

THE FIGHT FOR LEADERSHIP AMONG

OUR 'NATURAL' LEADERS

THE STRUGGLING aspirants for the leadership of the Tory Party have all the well-groomed inbred fluff of the competitors at this year's Cruft's Dog Show - if you happen to like inbreeding. I prefer mongrels, myself. They also have no idea where their posing will take them and nor do their confused voters in this highly selective Tory franchise. The Conservative Party is in a mess. Current economic organisation and problems are so complicated that they can't work out any sort of policy towards them. They were never in touch with the people, but the annuities and directorships and piles of big business propaganda that heap up on their desks every day are only making things worse. Where is a representative of the ruling classes to turn? Where is the embodiment of Tory traditions?

Skipper Ted said let's all heave together, and the voters didn't want to know. His ship of state was rudely sunk. Victorian laissez-faire went out with the temporary parliamentary eclipse of the bizarre Enoch Powell. Mrs. Thatcher is dubiously a national figure, largely owing to her notoriety as Secretary for Education, as her ex-student daughter pointed out with a little relish. Apparently William Whitelaw is too effete to spit back with venom during question time in the House. Sir Keith Joseph, well, he's not really one of us, is he? Good Tory, but a bit too intelligent, perhaps. Why the obvious successor Carr and the immensely ambitious Walker have not put their odious claims forward, is anyone's guess. There must be some undiscovered dirt festering there somewhere. Only thus can we explain the uncharacteristic choice last year of the future Tory Prime Minister Chataway, for TV and family rather than power politics.

Most newspapers were for Heath in the first ballot. The Daily Express made their choice appropriately by turning the whole event into a horse race, with tipster's comments on the runners. Mrs. Thatcher's first victory put them all in a tizzy. Rival contenders sprang up in the profusion of panic - perhaps simply to oppose the election of a woman as their leader.

In the words of a scandalised Tory Oxford don, why did the Conservative Party not adopt the process which they would have adopted in 1911 had not Bonar Law and Long withdrawn? Put more bluntly, why did the Tories discard what Macmillan when their leader called 'the customary process of consultation', that is, appointment by himself? The pseudo

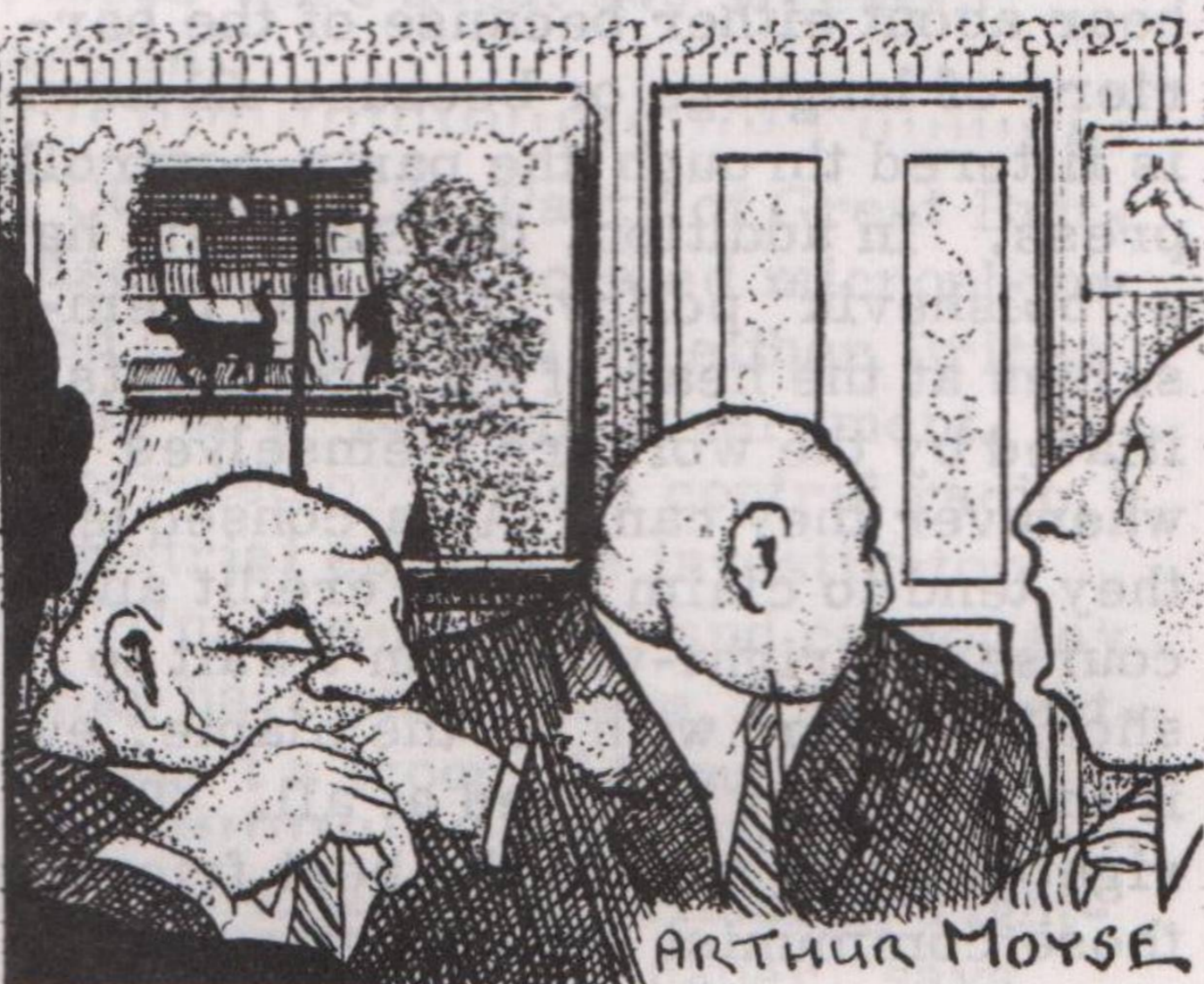
-democratic process of electing the Tory leader is born of confusion, not of democracy, not even of consensus. Right-wingers fear that this process if carried out annually will increase the party's divisions - but this is a consequence, not a cause. What we are seeing is the public crisis of a ruling class which over a long period has been losing its self-confidence. To their dismay, it looks as if the Labour cabinet could have become our 'natural leaders' now. TV managers have not had this problem for years - to them, any leader is a natural leader.

No matter what choice they make, the Tories will make the right choice. Take my word for it. I will never forget the secretary of my sports club saying to me solemnly, after Home had been designated Tory leader by Macmillan, as I rubbed down in the changing room: "You know, Sir Alec Douglas-Home is a very brilliant man." 'Er sorry eating a boiled sweet can't speak with my mouth full.' Actually, I swallowed the boiled sweet the wrong way. People who thought that surreal reincarnation of the Anglo-Scottish landed aristocracy was brilliant, are obviously the sort of people who never make mistakes. Even so, they nearly elected Maudling instead of Heath. If the news of Maudling's shady financial dealings had broken on the Leader of the Party or even Tory P. M., the editor of Private Eye would not have been the only person in the country to have had an orgasm.

Meanwhile back on the ranch, Wedgwood Benn is on his way to the top. He is an accomplished public performer.

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LIFE WITH THE MILK STREET MAFIA



"Knock-knock"
--"Who's there?"
"Ted"
--"Ted who?"
"Gosh, fellows, you haven't forgotten me already!"

SOCIALIST CONTRACTION

THE CHANCELLOR, Denis Healey, has hit out at those trade unions who are able to negotiate settlements over and above the limits of the social contract. He warns that mass unemployment will follow if these wage deals are made.

As is usual with attacks of this nature, Denis Healey was careful to point out that the majority of trade unionists have kept within the guidelines of the social contract. "But the minority who have not is still far too large - large enough to threaten Britain with mass unemployment unless their number can be vastly reduced." Classic example of divide and rule.

We can expect more attacks on wage settlements as the financial crisis deepens. The one thing that must not be blamed is the profit motive system itself. But ex-Communist Party member Healey surely hasn't forgotten his Marx. However, with his youthful idealism behind him, the hard capitalist facts are that the working class has to be blamed for the present crisis. It is no good expecting companies to restrict their profits since profits are the life blood of the system. But the more the working class accepts the role of benefactor to the system, scapegoat and sacrificial lamb, the more it will be used to solve the problems of lack of profits.

But while workers are told to take it easy on the social contract, those with money to spare and a little winning form are making 'killings' on the Stock Market. This shows the obscenity of the system, that those with money can make a profit without doing a hand's turn for it. It illustrates the cynical attitude of Mr. Healey and others who want workers to tighten their belts. They even go on about everyone doing this, forgetting it is very easy to go without when your income falls within a high bracket; too bad for those who find it hard to make ends meet now.

Unemployment is growing in the Western industrial countries. This shows that it is not just a case of workers seeking wage settlements outside the social contract. All governments and economies are in the same position, with inflation and loss of profit margins. But oil-rich countries like Iran are now offering financial help to British Leyland. Such is the shift in the financial power of nations.

Workers, as the producers of all wealth, should not be concerned with the system which daily exploits them. Unemployment obviously concerns workers and their families and should be fought

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Tory Leader Non-Surprise

AT THE fourth ballot for the Tory leader a sixteenth candidate entered the field. His adherence to conservative principles is unquestioned. He is a firm supporter of British industrial enterprise and the profit motive. He deprecates strikes. On the Common Market his attitude is firm - from time to time. His use of the principle of state intervention is only to the advantage of capital.

On foreign affairs he adheres to the cardinal principle of opportunism and extends the well-known continuity of foreign policy. He is loth to interfere in the internal policies of countries strong enough to offer any resistance and is strong on the question of non-committal. He is in favour of retaining Britain's armed strength, and fully committed to nuclear deterrence. At the same time he is always anxious to give an impression of a peace-loving Britain.

On home affairs he is in favour of voluntary compulsion by the Trade Unions on their members to abide by the Social Contract. He is in favour of an independent judiciary's right to make whatever outrageous judgements it likes. He never seems very far from the policy of laissez faire.

He has had experience of party leadership, has shown skill in his mastery of dissident elements and has maintained a course of moderation. Challenges to his leadership have been rebuffed by the usual means. He has been in politics for many years.

His name is Harold Wilson.

Jack Spratt.

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against, but many people are now employed in not only useless jobs, but boring pointless ones which give them no satisfaction. This is also exploitation, sometimes far worse, even if better paid, than many other jobs.

Satisfaction at the work place or what is being produced and how, and who controls the product are not the concern of the employer. His ownership and financial power ensure his control over the work place and people's lives. It is this ownership and control that has to be fought for, if the never ending exploitation of people's lives is to end. Everyone should have free access to the means of production and distribution and to the goods and services made and provided.

Until we can abolish the state, government and the employers' control over our lives, the hardship of unemployment will be the lot of the working class.

P. T.

LETTER FROM FINLAND

I WOULD like to have reported that we have unearthed some "underlying libertarian currents" over here in Finland but it seems as though all such currents have been permanently buried beneath a rotting mass of decaying bourgeois parliamentarianism, all-encompassing labour bureaucracy and growing Stalinism of the most nauseating, Russophilic kind. The short-lived, "instinctive" libertarian movement of the late sixties has been totally absorbed, mostly into the ranks of the Stalinists ("it crystallized politically", so a Finnish Marxist friend put it!). The latter draw all their opportunistic strength from the "delicate" relationship of Finland to the Soviet Union. It is also fair to point out that the pro-Moscow communist movement has a very strong tradition here. It was born in the white terror and the severe repression of the working class during the civil war of 1918. The radical rank-and-file of the social democratic movement had organised themselves into Red Guard militias and it was these same workers, when released from the concentration camps who formed the Communist Party which, until recently, was almost wholly working class in composition. In the inter-war years the party led a clandestine existence with an exiled leadership in Stalinist Russia. As a result of this past the party has acquired a thoroughly undeserved revolutionary mystique. Recently we were treated to the spectacle of a massive parade, with an endless stream of red banners, when the party celebrated 30 years of bourgeois legality and parliamentary respectability! In the party itself, which is virtually split into two factions though it maintains a facade of unity, the "revisionists" (i.e. those that follow the usual social democratic policies of western communist parties, though with an increasing pro-Soviet slant) still have the majority and share the leadership of the main unions with the social democrats (the main ruling party).

No doubt the workers and small farmers are up to things which we never hear about either because of the barriers of language or because all news is filtered through the party-controlled press. In addition, the Stalinists have a "bolshevik" policy of putting themselves at the head of all movements initiated by the workers themselves wherever they can. As a consequence they tend to claim all the credit and of course the right-wing can't wait to shoulder them with all the blame, even if they are not involved at all. The right-wing is always the best friend of those communist factions who want to appear radical.

I would like to think that the strength of the communist movement in Finland is a result of the traditional intransigence of Finnish workers rather than vice versa, but whatever the case the party constitutes an insurmountable

barrier to real collective revolutionary action. Moreover, most people here are almost totally ignorant of alternative revolutionary currents in other parts of Europe or are unable to relate them to Finnish conditions. There is a miniscule Maoist faction (in contrast to Sweden where the Maoist groups perform the same function - draining off would-be bureaucrats among the students and "young professionals" - as the Trotskyists in England and Stalinists here) but nothing else beside a handful of shady Trotskyists. Overt "anarchism", as far as we know, is limited to a few inconsequential, individualist academics. The recent publication here of a Finnish translation of Orwell's Homage to Catalonia seems to be causing a minor stir with a few people awakening to the reactionary historical tendencies of communism and the revolutionary alternatives. No doubt the Stalinists will concentrate on exposing Orwell's "trotskyist" heresies and ignore all his references to the anarchist revolution altogether.

Helsinki.

T. J. L.

PERU

DREAM INTO NIGHTMARE

THE DREAM was beautiful - an end to ownership of the people's wealth by foreign and indigenous investors, swept away by nationalization (with compensation); control of the production of food and manufactured goods to be put in the hands of the producers by the Law of Social Property - the agricultural and industrial cooperatives to be administered not by government departments but autonomously by the people working in them. But a grand, perfect plan drafted to the minutest detail and presented, on paper, to the people without any initiative by, consultation with, or participation from them in its creation.

In the event, the military rulers appear to have made little effort to have much of it put into practice and now find themselves fighting off both the expropriated foreign and native capitalists and the indigenous left wing dissatisfied with the slow progress towards socialism. They fail, like Allende, because they did not trust the people. But unlike Allende, they try to maintain their position by the only means available to government - by force. 'Power tends to corrupt, absolute power corrupts absolutely'... and once more "national socialism", imposed from above and not coming from the desires and free will of the people, becomes the terror we have seen in all the totalitarian efforts to impose socialism or corporate state up to now.

M. C.

JOHNNY THE BOATMAN

THE ORANGEMEN of Ulster have a little story they are fond of telling. It relates how at one stage of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, William of Orange was temporarily stranded on one side of the river without any means of crossing over. Fortunately, his adjutant was able to discover a local boatman named Johnny who agreed to ferry them across. On the way, being consumed with curiosity, the boatman enquired of the king, "Sire, who is winning the battle?" To which question William of Orange replied, "It matters not to you who wins the battle. You will still be Johnny the boatman."

And Johnny the boatman he remained; but the outcome of the battle was indeed of some consequence to Johnny and his successors. It bound them, the Ulster Protestants closer to the English throne at the same time as it freed them from the immediate threat of domination from Rome. And later, much later, many of the Catholic descendants of those who fought with King James came gradually to accept that the future of Ireland was bound up with the union with Britain. Remember how the majority of the Irish Volunteers donned khaki and fought in France and how the survivors of the Easter Rising were jeered at by the Dublin crowds? An understanding of how the mass of the Irish people - and not their self-appointed spokes-

men - regarded the implications of the Act of Union of 1801 is vital to an understanding of what is happening in Ireland today.

In 1912, the Irish correspondent of the *Times*, F. W. Money Penny, wrote a book called *The Two Irish Nations* in which he claimed that at that time there was not one but two nations in Ireland - the Unionist and the Nationalist. Whatever it may lack in depth and accuracy, this description of the two nations is handy enough for our purposes, but it must be pointed out that Money Penny had not been the first in the field with the idea. In 1910, James Connolly had published his *Labour in Irish History* and in Chapter 8 of that book had given as his opinion that towards the close of the 18th century there were "two nations" in Ireland - the Catholic and the non-Catholic. Interestingly enough, though Connolly never fully developed the idea, he never abandoned it. In 1913 he deplored the fact that the narrow prejudices of a colony would not permit the planters to identify themselves with the Irish nation, and if we consider that his reasons for participation in the Rising differed from the reasons of those he joined with... but that is another story.

More recent developments of the two nations theme have been J. C. Beckett's *The Making of Modern Ireland* (1966) and the *Observer* supplement published on 23 February 1969. Both of these will make interesting reading for those who are interested enough to follow up the idea. I cannot do so in the pages of *FREE-DOM* but if readers will accept that the question of union with Britain is at the root of the present situation then the questions which ought to be posed are these. Do those who wish to remain within the U.K. (one million Protestants

at least plus an unknown number of Catholics) not have a democratic right to do so? If this right is granted then can the present IRA campaign, which is not even supported by the majority of southern Catholics be justified?

Consideration of these questions may seem to do no more than scratch the surface but when their implications are fully worked out it will be seen how important they are and help libertarians set the whole question in correct perspective unclouded by the anti-imperialist phrasemongering of the traditional left and the "A Nation Once Again" sloganisers. As a matter of fact, the nation-state never existed in Ireland until the Act of Union and what these advocates are demanding is a return to the good old days when there were any number of "kings" in Ireland and cattle raids and internecine warfare were the order of the day. The question of "national unity" in Ireland cannot be said to be of immediate advantage to the Irish people; just look at southern Ireland today and you can see that the lot of the mass of Irish people would not be improved by means of an act of unification which would have a bloody civil war as its prelude. They would be little better off than Johnny the boatman.

H. B.

Letter

Dear Friends,

PRANCING BULL & BEAR

Reading the headline article of last *FREE-DOM* (8.2.75) I agreed a lot with what Alan Albon had to say concerning the present (and no doubt eternal) problems of Capitalist society. But I was particular disturbed by his words "... 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." What place? Surely, just as important a pollutant as social injustice and social inequity is plain human quantity. Looking at the hysterical overdriven search for resources (both agricultural and mineral) that our present capitalist system is waging, does he think a freer and less material/profit-motivated society will be able to make the resource pollution and starvation problem "fall into place", or will we have to support our exponentially growing population on the rather dubious "middle class environmentalist" techniques?

It seems sad that anarchism has been presented here as yet another solo wonder cure that will drive all the world's ills away. Surely we must realize that anarchism can only be a factor (though an important one) in a large and complex solution to humanity's problems.

Yours,

Hackney, London. A. C.

IN BRIEF.

SUSPECTED members of the Baader-Meinhof group who were on hunger strike, and had been on thirst-strike for two days, have ceased to fast. This, according to the *Guardian*, was 'connected with a letter circulated by Maoist political prisoners' which said that 'the long struggle to bring down capitalism is incompatible with appeals to the bourgeoisie for sympathy'. The trial of the 24 has been announced to begin on May 21, almost exactly three years after the arrests.

AUSTRALIA

Anarchist Conference

A quite successful Australian Anarchist Conference was held in Sydney from Sunday 5th to Saturday 11th January, 1975. The actual location was the hall of a disused church in Bridge Road, Glebe. Some people said they would like to revive the church by re-naming it the Church of Saint Bakunin, and suitably spray-gunning on its walls some of the sayings of the saint, such as: "If God did exist, it would be necessary to abolish him".

Seventy-odd people were sometimes in attendance - including anarchists from Sydney, Melbourne, and a particularly compact and dedicated group, the Self-Management Group from Brisbane.

... the small group discussions were very successful, taking in a variety of topics including self-help, ecology, prison aid, Marxism, education, self-management, homosexuality, revolution, and women's problems (even anarchist women held closed meetings, but their repudiation of men

was mercifully low key compared with the usual Women's Lib groups).

At the personal level, there appeared to be a very high degree of co-operation, sincerity, and non-elitism. Lime-lighters, would-be power politicians and authoritarian personalities, if they were present at all, were so in a very muted way.

It all ended on the Saturday night with the Anarchist Ball - with the compulsory entrance fee paid by donation and with booze and loud music inside and booze and anarchist conversation outside.

Perhaps all of us, including Sydney Libertarians, should look forward to the next National Conference.

A. J. B.

(Taken, with the omission of one paragraph, from *Broadsheet* No. 80, Feb. 1975, publ. by Sydney Libertarians (Box 2986, G.P.O., Sydney.)

NO SPECIAL UNITS!

[Our readers know that Michael Tobin, since his release from prison, has carried on a continuous campaign on behalf of prisoners. The following is from a speech he delivered during a protest week (November 1974) against the planned building of a new prison with isolation cells in the Bijlmer area near Amsterdam.]

I MYSELF first heard of the Bijlmer Bajes* last year when I came to live in Amsterdam. The news about the prison saddened me. . . Because I had thought that in The Netherlands different approaches towards crime and punishment prevailed. I had thought that progressive ideas about dealing with crime were being practised here. Instead I found out that the authorities were determined to build a big new prison capable of holding many hundred of people who had not even been tried. I was also told that the authorities were planning to build this new prison in the Bijlmer area outside Amsterdam where it would be even more difficult for relatives to visit prisoner fathers/husbands - even wives and mothers. But what shocked me most of all was to hear that the Bijlmer Bajes was to have a special psychiatric unit and isolation cells on the top of each of the six tower blocks of the proposed prison. All this made me quickly aware that the way the authorities think about prisons and crime in this country is much the same as the way the authorities do in Britain and West Germany and many other parts of the world also.

So far as West Germany is concerned, during the last few weeks we have all heard much about the prison system there. Above all, we have heard of the mass hunger strike by the Red Army Faction prisoners there protesting against the isolation cell torture. And we have heard about the horrible way that Helger Meins was slowly murdered. Many of us have been shocked by all of this. This is a good thing to happen. But at the same time it is necessary that we reflect carefully upon the overall situation in West Germany of which the tragic death of Helger Meins is only a part. For if we are not careful - if we don't wake up to the great danger - what is happening today in West Germany will be happening here in a few years' time. And it could be even worse than anything we might imagine at the moment. Let me explain why.

In the modern industrialised nation-state two very important developments are taking place. On the one hand, there is the breakdown of traditional ways of thinking and acting. This is an aspect of capitalist society in its old age, as it gradually dies from its rotten inside outwards. For in spite of impressive industrial and technological achievements the capitalist nation-state of today is well on the way to the graveyard. And one major symptom of this is the way people are ignoring

and even openly challenging age-old ideas and social institutions once considered sacred. The many chains that have shackled people's minds for centuries are now being rapidly broken.

But yet while the authorities draw a line and do their best to make us follow this line of theirs, at the same time more and more people are zig-zagging or wandering away from the line altogether. For in our times more and more people are becoming dissatisfied and disillusioned with the conventional way of life. They want to be free of the social machine of the modern capitalist nation-state. And above all they want to cease playing roles which social conventions demand and to be themselves at all times. But they cannot be free and be themselves in capitalist machine society. So some people become frustrated and aggressive. While others withdraw from the world altogether and live in an ivory tower of their own making. Or, like the vast majority, they try and live within machine society with the aid of pills, the escapism of TV, and the compensations for the boredom and dullness of their personal lives which they find in mass spectator sports.

Now the only real answer to all of this is to completely change our present world and build a truly free and socialist society in its place. But the authorities controlling the social machine do not want this. For they are only interested in keeping their machine society in which they have so much power and so many privileges. So their attitude is not to change the old social and economic system to suit the needs of modern man. Instead, they are trying to adapt us to machine society - to turn every one of us into a precisely "machined" working part of the overall social machine. And if any of us don't fit in or won't fit in they claim that there is something wrong with us and that we need "treatment".

On the other hand, while a lot of ordinary people think more freely and are inclined to act more freely, capitalist industrial society is itself tending to become more and more rigidly organised. Capitalist industrial society has, in fact, already become a huge social machine run by "experts". The dream of these "experts" is to organise the industrial nation-state so that capitalist society becomes more machine-like still. And what is more these same "experts" want to turn us ordinary human beings into mere cogs and wheels of this fearsome social machine. These "experts" have themselves got machine-like minds. They do not see people as human beings. They see us as machines who are programmed to think and act in a certain way. And, worst of all, they see any kind of behaviour which does not fit in with their plans as "harmful" and as something which must be ended as soon as possible.

Because of this attitude on the part of the authorities the breaking of a law is increasingly being looked upon as a

EDITORIAL NOTE :

By a coincidence these manuscripts (separated by forty years) came into our hands in the same week.

To a casual reader they may seem contradictory; the utopian hopes of Darrow for an improved penology are blighted by Michael Tobin's plea against special units (whether Dutch, American or British). To us they are complementary - a full awareness of the nature of crime (which Darrow possessed) must be coupled with an awareness of the state's demand for conformity (which Michael Tobin has learned from bitter experience).

The continual prostitution of scientists, in this case particularly of the Pavlovian school of psychology, has compounded the crime of punishment which continues to be committed unabated in both East and West.

sign that the lawbreaker needs to be examined by a psychiatrist. This is why prisons are becoming more and more like mental hospitals, while the prisoners are being seen as "deviants" whose behaviour needs to be modified by means of drugs or brain surgery or, if necessary, by means of isolation cells.

These are frightful developments and they are occurring on a very wide scale. In America they have isolation cells and psychiatric units in a number of prisons and are building more. At Marion Federal Prison in the state of Illinois the isolation cells are called "boxcars". And the unfortunate prisoners in them are treated just like guinea pigs to be experimented on by psychiatrists and other modern Franksteins. In North Carolina they are making ready a mind hell-hole which will specialise in altering the behaviour of any prisoner who is considered to be a "troublemaker"; in other words, anyone who consistently demands to be treated like a human being. Further away still in Australia during the last few years over 200 prisoners have been operated on by brain specialists. While others have been given female hormones. And most of these prisoners have allowed themselves to be experimented on because they were told that they would stay in prison indefinitely if they didn't. Nearer home, in Britain, the use of new drugs on prisoners is becoming very common. But worst of all is the recent news of the building of special isolation "control units" at Wakefield Prison and Wormwood Scrubs Prison.

However, so far as isolation cells are concerned, West Germany excels in this modern horror. There, all the latest knowledge about the human mind is being used to try and destroy the individual whom the authorities regard as an enemy of the state. The Mind Police are truly in power in West Germany today.

At the moment the Mind Police are not yet in power here. But they are waiting in the background ready to move on to the centre of the stage. The planned Bijlmer Bajes would be a Mind Police prison. It would be the first step in the

* Bajes = Dutch equivalent of "nick"

THE CRIME OF PUNISHMENT

Clarence Darrow (1857-1938) spent a great deal of his professional life defending in the courts victims of the capitalist and political system. He also lectured to prisoners in American jails. The following statement is taken from his autobiography.

I ALWAYS worked against capital punishment, and all severe penalties. I had always believed in clemency to first offenders, and believed, as do most men of science, that every kind of human conduct comes from causes, and in order to change conduct the causes that bring it about must be altered or removed. One needs only to read a sketch of the treatment of what we are pleased to call criminals in the past to know something of the depth of the ignorance and brutality of old-time statutes. It is less than two hundred years since animals were tried and solemnly executed for crime.

creation of a horrible Mind Police state. Let us have no doubts about this. Capitalist machine society in every industrialised country is constantly moving in the direction of a Mind Police state with prison/mental hospitals of a frightening kind. And into these new castles of Frankenstein would go everyone whom the authorities considered to have criminal tendencies. And criminal tendencies would include a show of anger or hatred or aggressive attitudes in general towards capitalist machine society, however inhuman the latter might be. Many of us would in such a situation be regarded as having criminal tendencies and being in need of psychiatric treatment just because we oppose the building of the Bijlmer Bajes, while those of us who oppose it most strongly would be considered insane and labelled psychotic, as political dissidents already are in the Soviet Union today.

There is more, then, to the building of the Bijlmer Bajes than just putting up six 14-storey towers with bars on the windows. It would be like opening the door to a nightmarish kind of existence, possibly far worse than George Orwell imagined in his prophetic book "1984". So while we are still able to fight let us do all we can to ensure that the Bijlmer Bajes will never be built. And while doing so let us remember that we do not actually need the Bijlmer Bajes. What we do really need is a new society, a truly socialist society so built as to bring out the best in man - a global, cosmopolitan society in which the primitive and backward social conditions which give rise to crime and to prisoners of all kinds just will not exist.

The address of the body founded by Michael Tobin is HAPOTOC, P.O. Box 10638, Amsterdam, The Netherlands. In Britain, the body campaigning for fundamental change in penology is Radical Alternatives to Prison (RAP) Eastbourne House, Bullards Place, London, E. 2.

Children of seven and eight years of age were once upon a time put to death by the State. For slight offences men were banished to penal colonies to die a pitiless death by disease, or be torn to pieces by wild beasts. In former years, banishment meant death in the most hideous way. As a rule, it means the same today.

In the olden times the criminal and the insane were tortured and chained indiscriminately, and, for that matter they are today. There is no way of determining who is sane or who is insane, or who is good or who is bad, but one thing is certain: in the treatment of criminals a great change has come over the world in a hundred and fifty years, for it is only a short time since scientists have even tried to find out the causes of human conduct. Amongst the scientific men who deal with the problem of the human mind there has been an almost universal agreement about the cause and treatment of crime. But ideas are very slow in affecting the mass of mankind. They are held back by prejudice, by ignorance, by common conception until long after the intelligence specialist has thoroughly proved conditions and discovered remedies.

I can hardly remember the time when I was not sorry for the inmates of prisons. I have no doubt that this feeling made me more readily undertake their defence in courts. To be sure I sympathized with them long before I made any study of the subject called crime. After I began the defence of men charged with crime I often visited these unfortunates in jail, of course. They were in no respect like the idea I had formed from the general conception of criminals. I found that they had the same likes and dislikes as other men, that they acted from the same motives and impulses as those outside the jails. They loved their wives and their friends. All of them could explain the reasons for their special deeds. I soon began to see that their conduct, like the conduct of every man, followed cause and effect. Not only did they generally love their families, but they were loved in return. Fathers and mothers would tell of the generous acts and decencies of their sons; wives would sacrifice everything they had to help them in their trouble; little children would reach their hands through the bars to greet their fathers in jail. These fathers and mothers and wives and children had seen the prisoners in a different light from those who judged and hated and condemned them without trying to understand. Outside of the family there was always a circle of loyal friends, many of whom would face death for the man that the world condemned. All of this impelled me to try to understand these men as I have tried to know others. With the right psychology they were not difficult to fathom.

I soon discovered that very few of the inmates of prisons have any schooling. Very few had ever learned a trade or had any of the regular means of earning a living. Seldom was there any one who had any money. Almost all of them had begun their career in their youth. As a rule, the inmates of prisons do not grade high intellectually; now and then one is found with a fair mentality; but even these usually have weird ideas, and do not interpret the world as others do. Often they are sent from the prison to an institution for the insane; a very large proportion of them are on the border-line between sanity and insanity.

Of course, each different offender had a distinct and different psychology. In controversies between capital and labour they all have the same psychology; whatever is done is an act of war, just as opposing armies would be guilty of the most atrocious deeds if their acts were not committed in the name of some cause.

The boundless and senseless belief in the virtue of punishment is one of the anomalies of the human animal. Society in general has the idea that only fear keeps human beings from cutting each other's throats and pillaging their homes. As a matter of fact, very few, if any, have such tastes or tendencies. If fear had been the main-spring of human behaviour the race would have perished long ago. Fear is not the strongest motive; it is one of the lesser emotions that move men. Pride, charity, love and pity are much more controlling. Nor does the State punish because of the need of self-protection. The State punishes, that is, inflicts pain, because it gives men pleasure to know that others suffer. No one can inflict suffering on another unless it gives him gratification to cause it. There is a mixture of sadism in every human being that makes him enjoy another's misery.

Endless reasons have been given for punishing people. It is a common assertion that the evil-doer is punished in order to help him. But everyone knows better. . . The spectacle of the State doing everything in its power to degrade, debase, and destroy a human being, and then seeking to help him to recover from the effects of his punishments is a fine example of the idiocy of man . . .

When all is said and done, the last excuse given for punishment is that it is administered for the protection of society. There is no evidence, and from the nature of things there can be none, that punishing an individual in any manner aids society. . . Assume that A knows that he will suffer pain for doing a certain act; what is the effect on A? This knowledge does not stifle the desire to do the act; if it has any effect, it makes him cautious in accomplishing the deed. No one who commits an act that he thinks might bring him misery ever expects to be caught. Plans are always made for escaping arrest, and they generally succeed.

ILL FARES THE LAND

Akenfield is not a success as a film (even when viewed in colour in a Suffolk cinema). It is too full of artistic devices which do not always come off. Its use of non-professional actors does not serve to emphasise the naturalness but seems to emphasise the low-budget cost of the film. The best non-professionals are, of course and as usual, the children. The real star of the film should have been the Suffolk countryside and life on the land. However, it is a good try and within this unsatisfactory film is a good social study trying to creep out.

It has long been an opinion that one should see the film first and read the book afterwards. *Akenfield* by Ronald Blythe (Penguin, 40p) is no exception. It is a series of tape recorded conversations with inhabitants of a Suffolk village (pop. 298) disguised under the name of *Akenfield*. The leading - disembodied - voice of the dead horseman (ploughman) is a composite of some of the characters in *Akenfield*, and the effect of seeing the film first is for it to 'iris-out' from the faulty cameo to the wider sweep of the book.

There is a great deal of rubbish talked about life on the land, about the primal purity of the soil and so forth, but neither Ronald Blythe nor the filmmaker (Peter Hall) falls into this trap. They stress the exploitation (near to slavery) and the brutalising hard work that life on the land can be, and has been. For example Leonard Thompson says "We had to close down our union branch because nobody could afford to pay the 4d a week membership fee. I remember the week this happened. I drew 27s. 6d from the farmer and after I had given my wife 24s. and paid by Union 4d and my rent 3s. 1d I had a penny left! So I threw it across the field. I'd worked hard. I'd been through the war (1914-18) and I'd married. A penny was what a child had. I wasn't having that. I would sooner have nothing." We are shown in the film the hard days of 'rained-off' workers and the stone-picking families.

Blythe and the film emphasise the agricultural revolution, involving the introduction of machines which make the land less labour-intensive; as Blythe says, "The young men are beginning to realize that the farming scene has no future for them unless they happen to be farmers' sons and can inherit." Such is the effect of this doctrine (unspoken) upon the hero of the film that he leaves the village and his girlfriend and a tied cottage to seek his fortune in the big city. Peter Hall has, possibly, some reservations that this too may be an illusion, for he makes his hero see the ghost of grandfather returning from a futile 80-mile round trip to Newmarket (to get work with the horses in the racing stables).

A great deal that is also rubbish is talked in villages about the glamour of life in the big cities, about the big money and about how much 'life' - or things going on - there is in the big city. Consequently, the desertion of the land for the attractions of the big city is a constant factor. *Akenfield* both in film and book describes how the two world wars were a catalyst that broke up the life of the village into new constituent parts so that the problem was, in the words of the old song, "How're you going to keep them down on the farm after they've seen Paris?"

The question whether the war-time depopulation of the land or mechanization came first is a chicken-and-egg question. The fact is that between wars agriculture has always been a Cinderella industry and cheap food (and poorly paid labour) has been a constant inter-war policy.

But are Blythe and Hall right? Are

FILM REVIEW

Fetch me a Fedora

OVER THE LONG years I have made the cultural pilgrimage to so many small cinemas and sitting among the sparse audiences of those years have filled my memory bank with all those flickering images of peasants standing waist deep in the high corn, French proletarians stomping across the black wet cobbles on their way home to murder their wives, fat and bearded Germans weeping because they have lost their right to wear a hotel uniform, fey women and staring men creeping through shadowed streets against a background of silhouetted buildings cutting the screen like black and rotting teeth, and silently applauded the sailors of the Battleship Potemkin every time Eisenstein's film resurfaced at the Everyman Cinema. The names of Wiene, Wurm, Pabst, Bunuel, Eisenstein, Dreyer tripped off our tongues with the same familiarity with which a football fan names the teams of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Divisions, and we added Renoir, Pagnol, Kurosawa, Satyajit Ray, Zetterling and Bergman to the honoured list. The one-legged Sarah Bernhard, the bald-headed and boyish image of Falconetti in her single success, *La Passion de Jeanne D'Arc*, were our pinups until Marilyn Monroe made the top ten of the intellectual hit parade but we knew, and rightly, that we were the elite, and in all those small, cold and lonely cinemas we entered into communication with a creative world in which we were always doomed to be no more than paying spectators, but for all that it was our small and secret world. Television destroyed that small and private world, for the need and the demand for time fodder meant that anything and everything would find a time slot and the sailors of the Potemkin act out their revolutionary fantasy to an audience of millions of solid citizens, and the avant garde films of today's State-financed producers and directors are used as no more than fillers in the television film programmes.

we not on the threshold or oughtn't we to be on the threshold of a second agricultural revolution? We have the need of food still, but we have not the 'Open Sesame' of plentiful oil-fuel and plentiful oil-derived fertilisers. Out chickens have come home to roost and can no longer roost in a battery house. Even *Akenfield* switched from corn to apples (which are labour-intensive). Might we not be compelled to turn our agricultural clock back to labour-intensive methods of conserving - not exploiting - the land?

At the same time, enriched by our mistakes could we not switch our labour forces in off-seasons to small factory units (but making essential and useful goods, and which would close when over-produced), which exist even now near some small country villages. The dichotomy and dilemma of *Akenfield's* hero is false and unnecessary and can be resolved by an integration of fields and workshops. In that way we can return to the land, for as Cobbett (a reactionary in some aspects) said, "...it is abundant living amongst the people at large, which is the great test of good government, and the surest basis of national greatness and security". J. R.

BADLANDS	Academy One
BRING ME THE HEAD OF ALFREDO GARCIA	General Release
THE FRONT PAGE	Universal Cinema

It is in this mood that I rejected the London Film Festival, for I hold that it is no more than another trade fair and the minority of talent and the majority of rubbish that it offered would be quickly analysed and sorted out by the television boys and the good, bad and indifferent would within days appear on the television screens of the West. I do not deplore this. I would rather sit and watch pretentious trivia from the comfort of an armchair with a pint mug of beer in one hand and a black dog in the other than stand in line to become part of a captive audience, for my television screen is shared by friends who for geographical reasons were denied access to the work of filmmakers whose work was deemed exciting, so now in the privacy of the private letter we can once more form a closed and elitist circle. So be it.

The London Film Festival offered one film of some small merit and this was Terence Malick's first film, *Badlands*. It is an essay in violence and concerns the living and the killings of a young South Dakota youth as he and his girl friend drift across the great American waste lands. The mood and the morality are those of the "Bonnie and Clyde" film and the excellent photography makes it acceptable. And it is acceptable because the entertainment industry can now offer erotic violence as an end in itself and no longer has to tie a moral tag on the last closing scenes. As with Peckinpah's film *Bring me the head of Alfredo Garcia* we are in the slaughterhouse atmosphere of the spaghetti westerns with more corpses littering the golden mean than Webster or any Elizabethan playwright would have dared to use for fear of the groundlings' mirth;

Continued on Page 7

so don't bring me Garcia's unattached head no more not even suffed and covered with brandy sauce. The film of the month is unquestionably Billy Wilder's interpretation of the Hecht and MacArthur play The Front Page and it is the third time it has been through the Hollywood mincer. On the printed page it was never that good but like a good French farce its balletic action and assembled grotesque is a dream gift for any talented director. On stage it is a single set and Wilder hardly departs from this and he has thrown out tragedy and played it strictly for laughs. The only fault in the casting is that of Walter Matthau as the editor. The editor is the one all black genuine heavy in the play, for this is what the role demands to give substance to the action, but Matthau plays it with a light comedy touch and a wry smile that destroys any attempt at suggesting villainy. In 1931 Adolph Menjou played the editor and it was a piece of inspired casting, for Menjou acted out his film role in real life when he helped to destroy fellow actors in the 1947 House Un-American Activities Committee's witch hunting.

The Front Page is one of the few plays of our age that will form part of a future world theatre programme. Not because of the writing but because it catches in its cynical fashion the mood of a period without preaching. It is, as I say, a director's play and Wilder has turned the golden-hearted whore and the death cell 'lefty' into figures of fun who end up happy, married and running a health food store, and around them flow a circle of zany characters in and out of the death cell, in and out of the press room. Jack Lemmon does suggest a reporter who could work for the Times or the Mirror but one wonders how the rest of the reporters ever found any news, bogged down permanently in the sleazy press room. The play was seen as an attack on American yellow journalism and/or the gutter press but save us from an uncorrupted and honest press. Leave honesty and an uncorrupted publication to the London Telephone Directory and give us a multiplicity of committed, biased, corrupt, dishonest newspapers forced to go to press within minutes of a story breaking and in their greed for commercial circulation: then and only then will we the "common reader" learn the truth. Watergate, Watergate, Watergate, Watergate, Watergate, Watergate, Watergate.

Arthur Moyses.

In Brief

IN THE final extract in the News of the World from Albert Pierrepoint's memoirs the former public hangman writes, "Whenever I went to Ireland on duty I always carried a small Browning revolver in one pocket and the ammunition in a wash-leather bag in another. Executioners were not popular there." He further records: "On the Irish boat we (Pierrepoint and his Uncle Tom, a hangman) sat with some Guinness-drinking Irish priests and sang 'Mother Machree'. One wiped away a tear."

EVERY THEATRE in Spain was closed as actors went on strike demanding the right to elect their own union officials. One of the actors has since been arrested, according to the Daily Telegraph.

THREE THOUSAND people demonstrated outside Carabanchel Prison in support of ten people whose appeals again-

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP NOTES

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Aldgate East underground station, Whitechapel Art Gallery exit and turn right - Angel Alley next to Wimpy Bar.

All the titles mentioned are available from Freedom Books

OF LATE a large number of anarchist classics have been reprinted, especially in America, usually at somewhat "impressive" prices. Two publishing houses active in this respect have been Haskell House and the Arno Press; from the former Freedom Bookshop has in stock Proudhon's classic study, The General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century (301pp at £8, hardback, + 23p postage) and Benjamin R. Tucker's "fragmentary exposition of Philosophical Anarchism" Instead of a Book - by a man too busy to write one (512pp, hardback, at £10 + 23p postage). The Proudhon is a series of seven studies on different aspects of Revolution in the 19th century, Tucker's book is a massive compilation of his writings from various sources that he put together at the end of his life, including "State Socialism & Anarchism", his best known essay, and other writings under the general headings of "The Individual, Society and the State"; "Money and Interest"; "Land and Rent"; "Socialism, Communism and Methods of Struggle".

The Arno titles misleadingly issued under the series heading of 'The Right Wing Individualist Tradition in America' include William Bailie's biography of Josiah Warren: The First American Anarchist (135pp, hardback, £3.75 + 23p). Originally published in 1906, it is a pioneering study of one of the earliest American anarchists and one of whom little has been written. Arno

st savage sentences for belonging to an illegal trade union were due to be heard on February 11. Riot police broke up the demonstration and it is reported that there were about 100 arrests. (Guardian).

THE COMMUNIST Party of Great Britain discovered a concealed microphone planted (it is alleged) by either British security or a 'foreign' government. It was operated by remote control radio. An industrial espionage investigator said, "I'm non-political and cannot say who may have put it there. But it certainly wasn't a troop of Scouts."

THE New Leader, a primarily right-wing American labour paper, says "There is a good deal of the anarchist in most Frenchmen, whatever their heritage, their rank in society, or the roles they are compelled to fill for survival. It is impossible to be pessimistic about such a nation."
Sancho Panza.

have also published in this series a volume of Individualist Anarchist Pamphlets which contains Henry Bool's "Apology for his Jeffersonian Anarchism", Lysander Spooner's "No Treason", and Edwin C. Walker's "Communism and Conscience", "Crime and Criminals" and "Pentecost and Paradox" (£3.75 + 17p, hardback). Arno in an equally unpalatably-titled series 'Mass Violence in America', have also reprinted Dyer D. Lum's Concise History of the Great Trial of the Chicago Anarchists in 1886: as condensed from the Official Records - an authoritative and sympathetic account of the Haymarket Affair (192pp, hardback, £4.00 + 23p).

Da Capo Press have reprinted Eunice Muetter Schuster's study of Native American Anarchism, originally published in 1932 and accurately subtitled "a study of Left-Wing American Individualism"; it is important in that it traces the origins of the American Anarchist Movement right back to the early seventeenth century and contains much material on this period that other histories omit, it continues its story well into the twentieth century and is a thoroughly reliable and fascinating book. (202pp, hardback, £6.00 + 23p).

George H. Sabine's mammoth and scholarly edition of The Works of Gerald Winstanley with an appendix of "Documents relating to the Digger Movement" is the finest source book into the ideas of this neglected and important albeit erratic thinker, writer and activist, whose relationship to what later became the anarchist tradition is a very close one and whose ideas have a startling relevance and immediacy - in many ways - for today. (686pp, hardback, £8 00 + 32p)

Finally, three new books, Alex Zwerdling's new study of Orwell and the Left (215pp, hardback, £4.95 + 23p), Ralph Chaplin's The Centralia Conspiracy (with an introduction by Eugene Nelson) on the murder of Wobbly Wesley Everest in 1919 (80pp, paper, £0.80 + 9p), and a welcome re-issue of Kenneth Patchen's Love and War Poems, originally published by Dennis Gould, at £0.20 + 5p (paper).

One old friend has disappeared from the catalogue. We are told that Paul Avrich's The Russian Anarchists is now out of print in paperback. We await news on the availability or otherwise of the very expensive hardback edition.

Come and see us and our wide selection of books, pamphlets and periodicals relating to anarchism. We are open from Tuesday to Friday, afternoons 2 - 6 p.m. (Thursdays until 8 p.m.), Saturdays from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Our 'Natural' Leaders

from P. 1

In our worsening economic situation, Benn has found a strong combination of policies. He combines a Crippsian urge towards state control with an appeal to shopfloor democracy which neatly side-steps the trade union leadership. T.U. leaders, of course, do not put workers' control in the forefront of their political aims. It might get out of their control, (Incidentally, very similar things are happening in France, as an article in Monday's Guardian points out.)

The truth is that Benn hasn't a clue how the worker-controlled experimental factories the Labour government is subsidizing will turn out. Not a clue. But as he ingenuously says, the workers can't make a worse mess of things than private enterprise, can they? I find this elementary reasoning impeccable. Anarchists should not assume that Benn's Bill is as businessmen say, a systematic Marxist plan, etc., etc. The businessmen are nearer the mark when they say that Benn's actions are completely speculative. It isn't workers' control as I understand it. But on balance, I'd rather have a tentative handful of state-subsidized worker-run enterprises than state-subsidized private or state enterprises. Of course, this is only a handful of factories. The heart of

Benn's Bill is the drive to nationalize vast sectors of industry. Perhaps the two aspects of Benn's policy will conflict with each other. I hope so.

I think we should be clear that if the few worker-controlled experiments fail in capitalistic profit-and-loss terms, that does not spike the guns of any workers' control movement, which does not rest on financial arguments. The need for workers to save their livelihood seems primary to me. That is what the Briant Colour Printers did, and that is what the current experiments are trying to do, for a start. I don't imagine that all the workers involved in the Meriden occupation have starry illusions about the Labour government. After all, it took them over 18 months of sitting at the gates to get some money out of the Labour government. Not the instant fairy fold that dreams are made of. Workers' control is not about instant rewards, except in terms of continuing income, grass-roots personal satisfaction and the immediate end of the prevailing material and human waste. That is why the early subject of this article, the struggle for leadership in a political party, has become irrelevant by the end of the article.

Julius.

PRESS FUND

Contributions

DOWN ! ! !
30 January - 5 February

LONDON N6: D. B. £1.15; SPOKANE, Wash.: A. R. 15p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J. L. 50p; J. K. W. 10p; LEEDS: G. L. 28p; In shop: B. L. 25p; Anon: 63p; LONDON E16: G. I. 55p; WIGAN: E. H. 50p.

TOTAL: £4.36
Previously acknowledged: £157.10
TOTAL to DATE: £161.46

Alan Charles (P.O. Box 460, Main Post Office, Berkeley, Calif., USA) is writing a libertarian critique of the Chinese Revolution. He would appreciate any material on it from an anarchist viewpoint, and also any information on the development of the anarchist movement in China (apart from Scalapino's paper) before 1949, and on the surfacing of anarchist ideas in China in more recent years.

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MEETINGS:

British Withdrawal from N. Ireland Campaign Defence Group holds open meetings every Friday, 8 p.m. at 6 Endsleigh St. London W.C.1.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club 1975 Lectures, ever second Thursday at 7 pm at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 Eighth Av. (SW corner 29th St.)

Feb. 27 Frank Brand: Individualist Anarchism
Mar. 13 Franz Fleigler: Recollections of a Wobbly

DRAFT RESISTANCE in Europe today.

Preparatory mtg. Tues. 18 Feb. 7 p.m. at PPU, 6 Endsleigh St. London WC1
Public mtgs.: Mon 10 March (in French) 7 pm London Sch. of Non-Violence, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square. Jean Fabre, militant draft resister, on the Revolutionary Implications of Draft Resistance today in Europe.

Tues. 11 March 7 pm at Friends House, Euston Rd. N.W.1 same speaker/subject in English.

Every Sat. & Sunday from 7.30 pm 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.

March 15, Blackburn: Anarchist Meeting (Agenda: contact, ideas, a

CONTACT

piss-up) at Amamus Bookshop, Market St. Lane (write AL 16 Kingsmill Lane, Whalley, Lancs.)

SWF Public Meeting: speaker on Syndicalism & Trade Unions. Sunday 23rd Feb., 3.30 p.m. at Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13.

PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS

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

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

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 Street, Edinburgh. Tel. 031-226-3073.
GLASGOW Anarchist Association, new group forming. Contact Gerry at 21 Bute Gardens, Glasgow.
MANCHESTER SWF weekly meetings. Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13.
PORTSMOUTH. Write to Rob Atkinson at 29 Havelock Rd., Southsea, Hants.

PUBLICATIONS:

Alex Comfort's Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State - copy sought for a comrade in Sweden. Please offer to Pat Thorne, Garden Flat, 22 Hampton Road, Redland, Bristol B56 6HL

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 Green-croft Gardens, London NW6(01-627-1333)

USA. Anarchist literature & syndicalist group desires correspondence & information on obtaining literature, & from people involved women's & worker struggles. Write A. Pestalozzie, Box 716 Cooper Sta., NYC, NY 10003 USA

Anarchism Lancastrium No2 (much better printed, and containing 3 gum-backed miniature posters) 8p + 3p post from AL, 16 Kingsmill Ave., Whalley, Lancs (or Freedom Booksh.)

Industrial Workers of the World-IWW - for information read 'Industrial Unionist from Freedom Bookshop or Org. C'tee, 116 Chadderton Way, Oldham, Lancs. (Greater London Local ring Watford 39124).

Read the U. S. Anarchist Monthly The Match! News, reviews, history, theory, polemic. P.O. Box 3488, Tucson, Arizona 85722 (\$3.00 per year - or try Freedom Bookshop for specimen copy 11p including post)

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