

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME news, reports, reviews, articles/features, cartoons etc. Copy deadline for next issue, Monday, 29 January. Send to Editors, FREEDOM, 84b Whitechapel High Street (Angel Alley), London E1.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE: Thursday, 1 February.

Groups

ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan. 2 South St, Aberyystwyth.

BRISTOL CITY. 4 British Road, Bristol BS3 3BW

BRISTOL Students. Libertarian Society, Students Union, Queen's Road, Bristol 8

CAMBRIDGE. Raphael Salkie, Queen's College, Cambridge.

CARDIFF. Write c/o 108 Bookshop, Salisbury Road, Cardiff.

CHELTENHAM. Contact Jerry at 23093

CORBY. Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY. John England, 48 Spencer Av, Earlsdon, Coventry.

DERBY (and environs). All two of us welcome collaborators. Contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Av, Derby DE3 3BY, tel: 368678.

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians. Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

EXETER Anarchist Society, Univ. of Exeter, Devonshire House, Stocker Rd, Exeter.

GREENWICH & BEXLEY. Any trade unionists interested in forming a syndicalist group please contact John Ryan, 47 Binsey Walk, SE2 9 TU.

HASTINGS. Steve, 18a Markwick Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.

HIGH BENTHAM. Ask at The Dragonfly on Market Day (Wednesday).

HUDDERSFIELD. Meetings every two weeks. For details phone 0484-38156 (Polytechnic Students' Union).

HULL Libertarian Collective. Pete Jordan. 70 Perth St, Hull, East Yorks. (Offers a place to crash for any anarchist passing through).

LEAMINGTON & WARWICK. c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington Spa.

LEEDS. Box 101, 'Leeds Other Paper', 30 Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2.

LEICESTER. Anarchist group. Lyn Hurst, 41 Briarfield Drive, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21250 (days). 0533-414060 (nights). Bookshop. Blackthorn, 76 Highcross St, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21896. Libertarian Education. 6 Beaconsfield Rd, Leicester. Tel: 0533-552085.

MALVERN & WORCESTER area. Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrridge, Malvern, Worcs.

MANCHESTER. c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE. Black Jake, c/o 115 Westgate Road, Newcastle NE1 4AG.

NOTTINGHAM. c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St (Tel: 582506) or 15 Scotholme Av, Hyson Green (Tel: 708302).

OXFORD. Danny Simpson, Room 1, Turf St, Oxford.

READING University anarchists, c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks.

SHEFFIELD. Contact Sheffield Libertarian Society, PO Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE. Groups at above address are: Sheffield Autonomous Anarchists, Black Cross Group, IWW, Syndicate of Initiative, John Creaghe Memorial Society.

SWANSEA. Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Duvant, Swansea.

THAMES VALLEY. Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd, Maidenhead (Tel: 062 2974).

WESTON-SUPER-MARE. Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Rd, Weston-super-Mare, Som.

WILTSHIRE. Comrades in Swindon wish to start anarchist group (as well as existing Community Arts Group). Get in touch with Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon, Wilts.

FEDERATIONS + GROUPS!
PLEASE SEND MORE NEWS
OF YOUR MULTIFARIOUS
(NEFARIOUS?) ACTIVITIES!

KENT Ramsgate: Peter Ford, 22 Royal Rd Sevenoaks: Jim Endesby, 70 Bradbourne Rd.

LEICESTER See under Groups for address

LONDON
FEDERATION OF LONDON ANARCHIST GROUPS:-
Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Av, Tel: 359-4794. Before 7 pm.
Freedom Collective, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1, Tel: 247-9249
Hackney Anarchists, Dave, 249-7042
Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark Rd, Kingston upon Thames, Tel: 549-2564.
London Workers' Group, Box W., 182 Upper St. N1, Tel: 249-7042
Love V. Power, Box 779, Peace News (London office: 5 Caledonian Rd).
West London Anarchists, 7 Pennard Rd, W12.

ANARCHIST COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION (Organisation of class struggle anarchists who produce their own newspaper Bread and Roses). Local contacts: London: Danny Jakob, 88 Speedwell House, Cornet St, Deptford, SE8. Birmingham: Bob Prew, 13 Trinity Ct, Trinity Rd, Aston, BG. Burnley: Jim Petty, 5 Hollin Hill. Glasgow: Dave Carruthers, 53 Ormonde Av, G4

MIDLANDS FEDERATION
Secretariat: c/o Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Av, Derby DE3 3 BY, Tel: 0332-3686 678. Groups in Federation include Corby, Coventry, Derby, Leamington/Warwick, Nottingham, Sheffield (all separately listed), Birmingham.

MANCHESTER SOLIDARITY Group, c/o 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester 13.

MOVEMENT FOR ANARCHY Experimental Group 2. Contact M.F.A.E.G.2 at 22 George Henry St, SALFORD 5.

NORTH EASTERN ANARCHIST FEDERATION
Secretariat:- C/o Black Jake, 115 Westgate Rd, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 4AG.

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION
C/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1. Newsletter & quarterly meetings. Contacts in other areas.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION
Contact: Nina Woodcock, 74 Arklay St (Top R.), Dundee. Tel: Dundee 814541

Press Fund

PRESS FUND
November 30 - December 13 Incl.
LONDON, NW1: P.S. £3.42p; SAN JOSE, CALIF, USA: E.V. £10.00p; COLEMAN'S HATCH, Sx: D & O.M. £4.00p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £1; JKW £0.10p; BIRMINGHAM: G.O. £4; LONDON SW2: R.B. £1.00; RICHTER-SWIL, SWITZERLAND: J.G.C. £1.00; WAGERINGEN, NETHERLANDS: £4; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £3.00; JKW: £0.30; LONDON: R.B. & I.M. £5.00; LEIGHTON BUZZARD: D.G. £1.00; CAMBRIDGE: J.P.H. £4.00; LONDON SE18: F.Y. £1.83; CHICAGO, USA: J.K. £4.50; VANCOUVER, CANADA: N.N. £0.81; GLASGOW: J.M.B. £2.00; MANCHESTER: N.B. £0.25; PERTH-SHIRE: C.K. £4.00.

TOTAL	£ 55.21
Previously Acknowledged	£ 1132.61

TOTAL TO DATE	£ 1187.82
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December 14 - 31 1978
SAWBRIDGEWORTH: A.S. £4.00; SAFFRON WALDEN: B.W. £4.00; GLASGOW: S.M. £1.40; CARDIFF: L.E. £2.00; HOVE: H.C. £1.00; LONDON SW18: J.P. £1.00; W.C. £4.00; BRISTOL: F.E. £4.00; WIMBORNE: D.M. £4.00; HITCHIN: L.A. £2.00; BLACKBURN: D.C. £0.50; STOCKPORT: D.W. £10.00; DERBYSHIRE: H.W. L.C. £0.50; CAPEL CURIG: M.D. £2.00; WINDSOR, ONTARIO: F.A. £0.55; SAN FRANCISCO, USA (Donation from Italian comrades): £25; WATER ORTON: T.H. £4.00; HAYWARDS HEATH: J.W. £0.30; LONDON SE25: C.H. £2.00; ABINGDON: M.B. £4.00; LONDON SE18: R.A.S. £1.00; IN SHOP, Anon, £1.30.

TOTAL	£ 78.55
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FREE 'EM ALL!

THE photograph shows part of the picket outside Brixton prison on Saturday, 13 January. The picket was in support of our comrades there and in particular of Ronan Bennett, who is still refused bail. Ronan's birthday was on Sunday.

The committal proceedings in the case finally took place on 21 December. The



Photo by "courtesy" of NEWSLINE: see article NEGOTIATED SOLIDARITY on page 7

prosecution made a number of vague allegations about robberies, but with the exception of the case against Stewart Carr nothing specific was mentioned and the only 'evidence' shown so far is of 'association'.

With regard to bail: as we have said Ronan is still being refused. The magis-

trate has said "from what I hear of this case" he is the sort of person who would abscond. Taff Ladd has been granted bail (on £17,500 sureties) but he is still in Brixton because the police have taken successive dislikes to his sureties.

Fuller details next issue. Meanwhile funds are urgently needed!

THE LAST Anti-Nuclear Festival, which has just ended at the Almost Free Theatre, was a great success. One hopes that it will be the beginning of a more radical opposition in Britain to the nuclear programme.

The pantomime, Trash Machine, featuring Mr Getmore and his tame scientist, attracted large and participating audiences in the afternoons.

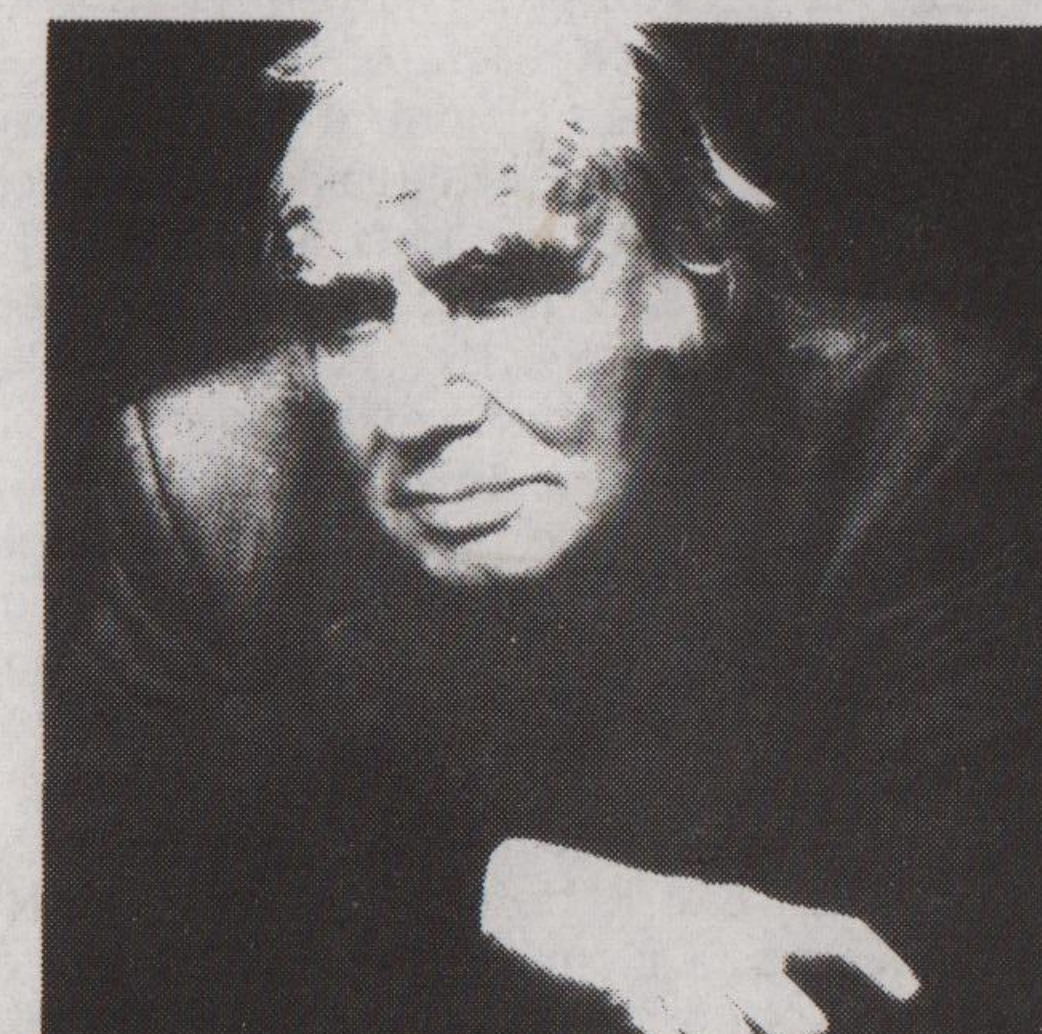
The evening show, Nuclear Prospects, was a chilling exposition of the extent to which the dangers presented by the use of nuclear materials - plutonium for example - and the need to create enormous security forces to prevent it falling into the 'wrong' hands, will inevitably put us on the road to a police state.

The drama unfolded as the audience was put in the position of applicants for the Atomic Energy Authority's security forces, and had explained to them the extent to which they had to practice surveillance, infiltrate and spy not only on everybody else, but on each other as well.

To show that this is not just a paranoid dream we were all issued with a photocopy of part of the Atomic Energy Authority (Special Constables) Act of 1976, extending, for instance, the powers relating to firearms and extension of places

AND NOW - THE NUCLEAR STATE?

where such constables may exercise their powers. All 'in order to safeguard any nuclear matter which is being carried



Anti-nazi, now anti-nuclear, Robert Jungk

... stored ... or ... in the possession or ... under the control of ...' etc, etc. In fact anywhere!

A large and enthusiastic audience heard Robert Jungk amplify the arguments and spell out the dangers, based upon his long study of the social implications of nuclear energy as well as its well-known physical danger.

Jungk is a technical and scientific journalist and author (he wrote 'Brighter than a Thousand Suns') and his latest book 'The Nuclear State' is due to appear in Britain this spring, being already a bestseller in Germany.

It is Jungk's contention that West Germany wants to develop nuclear energy in part because it is an excuse to create a police state - 'The nuclear state legitimises the police state, bringing it in purely as protection for 'Democracy with a Technological Face'.

Apart from technical necessities, the motivation for this could also lie in the fact that the industrialists running the nuclear industry in West Germany are the same as those who were running industry under the nazis.

There was a large selection of films on all aspects of the subject, including famous oldies like Dr Strangelove and

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school for freedom

A POSTER on a wall at Delta Free School provocatively announces that it is "A School for Kids, Not Against Them". The phrase could suitably be adopted as the rallying call for the free schools movement in this country.

The late 1960s saw a renewed wave of interest in anti-authoritarian educational philosophy and over the last decade several attempts have been made to give physical form to these radical ideas. Some free schools shot up overnight to disappear almost as quickly. About half-a-dozen examples have managed to survive a precarious existence outside both the state and fee-paying system. Free schools are literally just that.

Delta Free School in Southampton occupies a dilapidated two-up two-down terraced house in a Victorian suburb of the city that has recently become the main Asian quarter. The idea of the school was first raised in 1973 within an informal group of teachers, university students and parents with young children who were interested in more liberated forms of learning.

They had been influenced by the writing of such libertarian thinkers as the American anarchist Paul Goodman and a British pioneer in the field A.S. Neill, whose fee-paying school Summerhill had become a world famous example of education based on the self-determination of the child.

Pat Dacre, a keen member of this discussion group, was also a teacher at a middle school who was becoming progressively disillusioned with the constraints placed upon her as a teacher by the structure of a traditional state school. She felt she would like to work in a freer context and so, at the end of the summer term in 1974, she handed in her notice.

The following September, the house having been acquired for a nominal rent as it was in such bad condition, Delta Free School opened its front door with Pat Dacre as its first full-time worker. The school had to apply for provisional status from the DES, which was granted, and subsequent visits from HMIs have produced sympathetic reports. Planning permission for the change in use of the property was also needed from the local authority and this proved more difficult. Initially it was turned down and only after a well-argued appeal was it forthcoming.

Money has been a recurring problem. For the first two years the only income was £650 from two charitable sources plus some small individual donations. A quantity of paint and some teaching materials were also given free of

has meant not only a severe shortage of resources for teaching, but also no wages for school workers. With the exception of a six month period backed by the Job Creation Programme, Delta has been staffed by those on the dole.

During its early period the school had about six children in attendance, mostly around 5 years old. They were mainly recruited from the original circle of friends that had created Delta and tended to come from educated middle class homes. One parent, for instance, was an educational psychologist. However, in the second year some older children in their early teens started to appear and they were of quite a different type.

Most were working class boys who hated their state schools and wanted to find out what the Free School had to offer.

Through 1975 and 1976 conflict built up between the two groups resulting in the withdrawal of all the younger children at the close of the second year. Pat Dacre also departed. Since then the school has just about managed to survive through the enthusiasm of Jonathan Ruthford among others. He discovered Delta while a social sciences student at the university and when he gave the course up came to work there full time.

He found the school an exciting place because it fitted in with his anti-authoritarian ideals. "It was a kind of naive enthusiasm that first got me into it", he recalls. "But as I've grown with the school I've come to believe in more positive intervention in children's lives. With a lot of the kids we have here - people label them as persistent truants, troublemakers or whatever you want - they will never manage to sort themselves out on their own. They need a degree of guidance".

He now sees the purpose of Delta Free School as providing a real alternative for children who dislike state schools. A place that can meet most of their emotional as well as practical needs. "A year or so ago some of the kids here were just using us as a safe house, a holding place, without anything positive happening. The turnover was fast and reflected our failure to capture their imagination".

However, he also blames this instability on the lack of resources and the poor quality of some part-time helpers. The university's Community Interaction group sent volunteers down to Delta who often turned out to be more of a hindrance than help. Most had little clue of dealing with adolescents. On top of this, with one notable exception, there was limited practical aid from parents who adopted a trad-

charge by manufacturers. In effect this traditional working class view of education as being the sole province of the teacher. Many didn't care anyway.

Some elements in the local education authority and social services were also unsympathetic to the school. Instances surfaced where educational welfare officers had told interested parents that Delta was variously a fire hazard, illegal and had been banned by the government. All were complete fabrications. To send a child to the school all a parent needs to do is inform the present school and then Delta has to notify the local education authority the child is on their register.

But in spite of all these difficulties Delta has had its successes. Nick, aged 15, who has attended the school for six months, told me, "I've learnt more here in that time than I did in 10 years at state schools". And to prove it he rushed off to fetch his work folder from which he enthusiastically showed me some French writing and a project on nuclear power.

He explained he had had trouble at ordinary schools since he was ten, when a teacher had suspended him upside down to beat him with a slipper. Since then he had been through what he termed "the whole rigmarole" of assessment centres, boarding schools, abscondments and social workers. He had referred himself to Delta. "I was amazed when I came here. There were kids smoking and doing what they liked". He is now reading and writing with greater confidence than ever before, and, more importantly, is keen to develop these skills to the full.

Phil, aged 14, also had a desperately unhappy time at primary school where he too remembered a beating for an offence he hadn't committed. He preferred the less formal atmosphere of Delta which he had been in for almost four years. His mother, Chris Higgins, who has become a regular helper, believes that without the free school he would have suffered all of the trouble Nick had been through.

With an average daily attendance of six the school is able to provide a good teaching ratio and the opportunity for many visits. A typical day begins with a cup of tea in the kitchen to discuss what to do. Mornings are usually devoted to quiet work on subjects ranging from reading to cosmology, with afternoons for outside activities.

There are limits in that students are expected not to damage things or get the school a bad name in the neighbourhood. If there are complaints these are normally openly discussed. Surprisingly Delta has expelled two pupils, which means something of a paradox for a free school. I put

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REPORTS

Comrade Souchy

AUGUSTIN SOUCHY, one of the great veterans of the international anarchist movement, made a rare journey to Britain last month, meeting a few comrades and visiting us at Freedom Press.

Soucy was born in 1892 in Ratibor in Silesia when it was part of the German Empire (it is now Raciborz in Poland). He was christened Augustin because his Catholic mother admired St Augustine and his birthday was in August; but he is always called just Souchy. He rejected religion at an early age, and followed his father into the socialist movement, being involved in Gustav Landauer's Socialist League in his teens.

When the First World War began, Souchy evaded military service by going to Scandinavia, where he agitated against the war and was deported from one country after another. He made his way to Austria, where was again arrested and deported, his papers being marked "Vorsicht! Anarchist" (Attention! Anarchist).

When the war ended and the German Empire collapsed, Souchy returned home and became involved in the Free Workers' Union. He visited Russia in 1920 as a delegate to the Communist International, and there he met Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders and also Kropotkin and other anarchists. Moreover, as a foreign revolutionary guest, he was able to travel through Soviet Russia and discover for himself what was being done by the Marxist revolution.

As a result of what he saw in Russia, back in Germany Souchy joined the anarchosyndicalists who decided not to join the Comintern or its trade union offshoot, the Profintern, which was formed as a Communist front in 1921. Instead, Souchy was active in the formation of the International Working Men's Association in 1922, and together with Rudolf Rocker, Alexander Schapiro, and Arthur Muller-Lehning he was one of its leading activists during the dark decade when the anarchist movement was struggling alone against both fascism and communism.

Souchy fled to France when the nazis came to power in Germany in 1933, and he was in Spain when the Civil War and Revolution began in 1936. He became one of the foreign representatives of the CNT, the anarchosyndicalist trade union federation, and for practical reasons he supported the CNT entry into the coalition government against the nationalists. When republican Spain fell in 1939 he fled to France, and when France fell in 1940 he fled to Mexico.

For 20 years Souchy was based in Latin America, and he worked for the International Labour Organisation as its representative in many parts of the world. But for the past decade he has settled in his native Germany again, being based

in Munich, and despite his age still following events with the same interest and enthusiasm as ever. He has outlived the fascist dictators, and has lived to see a revival of the movement he gave his life to. He is now much in demand by the German media as a spokesman for the traditional anarchism which so often has been said to have disappeared. In 1977 the leading German publisher Luchterhand issued his autobiography, whose title is

Vorsicht! Anarchist and whose subtitle is A Life for Liberty, and which has sold thousands of copies.

Soucy may be 86 years old, but he is as indomitable as his old friend Lehning, who is still working on Bakunin at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam. During 1978 he had the pleasure of revisiting Spain, where his writings are being reprinted by the revived anarchosyndicalist movement, and he visited Britain too. He insisted on doing a headstand for some comrades; for the rest of us he was full of stories of the past and ideas for the future. He insists that anarchism must be rational and respectable (intellectually, not socially), and must reject futile violence in word or deed. His own life is his main work, and he is still making the most of it. We were sorry his visit was so short, and we hope to see him again soon.

M.H.



Winter Solstice

Tube Liberation

ANARCHA United Mystics organised a party on the Circle Line tube, London, which took place on Thursday, 21 December. People met on the Eastbound Circle Line platform at Liverpool St. station by the bar. We decorated the carriage with balloons, dirty washing (!) and posters, made music with a flute, tambourine and maraccas and later on had punk music on a cassette recorder; and we passed around biscuits, sweets, bottles of wine etc, offering them to the passengers, much to their delight/disgust/amazement. "At least you know how to celebrate Christmas" said one bloke and gave me a cigarette. A good time was had by all, including some comrades from Reading, who'd come down specially.

MS. SHEVEK

NUCLEAR STATE?

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Wargames, but also not previously shown film of Malville and various German actions. On the whole the programme was well balanced, the political issues and implications being adequately dealt with.

There were various talks and a debate between a representative of the AEA and Friends of the Earth - a debate that got bogged down to some degree in facts and figures. Questioning revealed that the pro-nuclear speaker, an economist with the organisation, was quite unaware of the imperialism going on (driving aborigines off their land etc) to obtain uranium in Australia.

The bland ignorance that obscures many of the activities of the activities of modern superstates is one of the more dangerous aspects of the situation.

AA & PS

HAVE YOU SPACE TO BOOK THIS FESTIVAL?

The Last Anti-Nuclear Festival is going on tour later in the spring. Dates and places are not yet firmly fixed and there are gaps in the programme.

If any readers have the means to book it - quite a modest auditorium is necessary - a lecture theatre would do - why not write to: Manfred Waffender, Interaction, 15 Wilkins Street, London NW5. (Tel: 01-485 0881).

SOUTH AFRICAN PRISONS: AZANIAN PRISONERS

part 3: Steve Biko is not alone

THE DEATH in detention of Steve Biko, founder of the South African Students' Organisation and key figure in the rise of the black consciousness movement, finally brought world attention to the fact that the South African security police can do as they wish with anyone who happens to fall into their hands. The murder underlines the attitude of the authorities towards the black people of Azania. An Azanian is considered a sub-human by the officials who operate the apartheid system. Once detained a person is at the complete mercy of ruthless individuals who use torture and assault to extract false confessions and break the will of a detainee. Survival is left to chance.

The South African regime would like people outside the country to believe that the death of Steve Biko was an accident of

the system caused by the 'exception' of overzealous security thugs. However at a recent United Nations Symposium on the Exploitation of Blacks in South Africa and Namibia and on Prison Conditions in the South African Gaols, held at Maseru, Lesotho, Felix Ermacora, member of the 'Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa' of the Commission of Human Rights, delivered a paper which documented the inhumanity of detention in South Africa.

The paper stated that 13 political prisoners died in detention during 1976 and that in the year following the Soweto uprising a further 24 people were killed while in the hands of the security police. The circumstances surrounding the deaths of these 24 people and the feeble excuses

offered by the authorities not only illustrate the depths to which the apartheid regime has gone to protect its privileged position but also shows the ruthless underbelly of a social and economic structure which the western nations and their multinational allies are attempting to save by blocking total all-out sanctions. A machine of death such as has been set up by the Afrikaner regime will not be smashed by 'increased investment'. Painful as it may be the fatal experiences of those who died silently beside Steve Biko must be documented. They show that even with all their apartheid laws and prison systems, in the end the massive authoritarian police state is reduced to silent murder of helpless individuals. Such a force can no longer be appeased:-

Mapetla Mophapi, aged 25. Former organiser for SASO and a leader of the Black People's Convention. he died August 5 1976 in detention in King Williams-town. Police said he had hanged himself. The magistrate, after a 6-month inquest, declared that he had died of 'suffocation' for which no-one was to blame.

Luke Mazwembe, 32, a member of the Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau, died on 2 September 1976 two hours after being detained in Cape Town. Police said he had hanged himself. The inquest was postponed indefinitely. Dumisani Mbatha, 16, detained in Johannesburg on 23 September 1976, died 3 days later. 'Official' post mortem said that he died of 'natural causes'.

Ernest Mamasia, 35, arrested on 16 November 1976. His family was told on 13 November that he was dead. According to the police he had 'hanged himself'. Wellington Tshazibane, 30, arrested on 9 December 1976 after an explosion at the Carlton Centre, Johannesburg. On 11 December his family was told he had died by hanging himself.

George Botha, 30, a coloured teacher, died on 15 December 1976, 5 days after being detained under the Sabotage Act. According to police he had 'thrown himself down the stairs at the Port Elizabeth police station'. After a post mortem a government pathologist said that the body had a number of wounds, the inquest found that nobody was to blame.

Dr. Nabaoth Ntshuntha, 43, arrested on 14 December 1976 under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, died on 8 January 1977. Police said he had 'hanged himself'. Independent post mortem was impossible because 'large incisions' had been made on the body.

Lawrence Ndzanga, 52, detained together with his wife, Rita, on 18 November 1976 under the Terrorism Act. Police said that he 'died of a heart attack' while a-



Steve Biko's widow and children show their determination and courage in carrying on the fight.

waiting trial in Johannesburg Fort prison on 9 January 1977.

Elmon Malele, 61, arrested on 7 January 1977, reported to have died in a nursing home of a 'stroke' on 20 January. Post-mortem was conducted before the family could arrange for any independent pathologist to be present.

Matthews Mabelane, 23, died on 15 February 1977 according to the police after having thrown himself from the tenth floor window of police headquarters at John Vorster Square, in an attempt to escape. Mr. Mabelane, a student from Soweto, was arrested under section 6 of the Terrorism Act when returning from Botswana where he had fled in 1976. The inquest said that the death was 'accidental'.

Samuel Malinga, 45, arrested in Johannesburg on 31 January 1977 and transferred to Pietermaritzburg. His wife was not informed of the move. When she contacted the police she was told that her husband was in the intensive care unit of the local hospital. He died on 22 February of 'pneumonia'.

Karon Khosa, 45, detained under section 6 of the Terrorism Act in Krugersdorp on 9 December 1976. Transferred to Pietermaritzburg on 1 March 1977 and found dead, according to police, in his cell on 29 March. Inquest found 'death by asphyxia'. Police alleged that he had hanged himself using two shoelaces and a jacket. Mr Khoza was a member of the Young African Religious Movement, which had been giving relief to families who had suffered death or distress as a result of police action following the 1976 uprisings. Phakamile Mabija, 27, detained in connection with the stoning of buses during a bus boycott in Kimberley that started on 26 June 1977. He was an Anglican church warden of St James, Kimberley. He died on 7 July, the day before he was to appear in court under the Riotous Assemblies Act, and is alleged to have fallen from the sixth floor window at the Transvaal Road police station.

Elijah Loza, 59, Cape Town trade unionist of long standing, detained under the Terrorism Act on 27 May 1977 and held at Paarl. He died in hospital on 8 July. Police said he died of a 'stroke'. His ex-

S.Africa

wife visited him there just before he died and maintains that he had been badly assaulted.

Dr. Hoosen Mia Haffeejee, 27, died within four hours of his detention in Brighton Beach police cells, Durban, on 2 August 1977. Police said he hanged himself in his cell and the official post mortem declared suicide by hanging. An independent post mortem conducted after his funeral found 25 abrasions on the body as well as burn marks.

Himathal Jamandas, 30, died at Point prison on 13 August 1977. No details are known.

Christian Lagant

WE are very sad to record the death of a good French comrade, Christian Lagant, who committed suicide on 2 December. About 120 comrades attended his funeral at the cimetiere Montparnasse in Paris.

Only 18 at the time of the 'Liberation' of Paris in 1944, Christian was already interested in surrealism, which, with a growing internationalism, led him to question the patriotic delirium of that period. He became active in both the Esperantist and the youth hostel movements which grew up with the greater mobility after the war and rapidly discovered anarchism, joining an active Anarchist Federation group in the Montmartre area and contributing articles and satirical cartoons (signed 'Cri-Cri') to *Le Libertaire*.

Always in favour of more efficient organisation for the anarchist movement, Christian supported the change of emphasis in the Federation and the change of name into 'Fédération Communiste Libertaire', but was soon disillusioned by the adventurism of some of the prominent members who were pushing the 'electoralist deviation'. Finally, after what he described as a 'Stalinist-type' trial, when the Kronstadt group was expelled from the FCL, Christian and other Parisian comrades, together with the entire Macon and St-Germain-en-Laye groups, walked out.

Unable to remain inactive, however, in 1955 he joined with a few other comrades to form the communist anarchist GAAR (Groupes Anarchistes d'Action Révolutionnaire), better known for its journal *Rouge et Noir*.

This was a time when nationalism was rife again in France due to the Algerian war and, coupled with a consumer boom, provided an unsympathetic atmosphere for the launching of an anarchist paper. But *Rouge et Noir* was a journal of study rather than agitation, and found its place, surviving for 15 years, thanks, we are assured by his comrades, largely to

Bayempin Mzisi, 62, detained under the Terrorism Act, was allegedly found hanged in Brighton Beach police cells, Durban, on 15 August 1977. No post-mortem was conducted. No further details. William Tschwane, student, arrested with other Soweto students on 25 July 1976. His father was told of his death on 14 October, by which time the body had already been buried. Police say he was shot while fleeing arrest and the inquest verdict was 'justifiable homicide'. Jacob Mashabane, 22, a student detained during disturbances in Soweto. Died by 'hanging' on 5 October 1976. Inquest verdict was suicide for which no-one could be held responsible.

Fenuel Mogabusi, died on 28 September 1976 at Johannesburg Fort Prison allegedly of 'epilepsy'. His sister denied he

At an international camp in the Dordogne (France), 1965. Christian Lagant standing 2nd from right in back row.



Christian's efforts. Like many good comrades, he worked quietly but untiringly behind the scenes. In the letter in which they told us of his death, his friends write: "Christian worked in his own discreet manner, opposed to any personalisation of political action or, indeed, polemic. The working of the production group proved a positive anarchist experience, all tasks being carried out collectively, overcoming differences of age, character, sex, background ('manual', 'intellectual') or language (five nationalities). This was because, besides a community of ideas and will for action, a strong friendship had grown up in the group."

"And who more than Christian had worked at that? The warmth, kindness and attention which he used in corresponding with readers, answering every letter, were a great contribution to the paper's impact."

As well as his work on *Rouge et Noir*, Christian Lagant took part in meetings of Informations Correspondances Ouvrières (ICO) a group exchanging information on extra-union struggles. He was also active in the print union, having by now become a skilled proof reader.

The work of *Rouge et Noir* had obviously done much to provide ammunition for the explosion of ideas which burst in May 1968 and just before that happened, the group had expanded by opening up to new militants. But in the exhausted aftermath of '68, the group began to disintegrate and by 1970 the decision was taken to close down the journal. Although the end of such a united group must have been a hard blow for Christian, he maintained

had any history of epilepsy. Edward Mzolo, died on 9 October in Johannesburg. No details. Thabo Mosale, died on 18 November 1976 at Butterworth, Transkei. He was 'found dead' - no further details. Twalimferne Joti, at Umtata, Transkei. No details given. Steve Biko, 30, in detention at Pretoria, allegedly as a result of a 'hunger strike'. Donald Woods said afterwards that Biko had warned him before his detention that 'if ever he was detained, and if he died in detention, and if one of four specific causes of death was alleged, I would know it to be untrue. The four were self-inflicted hanging, suffocation, belting or starvation'.

BRIAN MURPHY
Southern Africa

contacts and tried to keep active in libertarian demonstrations and meetings, following the spirit of what he wrote in the final number of *Rouge et Noir*: "Neither the sobs of regret ('We shall miss you' etc) nor the wreaths of premature funerals are required. The struggle goes on. To all, cheers and fraternity".

For me, the news of his death just before Christmas, had a particular poignancy. I met Christian in Paris in October last, for the first time for 10 years, our paths not having crossed since the International Conference in London in 1958. He spoke so warmly and humorously of the conference and the hospitality and high spirits of the London comrades. He reminded me of the big outdoor rally we laid on for our visitors in Hyde Park, with flags and all, and he remembered precisely some of the banter and exchanges between the anarchist speakers and the crowd. I reminded him of the big commando boots he wore at that time and of him clowning up Percy Street (where the Malatesta Club was) in the wake of a pompous London bobby.

As is the case with good friends and comrades, the reunion was warm and the rapport immediate - but I sensed a sadness in him and was sorry to hear afterwards that his father, to whom he was devoted, had died earlier in the year after a long illness.

I am even more sorry to hear that Christian is gone. For anarchists everywhere it is a loss - for his close friends and comrades in France it is particularly sad.

PHILIP SANSOM

ICEMAN IRONY

Dear Editors

I must protest against G. V. H.'s misbegotten attack on Eugene O'Neill's fine ironic drama *The Iceman Cometh* (FREEDOM 23 December). His treatment of this play is nothing more than a piece of 'agitprop' reductionism more in keeping with Marxist dogmatics than genuine criticism.

The *Iceman Cometh* is an examination of human illusions, the 'pipe dreams' with which we console ourselves for our failures and shattered dreams.

Although O'Neill includes two characters who were once active in the libertarian movement (based on two real-life individuals: Terry Carlin and Hippolyte Havel) it is ridiculous to see his play in terms of political ideology.

After reading G. V. H.'s article I checked all the dialogue given by O'Neill to the informer (again based on a real-life individual, Donald Vose, the son of one of Emma Goldman's friends). One of his remarks could possibly be construed as referring to hypocrisy by anarchists, but I could find none of the rest of the 'dialogue along the lines of' ascribed to him by G. V. H.

As for 'divorcing' his characters from their 'environment' (whatever that means), O'Neill does in fact manage, within the inevitable limitations imposed by a play structure, to give us an idea of some of their backgrounds. Just how he - or anyone else - could do more without writing a dreary sociological tract I find it difficult to understand.

G. V. H. states that *The Iceman Cometh* has been 'a favourite piece of culture with all types of right-wingers for years'. I would be interested to know what statistical evidence he has for this claim, since I am not aware that theatre managements check the political allegiances of their audiences either in this country or the USA.

Yours sincerely
S.E. PARKER

MASS MOVEMENT?

Dear FREEDOM

In reply to N. B. (last issue) who received the heading 'Make News' he and Alan Westfall are right when they say that there should be more of a mass movement for anarchists. However, he does seem to be underestimating the significance of the concentration on individual events in the formation of groups in society.

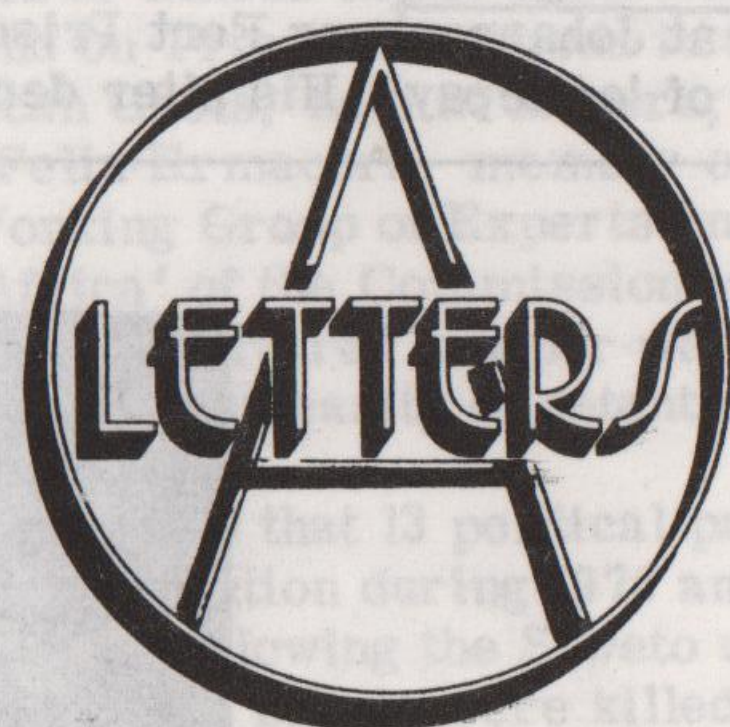
Action around certain issues is what creates an image for a group and is especially useful for lesser known groups providing that such publicity is good.

The problem with mass movements seems to be that they tend to create ideas that are too general. For example, not many people are aware of the policies of the monolithic parties (all two and a half of them) in this country, but a greater majority of people are aware of the activities of those who take issue over specific topics.

It is difficult to see how a mass movement could actually ensure greater promotion since the movement is already so diverse.

K. G. B.

P.S. Sorry about the rather infamous initials.



SIGNS OF INADEQUACY

Dear editors

There's many competent psychologists who'll agree that the criticisms we level at other people and society are merely projections of the deficiencies we refuse to consciously recognise in ourselves. Indeed, anyone looking for a research topic would perform a valuable service by clarifying these links; certainly the anarchist cause could only benefit from a universal realisation that any espousal of authoritarian systems (whether these be Marxist or Mixed Economy setups) is a signal of personal inadequacy. However these selfsame psychologists might also argue that one of the biggest obstacles to successful promotion of anarchist beliefs is the bad image such a word has. Engelbert Humperdinck benefited from a renaming ceremony and it's hardly an original suggestion that we might do ourselves a similar favour. Personally, I introduce myself as Radical Pluralist - a term which sometimes invites further explanation and which has never led to jokes about Bakunin/Nechaev style violence. It also has the advantage of pointing to a system composed of complementary sub-systems with no master other than mutual benefit and survival. It thus is well understood by the growing ecology pressure groupings.

If your paper is to seriously consider the need for an image change of its own to make it more popular (eg. less esoteric) then might I suggest you run two competitions or 'challenges' if that term is more acceptable. The first would be to see who could first get a letter in one of

the respectable national dailies rehabilitating the good name of the Kropotkin-style (i.e. genuine) anarchists. The second would be to invent an appropriate car sticker type slogan on an anarchist theme: ANARCHISTS DON'T WANT TO RULE - OK is one that comes to mind. Perhaps your organisation (sic) could print and sell them.

What I also find worrying is the habit of thought that insists that because one is opposed to capitalism that one must therefore be left wing (see *New Society* w/e 24/11/78). Both because these phrases defy accurate definition and because they refer to states which have never existed other than, at best, tentative working hypotheses people who would argue using such phrases cannot say much about the real world. I mean one can argue logically about fairies, but that does not mean that fairies are real. I would hope therefore that you will do your best to raise the level of discussion by discouraging the usage of improper vocabulary.

I look forward to constructive criticism.

Yours in mutuality

Tim Flinn

Dundee, Scotland.



"FOR GOD'S SAKE RUN,
THE LIBERAL PARTY HAVE
STARTED THEIR GENERAL
ELECTION CAMPAIGN"

BUKOVSKY

"The Soviet Doctor is bound to cooperate actively with the Government, Party, Komsomol ... this means that he can have no secrets from the State".

(Soviet Medical Paper)

MANY Russians place an extremely high value on the notion of friendship - in Russian, the word is perhaps nearer to 'comradeship' - I certainly value the friends I have, not least my Russian friends. I emphasise this point because I myself should put loyalty to my friend above loyalty to country or party (if I had one). I do have a country, but that

(CONT FROM PG 6)

was pure chance: I made my friends. Those who think these distinctions are irrelevant should read no further. Such thoughts were triggered off by a review in *News Line* of Bukovsky's book *To Build a Castle*.

I believe this review to contain a great number of misconceptions about Bukovsky's personal character and political activities. I further believe that the misconceptions stem from unfounded assumptions; and that the assumptions seem to be based on hard and rigid political prejudices.

The review seems to have been written in anger and indignation by a man who, as it happens, helped me in the campaign for Bukovsky's release at a time when the rest of the press were still wondering how to spell his name.

I think I understand why this critic feels hurt and disappointed (feelings not confined to the Workers' Revolutionary Party) but I cannot understand his many and alarming falsifications. I give just two examples. An attempt is made to prove that Bukovsky is 'a reactionary through and through', by means of the following quotation: "Referring to an imagined Soviet man, Bukovsky writes: 'Comrade Pinochet is the only one to warm the cockles of his heart: are our dear chaps squawking now you've put the squeeze on those communists of yours? Squeeze away, my friend, you're our only hope. Should do the same everywhere'".

FREEDOM SCHOOL

Continued from page 2

the point to Jonathan Rutherford. 'It was just pragmatic. With one boy it was him or the school because he was so destructive and disturbed. We gave him a whole term to adjust, but he couldn't'.

Jonathan Rutherford and the other full-time worker at the school, Annie Killin, are both keen to recruit more pupils, but are aware of Delta's shortcomings. A current application to the new STEP employment scheme is one hope for relieving the money problem, but there is still a chronic need for helpers with skills like carpentry and photography to pass on to the students as well as basic resources like furniture and books.

Jonathan Rutherford believes the state system has already coopted many of the ideas of free schools into intermediate treatment exercises and truancy centres. He wishes Delta could lay its hands on only a fraction of the money they receive. However, he still feels that a truly worthwhile project needs to be entirely free from state control. 'The ultimate goal is for people to run their own community schools. At the moment education is too much of a passive experience for both children and parents. And for many it just seems an enforced irrelevance.'

GRAHAM WADE

Note: Since this article was written Delta Free School has been forced to close for lack of finance and insufficient volunteers. However, better premises have been found and it is hoped the school will reopen during 1979. GW.

This extract seems to make Bukovsky himself an admirer of a notorious fascist thug. Yet, if one puts the passage in its context and starts reading at the beginning of the top paragraph on page 60, Bukovsky's point becomes clear. 'Soviet man', that is, the ordinary Soviet worker, with no possibility of effective protest against the system, takes refuge in a despairing monologue against Soviet propaganda.

Even worse, the reviewer omits the vital last sentence in the extract quoted above, which is: 'No, the Soviet man is so created that he can't possibly walk away from this stuff and shut himself away - like an addict, he needs to feed his rage with this poison. (My emphasis).'

Now for the other example. Here, the reviewer is quoting something that Bukovsky says of the old Communist, S. P. Pisarev. 'He considered himself a follower of Lenin. Such was his detestation of Stalin that he could never bring himself to utter his name, referring to him invariably as Djughashvili. Stalin, in his view, had staged a coup d'etat in the thirties and exterminated the true Leninists. And Bukovsky comments: 'Such logic was incomprehensible to me'. But again, the reviewer omits the very sentence that makes sense of Bukovsky's comment (page 186). It may be worth mentioning here that, when I was in Moscow in 1970, Bukovsky took a calculated risk in introducing me to Pisarev. They had a kind of mutual respect and affection for one another that I found very touching.

These omissions must be deliberate, since they bolster the assertion that runs right through the article, that Bukovsky is a 'pliant tool', 'reactionary', etc.

At this point, somebody will probably ask, 'But what about that meeting with Mrs Thatcher, and worst of all, that dinner with the N.A.F?' Bukovsky is by no means the first person to be confused by the title, National Association for Freedom, and those who now point an accusing finger at him might remember that if you have just arrived in a strange country, shattered in health after long years in prison, camp and psychiatric hospital, you probably haven't had time to check up on British political credentials. Our Government did have time: and they invited a certain Schelepin, ex-chief of the KGB.

So I think that, before rushing to judgement, left-wing critics would be better employed in concerning themselves with the abuses that Bukovsky exposed: with specifically, the abuses of psychiatry, which are far, very far, from being confined to the Soviet Union.

As I tried to make clear in a recent article - and it is not a particularly original thought - freedom is in danger everywhere. We defend it, not by attacking its defenders, but by pooling our own resources.

We could begin by forming free international unions for the defence of our basic rights.

DAVID MARKHAM

Hartfield, Sussex. 2 January.

NEGOTIATED SOLIDARITY

BELIEVE IT or not, comrades, but I had to pay £3.00 to Newsline, the daily Trotskyist organ of the WRP to obtain the picture we have printed on the front.

Initially I was asked to pay £6.00, the standard fee for pictures taken by this paper. Having, however, explained that FREEDOM could not afford to meet such expenditure, I appealed to the solidarity of that working class paper, to be told by the person I was dealing with that he was not in a position to negotiate the price of the picture, but that he would be taking the matter up with someone who was in a position to do so.

A few minutes later, the same person came back and said that we could have the picture at half price. I explained that we still could not afford to pay such a fee and I ventured to offer £1.00 to cover the print costs. I was told that we must pay £3.00 to cover the obvious photographer's expenses, material etc, as the WRP had painfully built up a mass movement at great financial cost and it was necessary for the party to charge people like us for their services.

Faced with such justification I had no alternative but to pay out of my own pocket.

et the half-fee as requested as I felt it was important for FREEDOM to publish a picture of the picket in front of Brixton where our comrades are languishing.

While I was writing out the cheque I told the representative of the WRP/Newsline that I was disappointed with their mercantile attitude in relation to the incarceration of working class revolutionaries for although there are serious ideological differences between Trots and anarchists I had expected a genuine gesture of solidarity on their part in the same way that we on FREEDOM would have supplied them FREE OF CHARGE any material in our possession they needed for publication in Newsline.

MEA CULPA. In all honesty I must point out that this silly situation arose only because a comrade who shall be nameless, ruined, during the developing process, the marvellous photographs which our own FREEDOM photographer took in the bitter cold circumstances of the picket, at great personal expense, prepared to make available for ANYONE completely FREE - because he is an anarchist and believes in working class solidarity.

CLAUDE

SOMETHING FOR EVERYBODY

The Cienfuegos Press ANARCHIST REVIEW, No. 4. £2.90
(free to Cienfuegos Press subscribers and prisoners who
request a copy). Cienfuegos Press, Over the Water, Sanday,
Orkney KW17 2BL.

A LONG review of the third issue of the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review appeared in FREEDOM on 8 July 1978. The fourth issue is even bigger (184 pages) and even more expensive (£2.90), representing an annual inflation rate of more than one-third! The delay in publication is even longer (more than a year) and the difficulties of production have been even greater (ending with the destruction of hundreds of copies by fire on a lorry).

Despite all the problems, the new CPAR is essential for anyone interested in anarchism. After two pages of editorial material and four pages of letters, and before three pages of index (to publications reviewed in the first three issues), there are two main sections - more than a hundred pages of features, and nearly fifty pages of reviews.

The features include: a draft anarchist manifesto and a draft anarchist strategy; a reprint of Kropotkin's essay on 'Expropriation' from *The Conquest of Bread*; an attack on the current fashion for spirituality by an American feminist, Peggy Kornegger; an attack on the Spanish Communist leader Santiago Carillo by a Spanish anarchist, Fernando Gomez Pelaez; a discussion of anarchist and authoritarian ideas in science fiction by the libertarian science fiction writer, Michael Moorcock; an account by Frank Mintz of Camillo Berneri's work in Spain, with extracts from his writings (foreshadowing a future Cienfuegos Press book on the subject); an attack on right wing libertarianism by Paul Wilson; an attack by Frank Mintz on Professor Raymond Carr's prejudiced writings on Spanish anarchism; an account by Dave Poole of the Mexican anarchist Praxedes Guerrero (again foreshadowing a future Cienfuegos Press book on the subject); a profile by Bill Nowlin of the Italian anarchist artist Flavio Costantini; a personal account by Serafin Fernandez of the Argentinian anarchist movement 60 years ago; an account by Sam Dolgoff of the Russian anarchosyndicalist Grigori Maximov; a new edition of Albert Meltzer's account of *The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China*, which was first published in 1968 and has appeared in many editions and several translations, preceded by an introduction by Shelby Shapiro, and followed by an article on anarchism in ancient and medieval Chinese thought by K.C. Hsiao and some bibliographical material on anarchism in China, Japan and Korea; a BBC radio interview with the Chinese novelist Pa Chin, made by Philip Short and broadcast on 23 November 1977; an account by Geoff Charlton of the American poet Philip Levine; a well-documented but ill-argued account of the deaths of three leading members of the Red Army Fraction in Stammheim prison on 17 October 1977; an account by Nigel Pennick of the Croatian-American scientist Nikola Tesla, who in his early life was one of the greatest pioneers of electrical technology but then, in his later life, became either a lunatic or a visionary, depending on taste; and an account by Albert Meltzer of the actor Leslie Howard getting involved with anarchist plots against Hitler when he was making the film *Pimpernel Smith* in 1940. There is something here for almost every libertarian taste.

The reviews are even more variable than in previous issues of the CPAR. Some are still reprinted from other anarchist papers and some go back a long time (one by Nicolas Walter is at least 10 years old). Some are useful, some are worse than useless. Among the former: Paul Wilson discusses Michael Baumann's book on the German 2 June Movement; Bill Nowlin demolishes William Reichert's book on the American anarchist movement; Paul Avrich discusses Michael Pali's thesis on Makhno; Dave Poole demolishes Reg Carr's thesis on Octave Mirbeau; Nicolas Walter discusses Martin Miller's biography of Kropotkin; Frank Mintz demolishes Robert Kern's book on the Spanish anarchist movement; and so on.

There are too many reviews of unimportant or irrelevant books, especially on religion or pseudo-science. And criticism sometimes becomes unfair. Thus Frank Mintz reasonably attacks the new edition of George Woodcock's *Anarchism*, but unreasonably attacks the new edition of Arthur Lehning's book on Bakunin and Nechayev. He complains that the latter doesn't contain material about the mysterious events of 1869, but the reason is given in the full title of the book - *Michel Bakounine et ses relations avec Sergej Necaev 1870-1872* - which shows that it covers only Nechayev's second visit to the West and not the more important first visit of 1869, which will be covered in another volume of the Archives Bakounine. But, again, there is something here for almost every libertarian taste. There are also many excellent cartoons and jokes.

Let us hope that the Cienfuegos Press gets over its various difficulties and produces more books and pamphlets soon, and a fifth issue of its *Anarchist Review* before the end of 1979. Its immediate need is for more subscribers - the minimum annual payment is £10. Its ultimate need is for a better balance between anarchist ambition and the facts of publishing.

M. H.

THIS SPACE WAS
RESERVED

for a reproduction of the
"Cienfuegos Review" cover.
Unfortunately, no doubt due
to the inflammable nature
of the contents, it has suffered
from spontaneous combustion
in a lorry.



Four-barrelled CS gun fitted to Army vehicle.

Freedom

Anarchist Review

20 January 1978
Vol 40 No 1

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SECTARIAN STATE

The following discussion paper by Belfast Anarchist Collective was, they say, 'hurriedly put together for the Manchester Festival' last October, and is meant to 'go towards articulation of our own ideas and as a basis for feedback. It is not a final document'. We hope that it will serve as useful background to a series of articles on Ireland from the B.A.C. to be published in FREEDOM over the next few months. EDS.

IN THE BEGINNING were the plantations, forced evictions and the start of the hegemony, leading to discrimination; then there were the battles of Kings Billy and James when Ireland was merely a battle-ground for the imperialist powers of France and England. Jumping a couple of centuries there was the Home Rule Movement and its resistance by the industrialists in the North who benefited from the Union, whereas the Southern economy wanted protection from English competition.

Because of the systematic discrimination the Northern aristocracy and industrialists were able to appeal to the Protestant working class who would lose their privileges in a united Ireland. This was institutionalised in the form of the Orange Order, membership of which offered a better chance of a decent house and job.

At the time of the Treaty in 1921, after the nationalist war of independence, the Northern industrialists with Protestant working class support and sympathetic contacts with the English ruling class, were able to set up a six-county state linked to the UK with its own parliament. Although Ulster is in fact nine counties, six counties were chosen as the area to be ruled because their proportion of Protestant to Catholic (2 to 1) was big enough to ensure continuity of rule. Anything smaller, though containing all the industry and a bigger Protestant majority, would not have had the balance of an agricultural area. By the classical divide and rule method of discrimination, the Northern ruling class drew on their alliance with the Protestant working class to run an economy whose industrial relations were 'better' than any other UK region's. But this was at the cost of creating a permanently hostile minority community - both working class and middle class. An example of working class unity smashed by sectarianism is the 1930s hunger riots on both the Shankill and Falls. The Orange alliance was restored by the warnings about 'rebel' Catholics and the threatened loss of apparent privileges. Another example is the aborting of a Northern Ireland Labour Party with widespread support.

During the 1960s the growing influence of the multinationals and the EEC was felt. The decline in the North of the textile and shipbuilding trades and the growth of foreign subsidised light industry in the South meant more similar economic strengths. With encouragement from the British Government and under pressure from the multinationals the two heads of state, O'Neill and Lemass met to discuss common ground.

So began the period of civil rights agitation and loyalist reaction. The affluent 60s with a greater availability of university education and the 'softening' of Unionism, brought about a sense of expectancy and confidence in the Catholic community. Especially among the middle class who keenly felt their political impotence. The agitation against discrimination in housing, jobs and political representation began with middle class articulateness, but soon became a popular movement, allowing the working class to express their discontent in marches, etc.

But in step was the Rev. Ian Paisley. There had been centuries of nurturing a Protestant class alliance against popery and republicanism. And with the creation of the Southern state a very real economic argument was added, i.e. the standard of living under the Union benefited the Protestant working class more than a state with no comparable welfare services. The reactionary morality of the influential Catholic Church on issues such as contraception and censorship did not make the South too appealing either. With cries of 'Sell Out' Paisleyism appealed to a Protestant working class who regarded the Northern state as his/her own.

The clashes between the Civil Rights marchers and the Paisleyites are well known. They climaxed in Derry where the B Specials of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and Loyalists ran amok in the Catholic Bogside after one such march. But the people of the area beat them back with bricks and petrol bombs, creating the first No Go area. With this 'breakdown' in law and order the first British troops were called in. In an attempt to take the heat off Derry, there was a plan to riot on the Falls, so after a similar but more vicious attack by the RUC on the Catholic Falls, the troops moved to Belfast - and imposed a curfew on the Falls!

After initial uncertainty it became obvious that the 'peace-keeping' forces were in Ireland to protect British economic and political interests. There was a difference

between the merging of two states and the threat of an open insurrection by one section of the working class. What was the point of supporting an oppressed and alienated minority only to create, in the context of a 32-county Ireland, another, but with more industrial strength. So the litany of repression was to continue from the Special Powers Acts to the subtle but more vicious Emergency Provisions Act; from internment to the Diplock courts; from baton charges to shootings-on-sight; from the use of sporadic no-go areas to systematic throat-cuttings.



CONDITIONS IN N. IRELAND

LOW KEY COUNTER INSURGENCY

The British Government has gained a lot of experience in subverting dissatisfaction with its use of community handouts. Much local TV time is given to the smarmy mouthings of concern from Lord Melchett and the 'matter of fact' sincerity of Carter and Don Concannon. They are committed full-time to the job of alleviating the social conditions which their Government was responsible for in the first place.

Play facilities, community centres, better housing, nursery facilities and jobs are all needed in N. Ireland. But the cynicism of the two-faced triplets as they bribe and make political capital out of the needs of the communities is well illustrated by a quote from Carter. When 'equity hearing' (part ownership of a house by the tenant) was introduced Carter said:

"I certainly believe that if you get into this (housing) field all those who are ordinary, decent responsible tenants you will overcome a lot of the problems that are currently with us here in Northern Ireland, particularly Belfast, and I think they'd overshadow in the end the small minority who constitute the paramilitaries".

(- from a TV interview on 'Scene around Six', 25/11/76).

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMPARISONS

By the classical strategy of 'divide and rule' and the 'enemy within' Protestant and Catholic workers have been deceived in to accepting higher unemployment, poorer housing and lower incomes and more dependence on Family Income Supplements and Supplementary Benefits, than their counterparts in the UK. There is no doubt a tendency for the areas of higher need to be those in which Catholics account for a higher than average per cent of the population. In the case of housing need and unemployment the difference between Catholic and Protestant households was smaller than the gap between Protestant households and the households in the worst off regions in Britain. The system of discrimination against the working class 'minority' makes the working class 'majority' believe that they hold a privileged position worthy of protection. Whereas in fact poverty in Northern Ireland knows no religious boundaries, but only those of class.

(a) Unemployment

There has been a substantial decline in unemployment in production and manufacturing industries. The increase in service sector employment has not been enough to eradicate the continuously high unemployment in Northern Ireland.

AVERAGE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES									
	1955	60	65	70	71	72	73	74	
N.I.	6.8	6.7	5.9	6.6	7.7	7.4	5.7	6.2	
G.B.	1.1	1.6	1.4	2.5	3.4	3.8	2.6	2.6	

The figures hide the incidence of unemployment black spots in the province where the rate of male unemployment exceeds 20 per cent.

(b) Income

The average income per household and per head of the population in N. Ireland represents only 77.1 per cent and 65.5 per cent respectively of the equivalent UK figures. The N. Ireland incomes are substantially lower than any other region in the UK.

AVERAGE INCOME £ PER WEEK 1973.		
	PER HOUSEHOLD	PER PERSON
UK.	49.41	17.50
NORTH.	45.21	16.18
SOUTH EAST.	56.54	20.69
WALES.	42.99	15.23
SCOTLAND.	46.87	15.81
N. IRELAND.	38.08	11.47.

In 1971 34 per cent of Catholic households lacked a fixed bath or shower; 27.6 per cent of Church of Ireland households were in the same position. Taking Presbyterian, Church of Ireland and Methodist households together the percentage without this basic amenity was 25.4 per cent. The figures for England, Scotland and Wales were 8.5 per cent, 12.1 per cent and 13.0 per cent. In other words Protestant households were twice as badly off as Welsh households.

The Centre of Environmental Studies '72 showed that housing conditions in the former Belfast Corporation wards of Smithfield, Court, Dock and St George (Catholic 'areas') lie at the bottom of the scale. In the next ward lie Shankill, Woodvale (Protestant 'areas'), Falls and St Annes. In all these working class areas Catholic and Protestant alike, housing conditions are substandard. Although in many of these areas re-development schemes are now in progress, in a number of instances they have further exacerbated the situation for many.

Dependence on means tested benefits is disproportionately higher in N. Ireland: 11.4 per cent of Family Income Supplement payments in the UK go to N. Ireland families, though the province contains only 2.8 per cent of the population of the UK.

FAMILY INCOME SUPPLEMENT '74.			
	POP PER '000's	NºS.	AVERAGE AMM.
ENGLAND.	46,436	57,000	3.33
SCOTLAND.	5,226	10,000	3.27
WALES	2,159	3,000	3.58
N. IRELAND.	1,547.	9,000	4.49.

CHURCHES

It's been called the 'Holy War' but this is part of the mystification which surrounds the conflict in N. Ireland. It was the churches' differing allegiances to the economic and political powers-that-be which led to the view of a religious war. The basic reasons for the present 'troubles' have already been outlined. But the churches do have a considerable influence on their 'flocks'. Firstly there is the historical phenomenon of people depending on a God to compensate for their lack of control over their lives.

The Catholic church is probably the most authoritarian in the world. Its puritanism on questions of sexuality is especially crippling because of its control over most of the schools, primary and secondary, where Catholic children go. Its demands of self-sacrifice, humility and guilt run counter to any attempt at self-liberation, and more than reinforce the state's own efforts at producing obedient workers. Only after great or extreme state repression has the Catholic church made statements condemning the state. They are identified with the oppressed only insofar as in N. Ireland they are not the established church.

All three main Protestant churches (Church of Ireland, Methodist and Presbyterian) are all government supporters, whereas Paisley's Populist puritanism occurred as the class divisions within the Unionist alliance caused its break-up.

The work ethic and its accompanying 'respectability' is an integral part of Protestantism. The advantages to capitalism of encouraging people to be industrious and to cherish the privatisation of family life are not coincidental. These values have exacerbated the sectarian problem and created mythologies which typify Catholics as being lazy, dirty and irresponsible, arrogant and cunning, not to say 'lost to God'.

ublican Party, IRSP. They range from giving the Provos critical or uncritical support for the bombing campaign. Apologists for their campaign often claim:-

- a) that a particular atrocity was committed by someone else
- b) that they give adequate warning, naively trusting to the good faith and efficiency of their enemies).
- c) that the Loyalists and/or the British army have done much worse things (as if one should prefer the group who had caused less carnage).

The 'professional' Left, weak and impotent in themselves, form broad fronts, usually in an opportunist way, against the N. Ireland state. Such groups come and go. The Provos may or may not be involved in these groups and permit them to exist so long as they provide no challenge.

The example of TUCAR serves to illustrate the nature and structure of the fronts. The TUCAR was an attempt to involve trade unionists in a campaign against repression, in an all-Ireland context. However, in West Belfast it was quickly dominated by the 'professional' Left, many of whom were not only unemployed (with no shop floor connection) but didn't belong to any union. These groups have given the Provisionals a socialist facade as a justification for their campaign. The Republican Left tail-end any Provo demonstrations, are rarely mentioned by the press and rarely given the chance to be represented on the speaking platform.

The lapse into what is more or less authoritarian Republicanism occurs by default in Irish politics if there is no effective critique of this tendency. This approach to Irish politics is also echoed by those who are not fully familiar with the background of Irish politics and who are not alert to the implications in the Irish context of such phrases as '32-county', 'self-determination', 'Troops Out', and 'British imperialism'.

On paper most of the Left appear to be non-sectarian. Their shallow analysis and narrow approach has done nothing to break down barriers between the communities. In mainly Protestant factories such obvious left-wing activities as industrial disputes are played down by the British press and ignored by normally strike-happy sections of the 'left' - no doubt because the Protestant work force is failing to live up to its reactionary



-fascist image. Nor does the killing of an innocent Protestant send TUCAR into uproar. So, in fact, none of the groups committed to the Republican side is prepared to give the Protestants much choice about joining a United Ireland, whatever their declared means of achieving such ends - through the process of persuasion, coercion or conversion.

West Belfast needs special attention. It is probably the largest congested ghetto in Europe. It takes the brunt of RUC harassment. On humanitarian grounds the people deserve support. But it was created by a sectarian state and as such is 'containable', eg. during the Jubilee visit the area was sealed off and it was difficult to get in or out for three days.

Living in West Belfast you develop a narrow outlook. You fail to have a total view of N. Ireland society. The recently developed conditions in the outskirts of North Belfast resemble so many English cities. There are the cold spacious housing estates and the industrial estates of light industry, where alienation and cultural starvation dominate.

The lefties who live and work in West Belfast see it as the hub of revolution. They make alarmist statements about the fascist takeover, and call for the manning of the barricades. In their distorted view of reality they have lost contact with the consciousness of people in Northern Ireland.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Ireland has its specific circumstances and problems and anarchists must take these into account if we are to change our society into one which is not authoritarian social conditioning. We must break out and control our own lives ... but how? Clearly we must not simply react to conditions laid down by our dominators ... we must act, and act in a certain way which does not reproduce all that is wrong, but challenges and destroys authoritarianism. Unfortunately, the forces opposing the British state do not see the situation in such terms - they lack a total understanding of a revolutionary change in society and prefer to participate on a narrow level ... militarist and Marxist groups alike emphasise Brits Out without clearly analysing what sort of society is to replace it other than a '32 County Socialist Republic' or a 'Federal Ireland'. If the groundwork is not laid down now, 'Brits Out' would mean something equally innocuous 'in'.

What anarchists must do is be very clear which circumstances create authoritarianism so that we know what has to be destroyed and look at the techniques of power to know what must not be duplicated, and clearly realise where power can be most effectively challenged, where its contradictions exist. In brief, destroy authoritarianism using non-authoritarian methods. As far as possible, use the contradictions which the state and statist find themselves in so as to challenge their seeming all-powerfulness. This has certainly not been the drive of those who traditionally oppose the British state ... for instance, the Provos and their Marxist supporters who prefer to present themselves as alternative leaders.

ORGANISATION

As anarchists we must organise given the circumstances of our individual selves and the society in which we operate. WE

must organise in a way that does not reproduce the power structures of society, or use the techniques of that society.

As regards Ireland this means:-

a) Non-hierarchical organisation to destroy all forms of authoritarianism. If the traditional challengers of the Brits use means of struggle similar to them, then they too are the enemy. What is the difference between present day British domination and imperialism, and a future Irish unity based on home-grown exploiters? Very little, so we are opposed to united stands with other leftist groups and military organisations ... while we remain weak, we can only be an appendage to their drives and successes, not our own.

b) If the state uses specific techniques to stay in power, then these techniques must not only be destroyed, they must not be duplicated in the process. The British state has always used (and still uses) a deeply embedded sectarianism to keep the working classes divided and hence weak. 'Sectarianism' runs deep in Ireland ... initially based on religion, but more specifically on techniques of ruling class control, it penetrates not only the work place and the school, but all aspects of community life. The working people of Belfast, for instance, live, work and socialise amongst their 'own sort', having little contact with the 'other side'. It is this false division which anarchists must break down, if the power structures of our society are to be destroyed.

HOW CAN THIS BE DONE?

Obviously sectarianism and authoritarianism cannot be successfully destroyed unless we break out of the traditional paths of both the state and its opponents. We must fight sect-

arianism and authoritarianism and not try to use them for the 'struggle'. This will require a new way of thinking and acting, a way that is not being tried in Ireland. What is required is that everyone has control over their own lives and to achieve this, everyone must have control over the changes that must necessarily take place. We must see the fight against repression as beginning with the individual, and not left to the activities of the militarists. This will require a specific type and style of organisation which will totally involve the individual rather than merely expect them to turn up for the monthly rally. For this reason, we see collectivism and the growth of collectives as an essential beginning of revolutionary change in Ireland - as the beginning of a revolutionary framework. For this particular time in Ireland we support the idea of a serious network of collectives, each operating in distinct yet complementary areas.



Our collective aims at the building of resources which will not be only of use to ourselves but to all forms of revolutionary anarchist practice - we will encourage other groups to get together and make their own critique of their everyday situation, and make their own activity. Any help we can give will be given but this is not to say that we want a monopoly of resources but rather that anyone can and should be encouraged to get their own resources together. Our collective also intends using its skills and resources not just to further the setting up of like-minded things, but to use them to directly challenge the state structures. We don't intend waiting for the state to present us with 'campaigns' -- we prefer to create our own situations which don't react to the state's initiatives. We are taking our time finding the right things ... we are building up strong resources, a strong base, and from this we shall operate.

Hence our 'centre' ... although it is not simply an anarchist bookshop; it is the beginning of our anarchist activities. It is situated in a market area of the city, at the bottom of both the Catholic Falls and the Protestant Shankill. This is important in itself, as we are clearly NOT identified with one 'community' or the other - we are seen to be open to both sides (whereas any premises of other anti-British organisations and groups are centred within the Catholic community, in line with their particular analysis which sees the progressive nature of only the Catholic community and thus alienates the whole Protestant population). The centre also contains an exhibition room and cafe with the express purpose of allowing discussion between the people who use the shop, and a small libertarian library, which will become increasingly important as we carry on. Literature is a small beginning but it can be the start of the break-out of the traditional mentality of a divided society - we can demonstrate that to be anti-British doesn't necessarily mean pro-nationalist of another sort.

That we have chosen such an approach to anarchist activity does not mean that we reject a class analysis, nor does it mean we are opposed to a large-scale anarchist organisation. On the contrary ... we see our small collective as but a small beginning, but one that starts from the base up, rather than the artificial imposition of a national organisation whose main purpose usually turns out to be merely something to 'join', just like a party. We want to see the collective expand as more people with new experiences discover the anarchist alternative to government. People will be encouraged to take part in collective decision making given the premises of non-sectarianism and anti-authoritarianism. In this way anarchism can expand in a non-sectarian way, our resources can grow, the

state can be challenged and yet we do NOT lose the essential ingredient of self-activity. More people can become involved, whether they be school kids, unemployed, workers. As we grow in Belfast and other groups develop along similar lines in other areas of Ireland, we would hope for a federated structure whereby we can learn and aid each others' experiences.

WHAT FORM WILL OUR ACTIVITIES TAKE?

It is always easier to outline what form our activities will NOT take. For instance, if we look at the activities and consequences of the present anti-Brit forces, we can begin to see more clearly what we as anarchists can do and must do. At the moment much of the energies of the Left and Sinn Fein are centred around H-block and political status. People are involved for many reasons, some who have a genuine concern for the inhuman conditions, others regarding the 'campaign' as a chance to demonstrate against the Brits, and others who are quite prepared to use the H-Block/political status protests as a fertile recruitment ground for their organisations. There is no doubt about it - the H-Blocks must be destroyed, as must all prisons. However, to believe that anarchists can speak within such a protest campaign would mean that the whole question of political status and prisons could not be thoroughly discussed. Any attempt to do so would lead to an accusation that anarchists support the 'criminalisations of the Brits'. It would also mean that the whole position of the Loyalist prisoners would have to remain unquestioned as well. Alongside all of this is the fact that any common alliance with the Sinn Fein-dominated Relatives Action Committee and the sectarian left would once again place the anarchist challenges to the Brits within a nationalist campaign. If we as anarchists see the inhuman prison system as an important area to change, then we must seek ways which WILL lead to their abolition (or at the very least to the alleviation of the more blatant inhuman conditions, not just in the H-Blocks, but in all prisons) without supporting the growth of new prisons in a 'new Ireland'. And we could not support the release of ALL prisoners if we are to be involved with the Provos.

This is not an outline of what we intend doing in the future - it merely explains what we have done in a short space of time. As we take into account the specific circumstance of the North, and the principles of anarchism, the possibilities for growth and real change become greater.

BELFAST ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE

