

# PRANCING BULL & BEAR

The Observer of 26 January on its front page describes how a bounding city has replaced a swinging city. In the article a stockbroker commenting on the sudden rise of share prices said that there are only two things that make a market move: fear and greed. This is to say that irrationality as well as irrelevance govern an activity that presumes to be the basis of our economic life.

It is curious that this rise in share prices seems to coincide with a rise in unemployment and the insecurity that this brings. One may well ask how a man may buy at one price and sell at a higher price the next week, shares representing the same resources, thereby making a profit without having contributed anything to those resources. The money and property nexus seems to have

## IN BRIEF

Eight dissident philosophy and sociology lecturers were suspended from Belgrade University for resisting Communist Party policies, "misusing their positions" in order to prepare students for a 'political confrontation' with the Government. The suspension follows pressure, intimidation, elimination from public and scientific life, seizure of passports, persecution and trials of students who defended the lecturers. They were associated with a (Zagreb) theoretical magazine Praxis

The Greater London Council decided by 50 : 44 votes to retain film censorship. The President of the Film Renters' Association was pleased with the result, as was the President of the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association, because they feel that G. L. C. certificates are preferable to the possibilities of private informers and police prosecutions.

The Vatican is in financial trouble through its 'bank', the Institute for Religious Works, which is said to have lost at least £23 million through involvement in currency dealings with a millionaire (now on the run from the police).

President Ford of the United States has given Vietnam war resisters one more month to surrender and serve two years on voluntary public works as punishment for failing to support a war that President Ford now knows to be a mistake and which the majority of resisters knew to be a criminal act. Ford's tempting offer had only been accepted by about 6% of estimated draft-resisters.

a catechism of its own as superstitious, as dangerous, and as destructive of real human values as any religion or dogma. Invisible earnings, liquidity, growing money, pay-today-live-tomorrow, the replacing of human care by insurance.

No doubt great efforts will be made to prop the system up, for it is the only way that social justice and equity can be avoided. The only remarkable feature about the stock exchange, apart from its irrelevance and irrationality, is the wealth of those who are in the club. All these features are of course shared with that other pillar of established society, the law, which by using the violence of the state aims to make these institutions self-perpetuating.

The rub of course to those who would like to see the established order remain is that the workers want a much larger share of the cake, and the economic problems in capitalist society cannot any longer in the West be solved by starving the workers. The contradictions are that having sold the consumer society to the workers with planned obsolescence and wasteful production, the shortage of basic materials is coming home to roost.

The plain fact is that middle-class environmentalists who bleat about these things have got to realise that the most important pollutant in the world human community is social injustice and human inequity. When these problems are dealt with all other problems of resources, pollution and starvation will fall into place. Space, energy and food must be regarded as essential commodities to be shared equitably, and all whose demands on them are beyond their needs must regard themselves as contributing to the collapse of society into violence and destruction.

The growth of capitalism was accompanied by a reverence for private property and the development of the nuclear family and a society in which human needs involved a cash transaction, where insurance replaces community, and where taking thought for tomorrow, instead of resulting in a careful husbanding of resources, means sidestepping this necessity by taking a lien on future resources.

The enveloping warmth of human contact has been superseded by the cold actuarial calculation. In the end it does not work, because the greed and fear of the stock exchange in so far as these are reflected throughout society, will destroy the basic human and material resources needed to make any society work.

Alan Albon.

# OIL SLICK

THE GREED of the Buchan people was never so apparent as after the discovery of oil and gas off this coast. Every "mini-capitalist" and "get-rich-quick" merchant came into his own, and has had a field day, every day, ever since.

Parasites by the horde, in the form of consultants and property speculators came to give us the benefit of their expertise. That they have been of benefit can be shown by the number of plump and prosperous civil servants and councillors who apparently believe that the only person they have to answer to is their bank manager. On hearing the clink of gold, the brain of even the most timid zombie amongst them starts working like a bucketful of maggots and the faces light up as if they had just received a free pass to Valhalla (1st class of course). --It is nice to see some happy, smiling faces in the grim crowd.

Having dealt with the people, I shall now speak of the rest of us who are allowed to live under sufferance, perhaps because we are more experienced at cleaning toilets and sweeping streets.

I believe that the cost of living in this part of the country is as high as in the Southern Counties. If a person is unfortunate enough not to own his own house or to rent a council house he has to pay £12-£15 per week to live in a slum. Even though there is a boom the wages are pathetically low. Many workers only take home £25-£39 per week.

How do they Live? They don't. They exist. Some workers have been known to take home £80-£90 a week but only by working very long hours with a bonus. A tradesman makes about £1 an hour; many less, a few, more. When oil-rig workers are eager and willing to pay £25 a week and upwards for a slightly better class of slum, what chance do the ordinary working people have to compete? NONE.

What do the unions in the north-east have to say about this? Like the clergy and the Tory party, they are out wandering in the wilderness. Perhaps in forty years' time they will find the land of "milk and money". Take heed or your cries of "Ochone ! ochone !" will join those of the Tories and the church. (This is not intended to be an attack on the trade union movement as a whole.)

The number of council homes being built has been cut right back because of cost. (Perhaps rackateering would be a more apt word.) Incoming key workers are allowed to jump the waiting list, creating more ill-feeling.

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# DON'T TAKE SIDES

Mr. Wedgwood Benn's Industry Bill has been called the "grasping hand of state socialism". This was said by the Tory shadow Industry Secretary, Mr. Heseltine.

While as an anarchist we would agree that this Bill provides the state with further omnicence over our lives, we shed no tears if this means the destruction of the so-called "free enterprise" system. For the Tories and the employers must think that people have short memories (too many have, I'm afraid), for as usual they use double standards to justify their opposition. For we all know how grasping the "free enterprise" has been. This applies equally to the small shopkeeper and to the monopoly holding. They use emotionally-charged words like "dictatorial powers of interrogation" in describing the powers of the National Enterprise Board, when they have equally acted in a dictatorial manner when it has come to sackings, victimisation, speed-ups, black lists, etc. The "dictatorial powers" of the employers have been, and still are, enormous. At the present time, workers at Nig-Banda in Colchester go in fear of their

## oil

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The hysterical cries of "Oil boom", "Prosperity" and "Fill yer boots" are dying slowly as reality sets in and we realize that we are going to receive the same as always: enough to live on and maintain the oncoming race of workers.

The Scottish National Party by appealing to the basic greed of our fellow man has encouraged many in this part of the country to change camps en masse. The catchphrase "It's Scotland's oil" implying that we are all going to get a rake-off. If you vote S. N. P. you are only changing one master for another.

A new boss comes to the office; what happens? The routine is perhaps slightly changed and the office toadies and spies are shuffled around in the hierarchy, but other than that the status quo is maintained. Nothing changes, least of all the system of exploitation.

I would like to see a free and independent Scotland. I would also like to see a free England, Wales, Ireland and world.

Is it expecting too much, that I should believe that the Tories can change their attitudes as easily and promptly as their politics? CAN PIGS FLY?

As to Wilson, isn't it about time he struck the red flag and hoisted the skull and crossbones? That he claims to represent the working classes I find slightly ludicrous.

George Whyte.

jobs because of a very strict lateness rule.

The employers are also not slow in coming forward when it comes to state financial handouts and concessions. But at the smallest mention of state intervention, they throw up their hands in horror.

On the left, Mr. Benn's Bill is welcomed by some, seen as a step in the right direction for others. The trade union leaders, seeing their chance of more power, say, "We urgently need a body along the lines of the National Enterprise Board to provide a public capability to assist in strengthening Britain's manufacturing industry." Trade unionists have on so many occasions at their conferences voted for the nationalisation of the means of production. What they have voted for is more state control with their own leaders becoming the new boss.

It is true that the profit motive of "free enterprise" capitalism has failed. Equally, the monopolies are having financial difficulties. But the arguments between state intervention, nationalisation and "free enterprise" monopoly capitalism should not concern workers in the sense of taking sides. What workers should be

concerned with is who controls the means of production and distribution. Under the varying degrees of state control workers might be allowed some information about their industry or company, so long as its disclosure does not damage the "national interest".

However, what both state control and the growing strength of the multi-national companies means, is a further concentration of power by a few over the many. It is the reversal of this process that anarchists seek. We want industries run and controlled by those who work in them. This is control from the bottom up, with people deciding for themselves, what is produced, at what speed, and in what quantities. Workers' control of industry as advocated by anarchists and syndicalists is the only alternative to state control and "private enterprise".

Workers' control as an alternative does work and has done so when revolutions took place in Spain, Italy, Russia. Even for a short period in France in 1968 workers started to take over following their occupation of their factories. Workers' control in these situations is not a subject of a conference but a natural desire of people for responsibility and control of their own lives.

Mr. Benn's Bill in no way brings us nearer to this.

P. T.

## IMPERIAL TYPEWRITER REDUNDANCIES

# M.P.s ACT... THE FOOL

LITTON INDUSTRIES is an American company with multi-national interests. Among these is Imperial Typewriter, whose factories in Hull and Leicester, it has recently been announced, they are going to close down. This involves a total workforce of over 3,000, and follows a strike at the Leicester plant last year which had unpleasant racial overtones. During this strike Asian workers made a series of allegations about discrimination against them from both management and union (T&GWU) and though the dispute was settled a good deal of resentment remained.

But now the problem is of redundancies the story is different. Local M.P.s thankfully made never a move to "help" the workers in last year's dispute, mindful no doubt of the potential loss of vote from white racists or Asians depending on which side they took. And then even local Transport & General Workers Union secretary, publicity-hungry fat George Bromley procrastinated for weeks before concerning himself in that dispute, which involved several hundred of his members. All he did then was to defend the manifestly anti-democratic union structure which denied Asians the chance to become shop stewards.

But this time around they've been falling over each other to get aboard. M.P.s from the two cities, Messrs. Marshall, Bradley, Prescott, etc., as well as the nauseating fat George, have busied themselves addressing meetings to defend the jobs of the workers. They've had meetings in Leicester and Hull and a march to lobby

Parliament and lately special meetings of workers' representatives (they mean trade union officials, and in this case long-serving ones who all seem overbearingly accommodating to the management's views) with the suitable Minister at the appropriate government department, as it happens Lord Beswick, the Minister for Industry.

While all these activities are going on to protect the livelihoods of the workforce the company have now started giving out redundancy notices, almost unnoticed, it would appear, by the worthy M.P.s and trade union bureaucrats who are seeking to monopolise the resistance and thus render it ineffectual. As far as the demands raised in the campaign go, so far they have been limited to seeking government support for the company, and drafting proposed legislation to deny Litton Industries the taxpayers' future assistance in setting up manufacturing plants in this country.

So at least one effect of the domination of the campaign by the M.P.s is that the demand for the workers' occupation of the factories has not been raised, and the campaign has directed itself exclusively towards piecemeal demands that are the delight and joy of the M.P. and the bureaucrat.

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# PORTUGAL: Parting of the Ways

WE SEEM to be at a period when one of the pet theoretical myths of a large section of the Left is being subjected by its own supporters to a test, a test which weighs one of our basic theories in the balance against theirs.

A tactic much used by Trotsky, and much abused by his epigones in their inter-sect struggles, was to find an issue where the precept of reformist and Stalinist parties differed palpably from their practice, advance a demand which would seem to embody that precept but which the reformist or Stalinist leadership would be bound to oppose, and launch a campaign for an united front to attain that demand.

Someone - whether Trots or not, and if Trots of what variety, I know not - is applying this tactic, fairly intelligently, now in Portugal.

Knowing that it is a commonplace for members of both the Socialist Party and the Communists that:

- the CDS is led by former middle-rank fascists and can be, at most complimentary, described as the liberal wing of fascism;
- the PDP is a petit-bourgeois Liberal-reforming party;
- the PSP and the PCP, whatever their differences, and whatever their individual faults, are the two main socialist working class parties and that therefore a government of these two would be a socialist government; but a government including any other would be a class-collaborationist one;

the Proletarian Unity Party - whomever its members may be - is attempting to mobilise young members of the PSP and PCP to demand the CDS's suppression as an anti-democratic party; similarly attempting to force an end to the present coalition so as to polarise politics and force the PSP and PCP to unite against the PDP, or force the leadership of the PCP and PSP to refuse to do so openly and lose the support of their youth.

All this would be all very well if there was no danger that they might succeed in getting a PSP-PCP coalition. Not that this would call the PUP bluff; they no doubt hold, at least in modified form, the normal Trot theory that the PSP and PCP are proletarian parties misled by their leadership. The other half of

M.P.s act. . . continued from P. 2

Leicester is presently in a very difficult position for employment, and the area has had many thousands of redundancies in the last six months. A city whose industrial diversity enabled it to escape much of the harshness of the slump in the 1930s is now suffering because of this diversity. Whichever industry becomes affected by the crisis to cut production and make people redundant, the effects are felt in at least one part of Leicester's industry. Unemployment is one the increase and short time working is becoming widespread.

The livelihood of working people is threatened at every turn, through the still swelling numbers of redundancies and unemployed on the one hand and the ever increasing prices of the basic needs of life on the other.

The working class has the strength and the resources to create its own remedy to this situation. Threats to their living standards could be averted by the destruction of the capitalist economic system as a first step in the social

the theory that the Soviet Union is still a degenerated workers' state.

However, if the theory is wrong as we believe it to be if it is not just stupidity or cowardice that prevents the reformist and Stalinist parties making the transformation of society to socialism, but the fact that they are out for power on their own behalf; it is possible that they will take power for themselves but not for the workers. Indeed it is a basic anarchist assumption that they will if they can, though they may still be over-cautious in pursuing their own ambitions.

If this is the case then it is more than possible that the socialists and communists will take power and use it to suppress the Left.

If our theories are right it will not necessarily mean that there will be a socialist-communist government, but it will mean that if one comes the major force of its power will be used against the workers. If the Trotskyists are right, if these are parties which are merely misled, or if Soviet and Chinese support for the revolution in Portugal is only withheld out of timidity, then the coming of such a government would inevitably transform the world balance of power, and be a decisive step towards world revolution and therefore to the abolition of the Russo-Chinese bureaucracy itself.

Once before - in Trotsky's Testament, and so from the Trotskyist side of the argument - it was possible to say we can put our theories to the test, and accept that if a prediction within a measured time is not fulfilled, the theory must be wrong. Trotsky then posed the challenge, but none of the Trotskyist internationalists accept the arbitration of events from that occasion. There was no world revolution at the end of the last war, and as Trotsky said, Marxism, (by which he meant his own transitional programme) ended as utopia.

It is worth our challenging them, once more, to put their theories to the test. We can accept that in the short term their tactics appear more efficient than ours, we can accept that by their tactics it is possible that they could force the PSP-PCP leadership to take power against its will and in the process convert many of their activist members for their own party. Let us say: "Yes you can do that, but we stake our reputation on the prediction that if you succeed, the government you produce will turn against the working class within months rather than years and weeks rather than months. Trotsky staked his reputation just before he died and you cheated, we won't."

L. O.

## IN BRIEF

The Evening Standard ran a fashion feature (as a contribution to the recession?) on 'Khaki' - "the look that more than any other reminds us of what hard times are all about" (How's that?) featuring photographically "khaki shirts at £13 by Made in Heaven on sale at Cloud Nine. Khaki jacket £12.50 from Way In, Harrods, and "sludgy green cord pants £11.95 by Strawberry Studio from Che Guevara, Kensington".

### LET'S JOIN THE HUMAN RACE

A young couple in Shrewsbury sold most of their furniture in order to send £600 to victims of the famine in Bangladesh. They said, "Now we have nothing left we shall start rebuilding our home again. We have no savings and the only way we could think of raising money was to sell our possessions. It will probably take two years to get back to where we were but at least we have jobs, food and a roof over our heads."

A credit-rating enquiry firm offered a set of records of credit-status for sale at 'any reasonable offer'. Subsequent unfavourable publicity caused the firm to accept the National Council for Civil Liberties offer of 1p. The

revolution to establish the anarchist society. But the stranglehold on the working class of M.P.s and trade union bureaucrats like Bradley, Marshall, Prescott and Bromley must first be broken. That would move the working class perceptibly nearer to its liberation.

Correspondent.

NCCL has undertaken to destroy the records - unseen. They need financial help for the task since there are three million dossiers.

The sale of the Meridon Triumph motor-cycle factory to the workers has been agreed for the sum of £4.2 million after rival workers at a Birmingham motor-cycle factory withdrew their objections (for fear of competition) to the sale. The Meriden workers are not withdrawing their factory occupation and blockade until the government foots the bill for £4.95 (which includes the cost of the factory).

### LARZAC IN TROUBLE

The War Resisters' International reports: "It was recently reported to the WRI office that the peasants of Larzac who have been nonviolently resisting the expansion of an Army training base onto their land in the south of France are experiencing severe problems... On October 5, peasants and residents of the Communaute de l'Arche occupied a small group of houses near military property. In early January the farmers were attempting to drill a well for the residents of the occupied houses when a group of soldiers arrested them. They were taken away but we haven't received word on their whereabouts or if they remain in detention. The Army has issued a public statement that it plans to expand and speed up its occupation of the land within this year. Letters and telegrams of protest should be sent to the Minister of Defence in Paris as soon as possible. Messages of support and solidarity should also be sent to the peasants - Les Truels du Larzac, 12100, Millau, France."

THE DRAMATIC opening and immediate suspension last week at Catanzaro of the trial of the anarchist Valpreda together with the neofascists Freda and Ventura, marks a new phase in one of the saddest, stormiest and most bizarre episodes of Italian political and juridical history.

This story, with its very far-reaching implications, involving as it does some of the most important personalities in Italian political life, is still a long way from being fully told. As far as Valpreda is concerned it has already cost him over three years' imprisonment without trial, as well as his health.

On 12 December 1969 an explosion in the Bank of Agriculture at Piazza Fontana in Milan killed 16 people and wounded 87 more. At the time two other bombs exploded at Rome, wounding 14 people. Immediately, acting on information received from the SID, Italy's counter-espionage service, the police moved in on the anarchists. Mario Merlino was arrested in Rome, Pietro Valpreda in Milan; also Mander and Gargamelli. All belonged to the anarchist group "22 March".

Valpreda was arrested after a taxi driver, Cornelio Rolandi, came to police headquarters at Milan to identify a picture of Valpreda as the passenger he had driven to the bank in Piazza Fontana shortly before the massacre. This "superwitness" died a few months later from cirrhosis of the liver, which had left him little time to enjoy the fruits of his complicity with the police.

The long and complicated investigation did not end till March 1971 when Valpreda, Merlino and others were duly accused of the bombings; yet the trial in Rome did not start till February 1972, by which time Valpreda was seriously ill. A few days later the judges declared themselves incompetent to deal with the trial, and decided a new trial would have to be arranged in Milan.

But it was not to be. Using the excuse that a Milan trial would cause insurrection and general disorder (an excuse that, taken to its logical extreme would imply that all trials with political implications would have to take place abroad), the Cassation judges decided to fix the trial at Catanzaro, a remote town in Southern Italy which had no more wish to try Valpreda than had the judges at Rome. In fact the Prosecutor of the Republic of Catanzaro declared that "numerous and grave" reasons would prevent the trial from being held. It was at this time that an increasingly embarrassed and uneasy Parliament hurried through the Valpreda Law, granting provisory freedom to those who could not be brought immediately to trial: and so Valpreda and the others were temporarily released.

However, this was far from being the end of it. The Prosecutor of Catanzaro had been right to speak of "numerous and grave" reasons. As far back as January 1970 a teacher of Treviso had informed the chief prosecutor in Rome that the neofascist publisher and spy Ventura had shown him a sketch of an

underground passage in the National Labour Bank where one of the bombs had exploded a month before. But the magistrates had made no attempt to enquire further into the possibility of neofascist involvement, immediately battenning instead on the anarchist group "22 March". It was not till over two years later, in February 1972, that investigations began into the activities of the neofascists Freda and Ventura. These were subsequently accused of the massacre of Piazza Fontana.

The judge preparing the case against the neofascists, D'Ambrosio, accused three high-ranking officials of the ministry of the interior (one of them the deputy police chief) of holding back information which would have placed a quite different interpretation on the Valpreda affair. The new evidence revolved around four dispatch cases in which the bombs had been left to explode. It was now maintained that Freda had bought the case in Padua and that the one Valpreda was supposed to have used was originally (before being charred) not black as the witnesses against Valpreda had stated, but brown. Freda had also

the question of the document received by the SID five days after the bombings, accusing Freda and Ventura of responsibility for them.)

Yet the powers-that-be remain, naturally enough, unrepentant. What more eloquent sign of this than the sacking from the new Moro government of ex-prime minister and minister of Defence Giulio Andreotti, and Taviani, minister of the Interior, both of whom helped unveil the fascist intrigues and denounce the Borghese coup?

To anarchists at any rate the Valpreda affair will not be in the least surprising. Justice being what it is, it will strike them as quite natural that at the opening of the trial last week an innocent man was being tried on the same bench as neofascist killers, by order of what one journalist has called "that polluted organ of the Italian magistrature", the court of Cassation. In this way, even if it cannot sacrifice Valpreda alone on the altar of political expediency it can apply the convenient "theory of extremes", involving by implication the extra-parliamentary Left with the extreme Right.

## THE TRIALS OF VALPREDA

bought a number of clockwork timers like those used to set off the bomb.

The two neofascists were no small fry. Ventura and particularly Freda were friends and associates of Giannettini, a fascist and specialist on military coups working for the SID and busy investigating the activities in Italy and all over Europe of political groups on the extreme Left. Giannettini had disappeared from Italy in 1973, after a tip off that he was now regarded as suspect by the Milanese judge D'Ambrosio, who had played a courageous part in bringing the neofascists to trial. Later, abandoned by his former paymasters and broke, he agreed to come back to Italy from Buenos Aires and give himself up. But not without clearly implicating the minister of the interior in the 1970 Borghese coup, planned by a number of neofascists and military officers. It was a last effort to try and exonerate the by now thoroughly involved SID, presided over by the silent and sinister Inquisitor, Admiral Henke, head of the General Staff and soon to be accused of "false witness" in the Giannettini affair. (He had pretended not to know who Giannettini was.)

In short there was no longer any doubt, even for those least disposed to believe it, that the SID was directly involved in the Piazza Fontana massacre and that it was covering up for the neofascist killers by directly and deliberately encouraging the police to arrest the "22 March" anarchists who would therefore become an object of public hatred. (There is, for example,

Again it will not be surprising to learn that the trial has once more been sabotaged, by both fascist violence and by legal hairsplitting. The Catanzaro court which had originally refused to try Valpreda (yet which last May rebelled against the supreme court, demanding that Valpreda be tried at once in the name of the European convention of the Rights of Man) was last Thursday the scene of an incredible physical attack on a group of reporters by the neofascist M. P. Clemente Manco; and Freda's defence counsel, led by the ancient De Marsico, one of Mussolini's ministers, wanted to get Freda released and postpone the trial. The fascists, whose release was also the aim of an abortive highjack the same day, would prefer to be tried at Trieste, which is their native area, and where there is a strong neofascist tradition.

As for the anarchists, they have consistently followed two lines: a trial at Milan, or at the least a trial right away. But the Cassation judges recently withdrew from D'Ambrosio that part of the enquiry which concerns Giannettini and other neofascists, thus holding up proceedings that would lead to the incrimination of a variety of important people - spies, generals and the Grand Inquisitor Henke himself. In fact, there are now 14 other investigations under way involving neofascists and the SID.

Another important obstacle faced by the anarchists is the high cost of obtaining a complete copy of the legal proceedings (not much less than ten million lire), apart from all the trav-

elling expenses involved by so much toing and froing. On the other hand, the public financing of parliamentary parties means that the taxpayers' money has enabled the neofascists to pay for all their needs and costs (as well as continued acts of terrorism) with the greatest of ease!

So still no-one knows when the curtain will be finally lowered on this theatre of the absurd and grotesque, and when Valpreda, who is innocent, will finally be freed. Meanwhile the persecution of the anarchists goes on, including that of Marini (who was, incidentally, conducting his own enquiry into fascist involvement in the 1969 massacre before being arrested).

Perhaps the last words could be said by Giuseppe Pinelli, the anarchist railway worker who fell to his death from a window of the police headquarters in Milan while under interrogation, a few days after the bombings.

Pinelli was interested in non-violent resistance and conscientious objection as a new life style. He once wrote to a young friend of his in prison, "Anarchy is not violence, we reject it, but we don't want to have to suffer it. Anarchy is reason and responsibility and this has been admitted even by the bourgeois press. Now let's hope the magistrates will understand..."

Unfortunately but inevitably Pinelli was being too optimistic. No-one really wanted to understand what anarchy was about. And Pinelli eventually died, victim not of a Kafka novel but of that nonetheless Kafkaesque "Justice", still pursuing its own enigmatic and inexorable course.

G. F.

Stop press: It is now known that the trial has been definitely suspended for an unspecified period.



"By God, sergeant, the national economy really is a mess. The villains are now smuggling the illegal immigrants OUT of the country."

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# IN BRIEF

Eleven alleged members of the Bader-Meinhof urban guerillas who have been on hunger strike in prison for 142 days in protest against solitary confinement, recently ceased also to take water. Jan-Carl Raspe, one of the group, was already reported to be in a critical condition. Forced feeding of liquid has been carried out, their lawyers saying that "tubes were introduced through their noses for four or five hours at a time".

A military band in Porto Alegre, Brazil, which four months ago played the West German anthem for the East German ambassador, played the Tsarist national anthem in honour of the Soviet ambassador. Once more, Alegre, con brio!

The postal distributors of a film called "Love Positions" were fined in London under consumer protection legislation for false description of its content. There were not enough positions.

The highly intellectual Oxford Cherwell students' magazine is raising funds by holding a Super Spank at £1 per bottom (paid by the spanker). The event will be held on Christ Church Meadows. If wet, in the cultural surroundings of the Oxford Union Library.

The new Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshall of England told the Observer (2.2.75): "I've never lived a rich way of life, you know, always cleaned my own shoes, that sort of thing. I'm a very poor man really. I mean that. £100,000 maybe, but no more than that. Things must evolve, of course. But there 's got to be inherited wealth to the extent that it's worth saving." He is prouder of having been a general (than a duke), ending his military experience as Director of Military Intelligence. --So much for their intelligence!

THE STATE denotes violence, oppression, exploitation, and injustice raised into a system and made into the cornerstone of the existence of any society. The State never had and never will have any morality. Its morality and only justice is the supreme interest of self-preservation and almighty power - an interest before which all humanity has to kneel in worship.

THE STATE is the complete negation of humanity, a double negation; the opposite of human freedom and justice, and the violent breach of the universal solidarity of the human race.

--Michael Bakunin  
(Federalism, Socialism, and Anti-Theologism, 1867)

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# REVIEW

THE GENIUS OF TERROR. . .

TERRORISTS AND TERRORISM, Edward Hyams. 200 pp. Dent, £3.50  
BAKUNIN & NECHAEV, Paul Avrich 32pp. Freedom Press 20p.  
POLITICS TODAY: The Roots of Terrorism. 30pp. No publisher, no price

. . . IS NECHAEV, according to Edward Hyams in his latest book. Not so much because of his activities, which included the murder of a fellow-conspirator, deceit of fellow-revolutionaries and blackmail, as because of his programme for revolution, the "Catechism of a Revolutionary" in which all these types of action figure.

On the point of the attribution of the "Catechism" to Bakunin, Avrich concludes that, following the publication of new evidence by Arthur Lehning and Michael Confino, it "must now be attributed to Nechaev, although it is by no means certain that Bakunin had no role in its composition or revision." (p. 14)

But the real practical genius of terrorism who emerges from a reading of Hyams' book is the amazing double agent, Azev, who managed to split himself into three separate people for fourteen years of his life: the normal family man to his wife and children, a highly successful planner of assassinations and attacks on the Tsarist government to the hierarchy of the Social Revolutionary Party, and terrorist-hunter extraordinary to the Okhrana!

Hyams makes no moral distinctions between terrorism as practised by minorities, and as practised by governments ("war"). To him "terrorism" is merely another means of carrying on politics, and probably a more successful one than that of propaganda, if the aim is to set up a new form of government, and if there is a respectable organization on hand which can dissociate itself from the terrorists, but negotiate on the grounds they have gained. He instances Israel and Ireland as states that have resulted from terrorist action, and he comes finally to the anarchist conclusion that all states are founded on violence.

He can see an end to violence only in a society so organized that decisions about the day-to-day problems of life are taken by the very people who are affected by them; but he is not optimistic about the future.

In his pamphlet, whose contents will be familiar to regular readers of FREEDOM, Avrich distinguishes between Bakunin and Nechaev by saying that the first had a libertarian personality and the second an authoritarian

one; and it is probably true that the sheer amount of authoritarian organization and ruthless dedication is alien to most present-day anarchists. The pamphlet Politics Today (available from Freedom Bookshop) analyses the use of violence in politics, and comes to the conclusion that the recent bombings in Ireland can only have served the ruling class in their attempts to carry through repressive legislation. Whether it is simply the Special Branch, or someone with a Nevaevian mind, who thinks that the

augmentation of repression will precipitate revolt, the end result is the same: a diminution of freedom.

The urge to indulge in conspiracies, when one is surrounded by a hostile environment, is great (and Bakunin can hardly be said to have been free of it), the use of terrorism may be effective if one wants to set up a new state, but it is highly unlikely that a libertarian society can be brought about by the use of either.

D. L. M.

## DEATH WISH

IT IS DIFFICULT to give easy answers to hard questions. The failure and delays of the law to deal with what is seen or seems to be a criminal act and the all-too-human indignation of people confronted with such criminals have led in the past to lynching mobs, to vigilantes, to the persecution of collaborators, race riots and the hounding of political opponents. What is to be done about the sporadic attacks on busmen and what society can do about the psychopathic hooligan is a question we seem to be faced with every day.

On a different scale and from a different angle we have seen the justified anti-fascist anger of a Lisbon mob turned against its suspect political opponents and breaking up their congress, and almost driving the party underground. We have seen here in Britain similar political intolerance of the intolerant, and only last week two Communists (Marxist-Leninist) were before the court for an attack on Martin Webster, the National Front leader.

There is an almost universal idea that the outbreak of violence and criminality is outstripping the capacity of the police and the law to deal with it. Is, then, the citizen justified in taking the law into his own hands, as the phrase goes? The Americans, seemingly never very far removed from the frontier-ethic, have pioneered the lynching, the posse and the vigilante. Now from America (with a British director) a film encapsulates the idea of the man who avenges the death of one of his family by a mugging by going out and decoying and shooting a number of muggers. The Daily Mail in its silly twisted logic writes about the film as 'the violent film the police want you to see' and argues that this shows the kind of thing that could happen if we do not increase and back up the British police. In fact, the film seems to play both sides of the street (as many do) and has been a great success in America as a practical answer to the problem of mugging.

\* \* \*

It is impossible to detach these problems of violence, vandalism, neo-Fascism, gangsterism, football hooliganism, teen-age pop hysteria from their causes and the alienated sick society which gave them birth. Meanwhile, it is possible to know what not to do.

Stiffer penalties and more laws only make for more embitterment and alienation with more police and more frustration. The prisons as universities of crime only create more graduates. It has been said that the stiff sentences for the Notting Hill Race Riots stopped their recurrence - it is rarely pointed out that one of the convicted youths, after his release, committed a murder for which he was further sentenced.

Much of the teen-age violence and hysteria is a search for adventure and a relief from boredom. The majority of crimes are committed during this period and are non-recurrent. Many juveniles who get into trouble rarely appear again and this is not because the punishment was harsh. Harsh punishments tend to brutalize and have even (as vouchsafed in a recent Birmingham survey) no deterrent effect on others.

In penology as in much else, means condition ends. The adoption of criminal methods to eliminate criminality is self-defeating. If we have a society of inequality in which acquisition and property is the goal and god, then obviously robbery will increase. If we have a society which condemns millions to lives of meaningless routine and poverty of the mind we must expect mindless outbreaks of violence and hysteria. If we have a society which emphasizes the values of aggressiveness and competition we shall have a society which separates man from man and condones disregard whilst fellow humans are beaten up and insulted.

Having accepted the anarchist position, the anarchist must 'take the law into his own hands'. He must accept the idea that in society as it is there will be conflict but it is in the means adopted for resolving the conflicts that he differs from the State and its laws.

The breakdown of community life, even among working communities - such as the busmen - leads to the social isolation and lack of mutual aid which makes the mugger and hooligan possible.

It is our current society which has a death-wish. The affirmation of those qualities and associations which are life-giving is the anarchist aim.

Jack Robinson

# French Soldiers Support Strikers

GROUPS OF SOLDIERS refused to break the recent strikes by dustmen and postal workers in France. On November 19, conscripts from an army base in Creul issued a communique urging fellow soldiers to refuse to break the strike, reminding them of the "Appeal of the 100" - their own petition for increased democratic rights. "We soldiers declare our solidarity with the workers... because we are also fighting for our rights." In several other places soldiers' committees sent messages of solidarity to the strikers and collected for strike funds.

On November 20, Michel Martet - a member of the conscripts' defence committee (Comite de Defense des Appeles) - was arrested in Paris for distributing a leaflet to soldiers asking them not to forget that beneath every soldier's uniform there is a worker. Increasingly since the Appeal of the 100 last spring, military discipline has

presented army authorities with a problem and now, of course, there is a crackdown. On November 13, Jean Fournel, a conscript who is in civil life a science teacher, was sentenced by a military tribunal to one year's imprisonment for protesting against action taken against one of the signatories of the Appeal; he was found guilty of refusing to obey a superior's orders and of inciting others to commit acts contrary to duty and discipline. He had already been demoted for urging his friends to join him in refusing to attend a flag ceremony. Three other soldiers (Pelletier, Ravet and Taurus) have been arrested on charges of having been involved in a demonstration in support of the Appeal of the 100 last September. They could be sentenced to up to two years military imprisonment.

--from WRI Newsletter No. 144

# PRESS FUND

Contributions 23 - 29 January

CLOQUET, Minn.: J.W.C. £ 2.30;  
LARBERT: B.W. £ 10.00; LINCOLN: B.N.  
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WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY.

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HELP fold and despatch Freedom on Thursdays from 2pm. at Freedom Press, followed by get-together; refreshments and talk all afternoon.

## MEETINGS:

Feb. 8-9. Librarians for Social Change: a weekend conference at N. London Poly, for caring librarians, users, & info-freaks. Discussion groups; radical bookstalls; Social Evening; creche; refreshments; new issue of LFSC magazine. More details from, and payments in advance (£ 1) to, Lesley, 4 Lingards Road, London SE 13.

From Sunday Feb. 9 there will be regular Wildcat readers' meetings on the second Sunday of the month. All welcome. Main subject for discussion 9 Feb., Transport. The group who produced the supplement on transport in no. 5 will expand on their ideas and answer questions. 7pm. at Museum Tavern, 49 Gt. Russell Street, WC1.

## Urgent pre-trial meetings:

British Withdrawal from N. Ireland Campaign Defence Group holds open meetings every Friday, 8pm. at 6 Endsleigh St., London WC1. Special large meeting Friday February 14 at 7pm. to discuss defence campaign leading up to the committal proceedings of the 14 charged under Incitement to Disaffection Act.

Ealing Anti-Apartheid Group inaugural meeting, 8pm., Feb. 10 at Friends Meeting House, 17 Woodville Rd., London W.5. All comrades welcome.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club 1975 Lectures, every second Thursday at 7pm. (note new time) at Workmen's Circle Centre, 369 Eighth Ave. (SW corner 29th St.)  
Feb. 13, Sam Dolgoff: Anarchism in Cuba.  
Feb. 27, Frank Brand: Individualist Anarchism.

Mar. 13, Franz Fleigler: Recollections of a Wobbly.

DRAFT RESISTANCE in Europe today (see FREEDOM 18.1.75 p. 7) Preparatory (1) & Public (2) meetings:  
Tues. 18 Feb. 7 p.m. at PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., London W.C.1.  
Mon. 10 March in French) 7 p.m. London Sch. of Non-Violence, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Sq.  
Jean Febre, militant draft resister,

# CONTACT

on the Revolutionary Implications of Draft Resistance today in Europe.

Tues. 11 March 7 p.m. at Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1.

Jean Fabre will speak in English on the same subject.

Every Sat. & Sunday, from 7.30 at Centro Iberico/International Libertarian Centre, 83a Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd., 2nd door, Tube Chalk Farm/Belsize Park) discussions, meetings, refreshments.

Alternate Sundays, Hyde Park Anarchist Forum at Speakers Corner, 1 pm. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcome.

Sundays, Some London anarchists meet socially at Duke of York pub, 47 Rathbone St. W1. from 7.30 pm.

## PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS:

Would Bolton Anarchists please contact "A L" at 16 Kingsmill Ave., Whalley.

CIRA: Please the new address is now: CIRA Case Postale 51, CH-1211 Geneva 13, Switzerland, and NOT the rue Necker address, previously advertised.

Will John Quail please collect or tell us where to send his mail.

## GROUPS:

CORBY Anarchists. For activities write to 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

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

EDINBURGH Anarchists, new group trying to form. Contact Bob Gibson, 7 Union St. Edinburgh. Tel. 031-226-3073.

GLASGOW Anarchist Association, new group forming. Contact Gerry at 21 Bute Gardens.

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

PORTSMOUTH. Write to Rob Atkinson at 29 Havelock Rd., Southsea, Portsmouth.

## PRISONERS:

PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219089 HM Prison, Heathfield Road, London SW18 3HS. G.A.R.I. (International Revolutionary Action Groups). Committee in support of G.A.R.I. is raising funds for support and legal expenses of 25 anti-Francoists awaiting trial in France on charges of arson and bombing "demonstrations" claimed by G.A.R.I. (+ kidnapping of Spanish banker), and has published a folder of 15 drawings by well-known French caricaturists. £ 2 from Ali Touati, 45 D Anaerley Park, London SE20: all funds to defence committee. Names and prison addresses from same address.

Octavio Alberola Sunilach is the only person still in prison in connection with the Spanish Banker kidnapping. Postcards to him at: Prison de Fresnes, 1 Avenue de la Division Leclerc, Fresnes, France. DUBLIN ANARCHISTS, Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Letters, papers to: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, Box 359, 240 Camden High Street, London NW1, needs donations to supply books for these long-term prisoners.

BWNIC Defence Group, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1 (01-837-9795 afternoons only) needs money to help the 14 charged under the Incitement to Disaffection Act.

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

## PUBLICATIONS:

Alex Comfort's Authority & Delinquency in the Modern State - copy sought for a comrade in Sweden, please offer to Pat Thorne, Garden Flat, 22 Hampton Road, Redland, Bristol BS6 6HL.

Pamphlet wanted: Authors take sides on the Spanish Civil War. Cash paid. Please contact Box 001, Freedom Press.

Rudolf Rocker's London Years and E.P. Thompson's book on William Morris: Romantic to Renegade (1955) - one copy of each sought by Haia Shpayer, 112 Greencroft Gardens, London NW6. Tel. 01-627-1333.

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