

WE WELCOME NEWS, ARTICLES, LETTERS, REVIEWS etc. Latest date for copy for No. 14 (22 July) is MONDAY 17th JULY

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE is Thursday 20th JULY. Come and help and exchange ideas from 5 pm onwards.

Groups

ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan, 2 South St., Aberystwyth. BRISTOL. Phone Dave, Sally or Bob on Bristol 554660. CAMBRIDGE. Raphael Salkie, Queens College, Cambridge. CORBY. Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants. COVENTRY. John England, 48 Spencer Avenue, Earlsdon, Coventry. CHESTER. Anyone interested in forming group in the Chester/North Cheshire area contact J.P. Simcock, Daisy Cottage, Old Moss, Tarvin, Chester。 DERBY. Anyone interested in forming group contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Ave., Derby DE3 3BY EAST ANGLIAN libertarians. Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex. EXETER. Anarchist Society, Univ. of Exeter, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter. HASTINGS: NEW ADDRESS. Steve, 18a Markwick Terrace, St. Leonards on Sea, Sx. HIGH BENTHAM. Ask at the "Dragonfly" on Market day (Wednesday). HUDDERSFIELD anarchist group meets fortnightly in the 'Zetland', Queensgate. LEAMINGTON & Warwick, c/o 42 Bath St. Leamington Spa. LEEDS. Tony Kearney, 5 Toronto Place, Chapel Allerton, Leeds L574LJ(tel.624096). LEICESTER, c/o Blackthorn Books, 74 Highcross St., Leicester. MANCHESTER Anarchist Group, see N.W. Anarchist Federation. NEWCASTLE upon Tyne, Black Jake, c/c 115 Westgate Road, Newcastle NE1 4AG. NORWICH Anarchist Group meets weekly. Contact Students Union, University of East Anglia. NOTTINGHAM, c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St. (tel. 582506) or 15 Scotholme Ave., Hyson Green (tel. 708302). OXFORD, Steve Bushell, Balliol College, Oxford. PORTSMOUTH. Caroline Cahm, 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth. READING univerty anarchists c/o Students' Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading, Berkshire. SHEFFIELD Anarchist groups. 341 Glossop Rd. Sheffield 10 (tel. 667029). SWANSEA. Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea. THAMES VALLEY. Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd., Maidenhead, (tel. 062 2974). WESTON-super-Mare, Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Rd., Weston-super-Mare, Som. WILTSHIRE. Comrades in SWINDON wish to start an anarchist group (as well as existing Community Arts Group). Get into touch with

Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton,

Swindon, Wilts.

WORCESTERSHIRE. Anarchists in Worcester, Malvern area please contact Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storridge, Malvern Worcs.

FEDERATIONS

LONDON

Anarchist Communist Assn, c/o 182 Upper St, Islington, N.1.

Anarchy Collective, Change of address: 123 Upper Tollington Park, N.4.

Dorking Libertarian Group, Howard Fuller, 6 Oak Ridge, Goodway, Dorking, Surrey (tel. 87814).

East London Libertarians, 123 Lathem Road, E.6. (tel. 552 3985).

Freedom. 84B Whitechapel High St. (Angel Alley) E.I. (tel. 247 9249).

Hackney Anarchists, contact Dave on 2497042 Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark Road, Kingston-upon Thames (tel. 549 2564). London Workers' Group, Box W, 182 Upper St. N.1. (tel. 249 7042).

Love V Power (write only) Desmond Hunter, 4 Swindon Street, W.C.l.

South London College, c/o Nick Higman, Students Union, So. Lond. Coll, Knights Hill, S.E.17 (tel. 670 3774).

KENT

Ramsgate: Peter Ford, 22 Royal Road Sevennaks: Jim Endesby, 70 Bradbourne Rd. MIDLANDS

Secretariat: awaiting information

NORTH-WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION Change of address to:

c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Mancher er 1.

The various groups in the federation are as follows:

Bolton Group tel. Bolton 387516.

Burnley Anarchist Group, 5 Hollin Hill, Burnley, Lancs.

C/o Grass Roots:

Lancaster Anarchist Group.

Manchester Anarchist Group.

Manchester Syndicalist Workers' Federation. Newsletter & Quarterly meetings. Contacts in other areas,

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION Secretary: Nina Woodcock, 17 Cheviot Cres., Fintry, Dundee.

Aberdeen: c/o A.P.P. 163 King Street. Glas gow: c/o Box G.P.P., 146 Holland St., Glasgow G2 4NG.

Meetings

SEND US NOTICES OF YOUR EVENTS TO HAPPEN AFTER 22 JULY. TO BE ABLE TO INSERT THOSE TO TAKE PLACE BEFORE 5 AUGUST WE MUST RECEIVE NOTICE BY MONDAY 17 JULY when our next issue goes to press.

LIVERPOOL. Sun. 16 July 'Live rpool-Fun City on the Dole'. Sun. 23 July Film 'Behind the Wire' (Ireland 1974). Liberty Hall events at the Everyman Bistro, Hope St. every Sunday 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER. Wed. 26 July 'Repression in West Germany, plus a general report of anarchist movements throughout Europe. 8 pm in the back room of the Castle Pub, Oldham St.

Cautionary note: never believe a printer, we are all incurable optimists! which is another way of saying that yet again there won't be a nice green banner. However I have a good excuse! I have sprained my back - but as a bonus you should soon be able to buy the latest Black Bear leaflet "Voltairine De Cleyre -The Making Of An Anarchist" (25p). It has a truly beautiful front cover - and I should know 'cos I spent half the night trying to print it and then delivering it in the pouring rain - which did not help the sprained back. But next issue I definately promise...! "ian the printer from a wet and windy margate - summer !?

(off Piccadilly Gdns). Org. by Manchester An. Group and SWF.

Press Fund

15 - 28 JUNE 1978

LONDON SE: K.McF. £ 10; BLACKBURN: H.R. 25; CODROIPO, Italy: N. 28p; 'Jules' £ 1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 1; J.K.W. 10p; LIVERPOOL: J.G. £ 1; GLASGOW: J.M. 70p; DEN HAAG: R.L. £ 6; READING: G.P. 50p; BURNLEY: F.J. 50p; MTYHOLM-ROYD: Anon: 50p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 1; J.K.W. 10p; COVENTRY: J.E. £; PETERBOROUGH: M.V. 59p.

TOTAL: £ 24.57 PREVIOUSLY ACKNOWLEDGED £ 596,88 TOTAL TO DATE: £ 621.45

Gone with the WINDSCALE? who knows??

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHIST GROUP

Literature

TO RIGMA, the magazine for Greek anarchists and libertarians in Britain, No. 3 now out. Obtainable from TO RIGMA, c/o Black and Red, Students' Union, The University, Leeds LS2 9JT.

MINUS ONE, individual review, No. 41 Reprint of Pierre Chardon essay on individual ism, further discussion of John Clarke's 'Max Stirner's Egoism (Francis Ellingham); reviews & articles on literature and art. 12p (post 7p) from Freedom Bookshop (sub. £ 1 six issues from S.E. Parker, 186 Gloucester Terrace, London W.2.

RED AND BLACK, an anarchist journal from Sydney, Australia. No. 7 includes biographical article on Johan Most, anthropologist Kenneth Maddock on 'Anarchism, Regionalism and the Fourth World with special reference to Australian Aborigines, repr. of Max Nettlau article, Sexual liberation &c. 40p (post 7p) from Freedom Bookshop.

PEACE NEWS for non-violent revolution. Current issue features Women in N. Ireland 5pp, plus regular news of anti-racial, anti-arms activities & things affecting libertarians. Fortnightly, 15p (post 7p) from Freedom Bookshop. Sub. £ 5.50 p.a., £ 3 six mos. trial sub 5 issues £ 1 from 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.

POVERTY and POWER, first issue of bi-month ly by War on Want. 'Who's paying for our freedom?'; interview on Eritrea explaining th that the Eritrean People's Liberation Front are trying to reach a self-reliant Eritrea without massive support from outside ; criticism of aid agencies' use of a contraceptive method not approved in US, Canada or Britain widely used in the 'Third World' &c &c. 20p (post 10p). Sub. £ 1.50 six issues from War on Want 467 Caledonian Rd. London N7 9BE.

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reaching out to destroy the fabric of civilisation. An old favourite, sometimes the details alter slightly, sometimes it's Communist, sometimes Zionist. But the long runner is Anarchist. It has a nice ring to it. The truth doesn't matter, it's the image that works. If there are hatted and cloaked figures lurking in every shadow, what sensible person could demur at slightly over-zealous police methods? ett. Dafydd Ladd and Stewart Carr are still being held in Brixton Prison, as the Anti-Terrorist Squad raid homes all over the country. So effective is the stereotype that they can be held on the grounds of

9 FREEDOM



THE following is the text of the 'All Women' picket leaflet being distributed outside Brixton prison on | July:-

FOUR anarchists - Iris Mills, Ronan Bennett, Dafydd Ladd and Stewart Carr are being held in Brixton Prison, charged with "conspiracy to cause explosions with persons known and unknown." Police say they are part of a country wide group of ''idealistic persons who would take positive steps to overthrow society."

There have been no left-wing political explosions in Britain for over two years and the only concrete evidence alleged by the police is weedkiller, found in Iris and Roran's flat!

All four prisoners are being held in solitary confinement, but Iris seems to have been singled out for particularly brutal treatment:

* She is the first woman to be held in this men's prison since the Price sisters (Irish Republicans) in 1975.

* For her allowed hours of 'association' with other prisoners, she is given a television set!

* During visits, a table is placed between her and her visitor and they are allowed no physical contact at all. Two screws hover around and listen to every word. Before and after each visit she is strip searched.

* She is forced to exercise in full view of male prisoners.

Not only is this treatment insulting and humiliating, it is clearly designed to make her crack up. The effects of prolonged solitary confinement include incoherency, disorientation and loss of identity. The result of such psychological tortures will be disastrous for herself and her 'trial.'

A support group, PERSONS UNKNOWN, has been formed to support those arrested. We demand:

- 1. Free all those arrested
- 2. Get rid of all conspiracy laws
- 3. Abolish the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA)

4. Expose the activities of the 'Antiterrorist' Squad and all special security forces.

As a first priority, we demand:

THAT IRIS MILLS (AND THE THREE OTHER PRISONERS) BE GRANTED BAIL.

Failing that, THAT IRIS BE MOVED TO HOLLOWAY FOR NORMAL ASSOC -IATION WITH OTHER WOMEN PRISON-ERS.

THAT SHE BE ALLOWED TO VISIT RONAN, DAFYDD AND STEWART FOR SOCIAL INTERACTION AS WELL AS DEFENCE PURPOSES. THAT SHE AND RONAN BE ALLOWED

SORRY!

We regret that from the issue after next (Vol. 39 No. 15 15/8/78) we will have to raise the price of FREEDOM. We have held the current price for three years despite steadily mounting costs. The rises immediately before that were solely to cover increased postage. However we cannot maintain this price any longer.

From Issue 15 the cover price will be 20p.

Current subscriptions will be honoured at the old rate. New subscriptions and renewals, after that date, will be at £6.00 (inland). (So get yours in fast and save money)





LAST TUESDAY, July 4, was the first anniversary of the beginning of the trial of Gay News for publishing James Kirkup's poem "The Love That Dares to Speak Its Name."

The date was marked by the Committee Against Blasphemy Law, which had circulated copies of a petition to be posted to the Home Office on that day. The petition calls for the abolition of the remaining laws against blasphemy, as already urged last September by the inaugural manifesto of the Committee Against Blasphemy Law, and last January by the Statement Against Blasphemy Law which was signed by more than a hundred well-known people, including several churchmen.

It is recognised that there is little chance of such legislation in the near future, in view of the general support cf the prosecution of Gay News and the overwhelming support for the blasphemy law shown in the House of Lords debate last February. The campaigners hope for more rational responses from the Lay Commission, which is currently studying all criminal laws concerning religion, and the Williams Committee, which is currently studying the law of obscenity and related subjects. But the main practical aim of the campaigners is to prevent the law being made any more restrict. ive than it already is - for example, by being extended to cover other types of Christianity than Anglicanism, or other religions than Christianity. But a more fruitful area of campaign-

ing, as has been obvious to libertarians since the Gay News case began in 1976,



ANARCHISTS have known it for years but if any proof is still required for sceptics the recent Official Visits by so-called Heads of State is ample evidence for the cynicism of power-hungry rulers. Firstly, we have been treated to all the pomp and spectacle of men in funny uniforms, some of them even on horseback, parading and trooping about a London railway terminus in order to 'welcome' the dictatorial head of the government of Romania. Now this detestable character masquerades under the title of President and, worse, 'communist. ' In London this upholder of the proletarian revolution was greeted by another upholder of authoritarian politics -Elizabeth Windsor, commonly known by the obsolete title of Queen. One would imagine that these representatives of

TO VISIT RONAN BE ALLOWED TO VISIT EACH OTHER AS COMMON LAW HUSBAND/WIFE.

RI

Note: The prisoners are not technically being held in solitary confinement but under Category A which amounts to effective isolation from other prisoners. Ronan, Dafydd and Stewart are being allowed some social interaction among themselves. Iris has none.

> BENEFIT for 'PERSONS UNKNOWN'

Support Group

at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London W.C.1 (Holborn tube, several buses)

SATURDAY 15 JULY 1978 at 7. p.m.

Bands and musicians: Dire Tribe, Lord Okokowoko, Keith Armstrong, The Nipple Erectors. Plus: Poets, Folk Singers ...

There will be a creche, food and drinks.

TICKETS £ 1 (claimants 50p)

'Persons Unknown' support group: Box 123, 182 Upper Street, Islington, London N.1.

has been that of direct action. As a result, the main practical effect of Mary Whitehouse's prosecution has been to increase the circulation of Kirkup's poem far beyond its original specialised readership. It has been reprinted in half a dozen political papers (including FREEDOM) and in several student and community papers, and it has also been widely distributed in various leaflet editions. It is clear that, whatever happens to Gay News or anyone else, the poem cannot be suppressed.

The current issue of Gay News reports a meeting of Harrow Gay Unity last month, where Nicolas Walter described his involvement in the Free Speech Movement, which has produced thousands of copies of the poem, one edition being signed by more than a hundred well-know people. It also reports the latest threat of prosecution made against him - the third during the past year - arising from complaints about such activities by extremist Christians to the authorities, who are now reluctant to take legal action if they can avoid it.

But the Free Speech Movement has been relatively restrained, sending the poem only to people who ask for it. On July 4 appeared a more aggressive organisation called the United Order of Blasphemers. The name comes from the organisation which continued to sell blasphemous publications in Edinburgh more than a century ago during a series of successful prosecutions against one freethinker after another. On January 13, 1844. G.J. Holyoake's paper The Movement announced that the bookshop run

opposite systems of authoritarian rule would have little or nothing in common with one another. But there is business and profit involved, and that, we are assured by the government-controlled mass media, is the reason for this seem ing rapprochement of diametrically opposed systems.

If the Romanian spectacle were not hypocritical enough, an even more cynical meeting took place at about the same time. The successor of the late demented dictator of Spain, Generalissimo Franco - so-called King Carlos, was greeted by numerous boiler-suited functionaries of another revolutionary socialist people's republic - China. Hua Kuo-Feng, who has effectively eliminated Maoism from China by identifying its results as the doings of the 'Gang of Four', thus abolishing Mao's doctrines whilst keeping the father figure, actually showed the Spanish despot the mummified remains of Mao, which ought to have, but evidently did not, turn in its glass case.

Again, we see the supposed meeting of opposites. Is this a sign of hope for the

by Matilda Roalte had been taken over while she was in prison by William Baker "of the United Order of Blasphemers, London". It is believed that the resurrected body with the same name is based outside London, and is not a not a million miles from both the Free Speech Movement and the Committee Against

Blasphemy Law.

The first publication of the United Order of Blasphemers is a duplicated leaflet. On one side is a slightly inaccurate and slightly incomplete version of Kirkup's poem. On the other side is a description of the organisation. "Our immediate aim is to set up a network of groups all over the country to distribute leaflets and pamphlets. Only works which have resulted in blasphemy prosecutions will be published." There is a slightly exaggerated account of its background and activity, and a sensible explanation of its clandestinity. "We regret the necessity to go underground, but see no reason to present ourselves as sitting targets for despicable Christian informers." It is stated that recipients of the leaflet will include Mary Whitehouse (who prosecuted Gay News) Alan King-Hamilton (who judged the trial), the Director of Public Prosecutions, church leaders and editors of religious papers.

As we go to press the response is uncertain. But at least it is certain that a year after the Gay News trial the issue is not yet dead. Free speech, in religion as everywhere else, cannot be prevented by the criminal law.

world Are monarchs and communists (so-called) about to throw away their differences and dance together in love and harmony How can we interpret this great rapprochement otherwise? Unfortunately, the realities are far grimmer. What links these seemingly diametrically-opposed groups of powercrazed persons is their craving for power. Whilst they ostensibly represent varying creeds of monarchy, communism, democracy etc, the reality behind their facades is that of solidarity between so-called sovereign powers against anything which alters the status quo their de facto power. Doctrine, creed and principle come a poor second when the issue of power is at stake, as for instance in the case of Russian involvement in Eritrea, where communist separatists are being bombed and strafed by Soviet-supplied Ethiopian aircraft. The true principle which all these representatives of government uphold is that of their own power structure, and the only true opposition to both King and People's Republic is the anarchist movement. NIGEL PENNINK.



M.H.

4 FREEDOM



SOME IMPRESSIONS OF THE LANCASTER CONFERENCE WHICH TOOK PLACE AT CLAPDALE FARM ON 17 AND 18 JUNE

WE arrived at Clapdale Farm at 10 a.m. on Saturday after a 16 hour journey which should have taken 5 hours. We were frustrated and tired and this clouded our initial viewpoint. An agenda had been drawn up on Friday night and a scheduled progaramme of workshops was be ginning as we arrived.

On Saturday morning a scheduled discussion on 'patriarchy' took place. In the evening there were separate men's and women's meetings followed by a joint meeting of the two groups. On Saturday night there was a party. On Sunday morning, a discussion of the relationship between the anarchist movement and the Anti-Nazi League, which somehow carried into consideration of a coordinated anti-election campaign for this October (a topic which had already received some disjointed attention on Saturday evening).

Due to the accident of our late arrival and disrupted sleep patterns we did not take a significant part in these scheduled activities. However those who did participate apparently found them rewarding. Of more value to us though were several spontaneous discussions which arose through the weekend.

The first of these, on Saturday afternoon, just grew from a group of people sitting around with an after lunch cup of coffee. As the circle of people grew discussion gradually became more serious and meaningful. It began with a consideration of group organisation and went on to discuss work place organising, taking in syndicalism, industrial unionism and the role of the joint shop steward committee. This then lead to debate on the need for a new generation of anarchist writings. One point of view accepted the classical anarchist writings as sufficient; others however saw a need for a new analysis of the middle class and greater recognition of the work of Wilhelm Reich. Nevertheless it all came back to the need for action on the shop floor level backed up by a more effective and coherent movement able to act or supply relevant literature and resources at short notice.

The need for organisation was again taken up on Sunday during the Anti Nazi League discussion. It was felt that solidarity between tightly organised small groups offering complementary skills and resources is the only way the anarchist movement can be effective without falling into the trap of hierarchical party structure. A later spontaneous discussion looked at ways of building strong friendship ties between groups as a basis for this needed solidarity.

The conference however was not without some notes of discord. Rosters were posted for child care, cooking and washing up but for many time slots they remained blank or thinly subscribed and even where they were filled out people did not always fulfil their commitments.

This came to a head when Sunday's discussion on racism and fascism was interrupted by children who were distracting their mother. It became apparent that many people at the conference were failing to face up to their responsibilities to those around them, especially children and parents. As one women observed, it was hypocritical for us to be complaining about racism and fascism on the right whilst failing to overcome sexist dynamics in our own ranks. As was remarked at the time, "The personal is political"!

We would not exempt ourselves from this criticism, nor would we exempt the Lancaster group who organised the conference. Whilst the logistical aspects of the weekend were well coordinated (we had plenty to eat, a pleasant setting, comfortable and clean accommodation etc) there was insufficient preparation for organising child care and cooking. These failings are typical in many ways of the anarchist movement and its conferences in recent years; and it was not their resolution but the good mix of people which the Lancaster group succeeded in bringing together that made the conference unusually rewarding.

CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS FOR SUBSEQUENT ACTION

- As previously mentioned there was some discussion about combined action by libertarians during the forthcoming general election campaign. This was opposed as 'wasting effort on a corrupt institution" and "dangerously involving us in competitive political practices." Others however thought an (anti) election campaign would be an ideal opportunity for presenting alternative ideas to an audience which would possibly be more receptive, It was felt that those groups interested in such activity should coordinate their efforts. Possibly with a one day conference on the subject in the near future. No group present felt capable and willing to organise such a conference, but Manchester offered to act as a clearing house for ideas on this matter - it is suggested that interested groups send them a small bundle of stamped addressed envelopes and any statements on the subject they want circulated. Manchester themselves already have a draft no-vote pamphlet which they plan to distribute and use in the campaign.

- As a step towards an articulate anarchist movement it was felt that a nationwide pooling of resources would be beneficial. The Reading anarchist group offered itself as a graphic design and typsetting service for groups planning leaflets, newsletters etc ... Other groups are getting specific skills, machinery and other resources together (eg. badge-making machines) and we hope they will make their services available soon, so as to provide a comprehensive resource base for the movement. Poster printing workshops and sticker printing are particular areas where more useful work could be

done.

- Inter-group solidarity was brought up again and again throughout the conference. Many people thought that although it was reasonably easy to maintain tight small groups this feeling of solidarity didn't necessarily follow through to the national movement. For one thing, the required level of trust cannot be expected amongst people who don't know eachother well. A suggestion for overcoming this problem was for groups to more or less randomly select other groups from the various contact lists they have access to and invite them to send two or three people for a weekend visit. This would help build up friendship ties and allow groups to find out which other groups they can or wish to work with, which ones they can't and what resources other groups have to offer. If each group did this once a month or every six weeks we would soon have a closely knit movement with no need for centralised organisation.

- A few suggestions regarding domestic considerations:- We thought a great deal about why child care was not being effectively done, and speaking for ourselves we felt it was due to feelings of inadequacy rather than unwillingness. One step towards overcoming this would be better preparation of rosters with more information about the resources available, the number of children involved, their ages and names, and any special needs they may have, together with an informed estimate of how many people are needed to do the work at any one time. Similar information regarding cooking could be included on rosters: expected numbers and details of what food and cooking utensils are available and where they are kept etc. Groups who organise conferences thereby take on definite responsibilities for their running; especially where special facilities such as meals and/or creches are advertised. If they prefer to involve all-comers in these things rather than just provide the services themselves then they still have to provide the framework for people to work together.

Finally, a general mood which seemed to pervade the last hours of the conference was that although the standard pattern anarchist conference with minimal structure and agenda drawn up on the day has a definite role to play we also need more specific one or two day conferences on specified subjects. This would allow groups to send delegates prepared to debate the issues and reach more definite conclusions. Having pre-arranged agendas with the possibility of set reading lists, pre-arranged research group reports, position papers etc, doesn't have to be repressive. In fact, it means that prospective participants can make a better choice of whether or not to attend - and anyway, the agendas etc., can be discussed amongst them through the mail if adequate time is allowed by the organisers and sufficient interest shown by the movement.

Members of READING ANARCHIST GROUP

COOL contempt has already been expressed in this paper at the antics of the International Whaling Commission. This is a commission of whaling nations formed in 1946 by the London Convention to control the murder of whales by its own members. In his book on whales Jacque Yves Cousteau, the marine cinematographer, says that for the last quarter of a century the IWC "has actively met its responsibilities", but he is not supported by the facts. By the 1970s 'whale weight' has been reduced to 6 million tons from 43 at the start of the century. During the last 30 years of the IWC regime blue, fin and humpback whales have been reduced to numbers from which they may not recover, even though 'protected'. The sperm, sei and minke face the same fate.

The most recent meeting of the IWC in London a fortnight ago managed to ordain a ban on the hunting of the relatively small sei whale in the southern hempisphere (against Japanese opposition), but it similtaneously raised the quota for minke whales and postponed a decision on sperm whales which means that the hunting ban sought for these great baleens by conservationists and anti-whaling groups in general has been ignored and that the murder will go on as before. Panama's proposal for a moratorium was dropped, and if the last December meeting is anything to go by little can be hoped for, for at that time the earlier June reduction in quotas for sperm actually took a great leap upwards.

The IWC is an intrinsi cally weak institution, or rather an intrinsically governmenta! one. It is a club of government commissioners who, as Greenpeace Ltd point out in a recent document, do not wish to cause eachother "economic or nutritional 'distress'". Greenpeace goes on, "At no point in the text of the Convention are the whales recognised as anything other than a resource - like coal or trees which is there to be harvested (harvested, mind - gf) in the most profitable way ... The IWC regulations have been designed to protect whalers from each other - not to protect the whales. The member nations have always realised that they were about to exterminate the whales and as the end drew near and the game got tough, they got together and set up some regulations to make sure that no-one got more than his fair share of the fast disappearing pie. They designed the regulations so that it was very difficult to tell how near to extinction species were coming and they also made sure that no member could be forced to limit its catch against its will. The effect has been that the outside world is fooled into thinking that the problem is in safe hands, while the whalers themselves get some assurance that no-one else is taking too big a slice of the pie, although by and large they are not limited to what they catch."

This criticism is fundamental to the anarchist critique of governmental power per se. The IWC illustrates what happens whenever governmental power is given free rein. Governments inevitably exist through, and depend upon, the power game; in other words, they must, to get support, in turn provide it for the vested interests of whatever power bases exist around them. In this the whaling industtry, though gradually dying (and determined that the whales should die with it) and other



powerful industrial and farming lobbies, are no different in their relation to their governments than the great feudal lords of the past were in relation to their king. Former great whaling nations like the USA, Holland and Britain have only ceased to whale because it is no longer profitable for them to do so and because decreasing industrial resistance has met with increasing public pressure - but always coming too late. And the British government continues to permit the importation of sperm whale oil to the measure of 11,000 tonnes a year.

Given this situation the only way to save the cetaceans - one of the greatest and most magnificent and most mysterious races to inhabit the earth, and to inhabit it for over 3.0 million years - is to do the following:-



Sperm whale or cachelot (almost extinct)

I) ABOLISH THE IWC. CREATE 'ANARCHY PARKS'! The IWC is a dangerous institution. It is dedicated to the continuation of whaling by its very nature and will do so until it can find nothing more to kill. Not all whaling nations (eg Chile) are members and Japan (which is) can therefore work outside its auspices in any case, through investment in Chilean fleets. There is a ludicrously inadequate observer system to check on the numbers being taken; there is totally insufficient funding of research on populations. The IWC is in every respect (including, it now appears, financially) bankrupt. It must be abolished, and a ban on whaling controlled by an international grouping of marine scientists, environmentalists, conservationists, whale officers etc. No concept of freedom worth anything can mean freedom to deprive human and other animal life of theirs.

Large areas of ocean should be marked out where the freedom of the whale is actively protected in defiance of the whaling fleets. ('Anarchy parks' if you like, to borrow a phrase from science fiction). These would be in the polar seas, where the krill is and where it must stay; where the whales are particularly vulnerable; where they tend to congregate. Here the whales would rejoice in perfect freedom while knowledge of and communication with them could be increased. The 'parks' would obviously need considerable funding in terms of ships and personnel but this should not be a great probi lem and could be helped by (intelligent) touring. 2) SABOTAGE. The whaling industry is in decline. In no sense is it necessary to the existence and prosperity of human life. It is very costly to build new factory ships; it therefore makes sense, given especially the urgency of the situation, to destroy the existing ones. If a quarter of the energy and dedication that has gone into fighting the new Tokyo international airport could be spent on the sabotaging of the factory ships (hacking them to pieces as the airport has been, blowing them up, or setting fire to them while in dock) then the picture could change fast (that is, in time). 3) Similarly, other means of direct action against the IWC and industries using whale products. While these need not go in for assassination and kidnapping (though again why not kidnapping?) they could certainly take more militant forms than the peaceful picketing which goes on year after year to so little avail. Even the 'blood' throwing incident the other week when members of the Japanese delegation of the IWC were covered with sticky red ink was promptly, and pathetically, disowned, it seems, by some of the objectors. But if brought publicity, will be remembered by the victims, appeals to the imagination and thus is more effective than a docile sit down any time. 4) COORDINATION of demonstrations, occupations etc. The Capenhurst demonstration against the Urenco contract to supply enriched uranium to Brazil was poorly attended. Some explanations, such as continuing preoccupation with Windscale among British protestors, were advanced. But in Waterloo's Jubilee Gardens on the same day several thousand people - the same anti-nuclear, anti-Windscale people were gathering to symbolise their solidarity with the whale. True, both events were held on that day for a specific reason, but organisers should generally try to look ahead and perhaps liaise closer with other écological groups, so that clashes could be avoided and protestors are not forced to choose which of two or more equally important issues they should give their attention

A last point. Much to the glee of their opponents a new argument seems to be sewing confusion among conservationists - the one about the Alaskan Inupiat eskimo. It is asserted that pressure to end the hunting of the bowhead is endangering the eskimo culture. This argument tends to support the ridiculous simplism that an animal lover is a man hater (thus the Alaskan Eskimo Whaling Commission) and that the eskimo will die if the bowhead lives. It would carry more weight if eskimo culture had not already undergone new and ineradicable cultural influences; if the eskimo whaling captains had not already begun to earm much of their living and fund their whaling through work on the oil pipelines, had not already begun to eat Kellogg's frosted popsicles, possess colour tv and use high-speed power boats, modern harpoons and bombs which make the whole business quite different anyway. To argue that eskimo culture depends on whale meat is like arguing that English culture depends on roast beef - as used seriously to be proclaimed; it cannot be pickled forever with an 'ethnic' label as in some laboratory, and still live. But even if one rejects this point of view, the supreme, the incontrovertible fact remains: as goes the bowhead so goes the eskimo.

As goes the whale, so goes the sea.

FREEDOM 5





Dear FREEDOM

I read Bob Potter's article 'Anarchists, Freedom and Parties', vol. 39 no.12 with interest and on the whole I agree with what he says. However, when he speaks of soviets representing 'just the sort of rank-and-file management of affairs that anarchists fight for' I must beg to disagree.

I do not dispute that the 'All power to the soviets' slogan was originally an anarchist one: we learn from our mistakes, for there is an inherent danger in power, whether 'soviet' or 'party' power and the aim of anarchists must be to destroy it, not to give it to anyone.

For in giving power to the soviets an institution was created ready for bolshevik infiltration. In his 'April Theses' Lenin stressed the need to build up bolshevik power in the soviets, as he recognised that they were more powerful than the provisional government, and although Bob Potter points out that the Petrograd Soviet Military Revolutionary Committee had four anarchist members he fails to point out that it also had 48 bolshevik and 14 social revolutionary members.

The creation of this institution made Lenin's job in 1917 much easier. True he adopted the 'All power to the soviets' slogan for opportunist reasons but there will always be opportunists like Lenin and for this reason power must be destroyed to thwart their attempts to create another authortiarian state.

> Yours fraternally Neil



Dear friends

I should like to comment on the article in FREEDOM of 10 June on Lambeth libraries, both as a soon-to-be library worker and as a reader.

I don't know about whether the situation in Lambeth is caused by an authoritarian 'Gung of Five' or not, but the article generally attacks the symptoms of the problem rather than the problem itself. What is ignored is the fact that the entire book trade is run by those people who have vested interests in the maintenance of the 'status quo' and that therefore the balance, however vague such a term may be, is weighted in favour of reactionary conservatism. This does not only apply to the book trade, it also applies to the society we live in in general terms. It may be possible to let the 'community' of readers' decide what sort of books they want - in ideal conditions this would, of course, be necessary. But we know what sort of people the majority of library users are, i.e. the educated middle class. And this is not because of the fact that the 'community of readers' don't have a say, but because they are the ones who have been educated to use books, use information: that's why they can perform much better when it comes to community activities (neighbourhood residents' associations for example) than

the working class.

medium of any institutional policy changes. It will come by creating an awareness of what the real causes of alienation are in those who are most afflicted by it, out in the community itself. Passively sitting back, saying 'power to the people' and letting it all happen, leads to one thing and that is a strengthening of the foothold of the more powerful sectors of society. Anarchy will evolve by active intervention by committed people, If we are afraid of 'imposing' our views, then the existing norms will be strengthened. Thus deliberate blocking of certain materials is essential, and making a lot of fuss about librarians who try to be 'balanced', quite misled people usually, with good intentions, is also essential.

EPFERS



Finally, the comment about 'black people': it is not because they are lacking in self-confidence and pride that they don't come to libraries. It is because they see the library as part of the authoritarian structure of society to which for very good reasons they are irreconcilably opposed. For a local government institution to allow its readers to choose books would be just the kind of paternalism that they, and hopefully all of us, decline to accept. It is just like the idea of workers' capitalism that says you improve the workers by letting them run their own assembly line - you've still got the assembly line, and you haven't changed its basic nature. Neither will your contributor's suggestion change the basic nature of public library service. What readers may prefer to consider are the many ways in which library activities outside the library walls may develop an anarchic attitude in society by creating awareness of individual capabilities through the direct provision of information and resources for self help on the part of both individual people and individual communities,

Congratulations on your jolly new format Nick James

Derby

Dear Friends,

I would like to communicate with friends anarchists in Europe. I would be grateful if you could help me and let other friends know my address so we can write to each other and exchange opinions.

Thanks, Yoram P.O.B., 1103, Tel-Aviv, Israel 61000

ANARCHY



Dear FREEDOM

I agree with Wendy that Anarchy must come from within. Without it we are all divided. Our own personal revolution is a first step towards attaining Anarchy on a large level. It's a necessary form of mind if we are to achieve it and interact with eachother later on. We must cleanse ourselves fully of the dross society has heaped upon us and our own materialism.

Anarchy is evolutionary but it needn't take generations to achieve. Part of Anarchy is interaction with other people. At the moment it means we have to deal with people who are not sympathetic to Anarchy and its true goals and meanings. Anarchy will not arrive through two-fingering the neighbour.

We need to spread our ideas more, through i.e. stickers, flyposting, articles and making our presence felt more on marches, instead of brightening the cover of the magazine as priority if we are not to remain a small ineffective esoteric group。

These may well be simple and naive statements to make but I'm not that good a scribe anyway.

Festival: October

14-15

Yours faithfully Mr W. Serdiuk

Tameside (The above has been slightly shortened)

Dear Freedom,

We are intending to organise a libertarian festival for the week ending 14-15 October 1978. We hope to invite a wide range of speakers from a number of groups/organisa tions. The main purpose of the festival/conference will be to exchange & communicate ideas and experiences within the libertarian left. However the festival will be an ideal forum to organise specific activities and it is hoped that groups will use it for this purpose.

The main feature of the festival will be a large number of workshops on a wide variety of topics. If you have any suggestions/ideas please write and let us know. We would be grateful if you could pass on this information to as many people/groups in your area as possible.

Manchester University Liberation Society,

c/o 178 Waterloo Place, Manchester 13 9QQ. (MORE ON PG. 7)

Dear FREEDOM

It was nice of Arthur Moyse to send me a Moysey (sic) really has boobed with his

copy of your no. 12 (24 June) but oh dear, oh dear, what a silly billy he must be! comments (page 16) on the April exhibition of the Armed Forces Art Society. Didn't little Arthur listen to what Teacher told him at Reporter's school? He hasn't learnt to get his facts right.

You see, it wasn't Bunny Vuulliamy who As for there supposedly being no NCOs or 'governing board' (we call it the Committee), ranks of the WRAF and have been on the com-

commented on the Duke's painting - it was the Society's chairman. And the picture he 'slated' (not publicly, but in answer to a reporter's question) wasn't 'Steel Mills in India'. In fact he praised both this and 'Windsor Castle' as excellent paintings - the latter in his own words as 'worthy of a young Constable'; - the one criticised was 'Cumberland Lodge.' men on the 'governing board' or amongst the members, what about Richard Walker, whose paintings Moysey describes as 'good solid academic work'? Richard was an aircraftsman 2 in the RAF and is now (since 1976) on the together with two others who had served in the mittee for 5 or 6 years.

On the list of members are about 40 who Naughty Moysey on all counts! He really

served as NCOs or private soldiers, sailors or airmen, but most of them don't use their ranks now - possibly to confuse dummy reporters! should do his homework properly and not perhaps rely on the bourgeois press for his misinformation.

Surrey



I'M SORRY LUV BUT WE'VE HAD TO CANCEL OUR CHARTER FLIGHTS TO SAUDI ARABIA FOR POLITICAL REASONS SO YOU'LL HAVE YOUR CANING IN THE LITTLE ROOM UPSTAIRS AS USUAL.



Sincerely

Bunny Vulliamy OBE (Colonel - retd.) Hon. Secretary Armed Forces Art Society



Comrades

Ann W Gleave's letter, taking FREEDOM to task for the front page comment 'Legacy of Empire' (May 27), ironically enough underlines one argument of that short piece, which pointed out that we are given precise numbers of whites killed - but an 'unknown number' of blacks.

Ms Gleave gives us precise details of the death of precisely one European child, age precisely documented, and rightly denounces the implication that we should not weep for that poor little infant because it was white.

How did she know such precise details? Because when whites are massacred our Press goes to town on telling us every gory detail but when white 'security forces' wipe out a 'terrorists' hide-out', precise details of the women and children and old men who are killed are very cursorily presented, if at all. In such cases the guilt of the 'native' village, in providing shelter or food - under whatever circumstances - is implied. And so much the worse for the children.

The gist of the FREEDOM article surely was that all the bloodshed is a legacy of imperialism and thus, almost by definition, those responsible for that must bear the heaviest burden of guilt for the consequences. What after all are the Europeans doing in Africa today, if not exploiting the Africans' labour to get the valuable minerals or cash crops out of the land and on to the commodity markets - just as they have always done?

The peoples of colonial countries have seen generations of such Europeans grow rich out of their labour and the wealth of their lands. They

--

FREEDOM ' have also seen the 'Christian' white people never hesitate to use brutality in many forms imprisonment, flogging, executions, massacres, torture, starvation, you have it - to ensure their continued domination from one generation to the next. We are asking a lot of people finally revolting against all this, when in anger they take their revenge on the present generation, to stay their hands against the next. Of course we can weep for one white child. We can weep for those 'good' religious people in the Pentecostal Mission. We can weep for one young man in British uniform shot on the streets of Belfast. But in the end we come to the same question: What the hell are they doing

there in the first place? Philip Sansom

London



Dear friends

I am a senior citizen and get your paper when Ox liver 15p 1/2 lb (2 pieces usually) Pigs feet 3p each. Two make a meal with

I can. It was nice to see a few food tips and you asked for more, so here are some. bread and marg. Goat meat 60p lb. in Pakistani shops. Cheese bits 35p lb, ok on toast. Like your last reader I like dock leaves too but boiled with fish and spuds. If your garden's wild dandelions ok boiled with spices or fried chickweed with rice. Fish heads 15p a bag ok boiled. Ham off cuts 20p qtr = two sandwiches. Tripe 15p 1/2 lb. Black pudding 9p qtr. My dinner today is fried fish bits, 5p. Boiled dandelions (free) and spi ces. Mushy peas 9p tin = 14p dinner. This is how us old ones have to live today.

Yours

Wakefield

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*Robert W. Kern: Red Years, Black Years: A Political History of Spanish Anarchism, 1911-1937

* Jose Peirats: Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution

*Michael Albert: What is to be Undone: A Modern Revolutionary Discussion of Classical Left Ideologies

Alexander Herzen: My Past and Thoughts (edited and abridged by Dwight MacDonald)

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Review

CO-OPERATIVE SELF-HEALING (from pg. 13)

Today, my daily regimen takes about 45 minutes. At first I had difficulty in integrating it into my daily life. I solved this by rising an hour earlier. Also the support I received from my radical therapy group at this time was enormous and a real factor in helping me overcome the resistances. When, however, my intuition was confirmed and my interocular pressures started to drop, my, I should say our, elation was tremendous. From January 1977, to date, my eye pressure has remained in the normal range, without the use of drugs. Today, even my 'straight' opthomologist agrees that I seem to have learned how to control my interocular pressure.

When I think about self healing I find myself upset by what seems to be the trend today toward seeking miraculous, quick cures at the hands of 'psychic healers.' My anarchistic, radical therapy, oreintation rejects the idea of looking outside of oneself for change. There are, obviously, knowledgeable, intuitive individuals who can help in discovering techniques we can use in healing ourselves. But the bottom line always is, 'I will heal myself.' Another intuition that I have is that one doesn't 'cure ' oneself of a long existing physical condition, but rather, one learns how to control the symptoms. Like liberty, the price of good health is eternal vigilance. To get well, one must affirm the desire to do so, and to remain well.

My anarchist convictions point toward mutual aid and cooperation as a powerful tool in implementing a programme of self healing. The support group can help you discard reasons for remaining ill and offer you support and affirmation of your desire to get well. For example, in my work in group and in my body work, I found my glaucoma tied to a deep unsuspected depression and sadness stemming from the defeat of an early ideal-

FENELERS (CONT)

Poole rescues Ferrer's anarchism by documenting his work for the anarchist papers La Huelga General (1901-1903) and Solidaridad Obrera (1907-1909), but he runs the risk of getting involved in a minor whitewash job on behalf of international anarchism. For it does seem that, while Ferrer was almost certainly not implicated in the Tragic Week for which he was judicially murdered in 1909, he was almost certainly implicated in Morral's attack on the king for which he was imprisoned but eventually acquitted in 1907; the evidence appears in Joaguin Romero Maura's article "Terrorism in Barcelona 1904-1909"(Past and Present 41, December 1968). This at least relevant point is also ignored in Murray Bookchin's recent book The Spanish Anarchists. Incidentally, what the Anarchist Review calls 'Ferrer's Last Letters' were not actually his last letters. Kropotkin's speech is a good example of liberal protest, but it could hardly have been anything else a bare week after the execution.

Poole's essay on Flores Magon is informative and interesting, but anyone who is really interested must get the Cienfuegos book Land and Liberty! Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution. The articles on Muehsam and Stepniak are also informative and interesting; though it is a pity that Everett doesn't investigate Stepniak's connections with the anarchist movement in more detail.

The anarcho-feminist items are useful additions to the growing literature, mainly represented so far by the American pamphlets reproduced by the Black Bear press.

The Jacob speech is worth reading in English, though Jean Weir's translation is rather too literal for comfort, and its thesis - that theft is property - is not an entirely convincing reversal of Proudhon's thesis that property is theft.

"The Benefits Moral and Secular of Assassination" is attributed to "A.C."; when it appeared in Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review it was attributed to Ambrose Cuddon, an English libertarian who was active in the 1860s. It is in fact extracted from a pamphlet with the same name which was published by Charles Lahr in 1932 and which was then signed "M. M. " - i.e. Myles Mordaunt, which is believed to have been one of the many pseudonyms used by Charles Duff, the linguist, translator and journalist who was associated with the anarchist and rationalist movements and whose best known book was A Handbook on Hanging (1928), a brilliant satire on capital punishment. The 1932 pamphlet was not a defence

istic attempt to create with my comrades a lively cooperative community. I couldn't bear to look at the defeat of this vision. My group helped me to perceive my feelings, express the anger and grief I felt and release the energy that had become dammed up behind them. Another example. Last September I gathered together a group of friends and acquaintances and proposed that we form a leaderless, self healing group. There were eight of us to gegin with, most of us middle aged. We brought with us a variety of long standing problems that we wanted to work on. Glaucoma, phlebitis, back problems, nerve damage and Parkinson's disease to name a few. I brought the relaxation techniques I had evolved. Ida, our beautiful dancer, struggling against the crippling effects of Parkinson's disease, interspersed our relaxation exercises with dance movements and stretches. Frank brought in his knowledge of self hypnosis and yoga. Nancy brought her knowledge of healing back problems. Everyone contributed their caring energy to the group. We learned from eachother and supported eachother in our desire to get well and stay well. We all know that when you discover a means of controlling and improving a physical condition, you must practice it practice it and incorporate it into your daily life. You can't be a dilettante about self healing. Each week we work together in group for two and a half hours. At times, someone will arrive in group up-tight, in pain or unhappy. But in every case has left group feeling better.

I'm convinced that this mutual aid approach to health is a viable alternative to a moribund, disease oriented, conservative, basically authoritarian medical system such as that which dominates almost every western society. I also think that mutual aid, self healing groups are prototypes of healing in a free society. DAVID KOVEN

The Cafiero article is worth reading in English, though

of assassination but a satire on war, pointing out that selective murder would do the job better than mass murder. again Jean Weir's translation is uncomfortably literal. It should have been placed in the context of the campaign in the anarchist movement following the assassination of the Tsar for a policy of propaganda by deed - what is now called urban guerrilla - and it could have been added that the result was disastrous for the anarchist movement.

The Easter poster is a good piece of secularist satire, made especially apt by the recent revival of mystification about the so-called Holy Shroud of Turin. The other items in this general area are less valuable, and the attack on orthodox science and the defence of Velikovsky are worse than valueless.

After about the first hundred pages, indeed, the level of information and interest tends to dip sharply, and the standard of argument often disappears. The detailed article on the West German Berufsverbot system manages to describe the attacks made by the state on the left without even mentioning the attacks made by some of the left on the state - but how can we complain if when we tear off the mask of repressive tolerance we find the face of repressive intolerance? A short review of a book by Sheila Rowbotham and Jeffrey Weeks on the sex pioneers Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis suggests that sexual problems are preoccupations of the middle class and can be solved only by joining the working class but are we expected to take this kind of thing seriously . So the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review is very good in most parts, even if it is not quite as good as it seems. Apart from all its obvious merits, one which should be emphasised is its good humour - not just its amusing entries and pictures, but its amused attitude to the libertarian movement it serves so well. Let me quote one little remark from many:

If you find mistakes in this publication, please consider that they are there for a purpose. We publish something for everyone, and some people are always looking for mistakes!

The Cienfuegos Press ANARCHIST REVIEW, vol. One, no. 3, Price £ 2.00 (free to Cienfuegos Press subscribers and prisoners who request a copy). Published by Cienfuegos Press, Over-the-Water, Sanday, Orkney, KW!7 2BL.

Point taken, comrades!

N. W.



MOST anarchist periodicals are newspapers or at least papers which mainly reflect current events, or else are sectarian organs or at least papers which mainly express single lines. We need such papers; but we also need other papers - literary, historical, theoretical magazines which avoid being tied to particular events or particular lines, and which let ideas have as much room as facts and let a hundred ideas bloom. There is no doubt that the British anarchist movement has suffered from a lack of such papers since the Second World War. It is true that, after a few short-lived or ill-fated attempts, there was one during the 1960s in the original Anarchy, edited by Colin Ward and published by the Freedom Press. But after its metamorphosis in the early 1970s the gap opened again. FREEDOM, Black Flag, Direct Action, Black and Red, Anarchist Worker, Libertarian Communist, Inside Story, Wildcat, Zero, and the various papers of local groups - all these have filled the first need of the anarchist press, but there is still the other need. During the past three years three periodicals have tried to meet it. Interrogations has scarcely done so since it began in December 1974, because so few of its articles are in English or about subjects of interest to British readers. The FREEDOM Anarchist Review has successfully done so since it began in March 1975, but it is limited by being produced in a tight eight-page format and to a tight fortnightly schedule, and by being sold as a supplement to a newspaper (rather like the supplements to La Révolte and Les Temps Nouveaux which Jean Grave produced in France at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth

century). The third such periodical is the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review, which emerged from the Black Flag Group a couple of years ago.

So far three issues have been produced under the editorship of Stuart Christie, supported by a growing team of assistants and sustained by a growing list of subscribers, and they have steadily increased in price but also in both the quantity and the quality of the material published. The first issue, which appeared in March 1976, had 28 pages for 30p; the second, which appeared a year later, had 64 pages for £1; the third, which appeared in November 1977, has 136 pages for £2. If this seems a lot to pay for a magazine, consider that with its small type, three column, large page format (similar to that of FREEDOM) it is actually the equivalent of a very large book - or of a whole year's run of the old Anarchy or of the new FREEDOM Anarchist Review. In sheer quantity it is a marvellous bargain; just look at it.

After an editorial article (saying among many other things that "the history of anarchism is the history of people who are virtually unknown", and that the purpose of the magazine is to change this situation) and a financial statement (showing that the Cienfuegos Press is taking a considerable risk in this enterprise), the first hundred pages contain the following major items: Albert Meltzer's Aims and Principles of Anarchism, a revised version of the pamphlet first published in 1968 and republished in 1970, followed by his Objections to Anarchism, first published in 1975-1976 as a series of articles in



Black Flag; Walker C. Smith's Sabotage, first published in 1913 by the author, a leading IWW publicist on the American West Coast; D. Ferraro's article on "Anarchism and Freemasonry", first published in 1963-1964 in the French Noir et Rouge; a "Short History of Anarchism in Bulgaria", with no indication of author or source, but reading like a translation from the French; a new article by Tohyama Hiroko and Wat Tyler on Komeko Fumiko, the Japanese companion of the Korean anarchist Pak Yul, who killed herself in prison at the age of twenty-one after being tried for treason in 1926; the second (Spanish) half of Noam Chomsky's well-known essay 'Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship", first published in 1969 in his book American Power and the New Mandarins, with an introduction by Frank Mintz; William Archer's essay on Francisco Ferrer, the Spanish anarchist educationist shot for rebellion in 1909, first published in 1910 in McClure's Magazine, preceded by an introduction by Dave Poole and followed by three Ferrer letters and Kropotkin's memorial speech of 1909; an essay by Dave Poole on Ricardo Flores Magon and the Mexican Revolution, which serves to whet appetites for the recent Cienfuegos Press book on the subject; an essay by Roland Lewin on Erich Muehsam, the German anarchist writer, first published in 1967 in the French and Italian anarchist press; extracts from the correspondence between Lenin and Gabriel Myasnikov, the boldest bolshevik opponent of Leninism, first published in 1921, presented by Sam Dolgoff; an article by Martyn Everett on Stepniak, the main theoretician of nineteenth-century Russian populism in Britain; a situationist article by Jeanne Charles on women in revolutionary movements, first published in 1975 in the French Chronique des Secrets Publics; two statements on anarcho-feminism or anarcha-feminism (both spellings are used), first published in the American Soil of Liberty; Marius Jacob's speech at his trial for burglary in 1904; a satirical article on "The Benefits Moral and Secular of Assassination", first republished in 1965 in the new Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review; and Carlo Cafiero's call for armed libertarian revolution, first published in 1881 in Il Grido del Popolo.

The remainder of the issue is much more uneven - a twopage parody newspaper report headlined 'Easter Cancelled: Christ's Body Found" (available as a separate poster, at 65p for 25 copies post paid), two pages of poems, two pages of letters, a page on children's books, an account of the Berufsverbot (job-ban) system of excluding leftists from state employment in West Germany, an obituary of Chou En-lai, an account of the Gnostic heresy, an attack on the scientific idealogy, a defence of Velikovsky, an article on Dennis Wheatley, \rightarrow







8 JULY'78



Review

and twenty-four pages of miscellaneous book reviews in which those by Frank Mintz from Black Flag are outstanding.

There is much inventive artwork throughout the issue, but the half-tone illustrations are as unsatisfactory as usual in offset printing, and the make-up is as uncertain as usual in anarchist papers. The most obvious defect of the whole issue apart from being so expensive and extensive that many people will be put off buying or reading it - is that the great majority of the items in it have been reprinted or translated from other publications. This is of course an essential task of any serious anarchist magazine, since so much good material is buried in old or foreign papers, pamphlets and books, but it does raise problems.

Meltzer's nine pages may not seem worth re-reading to those who read the original pamphlet and articles, but they are worth reading for the first time as an individual if rather eccentric account of anarchism by the main ideological figure in the Black Flag Group. Smith's account of sabotage is good stuff, but even more out of date than its mere age suggests; better recent material on this subject has come from the nuclear disarmament movement and the Solidarity Press Group. Ferraro describes not anarchism in Greek philosophy generally but particularly among the Cynics and even more narrowly in Diogenes of Sinope; this approach ignores other Cynic thinkers (Antisthenes before and Crates after Diogenes), other philosophical schools (the Cyrenaics and the Stoics), and the appearance of the anarchist idea in such wider contexts as Aeschylus's plays about Prometheus and Sophocles's play about Antigone.

The material on Freemasonry is very unsatisfactory, especially for British readers. An editorial introduction tries to put the French articles in perspective but only confuses the issue. It distinguishes four types of Freemasonry: 1. The 'knife and fork careerist Masonry' of the Englishspeaking world, which is described as "a combination of club, trade monopoly and benefit society", with the casual remark that "its influence within the police force, security services and judiciary is serious indeed". 2. The anti-Catholic workingclass Masonry of Scotland and Northern Ireland, which is linked with the Orange Movement. 3. The anti-clerical Liberal Masonry of Continental Europe, which is linked with the rise of the bourgeo isie and the decline of the Church. 4. The revolutionary Masonry of Latin Europe, which is linked with the socialist and anarchist movement.

The trouble is that the French articles are almost entirely concerned with the third type, which is the least significant for British anarchists (though it was once influential among British freethinkers). If one is going to devote six pages to the subject, it would surely be better to concentrate on those aspects which are more significant for us. Without doing quite that, it may be worth mentioning some points which would be drawn together in such a discussion. It would certainly be wrong to discount the importance of the first type of Freemasonry as perhaps the largest secret society in this country, containing perhaps about a million members, mostly in the middle and upper classes, and involving not just social activities and commercial contacts but much more sinister things. Freemasonry pervades the aristocracy, the Church, local government, the civil service, the intelligence service, and the diplomatic service, as well as small business, the police and the legal profession. This is a subject which is notable by its absence from the media, though a rare article did appear in the Guardian on April 10.

The second type of Freemasonry shows what the first can lead to, with rival secret societies killing eachother in the streets; but the first type already has plenty to answer for in the past administration of the British Empire and in the present corruption of British society.

The editorial introduction to the French articles tries to play down the serious nature of the issue. The French articles themselves similarly try to play down the connections of anarchists and Freemasons in Continental Europe. For example, they note that it is sometimes claimed "that Proudhon, Elisée Reclus, Sébastian Faure, Voline, etc., were Freemasons", and they comment: 'It is possible, but not certain, for they never confirmed it themselves to our knowledge." This is just silly. Proudhon described his Masonism in De la Justice dans la révolution et dans l'église (1858). The most recent reference book on the subject - the 1400-page

Dictionnaire universel de la Franc-Maçonnerie, edited by Daniel Ligou and published in Paris in 1974 - includes among Freemasons not only these anarchists but several others (Domela-Nieuwenhuis, Hamon, Robin, Tailhade, Louise Michel, and many Spaniards), and gives in each case the date and Lodge they joined. And it quotes an article which Voline wrote in the Revue Anarchiste in July 1931:

I categorically affirm that, for my part, I find absolutely nothing in the principles or practice of Freemasonry which would be incompatible with my anarchist position; and I consider that every anarchist trying to educate himself more widely and also to help with the education of others would have to approve of the association. He would gain by it, and his cause would also gain by it.

They do acknowledge that Ferrer 'was probably a Freemason", but again there is no doubt about it, and indeed it was one of the most important things about him. They are confused about Bakunin's membership, which was begun in Paris in 1845, renewed in Breslau in 1848, and revived in Florence in 1864. It is true that he repudiated Masonism when he turned to socialism and then anarchism at the end of the 1860s, but there is no doubt that Masonism had an influence on anarchism in Latin countries well into the twentieth century. As the editorial introduction says, the famous story of Bakunin's representative Fanelli converting groups of Spanish workers to anarchism in 1868 becomes less mysterious when we recognise that it is a matter of a Freemason talking to Freemasons, and there are many other things about anarchist history in South Europe and South America which make a lot more sense if the Masonic factor is taken into account.

Above all, any discussion of Freemasonry in a left-wing publication should at least acknowledge its function as a revolutionary tradition ever since the time of the French Revolution. Masons were involved in most ninet eenth -century insurrections and assassinations, and there is at least symbolic significance in the fact that, for example, both the Marseillaise and the Internationale were written by Masons. Nevertheless political paranoiacs - those who see conspiracy theory explaining all history - should also note that Masonic revolutionism was spectacularly unsuccessful. Nearly all French insurrections have failed for nearly two centuries, and it is also symbolic that both the first and the last liberal conspiracies which collapsed into tyranny in Russia (the Decembrists of 1825 and the Provisional Government of 1917) were run by Freemasons. But against this must be set the unification of Italy and the independence of the Latin American republics.

Incidentally, one of the odd things about this subject is that Kropotkin's early associates in Russia and then his early associates in the West European left seem to have been predominantly Masons; and of course his last associates in Russia were too. I have never seen any evidence to suggest that he was himself a Mason, but it is at least suspicious.

The articles on Bulgarian and Japanese anarchism are informative and interesting, wherever they came from. Chomsky's article is very valuable, but it has long been available in various editions of the book and seems rather a waste of space.

William Archer's essay on Ferrer is also valuable, but its value is limited. Dave Poole's introduction is useful as far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough. The following points should be mentioned. Archer is described simply as "a freelance journalist", but he was more than this; he was a distinguished dramatist, translator and critic - and, more to the point, he was a leading liberal rationalist. His essay. and his subsequent book The Life, Trial and Death of Francisco Ferrer (1911), represented a major attempt to play down Ferrer's anarchism so as to present him as the victim of religious persecution. Poole mentions Joseph McCabe's booklet The Martyrdom of Ferrer (1909), but not that it was a better journalistic account than Archer's - and, more to the point again, he too was a leading liberal rationalist. In fact both Archer and McCabe were involved in a major whitewash job on behalf of international liberalism. (cont Pg 14)



ABORIGINES AS ANARCHISTS

In this second section I am primarily concerned with Aborigine society before widespread white influence set in in order to discover a few of what I consider to be its anarchistic features. Much of the anarchic tradition has been transmitted to the present generations through numerous values, attitudes and practices, even though they have not been allowed to control their own affairs in any large scale and effective manner, as anarchistic self managing communities - because of white interference.

All Aborigine societies shared certain distinctions from Though Aborigine society was more strictly organised than Relations between the sexes was a more complex affair to

European society. They existed for thousands of years without outside, authoritative, self perpetuating and repressive institutions - such as government and politicians, legal systems and judiciary, armies and generals (or officers, or uniforms ...), police or prisons, chiefs and hereditary or overall leaders, hierarchies or bureaucracies, property inheritors or ambitious power seekers. It is not only in what was absent that the Aborigines are important but in the manner social interaction was organised without these 'unnatural', alien concepts and institutions, which have too often obscured the basics of human communication. In no Aborigine society did one institution or individual monopolise force within a given territory. Social organisation was usually based on clans, members within and between them were equal in the most vital aspects of their lives. Clans were balanced with eachother and related through reciprocal arrangements such as marriage, ritual life, totemic ties and some economic exchanges. Relations between local groups were predominantly friendly, disputes were settled by self help and individual encounters. Large scale warfare was rare, though any individual (most often males) could use violence against another if he had sufficient grievance and provocation and if his kinsmen approved. many other hunter-gatherer systems, individual choice and behaviour were highly prized, once kinship, ritual and totemic duties and obligations were fulfilled. Religious activity was ordered without a priesthood, as every individual had their important role to play - as a vital constituent of their cosmic schema. Social cohesion was maintained through the traditional divisions of responsibility in what were vital concerns - in the rejuvenation of 'The Dreaming' (the period of the creation of the landscape and life, including human society). The elders and the knowledgeable or skilful undoubtedly maintained influence in many spheres, but this was not transformed into authority or power in daily affairs. What an elder or an accomplished person gained in ritual and totemic knowledge (as a result of age and experience) he lost in matters such as decreasing dexterity in hunting. The balance between equals exhibited an important principle - individuals may be -experts' or practitioners in one activity, but are less able in other fields. It was obviously difficult for Aborigines, with their traditional stress on egalitarian mutuality and concurrent individual variation, to come to terms with the European competitive, acquisitive society. Aborigines valued 'good sleepers' or 'good talkers' or 'good eaters' as much as they valued 'good hunters', 'good fighters' or 'good sharers.' There was no discrimination or pressure to conform to everybody else's abilities, as long as people valued and performed their kinship duties and ritual acts. Kinship duties included widespread meat sharing and the transfer of artifacts to those who needed them. assess by European standards. In many cases men and women were expected to perform separate, sex-attributed roles and functions. Women, for example, were largely barred from the secret male ritual life - including the passing down of

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totemic knowledge during initiation, and were required to avoid the sacred sites. Men's cults, despite their secrecy, still needed the active participation of the entire community. Women too prized an essential ritual role, and also maintained their own rituals and cult life. Similarly in subsistence activities, sex roles were clearly defined - women comprised the chief gatherers of plant produce and small game, while men were the sole hunters of large animals (such as kangaroos and emus). though they often collected some vegetables as well. Because of this clear division there was mutual dependency between the sexes. No doubt women were more limited and circumscribed in their behaviour than the men, but this varied between regions and depended on age. Because women were not economically dependent on the males - as plant resources constituted the bulk of the diet - dependence was limited. In many instances women suffered (from our point of view) as a result of their position - physically and psychologically, but as they grew older their position improved, and was often on a par with that of elder men. Reports of total male domination in Aborigine societies must be viewed with caution - the relationships were not so simple. What women lost out on in one sphere they gained in another, and were commonly as respected as the males - individual variations played their part, so that the generous, helpful woman was valued more than the narrowminded, individualistically preoccupied one.

Polygamy was widespread in Australia, though far from predominating in any area. Arguments for and against this institution are numerous - whites have often assumed that monogamy was somehow more advanced and 'civilised'. However, it is not sufficient to attach a label (such as plural marriage) and assume that the relationships involved are necessarily more exploitative than in a monogamous situation. Monogamy is often more oppressive for females than a situation where a number of women share a common mate (and where sexual intercourse with other males often takes place). Aside from this, if we are considering the principles of the institution, in most Aborigine societies male polygamy which involved concurrent spouses was equalled by female consecutive marriages - because of the advanced age of the polygamous male and the youth of the first marrying female. I am not justifying the institution (as I would not justify any marriage institution) but I feel it is important to point out the hypocrisy of many monogamists, and the variation that can exist beyond the simple classification of marriage types. Undoubtedly, Aboriginal anarchism was far from perfect, and lacked some of the freedoms we expect to create for ourselves, but they were nevertheless a living example of society without government and other suchlike coercive institutions.

Their anarchism cannot be reduced to their 'economic level' or their simple material technology as Marxist evolutionism maintains. The Marxist 'primitive communist mode of production' is not only unscientific and unempirical, but far too simplistic. It assumes a straightforward correlation between a group's mode of subsistence and survival techniques and the nature of social organisation. Marx, in his infinite wisdom not only looked down on peasant and agricultural society, but was virtually ignorant of any other economic systems and social systems as working and viable realities. He drew his limited deductions from simplistic and primitive sources such as Morgan - and other armchair anthropologists. Marx and Marxism assume stages in human socio-economic 'development' and are unable to cope with (in terms of distribution and need satisfaction) 'advanced' social organisation coupled with a limited material inventory, and only approach a satisfactory analysis of exploitative socio-economic arrangements in societies with a more complex technology. They attempt to force societies such as Aborigine hunter-gatherer systems

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into a standardised, narrow formula. By positing 'stages of development' they doom them to the 'inevitability' of capitalism and exploitation. Marxism itself, in its Judaeo-Christian prophecies, if anything, is far more archaic in its formula for social controls and coercive institutions (state systems, such as proletarian dictatorships and democratic centralism) than anything the 'primitive' Aborigines have devised. For example, 'ownership' and 'territory' (and 'territoriality') for the Aborigines were not equivalent to European and Marxist conceptions. Individuals or clans or 'tribes' did not 'own' tracts of land - their tie with a few sacred spots was ritual, not economic or political. The ceremonies they performed there guaranteed (they believed) the continuation of the land and its resources. Outsiders (from other regions) could easily gain access to neighbours' areas - a result of various kinship, affinal and totemic ties and friendships. There existed no borders or boundaries between linguistic groups and 'hordes'. People were largely sensible and sensitive about food and water resources, and their availability, they respected eachothers' needs and rights. 'Private property' did not exist (except a few minor possessions, such as hunting weapons, which everybody had or could easily obtain). Aborigines belonged to the land, rather than vice versa. Residential and economic units were assured access to resources in eachothers subsistence ranges (especially when times were harsher). Permission was easily obtained - hospitality, generosity and sharing were highly valued. An ungenerous individual, or an accumulative one, was considered unsociable and strange few such people existed until the whites arrived.

So much for capitalism, christianity and Marxism; what about anarchism? Aborigine society, in its past record and in the contemporary setting, holds the promise of a stateless future, with a well-adjusted and environmentally adapted material technology.

The Walbiri Aborigines (of the Northern Territory) were divided into a number of communities, and had no political leaders or governmental hierarchy. Behaviour in common activities was initiated and guarded by peoples' own knowledge and expectations, and the acceptance of established, traditional norms. Thankfully, European contact has not greatly altered this enduring pattern, even though the whites have increasingly attempted to establish some centralised administrative structure among them - by delegating authority to males specially selected by them (chiefly those possessing the new, highly valued skills - valued by whites - and speaking English competently). Social relations among the blacks were more enlightened in many respects. The old, disabled and 'unproductive' were well taken care of by the physically strong, and had their own individual and common contributions to social and ritual life. Decisions were made and disputes were settled through widespread participation and mutual agreement. European and white Australian society was in many comparisons more restricted and restricting.

ANARCHISTS AS ABORIGINES

I would argue that the destruction of Aboriginal society was largely promoted by white misunderstanding, envy, ignorance, fear, hatred and 'white-washing.' An aggressive, arrogant, pushy population confronted one with almost diametrically opposite ideas about mutuality. Aborigines presented one example of social organisation where egalitarianism, reciprocity, mutuality and a measure of individuality were compatible and operational. At present they must be very careful not to emulate the whites in their own organisations - not to fall for materiality and the appearance of well being and satisfaction.

In the Aboriginal view their loved country, where every detail of the landscape and environment was beautiful and important, was ruthlessly ripped away. Australia became a conquered land, unloved by its white robbers. Central Australia, for example, was for the first time subjected to a merciless materialistic exploitation, so that the greed of its 'civilised' pioneers and absentee landholders could be rapidly satisfied. Its Aborigines and animal life were shot down liberally, often simply for sport (Sunday afternoon, after church was a favour able hunting period), while its vegetation was devastated by

short-sighted overstocking - sheep farming for rapid profit for instance. Aboriginal society was particularly vulnerable to intensive interference by people intent on its destruction and the takeover of their land. A white anthropologist who has lived with the Central Desert Aborigines all of his life, and is accepted by the blacks as a member of the community, Strehlow, has written extensively, intelligently and sympathetically on the Aborigines. In a moment of contemplation he remarks:-

"The original inhabitants had lived for thousands of years in a state of loving closeness to nature, content with meagre material possessions. These people had felt certain that despite disease, drought and natural catastrophes, the continued existence of men, animals and trees was assured for all eternity: they believed that all living organisms were a part of the total life of an eternal earth. White settlers, within a few generations, inaugurated a 20th century material civilisation. Yet these changes, on the whole materially beneficial, have not brought with them a commensurate increase in human happiness. Most Australians now share the fears, doubts and the strong sense of disillusionment of that present-day fictitious person, the 'Common Man', wherever he is to be found on the globe. Perhaps even 'civilised man' could improve his prospects of a more secure future by adopting some of the concepts of toleration and cooperation on which the Aborigines based their social and political systems."

Abophobia among the whites generally and the Australian administration in particular was comprised of a variety of fears, prejudices and hatreds. The blacks were despised because they refused to settle permanently (until forced to do so), were not interested in planting crops or keeping animals or humans for profit. They were subdued and suffered prejudice because they were black. They were feared because their life styles and values contradicted white superstitions about social order. Governments and their numerous representatives interfered with them continually, especially because they did not recognise any overriding authority, and had constructed and reproduced their social relations without centralised power or the monopolisation of coercion by any institution. In total they countered white European standards, and therefore had to be transformed into renegades and helpless incompetents in order to satisfy white assertions about human nature.

Aboriginal society, even after white pollution appeared, was a form of living anarchy. No doubt they also possessed many features which would have no place in an anarchistic worldwide future - such as the strict definition of sex roles. Nevertheless the Aborigines present a significant living hope for Australia as a whole. At present they must be given the greatest help and encouragement in their attempts at self management. Their oppression is ours, their anarchism and struggle against state control and destructive interference is ours, their race is ours as well!

Useful Books on the Aborigines

(1) C.D. Rowley - 'Aboriginal Policy and Practice':-

L. Lipmann - 'Words or Blows (Racial attitudes in Australia)' K. Maddock - 'The Australian Aborigines - A Portrait of Their Society' T.G.H. Strehlow - 'Aranda Traditions'

- 'Personal Monototemism in a Polytotemic community' A.P. Elkin - 'The Australian Aborigines - how to understand them'.

For the other three articles in the series see FREEDOM vol. 39 no. 2 (4 February 1978), no. 8 (29 April) and no. 12 (24 June).

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- Vol. 1 - 'The destruction of Aboriginal society' - Vol.2 - 'Aboriginal policy and practice'

IN 1975, during a routine eye examination, it was suggested that I may have developed Open Angle Glaucoma. (A condition in which increased inter-ocular pressure can damage the optic nerve, and may result in blindness). This diagnosis was confirmed by further testing by an opthomologist. He prescribed one of the standard treatments for glaucoma, the use of a number of chemical agents that seem capable of controlling interocular pressure. Pilocarpine. He also advised me to resign myself to the use of the eye drops for the remainder of my life.

What followed was an orgy of self trashing. Anger and depression, resentment and self pity, I felt betrayed by my body. (As though it were a separate entity from my consciousness). I went through a bad time and it took a while for me to come out at the other side. It seems that glaucoma is one of those systemic conditions about which very little is known. It is defined by its symptoms rather than by its causes. Influenced by Reichian ideas since the early forties, my 'take' on glaucoma was that it was somatic response to the accumulated pressures in my life. The read back from the self trashing formed around the concinviction that if indeed the glaucoma was self induced. it should be possible to reverse the process. If pressure and tension cause my glaucoma, then the process of reversal must lie in developing techniques of deep relaxation. (i.e. opthomologists know that interocular pressure is reduced by smoking grass or even taking a few drinks. Though, alas, the effect is relatively short lived).

I started to investigate meditative techniques but found those available to me too 'spooky' for my pragmatic bent, and I was unable to sustain them. The turning point in my search for self healing was my joining of one of Claude Steiner's radical therapy groups early in 1976. My prime contract with the group became 'to heal myself of my glaucoma.' It would be nice to say that my progress from that time on was immediate and direct, but of course that wasn't the case. For more than six months I struggled and thrashed in group, working on many long repressed problems, especially the difficulties in my relationship with my long time comrade/companion. But despite the 'sturm und drang' and indirection, indications began developing in group work and especially during the sessions of bioenergetic body work, of events and feelings that were directly related to my eye condition.

In late September of 1976, I was invited to join an experimental group working on glaucoma. The group met at the Center for Attitudinal Healing in Tiberon, California. The group had been formed by Jerry Jampolsky and Marguerite Craig, both deeply involved in developing self healing techniques. 'Marge' Craig had 'cured' herself of glaucoma and was eager to share her insights with fellow sufferers. Let me give praise to them here; for though I was broke at the time and couldn't afford the fees that had been set for the group, they were undeterred and generously invited me to join them. For ten weeks, the group, about twelve of us from different social and economic backgrounds, all of whom had glaucoma, met and worked with a 'Dukes Mixture' of holistic health practitioners. We were instructed in techniques of breath control; visualisation exercises; 'religious' meditation, Bates eye exercises; and energy redistribution techniques. We worked with experts in body-alignment, reflexology, iridology, bio-feedback and autogenic training. We did Feldenkreis exercises; our eyes were examined and photographed; our feet were massaged; we were advised about our diets; we were induced into trance like states; we were even sung/howled over by a beautiful young mystic who claimed her 'healing sounds' could make people well half a continent away. After ten weeks, our heads reeled with all these revelations. For inherent in each approach was the inference that if we followed the suggested regimen of the 'healer' we would be cured. Too many of these 'healers' seemed to propose, to

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