workers of Fiat have been the first to move. They have ceased to believe themselves privileged: although certainly their wages remain above average, from £65 to £90 a month according to classification. But in practice nobody gets that. The speed of work is such that hardly anyone works a full month. Absenteeism goes from 13% to 25% in summer. Each day some 6,000 workers do not turn up. On average, a worker takes off three or four days a month, 'so as not to die'.

For the workers, Fiat is no longer a desirable place to work, never to be left at any price. They go in, already wondering how to get out again. 21% of workers leave Fiat each year for other jobs, and 40% of these are recently-hired employees.

Most frequently a southerner without qualifications, the Fiat worker arrives in Turin, capital of neo-colonialism, with a strong charge of rebellion which he has accumulated in the semi-feudal South, and which is reinforced by the southern revolts of recent months.

Hardly broken to unionism, he escapes the net of the unions: of the three union confederations, none embraces more than 5% of the work force of 140,000. Therefore the worker has little affinity with the white-collar workers of the union branches; paradoxically, he has much more in common with the bearded and long-haired students and intellectuals permanently stationed outside the gates of the Mirafiori or Rivalta workshops.

THE STUDENT INFLUENCE

The young people of the 'Student Movement', 'Workers' Power', 'Student-Workers League', all these 'irregulars' of the Fiat struggles have come, with their haversacks on their backs, from Rome, from Pisa, from Trent, from Milan, from Venice, to camp—and they have succeeded in establishing contact.

The strategy that they propose—simple, radical and comprehensible to everybody—finds an echo in the disinherited mass of the Fiat labourers. In essence it is this: when the contracts expire in 'autumn, to push to the extreme wage demands, even beyond what the system can bear without a crisis. This strategy corresponds to a fundamental proposal, the 'social wage', equal for everyone, completely independent of the worker's productivity, but calculated on the basis of his minimum needs.

An unprecedented result: after 15 years of 'social peace' (as some call it), of 'employers' terrorism' (as others call it), Fiat explodes. The enterprise which has been for a long time the 'bad conscience of the Italian left' has again taken the

head of the Italian workers' movement. The 'long night' of Fiat is over.

It had commenced with the workers' defeats of 1954-55. The first factory of the country, the one where on two occasions, 1919 and 1945, the workers organised themselves into works' councils, the one where during the ten years after the last war the workers' power had been strongest, was engulfed in a period of failed strikes (1953, 1954, and 1962), of employers' reprisals (2,000 sackings and as many transfers), of yellow unions and discriminatory measures. All the union conquests snatched after the Liberation were lost again, one after the other.

At last, in Spring 1967, the first serious confrontation for a long time took place: a strike about times and duration of work. The agreement obtained was modest. But the 'Fiat climate' was broken.

50,000 VEHICLES LESS

May 13, 1969: the factory is frozen. A strike of a new type breaks out. Unforeseeable, uncontrollable. A surprise strike, it erupts in one workshop, then jumps to another, where one would least expect it. Production is completely disorganised.

For the management, the cost is heavy. In five weeks: 50,000 vehicles less than the normal full production, and a loss of about £35 million. The resistance of the management hardens. There is talk of reprisals, even of closure, if its proposals are rejected.

A cleavage appears amongst the workers. On one side the lower layer, the worst qualified and the worst paid, who favour a fight to the finish, exclusively on the wage issue (an increase of half a crown an hour) and who are supported by the student movements. On the other side, the common front of the union federations, which want to impose a 'qualitative' platform, complex and hardly understandable to the masses, and also postpone the wage demands until October. A war of tracts breaks out at the factory gates: 'Wages are not everything' and 'Appeal to responsibility' against 'More money and less work'.

An agreement is signed on the first of July. Fiat seems to relapse into summer torpor.

STRIKE AGAINST RENT INCREASES

Two days after, July 3, a general strike in protest against rent increases breaks out. After the factory, the town explodes. Not the Turin of the bourgeoisie, but the Turin of the workers, the dormitory suburbs, the edge of the town, the new areas.

At its origin is an insoluble housing crisis. With rents already high and many homeless, Fiat continues to take on labour. Three months ago, the firm announced that it was taking on yet another 15,000 for the new workshops at Rivalta. The landlords made a quick calculation: with the families, some 60,000 people would be arriving in Turin during the year. They immediately put rents up by 30%.

THE EMBERS ARE STILL BURNING

The first evictions give the signal for rebellion. Committees form spontaneously in the Fiat areas. Autonomous committees. Very quickly, they engage in struggle. Petitions, processions, rent strikes, occupations. At Michelino, a working-class suburb of Turin, the tenants occupy the municipal council chambers for twelve days. And there is a general strike. In Turin, half a million

Continued on page 3