

RIGHT ROYAL ROBBERY

THE DECISION to increase the Civil List for the Queen does not mean that she and her family will be getting more money for carrying out their royal duties. The increase of £420,000 will be used to offset inflation. Three quarters of the Civil List payment will be paid out on wages for the manual and clerical workers who see that our right royal personages are kept in a very comfortable state of wellbeing.

The Queen, no doubt realising how difficult it has become to make ends meet, has generously offered to pay from her own vast fortune the royal sum of £150,000 towards the Civil List. This means that us taxpayers will only have to find another £270,000.



ARTHUR MOYSE

KAMERADSCHAFT

But as we all know, the people of this country pay out a lot more than this for their number one tourist attraction. That well known socialist millionaire Mr. Woodrow Wyatt writes in the Sunday Mirror that "We've got a Royal Bargain". However he never told his readers about the rest of the royal family, how much they get for doing nothing gracefully. But The Times gives its readers a lot more information about the right royal robbery that is perpetrated on the people. This money is hidden in the expenses of government departments; for example the Ministry of Defence included £1,000,000 in 1973-74 for the royal yacht and £890,000 for the Queen's Flight. The Queen and her family never have to pop out for writing paper as the Stationery Office very kindly gives them, from your pay packet, £104,806 a year. Not to be outdone, the Department of the Environment paid out £1,400,000 on the palaces and residences of the Royal Family.

Although some say the Queen is the richest woman in the world, we still pay

her, tax free, £4,280,000 a year. Her husband, Prince Philip, who is so very fond of telling others to work hard and is such a well known supporter of the profit motive system, gets £65,000 tax free a year. Their kids get £200,000 (Prince Charles) and £50,000 (Princess Anne), both tax free.

I for one am at a loss as to what benefits these parasites bring. They produce nothing but more kids for us to keep. They produce more traffic chaos than all the demonstrations put together. They occupy as much accommodation as to be obscene when so many people need homes. But as Woodrow Wyatt says, they do bring some glamour with the "magic of the throne". If the Royal Family and their antics bring magic to people's dull lives, including Woodrow Wyatt's, then one can only pity them and him. He is only assuming that the people want the monarchy. Little discussion is in fact encouraged on the subject of the most privileged set of persons in the country. It lacks taste to attack the monarchy since they can't reply. But let them reply by all means, let them justify their existence in the lap of luxury. They know they can't, the government knows they can't and the press knows they can't. And so we are fed the rubbish about 'glamour', about setting an example of the ideal family, holding the country together, etcetera.

The truth is that the kings and queens and the hangers-on have robbed and murdered not only other members of the ruling class but also the people of this country. They have taken their lands, their homes and their money and have grown rich and powerful.

Now that power resides elsewhere in our capitalist system, the ruling class's ability to absorb change and remain the same shows itself clearly in the retention of a Constitutional Monarchy. It is a shield of glamour to a circus, a public spectacle, a piece of bad theatre, a useful distraction put on by the establishment. The royal personages are a showpiece to look up to, instead of looking at ourselves and questioning the exploitive nature of the capitalist system.

They are, however, mere symbols of privilege, power, and an unequal society. To attack the monarchy is attacking windmills, for it leaves the real enemies of the people, the capitalist system and the State, untouched.

P.T.

HOLY CRUSADE AGAINST WOMEN

IT HAS been said that laws are made to be broken. One might perhaps add that laws are made to be amended and extended ad infinitum, thereby providing ever greater justification for the existence of government.

Needless to say if the right to contraception, let alone to abortion, had always been openly recognised by society and government there would be no need today for MPs to wax indignant about the abuses of private clinics and the exploitation of women. Yet if the 1967 Abortion Act is toughened to reduce the number of abortions and cut out the "social" clause, as well as to prevent foreign women from treatment in this country, the effect will be to add mortal wound to injury. For to put an end to the unscrupulous financial exploitation of women by denying them the right of abortion is rather like curing a sick patient by cutting off his head (though no doubt this has been done).

The hypocrisy as well as the hysteria, is not limited to Britain's anti-abortionists. In France, where Simone Veil recently managed to get abortion liberalised, anti-abortionists like the mayor of Toulouse were heard to cry, "You must think not of public opinion but of the Last Judgement..." A "reformist" deputy lamented that "men are never considered when it comes to abortion".

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STAMPING OUT PRESS FREEDOM

WE HAVE BEEN treated to a great deal of slightly hypocritical pleading by the well-endowed and well-indoctrinated Fleet Street press on the menace to press freedom of a threatened closed shop (which will supposedly menace the freedom of the press). The freedom of the press is perpetually being raped, ravished and almost destroyed by that self-same financial endowment and interest and self-same indoctrination and outlook of the well-established press. The real menace to a free press comes from elsewhere.

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The establishment of the penny post in 1840 was hailed by many as a triumph. For example, R. M. Ballantyne writes (1880) "It is impossible to form a just estimate of the value of cheap postage to the nation - I may say to the world. Trade has been increased, correspondence extended, intelligence deepened, and mental activity stimulated." Sir Rowland Hill himself said the Post Office was "capable of performing a distinguished part in the great work of national education". Ballantyne also reports that the penny post resulted in "the entire cessation of the illicit smuggling of letters [the Post Office is a monopoly]". Despite penal laws, some carriers had been doing as large a business in illegal conveyance of letters as the Post-Office itself. There is something naive about the Victorian belief in the inevitability of progress and the beneficial effects of the widespread (and cheap) dissemination of information but it has its points.

Nevertheless the fabric of the real society of mankind is not made up by Fleet Street posturings but by the association of like-minded and mutually interested groups of people often scattered throughout the country - indeed the world - whose main, and often only, communication is through the publication and circulation (largely by post) of journals, magazines and newsletters. Whether they be theosophists, cartophiles, beekeepers, flat earthers, freethinkers, tropical fish breeders or like us, anarchists, the postal service is a vital life-line. Now for many, that life-line is in danger of snapping.

The Post Office announced in January that they were applying to the Prices Commission and the Post Office Users' Council for the highest ever series of proposed increase of charges. Second class letters will rise from 3½p to 5p; first class from 4½p to 7p½. Overseas 'printed paper reduced' (to keep to the figures which affect us) will rise probably by about 100%. These figures are provisional, are not expected to come into effect until April and - of course - are subject to the not very difficultly obtained permission of the Prices Commission and the Users' Council, the first of which is a government agency, the second is not very militant. Since the government was determined that the Post Office should be a self-supporting organization all its functions have to make a profit or break even. Previously it did make a profit.

The effects of these crippling rises on the innumerable little newspapers can be imagined. Papers like the Freethinker, Peace News, and Socialist Leader have already gone fortnightly (the first in fact monthly) because of rising costs. Anarchist papers like Anarchy, Black Flag, Direct Action and Wildcat dependent largely on postal subscriptions will find this 60% increase a hammer blow. Indeed, the government seems to be stamping out freedom of expression.

One might argue, "increase subscriptions". We do not know how others are fixed but we gain the impression that our subscribers are not wealthy and besides, one does not wish (although governments and others seem determined to do it) to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. In any case many subscriptions are paid in advance (that means you, comrade, have you done so?) and the approximate extra £12+ a week would have to be found elsewhere.

The second choice - familiar to capitalism - is to reduce overheads. We are functioning on a shoestring already. Hardly anybody - apart from our commercial printer - is paid. Two comrades receive a grant for travelling expenses, one of which is from private sources. Otherwise our overheads are cut to the bone. The possibility exists of the use of an alternative method of printing but this is still in an exploratory stage. Parallel with the need to cut down overheads is the need to increase circulation, which is slowly rising but we still need more subscribers.

The third credible choice is to go fortnightly. That is to double the size, double the price and preserve the same production schedule but post off the enlarged paper fortnightly. In this way existing subscriptions can be honoured with the minimum of change. There are certain snags - e.g. lack of topicality - in this method of production but what do you think?

We shall be glad to receive your opinions on the matter between now and April. Our fourth choice - which we are resolved to fight against - is to close down but with your continuing help and encouragement we shall resist.

Furthermore we feel that a protest should go up against this murderous blow to freedom of the press. We feel that there are many journals situated like us to whom this will be a death-blow. Who will protest?

Freedom Collective.

'TAKE ME TO YOUR LEADER'

AS EVER, this week we have been haunted, threatened and cajoled with the issue of leadership. Margaret (who except the Guardian could ever call her Maggie?) Thatcher was elected leader of the Conservative Party: it was pointed out to us (and Willie Hamilton) how lucky we were to have a queen as leader instead of a nasty expensive president; the president-leader of Malagasy was assassinated with extraordinary promptitude; the leader of Bangladesh took on extreme powers; in case anyone is interested the Synod of Bishops in the Lebanon elected its patriarch unanimously on the 58th ballot. . . but then why go on? We are painfully aware that the history and progress - if any - of mankind is measured in terms of the history and progress of its leaders.

Mrs. Thatcher's decisively acquired leadership of the Tory party and the humbling defeat of Ted Heath cannot be placed entirely to the credit of Mrs. Thatcher's manifold talents nor entirely to the fact that this is Women's Year. Nor can it be put down to the fact that her campaign manager (Airey Neave) once engineered escapes from Colditz prison, although this brief and minuscule campaign had startling resemblances to the deplorable razz-me-tazz of American electoral rallies. The simple fact is that such elections inevitably tend to elect the mediocrity and the time-server, the candidate who offends no-one (either by his genius or lack of it) or who can, or can employ someone to, manoeuvre men and events in the candidate's favour.

That the situation is, we are unceasingly told, one of crisis makes it easier, not harder, for new political talent to make it. Things are so desperate for the country and the Conservative Party (practically synonymous) that they are willing to try anything and anybody

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"Good Heavens, man, why don't you want a leader?"
---"Because I ain't going anywhere!"

THIS IRELAND

AT THE time of writing the big news is the announcement of an open-ended ceasefire by the provisionals but let us wait longer before rushing into groundless speculations on producing yet another "analysis" of the situation: a few bombs in the night can bring us all back to square one in a hurry and it is doubtful, to say the least, if the IRA army council are able to control all their armed units, not to mention the splinter groups, for any considerable length of time. In one respect the provisionals were defeated long ago and that is in their plan to create a federal Ireland controlled by the IRA. The reaction provoked among northern Protestants by the continued IRA campaign of violence put paid to that. Their plan for an Eire Nua (New Ireland) is today hardly worth the paper it is written on.

There is at least one man who will not welcome a continued ceasefire and that is Ian Paisley, particularly with the Convention elections looming early this year. It is not merely that Paisley prefers a background of violence for his election campaigns (this helps avoid discussion of serious social issues) but the reverend doctor is well aware that he has plenty of enemies in the Protestant camp and under peacetime conditions the tenuous unity binding together the Protestant factions might dissolve. Already some signs of strain are beginning to show.

Ken Gilson of the Ulster Volunteer Force has been conducting in the press, on the radio and TV a hard-hitting campaign against the leaders of the United Ulster Unionist Council. His argument is that the UVF and the other Protestant paramilitary organisations have done all the fighting but the loyalist politicians have grabbed all the power. And if the paramilitary outfits aren't assured seats in the Convention (the UUUC might have to step down in some areas to ensure this) they plan to launch a campaign to discredit the politicians in the eyes of the loyalist community - some interesting things ought to come out in the wash. It will be more than a whispering camp-

PRINCE and POLICE IN NEW ALLIANCE

DURING a couple of broadcasts recently France's Minister of the Interior, prince Michel Poniatowski, broke the country's peace to complain of the "clemency of the judges" and give his blessing to a reinforcement of police powers. The police, he said, should be able to "penetrate everywhere", including churches and universities.

Poniatowski's statement is similar to one made some time ago by the then general secretary of the UDR (Gaullist) party, René Tomasini, who told journalists of the "cowardice" of the magistrates and added, "It is not possible that citizens defying public order should maintain a latent state of anarchy. Under the Occupation magistrates became

again however as Gilson has called for a high level meeting between the politicians and the leaders of the UDA/UVF next Wednesday (12.2.75) and issued a strong warning: "We want this meeting to take place in the interests of unity but if the politicians are not at Vanguard HQ on Wednesday they will be giving the green light for a Provisional Government in Northern Ireland. It will be treason but I warn the politicians - we mean it." He revealed that plans had been drawn up to paralyse Ulster in the same way as the Ulster Workers' Council did last May and that the UWC and paramilitary groups had restructured their co-ordinating committee which would act as the controlling body of the provisional government.

But if the paramilitary groups and the politicians fail to reach an agreement then the UWC may not find it so easy as it was last time. On this occasion they will probably be opposed by the loyalist politicians and the army, and the Royal Ulster Constabulary may be brought into action against them. Whatever happens one is always assured nowadays that we have very few dull moments in Ulster.

The Shankill Road is never dull nowadays at any rate. According to reports the road has been taken over by gangsters and traders are being forced to pay out to protection racketeers. The Ulster Defence Association is an organisation that springs to mind in connection with political gangsterism though they would doubtless deny any such allegation. But only the other week two young girl members of the UDA were sentenced for battering another young woman to death with bricks within the premises of a UDA club. They had thoughtfully sent the young woman's six year old daughter off to buy sweets while the deed was being committed and the child returned and stood knocking at the door while her mother was being murdered inside. Can one attach any degree of credibility to the statements issued by such an organisation?

H. B.

careful. But the French people must understand that the police sergeant is the representative of liberty."

The Minister's declaration is only really a formal recognition of what already takes place. The order of Villers-Cotterêts in 1539 abolished the right of sanctuary in France, but there have been many cases, especially in wartime, when Jews, Resisters and collaborators were able to take refuge in church establishments. Last year, however, police brutally expelled from the cathedral of Bayonne 24 Basque political refugees on hunger strike.

As one commentator put it in Le Monde, "Our civilisation no longer knows the right of sanctuary. It has been, it is true, in constant retreat since the Middle Ages."

G. F.

LEADERS . continued from Page 2
- they lost two elections and the miners' strike. The national 'crisis' makes it even easier to lead, solving the crisis is another matter. But such is the distress and perplexity of a considerable number of the electorate that they are ready, anxious and willing to place their fate, no questions asked, into the hands of anyone who displays a talent for leadership - which can be mistaken for the genius to solve the problems of whatever is the current crisis.

Anyone can govern in a state of siege. Wartime is the supreme example but economic crises produce the hour and the man. Winston Churchill for example was rejected by most political parties as unstable and the disastrous occasion of his taking over the premiership was a disaster occasioned by Churchill himself (the Norwegian invasion). De Gaulle was known to be a megalomaniac and Stalin's paranoia and brutality were well-known.

The cry for leadership is usually a cry of despair. Weak and ineffectual people voice their need for a leader and his triumphs are their triumphs, his defeat is their defeat. They hope he (or she) will lead them to the Promised Land but (as Debs said) 'If I could lead you to the Promised Land somebody else could lead you out again'. This may explain why authoritarian personalities (who are half-slave anyhow) switch over so readily from Communism to Fascism.

W. K. Clifford said that it is just as wicked to obey as to command.

There is some confusion between authority (in the sense of expert knowledge in a particular field) and the authoritarianism of the politician and the would-be leader. One often defers to 'authority' in a particular field and to a well-defined limit but the politician often has little expert knowledge and the would-be leader has often none. (Mrs. Thatcher qualified as a chemist, a barrister and a grocer's daughter - she was placed in charge of education). The politician pretends knowledge of manifold subjects, sometimes all on the same day at the same session of parliament. The would-be leader has little to go on except the blind obedience of his subjects. His views - whether they be Hitler's on race or Stalin's on linguistics or genetics or the odious Kim Il Sung's on cornstarch are accepted as the gospel truth.

We are told that a visiting Martian descended on the senile platitudinous President Eisenhower while the latter was engaged in the puerile and unskilled game of golf. His demand, "Take me to your leader!" produced astonishment and an astounding reply. Why should Martians be surprised? Did not Caligula elect his horse?

Jack Robinson.

POLITICS TODAY

THE PRICE of No. 1 of the above "Terrorism", mentioned in our review (Genius of Terror, 8.2.75) is 15p (post 5p), from Freedom Bookshop.

"THE so-called 'technocrats' make up an increasingly important section of the middle class, be it because of their constantly growing numbers, or because they are becoming indispensable to the management of a complex society, or because, (given that in the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king) they consider that their scientific and technical expertise gives them the right to go after high positions in the everyday running of society. As a result the apparatus of the State and of high finance are finding it increasingly difficult to absorb the flood of professional graduates who find their aspiration of getting into the hierarchy frustrated, and turn to shaking up society (calling themselves the champions of the poor) as their only way out."

As far as it goes this is an opinion that libertarians, looking at what is happening in Mexico, could make their own, even if its author is no other than Daniel Cosío Villegas, the best contem-

The I.R.P. makes the elections, and Luis Echeverría is a product of the I.R.P. His career, entirely within the party apparatus, was accomplished without any great noise. What distinguishes him from his predecessors, however, is the fact that he is linked with the emerging group of economists, administrators and technocrats, as opposed to the party "elders" who for the most part come from the traditional political breeding ground - barristers, solicitors, subproducts of revolutionary phrasemongering. Echeverría, that is, embodies the nature of the problems that face the country and which the regime has to solve.

What were and what are these problems? A rapid increase of the population creating visible unemployment as much in the country as in the town; an internal market restricted by a national industry which is protected but of low productivity; the necessity of importing expensive technology; stagnant agriculture; a deficit in the balance of payments and considerable overseas debts.

ECHEVERRÍA: PRESIDENT OF THE TECHNOCRATS

porary Mexican historian, formerly a councillor to the Bank of Mexico, and scarcely an extremist in either opinions or temperament.

This opinion is one not shared by left wing intellectuals in the land of the Aztecs, nor by those who express their opinions about the regime of President Echeverría from a distance. In fact, it's fashionable among European "progressive" circles to sympathize with the political programme, the behaviour and the language of Mexico's supremo; a sympathy generally shared by the Latin American left. Both of them conveniently forget that this same Echeverría was Secretary of the Interior at the time of the massacre of the students in Mexico City in 1968, against which these same intellectuals protested at the time... Words certainly possess a peculiar power in the hands of those whose trade is reasoning.

Luis Echeverría was elected president in July 1970 with 12 million votes, against Gonzales Morfin, the candidate of the National Action Party, who only got 2 million votes. The presidential elections are a simple formality since whoever is designated candidate of the I.R.P. - the Institutional Revolutionary Party - automatically becomes president. The only interest of the elections is the measurement of electoral participation: this time it was mediocre; a third of the electors abstained, especially in the urban centres. This fact indicates not only scepticism about the official party, but an equal lack of trust in the scarcely less official opposition, and disinterest in the whole system.

The measures proposed by the candidate and carried out by the president are the classic ones; export drives, tax reforms aimed at attracting the means of self-financing, stricter business controls over private enterprises, the curtailment of a series of grants to businesses whose production is not considered essential to the national economy, a war on speculators. In brief, intervention by the state which already has majority holdings in a large part of industry and finance.

This nationalist policy has been reinforced by positions taken up on the international level. Echeverría has put himself forward as one of the champions of the claims of Latin America as a whole, which are based on the upward revaluation of primary commodities and tropical products, and on the abandonment by the USA of its protectionist tariff barriers. This policy explains the enthusiasm of both Latin American and European left wing currents, since it links anti-Americanism to an exploitation of natural resources which calls on the aid of the ever more numerous layers of an intelligentsia which feels that it is thereby close approaching the onset of its historic function.

To be objective, there was, with Echeverría, an appeal for discussion, a reaction against the heavy and dismal bureaucracy, a desire to encourage criticism. It is this which explains both the hope aroused among the opposition and the politically outcast, and the trust of men like Octavio Paz, Carlos Fuentes and Pablo Gonzales Casanova in the experiments of the new presidency. In this way a convergence was created between Echeverría's desire to eliminate the sclerotic and paralysed ruling élites, the

thrust of the new generations, and the enthusiasm of innovators who had been held down until then by censorship, self-censorship and conformism.

The change, proposed, anticipated and supported, did not disturb the system, which marvelled at its modernisation. Power remained in the same hands, but its exercise was about to be entrusted to young officials, full of imagination. No call, however, was made on either the peasants in the provinces under the control of large landowners and their accomplices in the official administration, nor on a working class whose unions are instruments of the ruling power.

In short, it was a question of integrating the categories of candidates for office in the administration of the country into the existing party-class-state regime.

In other words, it was possible to say that there had been a swing to the left; and this caused the formation of a variety of oppositions; by the old bureaucracy and their clientele; and by the bosses' Confederation which intends to see that its members continue to benefit from public credit facilities, from favourable customs regulations, and from their workers whose wages have not followed the rapid increase in prices. This opposition does not include the explosion of movements of discontent in Guerrero state, where this time the peasants - and not students from the cities - have undertaken guerilla actions against the police and the army.

Moreover, the international situation has created new problems; inflation and increases in the price of imported products. In so far as the "presidential management" has to take account of the short term rather than being able to make long term plans, and relies on various classes of the "popular sector" (statutorily, the I.R.P. depends on three sectors; the peasants, the workers, and the commercial sector which includes both small traders and large industrialists), it cannot mobilise either working class forces or peasant forces without risking the continued existence of the regime. It cannot seek or find solutions or palliatives except within the regime itself, or in repression if tensions become more serious and discontent bursts out. In the same way, the response to internal difficulties of an economic nature will be an increase in state controls and in more nationalisation.

What arouses the admiration of the intellectual left is not the degree of worker or peasant participation in the daily life and destiny of Mexico, nor the socialist nature of presidential decisions, but the role it sees being played by its counterparts in the administration of the country, with a strong party as its intermediary.

What could be more intoxicating for aspirants to power than to hear Leopoldo Solís, the official in charge of national social and economic planning, defining his objectives: "The national strategy must first of all seek to increase the efficiency of the administra-

THE GREAT TRADE

LAST SUMMER, for a couple of weeks, I was at a Natural Hygienic Health School, a place, basically, to fast. People attending there are from all parts of the country. They're called guests.

It was these GUESTS that intrigued me more than anything else, their attitude. Practically everyone I talked to told me that when their fast is over and they get out of here, they'll do as they please, like eating the kinds of food they want, going to bed when they want, etc. BUT LONG AS THEY'RE HERE, in order to achieve what they want (usually weight-loss), THEY'LL GO ALONG WITH WHATEVER THE PLACE PRESCRIBES, NO MATTER HOW TRIVIAL OR DEMEANING. They thus, for what they want, trade in certain basic liberties.

It struck me that this attitude of theirs - this Great Trade - is just about everywhere!

A man drafted for the military, though he generally wants no part of it, will generally go anyway. He gives the State what it wants in order to get what HE wants, which is, after his hitch, to be left alone (though he'll never really be left alone so long as the State exists). "I'll do what they want, then I'll do what I want!"

Many women don't want to get married. But marry they do. They give the System what it wants in order to get what THEY want, SECURITY (sometimes known as selling your soul for a mess of pottage).

Many people don't want to STAY married. They want sexual variety. But rather than openly refuse the System of "one per customer", they obey it superficially while secretly getting "something on the side". The price for this particular Great Trade is sneakery, a price people go on and on paying.

Most people hate their jobs. But on they go with them! If present work means more pay, they'll forego work they like better. For that extra-shekel,

extra-security, they trade in their heart's desire! (Or trade in their humanity itself, what with that study, a few years back on people, after being assured the experiment was conducted under legitimate auspices, actually taking jobs to see how many electric shocks a person can take!)

Everyday I see situations like so: A woman, deeply sensitive, loves music, writes poetry - really another Emily Dickinson - because she daily gives herself to the State as a social worker, is daily impoverished of expression (and nightly too tired). A fellow loves philosophy but, because he'll by-and-by be supporting a family in the prescribed manner, goes into the mechanized Law School. And so on. One can't help seeing on these faces, beneath the smug smiles, a daily, HOURLY, draining-away of the soul. The System calls it standing-on-your-own-two-feet. I call it sitting-on-your-own-potentiality. The System calls it pragmatic, politic. I call it Tragic.

So it goes, up and down the culture, the Great Trade. It's really how the System keeps functioning. The day people refuse to trade, that day will the inflated Authoritarianism deflate, sag.

All humans, believe it or not, are creative, all, one way or another, talented. The difference between genius and ordinary person is not that the former is gifted but rather that he does what he wants WHATEVER THE PRESSURE (like on-and-on pressure to "make a living", "get a job"). He refuses, in other words, to make the Great Trade. Then we think he's unique! He is, but in PERSEVERANCE, not innate gift. In, that is, non-conformism.

Ralph Waldo Emerson said, to be a man is to be a non-conformist. Aside from the fact that he could have included woman, those words are something to ponder. As Henry Thoreau pondered...and practiced. Or as G. Bernard Shaw put it, "The reasonable man adapts himself to the world; the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore, all progress depends upon the unreasonable man."

Capitalism is the System's pillar. So is the State. But at the base of these pillars are a swarm of persons, each helping to keep these pillars propped up for what each gets in return. The Great, yes, Trade. But always a bad one. The System always cheats.

Or as James Madison put it, "The State never gives without getting more in return."

Sam Cohen
Detroit.

In Brief

The Toulouse Collective for Spain, a grouping of leftist organisations and parties, organised a demonstration in support of "Spanish workers in their struggle" on Friday evening, 14th Feb. About fifteen hundred people took part in the demonstration, which was officially supported by the C.F.D.T. Black flags, red flags and Basque flags adorned the body of the demonstration as it moved off from the Place Jeanne-d'Arc down the main streets of the town, to shouts of "Free the political prisoners!" "Freedom for the G.A.R.I." "Franco assassin, Giscard and Poniatowski accomplices!". There were no incidents. Large forces of police were stationed all around the town: the Spanish Consulate, Spanish buildings and the Law Court were particularly strongly defended.

(Translated from "Le Monde" 16-17.2.75 by

PORTUGUESE workers occupied the offices of the Lisbon newspaper O Seulo (which claims the largest circulation in Portugal). They dismissed the editor and banned management from the premises and blamed them for the paper's poor economic situation.

AN INTERVIEW being given by newly-released Mr. Alexander Paton, at Heathrow Airport, was cut short when he was hustled away by Daily Express reporters. As he left he shouted: "I've had 14 months of the KGB - now I'm back in their hands again. This is absolutely ridiculous." Mr. Paton was serving a 2-year sentence in Russia for accidentally setting fire to a Leningrad hotel. The Express is thought to have bought Mr. Paton's story through his mother.

UNTIL 100 people turned up for the funeral of Sgt. Charles Franklin, (a dambuster hero who died in his best, home in Birmingham) it was feared he would have to be given a pauper's funeral.

I.R. INDUSTRIES, Britain's largest producer of contraceptive sheaths (Durex), is alleged by the Monopolies Commission to be making excessive profits. (The Commission has recommended massive price cuts.) The chairman of the company says it is inconceivable: "We do not accept the commission's conclusions or the viability of their recommendations."

CHELMSFORD POLICE, who have been particularly zealous in their raids on sex clubs, have been banned by the Chief Constable from having a 'stag' party with a stripper.

HUNGARY: Rumours of corruption in Hungarian football resulted in a national conference on "Ideological Training for Sportsmen", calling for efforts to "imbue young sportsmen with the spirit of socialist patriotism".

tive apparatus as a whole. Both the administrative reforms and the work of economic planning must be of a permanent character, with the aim of a continual comparison between the objectives being pursued and the results obtained, with a view to setting up work-groups who will be given a double goal: harmonisation of the aims and policies of the national strategy and of each economic sector; making sure that short term measures do not conflict with long term goals."

S. Parane

(Translated from the February, 1975 issue of "A - Rivista Anarchica". DLM)

ABSTAIN!!

Comrades,

One would have thought that Francis Ellingham (FREEDOM 8.2.75) would be capable of understanding that the referendum will not be a choice between the common market and a society not dominated by multi-nationals, but would be by implication a vote for the status quo ante, or for such alternative arrangement as it may please Harold Wilson to make.

Moreover - remembering the Little England xenophobia whipped up by the so-called Left at the last event, with Brigshaw putting out pamphlets in conjunction with the Daily Express "Put Britain First"; the left of Tribune suddenly announcing that Great Britain and the Commonwealth are examples to the world of democracy and justice - one can assume that the alliance uniting Enoch Powell and Clive Jenkins in favour of British capitalism will be none too choosy about raising racist passions in its campaign against the Market.

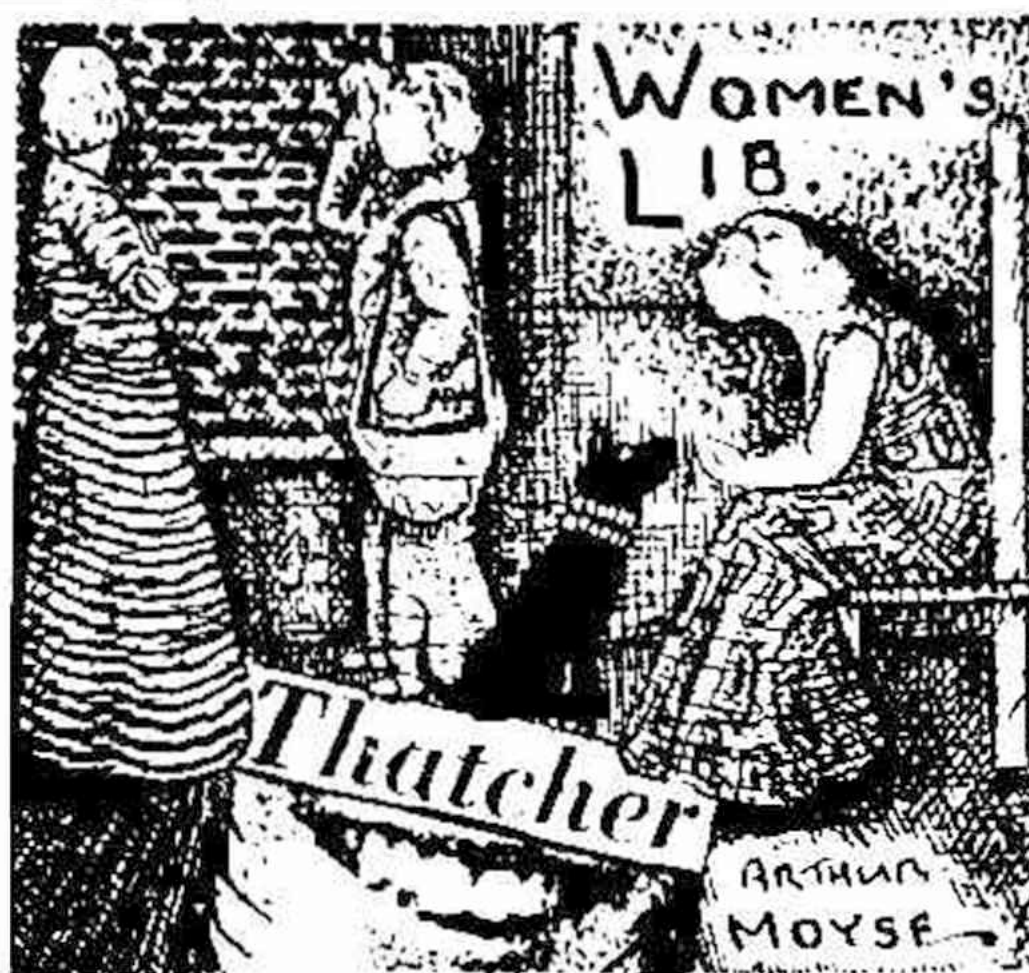
LETTER

There might be one reason for considering departing from the traditional anarchist insistence on abstention; but it is a reason that would tend dangerously near opportunism. If - as seems almost certain - Wilson is now determined to stay in the Market whichever way the referendum goes and is hoping that the poll will be low enough, or close enough, not to give him a clear mandate; then the higher the poll and the larger the majority against staying in, the more he will expose the crookedness of the Labour Party.

Ellingham says the choice is that anarchists can either express a view on the Market or not; by implication suggesting that abstention is not to express a view - the very argument that is always used against us at General Elections. However he ought by now to know that anarchist abstention usually involves spoiling a ballot paper and that it will not be hard to write in that one neither wants to belong to a corporate-capitalist EEC nor to a corporate-capitalist independent UK.

Fraternaly,
Laurens Otter.

THE SPANISH Supreme Court cut prison sentences on ten men convicted (as the Sunday Telegraph says) 'of being clandestine trade union leaders'. The military commander of the Madrid Region told a meeting of army officers (and doubtless referring to the reduced sentences) that the armed services would not stand by idly while attempts were made to bring down the regime.



MOVEMENT BRIEFS

C.I.R.A. (International Centre for Research into Anarchism, located in Geneva) have produced, in collaboration with Librairie Adversaire (also of Geneva) a small book entitled Société et contre-société chez les anarchistes et les anti-autoritaires. It's basically an attempt to describe the motivations and situations of anarchist movements both in the past and in the present. It concentrates on the European scene, though there is one article on the history of the movement in Argentina. The work arose from a conference held at C.I.R.A. at the time of the centenary celebrations of the St. Imier meeting of the anti-authoritarian International, in 1972, though all the contributions have been re-worked. It could be seen as a French-language version of Anarchism Today by Apter and Joll, though written this time by anarchists and not academics. We hope to publish a more considered review at a later date. The book costs 10 Swiss francs. Get in touch with Freedom Bookshop if you wish to obtain a copy.

Irving Levitas has produced a 448-page thesis on Benjamin Tucker. It is entitled The Unterrified Jeffersonian: Benjamin Tucker; a study of Native American Anarchism as exemplified in his life and times. It's available from Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan U.S.A. in either microfilm (\$5.00) or xerox (\$11.00) from. As they charge extra for postage, it might be advisable for anybody in this country wishing to get a copy to try their British subsidiary, University Microfilms in Reading.

We have received belated (by the postal system) news from the Mexican Anarchist Federation of their plans to set up a Louise Michel Study Centre. In their manifesto dated June 1974, the F.A.M. state that the basic functions of the centre will be to provide a library and archive, a cinema club, to undertake cultural and artistic activities, to be a centre for investigations and documentation, and finally to provide a cafeteria. 1974 seems to have been the year for such projects. We have become aware of a centre for anarchist documentation within the Italian Institute for Historical Research in Rome, and of an equivalent to CIRA in Japan. Although we have heard no more positive news of the Camillo Berneri Study Centre, whose foundation we reported last year, we hope that progress is being made, and that some kind of international co-ordination between these centres will come about, in the anarchist tradition of internationalism.

D. L. M.

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FREEDOM PRESS publishes pamphlets and books on anarchism. Recently off the press is Paul Avrich's BAKUNIN & NECHAEV (32pp) 20p (post 5p), USA 65 c post free.

Other titles include Nicolas Walter's ABOUT ANARCHISM what anarchists believe, how anarchists differ... (Originally published as No. 100 of the monthly journal Anarchy and since reprinted in several languages. 15p (3p) USA 40c post free.

About 50 of the 118 issues of Anarchy are still available.

Errico Malatesta's ANARCHY in a new translation from the original Italian, with biographical note. (54 pp). 25p (5p) USA 75c post free.

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Annual Volumes of SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM' published between 1954 and 1964, containing articles on many topics which are topical today.

SEND FOR OUR COMPLETE LIST

SPAIN

EDO and URBANO TRIAL

LAST WEEK which saw the successful appeal by the "Carabanchel Ten" for a reduction in the length of their prison sentences (and resulted in the immediate release of four of them) against a background of intense labour unrest and agitation, also saw, on Thursday, the opening of the trial of Luis Andres Edo and David Urbano Bermudez, both well known anarchists, for illegal trade union activities, namely the reactivation of the C.N.T.

By the time of going to press we have been unable to get a report, but hope to publish one next week.

D. L. M.

ON visiting Brixton, Mr. Roy Jenkins, the Home Secretary, was confronted by demonstrators carrying placards protesting over unemployment and ghetto conditions. Mr. Jenkins did not talk to the demonstrators. When he asked an 'official' who they were he was told that they were protesting on behalf of the Shrewsbury two.

Mr. Peter Ward (one of 3 in the Leeds corruption trial) said he did not see anything wrong in a councillor being paid for his support, provided he declared his interest. Replying, Mr. Justice Caulfield told Ward, 'You would not expect the Minister of Defence to get a cut out of every battleship, would you?'

BOOKSHOP NOTES

All the titles mentioned in this article are available from Freedom Bookshop

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THE HISTORIES of Anarchism and Utopianism are very closely linked and often overlap. The most widely known and loved history of Utopianism from an anarchist viewpoint is Marie-Louise Berneri's Journey through Utopia (£2 + 17p post) which "travels" from Plato to Huxley via More, Bacon, Winstanley and many others.

Winstanley's writings are available on their own in two different volumes, George H. Sabine's mammoth work of scholarship The Works of Gerrard S. Winstanley containing all of his known writings (686pp, £8 + 32p post) and Christopher Hill's recent Winstanley: The Law of Freedom and other writings (75p + 13p post).

Dover Press in the United States have published some interesting titles on Utopianism and Communities in America, including Mark Holloway's Heavens on Earth (£1 + 15p), Charles Nordhoff The Communitist Societies of the United States: some personal observations - a classic study originally published in 1875 (£1.68 + 23p); and George B. Lockwood's study of The New Harmony Movement (£1.96 + 23p).

Frank E. Manuel has edited two books in this field, the first, together with Fritz P. Manuel, French Utopias: an Anthology of Ideal Societies including contributions by Cyrano de Bergerac, Rabelais, Rousseau, Diderot, de Sade, Babeuf, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, Anatole France and Tailhard de Chardin, among others (£2.20 + 23p). The second is Utopias and Utopian Thought with contributions from Lewis Mumford, Northrop Frye, Crane Briten and Paul Tillich and is on the wider aspects of utopias and community living rather than specific studies of particular experiments.

Martin Buber's classic Paths in Utopia includes critical assessments of Proudhon, Kropotkin, Landauer, Marx and Lenin - an important book by an im-

portant libertarian thinker of the twentieth century (£1.95 + 9p).

Charles Fourier was a unique and often bizarre thinker who wrote widely on many different aspects of libertarianism and is a notoriously difficult writer to bring into the very restricting, organised format of a single volume anthology. Two, or rather three, editors who have managed it better than most are Mark Poster (Harmonian Man: selected writings of Charles Fourier, £1.30 + 11p) and Jonathan Beecher & Richard Bienvenu (The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier, £1.75 + 23p).

* * *

Lastly, on a totally different note, an important new book by an old friend of Freedom Press; William J. Fishman's East End Jewish Radicals 1875-1914 (£6.50 + 23p). This will be reviewed more fully in FREEDOM shortly; suffice it to say here that it is a very important contribution to our knowledge of a much neglected area of libertarian new light upon such important figures as Rocker and Lieberman and, as importantly, a whole host of lesser known and unknown libertarians and radicals who agitated in the sweat shops and radical clubs of London's East End.

J. H.

PRESS FUND

Contributions

6 - 12 February

WESTON, Ont.: A.B. £25.05;
NEW YORK: R. S.C. £15.30; LONDON N. 13: M. & S.G. 25p; MIAMI: Miami Group per S.G. £20.80; NEW YORK: N.M. £1; LONDON SW2: M.S.d'I. £6; COLCHESTER: T.O. £2; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 50p; J.K.W. 10p; SOUTH YARRA, Aust. J.F. £25; Anarchism Lancastrium 80p.

TOTAL: £97.35

Previously acknowledged £161.46

TOTAL TO DATE: £258.81

Premises Fund: New York: P.C. £41.60; T.K. & J. W. £10.

LETTER

ANTI-DEMOS

Comrades,

J.R. ("Death Wish" 8.2.75) in mentioning the demos against the Portuguese CDS and "leftist" demos against the National Front here in the same breath confuses two totally dissimilar issues.

While there may be danger that Gen. Walker or Col. Stirling might in Britain stage a military-rightist coup, there is not much likelihood of the National Front playing any significant part in such a putsch.

The CDS (cf. Peter Pringle's article in the Sunday Times 2.2.75) has amongst its six leaders four former members of the Salazar Government. Given the natural fears of a counter-coup in the Portuguese masses, demonstrations against the CDS express a widely held feeling of the Portuguese working class and even if the demos themselves are the action of miniscule groupings they will be understood by the masses to express their aspirations.

Demonstrations here against the National Front (as distinct from the pre-war and post-war demos against Mosley) represent the decision by an elitist minority that the working class shall not be allowed to hear the fascists and judge for themselves. They are not attacks against a possible future dictatorship, they are not actions in defence of the threatened negro-masses since the punch-ups occur not in Brixton but in Red Lion Square, Marble Arch or anywhere else that can be found outside working class residential areas.

Nor indeed were the demos in Oporto of a type designed to prevent the CDS conference being held at all; yes I know that the press have made much of the fact that somewhere someone fired a shot, but the Grauniad (despite its desire to depict Portugal as about to fall into the hands of a communist dictatorship) printed an eyewitness account that said the demonstrations were good tempered, refraining from threats and violence against the delegates individually when these appeared. They were designed to stress that the party and its leadership were considered revanchist, that the masses of western pressmen should not see the CDS - however their papers were to describe it - as just a Liberal-Conservative party but as a fascist one.

There is a fairly fundamental distinction - even speaking as a pacifist-anarchist - between a violent attempt to prevent a party meeting at all and an initial attempt to voice one's disapproval in the vicinity with a readiness if this is attacked violently to use a certain amount of force to defend one's own demonstration without thereby molesting those at the meeting who have not themselves resorted to force. There might be pragmatic and tactical grounds for condemning the latter as well as the former, but whereas the former is illibertarian and must be condemned on principle in all circumstances, the latter is a matter of tactics which would depend on circumstances.

Fraternally,
Jolfe Rosse.

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ABORTION... continued from Page 1

While a Gaullist deputy found "abnormal and horrible the idea of adapting law to customs" (!)

In Boston, U.S.A. an obstetrician was convicted of manslaughter because he failed to try to save the life of a 1½ lb fetus. The jury was (according to the Observer) predominantly male and predominantly Catholic.

In Italy where under the old fascist penal code abortion is condemned as a "crime against the sanity of the race", mass protests followed the recent closing down of a modern abortion clinic in Florence and the imprisonment of the head of the Radical party, Gianfranco Spadaccia, for the party's involvement in abortion practice.

Theocratic Italy has provided a particularly eloquent example of the bitter civil conflict which quite unnecessarily arises from government interference in so delicate a question of individual conscience and freedom. The Florentine clinic had been running for several months and had carried out abortions on thousands of women from all over the country. It had used the modern and painless Karman method now practised in Britain and France. Because politically motivated the staff had charged fees well below the norm and had in fact carried out free abortions on women too poor to pay. The closure of the clinic,

together with the imprisonment of Spadaccia and others such as Adele Faccio (whose arrest during a meeting in Rome prompted an outburst of anarchist songs among the delegates) brought masses of women to Florence from Rome, Bologna, Padua and Milan to demand free abortion and to protest against the violence of a regime which, in collusion with the high priests of Catholicism, forces them to abort in secret and terror. This is Holy Year, their placards reminded passers-by, and Holy Year's Crusade against Women.

It is the first time that the secretary of a constitutional party has been arrested since the end of the Second World War. The "great and splendid" Radical party, as it has been called, is in fact very small and has no formal representation in Parliament. But it has been remarkably effective as a libertarian pressure group fighting for civil rights from divorce and penal reform to gay liberation and conscientious objection, and its militants are today the defendants in over 100 trials in various parts of the country with dozens of other party members in military jails or on provisional release.

In a sense, however, the Radicals are pleased with the recent events because they have provided so much publicity and because the strong arm methods adopted by the State have only stirred up hostility among the population and risked to unravel the compli-

cated tissue of anti-abortionist alliances. The repression has also highlighted the amount of unexpected new support for abortion among housewives and peasants in the South. (72.5% of women recently interviewed throughout Italy for the magazine Panorama were in varying degrees in favour of abortion, the percentage being 52.2% in Sicily and Sardinia which are, of course, supposed to be intensely Catholic areas.)

But the situation is a cruel, if temporary, setback for women, who also remain critical of the limitations of the present Fortuna Abortion Bill and of the whole idea of leaving such problems as abortion in the hands of the politicians, who will inevitably attempt to make political capital out of it. Now many of our own politicians are using the excuse of abuse by private clinics (which obviously should be stopped) to try to restrict abortion practice and deny it altogether to non-residents. ... Well, this is a classic case of the destructive effect of law-inflation. Quite simply, would not a saner attitude to abortion on the part of NH hospitals and doctors do much to correct the present injustices without adding further clauses to the statute book?

G. F.
STOP PRESS (18.2.75) : The Italian Supreme Court has ruled that abortion may be legally performed in cases where the mother's physical or mental health demands it.

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

MEETINGS:

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

DRAFT RESISTANCE in Europe today. Public mtgs. Mon. 10 March (in French) 7 p.m. 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 Hse. Euston Rd. NW1 same speaker/subject in English.

March 15, BLACKBURN: Anarchist Meeting (Agenda: contact, ideas, a piss-up) at Amamus Bookshop, Market St. Lane (write to AL, 16 Kingsmill Ave., Whalley, Lancs.)

Sun, 23 Feb SWF Public Meeting: Speaker on Syndicalism & Trade Unionism, 3.30 pm at Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, MANCHESTER 13.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club 1975 Lectures, every 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 Wobblly

CONTACT

MANCHESTER SWF weekly meetings Enq. Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13.
PORTSMOUTH: Write to Rob Atkins at 29 Havelock Rd., Southsea, Hants.

PUBLICATIONS

Does anyone know of information/books/articles on William Godwin and the Romantic poets from an anarchist viewpoint? Please tell Robert Johnstone, 149a Lisburn Road, Belfast, BT10 0LH

USA. Anarchist literature & syndicalist group desires correspondence & information on obtaining literature and from people involved women's & worker struggles. Write A. Pestalozzi, Box 716 Cooper Station, New York City, N. Y. 10003, USA

Anarchism Lancastrium No. 2 (attractively printed, and including 3 gummed miniature posters) 8p + 3½p post from AL, 16 Kingsmill Avenue, 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).

THE MATCH! US Anarchist Monthly 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 postage).

PRISONERS:

PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219089 H.M. Prison, Heathfield Road, London SW18 3HS G.A.R.I. (International Revolutionary Action Groups). Committee in support of GARI 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 GARI (+ kidnapping of Spanish banker), and has published a folder of 15 drawings by well-known French caricaturists. £2 from Ali Touati, 43D Anerley Park, London SE20: all funds to defence committee. Names & prison addresses from same. 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 St., 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.

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