



SEPTEMBER 2 1972 Vol 33 No 36

# MY BROTHER'S KEEPE

#### WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS the and pillage. They are victims of

press, and most of the politicians, view the impending arrival of some 30,000 Uganda Asians as a disaster for the people of Britain. In reality, of course, it is a disaster only for the Asians themselves. Deported from the country of their birth by a power-crazed nationalist dictator, made homeless, and almost destitute, and forced to seek refuge in a country where hatred of all coloured peoples is assuming menacing proportions, their future looks grim. For the British it could only be a disaster if decent people remain passive in the face of the efforts by evil men to creat bloody racial conflict out of the plight of these frightened and unhappy people.

Enoch Powell, the National Front and the Daily Express (why do trade unionists work for this wretched rag? Is it for money?) would have us believe that the arrival of the Asian refugees is akin to an invasion by a horde of savages intent only on looting, raping, and spreading dirt and disease to every corner of the country. Raising high their Union Jacks, they call on all true-blue British patriots to man the barricades and repel boarders. The sick men and women of the fascist National Front translate into the language of Smithfield Meat Market the 'scholarly' racialism of Enoch Powell and listening to their speeches being reported on radio and TV sends a shudder down the spine. The object of their obscenities is, of course, to paint a picture of all coloured people as being less than human. In the same way that Hitler prepared the German people to tolerate gas-chambers by depicting Jews as sub-human. In some ways Powell, the British Hitler, has an easier job than the Nazis for it is our brutal imperialist past that inclines so many of us towards feelings of superiority towards all people with non-white skins. When the British arrived in India, in Burma, in Malaya, in the West Indics, in Africa and in Ireland, they came armed to the teeth and really did terrorise the native populations -stealing their land, prostituting their women, and forcing them to work at back-breaking toil to keep a small minority of rich exploiters in luxury and idleness. Here is the real basis of that colour prejudice which affects all classes in this country and makes Enoch Powell probably the most popular politician in Britain today. It is not only Tory Councils that strongly object to Asians entering their cities: the Labour-controlled Councils in Manchester, Leicester and Newham all urgently plead with the Government to exempt them from taking refugees. On the other hand, the small South Wales town of Pontardawe (Labour-controlled) and the towns of Harrogate and Stroud (Tory-controlled) have offered to house some of the refugees in local Council houses. The Wolverhampton Tories have called for a general strike to stop the 'invasion' and so, if the Daily Express is to be believed, have a minority of Smithfield porters and London dockers. Racialism bids fair to go on the rampage.

our imperialist past who want only to be allowed to peacefully earn a living by using their not inconsiderable skills in useful occupations. To racialists the Asians are not white, and that is enough.

Look, they will say, we already have a million unemployed! And so we have-but the Asians are in no way responsible for that. It is not their fault that capitalism (upon which Enoch Powell thrives) uses technological inventions not to lighten the burden of labour but to throw men out of work in the interests of bigger and bigger profits. About 40 years ago, there were more than three million out of work in Britain-and not a black face to be seen anywhere!

But they will compete for houses and we already have thousands of homeless! Well, that too is not the fault of the Asians. In the first place. they didn't ask to come here-they were driven here. In the second place, it is not their fault if the people of Britain tolerate homelessness while a rich minority own two, three, and even four houses, have large mansions in spacious estates while the majority are forced to live in overcrowded cities. Nor is it their fault that building workers, who could build homes, instead build office blocks and motorways because their employers make more profit from such things. Nor is it their fault that homeless people allow whole villages in the nicest parts of the country to be occupied for a mere three months in the year, as second homes for the rich, and for the rest of the time stand empty. Eight MILLION tourists come to Britain every year and all are housed, and well fed by a country which regularly destroys eggs, milk, butter and fruit to keep up prices. A further 30,000 mouths to feed could not possibly throw any strain on the



Parliament in the liberal distribution of British passports now acknowledged a personal responsibility for these unfortunate human beings. It might help if we, personally, helped to provide shelter and succour-and what a magnificent gesture it would be if Chequers could be used temporarily to provide shelter for some of these refugees. . . . The challenge is perfectly plain. Let those of us who actively or passively made this commitment to the Ugandan Asians accept our personal responsibility. If we do not, it will hardly be surprising if the response of the British public to this important challenge is surly, despondent and sour. ('Sunday Telegraph', 27.8.72.)

Whatever the reasons which impelled Mr. Goodheart to issue this challenge, it must be accepted. Those of us who believe in the brotherhood of man must put our principles into practice.

Peace News, for good and noble reasons, has issued a similar challenge. They, too, stress our personal responsibility. An editorial in last week's issue concluded with these words:

... those of us who so easily say that we want the 'cultural variety' of the Ugandan Britons, and who so easily say that it is just common humanity to accept them, will be the least affected by their coming. Why can't the Ugandan refugees go to Hampstead, Altringham, Chelsea, the Wirral or North Devon? No reason. It is there, in the under-occupied houses of the middle classes that room is to be found. Probably a majority of the Ugandan refugees do not have relatives in this country. They will gravitate to existing Asian communities because there they will be sure of their welcome. There is no reason why WE shouldn't give that welcome. This is not to argue for a policy of absorption through dispersal, but to argue for new communities where there is room. Will you give room to a refugee family? We wholeheartedly endorse the sentiments expressed by Peace News. It is people, by their actions, who will change the climate of public opinion on the plight of the Ugandan Asians - as on all other social problems. Leaving it to politicians and to governments is just dodging the issue. We must take up the challenge. When all the talking has been done, the answer to that ageold question: 'Am I my brother's keeper?' is-'Yes, you are!' EDITORS.

Little Ugandan Asians happily scampering in the back streets of Highfield, Leicester.

#### food resources of this country.

However, all these argumentscorrect though they are, and urgent though it is to make them-will have little effect on racialists nor. unfortunately, will they convince the homeless and the unemployed. After all, what we are saying are only words and it is deeds that count. In this respect, we must agree with

Phillip Goodheart, a Tory MP who, writing in vesterday's Sunday Telegraph, challenged those who say the Asians should be welcomed, to put their fine words into practice. He is worth quoting at some length.

This new fever that threatens to endanger community relations in this country might be soothed if those of us who acquiesced in and out of

## **Building Workers' Strike** ONE WE MUST WIN

THE BUILDING WORKERS' strike I is now in its tenth week. By the end of this week over 300,000 workers are expected to have joined the stoppage.

While national trade union leaders are claiming that the strike is still on a selective basis, mobile pickets are visiting sites, holding meetings, recruiting members, and persuading them to join the strike. They are making it an all-out stoppage.

It would be untrue to say that everyone welcomes the pickets. Many building workers, fed up with the low basic wage and poor conditions, have shortsightedly become sell employed with a 'lump' labour-only 'subby'. Both large and small contractors have been happy to sub-let work to the 'lump' man as a deliberate act to keep the basic wage to a minimum and to undermine trade union organisation. Tax dodges and non-payment of social insurance contributions prevents these men from obtaining sickness or injuiry benefits and places them at the mercy of the

employed direct have to put right the errors and bad workmanship at added expense to the general public. This is not only a waste of public money but also undermines the very principle of direct labour schemes.

The 'lump' merchants destroy everything trade unionists have struggled to achieve. On one hotel site where I was picketing last week they were creeping in through holes in the hoarding at 6.30 in the morning. This wasn't just to dodge the picket but had been their normal starting time. None had received overtime payments or fates as prescribed in the industry's Working Rule Agreement. Recent Government legislation has not ended these practices. Loopholes have been found to evade the new regulations. The 'subby' has only to register himself as a limited liability company at a cost of £35. His 'lump' gang carry on and if the authorities catch up with him he goes into liquidation. He can then start up as a new company for another £35 and begin operating again. This strike has brought out into the open how prevalent the 'lump' is in the industry. But after explaining our case for the claim and discussing the merits of strong trade union organisation and

the benefits this can bring, the 'lumpers' are joining in the struggle.

#### OFFICIAL SCABBING

However pickets lines have not only been crossed by 'lumpers' but also by members of the Electricians and Plumbers Trades Union. No real agreement was reached between the building unions and the EPTU. Mr. Chapple, the general secretary of the EPTU, has instructed his members to virtually cross the picket lines and go to work. These instructions have placed both the pickets and the EPTU members in an support and solidarity. Collective action invidious position. Many have refused against those who enslave us is the only to cross the picket lines and are assisting those on strike as building workers. Others have obeyed Mr. Chapple with ensuing clashes between worker and worker. The unofficial London Action Committee of electricians have issued a leaflet asking EPTU members not to cross picket lines and pointing out to them to: 'Remember that when the Building Workers win their demand Contracting Electricians will be in a much stronger position to fight for a substantial increase in the Contracting Industry, and also to demand that the 35-hour-week he extended to us in

exactly the same way that the Building Trades fought and won the three weeks' holiday which enabled us also to demand the three weeks' holiday.'

Our struggle will certainly strengthen any future claims by electricians and plumbers. We are all building workers and any divisions will only assist the employers. It is bad enough belonging to separate unions, although it must also be admitted than an industrial union does not necessarily mean a militant policy and attitude towards the employers. Workers have to forge their own links of brotherhood to ensure weapon workers have to combat the unequal power the employing class exort. Mr. Chapple wants to keep his members at work and has asked the TUC to intervene to ensure this. Obviously Mr. Chapple does see the contradiction in seeking help from an organisation which his union is defying on the question of registration under the Industrial Relations Act.

In vain will decent people argue that the Uganda Asians are not like our noble British forefathers. They come not with arms to steal

#### 'subby'.

These men are often forced to work all the hours under the sun for an agreed day rate payment. This leads to shabby work. Where this occurs on local authorities and GLC estates, men

#### PUTTING THE BRAKES ON

But the same attitude exists with the leaders of the Union of Construction and Condensed on page 2

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#### REVIEWS 0-00-0 1005-19



OLD AGE by S. de Beauvoir (published 1972 by Andre Deutsch and Weidenfeld & Nicolson at £4.50).

F WE LOOK at The Elderly: a Handbook on Care and Services published and reprinted many times by the National Council of Social Service in London, we get a rather different impression of the same subject from that given in Old Age by Simone de Beauvoir, which has recently been published here two years after its French appearance.

The former is a factual publication from a body which specializes in such handbooks; there is thus no indignation at the level of pensions and benefits for the old, or comment on the way they are often treated by the State and local or voluntary bodies: quite the opposite of what we find in Simone de Beauvoir's book.

In the model rest homes, the Edwardian asylums and remaining workhouses which accommodate them, the treatment of the old seems to vary according to how honestly old age is seen in the society. In America, where their treatment is appalling mainly because providing services for them is a profitable business, they are known as 'senior citizens' and 'old folks'. It is felt that mere 'old' or 'aged' is too brutal, even 'elderly' is unwelcome. The same terms are coming into use here, but at the present time are not universal. Appendices to the book give more information on the old in some countries, notably the USSR and the Eastern bloc countries and the USA. The bulk of the evidence in the main text which relates to the present time comes from France, though information is drawn from many sources. The appendices were not written by Mme. de Beauvoir. From all this evidence it seems abundantly clear, that in this area of life, the rest of the world is destined to follow where the USA has led.

declining powers, but how is one to explain the obscurity in which this mass live?

Old Age is a vast book, and it does answer some of these questions. It contains a mass of information and insights which have been brought together probably for the first time. The book is divided into two; old age is looked at as a subject in itself in one part-the history of old age, the differences between one culture and another in the position of the old, etc.; in the other part, old age is looked at as an experience through the voices and eyes of the old. There is a cause for regret there, in that the light provided is held up by the author on the subject; this book would be unnecessary if the old spoke up for themselves loud enough for their families and doctors to hear. Their words are put in Mme. de Beauvoir's

framework and if that is better than a social worker destroying the life in his subject by reporting them at thirdhand, it is still hurtful in this particular case.

#### END OF CREATION

The first part contains so much information of different sorts, that it is probably better not to attempt to read it all straight through. Certain sections here, notably the part on old age in other societies, rely wholly on second-hand data of poor or indifferent quality; in any case, the author is not an anthropologist and seems ill at ease putting the material (which comes from the files of the French Institute of Anthropology she tells us) in a simple form. The data was not collected with 'old age' in mind either. There is another unsatisfactory case of this in part 2 where the author is writing about the effects of old age (see 'Old Age in Everyday Life'); this reads like a textbook in places and because the author has no experience of the ideas in practice, what she says cannot be relied on as being universally true (for instance, psychoanalysis is more important in France than here, where it has no influence in geriatrics). On the other hand, in part 2, there is the best section of the book called 'The Discovery and Assumption of Old Age'. Here she combines sympathetically the recorded opinions of writers and artists and public figures of many centuries as they found themselves to be old. This is really very interesting, plainly old age comes as a great shock to almost everyone (unless they have spent a lifetime preparing for it) and a great upsetter of fixed notions and habits. This is also the best-written part of the book, the author is in sympathy with her personalities and obviously has felt many of the same things herself. But if you read this part, you cannot help noticing what sort of people she is compelled to write about-they are all the 'privileged' elite who have left some trace of their opinions and who often are remembered because they were famous in their own day: very different from mum or dad and the old people's home, you may think. Personally though, I think that

#### would be a mistaken conclusion

#### RICH AND POOR

The main thesis of the book is stated at the beginning and is that we 'cheat' ourselves and everyone else about old age, hiding the unpleasant facts about poverty, loneliness and rejection. The book sets out to detail a pitiful condition, the result of the combination of being economically scrapped and possessed of declining powers. Mme de Beauvoir wants to expose the sham in order to expose the society which fosters it. She writes:

'It is by concentrating one's efforts upon the most unfortunate, the worst used of all, that one can successfully shake a society to its foundations . . . that men should remain men in the last years of their life would imply a total upheaval of our society."

The bourgeois elite (in France more bourgeois and more clite than in England or the USA) have a more comfortable old age; financial security insulates them. Yet even this is only partly true, just as it is true that old people are often to blame for their own poverty through hoping their old age would never arrive. Old age is a common condition; in the very best private clinics like the one her own mother died in, the old are treated very roughly and without consideration. They have done nothing but

what they are causes them to be treated harshly. Mme. de Beauvoir has, of course, written about this in A Very Easy Death, where her mother is dying from cancer and is subjected to a very humiliating process by the doctors: she is forced to die or get well.

That book was as good as this book, for all that this one has a vast scope and ambitious aim. There are defects which limit this book. I have already mentioned that some parts are much more useful, it seems to me, than others. Related to this is what I feel about Mme, de Beauvoir as a writer. Her political' concern with old age really makes little sense and the book fails to justify her avowed thesis. One reason is that much of what she writes is a little dubious. In 1940 she tells us the English slums were inhabited entirely by old people. She is not referring to mental hospitals there, but town quarters; surely she is wrong. Factually there are several minor errors of date, etc., but the famous French 'provincialism' of outlook causes some schoolboy-type howlers: 'When habit is engrained in a man's life it makes it richer . . . for example the ceremony of tea among the English . . . (she is referring to 4 o'clock tea). The publisher has provided a poor index. footnotes of very little use because so few and far between and no lists of sources, or anything like that.

## Short History of the CNT

FACTS ABOUT SPANISH RESIST-ANCE - 2 - WHAT IS THE CNT? Published by The Anarchist Black Cross, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1. Price 10p.

THE NOW EXILED Spanish militant, Miguel Garcia Garcia, says in his foreword to his translation of this work.

scrutiny of his definitive works."

'It hardly seems possible that a writer so prodigious and authoritative as Peirats, indefatigable with his pen as ever, lives in exile, in impoverished circumstances. at 65 years of age dependent upon social security after a lifetime as a worker, while academics on comfortable grants utilise his research as their own."

#### A LIFETIME'S WORK

But the force of the book lies in its seeing the subject as important; it is important but quite as likely to induce groans and yawns here as in France. It is important too, for the very reasons the author states and which I agree with; to paraphrase them: some people are treated in such a way that the latent hate in the relationship kills them off slowly, this happens to old people and it is very wrong. Mme. de Beauvoir was a good Catholic girl many many years ago and wrote most beautifully about it in her autobiography; I'm not convinced she is still not some sort of a Catholic. Intellectually, of course, that is nonsense. But she has taken up a subject as a leftist intellectual which the 'left' as a whole is so bored with; it is a subject which interests 'humanitarians'. She is old now, her mother recently died-excuses enough for this book but not enough to convince me she has wholly left her tidy childhood self behind.

There are two or three different books lurking within Old Age. Much of what it does has been better done in novels and plays; her own extensive reliance on this kind of source indicates that. For all that-and I must say that Old Age seems neither a successful nor an endearing book-it is worth looking at; it is a necessary book.

'splinter' group of the Spanish workingclass movement.

The pamphlet ends with the Rule Book of the CNT.

The emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves," this document begins. Some of the provisions might worry some libertariansfrankly, I doubt if I, as a syndicalist, would have been helluva keen on joining CNT. To criticise in public those comrades given places of confidence in our organisation is to devalue the organisation.' Surely not an anarchist case of 'don't rock the boat, lads'.

#### ANOTHER AGE-ANOTHER WORLD

Yet why is it that this huge population -one assumes them so readily to be a mass apart-is as obscure as it is? There are more old people relatively than ever, and though death takes increasing numbers after 60, many remain in very good shape to 70 and 80. But they count. as a group, for very little, either politically or socially. There are a few exceptions, able and vigorous elderly writers or politicians who remain in the public eye, but most old people are culturally non-existent. They are assumed to be 'takers' not 'givers' because of their

'Jose Peirats enjoys great prestige as a historian not only in the Spanish and international anarcho-syndicalist movement, but amongst professional historians, many of whom owe their entire research upon the Spanish labour movement to a

excellent short history of the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo from its inception in 1911-showing, also, that the 'orthodox' Socialist UGT was formed later than was the CNT and is thus the

**MARXISM & ANARCHISM** 

#### MARXISM AND ANARCHISM by Eric J. Hobsbawm.

CINCE BETTY REID'S The Ultra Left D in Britain the Communist Party has indulged in a rather ignorant attack on Maoists, Trotskyists and anarchists. Recently anarchists have received special attention. Firstly the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin on Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism were republished. The attacks in this really boring book are confined mainly to Stirner and Proudhon

Secretary: Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannafore Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham 16 ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

Address all letters to AFBIB at above address. The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is available for urgent information. Please inform AFBIB of new or changed addresses of groups and federations. New enquirers should write direct to the Regional addresses listed below or AFBIB office in Birmingham.

#### AFB REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND/ORGROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of Britain. To find your nearest group, write

N.E. ENGLAND. Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham, MANCHESTER, Matt Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill

Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsely, Lanca. LIVERPOOL. John Garret, 80a Prescot Road,

Fairfield, Liverpool 8 CROYDON. Pete Roberts, 682 Mitcham Road,

Croydon, Surrey, CR0 3AB. S.E. LONDON DWARFS. Jeff Dixon, 44 Pen-dragon Road, Bromley BR1 5JY, Tel. 01-698 8596.

CAMBRIDGE, John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge, SURREY, Lib, Grp., 81 Mytchett Road, Myt-

chett, Camberley, Surrey. YORKSHIRE. Trevor Bavage, Flat 3, 35 Rich-mond Road, Leeds 6, SCOTTISH FED. Secretary: Mike Malet, I Lynn-

wood Place, Maryfield, Dundee, GLASGOW. c/o Whyte, 138 Fergus Drive,

Glavgow, N.W EDINBURGH. Chris Kerr, 9 Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh, 9, Tel. 669 2939.

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Stonchouse, Plymouth. OXFORD, Jeremy Brent, la Woodstock Road,

Oxford SHEFFIELD, Tikka, 4 Havelock Square, Shelfield 10.

EIRE FEDERATION. c/o 20 College Lane, Dublin, Eire. ABERYSTWYTH. Keith Fletcher, Rhyd Fach,

Tal-y-bont, near Abcrystwyth, Cards.

THE CAMPAIGN for bikeways in London, opened on Saturday by 150 cyclists, will continue with another bikein on September 16. This was agreed at a meeting of cyclists in Battersea Park immediately after notice was served on the GLC that the bikeways campaign had begun.

'The bike routes proposed by Prof. Peter Hall are being amended following Saturday's experience. Two objectives are immediately obvious,' said a Commitment spokesman.

'We will concentrate on bikeways for commuters, not only within central London, but through arterial routes to the suburbs.

'Bikeways for pleasure, linking parks, theatres, concert halls and railway stations, are also planned.

The 25-page pamphlet contains an

with occasional mentions of 'Bakuninites'. Secondly a pamphlet produced by some London University Communist students called Marxism and Anarchism by Eric J. Hobsbawm has appeared.

Hobsbawm starts with a consideration of the Spanish civil war labelling the CNT anarchist instead of syndicalist. He praises the heroism and calls it 'admirable but hopeless'. However he condemns that dreadful anarchist disease of 'voluntarism' and by implication wanted conscription into the militias. Of course no mention is made of the 'voluntarism' of the Spanish Communists' militias and the International Brigades. The author then finds two apologeas for the decline of Communism in favour of Anarchism. Firstly Stalin's death threw the world Communist Parties into disarray. Secondly a '. . . rise of revolutionary discontent among students and intellectuals, at a time when objective historical factors in the developed countries do not make revolution appear very probable'.

This second statement is laughable. First if anarchists are intellectuals and students why is anarchist presence in universities so small? This type of

This pamphlet is well produced, well researched and a good 2 bob's worth. IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

'petit-bourgeois anarchist' bit is a good joke for those who day after day read the theoretical article on page two of Morning Star, nearly always by some academic, and recall the 'Craig affair' where a lecturer denied a 'marxist' bias, that is admitted a conformist bourgeois bias. The number of intellectuals the CPGB can muster, along with their constant encouragement of students to 'get on in life' shows that the author is living in an isolated state. Also if revolution does not seem likely in 'developed countries', where does it seem likely? Obviously Hobsbawm doesn't know his Marx. Time and again Marx stressed that revolution-in a socialist not a nationalist-sense can only occur in a developed country. Also objectively I suppose Hobsbawm didn't think France May 1968, Italy 1969, and so on, were revolutionary. It may be of course that I don't mean revolution as the CPGB means revolution, but if anything what I understand is revolution is far more than the CPGB's hybrid of parliamentarianism and stalinism.

Needless to say the old Stirnerite, terrorist, individualist, anti-organisation is dutifully included. No need to comment, it is just lies like a hundred times before.

As the saying goes with enemies like this we hardly need friends?

D.B.

P.T.

### **Building Workers**

- and the prover manifolds and specific three subscriptions will be been released

#### Continued from page 1

Allied Trades and Technicians and the Transport and General Workers' Union. They also want to control the strike by selecting the sites they want to bring out. Rank and file members are filled with enthusiasm and are spreading the strike. The national leaders could hire coaches to help pickets get round the sites, but instead of doing this, they are trying to get local authority workers to go back to work. Rather than make it an all-out struggle they are trying to put the brakes on. The union's tactic of signing company agreements with firms who are willing to pay the £30 is really weakening the struggle. Firstly, only one of these companies was a member of the employers' federation, since expelled for signing. Secondly, although 100 companies have signed, they are only small firms. Thirdly, by agreeing to a return-to-work

for these companies' operatives, it will have a demoralizing effect on those still on strike. Fourthly, none of the companies have agreed to a cut in hours worked.

There is no room for compromises with individual firms. An all-out struggle is the only way to win against the employers who are determined to resist our demands. They can easily afford the claim. But what is at stake is the workers' future in an industry that is dangerous and corrupt. If this dispute is not successful trade union organisation will receive a further setback, but a victory will bring more workers into trade union activity. A victory is essential for the dignity of the building worker who suffered not only low wages but humiliating conditions for far too long. We are now fighting back and are determined to win.

More Bike-Ins

ESSEX & EAST HERTS. Peter Newell, 'Acgean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Oreen, Colchester, Esser. DORSET. Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poolo, Dorset.

CORNWALL, Hazel McGee, Hülcrest Farm, Hicks Mill, Bissoe, Truro, Cornwall, DURHAM. Mike Mogie, 13 Silver City, Durham

HERTS. Val Funnel, 10 Fry Road, Chells. Stovenage, Herts.

NORTHANTS. Terry Phillips, 70 Blenheim Walk, Corby, Northants. LEICESTERSHIRE. The Black Flag Bookshop.

LEICESTERSHIRE. The Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilno Street. Leicester. SOMERSET. Roy Emery, J Abbey Street, Bath. KENT. Brian Richardson (phone Knockholt 2716). BERKSHIRE. c/o New Union Building, White Knights Park, Reading, Berks. SUSSEX. Nick Heath, Flat J, 26 Cliffton Road, Brighton, Sussex. EAST ANGLIA. John Sullivan, Students Union, U. of E.A., WEberforce Road, Norwich, Norfolk. NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. Jim Hewson, 43 Henry Road, West Bridgeford, Nottingham.

#### **ORA GROUPS**

NORTH LONDON. 68 Chingford Road, E.17. SOUTH LONDON. Jenny Laney, 8 Nightingale Lane, S.W.12, WEST LONDON. Steve Kebble, 1 Frays Court, Victoria Road, Uxbridge.

#### ABROAD

BELGIUM. Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Litge RADICAL LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE. «/» LABS, 2487 GPO, New York, N.Y., 10001. AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesola 55440, USA.

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

'We believe we are fighting, not only cars on the road? said the Commitment spokesman, 'but cars in the head.' Strong links were established between various ecology action groups and individuals on Saturday's bike-in which are expected to be vital in increasing numbers on September 16. Further details please contact: Brian Milton. Commitment House, 26 Grosvenor Road, St. Albans, Herts. or Chris Parrish, at

St. Albans (code 56) 52381

## The Windsor Festival Pleasant - but no Apocalypse

THE WINDSOR PEOPLE'S Festival L began as an idea of our comrade Bill Dwyer, and was originally intended as a protest against the Night Assemblies Bill. A large number of young people would camp out illegally in Windsor Great Park and defy the law. But then the organiser's ideas became more ambitious, and the festival was seen as an act of opposition to the entire existing social order, including property and rent. This tendency was strengthened when Parliament dropped the Night Assemblies Bill.

Bill Dwyer was joined by Paul Pawlowski, and a certain air of fantasy, always there potentially, seemed to take over completely. Not only was it to be a protest against property, it was to be a religious festival, dedicated to the Greek goddess Aphrodite.

Although the press did their best to encourage the idea of an orgy-the Windsor paper, The Evening Mail, carried a front page headline, 'All Ready for the Sex Festival' (25.8.72), when the present writer visited the site of the festival everything was most decorous. On the first visit, Friday afternoon, nothing seemed to be happening at all, a few young people were drifting into the park, but there was no sign of anything else. On Saturday afternoon there was more to see.

On a wooded knoll, some way into the park, there was a crowd of a few hundred people, some tents and vans, and music playing.

Nothing very exciting was going on. A few danced to the music, a larger number just stood or sat. In spite of the sartorial exuberance of the crowd the atmosphere was very restrained and British.

Two policemen patrolled round and

'drugs', and Bill Dwyer had been ousted from his position as organiser by a group of twenty-four young people, some of whom were to be seen, complete with armhands, setting up new loudspeaker equipment.

Bill Dwyer and Paul Pawlowski did not seem to be present, but apparently Bill was planning a new move, an invasion of the local polo ground, which took place the following day.

According to the Guardian (28.8.72), 'Hippies moved in on a polo match at Virginia Water, Surrey, yesterday and roared like football fans as goals were scored. About 150 had trooped over to the Guards Polo Club from a pop festival at Windsor Great Park. They clambered over the scoreboard and clapped and hooted as army players trotted by on their ponies. One hippic was dressed as Yogi Bear. Most left about half way through the match."

One comrade 1 spoke to, who had attended other festivals, was glad that there were so few people. He had hated the over-crowding at the bigger festivals. Although in the planning stage Bill Dwyer had talked of a possible attendance of a million, which would lead to a social revolution (he hoped), it may well be that the days of the big gatherings are over. The organisers of a Folk Festival at Chelmsford were bitterly disappointed when only 3,500 people turned up instead of the 30,000 expected. But, although the organisers of these affairs may not be pleased, this may be no bad thing. A lot of small festivals, on a manageable scale, would probably be much more fun for those who go to them than huge affairs where vast crowds seethe amidst mud and heaps of rubbish. Although the Windsor Council had

refused to provide lavatories, the camp

situated There were no smells.

WILL BERTHER ALL LARSING BRIDE BERTHER

There were plenty of bushes and undergrowth not far away, and no doubt these served quite adequately for the small numbers present.

The original organisers of the Windsor Festival hoped that it would continue

## What will you do with the Criminal?

THE USE of the word 'Criminal' is in itself evocative. No one is a criminal-that is engaged in criminal acts-all the time. Some crimes are temporary aberrations of just a moment. some are no more than wild pranks, some are coldly calculated isolated acts worked out to produce permanent or temporary benefits. The latter group, of small-time regular offenders perhaps, are what one could call the criminal class but since in these cases the temporary benefits are economic or, in psychopathic sexual recidivists psychic, this is not a permanent behaviour pattern. Much crime is adolescent and by its nature tends to fade off with more stable years.

The Lombrosian theory of the criminal type has been proved to be absolute bunkum. The more respectable bunkum of the 'criminal family' of the Jukes and the Hallikaks ignores the property structure which makes not only for the inheritance of cultural poverty but the inheritance of an environment. The myth of the criminal (Mafia) type of professional criminal is largely the product of the more sensational Sundays. Such types do exist but their numbers are microcosmic and when they do succeed, as in the USA or Sicily, they become so entrenched in business and politics as to become respectable-e.g. the Prohibition era. Crime is a social product and changes with the manners and outlook (mores and ethos) of society. There is little that is now illegal in society today that somewhere at some period has been legal-indeed, often a duty. On the other hand there is much that is legal today that somewhere at some period has been illegal. The modern aggressive and competitive society is concerned about crimes against property. The violence in crime today is largely in defence of property and evading arrest for crimes against property. The violence of the ducl, the feud (except in the political sphere), in fact violence itself, where divorced from property rights, plays a minor part. In fact, the glorification of possessiveness (in TV adverts for example), whilst necessary for on a permanent basis. This seems to be part of their apocalyptic vision, Windsor Great Park taken back by the original owners, the people of England. At the time of writing (28.8.72) it is of course impossible to say for certain what will happen, although it seems unlikely that anyone will remain after the holiday period is over.

JOHN BRENT.

Since the above was written the news has come through that Paul Pawlowski was arrested when entering the park with a consignment of 'pot', the eating of which is a part of the ceremonies of his Church of Aphrodite.

a competitive capitalist society, in itself

fosters an urge for possession of pro-

perty. The abolition of property would,

in itself, do away with a large proportion,

If this proposal seems too sweeping,

and too Utopian for consideration, an-

other example scens more humble and

possible-and remotely perhaps, even

necessary, in this form of society. The

motor car-that mixed blessing-is, if

I remember rightly, responsible for 50%

of cases in the courts. This is of course

including what the motorist likes to

regard as trivial offences. But if we

were, in view of the motor car's toll

of human life, to give the car the true

appellation of an 'offensive weapon' and

view all motoring offences in that light,

a different picture emerges. Indeed the

aggressive urges that lead some to crime

lead some to motoring with the same

96—and still in

G.A.

if not the majority of crimes.

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round, and a helicopter flew overhead. What purpose that served it was difficult to see. However, the air of peace was deceptive. Eleven people had already been arrested and fined for carrying

site was quite clean. A rubbish pit had been dug in one place. Rather unfortunately it was right in the centre of the camp, near where the band was, but no doubt there were others, more remotely

Contraction of the second second

### Coleridge

#### Dear Comrades,

May I make one or two comments on Arthur Moyse's review appearing in the August 19 issue of FREEDOM, referring to that part in which he is writing about Coleridge.

First, the book at the head of the review, 'Poetical Works by Ernest Hartley Coleridge', is not of course discussed in the text. Hartley was S. T. Coleridge's son, and never made the headlines in the way that his father did. He seems to have shared a weakness for stimulants with Samuel Taylor, in that he was dismissed from a fellowship at Oriel College because of 'intemperance'-considering university drinking habits then and now this must have been pretty heavy. After that, he seems to have made no really original mark.

Second, in my view it would seem Mr. Moyse has been too harsh on the poor bard. Granted he sold his pen to establishment papers, but often only for the sake of repaying those who had helped him through lean times of sickness and addiction. To pay off debts, he proposed taking up schoolmastering or journalism, but his real thought was '... I could not love the man who advised me to keep a school, or write for a newspaper'. Samuel Taylor might in fact endear himself to advocates of children's rights when he wrote '... From infancy up to manhood, under parents, schoolmasters, inspectors, etc., our pleasures and pleasant self-chosen pursuits (self-chosen because pleasant and not originally pleasant because self-chosen) have been forcibly interrupted and dull unintelligible rudiments or painful tasks imposed on us instead. Now all duty is felt as command, and every command must offend. . . .

S. T. Coleridge also seems to have been on the ball when he wrote to his brother George '. . . one good consequence I expect from revolution is that individuals will see the necessity of individual effort . . . will purge off that error . . . of attributing to Governments a talismanic influence over our virtues and our happiness . . .'-the fact that a disappointment followed as regards his and Wordsworth's early hopes of France does not detract from this, in its essentially anarchistic message. His more compromised utterances have to be weighed against his poor health and his need to eat and support his family as best he could, and as he himself wrote of addiction to opiates '. . . I have in this one dirty business of Laudanum an hundred times deceived, tricked, nay, actually and consciously lied' . . .- a syndrome which perhaps only addicts or depressives will fully comprehend. The physical pain which the enlarged condition of his heart caused him (a relic of childhood rheumatic fever) gave him every excuse for his weakness.

I do not think Mr. Moyse has been fair, either, in dismissing his contribution to English literature, either in poetry or criticism. It is not sufficient dismissal of a work to recognise its antecedents and sources (Kubla Khan), nor can The Rime of the Ancient Mariner be discounted as a trivial rhyme. Its film-like exploration of a prolonged state of spiritual despair is much more than that, giving dramatic and visual realisation to what would be otherwise tedious and abstract. Samuel Taylor Coleridge also made a major impact in his new, personalised, romantic approach to Shakespeare, helping to rid English literature of the view that Shakespeare was interesting, but crude and mediaeval by comparison with the sophisticated wit of

REALER SORTORISE SORT

the eighteenth century. Finally, in his Biographia Literaria, among material of all kinds, he gives illuminating insights into the creative mind at work, through his doctrines of the Imagination and the Fancy.

I dare not plead his case at any greater length, save, after the recent spate of letters on Women's Lib., to recall his unhappy marriage, separation from his wife, and the statement he made that in marriage in order not to be miserable, you must have a soul-mate as well as a house or yoke-mate . . .'-probably the first time, as Mr. M. Carpenter asserts in his biography from which I pinched most of my information, the term 'soulmate' was used in English. On that profound note and with an image of Colcridge standing at a window in the Lake District, shaving: '. . . I offer up soap and blood daily as an Eye-Servant of the Goddess Nature. ... '-I will close. Yours sincerely, GEOFF CHARLTON. Walsall

### 'No Go' Areas

#### Dear Comrades,

I would like to make a few criticisms of some of the libertarian assessments of the Irish situation which have appeared in FRITDOM in recent weeks: I am not referring to 'H's' articles which are random lists of atrocities laced with pacifist or republican sentiments.

Cavan McCarthy's article of 5.8.1972 is a fair assessment of how the 'No Go' areas in Creggan and Bogside have been dominated by militarist power groups but I must take issue with his conclusions tain their close links with British about withdrawing the British Army, releasing the internees and political (socapitalism. Libertarians should recognise this called) prisoners and how the proclamation of a free, socialist, secular, complex history of the national question united, Ireland would lead to the disin Ireland and seek to spread understanding and mutual respect among the bandment of the UDA and IRA and the two working classes so that genuine joint formation of a workers' militia (similar programmes have been outlined in other working-class politics on at least a pay and conditions level can be strengthened. articles and editorials in FRIEDOM). These conclusions are dangerously un-Both working classes have a long history realistic and contain elements of aggresof class struggle but their actions are not helped by libertarian socialists in sive separatist Republicanism. For Republicans Ireland can never be at Ireland, in Britain and throughout the peace as long as it is divided by the world who misunderstand the situation imperialist British government and its and take one side in the present national army, although a study of Irish history collision. would show that the setting up and maintenance of the Northern State was forced upon the British government and the separatist republicans by a democratic majority of the people in the North who had long-standing economic and other links with British industrial society. The Protestant community, the ruling class and the working class did not and still do not have any interest in joining a free, socialist, secular, united Ireland which the Republicans had and still have as their ideal but which they cannot set up. In reality the Protestants

## the Struggle!

fatal results!

nation state.

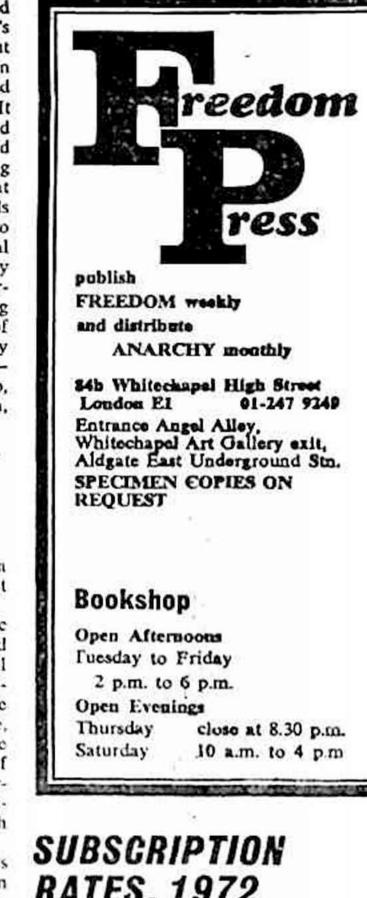
AND IN COMPANY AND ADDRESS OF ADDRESS

THE CURRENT ISSUE of Shrew (Volume 4, Number 4), produced by the Stratford Group of the Women's Liberation Workshop, is mainly about the history of women in East London and includes a double-page article headed 'Lilian Wolfe-Lifetime Resistance'. It is based on an interview with our old comrade done by Sandy Martin, and is an excellent account of her long struggle-a struggle which continues at the age of 96, since Lilian still travels up from Cheltenham every week to spend a day and a half at the National Council for Civil Liberties and a day and a half at the War Resisters' International. That is the most interesting thing in the paper from our point of view, but there are several other very good articles on the bad old days .--10p from Women's Liberation Workshop, 3 Shavers Place, Piccadilly, London, S.W.1.

publish FREEDOM weekly and distribute ANARCHY monthly 84b Whitechapel High Street London El Entrance Angel Alley, SPECIMEN COPIES ON REQUEST know that the ideal would become a separatist, Catholic, small-time capitalist Bookshop There is no doubt that the Catholic Open Afternoons working class in the small local-based **Fuesday** to Friday industries, along with the agricultural 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. population in the South, had certain interests in following the Catholic middle **Open** Evenings class towards a separatist nation state, Thursday while the Protestant working class in the Saturday long-standing large-scale industries of the North had certain interests in entering into an all class coalition to main-

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It is important that we understand the deep roots which Republicanism and Unionism in all their guises, have among the two working classes in Ireland but as internationalists we must agitate for working class unity to transform the future of Ireland free from either dominant brand of nationalism implicit or explicit. Yours fraternally, ROY WILLIS. Acton (A member of Workers' Association for Democratic Solution of National Question in Ireland.)

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## It's only a Game

N A WORLD high on opiates and short on protein the proflering of circuses in place of bread has been a custom since Roman and Greek times. From the Greeks, with their dubious morals and slave-based democracy, the Victorians took over the utterly public school and virile concept of the Olympic Games. This week at a cost of about £256,000,000, involving 12,500 competitors from 121 nations, 3,000 journalists and BBC television coverage for 170 hours in the fifteen days, the 1972 Games open in Munich. Far from international affairs leading to the cancellation of the Olympics, it would seem from relative press coverage that international affairs

have been cancelled to make way for the Olympics.

The Greek myth of the classical athlete whose ideals were as straight as his aim with the discus has been supplanted by the ruthless, competitive, drug-stimulated, nationalistic professional who (in the case of women only) is of a doubtful sex. This all applies, of course, to our opponents. We ourselves, and one refers, of course, to the British team, carry on in the true Olympic spirit as befits good losers.

Somehow the world of reality has passed the Olympics by, the public school spirit barely survived in a world of foul play, drowned by the chiming of cash registers and brassy renderings of national anthems. The steady chants of the untrue platitude Sport and politics don't mix' have replaced the manifestly untrue 'Sport and business don't mix' when professionalism became too obvious even for the British sportsman. Now, this super-mammoth Olympic sportsfest with its frank hearty commercialism has crossed the t's and dotted the i's of those advertising contracts.

The last Games at Munich in 1936 fully exploited the political situation. That utter cad. Adolf Hitler, who obviously never went to a public school, used the Games to propagate his Aryan myth and the cult of 'Strength through Joy'. His cup was dashed from his lips by the distinctly non-Aryan Jesse Owens who won too many medals to make the Nazi race theory valid. However, the whirligig of time has brought the Games to Munich once again and those industrious Germans, ever-eager to be thought well of again, are working their passage via an efficiently organized Olympics back into the comity of sport-loving nations all bound together in the platonic comradeship of competitive sport.

Nevertheless the political overtones continue, despite all true sportsmen's endeavours to pretend that the under-

tones are not there. From Jimmy Thomas's heart-cry in 1932 that Larwood's body-line bowling would strain Imperial relations to Francis Bennion's private prosecution of Peter Hain for his allegedly unfair sabotage of South Africa's cricket fixtures has the Englishman's creed 'It's not cricket' held sway.

The myth handed down from generation to generation that sport engenders good relationships between peoples and nations has taken some hard knocks ranging from fisticulls on the terraces (with a recent revelation that Liverpool and Everton maintain manacles on their ground for use against over-enthusiastic sportsmen) to riots among lesser breeds; including the Scots in Spain, to a minor war between two South American States on the consequences of a football game. Last week there came to light the news that Celtic and Rangers football teams of Glasgow had both declined to softpedal their respective Protestant and Irish-Catholic affiliations in the interest of peaceful sport.

With ever-increasing vicariousness of sport, the pre-occupation of television with movement and the steady growth of investment in leisure industries, sport has become big business with its suntanned slave-traffic in professional idols.

Filmeter at Pit Sta am a Barrell

Additionally the consumer aspect and suggestibility of a ty-captivated audience makes a soft sell in sports goods or in the wonder-ingredient which makes the sporting hero, whether it be subtly advertised by a link-name for a trophy, the coy intrusion of grandstand billboards or the cruder testimonials or blatant sponsorship. The occasion is on record when an American baseball team timed its frequent appeals to the umpire so that its sponsors could slip in the sustaining commercial.

The Olympics commenced their course

of cementing world friendship through sport with the shooting contest of free pistol, rapid fire pistol, free rifle, smallbore rifle, small-bore prone, clay pigeon, skeet and running boar. For my money the Olympics are the greatest running bore on earth. I am not even interested in the individual Sabre results,

JACK ROBINSON.



Help Fold and Despatch 'FREEDOM' Thursdays from 2 p.m., followed by discussion at 7.30 p.m.

100 Years of Libertarian Revolution: A Progress Report. Meeting to commemorate the St. Imier Congress of the First International. Sunday, September 10, 7.30 p.m., at the Centro Iberico (Trinity Church Hall, Holborn -opposite Holborn Tube). Libertarian Communist speakers from UK and the Continent. Organised by North London ORA.

## **TENANTS TAKE-OVER?**

rent legislation is one of the most crude money 'saving' devices of its short reign. The risk of rent strikes, mass evictions, which undoubtedly will be violent, and further weakening of the councils as the Government's front-men, does not seem to deter Heath's party at all, and only about £250m, will be saved. Not that we should expect anything from a Government which dabbles its toes to test the 'climate of opinion' and then falls in up to its neck in very hot water. We can also expect little from the political parties in opposition who call for nationalisation of land and building companies. This kind of demand is far beyond the organisational wishes of most people who merely want greater control over their lives, not 'solutions'. Present-day financing of housing shows that tenants really get small crumbs from the rich man's table. Landowners, moncylenders, building firms with endless profitable sub-contracts boost rents. Only 15% of GLC rents actually improves or maintains housing, the rest goes into the pockets of one or other of the large or small concerns. The situation regarding rebates and so forth is even less satisfactory; mortgage repayments were subsidised by £300m. in 1971, council rents by £150m., and private rents by about £70m. Profits made by families selling houses are also untaxed

THE CONSERVATIVE Government's and are estimated as a loss in taxes for capital gains of £727m, p.a. All these figures are of course before 'fair rents'. It can quite clearly be seen that defeating the Rents Bill will change only the degree of exploitation, and then slightly. What is really needed is street by street, estate by estate, organisation of tenants against all rents apart from those necessary to pay for actual services. The executive committees of tenants associations seem unlikely to take things so far, many of which seem to be filled with budding councillors. Several rankand-file tenants' groups have been formed in recent months either spontaneously or by intervention from libertarian groups. This is a hopeful sign as it indicates a basic understanding of control as well as exploitation. When we do manage to achieve self-management of housing the ridiculous situation of homelessness in areas with up to 10% empty houses and a good many more half-used houses will be finished. However the mutual suspicion of house tenants and squatters is a serious block to this taking place at present. Unless the struggle for houses, non-exploitation rents and self-management is linked up. long-term failure seems likely. This link-up, which scares Government, councils and many tenant association hierarchies, is the real basis of the housing struggle.

Czech Purge—and Boycott

THE PRISON SENTENCES recently imposed in Czechoslovakia on 46 supporters of Dubcek's 'liberal' Communist dictatorship underline the way in which political rulers live in a permanent state of fear of every real and imaginary threat to their power.

The assortment of academics and Party officials who had merely supported mild reforms were variously charged including that they 'constituted an illegal anti-State group committing hostile acts

ative workers as characterised by the long-suffering Communist Party member. Details of the composition of the Czech CP are very instructive. A recent official report revealed that only 26 per cent of the members are, in fact, workers! In Prague according to Zivot Strany, journal of the Prague Central Committee, only 6 per cent of workers are Party members. The average age of members is 50 and no less than 80 per cent of the members in Prague joined

#### with the aim of creating conditions for the overthrow of the social and State system'. Apart from the people who have appeared in the recent show trials, there are believed to be at least 200 others under arrest awaiting trial. It is quite obvious that those who genuinely did advocate the revolutionary overthrow of the State by the workers would never be brought to trial.

In Western Europe there lingers a myth-sometimes unwittingly perpetuated by our own comtades-that the Communist Party is predominantly working class in composition whilst anarchists and other revolutionaries consist of any presumed term of abase which comes to mind: 'middle class', 'intellectuals', 'hippies', etc. Such a nonsensical comment is usually based on the curious criterion that the label 'working-class' is only to be applied to the least imaginmunists seized power in 1948. Indeed, the cynicism with which most young Czechs and Slovaks view the CP is a source of great concern to the rulers. Ironically, if Dubcek's reforms had been allowed to continue they may well have attracted some young people into the Party and consolidated it for the future. Fortunately, politicians rarely learn that repression is counter-productive.

before or around the time the Com-

In the East, as in the West, the cynicism at the established political processes is growing and, thus, are spread the seeds of the worldwide revolution which will one day overthrow all rulers, everywhere. We must ensure by our words and our deeds that the stage is filled by free men and women acting for themselves, and not by the authoritarian 'revolutionaries' waiting in the wings. TERRY PHILLIPS.

- ASA contact in SE England: c/o Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton.
- Anarchists near Poole, Dorset, contact R. Mander, 86a Albert Road, Parkstone, Poole, Dorset. Can also offer accommodation for any comrade moving there.
- 'Peace News' for theory and practice of non-violent revolution. £4.95 p.a. (students less 10%). Trial sub. 7 weeks for 50p with free M. Duane 'Biological Basis of Anarchism'. 5 Caledonian Road, N.I.
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- Voice Wrekin Libertarians' paper -No. 3 out. From 13 Albert Street, Wellington, Salop.
- Libertarian Aid Committee for the Hyde Park '3'. Visiting: Phone 677 1526 (Mrs. Carty). Letters-gifts (must have Prison No.): 110305 M. Callinan, 110281 L. Marcantonio, 110280 Stan Quinn. Donations: Mrs. Callinan, 59 Brondesbury Villas, London, N.W.6.
- Syndicalist Publications from Syndicalist Workers Federation, BCM-Box SWF, London, WCIV 6XX.
- Stoke Newington 8 Trial. Send all aid to '8' Fund, Compendium Bookshop, 240 Camden High Street. Meals, fruit, papers, books (new ones only), cigarettes and money needed.

### The Gongress of St. Imier

To commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the CONGRESS OF SAINT-IMIER of the International Association of Workingmen (September 15, 1872), the anarchists of Switzerland invite their comrades to an

OUTING AND PICNIC on Sunday, September 17, 1972, at Saint-Imier (Swiss Jura, between Bienne and La Chaux-dc-Fonds). There will be a sign on the Place du Marché from ten o'clock to midday to show the way to the scene of the picnic. In case of rain a shelter will be provided. Bring something to eat, to drink, to read aloud and also bring some musical instruments. No official entertainments have been organised. Impromptu speakers will be welcome. Comrades coming from a distance will be able to camp. For all correspondence: Case postale 44, 1211 GENEVA 6 Eaux Vives, Switzerland.

## This week in Ireland

NINE PEOPLE BLOWN to pieces and their bodies shovelled up in bits into plastic bags at a Newry customs post. Three of the four insane perpetrators of this act blew themselves up as well. All day and every day on every news bulletin we learn of more explosions and murders so that one becomes numb and loses count. The Orange Meeting to unite All Loyalists (to whom ARE they Loyal?) was a non-starter with half the invited groups refusing to be present. Paisley says HE will now convene a meeting to unite all Loyalists himself, but that too won't get off the ground as he wants the six counties completely integrated into the UK. fancying himself as the first Minister for Northern Ireland and later as Prime Minister of the UK. Craig and Faulkner want a restored Stormont with full powers for security, by which they mean the power to kill off or imprison ALL the minority regardless. Paisley is calling for the Death Penalty for murderers, BUT he only means IRA murderers not UDA ones. One just feels sick to the stomach.

Meanwhile down here it has now been clearly established that of the £72,000 voted for relief of suffering in the six counties only one-third was used for that purpose. Some was spent on the Fianna Fail paper Voice of the North but most of it went for guns for the IRA. The Opposition are calling for the immediate resignation of the three Ministers most responsible-Gibbons, at that time Minister for Defence, Blaney and Haughey-but not only are they going to be retained in the Dail but will still bear ministerial posts. The whole enquiry is a whitewash Jack Lynch exercise. Dash it all, I KNEW Gibbons was importing guns so how can it be even pretended that Lynch did not know? (2) PRESS FUND CONTRIBUTIONS The wretched Captain Kelly was the fall-guy for these dishonest men, who sought to hunt with the hounds and run with the hare. The effect of all this on the Unionists is bound to be catastrophic, showing them they were right when they said the South could not be trusted. I bet there will not be one word of re-

proof from the hierarchy. They keep their damnations for the unhappy mothers of seven without a home who practise family planning and refuse to bring an eighth child into the world to starve. Stop the world, please, I want to get off.



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H.

**Michael Tobin** 

TWO PAMPHLETS are to cost Michael Tobin, a 39-year-old Irish labourer, two years of his life. Tobin, married with five children, lives in a council house in Hoo. Kent, and works at a local power station.

He appeared at Maidstone Crown Court in April on a first offence, charged with the possession of copies of 'A letter from a Soldier of the IRA to the Soldiers of the Royal Green Jackets' and another pamphlet called 'A letter from a Ballymurphy mother'.

The charge was brought under the 1934 Incitement to Disaffection Act, believed to have been used only once before, and calls for the prosecution to prove that 'the dissemination (of the letters) among members of Her Majesty's forces could constitute an offence'-i.e. that they could encourage men to leave the army. At his trial it was not necessary to establish that troops had been approached, nor was any attempt made to prove that any soldiers had received any of the letters. He was not accused Total: £14.02 of writing or publishing the pamphlets. In fact the person who admitted producing them was tried at Liverpool Crown Court in January of this year-and found not guilty.

Tobin made no secrecy of the fact that he would have liked the letters to reach troops. He told the court: 'It might stimulate them to think about the Northern Ireland situation for themselves' . . . and 'If either of the two letters had the effect of combating the distorted handouts to British soldiers I would have thought a useful job would have been done.' His prime motive-to question the real aims and actions of the British Government in Northern Ireland -was not discussed in the court.

The bulk of the letters were, in fact. distributed in Britain, or not at all, and of those which did reach Ireland none reached the troops.

Although on bail, Tobin, who defended himself, was held in custody during his trial. This prevented him from discussing his defence with his solicitor. Judge Thesiger, who was openly hostile, emphasised to the jury that they should not concern themselves with the consequences of conviction; nor about sending him to prison-that was the judge's job. He went on to say that were he to go to jail he could always appeal.

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TOTAL: £16.02

(1) INCOME FROM POSTAL SUB-SCRIPTIONS AND SALES (Target for 1972-£4,500)

Amount received £2,106.15 to August 23 (Target for 1972-£1,500)

Amount received August 17-23 £16.02 Previously acknowledged £908.49

TOTAL TO DATE £924.51

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Yet Tobin was given the maximum sentence of two years which he is now serving at Chelmsford Maximum Security Jail.

The prosecution relied on appeals in the letters to soldiers to leave their regiments and to offers of bounty. It presented them as a serious threat to army morale, yet omitted to point out that no suggestion was made as to how a soldier might desert, nor where the bounty could be obtained, nor was any address given for a fleeing soldier to hide, nor that references to 'mugs in uniform' and 'butchers' were hardly likely to gain a sympathetic response from those insulted.

Tobin has been in jail four months and is still waiting for appeal to be granted.

After sentencing the Judge said that the public authorities should make sure that he is not employed again by a public utility.

Tobin, who describes himself as a libertarian-humanist, is not connected with any political group. His political isolation cost him the worst of both worlds-held up as a scapegoat in a court of law while receiving little local support and no national support at all. If you feel concern or want to offer any practical help please contact: Michael Tobin Defence Committee, c/o 55 St. Werburgh Crescent, Hoo Saint Werburgh, Rochester, Kent, England.