

cont. from front page

One example is Euroweld (PX Nuclear) which is closing down with the loss of 240 jobs after receiving a massive state grant in the forecast it would employ more. However it is now in debt to the tune of £1½ m., no doubt paid out to directors and shareholders.

THATCHER AND COMPANY

State capitalism, or nationalism, does little to improve the economic position of the country. The workers get no say in how they work but are controlled by state bureaucrats who relate to them in exactly the same way as private industry. The workers have no control of profits which are handled by faceless state bureaucrats.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

If faced with redundancy - Don't expect your representatives (MPs or Trade Union bureaucrats) to be able to do anything. They have done fuck all so far. Directly negotiate yourselves, and try to get to some position of strength and occupy the factory to prevent any removal of machinery. Get the cooperation of the remaining workforce and the support of any other workers who can put pressure on the bosses. Try to turn it into a workers cooperative producing socially useful goods.

DON'T HURT YOURSELF

Any industrial action should be aimed at getting public sympathy and not public outrage which the national press publicises so well. In the recent Citybus strike their only tactic was to stop operating the bus service, therefore people had to walk to work. Why couldn't they have let people travel free? (No doubt too revolutionary for the conservative trade union bureaucrats).

REMEMBER

The people that do have a job, or have just had a pay rise shouldn't lie back counting their blessings but should actively show solidarity with workers who are fighting to protect theirs. It could be your turn next! Next Issue: Unemployed? Don't just sit there

LETTER

Can I raise a few points/questions arising from the 'More Political Prisoners' article in the last O.C.?

'Theft takes place on many levels and often is very individualistic'. I think its almost always individualistic: the small minority being the politico robberies. You don't mention the other levels at all - ie. tax, lease hire (banks), (capital I accept is too big a one to go into in such an article), councillors buying green belt land and rezoning it as industrial or residential, company cars, dinners etc., bankruptcy writeoffs post-tax-relief-period, factory closures, politicians' perks like free travel etc. Perhaps they are too long to mention. And all the psychologically induced levels, ie. free this, that and the other for priests and nuns etc.

'it is also anti-social, or counter-revolutionary as the rantings of the media would have it...'. Since when have the media taken to using the phrase 'counter-revolutionary'? Anti-social, yes, every day, but counter-revolutionary? Were you referring to Poland here? Its not very clear.

'We do not want to justify such acts, we want to prevent them etc.' This sentence I find really mystifying I'm afraid! Will understanding anarchy prevent crime? People identifying the real criminals won't either. If anything, both of these justify crime by those already engaged in it, though possibly against different targets. Also one reason why most crime is localised and not against the rich is that (a) no bus fare/ stolen car needed to get to area, and (b) no rich houses have alarmed houses, guard dogs etc. ie. There are practical reasons too too!

STATE MURDER

Three men - Patrick McCann, Colm O'Shea and Peter Pringle - were sentenced in Nov. to hang by the Special Criminal Court in Dublin for the murder of a policeman. An appeal against the sentence has been lodged and is due to come up in a couple of months time. Whether they will hang or not is questionable. Haughey will want to maintain his liberal image among his EEC friends and so this could be in their favour. But against them is the fact that the cop was uniformed (the point that the cop in the Murrays' case was not in uniform, was a big factor in their appeal). Also another cop was killed in Wexford and the state could see hanging as a way of deterring attacks against members of the security forces (which is unlikely to work), or more simply as a means of revenge.

THIS ISN'T THE ONLY WAY TO GET OUTTA CONTROL, WHY NOT SUBSCRIBE ?!



No Nukes?

A long time ago, the Irish governors claimed their decision as to whether to build nuclear stations at Carnsore Point in Co. Wexford (and possibly elsewhere), would have to be delayed...until an EEC report on the nuclear nightmare at Harrisburg (USA) in March '79 was published. Nearly two years later radio-active leaks are still occurring which has stopped technical experts from fully examining the nuclear plant. Nevertheless, the EEC have managed to commission a report which marvels at the SAFETY of nuclear stations like that at 3-mile-island!! So enthusiastic are they, that they do away with the notion that nuclear reactors should be built well away from centres of population...such faith in the ultimate killer-technology also encourages the doing away with much of the actual labor. This is to be replaced with automation, with a few migrant workers trying to ensure that the right buttons get pushed at the right time.

No technology is developed in a vacuum and clearly it is no coincidence that nuclear power is being developed and pushed the world over by to-days mad rulers. They'll never see any further than the technology in front of them. So no wonder this 'independent' report by 'high level experts' FROM THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY are threatening our very existence by producing a report with the most pro-nuclear enthusiasm ever.

So what are Haughey, Colley and their backers to do now? Wait until after the May general election...yes...but maybe the exchange of gas to Belfast for Kilroot electricity will slow down their plans for a nuclear Ireland. Maybe not. With the EEC report so much in favour of nuclear power, a nuclear Carnsore could be started sooner rather than later! And maybe the Northern Ireland Electricity Service could find the solution to the problems at Kilroot with a little reactor?

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grounds (ie. if they think that 'artificial' contraception is morally wrong). They can also refuse if they believe the contraceptive is not going to be used for 'Bona Fida' family planning purposes.

WHAT'S BEING DONE.

This bill is totally unacceptable to anyone who believes in the liberty of the individual, and so the campaign for 'contraception on demand' still goes on. Although some clinics have decided to apply for licences. (which means they must now employ a full time chemist in the clinics) a couple have decided to continue in defiance of the law, and haven't as yet been challenged. Although the medical and pharmaceutical unions have largely remained silent (well they're going to make money out of this aren't they?) some doctors are refusing to see those patients who want non-medical contraceptives and leave them instead with their receptionists to be sold on demand.

Contraception Action Programme continue to set up a stall in Dandelion Green as do the students Union in U.C.D. and Trinity which supply non-medical contraceptives and supply information on other methods.

It is hard to know how the Bill is working for those who want contraceptives for 'bona fide' purposes and can afford the doctors and chemists charge and who are not embarrassed or infuriated by the rigmarole they must go through to obtain them, but there are many reports of large areas (eg. the midlands) where the chemists are not even stocking contraceptives, with many doctors and chemists availing of the conscience clause as they were told to do by the church. The government of course claims that it is working perfectly well but then they would. Within the next two weeks C.A.P. are starting an investigation of the Bill at work in the Dublin area and the results of this should be known within a month.

Virtuoso Performances Ltd.

Martin Lynch, with his plays based on the lives of Belfast working class people, finally reached the gin and tonic scene at the Lyric Theatre this year.

Although it was obvious that he had put a lot of effort into Dockers, a play similar in tone to his other plays, Taking Down the Barricades and Is There Life Before Death, what finally emerged after the Lyric Players had added that certain sophisticated something was a parody of Belfast people. The actors at the Lyric never change. You could put them into any part of any play and you would still get the same character. Dockers was an excellent vent for them. They all played cartoon versions of themselves, and the main character (so I was told at the interval: it wasn't in evidence) a 'militant trade-unionist' gave a choice portrayal as a wooden cliched hack, a typical CP joke figure.

What infuriated me was the definition given to workers grovelling over the crumbs the employers thought fit to throw them and fighting amongst themselves to get them. Thats anarchy, if you don't mind. Well, I do, and I am only sorry I wasn't fast enough to shout 'fuck off' to the resident socialist playwright at the Lyric.

Dockers is not a bad play, though like a political James Young play, but it is wasted at the Lyric. Such theatre is dead: Martin Lynch should never have left the community, the people his plays are about, at least there, you have a chance of discussion afterwards about trade unionism and its abysmal record in Northern Ireland. Don't anchor yourself at the Lyric, Martin Lynch, its not where its at.

NO. 12 FEB. 1981

Spence

outta control

News & Views of the Belfast Anarchist Collective

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW MORE ABOUT THE BAC, WRITE: BAC, c/o 7 WINEFAVERN ST., BELFAST



OUTTA CONTROL... of the state, bosses, patriarchy, schooling, churches... As Anarchists we oppose the authority and exploitation of this society, and advocate one of FREE association and self-management. This paper comes out every 3-4 WEEKS and we welcome contributions, criticisms etc.

STILL FALSELY IMPRISONED

Martin Meehan, who was on hunger strike last summer in an attempt to protest his innocence, lost the appeal on which he had rested a lot of hope.

Originally, along with two others, he had been found guilty of "Conspiring to kidnap" and "False imprisonment" (ironically). The evidence rested solely on the word of a paid army informer, Mc.Williams, who was also the object of the kidnapping. Meehan finished his determined 66-day hunger strike after being told that Amnesty International would 'launch an investigation' into his case. During his hunger strike, there was much-heated feeling, rioting, mass marches, a blaze of publicity, and a considerable amount of embarrassment for the Diplock 'believers'. The time lapse between the end of Meehan's hunger strike has given the Courts a breathing space whilst they considered how best to put this 'embarrassment' away for a second time.

During the appeal, the main problem for the three appeal court judges was to preserve the 'integrity' of the judge of the initial trial. The evidence used was circumstantial and unreliable, Mc.Williams (the informer) was tripped up several times on his 'facts' changed his statement after being shown new evidence by the RUC, identification was made only after a photograph of Meehan was shown to Mc.Williams by the RUC police etc. All that Meehan 'got' from the appeal was that he was cleared of 'Conspiracy to kidnap' (on a technicality). Not much good, as he didn't get a reduction in sentence.

Yet again, the RUC got what they wanted from the courts (as usual), that was to put Meehan away for a long time - The only problem for them was to be able to present the 'evidence' in such a way that it didn't seem to be too contrived, consideration of the facts shows just how farcical the whole thing was. Unfortunately, we have 'learned' friends and the media to consider these things for us.

One of the conditions under which Meehan ended his hunger strike was that Amnesty International would be 'investigating' his case, which they are doing BUT...according to their Northern Ireland research officer, Mr. D.Korsze, they won't be making a statment on his case, but "might" include it in their overall investigation into the Northern 'special courts' - some consolation after their promises to Meehan. It seems that Amnesty International's policy of 'not wishing to offend' remains. During the Murray's trial in the South, four years ago (when two Anarchists were under threat of death for 'murdering' an off duty guard during a bank robbery), Amnesty International kept their mouths firmly closed, even under much pressure at a time when Noel Murray could have been hung at ten days notice.... All that they did (eventually, when the heat had cooled off) was to issue a statement saying that they 'opposed capital punishment anywhere'. Korsze also said that their 'investigation' of the Meehan case would be to look for "points of concern" and not to "determine the innocence of the accused."

A Licence to Have Sex



The present Fianna Fail government were forced to legalizing contraception on Nov. 1st 1980 after a decade and a half of angry protest that the extended far outside minority and left wing groupings. Family planning clinics were set up in defiance of the law. Sympathetic Doctors supplied the pill to patients for 'period regulation'; and the European Court of Human Rights ruled that it was an infringement on private morality to ban the importation of contraceptives for personal use. The Catholic Church realized that it was futile to continue their protests against new legislation and instead started to warn the religious community that no matter what the state ruled, 'artificial' contraception was still morally wrong.

The new bill was drawn up by Haughey while he was still Minister for Health and despite its obviously (Catholic) sectarian nature passed through the Dail with little difficulty. The wording of this bill is so ambiguous as to allow many different interpretations on its main stipulations. For instance anyone supplying the means for 'artificial' birth control (cling wrap?) must apply for a license under the new regulations. Contraceptives may only be supplied be chemists after a doctor's prescription has been produced (this includes non-medical contraceptives such as condoms and spermicides). A doctor or chemist may refuse to provide contraceptives on moral

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WHAT A BLOODY STATE!

No.10... Enter Carlin and Co., the trade union bureaucrats (caps in hand) bumbling on about the 16% unemployment in N. Ireland; the local MPs dutifully asking for a handout to save the latest 800 jobs in British Enkalon in Antrim and the 240 jobs at Euroweld and the latest is £10 million for Delorean; the well heeled poverty experts who point out the deplorable social conditions in Ulster as compared to the rest of the EEC; the local business operators and politicians who are appalled at the latest 'terrorist' outrage, want tighter security. 'Oh please, please, please Mrs Thatcher, could the state give us more money, jobs, houses hospitals, police, etc.'

DREADFUL STATE

The state has poured £70 million (so far!) into the Delorean Car Plant in the spurious effort of producing luxury sports cars (just what we need).

JOBS FOR THE BOYS

It will subsidise Harland and Wolff to keep the largest concentration of 'protestant' workers quiet producing cheap ships for capitalist shipping companies.

It will spend a few millions maintaining the veneer of a welfare state, cutting all the welfare services to a bone.

It creates bogus employment schemes, made to look as if they're doing something and subsidise workers wages to keep firms from bankruptcy or losing jobs.

It will waste billions on Britain's only growth industry, security, ensuring that everything remains the same enabling private enterprise to get on with it.

CARRY ON REGARDLESS

Capitalism isn't interested in anything other than what can yield the highest profit, and so what if that means laying off workers or even killing them to secure that!

CHIPS WITH EVERTHING

The liberals hope for more state aid, nationalisation and bigger subsidies to attract the multinationals. The trendier the multinationals are, the better. In the early 60s, it was engineering, in the 70s it was the synthetic manufacturers, and now in the 80s it's the brand new saviour of the country - the microchip!

HERE TODAY...

Multinationals owe no allegiance to any country but only to their shareholders. They shift their industry where they can get the highest state grant and the cheapest workforce. Look at any impoverished country, and especially here, and there will be, or have been, ICI, I.T.T., IBM, etc.

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HUNGER STRIKE - LESSONS

It is still unclear if the hunger strikers gained any of their demands; at the moment there is a 'trial' period to establish if they can wear their own clothes, and when. Depending on the outcome there may be a resumption of protests. But no matter the result, last years campaign should be looked at for lessons. There were 2 important areas of concern - 'respectability' and accountability.

RESPECTABILITY

The Catholic Church and the Southern and SDLP politicians were continually appealed to for support. At one of the big Dublin marches, it was declared from the platform, 'if you won't lead us Charlie (Haughey), step aside'. Apart from the fact that we don't need anyone to lead us, Haughey, Hume, Blaney (who appeared on the platform) and co. are politicians whose job is to manage society in the interests of bankers, industrialists, property speculators, etc. They are in the top echelons of the state which maintains and improves the wealth and power of the ruling class. They are alternatively opportunistic and ruthless when it suits their power games. The only solution to a hunger strike which they will work for is one which leaves them powerful and us weak.

The Catholic bishops are also managers of people. They have power interests in property, education and especially people's heads. This church is one of the most authoritarian and patriarchal organisations in the world. It will hardly be a party to giving people more power over their lives. At the local level they channel almost all community resources through their hands in areas they control. They help reproduce the morals of obedience, sexual ignorance, guilt and female passivity. At the top of the hierarchy they control the school system, which conditions each new generation of 'catholic' children, and have a hefty income from land speculation and rent collection. Their power is recognised by the NIO, RUC and the British Army who consult them on the best methods for control.

When O'Fiach and Daly talked with Atkins and Thatcher it was because they feared a loss of credibility if they weren't seen to be lobbying for 'their flock', and because if a hunger striker had died, the ensuing bitterness and violence against the state would have threatened their control. If people want respectability they have it in the relatives and supporters who have turned out for the protests. They have it in themselves! Don't look to these 'managers' of people. If you think they have more influence because of their power, remember that power is gained at your expense. They have power because they have taken it from you. Once in power they will not risk losing it. They will only risk it when they fear losin it altogether or when they have a chance to increase it.

ROTTEN APPLES

The ones chosen by the DPP to take the stick for the RUC's reputation for brutality and sectarianism have appeared in court. It's the first time serving officers have been charged - two with the beating of J. Rafferty, and one with the shooting dead of young Michael McCartan last year. In line with the policy of 'criminalisation' and the necessity to improve the RUC's image, those officers who've been caught out are being charged and tried. Whether the courts put them away or not won't hide the fact that the whole bloody basket is rotten!

ACCOUNTABILITY

There were two structures for the organising of protests. Two years ago, the National H block and Armagh committee was elected at an open conference in Belfast, and last year a new committee was elected. While it is ideal for the organising of mass marches throughout Ireland and for gaining wide support, it had several shortcomings.

Firstly, it was based in Dublin, far from the heart of the struggle and it reinforced the image of protest against the Northern state as coming from Dublin. The committee was composed mainly of representatives from political parties (Sinn Fein, IRSP, PD) and "public figures" who are there for respectability and influence. But they have sectional influences and, more importantly they were not accountable during the year. (This is not a detraction from the work and risks that they faced. In fact, two of them have been shot dead, and Bernadette McAliskey seriously injured because of their work and public appearances).

The fundamental relationship between this committee and the other structure, the delegate meeting, was one of giving instructions. This second structure was made up of weekly meetings of two delegates from each area where there was a hunger strike committee. The delegates reported back weekly and were accountable. They were in the heart of almost everyday protest, and knew which strategies were most effective. While individuals belonged to political parties, there was more pressure for them to represent the areas than those groups.

There were some blind alleys pursued by the national committee. While mass marches increased peoples morale and were symbolically powerful, they shouldn't have dominated peoples energies. Also, the 'respectable' tag conned people into thinking that they could get to Armagh jail, or the British embassy, while leading them to a confrontation where the RUC were massed and armed to the teeth. If we really wanted to get to the jail or the embassy, then different tactics might have succeeded. Not only did we not get anywhere near the destinations, but the National committee stewards became a police force and were seen to beat people back. Certainly in Armagh, it would have been suicidal to try and break through, but why lead us into such frustrating, one-sided set pieces? Delegate meetings with, say, an elected committee (accountable) who could prepare the details of protests necessarily in secret, would be more productive in the organising of effective protests.

It is quite possible that had the delegate structure been the basis for organising, the parties (especially Sinn Fein), would have moved in and dominated the local hunger strike groups, and so the election of delegates. But this is a problem which would need more space to discuss.

BRITS N PIECES

ONE WAY TRAFFIC

Three soldiers recently convicted of the multiple stabbing of two farmworkers, have been transferred to British jails, in contrast to the refusal to allow Irish prisoners in Britain to be transferred here. The fourth soldier involved, and in charge of the patrol (now a captain) withheld the information he had about the killing. He received a suspended sentence, again in contrast to the long jail terms handed out to those who oppose this state.

ANARCHY!

TO BE GOVERNED IS TO BE: watched over, inspected, spied on, directed, legislated, regimented, closed in, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, evaluated, censored, commanded; all by creatures that have neither the right, nor wisdom, nor virtue... To be governed means that at every move, operation, or transaction one is noted, registered, entered in a census, taxed, stamped, priced, assessed, patented, licensed, authorised, recommended, admonished, prevented, reformed, set right, corrected. Government means to be subjected to tribute, trained, ransomed, exploited, monopolised, extorted, pressured, mystified, robbed; all in the name of public utility and the general good. Then, at the first sign of resistance or word of complaint, one is repressed, fined, despised, vexed, pursued, hustled, beaten up, garroted, imprisoned, shot, machine-gunned, judged, sentenced, deported, sacrificed, sold, betrayed, and to cap it all, ridiculed, mocked, outraged, and dishonored. That is government, that is its justice and its morality!... O human personality! How can it be that you have cowered in such subjection for sixty centuries? Pierre Joseph Proudon 1860s

Euroweld Occupation

We applaud the sit-in at the Euro-Weld industrial plant, considering the passive reaction to redundancies in the North, such as those at British Enkalon, Courtaulds etc. The Euroweld company makes tanks for the chemical industry, and is a subsidiary of P.X. Nuclear, which is owned by Paul X. O'Neill, and his family from Boston.

The people involved are staging this sit-in because of the Owners' proposed redundancies, and eventual closure, due to 'bankruptcy'. Of course this company was to be another of those great solutions to unemployment, even Atkins was giving O'Neill the 'pat on the back' routine. Now, with O'Neill gone, Atkins has been left with egg on his face.

One of the workers' representatives said that they would like the chance to run the factory by themselves, the major problem to this being finance, and the state surely isn't going to give finance to that sort of venture! The workers' believe that the grants given to Euroweld before the strike were very poorly utilised, and as to where the money has gone, O'Neills pocket seems to them to be the obvious answer.

Unionist MP, Peter Robinson is due to visit the plant on Thursday 29th, but as one person pointed out, his motivation is purely one of publicity, and not out of concern for their problem. Likewise, the Union leaders have not given support to the sit-in (So much for Terry Carlin and his mouthing about unemployment). As usual, they'll probably wait until it's 'safe' before making any great protestations ie. when the strike is over. Euroweld is part of the nuclear establishment (constructing boilers for nuclear reactors), and an ideal turn in the operation of the company would be a rejection of the nuclear industry by the workers, in favour of socially useful production. Even one of the workers said that he was opposed to nuclear power as the 'final solution' to the energy crisis!

ACTIVIST SHOT

Another assassination attempt has been made on a H-Block activist. Bernadette McAliskey, of the national committee, was seriously injured along with her husband when a gang broke down their front door and pumped bullets into them. Three loyalists are at present in police custody, having been caught red-handed by a British Army patrol. There are a few questions unanswered. Did this patrol happen to arrive just after (and not before) the attack? Why was the patrol there, when it wasn't its patch (which was in S. Armagh)?

STARTING 'WORK'

Most working class parents' aspirations for their son's future was to "get a good trade behind you, then you can go anywhere!". After leaving school I immediately began "to serve my time" which is to disappear due to the micro chip. For five years in working for the firm I was supposed to pick up all the skills with the help of my workmates and the night courses and day release at the Tech. (Whose role was more concerned with the history of the trade and the traditional way of working and were years behind any new technological developments of the trade and the skills needed). Five years of slave labour wages and skills that could be learned in two...but then the bosses would not get that extra three years of cheap labour. The unions collaborated even more when they introduced a scheme when for the first six months of starting a firm you were sent to the Tech to learn the trade so that you were immediately more useful to your employer although still serving the full five years.

The unions supported this system believing it somehow enhanced the stature of the 'journeyman' who went through the same process and therefore deserved the high wage and perpetrated the idea that the trade was so complicated that it took five years to gather the knowledge.

The first year, until the next apprentice came along, was spent going messages for the men, doing the most repetitive jobs (not necessarily connected with the job), and being treated like the general dogs body. Most apprentices had a similar experience.

THE WORKERS

Some of the workers were referred to as the "firm's men". Though they didn't have any status such as overseer or foreman, they had an unquestioning loyalty towards the boss and always took his side and "squawked" on fellow workers.

Others, through experience, knew how to "box clever" and always managed to look busy when the manager was around and farted around when he wasn't.

Most just kept their heads down, grinding on and taking orders. I suppose the backbone of production.

In all the time I worked there (six years), I never saw any stoppages...in true Ulster tradition...and only once was there a threatened overtime ban for an extra pittance a week, which the employer gave almost immediately and at the same time chopped an hour off the regular four hour Saturday morning overtime which meant you didn't run into double time on the last hour.

Any national wage claims the union made to the employers body were done in Britain, and strike action was done over there, as Northern Ireland was a 'special case'. The only sacrifice which the Belfast lads made was a voluntary donation for the men who were out on the strike.

Women working in the firm even when on an identical job as men got about half the wage. Our union wouldn't allow women admittance. The men in the firm accepted this situation and perpetrated it, knowing that any solidarity with the women would undermine the whole basis of the 'craft' system and their status.

Unions were organised on a craft basis and subsequently wage negotiation became even more difficult as they were not only competing with other unions represented in the firm but also fighting the employer

INDIVIDUAL - MAY STRIKERS FEAR THIS IS AN INDIVIDUAL HIGH THE GOD AND HIS OWN HIS THE INCLUDING STRIKERS WHO HAVE NO UNIONS. IF ONE HAS THE STATE WOULD HAVE TO EXCLUDE LOCK UP OR BANISH HIM, IF ALL THE THEY WOULD DO AWAY WITH THE STATE!

BLOODY SUNDAY MARCH 22ND 1972 2PM CROGGAN BRUSSELE BRANVILLE 1972

LATEST IS THAT THE 90 IRISHERS, WHO CAME OFF THE NO-WASH! PROTEST TO ALLEN. THE ARRANGEMENT AND OPPORTUNITY TO NEWS REPORTERS TO REPORT, MARKED THEIR CELLS + RESIGNED THE PROTEST WHEN NO MORE NOTES MADE.

"HIDEOUT CAFE" - VEGETARIAN FOOD, WHOLESOME + CHEAP OPEN THURS - SAT 12-4PM, JUST BOOKS.

BLACK FLAG - JUST OUT, VOL VI NO 6, 1989 ARTICLES ON: HUNGER STRIKE, CITIZENS DEFENSE, CNT, SPANISH REPRESSION, USA + IRELAND, GERMAN, SOUTH AFRICA, AUCKLAND, GRIGUJE, ETC. OTHER PAPERS - FREEDOM, XTRA, ANARCHY.

ANARCHY

JR White



"From Loyalism to Anarchism"

Cienfuegos Press have just published 'The Meaning of Anarchism' by JR White, with an introduction 'From Loyalism to Anarchism' by Albert Meltzer. James Robert White (always called Jack) was born at Whitefields, Broughshane near Ballymena into a rich Protestant landowning family. All through his life, however, he rejected his privileged position and fought for what he believed to be right, rather than doing as most Loyalists did in defending what they felt to be their own interests (in fact the Loyalist working class were and have only been defending the interests of their bosses).

White struggled, along with James Connolly, to try and set up a Socialist Republic and it was White who proposed the formation of the Irish Citizen Army.

He later led the Irish Republican Brigade against Franco's forces in the Spanish Civil War. It was in Spain that White first came into contact with anarchist ideas. He was very impressed by the way these ideas were into practice in Spain, so much so that after only a few months he became a committed Anarchist. He later went to England to try and get support (and arms) for the Spanish Anarchists.

In England, White first met Matt Kavanagh a Liverpool-Irish Anarchist, and they worked on a survey of Irish Labour and its aspirations from an Anarchist perspective.

White also wrote a study of the Cork 'soviet'. These works are, however, lost as his heirs destroyed his papers when he died in 1940. The 'Meaning of Anarchism' is therefore the only available work by White. The pamphlet is divided into two parts - The first explaining Anarchist theory by contrasting it to Marxism and the second part applying this to the events of the Spanish Civil War.

who set one union off against another. High wages were not dictated by the relative skill or knowledge needed for the job but by the militancy of the union's members. As new technology was introduced there were frequent disputes between the unions as to whose members would operate the new equipment. This disunity only served the employer.

I remember the employer introduced a yearly bonus scheme. Some of the profits were to be shared out to the workers. The amount was completely at his discretion and was the minimum amount needed to keep us quiet. Naturally he gave the most money to the workers who were most likely to protest about the amount and relatively little to the quiet workers (usually old) whose consistent work deserved more. This inequality caused bad feeling amongst the workers towards each other and defused any attempt for us to demand a greater share of the profits.

I also remember that the majority of the people working in the firm felt that if the firm were to close the EMPLOYER would

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In the first part White clearly exposes the lack of logic expressed by Marxists with their nonsensical theories of destroying the state by seizing power (thus actually becoming the state and they will hardly work to make themselves 'wither away') and their Pseudo-Mystical bunk about Scientific Socialism.

This is contrasted with Anarchist thought which rejects the seizure of power as ultimately corrupting those who seize it (ie. the state cannot 'wither away' over a period of time- must be smashed) and substitutes voluntarism and spontaneity for the Marxists' mechanical faith in the 'inevitability' of a Socialist Revolution occurring and being followed by a 'Socialist' State which will 'wither away' to be replaced by a stateless Communist Society (where everyone will live happily ever after).

White takes as examples the 1916 rebellion in Dublin and the Russian Revolution which show that Marxist analysis is far too mechanical to be totally relevant as it fails to take into account human factors such as spontaneity and voluntarism which can be expressed better in Anarchist theory.

In short, what Marxists actually suggest is a 'political' revolution whereby one hierarchical state is replaced by an alternative hierarchical state.

What Anarchists demand is a social revolution where all hierarchical institutions are smashed and people are able to organise their own lives without any outside force exerting its will on them.

The second part of the pamphlet loses some of its relevance to today because at the time it was written White was applying his arguments to the 'recent history of Spain', which is not recent history anymore. Nonetheless, for anyone who knows something of the history of the Spanish Civil War it is well worth reading.

Whites pamphlet, and Meltzer's introduction show the logic of Anarchism and to some extent its relevance to Ireland today. If the Northern Irish people are to replace the chaos of modern capitalist society with a society based on mutual respect and freedom (and I would say that this is only possible in an Anarchist society), it is a priority that the British presence (military, economic and cultural) be removed. For this new society to work, it must eradicate the existing sectarian division in the working class. As Jack White said, "My aim is to unite Irishmen against English men, not to divide them among themselves."

have the most to lose. They didn't see that all one hundred of us would suffer individually whilst he was only one person and had lots of other sources of seedy income. This somehow demonstrated the respect which the workforce had for the 'leader' and felt themselves irresponsible for their own future.

A WORD FOR OUR SPONSORS

The owner was from a family of your typical landed gentry. A Unionist landowner with a long tradition of inherited wealth and power through years of exploitation. He belonged to a faceless tight little lot, who spent their days following the usual lordly pursuits such as fox hunting and had their hand stuck in every dirty little business in Belfast over two centuries. Being a very physically tall family this only reinforced their aloof position to their employees whom they regarded with contempt and arrogance. He may have been at one time the top layer of the Ulster capitalist cake but now finds himself being eaten by the much larger fish, the multi-nationals and their take over bids.

LESSONS FROM THE PAST.

It is ironic that in today's economic climate political commentators compare it to the '30s and the war years when some of the biggest occupations and squatts took place in Britain. Brighton Ex-Service Mens Secret Committee worked at night breaking into buildings and installing homeless families with their belongings. In Glasgow, when rent increases were made, the women banded together, street by street, and refused to pay, then they formed The Womens Housing Council. They spied on the movements of the bailiffs and rent collectors, barricaded their homes, and reinstalled the furniture of evicted families.

Recently in Amsterdam, the homeless have joined together in a mass-level, highly organised, anti-authoritarian squatters movement called the "Kraakers." Ten thousand people are now occupying some 5,000 empty buildings. Recently, at the Dutch Queens coronation, they marched with the cry "No housing - No coronation." The riots lasted for five days, and the squatters created their own 'No go' areas. It took 8,000 police and army personnel to protect the coronation, and the city was transformed into an armed camp, reminiscent of the German occupation in '45. What the Kraakers have achieved, like the Womens Housing Council, of the '40s was a togetherness of people all suffering the same problem, all doing something about it collectively.

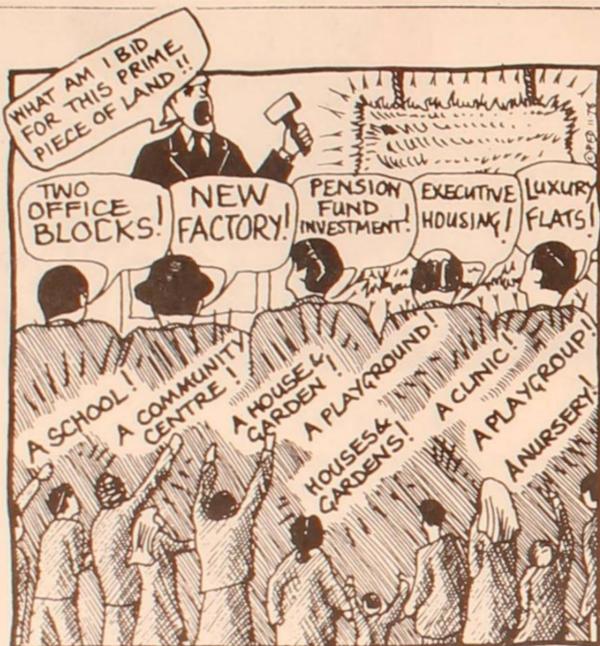
CHANGES IN SIGHT.

Just before christmas in Belfast, a housing enquiry took place involving all the local tenants associations (from Divis, Shankill etc.), advice centres, and anyone else who was interested. It was the first major collective action involving people who are suffering as a result of the appalling housing situation in Belfast. The grim statistics and experiences came pouring forth, as well as how the housing executive has dealt with these problems in the light of the recent cutbacks. At present while the housing executive have 32,000 people on its waiting lists, its pathetic budget was reduced by approximately a fifth. Only repairs likely to lead to injury will be dealt with. Leaky roofs will be dealt with after anything up to 3-4 months, any other complaints or repairs have a likely response equal to nil. Enquiries such as this will eventually produce a report which will undoubtedly say that the housing stock is too small and that repairs are not being done quickly enough. The function of the report will be to embarrass the executive or government into moving on this issue. Housing associations have seen this as being their principal function during the last ten years. Their successes, unfortunately, haven't been great - why? Because they have been attempting to "get things done" along the same lines as Mr. Clarke, they are playing by a set of rules decided upon by the state. Channels that have to be used, channels designed to confuse and to put the protesting group off.

What must be considered now are new ways to take control of our own housing, and at least ways to get them to give us what we want.

DEMOLISHING DIVIS.

An attempt has been made at this by the Divis Demolition Committee. The Divis complex was built in the sixties, and it suffers from acute dampness, bad ventilation, overcrowding and unemployment. The committee carried out a survey,



the results of which surprised even the tenants. They decided on a campaign to get the complex demolished, and to get new houses built the way they wanted.

The way that they went about it was to systematically smash vacated flats. This was done with the aid of plumbers, electricians etc. - to turn off water supplies, take out electrical wiring, and then demolishing walls, ceilings, floors etc. - They made it impossible for the housing executive to reallocate the flats, flats that were uninhabitable even before they were wrecked. The end result of the campaign was for the housing executive to announce plans to pull down part of the complex and rebuild new houses, as well as to refurbish the remaining flats.

SQUATTING

Squatting in the North reached really high proportions in the early 70's, when Catholics and Protestants were forced to move to areas where their 'own' people were in a majority. Since then squatting, surprisingly, has been quite prevalent and at the moment the Housing Executive has 4,000 properties occupied, which is twice as many as in the Greater London Council Borough. Squatting in the North has been illegal since 1946, but even with the law, the Executive has not been able to do very much about evicting families. Most squatts are in ghetto areas, and are not communal squatts. On the occasions when the Executive have tried to evict with the aid of the Brits, they have been met with community based opposition, road blockings by black taxis etc.

Recently, the spokesperson for the Housing Executive, Brian Henderson stated that "Further cuts in the housing programme will again encourage squatting."

Unfortunately, the majority of squatts are in public sector which doesn't really threaten the state, but the people at the top of the housing list. To be in the position of being at the top of the housing list means that you must be living in over crowded, squalid conditions. So in effect, squatts in public sector houses are denying those who need the houses most of all.

Squatting, however, in the private sector can only be encouraged, since all those buildings, offices etc. were created to make profits, to exploit.

WHAT NEXT?

The major lessons that have to be learnt by people that live in shit conditions is that by trying to achieve something by their rules is just not on. Individual responses etc. and reasoned argument are useless. Institutions will fuck us over at every opportunity. We must work together on our own basis, occupying their offices en masse, carrying out direct actions like the Divis committee did, and supporting others in their actions. We must take the step beyond their basis of legality and do what we think is right - and take what we want and need, living in the way that we want, and not in the chipboard boxes that they offer us.

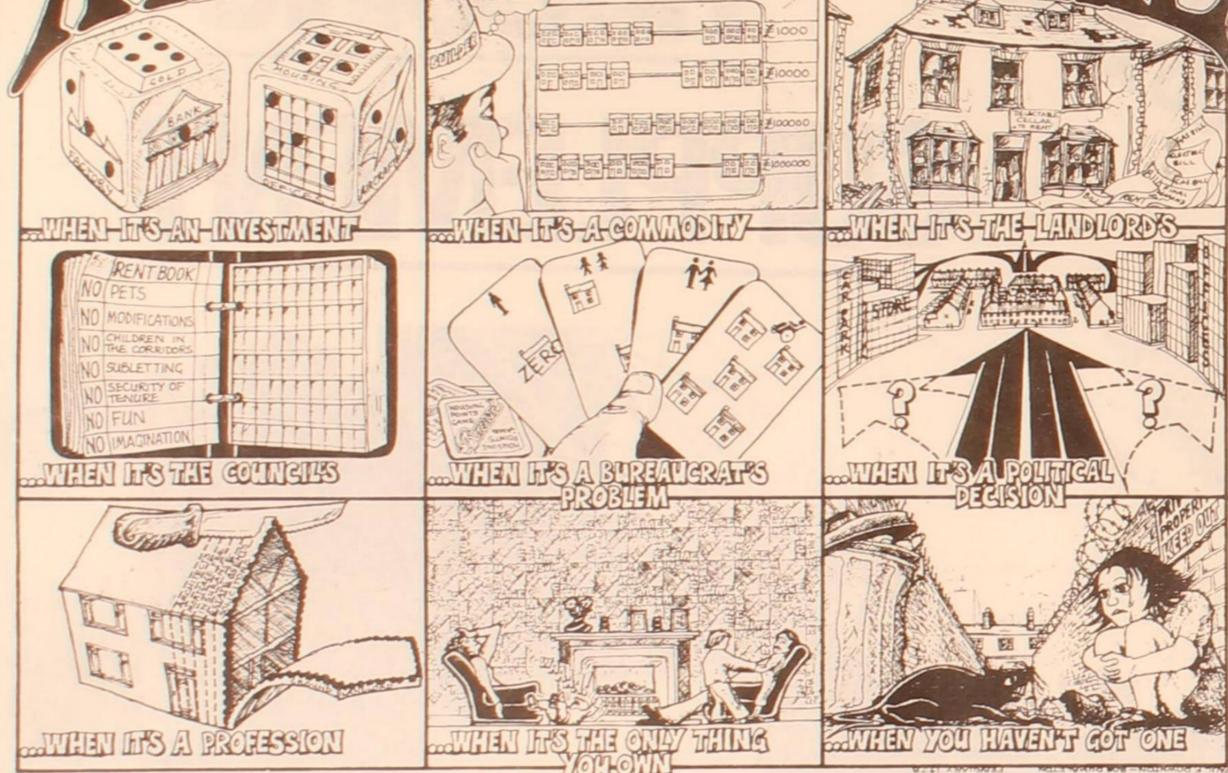
OUTTA CONTROL

HOUSING SUPPLEMENT



THE HOUSING CRISIS

A HOUSE IS NOT A HOME



BUILD, BUILD, BUILD!

An assumption of today in the kind of 'welfare' capitalist society we live in is that the magic force of the market will satisfy most human needs and that the government welfare bureaucracies will meet the rest. However, the shortage of housing is just one problem that the state can't deal with. The state is not concerned with human beings and how they live...to it, they are objects...to be used, abused and manipulated. The state is concerned with power and privileges etc...(In effect, concerned with its own self-preservation).

The state and private enterprises concept of what housing should be are not very different. The major difference between the two arises over profitability. Private enterprise will build when the price is right. The state builds when its economic policy demands an injection into the economy to stimulate growth, its an instrument to be used in the same way as taxes are. What neither do, especially the state, is build houses, communities etc...which people want. To suggest that to build more houses and increase housing stock is the answer to housing problems is naive to say the least.

One of the major problems of housing is the way in which we are forced to live...if it was just a question of stock, then why are great parts of Craigavon and other estates empty? The way then that we are forced to live is in nuclear units, which are the modern capitalists dream...the smallest number to live in one building and be proportionately the greatest consumers.

EXTENDED FAMILIES AND BEYOND.

The old street communities of back to back houses and of the extended families were smashed with the tearing down of the inner city and the random allocation of new houses in urban housing estates. The extended family as a living community had many problems as well as being noted for some good points on the areas of personal relationships and on consumerism. Firstly families didn't feel so isolated as their counter-parts in the new housing estates...if the kids were getting you down they could always go to their grandparents three doors up, while you cleared your head. Likewise if your Ma and Da were getting you down a couple of nights spent at your cousins would take the pressure off.

On a consumption level every family didn't need to have a phone, car, lawn mower (that's if you were lucky enough to have a garden) drill etc...these items could all be shared.

The extended family at least gives us some idea of what it could be like to break out of the nuclear unit to one where a small community can develop together, share problems, etc and be of a help to each other. A new type of relationship which transcends blood relationships with all the problems that that entails.

Ultimately people will have to take control of their own housing...deciding what we as a community, street and individuals need. Not by some bureaucrat who receives a salary whether they scratch their arse all day, or because of their guilty conscience they replace the missing slates on your roof after you have spent two months attempting to harass them.

JOHN CUNNINGHAM looks at the story behind the latest housing fiasco

High rise homes: cheap and hasty

...panels and local authorities himself living in similar four tower blocks built with... council... being replaced... director... beginning of the...

OUTTA CONTROL

SUPPLEMENT. Published by the Belfast Anarchist Collective, 7 Winetavern Street, Belfast 1

Any state and its army need an effective communications system.... both within the country and between other states. Its survival depends on it. Thus the air-waves are zealously guarded from interference by those outside its magic circle. Control of these forms of communication: whether underground trunk cables, microwave radar, or satellite...is a top priority. Total control is a strong point of any state but also potentially its weakest.

Every radio mast, radar centre, telephone cable or whatever... is designed NOT for our pleasure and entertainment, but for purposes of war and control, for the launching of attacks (including nuclear) and for communicating from one secret bunker to another, whether the war be between countries or within its own borders. Without microwave, for instance, we wouldn't have colour television...but it was designed as a comprehensive radar system for the timely launching of nuclear destructionany so-called benefits to us are purely incidental. That little innocuous mast blurring out BBC rubbish can to-morrow be used in the death of thousands of people. Ireland, and particularly northern Ireland is by no means exempt from this nuclear nightmare. A network of facilities have been secretly developed in Ireland, for war-use by the legal RAF, the United States Air Force (USAF) and NATO.

Some RAF bases in Britain and Ireland have been "earmarked and stock-piled" for use by the USAF, operating in the world interests of the US military (and in particular the infamous National Security Agency) all quite separate from NATO. The USAF operate a network of communications separate from the Post Office and the Ministry of Defence. In Ireland, this intelligence infrastructure takes the form of ground-based listening posts which, up to the rise of Reagan, were under the direct control of US war-monger Z. Brezinski. All these radar listening posts are linked into US-controlled Menwith Hill in England, the largest satellite communications centre in the world. Menwith Hill is linked to the RAF radar post at Bishopscourt in Co. Down, and indirectly to the south of Ireland via another microwave post at Dead Mans Hill, near Newtownhamilton in S. Armagh. (Amongst other things, the facilities at Menwith Hill make national and international phone-tapping a relatively simple exercise) While Bishopscourt is ostensibly run by the RAF, it is at the disposal of the American military. The Americans also have 3 communications bases in Ireland which are independent of the Post Office and the Ministry of Defence. These sites are at Slievenorra (W. of Cushendall), dungiven, and Cushendall.

Important to US war interests as these three sites undoubtedly are, the most important link to the US and NATO are the facilities made available at Bishopscourt, which in turn links all over the north. Bishopscourt is part of Britains Broadband Relay Network...a microwave radar system which carries colour television and some telephone traffic. That's one use.... it was developed with other motives in mind...phone-tapping, support for military communications radar, air attack, spurs to other radar stations forming part of the NATO nuclear attack system.

A network of facilities have been secretly developed in Ireland for waruse by the legal RAF, the United States Air Force and NATO

(The microwave system includes a link to the secret British military government HQ at Cheltenham, where the 'war effort' will be co-ordinated.)

The microwave system is due for intense development, to complement the US space surveillance technology which is presently being developed even further. That noted quiet liberal - Carter - managed to pass the biggest military budget in US history before handing over to Reagan. Carter and the rest of the US military machine upped war spending by 4% (beyond inflation) to the staggering sum of £79,000,000,000 for THIS YEAR ALONE!! Reagan intends upping this even further, and part of the proceeds will be spent in increasing the "effectiveness" of its European radar networks, including its independent and RAF-loaned posts in Ireland. (The rest will be used to develop nuclear submarines B-1 bombers, greater air-lift capacity to get US troops to Europe using giant CX cargo aircraft, and satellites). The US thinking is that a nuclear war could be fought in Europe or the Middle East and could be WON by the US...and to do so it needs a check-board of airfields and radar throughout Europe to be placed at its disposal.....to either launch a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union... or to shift troops quickly to the GULF to ensure that the big machine called America doesn't run out of oil. Likewise they believe that Soviet retaliation could be via the "back-door route" round the back of Britain and over Ireland. So those ground based communication posts at Dungiven, Skevenorra and Cushendall are vital (remember the USAF base at Derry which closed down in 1977....It's use was as a communications link to Polaris submarines in the Norwegian Sea - this role has now passed on to Thuro in the extreme north of Scotland)....Vital too are the R.A.F. facilities on loan. War is a REAL possibility with the US prepared to spend a fortune in Europe, and with a mad general (Haig) given the post of Secretary of State (Haig's message to other Nato countries - Haig is ex-head of NATO - is spend, spend, spend....get ready for war).

So with the US leading willing western governments towards war....it's best to know what part in this catastrophe Ireland is expected to play....

Once the US decide that their war is imminent, Britain and Ireland go on a war footing, the whole nuclear standby system and standby airfields swing into operation for real. The centre for military operations is most likely in Armagh, where a secret underground bunker was dug out into a hill beside Gough Barracks in the late '50s. This secret underground military bunker is equipped with sufficient room and supplies for 100 or more military and some civilian people. It would be from here that our administrators and controllers would stay out of harms way while the rest of us went through the night mare of nuclear holocaust. The secret bunker is linked to the British army land forces HQ at Wiltshire by a series of emergency circuits. (there are also secret switchboards manned by the military at Portadown, Derry, Ballymena and Downpatrick). Armagh is also linked to the overall British radar system by routing through a small radar station at Cromhill South east of Ballymena (it looks more than a bungalow with a mast). Cromhill has similar links to a secret station, at Shanes Hill, South West of Larne. From there it feeds into the main British network via Scotland.

The vital link in the radar chain is at RAF Bishopscourt in County Down. It has radar equipment clearly visible above ground, although the main centre of operations is buried beneath the airfield. Bishopscourt watches signals linked by microwave radio channels fed through a station on the side of Black mountain at Standings Stone Hill. Bishopscourt is not an "early warning system", though it is linked to the overall British microwave system which includes "early warning". It is used as a tactical control unit....to direct the submarines, helicopters and planes (both RAF and USAF) about to launch their destruction. It is an essential part of the Western war machine.

RADIO-ACTIVE

The route of the radar and data signals is from Bishops Court to Ballygomartin, and Black Mountain (Standing Stones Hill) on to Portpatrick in Scotland, and thence to the computerised centre at West Drayton in England. A back up alternative route exists from Black Mountain to Dead Mans Hill in South Armagh, and then, via Dublin, to Wales and Drayton.

(This isn't the only link with the South. So-called Irish 'neutrality' was never more than an accident. It was merely the case that successive Irish governments would not join any military alliances (e.g. NATO) in which Britain was a member. But since joining the EEC such splendid isolation is a myth. ...an EEC defence policy exists... an attack on one is an attack on all... so Ireland won't be joining NATO, but sees no contradiction in forming an agreement with the USA for Shannon airport to be used in times of "emergency" (i.e. US aggression). It would be used to airlift US troops using huge carrier aircraft. Ireland won't necessarily be supplying troops in the next US-attack nuclear war... it will merely allow its radar and airport facilities to be used. That is all the US needs. Their missiles do the killing.

The role of Ireland in a western nuclear war is not restricted to the use of radar stations and airfields... it may have more DIRECT uses. Remember Ballykelly RAF station in Derry... how a "few acres in Derry helped defend the free world" by providing a communications link to polaris submarines in the Norwegian Sea... supposedly shut down in 1977 and handed over to the army, renamed Shackleton Army Barracks. However, there are still RAF people on the site... and it is used by Anti-Submarine Warfare Sea King helicopters which normally operate from Cornwall Northumberland and Lossiemouth in the Moray Firth in Scotland. A-S-W Sea Kings use Ballykelly once again an important western station now that nuclear war strategists feel that they need to plug the gaps on the Western seaboard if they are to annihilate all they wish Eastwards in Asia. ASW Seakings carry anti-submarine NUCLEAR depth charges, and amongst other things, the prospect of submarine nuclear warfare is high on the US-National Security Agency thinking for the future, judging by the latest budget allocations. How much of the billions will reagan spend in Derry? The facilities at Ballykelly will most certainly be upgraded, just like the radar system at Bishops Court in Co. Down. Ballykelly has the added advantage of being close to a secret government site at Brenbradagh Mountain (which is near Dungiven where an independent USA USAF radio channel exists). Brenbradagh Mt. has an underground (secret) storage facility for nuclear weapons, possibly the only site in Ireland for storing such devices. We should be wary of under-estimating what NATO (i.e. NSA of America) plan for Ballykelly and Bishops Court... people in Britain were told that cruise missiles were to be put on their doorstep only after the US military had made the decision.

So Ireland becomes part of the US war games... and that is why during the recent NATO war-games (operation crusader) much of the North was listed as being obliterated by Soviet nuclear weapons in response to them being attacked by the USA. (Though the military and civilian few will survive in their radiation-proofed

Ireland won't necessarily be supplying troops in the next US attack nuclear war...it will merely allow it's radar and airport facilities to be used.

secret bunkers, communicating and directing through an extensive radar system.)

Generally speaking, ALL radar is mixed up somewhere with either the British system, or the independent USA/NSA system. Some secret radar stations and underground bunkers have been identified in this article... others have yet to be discovered. ** It would do no harm to watch very carefully and see how the war-mongers of the USA intend spending

the £79,000,000,000 it has allocated for warfare during 1981.

* For instance, how much is there underground at Danescroft Farm between Hillsborough and Lisburn? Is it just an innocent bungalow with a radio mast... like all those other little bungalows in England which mastermind nuclear warfare?

The next Workers Research Bulletin due out late February should have much of interest to add.



ON YOUR OWN.

At present, institutions like the Housing executive give faster individual responses to housing problems rather than group or community involvement — fobbing groups off with individual points per house, special requirements of individuals etc. — it wouldn't do to have block grants for streets etc. where people themselves decide how they want to spend it, on who needs more repairs etc. — rather than those who have the know how to hassle and get grants etc, and those who don't remaining in the abject slums which will continue as long as the state persists on individual response.

Another idea is Block rents, where those who have more should pay more than those who don't. At present, the Housing Executive would claim that they are attempting to improve housing by giving grants for bathrooms etc. Again, to get the grant, householders have to apply individually and get the extensions done individually. If the state was sincere about people having bathrooms they would build them all at once in the same street, considering houses were not built randomly, but by the street, therefore conditions would apply roughly the same to each of the dwellings. The state has even used new technology in house building, new types of material, new construction processes have all been used in other sectors other than in public housing.

When you do have a complaint, the Housing Executive gives you the run around between "District Offices", "Redevelopment Offices" — "Oh sorry dear, repairs section is dealing with that... Oh, we passed that on to the contractors... No, I'm sorry, but we can't give you their name, ask at the district office..." and so it goes on and on....

A couple of months ago, a man from Walnut street called George Clarke took the Housing Executive to court in an attempt to carry out repairs — repairs that they didn't carry out after numerous phone calls, solicitors letters, visits to area offices, two orders from the petty sessions, and finally a threat from the high court to imprison the Director of the Housing Executive if the repairs were not carried out in 6 MONTHS!!!

LEGALITY

Obviously plying the game doesn't work. Its now nearly impossible to withhold rent as an individual act—a step across the legal line. Because of the rent and rates strike over internment in the early seventies' the then Stormont government had no problems passing the payment for debt act. A vicious piece of legislation which enables the Housing Executive, and Electricity Service to obtain rent or payment without your permission from your wages or social security payments.

Recently it was discovered that when people were making housing applications there was a request on the form for the applicants national insurance number so that in the event of them wishing to enforce the payment of debt act they won't have much problem tracing employers or social security offices. They don't happen to say on the form that the N.I. question is voluntary and that they have no right to demand it.

Information between different departments flows quite easily — information which is there for the taking. Bearing in mind the discovery of the SAS in a dole office by workmen one Sunday (see OC number 9). It isn't hard to believe that people are being used, abused and manipulated.

Proposal by squatters in Hebden Bridge, Yorkshire, for the long term conversion of their hillside terrace
It envisaged:

- Workshops for printing, sign-writing, weaving and making clothes.
- Two children's houses: one each for the under-fives and the older children. These would incorporate play and sleeping space, a creche and education facilities.
- A house for common activities with two bathrooms, a sauna, TV rooms, music room, quiet room/library and laundry.
- Sixteen self-contained flats.
- Wind generator and organic garden.

The squatters offered to do most of the building work themselves but Calderdale Council rejected the proposal in favour of an expensive conversion into standard nuclear family units.

