

THE COMMON MARKET

For a People's Referendum

MORE important than whether or not Britain should enter the Common Market is the manner in which the decision is being taken. The people have no say in it at all. Big Business long ago considered that its plans to extend and centralise its activities, and thus make more profit, would best be served by joining the European Community. Successive British Governments, both Labour and Tory, have done their best to forward these plans and Heath has only completed what Wilson had been actively engaged in negotiating.

There remains only the matter of getting Parliament to place its 'democratic' seal of approval on the whole thing. Here, however, some quite unexpected difficulties have arisen.

LABOUR SHAKE-UP

The working population, sickened by broken promises from Labour, is now becoming angered by the openly hostile attacks being launched against them by the Tories. Faced with massive unemployment, soaring prices, rotten housing which is getting worse, a Health Service which is dying on its feet, and the shackling of workshop activity by the Industrial Relations Act, a great many workers see entry into the Common Market as just another dirty trick being played upon them by those in 'authority'. They are dead right, for that is just what it is. All of which means that oppo-

sition to entry has assumed mass proportions among people who previously had paid hardly any attention to it at all. This development is posing problems to the Government but, above all, it is causing a real shake-up in the ranks of organised Labour.

If Wilson is now hedging his bets, talking of 'the terms not being right', and hinting that he might now be against entry, he is merely trimming his sails to the prevailing wind. As a politician he wants power, and he can't ever get it unless he can somehow hold the support of a majority of Labour voters. So he is at present engaged, along with some of his closest associates, in the unedifying spectacle of eating his own words.

TORY VOTERS STUNNED

The Tories, too, are having difficulties—but for different reasons. Their strongest supporters from a voting point of view come from that section of the population which believes that Britain and the British are somehow superior to all 'foreigners' and ordained by God Almighty to rule the world.

They have already been shaken to the marrow of their bones by a Tory Government presiding over the dissolution of the 'empire', they are horrified at all the black faces appearing in Britain, and now they are being asked to enter into some kind of unity with Frenchmen, Ger-

mans and Italians. They are quite stunned by it all and feel betrayed by their own beloved Conservative Party. They turn increasingly to people like Powell who seems to have remained true to the old ideals and opposes entry into the Market.

So while the real rulers of the country are united in their decision to join Europe, the traditional Parties—on whom they rely to put across the decision—are finding that the voters in each camp are in revolt. Indeed, for the first time in many a long year there is a truly popular movement developing against the Government and against the leaders of both the main political parties.

PARLIAMENTARY CONUNDRUMS

In the face of all this, it is no wonder that concern is being expressed among the parliamentarians that unless some method is found of getting a democratic decision—or at least the appearance of a democratic decision—Parliament and Government will, as they say, 'lose its credibility' among the people. But how is this rescue operation to be carried out?

Heath is for grinding on regardless, relying on a substantial number of Labour MPs voting for entry and thus giving the appearance of the decision being an 'all-Party' one representing the real opinion of the people.

Wilson is not clear what to do. He is waiting to see which way the wind blows, but many of his supporters are already working out a formula which will enable most Labour MPs to vote against the Market and thus give the impression that Labour represents all the opposition. The formula for this is that entry would probably be all right under a Labour Government but would be disastrous under the Tories... so let's have another General Election.

But there are snags in this—big snags—and Michael Foot, that great defender of the parliamentary faith, has been the first to spot them. How can we claim an election on the Common Market issue, he writes in *Tribune*, unless Labour is clearly seen to be against entry? With the Party in Parliament divided, as it is, Heath could truthfully say that an election wouldn't in any way indicate the views of the voters on the Common Market question.

So Michael Foot proposes a little manoeuvre to fool the Tories and the people. He admits that many leading MPs are devoted to entry into Europe, that many others believe that Rippon's terms are good and, he hastens to say, he wouldn't want them to change their views which are 'sincerely held'. All he demands, this freedom-loving admirer of Hazlitt, is that Labour MPs who agree with entry should toe the Party line and vote as the Party Whips tell them! This, he writes, will make it clear that another Labour Government would truly reflect the wishes of the people.

He admits it is a conundrum and it certainly is. How do you make a Party which has supported entry and has negotiated it and whose leaders clearly believe in it, into a Party which will lead the

opposition to it?

Of course there is a much simpler way of finding out what the people feel about the Common Market—a popular referendum binding on the Government. No need then to shut the mouths of the pro-marketters, no need to solve parliamentary conundrums—all that is required is a simple vote of all the people for or against entry.

The decision once arrived at would be mandatory upon the Government. Everyone could put his point of view in the pre-referendum campaign. Simple and democratic—but the democrat Foot doesn't advocate it. He wants an election because the purpose of elections is elect governments, and governments do things for the people, they don't allow people to do things for themselves. Clearly he would sooner have a Government—even one in which half the members didn't believe in what they were

doing!—than have a decision taken by the people themselves. Of course it is understandable. For once you let the people decide for themselves the habit will grow and MPs are in danger of being considered redundant. As Enoch Powell said in a TV interview in which he flatly opposed the idea of a referendum, where will it stop? Where indeed! Why, given the power to stop legislation and make legislation, the people might even decide not only to opt out of the Common Market but to opt out of the capitalist rat race altogether!

THE LINE OF THE PARTIES

To my knowledge, none of the Parties are for a referendum, not even the most 'revolutionary' ones. None of them are prepared to allow the people themselves to decide because all of them are devoted to forming governments and the essence

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VIETNAM— STRATEGIC GENOCIDE

ELLSBERG'S LEAK of a confidential report on the Vietnam war focuses attention once again on American murder in S.E. Asia. Ellsberg is an academic strategist, and one of the team that was largely responsible for the planning and theorising behind this war during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Now his conscience has got the better of him, and he is publicly exorcising it. However, in all the publicity people have failed to focus on the point of his disclosures: the strategy of genocide currently being employed in S.E. Asia. Ellsberg is not so concerned to document the lies and mistakes of Johnson et al—all governments lie, cheat and make mistakes—as to reveal the continuing strategy that such lies have covered up, and to induce some feeling of horror in the American consciousness at what they are doing in S.E. Asia. As usual the press in the West is concentrating on the man and the story, not the principles and issues involved. My purpose is to spell out just that strategy that now so revolts Ellsberg.

The Kennedy and Johnson regimes developed theories on limited war, escalation, and counter-insurgency warfare, which were put to the test in Vietnam; the war became an interesting case study for many academics and planners. The limited war theorists evolved concepts of target limitations (initially no bombing of N. Vietnam, cities, etc.), 'sanctuaries' (initially Cambodia, the demilitarised zone, etc.), and weapons limitations (no nuclears, etc.); the escalation theorists systematically transgressed these 'limitations' as 'warning demonstrations' to the N. Vietnamese to lay off; and the counter-insurgency theorists thought up

the 'urbanisation' programme to deal with indigenous guerillas, and to deprive the N. Vietnamese of their organisational and logistics base within S. Vietnam.

APPALLING COSTS

Seven years later with over half a million deaths, 1½ million casualties, refugees in the millions (over 25% of the total populations of Laos and Cambodia turned into refugees in the past 12 months alone), and much of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam an ecological disaster zone, many of the original theorists are, as Ellsberg, appalled at what the US has done. Still more have come to the conclusion that in Vietnam 'controlled escalation' has been a failure, that in any case the premises of containment and the domino theory on which the war was started no longer apply, and so the US might as well get out; but 'on grounds of morality and expediency the general conception of limited war still holds good'—perhaps we can expect more Vietnams; maybe S. America. A third 'school' still considers the war to be winnable; this is the present administration, the Nixons and Kissingers of the world, and the war goes on. They have come to the conclusion that the Democrats escalated too gradually and made insufficient use of air power—in short, the Democrats were too irresolute. The new concept is one of making the 'warning demonstrations' rapid and dramatic escalations of the conflict in order to demonstrate Nixon's determination, and to show just how far he is prepared to go without consulting Congress and in the face of public opinion. Indeed, in a sense the greater the public outcry that Nixon rides out, the stronger

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Legal Statism and Criminal Syndicalism

BETWEEN 1921 AND 1923 in the United States over 100 members of the IWW were imprisoned in San Quentin by the Criminal Syndicalist legislation. With the revival of the IWW, the US authorities have seen fit to revive this piece of legislation and three Spanish-speaking IWW members and associates in San Diego, California, have been charged under the act. For good measure the police added charges of making and distributing fire bombs, and soliciting commission of a murder. The third charge was dropped and the second charge was brought in on evidence from a police stool-pigeon. The police waited six months before bringing the charges.

The three arrested, Ricardo Gonsalvez, David Rico and Carlos Calderon, were

active among Chicanos (Spanish-speaking migrant workers) with a group known as the 'Brown Berets' and producing a newspaper called the *Street Journal* protesting about Chicano schooling, housing and civil rights—the offices and printing press of the group were tear-gassed by right-wing groups. This was the culmination of regular acts of violence against the group.

If you want to help, Americans should send cheques made out to Los Tres de San Diego Defence Committee and mail to Arthur Miller at PO Box 1332, San Diego, California 92112. (Don't put 'Los Tres' on envelope.) Others should send to Dave Pickett, c/o Freedom Press.

I.R.

Murder in Ireland

SEAMUS CUSACK, the man who was shot by a soldier and taken to Latterkeny Hospital, died needlessly. Apparently not ONE of those who dragged him off the street knew how to apply a tourniquet. He very definitely WAS NOT ARMED whatever the British Army say. Literally dozens of eyewitnesses (and their statements were got without them knowing or hearing what other people said) have testified that he had merely stooped to pick up the helmet of a soldier who shot him at point blank range. Seamus belonged to no political organization.

Now, yesterday afternoon, 19-year-old Desmond Beatie was shot. He too had no weapon in spite of what the Army say. These two deaths are plain MURDER.

How many more corpses must we have before Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House get together and TALK SENSE? It is the worst rioting since that ghastly 1969, and Ivan Cooper, MP, says he is certain that the Army have been ordered to shoot at once on the merest suspicion without warning. Eddie McAteer appealed to Dublin for

help and Lynch bleated a bit which is all he ever does. Only three days to the twelfth and God alone knows what will happen then.

Compare these shootings with the way the Linfield crowds are allowed to pass Unity Flats after matches in Belfast and stop and shriek obscenities at those who live there while no one is ever arrested, and then tell me the British Army is not biased. I must say the vile competition between the regular IRA and the Provos as to which can be most violent does not help at all.

The regulars are now burning things galore in the twenty-six counties too. Last night three bungalows at Arklow built by a German were burned. I don't want our country taken over by foreign speculators any more than the rest BUT these violences will only lead to stiffening of repressive laws and I am afraid of deaths here too. There will be no peace in Ireland until BOTH IRA and Orange Lodges cease to exist and we learn we are all Irish and to work together for the common good.

H.

Art for the People

PERHAPS one of the most encouraging events in literature in recent years has been the revived interest in the field of spoken poetry, combined with the ever-increasing spread of the small, often duplicated magazine. Literature, and all art for that matter, has for too long been the possession of the few. Art should be for all people, not locked inside the walls of museums and in the minds of the so-called intelligentsia. We must always remember that Shakespeare wrote for the 'common' people of England, no matter what has happened to his works since.

Poetry readings and their increase have been of great import in bringing this form of literature and, by association, other forms of art, to more and more people, especially when many of these readings are taking place not exclusively in the hallowed halls of learning, but often in the back rooms of public houses. From Liverpool to London, many poets are getting to their feet and declaiming their work to an ever-increasing public.

Not least in the spread of interest in the literary word has been the aforementioned small mags. All over the country, people from various walks of life are individually or in groups forming their own magazines and thus providing a non-profit making alternative

to the public. There we have it, non-profit making. As most of us who write already know well enough, the first consideration of any commercial publisher is to make a profit. If they can't see such a reward in the end publication of a piece of literature then, unfortunately as it may be, that piece of literature will remain unpublished.

What we could do with, and what may yet arise from the myriad of small mags at present in existence, is a writer's commune where non-profit making publications could be published and give the non-commercial writers a chance to reach the people, as has done the various readings held throughout the country. Many of the originators of the present trend in spoken poetry are now themselves being published in paperback and thus even more of the people are being reached and one is glad for these poets that they are, under present conditions, receiving some form of payment for their efforts. However, nice as it may be for these poets to receive such payment, they are themselves contributing to the perpetuation of a system many of us would like to see ended and are themselves being exploited by this very system which sees in them a 'quick profit'.

It is not only in the literary field that profiteering is rampant. Too often in these days, one sees Capitalists making

great profits out of some artist, who in all probability never even saw the sale of any of his work. It is criminal that today, one person can afford to pay 2½ million pounds for a painting whilst so many starve. Why even now, our Tory masters are contemplating an entry fee for the people to enter State-owned galleries such as the Tate or the National. Not merely content with making a profit from art by making it a commercial proposition, they are now going to make us pay to see the very works that should in all truth belong to all people in common.

Perhaps one day we will see works of art 'liberated' from the private collections and museums and exhibited where all can see them openly displayed (adequately protected from the weather) on our streets instead of posters advertising the delights of cancer-breeding cigarettes and the like. Perhaps one day we will have poems distributed free at every street corner in every city and published in gigantic splendour alongside the paintings. We have already had free pop concerts in parks, free drama shows on the streets, so why not permanent street exhibitions provided free. We may yet see the day when art in all its forms will become truly for, and the property of, all people.

As long as the artists/writers who today keep striving to provide alternative outlets keep up their struggle, then the prospects are moving in a favourable direction which could eventually lead to a breakdown of the commercial exploitation of art. Never forget that everyone is a potential artist.

GEORGE CAIRNCROSS.



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Vietnam

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his determination is shown to be, and the higher his 'credibility' is supposed to rise with Hanoi. Such is government and foreign policy.

The formula for these latest escalations—Cambodia, Laos, the sending of US combat troops into N. Vietnam for the first time (ostensibly to rescue prisoners; in fact in accordance with a carefully worked-out strategy of escalation)—has been that of 'protecting the lives of US troops'. This formula could just as well be used, and Hanoi must know this, for invading the demilitarised zone, destroying Haiphong, or even using tactical nuclear weapons (something long desired by both Pentagon and administration hawks, and often considered), etc. Nixon is in fact reversing Che's dictum and creating second and third Vietnams in order to warn the North that he could just as easily create a fourth in N. Vietnam itself.

NIXON'S 'CONCERN'

Nixon's problem is public opinion. However, he cynically (and probably rightly) assumes that if the level of US ground forces and casualties can be reduced, this will keep news space down, and public concern will die a natural death. The strategy is therefore to reduce US ground troops, withdraw the remainder to support roles, and replace them by escalating the bombing and pushing Vietnamese into the front line—the famed policy of 'Vietnamisation'. In this way US casualties are replaced by Vietnamese and civilian casualties, and nobody minds about those (no official estimates of civilian deaths HAVE EVER BEEN MADE as they are not considered relevant to the analysts' 'costs', 'benefits', 'inputs' and 'outputs'). Laos was the most recent large-scale attempt to perfect this strategy; massive probes by S. Vietnamese forced the guerillas to concentrate, whereupon they were subjected to the heaviest dose of saturation bombing the world has ever seen. Results, despite the S. Vietnamese rangers not holding on as long as expected, were reported to be 'quite good', although the very intensity of the bombing made accurate 'body counting' impossible.

Meanwhile, the 'urbanisation' programme has been extended to Cambodia and Laos, and 'refined' to meet the new strategy of saturation bombing. Originally the idea was to 'move' the rural population into fortified villages, and to 'restructure' the social life around these,

away from communist infiltration. In practice this was done by entering the villages, shooting any Vietcong suspects, kicking the villagers out and into the new villages, the towns, or refugee camps, and calling down an airstrike after the troops had left. Plus, of course, 'search and destroy' missions (My Lai, etc.). However, the countryside was not 'pacified', American troops got killed, and in any case current troop withdrawals foreclose such a policy.

The new concept is to use massive air power against the countryside and rural population, to bomb, burn, and defoliate, to destroy all social structures, and to force the entire rural population into urban slums, ghettos, and refugee camps (which are not bombed—the new 'sanctuaries'). In this way the sociologists calculate that there will just be no social structure the guerillas can infiltrate, and any guerilla base amongst the population will disappear as the people are driven off the land—without peasants you can't fight Maoist warfare. The strategy of genocide. The war will then truly become what the US has always claimed it is—an external war against N. Vietnam. And the N. Vietnamese, through the 'warning demonstrations' already mentioned, have been given the choice of de-escalating, negotiating on American terms, or being burnt into the ground. Curtis LeMay said: 'War is killing people. When you kill enough people the other side quits.' The US is carrying this policy to its logical conclusion in S.E. Asia by systematically murdering whole rural populations. 'After all,' as one strategist said, 'if you kill all the people you can eradicate all subversive ideas and all opposition.' Nixon may yet win.

It is the deliberate and cynical substituting of uncounted Asian lives and torment for American lives through a massive and unpublicised escalation of the air war that haunts Ellsberg and the knowledge that it is planned to continue this 'reduced' level of commitment indefinitely—current plans envisage 10 to 15 years—or until N. Vietnam capitulates in one way or another. The thought of what America will still do to S.E. Asia, incomparably worse than what she has already done, and the knowledge as an American, that Americans really don't care how many 'gooks' are murdered as long as their boys are safe, has made him try to force America to face up to what she is still doing, and planning to do, in S.E. Asia.

NIGEL CALDER.

TRIBUTE TO DANIEL LOUIS ARMSTRONG

LOUIS ARMSTRONG died on July 6, two days after his seventy-first birthday.

'Who's that?' you ask, but you don't really want to know. You don't even bother to turn down the volume of your 'Sticky Fingers' LP while I tell you he was one of the greatest of all jazz musicians.

Why should libertarians concern themselves with jazz? No reason at all. Anyone who has read his Bertrand Russell can tell you that our musical tastes are like the moral or political judgements we make, in that they cannot be proved rationally to be right, and those of other people wrong. If my opponent insists that Roy Orbison writes better songs than Elton John or Paul Simon, or if he can live comfortably with the knowledge that two-thirds of the world's population are starving to death, then there's no point in arguing any further. Both of us may have perfectly lucid arguments, but they rest ultimately on premises which the other, for reasons of taste or conscience, cannot accept.

I still believe, however, that jazz has certain qualities which should recommend it to anyone interested in freedom. It is not just that it began as the music of an oppressed ethnic minority, for whom it provided a rhythmic accompaniment to work, sex and even death (there was always a jazz band at a New Orleans funeral). I believe it was Humphrey Lyttelton who first called jazz an 'urban folk-music', and this function makes it a worthwhile field of study for socialists. But after it lost its functional importance, with the great northward drift of southern Negro workers, jazz started to evolve in a new direction, which gave greater scope to the imagination of the individual musician.

This new concept of jazz, which should interest those of us who desire the full development of everybody's creative

talents, originated with Armstrong's Hot Five, which he got together in 1925. Compare the tracks of this band which were reissued on the Philips LP 'The Louis Armstrong Story Vol. I' (BBL 7134) with reissues on other LPs of King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band. On the records under Louis's own name, the accent is on the improvised solo, as against the ensemble sound of the Oliver band. The Armstrong records are therefore a great improvement on the slightly earlier Oliver records because of their greater subtlety and variety of sound, even though both bands consisted largely of the same musicians!

It is because of Armstrong's original trumpet style, and his creation of the Hot Five as a vehicle for this style and for the inventive skills of other musicians (notably clarinetist Johnny Dodds and Armstrong's pianist wife Lil Hardin) that I have called him a revolutionary. What followed his revolution was a flowering of creative individuality as rich as that of the Post-Impressionists. The solos of Coleman Hawkins, Buck Clayton, Pee Wee Russell or Django Reinhardt stand comparison with the paintings of Cézanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin or Henri Rousseau, and share with them an emotional intensity and originality which cannot, and will not, be stifled under the dead hand of schools and 'isms'. They also testify to the multi-racial and international character of jazz, against the claims of conscience-stricken middle-class hunkies that only black people can play jazz or sing the blues.

But this has nothing to do with your actual revolution. I mean, the barricades and throwing petrol-bombs at the fuzz. Has it now?

Well has it? You tell me. All I know is that when I was a crew-cut teenager in the 'fifties, liking jazz was an important factor in my radicalisation. I heard people I had been taught to despise

playing beautiful music, often of great rhythmic and harmonic complexity. I also saw my so-called betters playing rugby and driving dolly birds around in Austin-Healeys, and all of them (the birds and all) as thick as SHIT. It was obvious that they could only have their sports cars, and buy their birds' Martinis, if somebody else (like me for example) made their money for them. I didn't need Karl Marx to show me the connection between race prejudice on the one hand and social inequalities between members of the same race on the other. And in the early sixties, Sharpeville and the evidence at the Eichmann trial spelt it out in six million emaciated human letters.

What I have tried to do in this article is to show how jazz, because of its origins as a folk-music and its emphasis on individuality, is implicitly radical and libertarian. Louis Armstrong's recent unfortunate death has induced me to concentrate on his contribution to jazz, but this is not because of any ideas he consciously expressed. I was as disappointed as anybody by his constant refusal to commit himself to the black people's struggle in the USA. It saddened me whenever he let the imperialists use him as their 'unofficial ambassador' on a tour of Britain or some other banana republic.

The more he drifted away from his jazz origins, into the film studios with their schmaltzy orchestras, the more he became the Establishment's tame Negro entertainer with the rolling eyes and croaky voice. And no doubt this is all that will be remembered of him by those who think it all began with Charlie Parker. But I hope by this article to have encouraged such people to take a look at Armstrong's early work—as well as the Hot Five, there was the later Hot Seven—and thereby to have slightly redressed the balance in favour of my adolescent hero.

I may also have resurrected the old debate, waged by people like John Pilgrim years ago, on the radical implications of the so-called minor arts (jazz and pop, science fiction, etc.).

I wonder? R. A. BAKER.

Memories of Kropotkin

Dear Mr. Newell,

Your letter about Kropotkin in the Observer of June 6 interested me to the extent of being impelled to write to you, for the following reasons:

I know Whitechapel very well. I was brought up in that neighbourhood. There was a Club in Princelet Street, Whitechapel, which I believe Prince Kropotkin frequented some time about 1905-6. The Club at the time was called by the local residents, the Anarchist Club and it was used and frequented in the very main by the large number of Russian immigrants who came to these shores after the abortive revolution of 1905.

I wonder whether you could confirm or otherwise whether Kropotkin used

to frequent that Club. I also heard that Lenin too came to the Club.

I remember the Club very clearly—I was then a boy of about 10-11 years of age, and used to go with my parents to the Spitalfields Great Synagogue in Brick Lane, a few yards from Princelet Street. And each Day of Atonement, the Jewish most important Holyday, the Club used to have a festive party. And as a result, there was a clash between those who were fasting and praying in the Synagogue and those who were feasting in the Club—almost next door.

I'd be pleased to hear from you, particularly re Kropotkin's association with the said 'Anarchist' Club.

Hove
A. HARRIS.

Enc.—Letter sent to Peter Newell in response to his Observer letter.

Anarchists and the Common Market

Dear Comrades,

It is right that anarchists should take every opportunity to remind their fellow-workers how the State and politicians deny us control of our own lives. However, the reprinting of the 1914 editorial (probably written by T. H. Krell), *Government and the People* (FREEDOM, 10.7.71) with the suggestion that the reader should substitute 'Common Market' for 'war' only serves to obscure rather than illuminate the question of

Britain's proposed entry to the Common Market.

The choice of going in or staying out is one of the phoney choices between tweedledum and tweedledee which politics is all about. In or out of the Common Market we will be subjected to the same exploitation and tyranny, and we will face the same struggle for our freedom. The fact that the majority of people in Britain may or may not be in favour of entry (for various reasons all totally unconnected with anarchism) and whether or not the manoeuvres of politicians result in a conclusion which satisfies them is totally irrelevant to the struggle for freedom.

Northants
TERRY PHILLIPS.

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**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

AFBIB—To all Groups.

Next AFBIB Meeting and Production, Sunday, August 1. Please send a delegate. (Accommodation provided if necessary.) Address all letters to:

95 West Green Road, London, N.15. Material that cannot wait for the bulletin to be sent to R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Henington, York. The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information. Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquiries should write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

Gd. Ms. B)
Bury & E. Herts: P. Newell, 'Aegina', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester (QM, PL).
Bury: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Chardonn Road, Leeds, LS2 9L.
Manchester Anarchist and Syndicalist Groups: 5, Newton, 406 Lighthous Road, Minton, Manchester 10.
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Mallet, 1 Lynwood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.
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The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55408, USA.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
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M—meeting; M—magazine; B—budget; Q—Quarterly; PL—free leaflet!

Plymouth's Own Red Rudi

PLYMOUTH HAS to have everything. Now the law machine can offer the people their own Red Rudi. Yes, friends, your city fathers have cooked up another spectacle for you—reject it.

This story is simple, the 'crimes' by the defendant small, it involves ordinary people fighting to survive under the heavy fist of authority.

Sybil Schwarzer, a girl from Oldenburg, W. Germany, came to this country to visit Jayne, an old friend. After a week they began to hitch around, ending in Plymouth towards the latter part of July when they met Bernard who put them up in his flat.

During her stay in Plymouth Sybil became involved in a platonic relationship with Terry Goldstone; there was a friendship with Roger Gregory based on the one's ability to provide a needed comfort and sense of security for the other. The days passed—soon it was time to go back to school. Sybil wanted to stay but her friends persuaded her to return to Germany—she did.

Back in Germany things got hard. Sybil became involved with a Marxist group—parents got heavy, school got heavy, all became too much. So she packed her bags and returned to Plymouth at the end of November.

Her entry permit was only for one month. Over Christmas the relationship with Terry did not go well—how could it with the shadow of school, parents and the authorities doing more than just hang over Sybil's head?

The end of the month came and it was easy for all to see that Sybil could not return to Germany—she went to London to get an extension for her visa, became frightened by the bureaucracy and went to Faversham where friends of Roger Gregory gave her a room. She stayed for three weeks and then made the journey to Roger Gregory's parents' house, stayed for a few days and then on to Gerrards Cross to stay with Jayne.

The pigs swooped, took Sybil and dumped her in court—charged with breaking the conditions of her landing permit. Jayne spoke up—the court did not listen. Deportation was recommended on the basis that Sybil was a vagrant! Evidence against this was ignored by the magistrate who also spent a long time telling of his public school days and his wartime service in Europe—he was not going to have German hippies wandering around England's green and pleasant land.

Roger Gregory, on arriving at his parents' place and finding Sybil had not returned, followed her trail which now ended in Holloway (the PO strike was

on—communication just not on). An appeal was launched on Sybil's behalf based on the fact that Roger Gregory and Sybil were good friends, and if the relationship was given a chance they might be able to marry. The Home Office, who could not understand why the deportation recommendation was made in the first place agreed, but only if Roger Gregory's father would agree to give Sybil a place in his home if she needed it. This he did.

Sybil was released. Her stay in Holloway was scrubbed from the records. Roger Gregory and Sybil returned to Plymouth and took a room in Terry's house. The relationship grew until it became full, but it did not last for long—Roger and Sybil had come together on the recoil—they both found their own roles, which after the 'mutual aid' between them was not together.

Sybil went to Terry and at last their relationship got off the ground.

Now the background bits. Terry is an active member of the CP. He is not in 'regular employment' but at the same time he is not receiving any Social Security or unemployment benefits. Sybil was a member of a Maoist group in Germany but her only political activity in this country was by personal contact with friends. She kept up her studies and often carried Marxist books around with her.

But it was not long before things began to get bad again.

Sybil was sacked from the pub where she was employed for being late on duty.

Anyway after a while her money ran out—she became hungry. Support was pushed onto her by friends but she refused it saying she had been too much trouble to people and wanted to support herself.

She stole food—to survive. She stole the food that was hers by right. She was caught. She was guilty straight away because she was poor.

On being taken to the Station (2.7.71) the police got a confession for two other offences on the same day. Saturday she appeared in court on the three charges. Bail was objected to because she was again classed as a vagrant—this after the fact that she held a rent book and Arthur Leslie Gregory, Roger Gregory's father, opened his home to her if she needed it—and on the grounds that she had a record, this after the Home Office had cleared her.

Sybil was remanded till July 5. We went to court not expecting too much. The *Evening Herald* (Plymouth) re-

port was factual. It was the court that was wrong. It was stated in court that she hated Britain and the British people. This quote was from the statement of a police witness who was not called (she had said she was against the establishment). The *Herald's* court reporter stated that in her possession were found a number of Communist magazines.

The point that she was unemployed was stressed at the hearing whereas she was not allowed to get work and, if she tried, it would be three weeks before her papers and work-permit came through (if then!).

The prosecuting counsel, a Mr. Gabbitt, spent as much time on the political views of Terry Goldstone as he did on the three charges. He elicited that Terry was a member of the Communist Party—which is not illegal.

Terry Goldstone complained about the

political coloration of the case. The chairman told him to be quiet and added that this would not influence the bench.

Sybil's defence was that she was hungry and took what was hers by right under 'justice' but wrong under the law.

The court seemed to take a poor view of the fact that Sybil had permission to stay in England to marry one man—and had decided to marry another. The interpretation they seemed to put on was that marriage was merely a device for her to stay in England (which she apparently hated!). Her possession of Communist literature was particularly suspect.

She was fined £1 on each charge and recommended for deportation.

Sybil is now in Bristol awaiting deportation.

This case does not involve any big names. It's just an event in Plymouth but it happens elsewhere all the time. In this story I have just given the facts—let the people be the judge of Sybil Schwarzer.

Keep fighting, comrade!

ROGER GREGORY.
(Edited by J.R.)

ULSTER

Comrades,

It was with amazement that I read the letter in defence of the British Army of Occupation in Ireland (FREEDOM, 26.6.71). Morris's knowledge of the situation in Ulster is limited to what he reads in the reactionary press. Is it possible that he is an ex-soldier and therefore eager to defend the killers who are trying to save Ulster for capitalism.

The main purpose of any government-organised and controlled army is to act as a deterrent against those who might want to overthrow a government or to abolish it altogether. The British Army is no exception as their actions in the past have proven. To examine its history of brutality and intimidation in recent times you have only to look at Kenya, Cyprus, Aden and Ireland. Their standard method of interrogation in Kenya was to take a Mau-Mau suspect, soak him with petrol, and then set him alight if he did not betray his comrades. In Cyprus, army interrogation equalled the worst that the fascists managed to produce during the Second World War. Need I mention Aden where 'Mad Mitch' with his bullies used intimidation to such an excess that even his CO had to order him to stop. Ireland is no exception to this rule of force. It would be impossible to ascertain how many innocent people have been killed or maimed by British military action since the last world war. All this in the name of 'peace-keeping'. All standing armies are capable of atro-

cities and the British Army is no exception.

The first thing that a soldier is taught is to obey without question and the second is to kill. He is a professional killer and according to Morris his licence is his uniform. His prime function is killing for his masters. Morris's suggestion about outdated military teaching is crap because the professional soldier has always been a killer, regardless of what army he belongs to. Morris's sympathies would be much better if saved for the parents of the 5-year-old child who was murdered by an armoured car in Belfast—go and tell them that the armoured car was only 'peace-keeping'.

It is now common knowledge—although apparently not in the wilds of Brecon—that the three Highland Fusiliers were murdered by the right-wing UVF in the hope of a violent backlash against the Catholics. While it had some success in this respect, it also had the adverse effect in as much as some soldiers want to go home and forsake the killing game. Let us hope that they take the same path as some of their American counterparts in Vietnam have done, and refuse to obey the dirty orders of their masters. When soldiers refuse to obey, the days of governments and would-be rulers will be coming to an end.

Malcolm Morris, you are not an Anarchist because your sympathies are not with the oppressed working-class, irrespective of religion, of Ulster. Why not join the army, take a gun and go to Belfast and help the 'peace-keepers'.
Reading, Berks. KIMM.

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How the Referenda Works in America

BRIAN BEHAN'S REMARKS on referenda and what we here call 'the initiative' interested me because the State of Washington was one of the pioneers, in the US, of these types of legislation. I thought you might like to hear something of our experiences with them. First off, let me say that I think you're quite right in being hopeful about them. Both the referendum and the initiative have been very useful here in blocking some of the more nefarious schemes the politicians think up for us, and in getting some of our own ideas before the public for consideration.

The way they work here: those who wish a referendum on proposed legislation, or who wish to initiate legislation not proposed by the politicians, draw up the question to be put to a vote, and file it with the state (if it's state-wide legislation that's under consideration) or local (if it's city ordinance) officials. The state or municipality then becomes responsible for printing petitions (including bearing the cost of printing) and supplying them to the initiators. Since we just completed a petition campaign for an initiative to save our beloved Pike Place Market from the real-estate promoters, I've got an extra petition blank on hand that I can enclose as a sample. You'll note that a short ballot title is given on the face of the petition and the complete proposed ordinance printed on the reverse. There's a deadline—so many days in advance of the next state or city election; I don't know how many, but it amounts to four or five months—for filing these proposals and a deadline for the state's turning over the petition blanks to the sponsoring organizations. (The sponsoring organization, incidentally, may be an ongoing association of long standing—what their opponents snidely call 'special interest

groups'—or may be an ad hoc committee with little more than paper existence.)

Then the sponsors hit the streets. By the final deadline, which is 100 days in advance of the election, they must file the number of signatures (of registered voters only; and in the case of the kind of proposals my friends and I initiate, the state's very particular about that, checking each of the thousands of names against the registration lists and disqualifying on the slightest pretext) required to certify their proposal for the ballot. The number is a percentage of the electorate; in this recent city campaign, it amounted to some 15,000 signatures. In city elections, both initiatives and referendums require a number of signatures not less than 10% of the vote last cast for the office of mayor. For state initiatives, the signatures must at least equal 8% of the votes last cast for the office of governor, and for state referendums, 4% of the last gubernatorial vote. Of course, one has to get a lot more than the required number to allow for disqualifications; we filed about 24,000, which should be a comfortable margin. Solicitors can gather these signatures just about anywhere: on street corners, door-to-door, in supermarket parking lots, or whatever. My own favourite ploy is to walk up and down streets in residential neighbourhoods, where people are strolling about, in not too much of a hurry to stop and talk, because I think I get a higher percentage of valid signatures that way, but a lot of people prefer busy downtown street corners—it's a very individual thing. The only hard-and-fast rule is, solicitors must be volunteers. It's illegal to offer or accept pay for soliciting signatures. Solicitors do not themselves have to be qualified voters, so this is one thing our disenfranchised young can get in on.

If the proposal's certified, it must go on the ballot in precisely the form its sponsors wrote it up. Only the short ballot title goes on the voting machines, but in advance of every election the state mails to each registered voter a 'voters' information handbook' in which the proposal is printed in full. Its sponsoring organization is allowed to present its argument for the proposal, to be printed in the handbook. And of course it can campaign for the proposal—as its opponents can campaign against it—according to its resources.

This kind of proposal has a pretty good chance of passage once it goes to the voters. The petition campaign, if vigorously pushed (and the fear of a high percentage of disqualifications is usually a spur to push it vigorously!) will have already familiarized the electorate with the issue, and will have provided the sponsors, if they have the manpower resources to have checked over the signed petitions before filing them, with a core of supporters somewhat more committed than the anonymous voters who'll cast their ballots in the privacy of the voting booth—a good many of the people who will sign petitions will also work for the campaign. And this groundwork will have been laid more than three months before Election Day. That makes for a nice head start.

Good luck! If there's anything else you'd like to know—like, about how all this has worked out in specific instances (Washington State has quite a long history of writing social legislation by initiative, for example)—let me know and I'll be glad to try to fill you in.

But I'm damned if I know how to force these provisions on a reluctant political establishment. We're lucky—we inherited the initiative, the referendum, and the recall from the free-

wheeling days when Washington Territory was just entering upon statehood. Those were the days when its recalcitrant settlers wrote into the new state constitution, as its first provision, that no monopoly should ever do business within the borders of the state—they'd also granted the franchise to women, a thing they had to renege on to qualify for admission to the Union, and didn't get back 'til the passage of the 20th Amendment. But then, one of the things they'd come way out here to the corner of the country to get rid of was over-government—there were anarchist, and socialist, and vegetarian, and free love, and nudist, and just - about - anything - you - can - name colonies scattered in little clearings all over western Washington's then-wooded mountain valleys. The politicians have been chiselling away to erode such directly-democratic provisions ever since—increasing the number of signatures required to put a provision, or a minority-party candidate, on the ballot, adding requirements that the signees' addresses must be distributed about the state (they're harder to get in our conservative and sparsely-populated eastern counties), making initiative-enacted statutes subject to amendment by the state legislature, etc. So after several decades of this sort of erosion, the initiative, referendum, and recall provisions no longer have the same force they had when they (and I!) were younger; even so, there are, frequently, times we're glad we've got what's left of them, even if only because so long as such legal channels exist, people who have exerted themselves to enact something legally are that much more likely to defend the fruit of their exertions by direct action when the politicians encroach upon it.

For Freedom!
Seattle, U.S.A. LOUISE CROWLEY.

IT SEEMS to be the fashion amongst 'progressives' and 'radicals', not to speak of Labour Party opportunists, to oppose Britain's entry to the Common Market.

There are political aspects that are only of academic interest to anarchists but there are broad principles which demand comment. The insularity and vulgar chauvinism of the British over the centuries would undoubtedly be dealt a mortal blow—hardly a bad thing. On the economic level it is a sad fact that the Common Market countries have pushed ahead of the rest of Europe. After the last war Britain had the highest standard of living in Europe. Today countries like Western Germany not only have far higher living standards but provide for their immigrant workers—numbering between one and two millions—on a scale that puts Britain, with its massive ghettos, to shame.

If one can correctly see the Common Market as a step towards the abolition of national boundaries, as a pooling of resources and facilities, then anyone who is genuinely interested in human progress will not blindly oppose entry.

Church or Brothel?

One of the great tourist attractions in London is St. Paul's. Strolling around it recently it struck me that the priests and lackeys who run the numerous stalls inside it could well be seen as competitors with Petticoat Lane and Portobello Road. It also occurred to me that poor old Jesus, were he alive today and assuming for the moment that he lived once, would again take a whip in his hand to cast out those who prostituted His House.

Bernadette

Miss Devlin is a politician and a pretty astute one. Much rubbish has been printed in the papers recently over her tender predicament. We have been told by a host of do-gooders, including Mr. Ian Harvey whose own political career ended after his involvement with one of Her Majesty's Guards, that she merits great sympathy. It was Miss Devlin, however, who chose to make newspaper headlines with her disclosure of the pregnancy. As a cunning politician I think she played her cards brilliantly and will lose no votes by the incident.

Freedom lovers everywhere will defend the right of the individual to sexual freedom. Most sensitive people, however, would see such matters as private and personal to those concerned. Not politicians. As a politician who

Referendum

Continued from page 1 of government is that it shall tell the people what to do. None of them believe that ordinary people—the 'masses' as they call them—have either the right or the ability to decide things for themselves. It is all right for people to vote in an election whose purpose is to choose a government, it is even all right for people to fight and die in a 'seizure of power', but govern themselves—never! That is a job for the 'vanguard', for the 'elite', and definitely not something the 'masses' should dream about.

Where do anarchists stand in all this? We are for letting people control their own lives. We are against government but we are not against organisation. We are for more organisation and less government. We are for direct democracy, not 'representative' democracy. We think the only representative worth talking about is one who is mandated and subject to immediate recall by those who elected him. We should, in my opinion, be clearly in favour of a people's referendum as a step in the right direction.

It is not a magical cure-all, and it is not a cure at all unless accompanied by freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. I am sure that once given the power to limit what a government can do the people will not stop at that. They will not, for example, tolerate the means of mass communication being in the hands of the State or private enterprise when knowledge is so vital in arriving at a clear decision. They will want the press, radio and TV to be at least as free and accessible as the public libraries. They will want all the freedom they can get because only with freedom can direct democracy work.

I think that the demand for a people's referendum will add to the confusion in the ranks of our

THIS WORLD

once promised not to contest her seat again Miss Devlin is in a corrupt school indeed. Her personal right to sexual freedom I would not dispute. Her attempts to make political capital are abhorrent.

Festival and Demonstration

The underground press (including 'Oz', 'IT', 'Friendz') and Release with the head movement generally held a massive rally in Hyde Park on Sunday, partly as an exercise in solidarity, partly to try to teach the authorities and the police that they have no right to dictate how we should run our lives and partly as a festival and picnic. About thirty to forty thousand people attended and the occasion was completely boycotted by the newspapers. Hundreds of joints of the dreaded cannabis were distributed by the organisers and thousands of individuals, including myself, came similarly equipped. The police attempted one arrest but, without any violence being offered them, were surrounded by a great mass of people and had to release their victim. Later thousands of happy people formed several huge circles and danced around the fuzzi to their complete bewilderment. The point, of course, was that these young people, as I have written in this column before, are being continually harassed on the streets and in their homes by the police. This great display of solidarity which outwitted, outmanoeuvred and outlaughed the police constituted a psychological victory with some important lessons in 1971. Violence and humourless protesting is on the way out, is almost certainly doomed to failure and will enlist sparse support. The Hyde Park-style festival protest has been little tried in Britain but already seems certain of victory.

The Duke speaks again

Addressing a lush banquet in the Hilton Hotel, Prince Philip maintained that Britain—and he added that this applied to the man in the street—was living beyond its means. Some time ago His Royal Highness pointed to the difficulty his good lady and himself had in surviving on the income voted them by Parliament.

Having delivered himself of this homily the Duke admitted he knew of no remedy

'leaders' and raise the confidence of our fellow workers. Let all those who oppose it answer this simple question: Why are you against the people themselves deciding by a direct vote whether or not we should join the Common Market?

JOHN LAWRENCE.

Progressive Workers?

Dear Comrades, Bill Dwyer in his column 'This World' proposes that those who wish to change society must 'eschew' (dictionary definition—'to flee from', 'to avoid', 'to shun') the working class, because it is 'as prejudiced and ignorant as ever'—particularly in relation to colour.

Of course workers—perhaps even the majority of workers—are prejudiced about colour. They are also exploited, underprivileged and made aware of their subordinate position in society from the day they are born. They are incidentally, by and large, generous with money, cheerful, friendly and too patient for their own good.

There are many members of the middle classes, with an unimpeachable attitude towards colour who wouldn't give you the time of day. And there are plenty of stockbrokers and retired colonels who, without the spur of economic or social pressure, could knock spots off any worker in the matter of race prejudice.

So Bill Dwyer should not despair too much about social phenomena, which, however ugly their manifestations, have perfectly perceptible roots—and are open to influence.

And since workers compose about 70% of the population, it doesn't seem likely that society will be changed without their help.

J.A.

SELL FREEDOM!
in Petticoat Lane
SUN. JULY 18, 10.30

and he certainly did not suggest that the abolition of the Royal Family might be a useful measure in effecting economies. Perhaps we may observe that certain sanctimonious bullshit artists—and he would be amongst the best examples—with high-sounding titles and positions feel themselves obliged to masturbate in public every now and then before returning to their palaces and cathedrals. Presumably all this is tolerated as an indication of sound British humour.

Communist purity

After a spell in office Communists find that they are just like any other rulers. The pursuit of pleasure, privilege, the love of power, the necessity to repress dissent, have all caused considerable disillusionment. Every now and then the puritans try to re-establish the 'revolution' as we saw a few years ago in China with the Red Guard and the Cultural Revolution. Now Mr. Ceausescu, boss of Rumania, has proclaimed the Party must revive the old revolutionary zeal in his country. The worker must be respected—but he must also work harder. Western television programmes and 'bourgeois' music must be eschewed and replaced with peasant dances and national operas. Like the Roman Catholic Church we may continue to expect periodic 'spiritual' revivals amongst the Com-

This Week in Ireland

THAT FAVOURED PET of the Western world, Harland and Wolff, is to have another transfusion, to wit four million pounds' worth of unissued ordinary shares bought by the Stormont Government; plus two or three million pounds by way of a grant in three months' time. This firm carries great prestige value in the six counties, it employs ten thousand people, BUT there is another side, practically NONE of the employees are Catholics although everyone's taxes go into it.

On the news from Belfast I heard Roisin McCauley remark that it has been 'a quiet night', then she went on to say there had been 18 explosions, two cases of nail bombs and one of shooting, but because no one was hurt it was 'a quiet night'. At the moment the Provos and the so-called official IRA are having a match to prove which of them has been guilty of the most violence, which they seem to think a matter for congratulation instead of a vomit and shame, making matters worse. The official IRA claim they were responsible for blowing up a transformer at Nenagh, Co. Tipperary. A wretched young man terribly burned was left at a hospital by faceless men who vanished. He has since died without regaining consciousness.

Terrified Catholics in Protestant districts near the Ardoyne Road are having to leave their homes as UVF slogans are being painted on them, one man had a bomb dropped through his letter box and they are generally being intimidated. Some are now in The Holy Cross Catholic School, Ardoyne, and some have come south. The refugees say they have been intimidated but the RUC say they have had only two complaints.

John McKeague of the Shankill Defence has been prosecuted for a song in a book he published under the Incitement of Hatred Act. He comes to trial in September. A youth was caught painting UVF on a Catholic home. He got a small fine. Remember the retarded youth who, after many insults and obscenities from the Army, was sent to prison for a year, refused bail, and on appeal had the sentence upheld? The Protestant youth is also appealing but he is out on bail, and he had NO PROVOCATION; but John McKeague says there is discrimination against Protestants and cites the case of the Malvern Street murder in 1966. Three men were given twenty years' prison sentences and he is bellyaching that they are still in prison. He is very lucky they were not hanged as the death penalty is still on the statute book in the six counties.

Sir Francis Evans opens an 'Ulster '71 Jubilee Week' in spite of having stated earlier that the 1971 exhibition was not political or sectarian. Yet during this week a 'great Loyalist Rally' is planned, and no other event is on on that night.

During this terrible 'marching season' a group of para-military Orange youth turns out in a uniform which is just as much a uniform as the black berets of the Republicans (and if they wear

monists. Things must change in order that they remain the same.

The Wily Enemy

Apart from the continual harassment referred to above in the section on the Hyde Park festival, the police also try to infiltrate the head (or freak, or hippy) scene and, in effect, try to involve people in crime (legally speaking). Recently I noticed a character floating around Finch's pub in Portobello Road (The Most Evil Pub in Britain—front page headlines in the People) who was obviously trying very hard to be accepted by the people there and seemed somewhat over-eager to learn about 'dope'. Getting into a conversation with him I learned that a friend of his—who was represented as a seaman from Plymouth—wanted to buy £400 worth of LSD. To my mind this seemed a somewhat large amount for a seaman and I decided to investigate—some friends of mine were busted by police posing as Hell's Angels last month.

A couple of nights later I found myself sitting in a Ford Zephyr, licence number FPB784B. The driver did have all that £400 which he showed me and he could well—from his speech and appearance—have been a seaman. After exchanging a few pleasantries I departed and later applied to the Licensing Department for a certificate detailing the name and address of the car. Some days later the certificate arrived. An interesting address—'Room 273, New Scotland Yard, Broadway, SW1'. Anyone who wants a photostat copy can get it from me by writing to Freedom Press.

BILL DWYER.

those they go to prison). It consists of blue jeans and a special sort of jacket. Mr. John Taylor dismisses this although they have deliberately stirred up trouble on several marches. Paisley is boasting openly of how he and William Craig will run the NINE counties of Ulster when Faulkner has fallen and they are in power.

Street after street is bulldozed down in Dublin for the office of the foreign speculator; landlords cash in on the chronic shortage of anywhere for the office workers to live and a filthy hole costs £5 a week. If you are a young married couple with a child or two you have no chance. The wife and children can be accommodated in Griffith Barracks, with nowhere to sit but gloomy vermin (lice) infested dormitories and the husband only allowed to visit for an hour a day. This has successfully terminated many a marriage. The 'tatie pickers' in Scotland, who are mostly the doleless from the west of Ireland, are being treated like the black is treated in South Africa. Misery, misery, misery, all the way, and the most beautiful weather anyone could want but one has no heart to enjoy it in face of so much suffering. Prices, especially of food, rise and rise. This is preparing us for the EEC but what it really means is that a lot of us suffer from malnutrition.

Redundancies grow every day, and more and more people are out of work. Their families just starve. This goes for both sides of the border.

It has been disclosed that quite a number of British soldiers have joined the Orange Order. So much for impartiality. I have just heard that a number of people in Derry have been taken to hospital after explosions including an old woman in her eighties. Apparently the RUC ARE secretly armed as much as they ever were, only it is clandestine.

I seem to be skipping lightly from north to south and back. I have six papers in front of me, my notebook and the news on! Also two scripts to finish by a deadline. In fact I am trying to do the impossible. Three things at once.

Did not get this finished last night. Meanwhile the fourth night of rioting has taken place in Derry, and two youths were shot by soldiers, but they have been got across the border to hospital for treatment. The six county hospitals have a charming way of giving up any wounded who come in to the Authorities.

Officers going to serve in the six counties are given a secret booklet of instructions. According to Mr. Paddy Devlin, MP, it is the sickest book ever and gives the impression that every Catholic is just waiting with a petrol bomb or worse to murder. Actually only too many of them, as I know, are cowering in terror of violence by anyone and of their homes being burned, although the Paisleyites have just suggested that the refugees who have fled from the intimidations intimidated themselves,

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Commune in Ramsgate, Kent, starting Sept. 71 needs members. Crafts-educational bias. Write: 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, N.W.7.

The Individualist Forum. For further information, contact: J. Galt, 19 Newport Court, London, W.C.2.

Friday, July 18. Hyde Park Speakers' Union: meeting 7.30 p.m. at 5 Caledonian Road (ring bell in side door).

Electro-Stencils cut. 45p each (inc. post). Liberatoria, 95 West Green Road, London, N.15.

Comrades in Japan would like to contact anarchists who are interested in Commune Movements. Write to Hiroshi Ozeki, Japan Commune Assn., Asahi Bldg. 5-7, 2-Chome, Akasaka, Minato-Ku, Tokyo, Japan.

The March!—a monthly Anarchist journal. Send to Box 3482, Tucson, Arizona, USA. Year's sub. \$3.00.

October March and Meeting. Initial meeting to discuss arrangements, Freedom Hall, 84B Whitechapel High Street (in Angel Alley), E.1, Sunday, July 18, at 3 p.m.

Koff-in. Saturday, July 17. Meet 3 p.m. at corner of Green Lane and Ilford High Road. Help carry the Koffin containing the last gasp of clean air in Ilford.

Minority Rights Group's recent reports—on Northern Ireland; East African Asians; Religions in Russia; Japanese Outcasts; and (just out) a double report on the Southern Sudan and Eritrea—price 30p each from MRG, 36 Craven Street, London, W.C.2.

North East London Poly (Ranking) Anarchist Group, c/o Students Union, Longbridge Road, Dagenham.

ORA No. 1: Towards a History and Critique of the anarchist movement in recent times. 5p + 2p postage. Obtainable from Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

Axis Bookshop, 6a Hunters Lane, off Yorkshire Street, Rochdale. Call if in town.

Proposed Group—Exeter Area. John and Jill Driver, 21 Dukes Orchard, Bradninch, Exeter, EX5 4RA.

Leeds Direct Action Pamphlets: 'The Japanese Anarchists', 1p. 'Who are the Brain Police', 1p (Breakdown of the Power Structure of yer Leeds University—stripping away of liberal bullshit, etc.). Coming soon: 'Listen Marxist', 5p. All these available from the Anarchist Bookshop, 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.

Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group contact John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge.

Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications. The Revolutionary Catechism. Necheyev, 5p + 24p post. 'Song to the Men of England', Shelley. 'Poster Poem' with Walter Crane's 'Workers' Maypole', 10p + 24p post. 'Poems', Jim Huggon, 5p + 24p post. Discount available on bulk orders. Jim Huggon, c/o Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Spanish lessons given in London. Rates on request. Write, in first instance, to Box 02/71, Freedom Press.

Meetings at Freedom: Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. For details see 'This World' column.

just as in 1969 they burned their own houses according to the same sources.

Fifteen hundred people attended the removal to church of Martin O'Leary yesterday, the young victim of the silver mines explosion. The Cork Corporation refused permission to bury him in the Republican plot, and the grave diggers refused to dig a grave. A grave has been opened all the same and there this morning he will be interred and one can only hope there will be no confrontation. Surely at least the dead should be respected? In spite of Jack Lynch's promises to Faulkner he was accompanied by uniformed IRA and shots were fired outside his home in Ballyphehane.

The contraception bill introduced in the Senate by Mary Robinson last night was killed stone dead.