

SOCIALISTS BETWEEN DEALS

SOME SHOCK has been expressed in the Labour Party that the vaguest shadow of suspicion has fallen on Harold Wilson with regard to property deals. Even the implication that his forged signature appeared on a letter implying that he was in some remote way connected with such a deal caused shudders up socialist spines and called forth not very original (or relevant) calls of 'McCarthyism' from one Dennis Healey.

We could understand this brou-ha-ha if the socialist principles set forth by Robert Owen, Keir Hardie, Edward Carpenter, William Morris or George Lansbury (to go as late as possible) still had some validity in the Labour Party.

For example Lansbury (who went to prison for refusing (1934) as a Poplar councillor to cut poor relief) says in My England:
SOCIALISTS THE WORLD OVER MUST MAKE UP THEIR MINDS WHAT THEY PROPOSE TO DO ABOUT WHAT IS CALLED INTEREST. I PREFER TO USE THE OLDER WORD 'USURY', IT IS IN FACT USURY... WE SHALL NOT GET THIS MONEY BUSINESS STRAIGHT UNTIL WE MAKE THE NATIONS SOCIALIST. BUT EVEN THEN, ARE WE ALL QUITE SURE WE WANT TO GIVE UP RECEIVING INTEREST ON OUR SAVINGS? I AM QUITE CERTAIN THAT UNTIL WE DO GIVE IT UP SOCIALISM CANNOT SUCCEED.

In 1950 G.D.H. Cole in his Socialist Economics justified interest and profits, even under socialism for good capitalistic reasons. The same week that the scandal of the slag-heap broke, Mr. Robert Maxwell was re-adopted as a prospective Labour candidate. As every reader of the Financial Times knows, Mr. Maxwell recently fought his way back to the chairmanship of the Pergamon Publishing Company after financial squabbles which disclosed much of the unacceptable face of capitalism and not a vestige of socialism. Socialist millionaires are not rebuffed or an object of shame in the Labour Party, in fact they are an object of pride - even a millionaire can be a socialist! The grocer Lord Sainsbury, the television tycoon Sidney Bernstein, the banker Harold Lever are all card-carrying Socialists. Harold Wilson was economic adviser to Messrs. Montague L. Meyer, Timber Merchants, 1951-59. G. R. Strauss, Labour spokesman on transport (1955 onwards) was chairman of a metal broking firm and claimed with pride, "I am a businessman and middle class" and was stated to be 'one of the richest men in the Socialist party'. Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, former M.P.,

owns a chain of provincial newspapers. Mr. John Diamond was a company director, Mr. Roy Jenkins was at one time economic adviser to the John Lewis Partnership (a notorious anti-union firm, hence the 'Partnership'), Sir Leslie Plummer was a director of Express Newspapers.

All these men claim to be socialists and work - if it can be called that! - for enterprises whose aims and objects are far removed from socialism of any kind.

This is only the public revelation of anti-socialist practices. The scandal of the slag-heap is just part of the iceberg. What property deals, stock-exchange gambles, profit-making and taking are part of the normal life of prominent Labour Party members and M.P.s?

We are now and again asked to join in the concern about the condition of the stock exchange which is somehow supposed to be an indication of the nation's prosperity. Its fortunes are breathlessly followed by investors and, with the advent of the

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and inclinations, there will always be a tendency among anarchists to dogmatically adopt, unwillingly perhaps, rigid attitudes which fatally lead to artificial divisions.

And bickerings, rumours, cynicisms, ill feelings are like poison to our potential forces and a liability to thinking in organisational terms. We should remember that to an ideology inactivity means decay and death. If the old Portuguese proverb - Stagnant waters will not move a millwheel - has any significance for the state of the anarchist movement in Britain, we would suggest that fresh water be allowed to flow from the spring of our comradeship.

The time is ripe for libertarian activities, for discussions and opening of new anarchist groups. The established anarchist groups should help anyone willing to militate in our movement and we should not be ashamed to publicly admit:
ANARCHISTS NEEDED.

EDITORIAL

ANARCHISTS NEEDED!

WITH OR WITHOUT a Federation, it is quite obvious that many more anarchists are needed in order to bring about social changes in this society.

Today we anarchists are not enough in numbers to have any revolutionary impact on the minds of oppressed people of this country, but strange as it seems, the work, the militancy and the thinking which emanates from anarchist quarters is mainly devoted to digging into the past of the movement, the necessary work ahead being completely ignored or never thought of.

What is the point, we ask, of learning about past mistakes if there is no future to look to? What is the point, we ask, of constantly opening the dusty cupboard in which the skeletons of anarchism in Britain are kept

if we cannot even afford new chairs and round tables which would enable us to sit and speak to each other and work together towards our social revolution?

To our mind, what makes fascist regimes nostalgically preserve national heritages, heroes and old regimental flags is their inability to look into the future of the nation they constantly promise to build, and we would hate to think that anarchists and fascists have in common the nostalgia of past feats.

Unless it is totally accepted among us that anarchism attracts into its fold a variety of people, from individualists to collectivists, through anarcho-syndicalists, pacifists and many other variations, and that there should be enough latitude in an anarchist movement to accommodate such diversities of personalities

FORDS IN SPAIN

THE AMERICAN multinational car companies of General Motors and Fords are seeking a stake in what must prove an expanding Spanish market. No less a figure than Henry Ford himself has visited Spain to inspect construction at Almusafes. It seems that Mr. Ford is anxious about his stake in Spain as he has made several visits. He has also had talks with the Industry Minister, Sr. Santos Blanco and the Finance Minister, Barrera de Irimo. Mr. Ford also paid a visit to General Franco and the "future King of Spain, Prince Juan Carlos".

While this American expansion may not have the support of the Falange, the Spanish government are more concerned with rising unemployment than with the chauvinist feelings of the fascist party. However the Spanish government does not want to offend existing manufacturers too much and so has stipulated that the bulk of Fords cars made in Spain must be exported. Obviously such an arrangement will not worry Fords for although Spain is not yet a developed market, its wages bill will be lower there than in other West European countries.

General Motors are seeking to buy British Leyland's 98% stake in the smallest Spanish car firm, Authi. The British company have agreed but the deal still needs the approval of the Franco government. Top General Motors executives have had talks with the Minister of Industry, but like the Fords deal, opposition comes from the existing manufacturers who are lobbying the government to get them to reject the sale.

IN BRIEF

The French Anarchist Federation has declared that it has no wish to associate itself with the true or false grief shown by so many citizens when the news of the death of Pompidou was released... The Anarchist Federation cannot forget the proliferation of the police forces, the bugging of 'Le Canard enchainé', the multiple financial scandals and the economic and social instability promoted by this Republic. The Federation also calls for a boycott of the forthcoming Presidential elections in the belief that "the vote only elects new tyrants for the people. Surely the Social Revolution cannot be found in the ballot box".

Franco's prime minister, Senor Arias Navarro (known in Spain in anti-fascist circles as the Butcher of Malaga) last week paid

As far as the Spanish worker is concerned it matters very little whether the company he works for is American owned or Spanish. No doubt the Communist Party and the Falange will oppose this American intervention, but while they are loud in their protests about this the communists have remained silent about Fiat's building factories and cars in the Soviet Union. In all countries we see the labour of the majority used to make profits and create a privileged position for a minority. It makes little difference whether it is the Soviet Union or fascist Spain. Fiat have, in fact, long been established in Spain and many a long and bitter struggle has taken place at their factories. Anarchists do not worry about the national origin of their exploiters but seek to abolish these exploiters once and for all. That is why we think that this struggle is an international one. It is important that workers establish their own ties between fellow workers from different countries to forge the links to fight the multinational companies.

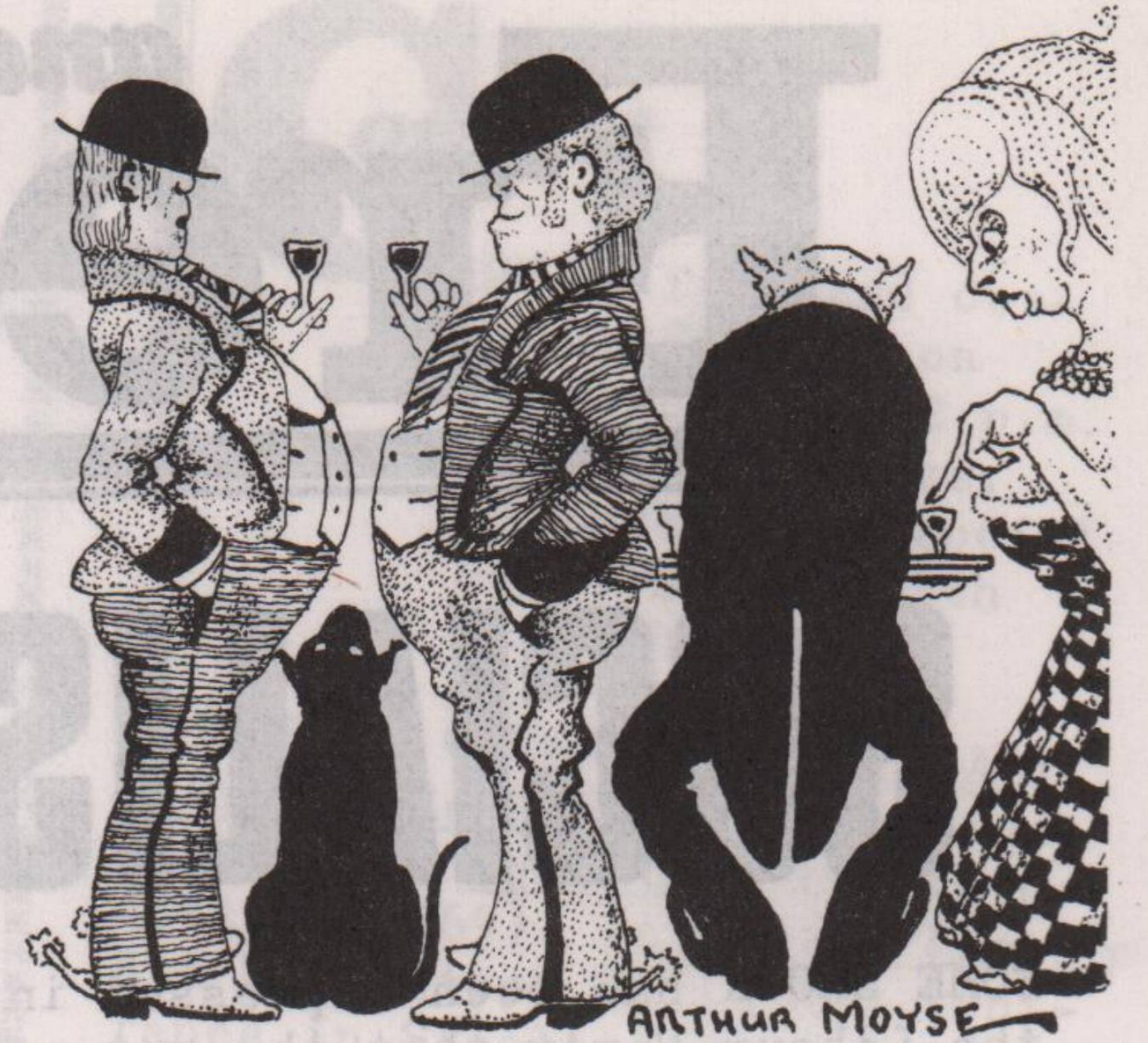
Our comrades in Spain face the full power of oppressive fascist regime every time they propagate our anarchist message. The simple distribution of a leaflet can mean a term of imprisonment.

Some are suffering such a fate at the moment and they need all the assistance we can give them. Please send donations to the Spanish Resistance Fund,
T.P. & P.T., c/o Freedom Press,
84B Whitechapel High St.,
London, E. 1.

tribute to the memory of Monsieur Pompidou, repaying the courtesy publicly shown by De Gaulle's successor after the death of Senor Carrero Blanco. Class solidarity is not, it appears, an exclusive of the oppressed peoples of this world.

'The death of President Pompidou will be a blow to the Soviet Union which has valued its relationship with France and regarded President Pompidou the most important western leader after President Nixon.' - Financial Times.

On 3 April, 400 schoolchildren went on strike and marched through South London calling for the release of three coloured youths sentenced after an affray at a fairground in which police were attacked. The march was organised by the Black Students



"I WONDER IF WE'LL HAVE THE SAME FAB LUCK AS DADDY DID IN 1924 WITH HIS "FINDING" AND CIRCULATION OF THE "ZINOVIEV LETTER..."

Zinoviev Wilson?

IN 1924 a group of professional forgers of off-beat political 'documents' operating in Paris flogged the 'Zinoviev letter' to some bright spark in the Conservative Central Office and when the time was right the Daily Mail used it and the result was the overthrow of the MacDonald government. Everyone pushing the 'document' knew it was phoney but it worked. The world being what the world is I don't doubt that various spiv types with connections in high office are making their miserable fortunes but but but but this 'forged' letter thing of the 1974 Daily Mail stinks of a mirror image of their 1924 'dirty trick' department and as they have been sitting on this since 1972 and the original letter is now missing there are two lines of thinking...one is that various creeps are doing a Poulson...and secondly that the whole thing is a Daily Mail use of a trick that worked before and the public have short memories... The Daily Mail claim that they have tapes of conversations going back to 1972 and if that is so I wonder how many other places were wired up by the Conservative Watergate squad.

I think that the Daily Mail has produced this to win back the GLC for it is three weeks to the May elections.....anyway.....

A.M.

Action Collective and backed by the National Union of School Students. ***

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Australian Clockwork Orange

'AN INQUIRY has been ordered into brain operations performed on two criminals in an attempt to rehabilitate them. And it has been alleged that another prisoner - an habitual sex offender - was given hormone treatment against his will. The brain operations were performed in Sydney, the anti-sexual hormone treatment was allegedly given in Melbourne.

'The inquiry into the brain operations on two Sydney criminals was ordered by the NSW Minister of Justice...It followed disclosures on the ABC-TV current affairs programme Four Corners, of the use of operations similar to those performed in the controversial film "A Clockwork Orange"

'The two Sydney criminals, who appeared at Sydney Quarter Sessions, were placed on good behaviour bonds after voluntarily undergoing brain surgery. One man was a burglar, the other a homosexual. The first man, said to be an habitual criminal, was operated on three years ago. It is believed he committed further breaking-and-entering offences and is now back in prison. It is not known whether the other man was "cured".

'Melbourne's shock allegation of prison hormone treatment came last night from prison reform groups. They claim they were told a Pentridge prisoner, a rapist, was injected with female hormones against his will in an attempt to curb his abnormal sex drive. Mr. Jim Mulcahy, of the Prisoners' Action Committee [PAC] said he was told prison authorities informed the man he would sacrifice his parole if he refused to have the injections. The case was reported to both the La Trobe University based PAC and the penal reform committee of the Victoria Council for Civil Liberties, but neither group had any way of confirming it. Both groups are firmly opposed to any such treatment.

'Four Corners revealed that more than 200 Australians have had brain surgery in the past seven years to help them adjust to society. They include criminals, sex deviates, drug addicts and mental patients.

'[The Minister of Justice] said he had not known of the operations on the two criminals. He said he was against the use of psycho-surgery, either in the gaols or the courts. "I find it

IN BRIEF

IN PORTUGAL, two hundred bank employees held a demonstration on Friday, 5 April in the city centre of Lisbon in protest against the interdiction by the fascist authorities of a conference about---theatre.

This conference, which would have taken place at the Lisbon headquarters of the Union of Bank Employees (state controlled) was banned because, as a spokesman from the Pide/DGS (political police) put it, "To speak about theatre is the same as speaking about politics".

* * *

SPAIN A member of the paramilitary Guardia Civil was machine-gunned to death on 3 April, in another flare up of militancy in the Basque Provinces. Earlier in the day a young man, alleged to belong to the Basque nationalist organisation ETA, had fallen from a roof and was seriously injured during a gun battle with the police.

It is widely presumed that the two men responsible for the death of the guardia civil were also members of ETA.

The political police have arrested three important members of the Spanish Communist Party, it was reported last weekend in Madrid. One of these is Maria del Pilar Bravo, 31, a Madrid University student, who is leader of the Communist student group. She is believed to be a member of the party's central committee.

very difficult to face up to experimentation with human beings with perhaps something less than certainty as to what the outcome will be," he said. "I find it most extraordinary that people in authority should play God in this particular area, not knowing what the long term effects are."

'Mr. Lex Watson, a tutor in the Department of Government at Sydney University who appeared on the programme criticised the use of brain surgery to "cure" homosexuals. Mr. Watson said: "Most people arrested for a homosexual offence end up in the course of questioning being asked by the police whether they would be prepared to undergo psychiatric treatment of some form or another. They often as not say yes in signed statements which half commits them to doing it. Psycho surgery may take away some of a homosexual's sex drive but it won't turn them into a heterosexual," he said.'

--from the (London)

Australasian Express (4.4 74)

THE ENTRISTS

IN A RECENT article we mentioned the extremely authoritarian Trotskyist group now calling itself the Workers Revolutionary Party, as well as a number of other mutually antagonistic Trotskyist organisations, such as the Revolutionary Workers Party, the Socialist Current group, the International Marxist Group and the co-called International Socialists.

We also mentioned that one of the basic tactics of the Trotskyists was "entrism" - the policy of secretly joining another political party (in this country usually the Labour Party, though the Healyites did attempt, a few years ago, to infiltrate their "cadres" into the Young Communist League), and working as an organised faction within that group or Party. Now that the Trotskyists are numerically stronger than they were, say, twenty or thirty years ago, "entrism" is not considered to be so important a tactic as it was in the past, though it must be admitted that a small group of rather disreputable "Trotskyist" elements recently attempted to infiltrate and disrupt one well-known libertarian group. Fortunately, they have now bored their way right through and out the other side!

In our previous article, we omitted to mention yet another "official" Trotskyist group, whose tactics on "entrism" are an all-important aspect of their existence or, as some have noted, their non-existence. Of them, the notorious Stalinist hack-writer, Betty Reid, in her pamphlet, Ultra-Leftism in Britain, remarks: "Deep inside the Labour Party is another Trotskyist group which has differences with...the other groupings... It does not admit to any public existence, but meets Trotskyist requirements by publishing a journal called The Militant." In this instance, our Betty is right on target.

* * *

¶ The Militant group, like most Trotskyist organisations, appears to have had a rather chequered career. In 1953, the Trotskyist IVth International was rent by one of its regular "splits". A pre-war Trotskyist by the name of Ted Grant supported the International Secretariat then in Paris, while Mr. Thomas Gerald "Jerry" Healy (and John Lawrence) broke away. Healy and Lawrence, both by that time members of the Labour Party, organised the Socialist Fellowship (with its paper, The Socialist Outlook), while Ted Grant and another Trotskyist by the name of Jimmy Dean remained loyal to Michael Rapis (Michel Pablo)* and the Paris Secretariat. Grant

* Some time later, Pablo left the Trotskyists altogether and moved towards what was, at that time, a Maoist position. There are now believed to be three "Pabloite" groupings, all adhering to Pablo's views at different periods of his political career! The "Healyites", however, still refer to the "Grantists" as "Pabloites". Try and work that one out!

and Dean set up a group which was generally known as the Revolutionary Socialist League, the same name as the pre-war Trotskyist group. The group was usually referred to, among Trotskyists, as the Grant/Dean group. According to Betty Reid, in the late fifties, Grant started up an organisation called International Socialist, which published a journal, Socialist Fight. This no longer exists. The group's paper is now, as has already been mentioned, The Militant.

The Militant group differ from all the other Trotskyist groups on a number of issues. They are not particularly interested in nationalist struggles, and are, unlike such groups as the IMG and IS, extremely hostile to the Provisional IRA. They are also virulently hostile towards the "Stalinists" and the Soviet Union, so much so that many ordinary Labourites with whom they operate often mistake them for "right-wingers". But, above all, the Militant Trotskyists denounce all the other Trotskyists as sectarian for attempting to build up their own separate organisations. The masses, they claim, are in the Labour Party - and that that is where the Trotskyists should be. So, they bury themselves "deep inside" the Labour Party. (This writer knows one quite well-known Trotskyist of the "Grant" tendency who has buried himself so long inside the Hackney Labour Party that he seems to have forgotten why he joined, or that he is an "entrism Trot"!.) However, one does not need to be a very professional detective to discover who the "entrism" Trotskyists are, and in which local Labour Parties they operate, which would suggest that they can be of little embarrassment to the Labour Party, otherwise they would have been expelled ages ago. This is not, from a libertarian and anarchist viewpoint, surprising, as these Trotskyists, like those of the WRP, the IMG, IS etc., are not very revolutionary. In fact, they are equally reformist. Witness any issue of The Militant.

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The International Socialists put forward the reformist demand of a £ 25-a-week minimum wage, enforced by the State, of course. Not to be outdone, the International Marxist Group "ups" it to £ 35. The Militant does likewise. And the Militant's "solution" to the crisis of capitalism?

"FORCE ELECTION NOW!

"...A real campaign must be organised to get rid of the Tories..."

"Comrade Craven suggested that only by nationalising, with compensation on the basis of proven need, the major monopolies, banks and insurance companies which dominate society can the expansion of the economy be planned in a meaningful way."

"Ted Grant gave an equally stirring contribution... (he said)... In reality the

solution was simple. With the £ 1000s of millions of wealth produced by the workers, on the basis of a monopoly of foreign trade, and nationalisation of the 250 monopolies, banks and insurance companies it would be possible to carry out not only all the reforms in Labour's Programme but institute the 24-hour working week with £ 35 minimum wage." (All quotations from The Militant 25.1.74.)

So, there you are. After over thirty-five years of Trotskyism, and years of "deep" burial in the Labour Party, Ted Grant has learned - exactly nothing! Not that he is any worse than Mr. Thomas Gerald Healy, Mr. Ygael Gluckstein (Tony Cliff to the uninitiated) or Mr. Tariq Ali. Like their Prophet and Mentor, Lev Davidovitch, before them, politically-speaking, most of the time they hardly know their arses from their elbows! Unfortunately, as we mentioned previously, they are able to attract young, politically-immature people with their pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric. No wonder the Stalinists get so annoyed: stealing all their useless, wornout clothing!

The building up of a genuine revolutionary organisation is a much more difficult task than forming, dissolving and, more often than not, reforming a multiplicity of Trotskyist groups. The various Trotskyist outfits are nothing more than bureaucratic embryo ruling classes, no better and possibly much worse than the present. On the other hand, a revolutionary anarchist organisation works for a social revolution in which the workers seize power, and in doing so destroy the whole apparatus of bourgeois power. And no one can do that for the workers. They must do it for themselves. Any other "revolution" merely puts a new ruling class in power. And that is what the various, mutually-antagonistic, Trotskyist groups, like all the other capitalist-reform parties, stand for. Of the Trotskyist organisations, the "Healyite" Workers Revolutionary Party is far and away the most authoritarian, even totalitarian, and the Militant crowd, with their "deep entrism", are the most dishonest. For anarchists and libertarians generally to have any truck at all with the Trotskyists of any persuasion is tantamount to the kiss of death. Moreover, their objective of an all-powerful State and State-monopoly capitalism, is the complete antithesis of what anarchists, with their objective of libertarian communism and the end of all States, believe in.

Peter E. Newell

N.B. There are probably about 12,000 to 15,000 out-and-out Trotskyists of various persuas-

AN ENEMY OF THE STATE

IN BRIEF

BOOK REVIEW

An enemy of the state 1

OUR ENEMY THE STATE, including the essay On Doing The Right Thing, by Albert Jay Nock. Introduction and bibliographical essay by Walter E. Grinder. Free Life Editions, New York, 1973 (\$2.95)

Max Stirner wrote sarcastically of authors "who fill whole folios on the State without calling in question the fixed idea of the State itself." His sarcasm was justified since the vast majority of political theorists accept the legitimacy of the State as unquestionable. Albert Jay Nock was one of the few who did not, and his reasons were expressed in his elegantly written Our Enemy The State, first published in 1935 and now reissued by the newly formed Free Life Editions, together with a penetrating introduction by Walter E. Grinder.

Nock regarded the State as a predatory organization designed to exploit one class for the benefit of another. This is the case no matter what type of State exists at a given period. Whatever the doctrine used to cement the domination of the particular group controlling the State, and however shaped the machinery by which the domination is exercised, the consideration of the State does not lie with "considerations of the characteristic marks that differentiate the republican State, monocratic State, constitutional, collectivist, totalitarian, Hitlerian, Bolshevik, what you will. It lies with the consideration of the State itself".

Nock illustrates his thesis with a brief history of the State in the U.S.A. Pointing out that from the earliest colonial days the State has been the major instrument for the suppression of individual liberty and the creation of privileged economic monopolies (particularly in land), he emphasises that, des-

itions in this country at the present time. On the other hand, the "Healyite" Workers Press sells up to about 20,000 copies a day; the I.S. paper, Socialist Worker, about the same number a week, the I.M.G. paper, Red Weekly, around 6,000 a week, the "Grantist" Militant probably less than 3,000 and Socialist Current less than 1,000 every two months.

The Communist Party has a membership (on average, much older than that of the various Trotskyist groups) of just over 30,000 compared with just under 29,000 two years ago. The sales of the Morning Star (excluding copies sent to libraries) are probably less than 45,000 a day, and may be as little as 40,000. Daily printing is said to be 75,000, but many thousands are "bought" by, and sent to, the Soviet Union and other "Communist" countries.

P.E.N.

(This article was written before the February 28 elections but excluded by lack of space.)

pite the schoolbook legend, nothing was fundamentally changed when Americans set up their own State independently of the British. Indeed, the republican system "permits the individual to persuade himself that the State is his creation, that State action is his action, that when it expresses itself it expresses him, and when it is glorified he is glorified. The republican State encourages this persuasion with all its power, aware that it is the most efficient instrument for enhancing its own prestige. Lincoln's phrase 'of the people, by the people, for the people' was probably the most effective single stroke of propaganda ever made in behalf of republican prestige".

Despite his opposition to the State, however, Nock was not sanguine about its abolition. He considered most people to be incapable of self-determination and all too willing to give more and more power to the State if they thought, usually mistakenly, that they would benefit by it. All that can be done by anti-statists is to steer clear of the futilities of politicking and hope that one day a sufficient number of individuals would become aware of the nature of the Beast to make possible its disappearance.

Nock argues his case well, but it is flawed in two important aspects.

Firstly, as Walter E. Grinder points out, Nock's distinction between "State" and "government" is not a convincing one. Nock is opposed to the State, but thinks that government is necessary. To him government is the means whereby the life, liberty and property of the individual are secured, and he believes that it was instituted for that end. The "State" is what happens when government is extended beyond its original purpose and becomes a predatory "anti-social institution. To safeguard the true function of government it should be restricted to its original purpose and devolved to a local level, as Jefferson wanted, and the dangers of the centralized State thereby averted.

Local government, however, is not substantially different from national government. As Grinder writes: "...by Nock's own admission, the Jeffersonian ward, like the Russian soviet or Chinese commune, can conceivably be extremely oppressive, not to mention very involuntary as well. Nock's small government, at the very least, must be designated a mini-State."

Second, Nock's concept of "social power" versus "State power" perpetuates the notion that "society" is or can be a free association of sovereign individuals. "Society", however, is not something you and I create for our own ends - it is something into which I am born and in whose shaping I have had no voice. "Social power" can be as tyrannous as "State power", and "custom" can enthrall me as much as, or even more than, "law". To fight for one's individuality is to fight against society as well as the State.

On Doing The Right Thing belongs to Nock's earlier, more optimistic period. In this brief essay he calls himself an anarchist, but is not very specific about what he means. His theme is the contrast between "moral autonomy" and "law, compulsion, and authoritarianism

Myra Hindley, sentenced for her part in the 'Moors murders' to two concurrent 'life' sentences, received a token one-year sentence for an escape plot. A female prison officer said to be her lover was savagely sentenced to six years' imprisonment and another prisoner who acted as 'go-between' and messenger was sentenced to eighteen months to be served on completion of her present sentence.

In a moving statement in the Guardian (April 2) Myra Hindley, having served eight years imprisonment and describing herself, truly it seems, 'older, much wiser and with a nature enriched with many good qualities endowed by that wisdom'. She describes her love for the prison officer (a situation not unique and relatively normal in such abnormal conditions) and the desperation of the situation that made such a wild plan assume grotesque reality - they were to go to Brazil and become Catholic missionaries. Her parole was unlikely, the popular press had denounced her outside walks with the prison governor, and she was not allowed to participate in Open University courses. Thus does the barbarous prison system reap its harvest and take its revenge.

Mr. Robert Mackenzie (formerly of Braehead School, featured in Anarchy 82, 1st series) headmaster of Somerhill Academy, Aberdeen, has been suspended on allegations that he had failed to carry out council policy and to control staff. Mr. Mackenzie believes in a freer system of discipline and there have been allegations of bullying, intimidation, smoking and swearing at the school.

of various kinds". Since he defines moral behaviour as "the region where conduct is controlled by unenforced, self-imposed allegiance to moral or social considerations", the way is left open for an internalization of authority as "conscience" to replace the external authority of legal compulsion. Nock here falls into a kind of "clerico-libertarianism" which obscures the fact that "moral autonomy" is not the same as "my autonomy".

Nock has been referred to, and sometimes called himself, an anarchist. This book makes clear he was not. His attitude can best be described as "minarchist", since he wanted to reduce "archy" to a minimum, but accepted this minimum as "legitimate". Nonetheless, his pungent critique of statism is well worth consideration and his view of the American past is far less rose-coloured than that of some who today claim him as ancestor.

To fall short of consistency is not to be without value.

S. E. Parker.

LETTERS

"DIRECT ACTION" REVIVED

Dea Comrades,

Following the decision of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation conference the Direct Action Collective has been preparing the ground for the publication of 'Direct Action'. We have converted a room in one of our comrades' places into a workshop to lay out material for the magazine and pamphlets. We hope that the first issue of the new series of 'Direct Action' will be ready for the 1st May.

What we need now are non-theoretical articles (news of strikes and occupations). Also we need money to finance the magazine and orders for selling. The price will be 5p plus postage. Also we are republishing the SWF pamphlet "Workers Control". All orders to

Manchester SWF Group
c/o Grassroots
178 Oxford Road
Manchester 13.

New Federation

I do not support the idea of a federation in order to "forget our differences". A federal structure is needed whereby we can each maintain and create a respect for differences. Conferences and manifestos will only serve to emphasize and intensify differences. Only face to face relationships and working together on projects will advance the federation, find common ground, and promote anarchism.

Jack Robinson.

PRESS FUND

Contributions March 28 - April 3

BANGOR N.I.: J.T. £5; PARIS: S.C. £1
WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L.: 40p; J.K.W. 10p;
OXFORD: S.P.M. 37p; NOTTINGHAM:
A.B. 10p; FOGGIA: J.T. 40p; In shop:
J.H. 10p; G.M. £1.10; SURREY, B.C.:
W.G.P. £1.08; SHOREHAM: J.L. 37p;
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TOTAL: £11.77

Previously acknowledged.....£ 461.91

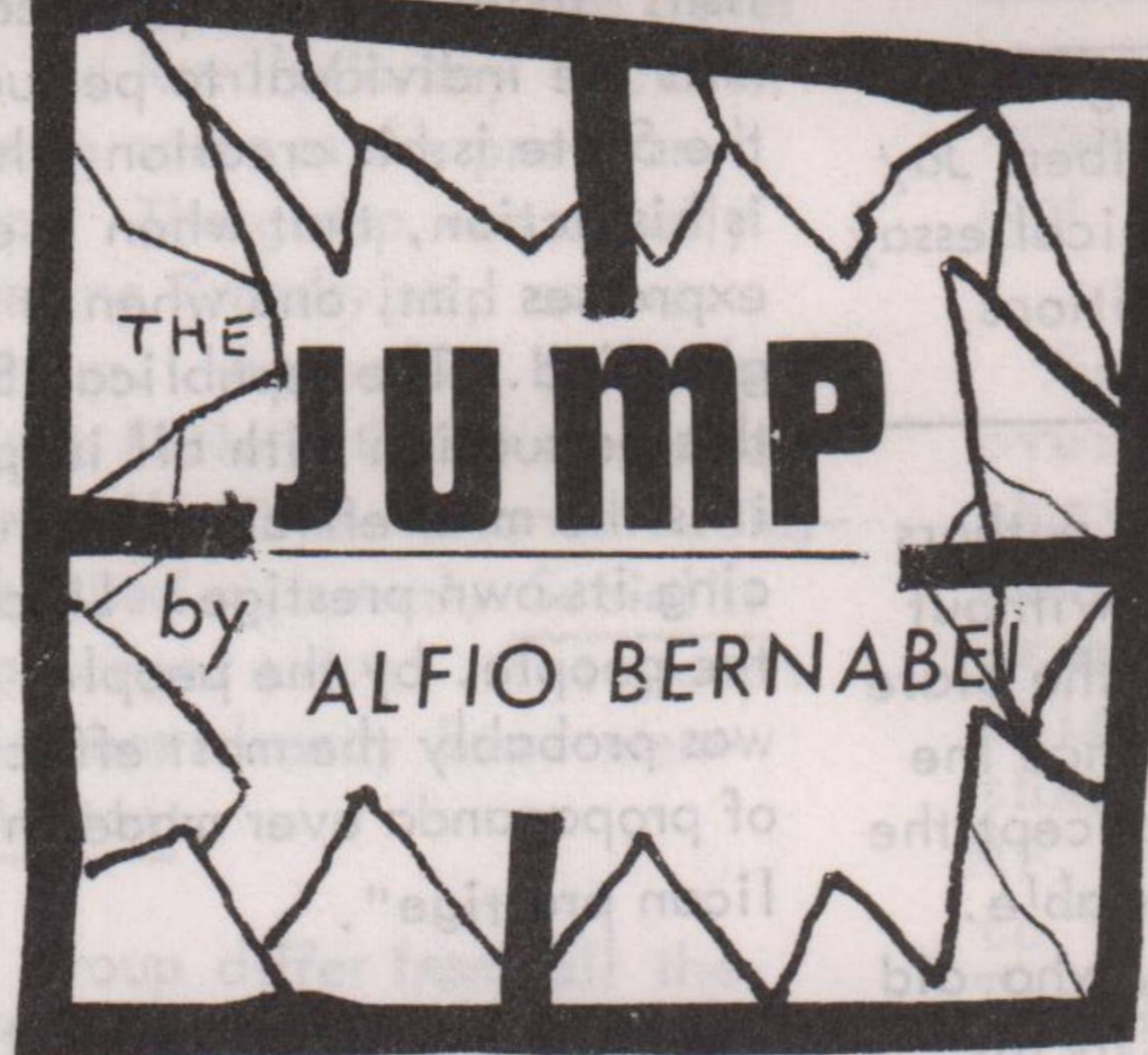
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* NICOLAS WALTER's many friends *
* will be as glad as we are to *
* know that after a short spell in *
* hospital he is convalescent and *
* feeling well and active. *

unity theatre



One, Goldington St. N.W.1. 1 UD 01-387 8647



April EVERY FRI, SAT
& SUN at 7.45 P.M.
12TH to 27TH
TICKETS 50p

Associate Membership 55p

This play is concerned with Pinelli's death, which is popularly believed to be neither accident or suicide. It isolates the major influences in his life which caused him to become an anarchist and ultimately, if indirectly, caused his death from a fall into a police station courtyard.

State Murder!

THE JUMP, by Alfio Bernabei.
Unity Theatre, London

Alfio Bernabei's play is based on the events in Italy at the time of explosions in the Banca Nazionale dell'Agricoltura, Milan, in December 1969 and the death of our comrade Giuseppe Pinelli. He was being interrogated at the Milan police station when he was pushed to his death from a fourth floor window.

Quotes from well known anarchists are read out with the images of their authors flashed onto the screen at the back of the stage. Godwin, Malatesta, Tolstoy, Bakunin, Durruti, Kropotkin are all quoted. Details of Pinelli's life are given, but the impression, reinforced by the age of the actor, is that he is much younger than he was.

Characters symbolise Italy, fascism, democracy. Mussolini recalls how he had been killed by partisans and his body left hanging by its ankles in a village square. The Greek colonels and their offer of assistance to the Italian fascists to bring down the government is brought into the play and Pinelli himself mentions the story of this that appeared in the Observer in this country.

One scene depicts a meeting of anarchists. But instead of discussing any real activity, the

characters quote at each other what other anarchists have written.

Another scene between a fascist and the police showed how the death of Pinelli was, in the author's opinion, a conspiracy between them. That they needed the chaos which the bombings was causing as a reason for taking power themselves. Such are the methods of the fascists and in fact fascists have been charged with the same bombing along with Valpreda.

One has come to have reservations about films, plays, etc. dealing with anarchists and their activities and before seeing Alfio Bernabei's play these doubts existed in my mind. They were dispelled, and for anyone in the audience who had not heard anything about anarchism before, it proved a good introduction.

"The Jump" is also a humorous play in which attempts to sing "The Internationale" in tune fall flat, and the sexuality of fascism attempting to rape a republic led a half row of middle-aged respectable working ladies (members of the Co-op Women's Guild?) to leave the theatre at the interval.

We recommend this play to our readers. After all, the programme gives a credit to FREEDOM and Black Cross for help in putting this play on stage.

M.H.

(See Contact Column for details)

VIOLENT PARADOX

WAR AND AN IRISH TOWN, Eamonn McCann. Penguin Special (40p)

THE TOWN is Derry. This book is half history, half autobiography. Eamonn McCann was active from the beginning of the present conflict, at the start he was housing squatters. The first section of the book brings his story down to 1972, the second part is purely historical, and explains how the present situation in Derry and Ulster generally came about.

He is sceptical about the Irish freedom movement, and shows how it had bourgeois economic roots. It was in the interests of the Catholic business community in the South and their Protestant equivalents in the North to keep the country divided. His hope lies, alas, in Marxism. He believes such a movement is beginning to develop, that it will oppose Catholic and Protestant capitalism alike, and sweep them away. Possibly something like this may happen, but the only result, as in some Eastern European countries, also formerly scenes of sectarian strife, will be the creation of an institution combining the worst features of the Roman Catholic Church and the Orange Order.

His description of Free Derry is very interesting for anarchists. This was, very nearly, a small independent country, an anarchy in fact, the first in Northern Europe in modern times. There was virtually no government, even of the local kind, and yet things worked well on the whole. An attempt to create a formal system of street committees petered out, yet, on an informal basis the community was able to keep itself going, even though it was in a state of siege. (Though perhaps this siege was a help in creating a sense of solidarity).

Unfortunately two authoritarian institutions operated out of this little anarchy, which indeed they were engaged in defending (nor would it be true to say that they were unpopular, as the British press was wont to suggest, on the old "divide and rule" principle), the IRA (Official) and the IRA (Provisional). In the end it was the execution by the Officials of a local Catholic boy serving in the British army, who was foolish enough to come home on leave, which finally split the community, or so Eamonn McCann believes, and made it possible for the British army to invade the area without encountering much resistance.

The problem of violence in a revolutionary situation could not be more starkly posed, and the present writer can see no very satisfactory solution. Eamonn McCann is not much help on this question. He says that the IRA who plan to bring the war to Britain have no scruples, since the British people have brought the war to them, and British troops have killed and wounded civilians. It does not seem to worry him much, this idea of revenge.

The Provisionals are, he believes, one of the most efficient guerilla armies to emerge in the present century, but he adds that most of the guerillas are in fact very young, and were at school when the war began. They have not had time to do any abstract thinking. Certainly they seem to have no ideal beyond Irish nationalism, and when they lump the entire British people together as a homogeneous Saxon horde, as they appear to do, their thinking reveals tribal characteristics.

The bombs which they have exploded in Britain have killed, so far, only a few people, and injured a considerably larger number, some seriously. Evidently those who set these bombs believe in group responsibility. Ordinary people in the street are responsible for what their army does. If Britain were an authentic democracy (if such a thing is imaginable) this might be arguable. As she is a capitalist oligarchy it hardly makes sense. The British have as little say in the actions of their government as the Ulster Catholics have. Though it's true they are, a good many of them, better off economically.

Protestant guerillas have threatened to carry the war to Britain if their demands are not met. Since their demands are precisely the opposite of those the Catholics make, it looks as if we are in for an exciting time. If these heroes would only concentrate on the politicians it might be a different matter. As it is it will be the "innocent bystanders" who will suffer. Just how absurd the situation may get I can best illustrate in the form of a little play.

Scene: A street covered with wreckage from a bomb explosion. Lying on the ground, on a stretcher, his legs shattered, his whole body covered with blood, lies Joe Bloggs, British radical, leftist, anarchist and general supporter of good causes. He was on his way home from a "Bring the Troops Home and End

Internment" meeting. Although he does not know it, he is dying. Nearby are policemen, ambulance men, firemen and onlookers.

JOE BLOGGS: (to nearby policeman) -Do you know who did it?

POLICEMAN: Not certain, sir, but it has all the marks of an IRA job.

JOE BLOGGS: Thank goodness for that. I have no hard feelings. I can't blame the poor lads. They are victims of society.

ONLOOKER: (who has small transistor radio to his ear): It's just been announced. A Protestant group claims responsibility.

JOE BLOGGS: What! A Protestant bomb, not a Catholic bomb!

(Yells) DIRTY FASCISTS!!!
(Dies.)

In short, the problem of how to resist a ruthless enemy without adopting his methods and outlook is not answered in this book, but it is one that anarchists should read and ponder.

Arthur Wardo.

IN BRIEF

Members of the crew of the liner "France" have reportedly threatened they would occupy the ship if a decision to take her out of service was announced.

The men, members of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) said they would take over the vessel only when she arrived in port. --Wait until Comrade Seguy the Communist secretary of the C.G.T., hears about this "piracy" against Party orders!

A Wing-Commander (Retd.) wrote to the Sunday Telegraph that his son at Essex University was 'standing around' during recent pickets when he was attacked by a policeman who grabbed him by the hair while another delivered a vicious kick in the crutch. The same son was apprehended by the police in a coach following the fire at Woolwrths; he was detained, finger-printed and photographed. The Wing-Commander (Retd.) wonders if it all is worth-while.

A Spanish psychiatrist told a medical conference in Malaga that one in every ten Spaniards over the age of 19 is an alcoholic.

A Rhodesian member of Parliament claimed that two South African policemen murdered a black baby boy by cutting his throat after they had unsuccessfully interrogated the baby's mother.

Labour government with a supposed dedication to 'socialist' ideas, it took some sharp knocks; however it has been reassured and is on the way to recovery. How can one expect sound financial brains, economic advisers, directors and the like to seriously interfere with the making of profit and the gambling that accompanies it? This is an age of gambling - £2,000million per year is spent on conventional gambling in Britain - but add to it the amount moving on the stock exchange and you could triple it.

For, after all, the stock exchange is nothing but a gamble, in which some lose money but more may lose their jobs and pensions. Coupled with the 'futures' market where commodities are gambled on, wheat is sold before it is harvested, and paid for after the harvest when it can be sold at a higher figure (or a lower) depending upon chance, a blight, wind, rain or lack of it. The exchanges have things in common - more money can be made from scarcity and failure than can be made from plenitude and success. Scarcity and failure are the two factors that can be planned for.

To finish as we began - and socialism ended - with George Lansbury:

"The square mile of the City of London contains no productive works of any kind, yet it is considered the centre of Britain's wealth and prospect... In the City of London millions of pounds' worth of money passes from the possession of one person to that of another without anybody doing anything other than make entries in a book and pass pieces of paper. . . I do not understand how these and similar transactions add one single farthing to the sum total of the wealth of the world. Nothing has been produced, only paper has been exchanged. Yet because of the possession of money, or what is equally and sometimes more important, control of credit, men become possessed of fortunes."

Jack Robinson.

FREEDOM, Black Cross and Centro Iberico have in principle agreed to jointly organise a "Show of Solidarity" in aid of our comrades who in Spain, underground or in jail, are struggling against Fascism. This show, to be held some time in midsummer at Unity Theatre, London, will be duly advertised in Freedom, Black Flag, Wildcat, Peace News, Time Out, etc. So, keep your eyes and ears open. Your presence will be needed at Unity Theatre!

A BILL TO PERMIT CHEMISTS IN THE IRISH REPUBLIC TO SELL CONTRA-CEPTIVES WAS DEFEATED BY THIRTY-TWO VOTES TO TEN IN THE SECOND READING IN THE DUBLIN PARLIAMENT

Pat Arrowsmith has been transferred to Holloway Prison and her trial on incitement to disaffection charges is due to commence at the Old Bailey on May 13. All anarchists are urged to support a picket outside the court on the day that the trial begins.
On Saturday, April 6, a picket of about 20 people, including anarchists, pacifists, socialists and Irish Republicans was mounted outside Holloway Prison. People wishing to visit Pat are asked to contact Wendy Butlin at 01-609-1482. Visiting hours are 10-11.30 a.m. and 2-3.30 p.m. Letters of support may be sent to Pat at Holloway Prison, Parkhurst Road, London, N.7, and donations will be gratefully received by the Pat Arrowsmith Defence Fund, 37 Middle Lane, London, N8.
Terry Phillips.

The owners of the Triumph factory in Meriden who are supposedly negotiating with the workers to prevent closure, have resumed production of the Triumph motor cycle at their other factory in Birmingham.

WILDCAT. Anarchist Internal Bulletin. Monthly, sub 40p six mos. Send details pickets, demos, meetings, group publications, printing facilities to Wildcat, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants. tel.(05366)-66781.

STOCKWELL SQUATTERS FACING EVICTION need support & help to fight a possession order. Please contact Kevin or Melody, Flat A, 295 Clapham Road, SW9 or leave message at 01-274 6373.

THE COMMUNE MOVEMENT would like to hear from groups working & living together & willing to write about themselves in Communes jnl. Write coordinator Dave Puddy at Trokes Family, Llanarth, Ceredigion(Cards.)

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE 54 Harcombe Rd. N.15

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE, Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy

BRISTOL FRAME-UP DEFENCE FUND c/o Arthur, 19 Brigstock Road Bristol 2.

SPANISH RESISTANCE FUND c/o T.P. & P.T., 84B Whitechapel High St London, E.1.

Contact

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursday from 2 p.m. at Freedom Press. Followed by a social get-together with refreshments.

ANARCHIST CINEMA. Sun. 14 Apl A Propos de Nice by Jean Vigo (1930) and Squatters by Cinema Action (1969). At Centro Iberico 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (entrance in Steele's Rd.) Buses 31 & 68. Tube Chalk Fm./Belsize Pk. ALL WELCOME. Perf. at 7.30 p.m.

DEATH OF PINELLI - a play by Alfio Bernabei The Jump, at UNITY THEATRE, 1 Goldington Tce Every Fri., Sat. & Sun until 27 Apl. 7.45 p.m. Tickets 50p membership 55p. Tel. 387 8647.

Birmingham May 10-12 THE POWER OF SYMBOOLS Conf. at B'ham Univ. Guild of Students. (How Can We Understand Fascism?-What Keeps Present Society Going? &c.) Write Symbols Conference, 53 Kitchener Rd. Selly Park, B'ham 29

London. Wed. 24 April THREATS TO LITERARY AND ARTISTIC FREEDOM, at Caxton Hall, SW1. 7.45 p.m. Organised by Nat. Secular Soc. Marion Boyars, Martin Loney NCCL Hugh Jenkins MP, Geoff. Robertson

London. ANARCHIST WOMEN'S GROUP meets Mondays. Tel. 883 2457

Alternate Sundays HYDE PARK ANARCHIST FORUM, Speakers' Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcome.

Every Saturday MENTAL PATIENTS UNION 2 pm Robin Farquarson Hse., 37 Mayola Rd., E.5. tel 986 5251. MPU News 10p + 4p post from above

NEW YORK: LIBERTARIAN BOCK CLUB LECTURES alternate Thursdays 7.30 pm at Workmen's Circle Center 369 8th Ave. (SW cnr. 29 St.) Admission free.No collection. April 25: Irving Levitas "The Anarchism of Gustav Landauer"

NEW YORK: Preliminary Continental Anarchist Conference & Festival April 19-21. Details from Conference Correspondence c/o Hunter Libertarian Alliance, 47 East 65 Street, New York, N.Y. 10021

TUCSON, Ariz. April 18, 19 & 20 Conference on the Life, Literature & Cinema of E. Traven. Corres. to Leo L. Barrow, Dept. of Romance Langs., Univ.of Arizona Tucson, Ariz.85721 (tel.(602)884-3123. Home (602)791-0789).

ABERYSTWYTH anarchists meet each Thursday evening in Downie's Vaults, Aberystwyth, at 7.30

ANARCHIST INDUSTRIAL NETWORK. Articles, letters, addresses & subs. to Peter Good, Trokes, Llanarth, Cards., Wales.

Published by Freedom Press, London, E. 1. Printed by Vineyard Press, Colchester.