

MR. BENN'S WAGE SLAVERY

IT IS FUTILE and against all common sense to expect the state to transform the capitalist system of profit and exploitation into a society whose people take control of their own lives. Such a prospect is contrary to the authoritarian nature of the state. And yet today the idea of workers' control is being bandied about as one of the solutions for solving capitalist ills.

Anthony Wedgwood Benn, who is the government's supporter of workers' "participation", has authorised money for co-ops at Meriden ('Triumph' motor-cycle factory), the Scottish Daily News, and at the old Fisher-Bendix factory at Kirkby. However, what Mr. Benn seems to be more interested in is the benefit such experiments will bring to increased output. He has said that co-ops "can unlock a considerable production potential that cannot be released by the present authoritarian system of management. This country could - with the same plant and equipment - produce a great deal more on a continuing basis if the energy now wasted could be released to permit higher real incomes".

What Mr. Benn and all the supporters of the government and the state, whether bourgeois or socialist, want is increased productivity. As such they will also be authoritarian because real control, and power, will lie elsewhere and will not

be in the hands of the workers themselves.

This is why Mr. Benn's National Enterprise Board should be seen for what it is, as another scheme to aid the survival of the capitalist system. While it is true that the private enterprise and has virtually vanished, capitalism marches on with the aid and support of the state. Public capital will be used to invest in ailing companies. Mr. Wilson, the prime minister, has said that where this capital investment is used "there goes with it a corresponding degree of public ownership and control". But "public ownership and control" is not workers' control. Mr. Wilson said that "when the City of London puts its money in, it usually wants a corresponding say in the business. Will not the state want a corresponding say?".

What we are witnessing is further moves towards a corporate state. Private capital has failed the profit motive system, and so huge investments of public money are now needed to keep the wheels of industry turning. Mr. Wilson has called it good socialist doctrine as well as good capitalist doctrine. Its proper title is The Corporate State.

Mr. Benn's image as a fire-brand socialist is a long way off the mark. State capital means state control. While we have not yet got the repressive system of government which existed in Italy and Germany in the thirties, the increasing amount of control by the state here is following a similar pattern.

The series of take-overs which Mr. Benn has supported are workers' reaction to the threat of unemployment and not the outcome of any real desire to take over their work places for themselves. This is a good tactic and the experience of running their own plants will give them and other workers the confidence that they can organise and run things without professional management. But these co-ops are but a drop in the ocean. Such experiments are not a threat to capitalism; in fact the head of Jaguar cars helped the shop-stewards at Meriden to draw up their case for a co-op, but it will be watched over by Mr. Benn's ministry.

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QUIT IRELAND!

PAT ARROWSMITH's appeal against conviction and sentence under the Incitement to Disaffection Act 1934 has been heard on 3rd December, but as we go to press the result is still awaited, judgement to be given on Wednesday 4th December. Pat has been in prison since mid-March, having been remanded in custody prior to her trial in May, when she was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. (Her application to the appeal court was made in June.)

The basis of the charges against Pat was a leaflet which she (and others who were not charged) had distributed, entitled "Some Information for British Soldiers" which gave information about ways, legal and illegal, of leaving the army and details about various organisations which exist to help soldiers with problems. A considerable amount of criticism had been expressed about the use of this Act in such a case and even more criticism voiced at the harshness of the sentence. The Home Secretary, in a letter to the Standing

Joint Pacifist Committee which had written to express its concern, said that he would not consider a review of the Incitement Act as such because the Law Commission is currently engaged in a review of all legislation covering sedition and related offences. (It is interesting to note that Judge Abdela, at Pat's trial, ruled that the charge against her did not come under the general heading of 'sedition' - a ruling which led Pat's original Counsel, Neville Kesselman, to withdraw from the trial as it closed a particular line of defence). The Home Secretary went on to say that he considered much of the legislation in this field to be "archaic and confused". Yet the Director of Public Prosecutions continues to use the Incitement Act. On 9th October arrests began of pacifist who, like Pat Arrowsmith, have been active in the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign, which asserts that there can be

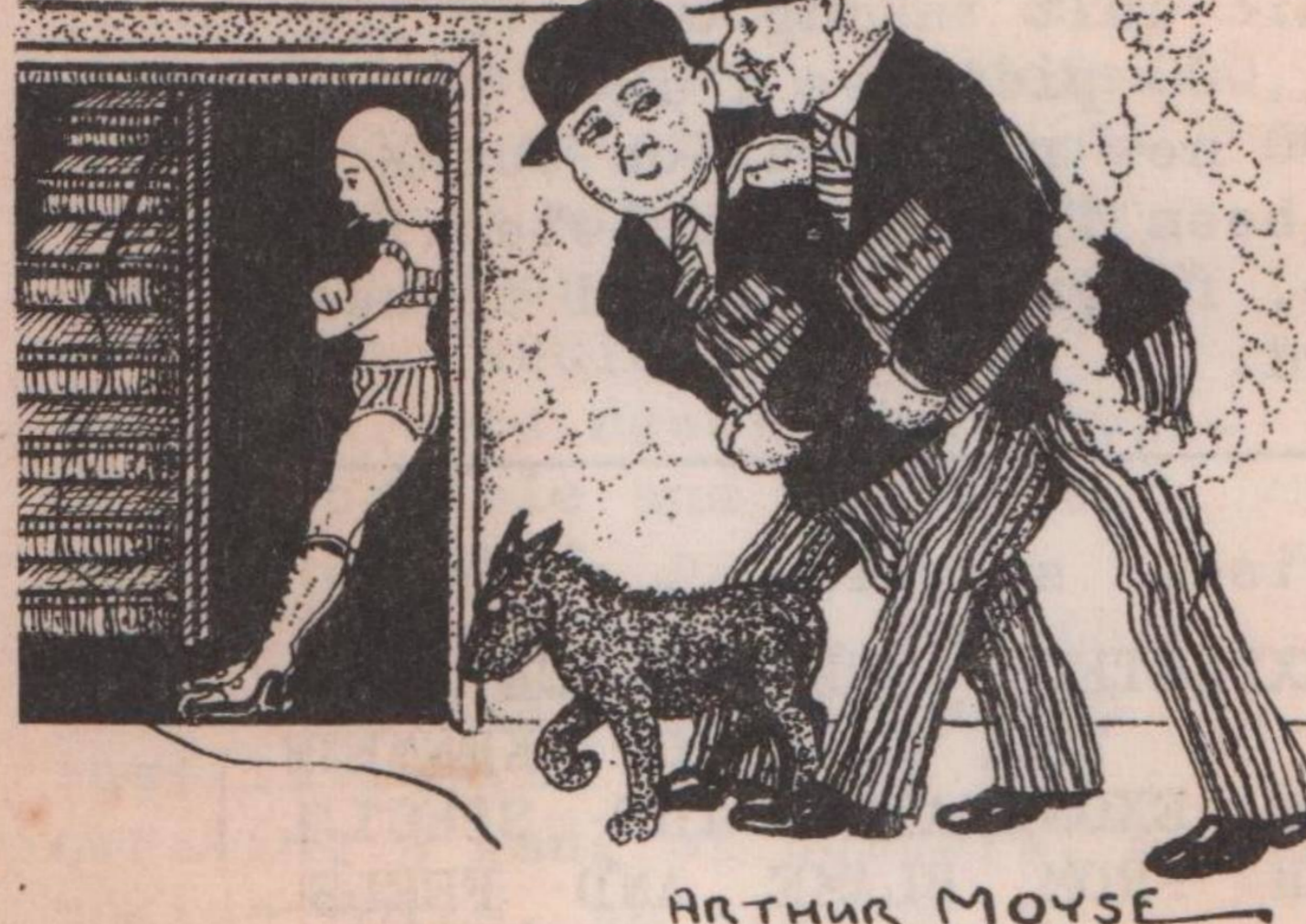
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ARTHUR MOYSE

"TALKING OF FLOGGING AND HANGING, I KNOW A MARVELLOUS LITTLE CLUB IN SOHO."

SINCE THE initials and policies of the political parties in Northern Ireland may not be too well known elsewhere, what follows is a brief series of thumbnail sketches for the guidance of the uninitiated.

Alliance Party. Is composed of Protestants and Catholics, mostly middle class, and resembles a moderate version of the Liberals in Britain but no equivalent of the Young Liberals observed so far. In favour of power-sharing but it appears to have been on the Irish dimension though favouring cross-border co-operation on many issues.

NILP. Northern Ireland Labour Party. Has proved itself to be consistent only in its inconsistency. Failed in an earlier attempt to integrate with the British Labour Party and is now critical of the latter body. Quite a few lay preachers have been connected with the NILP in the past and at present but find it difficult to point out the path of political salvation. Some of its prominent members supported the UWC stoppage yet the party has gained little support in Protestant areas; NILP candidates usually forfeit their deposits nowadays. Not to be taken seriously.

SDLP. Social-Democratic and Labour Party. A moderate social-democratic party overwhelmingly Catholic in composition (Ivan Cooper, one of its leading members, is a Protestant), it insists upon power-sharing and on Irish dimension; adept at publishing political manifestoes and skilful in negotiation. It contains a faction which is strongly in favour of Irish unity at some foreseeable date in the future but the majority view within the party is that unity must remain a long term objective and can be achieved only by peaceful means and as a result of consensus; both factions are agreed on the latter point.

UPNI. Unionist Party of Northern Ireland, or, Faulknerite Unionists, formed part of the power-sharing executive which collapsed in May. Since then it has criti-

Notes from BELFAST

cised the SDLP's attitude towards policing and believes that there ought to be less emphasis placed upon the Irish dimension but acknowledges the necessity of power-sharing if Northern Ireland is to remain a part of the United Kingdom.

No members of the above parties have been guilty of kicking, punching or spitting at their opponents during the course of parliamentary debates but the same cannot be said of members belonging to the UUUC (United Ulster Unionist Council), men of action and men of the blood belonging to all three constituent parties.

DUP. Democratic Unionist Party. Headed by the Rev. Ian Paisley and the Rev. William Beattie. An idea of what Paisley means when he speaks about religion is best summed up in the words of Reichsminister Kerl in reference to another political leader in 1937, "A new authority has arisen as to what Christ and Christianity

LETTER

VIEWPOINT ON BOMBING

Friends,

The unsigned "Viewpoint on Bombing" from the North West Anarchists shows that they accept the status quo. No change in the social order.

I am an old man and I have seen such opportunists come and go. They will sit down (in a pub) and talk about their Utopia. While their fellow humans are killed and tortured in England and Ireland.

John Malone.

Pat Arrowsmith and the fourteen people now facing trial; the National Council for Civil Liberties is engaged in a campaign for the repeal of the Incitement to Disaffection Act, 1934; a petition has been initiated in Bradford University to urge the government to abolish the Incitement Act and the Conspiracy Law and to urge the Director of Public Prosecutions to stop the trial of the fourteen.

Information from and offers of help to:

BWNIC, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

BWNIC Defence Group, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC 1 (01-837 9795) (send donations to help legal costs here)

NCCL, 186 Kings Cross Road, London WC1 (01-278 4575)

Don Milligan, University of Bradford. (Bradford 495265).

really are -- Adolf Hitler." For Hitler substitute Paisley. The DUP are also referred to as being Provisional Unionists, which means that they are willing to remain within the UK provided that they are allowed to run affairs in Northern Ireland without any interference from Westminster - apart from financial help, of course.

OUP. Official Unionist Party head by Harry West is a mixture of Provisional Unionists and people who simply want to retain the UK link, a confused bunch with no clear-cut policies of their own.

Vanguard. Bill Craig's own party which favours a unilateral declaration of independence. Known also as the Ulster Nationalists or the Loyalist Sinn Feiners, there can be little doubt that what Craig has in mind is a corporate state ruled by a Protestant Herrenvolk. Vanguard is the vanguard of fascism.

H. B.

In Brief

FAIR DISCRIMINATION

ACCORDING to Rhodesian Commentary (published by the Rhodesian Ministry of Information), Senator W. R. Whaley, chairman of the Rhodesian Senate's Legal Committee, believes "it is essential for Rhodesia that discrimination properly, fairly and reasonably practised should continue in the interests of our Rhodesian people". He added that in a case like Rhodesia's, it should be recognized that the minority (white) was more fit to govern. "This reality," he concluded, "should be recognized and the minority should exercise the more - I don't say entire - authoritative voice in government for the welfare of all for a period which cannot be measured in time, but which cannot be limitless. . . No form of government will last forever".

The African Times, issued from the same source, has great fun on its October 23 front page in an account of how Mr. B. H. M_usset, the Minister of Internal Affairs, was issued with a registration book (situpa) in the course of his visit to a photographic unit taking between 300 and 1,000 pictures a day. So far 32,000 new registration books have been issued, complete with photo, fingerprints, and tribal record.

Surprise, surprise. . .!

AS EXPECTED, THE POLICE REPORT ON THE CASE OF KENNETH LENNON EXONERATES THE SPECIAL BRANCH FROM BLAME AND FEELS THAT THE NCCL DID NOT ACT WISELY.

Sancho Panza.

QUIT IRELAND cont'd from P.1

The use of undemocratic and repressive laws is causing increasing concern in this country. A Defence Group has been set up to work on behalf of no military solution to the problems of Northern Ireland and condemns the violence of all parties to the conflict. Twelve people have been charged under the Incitement to Disaffection Act for possession of a leaflet, "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers", and a total of fourteen people are now charged with conspiracy to contravene this Act. The leaflet which gave rise to these new charges is not the same one that led to Pat's conviction. It is similar but the text has been revised, firstly, to update the information and, secondly, to attempt to make it even clearer that no particular course of action is being urged on soldiers but the various possibilities open to them are being outlined.

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REPRESSION IN GERMANY

THE REPRESSIVE nature of West German "social democracy" has become only more apparent in the past few weeks, since the death of Holger Meins on 9th November, and the reprisal killing of von Drenkmann (West Berlin's chief judge). Country-wide police raids took place early last week, forty homes were raided and nine people arrested. All the people involved had connections, however tenuous, with the imprisoned members of the Baader/Meinhof group, the Rote Armee Fraktion (Red Army Fraction, RAF), or with the Rote Hilfe (Red Help) organization. Later in the week Ulrike Meinhof was given an eight-years sentence for her part in freeing Andreas Baader (this is only preliminary to the main trial), and Horst Mahler had another two years added to the twelve-year sentence he is already serving. Meinhof did not appear in court as her presence is too embarrassing to the authorities: she is on hunger strike. Mahler had to be manhandled in.

At the same time the West German Federal Government Ministry of the Interior released a report purporting to demonstrate the existence of an anarchist conspiracy to overthrow the West German state, based mainly on documents found in the cells of the Baader/Meinhof group. It is not only the West German Government but also the capitalist media from the Corriere della Sera to the Daily Telegraph to

... AND BRITAIN

Britain's first "control unit" at Wakefield Prison, went into operation in August. This unit can isolate 39 prisoners and a second unit, recently constructed at Wormwood Scrubs Prison will isolate a further 28 prisoners when that too becomes operational.

Part of the purpose of the control units is to remove from the general prison system, on a national basis, prisoners that the Home Office describe as "subversives", "intractables", and "persistent trouble-makers". How and why particular prisoners qualify to become so regarded, the Home Office isn't saying. Given the controls that the Home Office Prisons Department can and do operate throughout the prison system, it is remarkable that on an issue like control units, a spokesman for a penal reform group has stepped forward as its public relations officer. But, incredibly, Martin Wright, Director of the Howard League for Penal Reform, has repeatedly stated in the Press, in support of the Home Office and the Prison Officers Association, that these units (which he described privately in July, before they came into operation as "quite alarming places") are now necessary to deal with "prison thugs" and "bully boys" (Guardian 16.10.74; Times 5.11.74). It is they, Wright says, who make it impossible for others to do their sentences quietly.

(Source: Peoples' News Service 79)

the BBC (even the Workers' Press, for reasons of its own) which describe Baader/Meinhof and the RAF as "Anarchist", whereas they are, in fact, another variety of Marxist-Leninist. Rudi Dutschke attended the funeral of Meins and gave a clenched-fist salute over the grave; Mahler has recently published a critique of "the sectarian line of the RAF" (his first public utterance for two years), in the familiar language of Marxism-Leninism.

This is obviously another case for the Match's Anarchist Anti-defamation League; but be that as it may, the West German state is treating these people very badly. They have been kept in prison without trial for years (as was the case with the Stoke Newington 8); they have been subject to anti-human "Special treatment", including systematic segregation from other prisoners, long period of sensory deprivation confinement to the point of physical and mental breakdown (Monica Berberich had to be released because of this treatment), solitary exercise, handcuffing during yard exercises, bans on all visits and mail except from relatives, and censorship and confiscation of books and papers.

On September 13th this year, imprisoned members of the RAF began a hunger strike to protest against this treatment. They have been subjected to forced feeding; Ronald Augustin almost died when he was deprived of drinking water for 3½ days; Holger Heins is dead. The West German "Social Democratic" government is planning further repressive measures against its political detainees - the number of defence lawyers allowed on one case will be strictly limited, conversations between counsel and defendant on how to conduct the case will be supervised and recorded, cases against defendants on hunger strike will be heard in their absence.

Lest our readers get the idea that this is only happening in a country whose governmental structure is still riddled with ex-Nazis, they should read The Guinea-Pigs by John McGuffin (of which we hope to print a review shortly) published last week, in which they will learn of the development and use of sensory-deprivation interrogation techniques by the British Army in Northern Ireland. The arrest of members of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign, the imprisonment of Pat Arrowsmith, the introduction of the emergency legislation supposedly against the IRA, all herald a distinct erosion of civil liberties. How long before the erosion of the human rights of detainees becomes generalised in Britain?

D.L.M.

"So the little boy cried out, 'But he's naked, he's not got any clothes on,' and then all the people. . ."

TWO DAYS ago* a bomb exploded in a post box outside Peace News, which incidentally is not only used as the address of the British Campaign for Withdrawal from Northern Ireland [and Wildcat], but is also situated in the road which according to the last survey had the highest population of Southern Irish immigrants of any in London. That day later there was a bomb outside a cinema that a few years ago showed so many films of interest to Irish immigrants that it was nicknamed the Irish cinema. Two days before, bombs had exploded in pubs used predominantly by youngsters, frequently long-haired and often leftist or immigrant youngsters. Not, one would have thought, obvious targets for Irishmen wishing to harm Britain, not certainly military targets or targets with military personnel connections such as David O'Connell had specified in a television interview recently.

No evidence has been published that the IRA had anything to do with any of the bombings; the IRA in fact has denied responsibility (and it is not normally shy about claiming its acts) though it has said that it is not certain that a dissident or free lance faction of its membership might not have gone in for some unauthorised activity.

Let us say to start with, without qualification, that the bombings whoever did them in no way advanced the cause of the working class, that indiscriminate bombing is not an anti-imperialist act, even though it may be in some circumstances an understandable reaction to equally indiscriminate murder on the part of the imperialist power.

Let us having said this say that there is no rational reason why the IRA would have done this, that if it was done by some free lance group as a blind act of frustrated revenge it shows remarkable efficiency and timing, in stark contrast with the bungling act of McDade, with whose bomb incidentally there had obviously been no intended simultaneous explosion.

There is nothing to show that the IRA stood to make any gain from the bombing, no tangible evidence has yet been given that they had anything to do with it; yet on the strength of a suspicion which in a non-political case would not even be adequate to allow the Press to say "the police would like to interview so-and-so", draconian restrictions on civil liberties are being rushed through parliament at almost record pace with apparently not

one word of dissent.

It is necessary that someone, and preferably someone who - like the anarchists - has no brief for the IRA or any other potential government or military body, should yell out in however small a voice: "but it has no clothes; there is not one rag of evidence for the assumption that it was the IRA".

Let us state clearly and plainly that we have read Brigadier Kitson boasting that the state would set up mock subversive groups to bomb people in a way so as to discredit subversives. Let us state clearly that we can see a motive for the state to have done these bombings, we can see none for the IRA, and the fact that we believe the Green Tories to be as evil - no more and no less - as the red, white and blue or

Press and Establishment. An Home Secretary who has been credited with a passionate belief in civil liberties, and numerous reforms, has without a qualm hurried through legislation threatening the civil liberties of over a million people and there is hardly a voice to say him nay. He may be so stupid that he really believes that the IRA would have chosen those particular targets and that there is no possibility of its being anyone else. This despite the facts that have come out about Gen. Walker and Col. Sterling in the Guardian and elsewhere, despite the fact that even the Economists' Digest (quoted by Martin Walker in the Guardian said that high ranking army officers were talking of the necessity for a military take-over in the comparatively near future, this des-

EMPEROR WITHOUT CLOTHES

orange Tories, does not stop us saying that in this case we think the finger of blame points elsewhere: whether the army itself, groups like GB75 or "freelance" factions within one or other of them.

What is more we think others know this as well as we do and that we think they are suppressing their knowledge that the Emperor is naked. We do not wish to put ourselves in the position of people like the International Marxist Group who said in effect after the Guildford bombing: 'This is a vile, reactionary and anti-working class act, but if the Provisional IRA did it we support it as we support them'; to anarchists those who act in an anti-working class way are assumed to be anti-working class, those whose acts show a contempt for humanity can be assumed to have just such a contempt, and automatically the commission of such acts means that the people who commit them are not worthy of support, however much their circumstances may render them worthy of compassion.

* * *

That emperor is easily exposed in his nakedness, though it is not so easy to make our voices heard by others. But having said that he is naked we immediately need to point that out of others.

Firstly the Labour Party and the liberal-minded wing of the

pite Kitson's book, published not so very long ago.

No one expects socialism from the Labour Party, and we know from experience that it has curtailed personal freedom in many walks of life, but just this craven capitulation to the prejudices of the Tory, without any word that the case is not yet proven, that evidence has hasn't even been produced and that the test of "cui bono" clears the suspect is still shocking.

Certainly one should not be shocked by the actions of a 'civil libertarian' whose police while permitting a march with black shirted and be-swastika'd members ban a few people from wearing berets (including I am told one old woman who has worn that beret since before the Provos were founded). We were aware before that that Emperor - and his admirers - had been exposing himself indecently for some time.

The next emperor is however a more congenial character, we walked behind him often on the Aldermaston road, unlike others of his parliamentary colleagues he did not expect to join the march half a mile away from the plinth on which he would tell us to vote for Wilson to oppose the bomb.

Contrary to the Press (Conservative or Liberal) and Radio - to say nothing of certain ex-Labour MPs - which claim that

the Labour Party is divided between social democrats who accept a mixed economy, and ravening Marxists; all anarchists know perfectly well that the real division between the left and right in the Labour Party lies elsewhere; that the mixed economy is used here as a synonym for the status quo, and that most of its opponents merely want a few minor reforms.

However, while none of us who knew him in CND days or in the New Left would ever have called Foot a socialist, still less a Marxist, most of us would I think accept the description once given him, as the last surviving representative of the Mill-Gladstone Liberal tradition (a tradition very long lost in the adult Liberal Party).

Yet when a million people's civil liberties were being abrogated, in order allegedly to watch a mere handful of people - whose immediate involvement was a mere matter of speculation - and when measures were being passed which, coupled with legislation recently enacted by the previous government, threaten what freedoms the rest of us have left; where was this liberal voice? Where were you, Michael?

It's not the measure of his nakedness, however, indeed his lacking voice may be described in a contrary way; it makes on one cast one's memory seventeen years back when the former M.P. for Ebbw Vale wanted to avoid isolating himself from the party leadership on the one issue that would have made his former dissidence a complete break and besought us not to send him naked into the council chamber.

However, the socialists of Ebbw Vale can console themselves that their M.P.s at least wait until they are elderly before they finally make their supreme compromise with the right wing; wait until they are too old, having compromised to hope for that preeminence of power to which their oratorical brilliance might have entitled them. This by a politician's yardstick is a laggardly pace in the rush to betrayal; there are alas all too many constituencies where the former leftist MPs have not shown the same tardiness.

No, the measure of Foot's nakedness is different. Throughout the last thirty years, he and Nye Bevan have been the most formidable - indeed one might almost say the only able - exponents of the thesis that one can achieve a definite social transformation through the medium of parliament.

Others to their right have talked as if we already have democracy, and have talked about finding a way to combine as much as possible of social reform

with our democracy - as if the two were incompatible - hence the Mixed Economy doctrines. Foot and Bevan started with the recognition of the fact which was the very basis of Kier Hardie's and his colleagues' beliefs that our society is fundamentally undemocratic, and will be as long as it remains inegalitarian, that it cannot become fully democratic without being "socially just" and that both social reform and democracy are each impossible without the other. They (Foot and Bevan) however held - however irrational it may seem to an anarchist - that though our present system is not democratic and though that lack of democracy is the main reason for being a social reformist in the first place, it would nevertheless suffice to attain the transformation required to make society democratic and just.

The fact that this obviously self-contradictory and nonsensical theory is widely believed is a tribute not merely to the rhetorical brilliance of its two major proponents, but also to the fact that they are/were - by the standards of politicians - honest men who transparently were sincere in arguing their untenable case.

The case is now exposed in all its nakedness; not that voices have been lacking crying out that it was naked, during those last thirty years, but that it is so obvious that its falsity is so obvious that the Emperor will see for himself that he is naked and cannot expect longer to be believed.

The police, military intelligence and other security forces of the state either know that it is unproven and unlikely that the bombing was the work of the IRA or they do not. If they do not, they are obviously incompetent and the parliamentary socialist theory that a strong left reformist government could use the organs of the state to introduce socialism would be demonstrably false and the personnel of these organs can be outwitted by fascist-minded ex-military men posing as leftists.

If the security forces do know the bombings were not the work of the IRA (excluding for the sake of argument the probability that members of the security forces were themselves complicit), then they have either informed the Home Secretary &/or the Prime Minister or they have not. If they have not, they have deliberately withheld information which amounts to complicity, in which case it is not the incompetence of these forces which rules them out of court for achieving socialism but the deliberate malevolence.

If the security forces did inform the Home Secretary &/or

the Prime Minister he has deliberately suppressed the facts, whether out of malevolence or because he is too scared to tell the truth in the face of what would undoubtedly be a barrage of Tory abuse. Certainly the fact that that would prove the minister in question to be even more reactionary than he had already demonstrated himself to be, would not of itself prove that social reform could not be attained by a parliamentary party; it would nevertheless demonstrate that the Labour Party is completely irredeemable as a vehicle even for liberal opposition to the Tory establishment.

* * *

The next Emperor - though at first glance nearer to us than the others - is an even less wholesome sight. Though the Labour Party does not have the large Marxist wing so beloved of the Guardian and apostles of 'moderation' (interpreted as uncritical support for the bestialities of Bloody Sunday and other acts of the British Army, and uncritical condemnation of the acts of those who use violence, are alleged to have used violence, or have embarrassingly been the public recipients of police violence in opposition to army and government policies) it does have a few who would so describe themselves. There are revolutionary militants, advocates of socialist action, yea heirs to the chartists of yore who all profess belief in Marxism.

These are supposed to understand the class struggle, they will have studied Chile and noted the similarities in the present upsurge in petit bourgeois protest paralleled with the formation of ultra-right-wing groups recruited from former military personnel, and they will be supposed to be able to determine the likely provenance of the outrages. They have not the excuse, that one can accord to liberals like Foot, that they would not understand what is happening in class terms and can only judge by their assessment of groups in terms of press reports of their outward actions. Yet have we heard any great demur from these about the government's legislation? Though there are in their number some who have at times called for "Victory to the IRA" there are none prepared to make their voices heard in defence of minimal civil liberties; none moreover ready to stand up and say to those who are petrol-bombing the Irish Catholic working class communities (assuming that the petrol bombing is not being done by the same people as left the bombs attributed to the IRA): "Hey, wait a bit,

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EDUCATION & THE ANARCHISTS

ANARCHISTS ARE free: slaves to no man and to nothing. They resist coercion by people and by habit/addiction. Freedom to them is the lifeblood in their veins, the oxygen in the air they breathe. This freedom liberates their spirit and their energies: they have time, freedom of time, for other people; to love others and to conduce to others' happiness. 'The true object of education, like that of any other moral process, is the generation of happiness.' (William Godwin, 1797).

A danger here is that others, less free, become demanding and parasitical: a free man must have freedom, not bondage. Educationists are seriously at risk here, especially within the context of compulsory schooling.

Anarchist education means education without government. 'Whenever government assumes to deliver us from the trouble of thinking for ourselves, the only consequences it produces are those of torpor and imbecility.' (Godwin). This does not mean education without authority; it does mean education without imposed authority. Authority which is accepted because it is useful (either in the short term or the long term) is necessary, in education as in any other field of human endeavour. A result of this is that it is generally an adult who is trusted, because of (a) greater knowledge and expertise, and (b) initial socialising, Anarchist (= natural) adults strive at all times to escape from this bondage, because they consider it limits their own and the children's possibilities of fulfilment, and because it perpetuates the infantile socialisation procedures which are a bar to self-fulfilment and growth towards greater maturity.

Children should be allowed full freedom at all times. In an anarchy, this would include the freedom to choose (or reject) models for behaviours and skills which they saw as desirable, but never to have such models imposed upon them. Obviously there will be times when external limitations must be imposed upon them (in common with all humans) in their own or other people's interests, but such imposition of group authority must be avoided whenever possible, and only adopted rarely and with extreme reluctance, when no other course of action at all is possible, and only in situations involving physical danger or psychological harm.

Children who may freely come and go are less likely to become in thrall to adults (and more likely to become enthralled - for as long as is necessary and no longer). The dangers to the adult are at least as apparent: being depended upon can become



"DON'T KILL THAT ONE, DOCTOR --SHE'S A PRIVATE PATIENT."

rushing to demonstrate their non-involvement by pouring invective on the IRA without one suggestion that the case is being unfairly prejudged.

Tjough I must confess as an Anglican I fear that my own communion's leaders will not come out of it any better. Archbishop Dwyer's refusal to allow the burial of McDade will not be matched by any refusal to bury any Anglican soldier who has shot innocent people in Belfast; the condemnation of violence will remain totally one-sided and no mention will be made of the iniquities of the Church of Ireland's historic role.

L. O.

*25.11.74

∟We have been informed that at least one of the men so swiftly arrested at Heysham is a Protestant add unlikely to be an IRA conspirator, but we have not been able to exclude all possibility of confusion in the Christian name of the man named to us.∟

as addictive as any drug, and the personality can become warped through this dependence.

Schools, where they exist, should be non-compulsory and not limited as to time of opening or to physical location. Anyone could attend, and all should be regarded as what they are - both learners and teachers. There should be no graduation ceremonies (e.g. examinations): education would continue as long as an individual wanted it and would take a form related to his personal and developing needs, in relation to the models and resources available.

This would help to bring about the end of high-technological society and accompany the emergence of a low-technology, human-scaled society, a drop in the material standards of living, and a rise in a human standard of living.

But 'because it is against everything government stands for and against the present order of society, one cannot imagine a State education system encouraging the free development of the child within a free environment, however successful it proved to be for the child' ("Mass Education"--FREEDOM 14.2.59). Or for humanity. As Ferrer said of governments, 'They know, better than anyone else, that their power is based almost entirely on the school.'

Michael Page.

WHY ARE THEY LYING?

WHENEVER one opens a national paper and reads about anarchy, terrorism is meant. In other words anarchy equals terrorism.

According to the Greek language the word just means without (an) ruling (archia). It is obvious that the ruling groups do not like that. So, they call everything which includes violence, used against them, anarchy. And people do not like violence basically; hence, they dislike anarchy.

Take, for example, the German Red Army Fraction (RAF) or Baader Meinhoff group. Whenever one reads about the above they are called anarchists, although the Baader-Meinhoff and RAF-programme quite clearly states that they do not consider themselves as anarchists. They never claimed to be anarchists; however, the media in Britain and in Germany make them out to be anarchists. Why? The answer is an obvious one: Anarchism is the only answer to solve the antagonistic contradiction of our present destructive society.

And the ruling class knows it, and, therefore, fears the anarchists and, hence, "hunts" them by using the word when they mean chaos and terror. Wake up today - anarchist!!

A.

EMPERORS...cont'd from P. 5.

you don't even know it was the IRA, and you certainly don't know if the IRA has any support among those whom you are bombing."

It is hardly going to help the Irish communities on Clydeside or Merseyside, say, living in fear that their kids will die when the next school is petrol bombed, that at a private meeting of the local constituency Labour Party someone, perhaps even an M.P., is telling the assembled faithful - that 2% of the party's membership which sometimes attends a meeting - that just between themselves (and they must not of course repeat it outside these four walls), they personally doubt if the IRA was involved and do not support the new "anti-terrorist acts".

* * *

The only thing I know more contemptible than the silence of these is the despicable way that leaders of the R.C. community (lay and priestly) are

'THE SMOKY TORCH OF VIOLENCE'

ERNST TOLLER, who was involved in the abortive Munich revolution (1919) wrote in his play Masses and Men: "By force, the smoky torch of violence, we shall not find the way."

Recent events in Birmingham, when non-political, non-Irish civilians were killed by bombs in a public house, cloud events and generate heat without lighting one step of the way to Irish national (or working class) liberation.

There is a perpetual befogging of discussion on the question of violence (even the synonyms 'force' and 'violence' are given different connotations, and this is not uncommon in the anarchist movement). Too often, supposed moral and religious absolutes are brought in against violence and it is supposed by some that the 'arch pacifists' are taking refuge in the precepts of religion or philosophy in order to avoid the class struggle.

Nobody, it seems, likes violence but the latest issue of Black Flag seems to glory in the exploits of those (some of very doubtful anarchist affiliations) who have taken up doubtless worthy causes and whose sole contribution to social liberation seems to be violent exploits. The list includes Spaniards who blew up a cafe in Madrid; the Red Army faction who murdered a police spy, after bank robberies; the Symbionese Liberation Front participating also in bank robberies. This is no place or occasion to argue on the merits or otherwise of these exploits (readers of Black Flag can, and have, formed their own opinions) but there would seem to be a tremendous smoke screen on these issues.

Malatesta, whose position on violence is equivocal (quotations from his writings can be found to justify and to condemn violence), for example says: "Violence is justifiable only when it is necessary to defend oneself and others from violence. It is where necessity ceases that crime begins." Of course one would take such steps as were necessary, physically possible and useful to defend oneself, or indeed others when attacked, but this does not mean that one would institutionize violence (by creating a gang of bombers, a police force, an army or a secret police) for then it would be rather difficult to determine where "necessity ceases" and "crime begins".

A defensive violence to be really effective necessitates training, accumulation of arms and an aggressive outlook. None of these attributes is a real contribution to a free society. If violence can be endorsed, it would be violence in an extreme situation; it could be argued that in certain causes the extreme situation in South Africa and Spain would justify violence against authority.

The latest defence of violence is violence to produce a confrontation, which means that extreme measures are staged in order to provoke authority, to gain publicity, to enrol waverers and to call attention to the brutality of officialdom.

Much of the appeal of violence is if not to actual psychopaths is to those denoted as 'cowboys' whose political involvement whether right, left, centre or libertarian hinge around a need for action as opposed to thought (regardless often to the nature of the action); for deeds rather than words. There is no recognition of the fact that thought precedes action, words precede deeds.

In order to clear the way for action, the situation in this country is exaggerated - with a wildly emotive use of the word 'fascism'. It cannot be argued that we live in an extreme situation in England which justifies the use of indiscriminate violence against persons in order to 'sharpen the class conflict' or 'heighten the confrontation with the forces of law and order'.

Such pointless violence fails to achieve its objects, by confusing the people as to the differences in values between the libertarian left, and the authoritarian right - or left.

It lacks an appeal to the imagination. In a world sickened by daily doses of violence or immunised by a diet of violence there is no difference between an innocent bystander and a guilty participant.

The failure of this kind of violence is because it will not achieve its objects. In the use of violence as such, the authorities, the police and the army have far superior forces. Resistance to authority is not wrong because repression inevitably follows. Repression in fact preceded resistance and if resistance is necessary and useful repression is the price one has to pay for it.

Violence is considered by some to be merely a tool. If it is like using a steam hammer to crack a nut or a hammer to affix screws it is a wrong use of a tool. Violence shatters the material it would work upon. It involves an authoritarian attitude: 'If you do not do what we wish we shall compel you by fear of injury or death to agree.'

Those persuaded by violence are weak and uncourageous, those impressed by violence are sadistic (or masochistic) and those who use violence are impelled to go on using it. The means condition the end.

Among the precepts of anarchism is (or should be) a reverence for life. A preference for the life-giving forces and attitudes in social behaviour which will evoke similar respect even in our critics.

This essay is purely personal in its outlook (as we hope all anarchist viewpoints primarily are) and does not commit others, other movements or other (or this) newspapers to the same views. In repudiating violence as a method it does not propel one to an acceptance of 'non-violence' but there is a vast hinterland between violence and non-violence which contains far more workable methods of social protest and change.

Violence, in its essence, is non-resistant. It accepts the values of one's opponents and involves one in the same petty lies, hypocrisy, cruelty, secrecy and deception which we are fighting against. How can we prove we have a better system and philosophy by pointing out we are no worse?

Jack Robinson.

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Contributions 21 - 27 November

NEWCASTLE: A.A. 20p; WHALLEY: P.G. 40p; SHOREHAM: J.L. 50p; BANGOR, N.I.: J.T. £ 7; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 50p; J.K.W. 10p.

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As anarchists we want people to control all aspects of their lives, of which the production of goods is but a small part. But without real workers' control power will always be in the hands of the state and those those who own and control industry. As long as the profit motive rules, workers will be exploited and have little or no say or control of what is produced.

Mr. Benn's National Enterprise Board, far from giving workers control, will be out to exploit "the considerable productive potential". That might be socialism for some M.P.s, but as far as workers are concerned it is still wage slavery.

P. T.

TRUE LOVE CAN EXIST ONLY AMONG EQUALS. True, real love, the expression of a mutual and equally felt need, can exist only among equals. The love of the superior for the inferior is oppression, effacement, contempt, egoism, pride, and vanity triumphant in a feeling of grandeur based upon the humiliation of the other party. And the love of the inferior for the superior is humiliation, the fears and the hopes of a slave who expects from his master either happiness or misfortune.

--Michael Bakunin

IN BRIEF

The Guardian 'Gazette' (incorporating the 'Law Guardian') comments (in its Barrister's Diary by 'Furnival') on thefts from supermarkets. He says, "It is a cardinal principle of morals that one should not put temptation in the way of another. If because of that temptation the other succumbs then the accuser should be turned away from the judgement seat... Do let us stop confusing the effects of sharp modern retail practice with a general moral deterioration of the nation."

The National Union of Students voted to work for the abolition of criminal penalties for the possession of cannabis.

Police and bailiffs armed with sledge hammers broke down a door to evict squatters from a house in Sutherland Avenue, Maida Vale, London owned by Mr. Horace Cutler, leader of the Conservative Opposition on the Greater London Council.

WE WELCOME NEWS, ARTICLES, LETTERS. WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAYS. Copy received on previous Thursday (i.e. 10 days before publication date) especially appreciated.

THE UNRELIABLE Evening Standard reports via Jeremy Campbell that two letters from Karl Marx to his American agent Adolf Cluss suggest that Jenny Marx and Adolf Cluss wrote some of the articles attributed to Marx.

A LEFT-WING Tribunate, Ian Mikardo, was defeated for Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party by 162 votes to 131. The new Chairman is a moderate (centre-right) and a supporter of the Common Market.

The Iron Maid of Nuremberg (a torture instrument, being a spiked coffin) was bought by a West German for £5,500 at a Berne (Switzerland) auction.

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UNITY THEATRE's Xmas Show "COMMON WILL AGAINST THE GIANTS" opens Boxing Day. Information from 01-387 8647

A THERAPEUTIC COMMUNITY is very much in need of more people to live and help in the community. This is a very alive and useful experience to everyone involved. Please phone 01-677-1811, or write Gordon Phillips, c/o Moonfleet Bookshop, 39 Clapham Park Road, London S.W.4.

HUMAN RIGHTS DAY Tues. 10th Dec. Picket South Africa House in protest at S.A. Occupation of Namibia and floggings & political imprisonment in Namibia, 12.30-2.30 p.m. Organised by Namibia Action Group (6 Endsleigh Street, London W.C.1), UN Youth and Friends of Namibia. (Also on 10th Dec. talk with slides - details from above address).

CORBAY anarchists. For activities write 7 Cresswell Walk, CORBY, Northants.

COVENTRY. Peter Come c/o Union of Students, Warwick University, Coventry CV4 7AL

MANCHESTER SWF weekly mtgs. enquire: Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13.

PORTSMOUTH group: write Rob Atkinson, 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Portsmouth.

Some London anarchists meet socially at Duke of York pub, 47 Rathbone Street, London W.1. on Sundays at 7.30 p.m.

CONTACT

INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE/CENTRO IBERICO. Sats & Suns. from 7.30 p.m. Disco, refreshments, etc. 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd, 2nd door). Tube: Chalk Fm/Belsize Pk.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Lecture at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave. (SW cnr. 29 St) 7.30 p.m. Thurs. Dec. 12: Dan Georgakas and Leonard Bernstein: Art and Anarchy.

DIRECT ACTION No. 4 Out now. Publication of the Syndicalist Workers Federation. 5p + 3 p post from c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 1. or Freedom Bookshop.

HARDY PERENNIAL Walt Whitman Anarchist Calendar 1975, 13p inc. post from Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications c/o Freedom Bookshop.

POEMS wanted for Abolish War Encyclopaedia/Anthology: anarchist-pacifist; anti-militarist; anti-racialist. Also Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal Statements. Any language. Mark Wm. Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church St. London S.E.5.

ALTERNATE SUNDAYS Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, Speakers Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcome.

PORTUGUESE Libertarian Movement needs books, pamphlets, free copies anarchist publications, money * ideological support. Movimento Libertario Portugueses, Rua Angelina Vidal, 17-2^o-E, LISBOA I.

PRISONERS

Paul is being neglected. Old friends pl please write to him. PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219089, H.M. Prison, Heathfield Road, London SW18 3HS (even a postcard now and again).

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen (7 yrs) Des Keane (5 yrs) and Columba Longmore (4 yrs). Address for letters & papers: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, 54 Harcombe Road, London N.5. Needs donations to provide study books for these long-term prisoners.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee. Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

THREE held re kidnapping of Spanish banker. Postcards to Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Prison de Fresnes, 1 Av. de la Division Leclerc, 94261 FRESNES, France and to Ariane Gransac-Sadori and Jane Helen Weir at Prison de Femmes, 9 Av. des Peupliers, 97100 ST. GENEVIEVE DES BOIS, France.

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