

FREE

STATE THE STATE

NEW

ANARCHIST REVIEW

14631 A

1985

ANARCHIST • BOOK FAIR

on **SATURDAY MAY 4TH**

from **10-30 am** to **6-30 pm**

at the **TUNBRIDGE CLUB**

CROMER ST • LONDON • WC1

to be followed by a **SOCIAL** until **10.00**

BAKUNIN

MARXISM, FREEDOM & THE STATE

M A R X I S M

F R E E D O M A N D
T H E S T A T E

Michael Bakunin
Freedom Press
paperback
£1.00

Trade: A Distribution
Housmans Bookshop
Mail Order: Freedom Bookshop
Anarchist Book Service
Housmans

FREEDOM PRESS

Marxism, Freedom and the State is a short selection of Bakunin's writings, together with a brief biography by the compiler K J Kenafick. It was first published by Freedom Press in 1950 and has now been reprinted.

The distinction between authoritarian socialism and libertarian socialism (or anarchism) was apparent from the beginning. In the International Working Mens (*sic*) Association in the 1860's and 1870's the two rival theories clashed in the persons of Karl Marx, for authoritarian socialism, and Michael Bakunin, for anarchism.

It is over a hundred years since Marx and Bakunin died so their ideas and statements can be assessed not only on their intrinsic merits, but also on how they have been judged by history. Authoritarian socialists have gained power in many countries,

most notably in Russia following the 1917 Revolution. Consider who was proved correct with the prediction as to what socialist government would mean in practice. In place of the ideal society claimed by Marx and his followers we have seen dictatorship by a minority over the great majority of society, and in Stalin's Russia perhaps the most evil regime in history.

This is what Bakunin wrote, some fifty years before a Marxist state came into existence:

"There will be a new class, a new hierarchy of real and pretended scientists and scholars, and the world will be divided into a minority ruling in the name of knowledge and an immense ignorant majority. And then, woe betide the mass of ignorant ones!"

Note again that Bakunin's prediction that the seizure of power by authoritarian socialists would just lead to a new form of class society was made fifty years before it occurred in practice.

Bakunin's importance is not simply

as a critic of authoritarian socialism and the disasters it has inflicted on humanity. Also included in this selection is Bakunin's insistence that justice and equality are impossible without liberty, his stress on the importance of the instinct of revolt, his exposure of the self-contradiction in the Marxist claim to remedy economic problems by political means (when Marxists simultaneously claim that politics merely reflects economics), and his view of the relationship between class, society and government.

"The State has always been the patrimony of some privileged class or another".

An insight that holds good for socialist states as well as others!

Finally, it is time to repeat Bakunin's central message, one that to our cost we have ignored.

"The human race has let itself long enough, too long, be governed, and the source of misfortunes does not lie in such or such a form of government but in the very fact and principle of government, of whatever type it may be."

**NEW
ANARCHIST
REVIEW**

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NAR is a joint project by the following organisations:-

A DISTRIBUTION: A co-operative of anarchist publishers set up to provide a joint distribution network for books and periodicals.

HOUSMANS: Long established bookshop and distributor of 'alternative' publishers.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP: The main anarchist bookshop in Britain. Also linked with FREEDOM PRESS, publishers of anarchist titles since 1886.

ANARCHIST BOOK SERVICE: The youngster of the team, one year old and growing. It was set up to provide a wide selection of titles by mail order for those having difficulty obtaining them through their local bookshop.

DYNAMITE

DYNAMITE

Trade: A Distribution
Housmans Distribution

Mail Order: Anarchist Book Service
Housmans Bookshop
Freedom Bookshop

Louis Adamic
Rebel Press
paperback
£4.50



A Century of Class Violence in America
1830-1930
Louis Adamic
REBEL PRESS

Dynamite!, the forthcoming new title from Rebel Press, is the story of a century of class struggle in America — from 1830-1930.

Written in the 1930's by an acute observer of (and participator in) workers struggles in the States, it has an unusually compelling, journalistic style. It is strong, compassionate and its sense of justice is infectious.

To readers in the 1980's, however, it is also fascinating because it shows the truth behind the American Dream. And it chronicles the all-too-often forgotten socialist and anarchist history of the period.

The premise of the book is that the particular harshness of the American

situation — with its vicious brand of capitalism and a constant stream of desperate immigrants willing to take any work at any price — would and had led to violence. Hence the 'Dynamite!' of the title.

Adamic shows how starvation led to strikes; how attacks by the militia and by hired gunmen led to riots; and how massacres and fixed show trials led to the first bombs being thrown. He goes on to show how the idealistic class violence of the anarchist 'propagandists by the deed' had given way by the 1930's to the cynical racketeering of corrupt and bullying union bosses and the gangsters' mobs. But he

leaves us also with the wobbles of the period developing their doctrine of sabotage.

British readers will find many familiar faces in *Dyanmite!* — the Chicago anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti, Al Capone, to name a few. But what they will find above all is a clear, uncluttered account of what happened — and why — during this turbulent period in American history.

WILLIAM MORRIS

Richard Boston
Old Hammond Press
pamphlet A6
65p

Trade: Housmans Distribution

Mail Order: Freedom Bookshop
Housmans Bookshop
Anarchist Book Service

This well produced pamphlet is composed of two previously published articles on William Morris. Each is an examination of the motivations of this 'Dreamer of Dreams', with the second defending his corpse from the graverobbers of the authoritarian Left.

Morris was a visionary, a man of many interests who sought to free

work from its drudgery. His ideas, and actions, in the field of design, crafts, publishing and education were all dedicated to producing 'whole' people, people who could use both minds and hands for their own, and ultimately society's, benefit.

A 'Dreamer of Dreams' whose



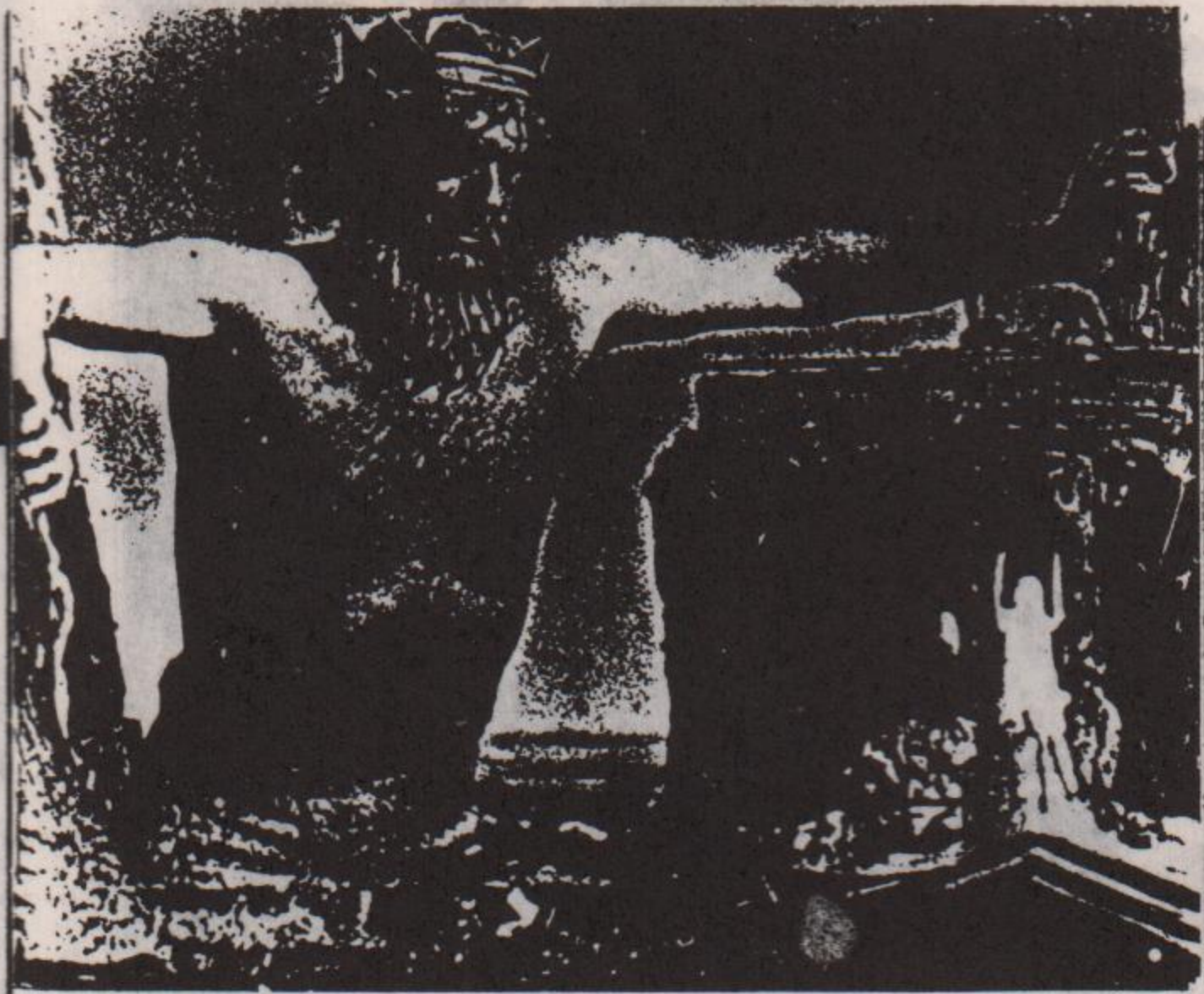
WILLIAM
MORRIS
dreamer
of
dreams

Richard
Boston

influence is still felt in the many areas he turned his attention to.

INTERNATIONAL DOCKERS' STRUGGLES IN THE EIGHTIES

INTERNATIONAL DOCKERS' STRUGGLES



WORKERS OF THE WORLD, TONIGHT!

Like Sleeping Beauty, workers everywhere are re-awakening. Hopefully at long last to realise their desires. Although now becoming clearly visible, this world's re-awakening has been long in preparing and has gone through many unsung routes. This pamphlet is about one of them.

Most of the translations appearing here are leaflets/short texts which the Spanish dockers have written over the course of their struggle. Some were addressed to assembled workers, others were handed out during demonstrations and others

Various
BM Blob
pamphlet A3
£1.25

Trade: A Distribution
Housmans Distribution

Mail Order: Freedom Bookshop
Anarchist Book Service
Housmans

were published in dockers' news-sheets.

These texts have a special importance because they deal clearly with the problems facing the proletarian movement: problems related to political parties and their rival gangs including unions, technological innovation and unemployment and their effect on the autonomous class struggle to abolish all classes.

At long last, following the multi-national character of the world economy, more and more proletarians are making concrete, international contact. Although there is much that is uneven in this, it's a step in the right direction. Obviously one has to keep one's distance from the bureaucratic international of

world trade unionism and related bodies.

The third international of European dockers, (together with exiled dockers from Latin America) was held in 1979 in Barcelona under the slogan: 'The emancipation of the working class will be the task of the workers themselves, or it will not be at all'. Since then many other such meetings have taken place in different European ports. The example of this conference and the victory which was to be achieved by the striking dockers afterwards, meant that the Spanish libertarian experience was concretely communicated internationally. The Danish dockers in '83 said of their own strike: "Not since the '30's has there been so much international solidarity..."

HOUSING IS THEFT....

HOUSING IS THEFT
HOUSING IS FREEDOM

COLIN WARD

Trade: Housmans Distribution
Mail Order: Anarchist Book Service
Housmans Bookshop
Freedom Bookshop

Colin Ward
Old Hammond Press
pamphlet
£1.00

and is equally critical of the government's failure to alleviate the current housing crisis, and Labour councils for perpetuating resentment and dependency in their tenants. The author argues in favour of dweller-control and gives examples of successful self-help

housing groups.

Colin Ward has written extensively in housing and social policy journals, the anarchist press, and is the author of several books on urban issues.

This is the first pamphlet to be produced by Old Hammond Press of Nottingham, in co-operation with Nottingham's Mushroom Bookshop.

POVERTY OF STUDENT LIFE

Trade: A Distribution
Housmans Distribution

Mail Order: Housmans Bookshop
Freedom Bookshop
Anarchist Book Service

Internationale Situationniste
Dark Star & Rebel Press
pamphlet A5
75p

First published in 1966 at the University of Strasbourg by students of the university and members of the IS. A few students elected to the student union printed 10,000 copies with university funds. The copies were distributed at the official ceremony marking the beginning of the academic year. The student union was promptly closed by court order. Perhaps the best 'recommendation' proved to be the judges summing up in the ensuing court case. We reproduce it for your delectation!

The accused have never denied the charge of misusing the funds of the student union. Indeed, they openly admit to having made the union pay some \$1500 for the printing and distribution of 10,000 pamphlets, not to mention the cost of other literature inspired by 'Internationale

Situationniste'. These publications express ideas and aspirations which, to put it mildly, have nothing to do with the aims of a student union. One has only to read what the accused have written, for it is obvious that these five students, scarcely more than adolescents, lacking all experience of real life, their minds confused by ill-digested philosophical, social, political and economic theories, and perplexed by the drab monotony of their everyday life, make the empty, arrogant, and pathetic claim to pass definitive judgements, sinking to outright abuse, on their fellow-students, their teachers, God, religion, the clergy, the governments and political systems of the whole world. Rejecting all morality and restraint, these cynics do not

on the poverty of student life

considered in its economic, political, psychological, sexual, and particularly intellectual aspects, and a modest proposal for its remedy

by members of the
internationale situationniste
and students of strasbourg

hesitate to commend theft, the destruction of scholarship, the abolition of work, total subversion, and a world-wide proletarian revolution with 'unlicensed pleasure' as its only goal.

In view of their basically anarchist character, these theories and propaganda are eminently noxious. Their wide diffusion in both student circles and among the general public, by the local, national and foreign press, are a threat to the morality, the studies, the reputation and thus the very future of the students of the University of Strasbourg.

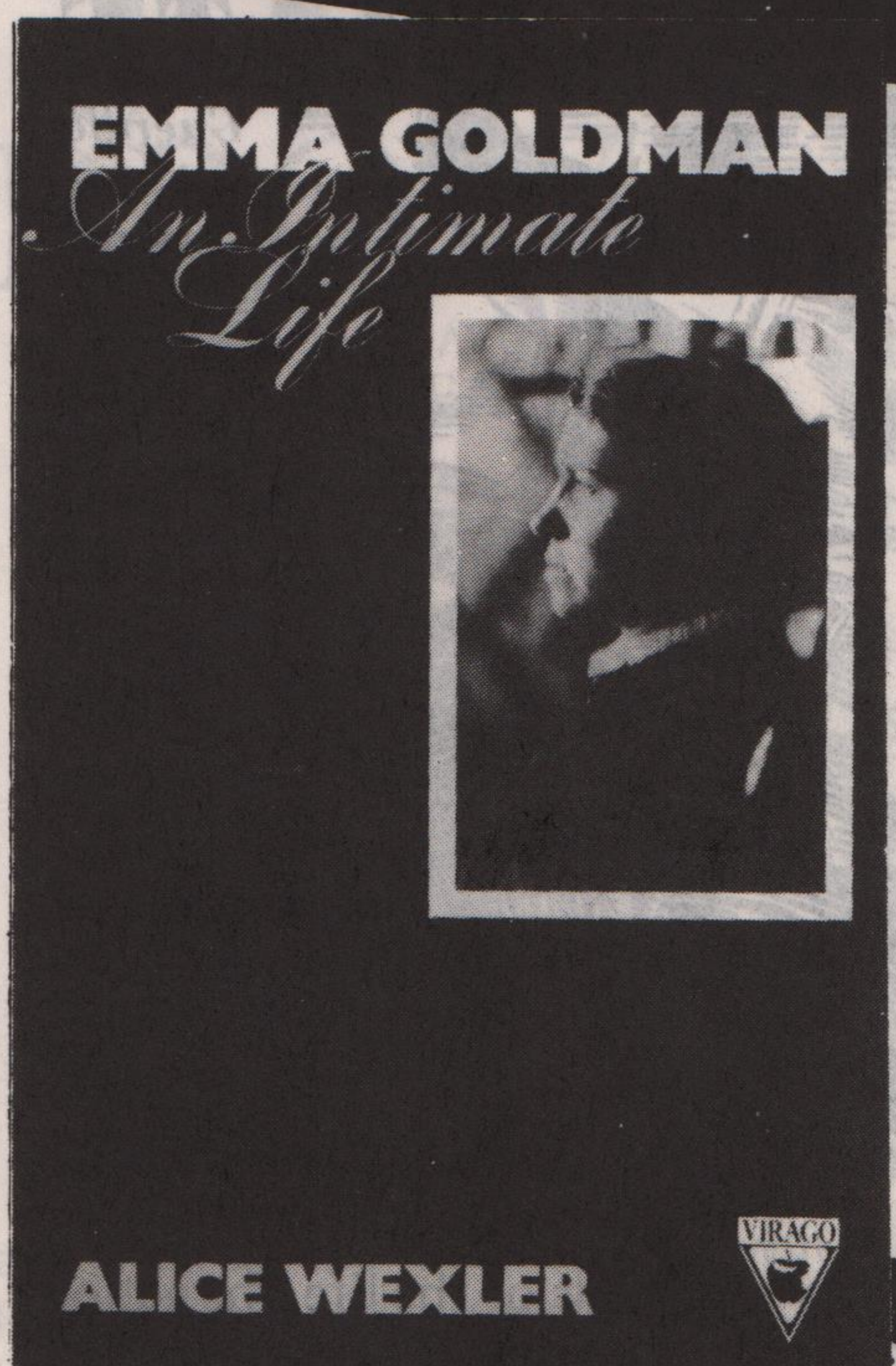
EMMA GOLDMAN

Alice Wexler
Virago
paperback
£5.95

Trade: Housmans Distribution
Mail Order: Anarchist Book Service
Housmans Bookshop
Freedom Bookshop

In established society she was considered a 'monster', one of America's most dangerous agitators. To her admirers, 'Red Emma' was a mythic figure of another kind, a charismatic heroine who lived her life in the service of a personal and political ideal. Now, using newly discovered correspondence, historian Alice Wexler offers us a rich and uncensored record of Emma Goldman's remarkable life. There is Emma's career: her incendiary role in the violent labour struggles which rocked the country; her

controversial campaigns for women's right and sexual freedom; her opposition to the draft in the First World War. But Wexler also takes us behind the public persona to show us an Emma plagued by fatigue, self-doubt, depression — and an intense erotic dependency, astonishingly revealed in her letters to Ben Reitman. Alice Wexler's sensitive portrayal of Emma Goldman is a fascinating exploration of the tensions between the public myth



and the private individual, and the triumph and cost of being a legend.

THE BATTLE OF STEPNEY

The Sidney Street Siege:
Its Causes and Consequences



Colin Rogers

On 3rd January 1911, in a drab street in London's East End before a huge audience, the massed forces of law and order were defied for seven hours by two foreign desperados. Some 2,000 rounds of ammunition were fired during the pitched battle before the wanted pair placed themselves for ever beyond the law by dying inside their flameswept fortress. *The Battle of Stepney* provides the most definitive study to date on the siege of 100 Sidney Street, also of press and public

THE BATTLE OF STEPNEY

Colin Rogers
Hale
Hardback
£3.95 (reduced from £8.95)

Mail Order: Freedom Bookshop
Anarchist Book Service
Housmans

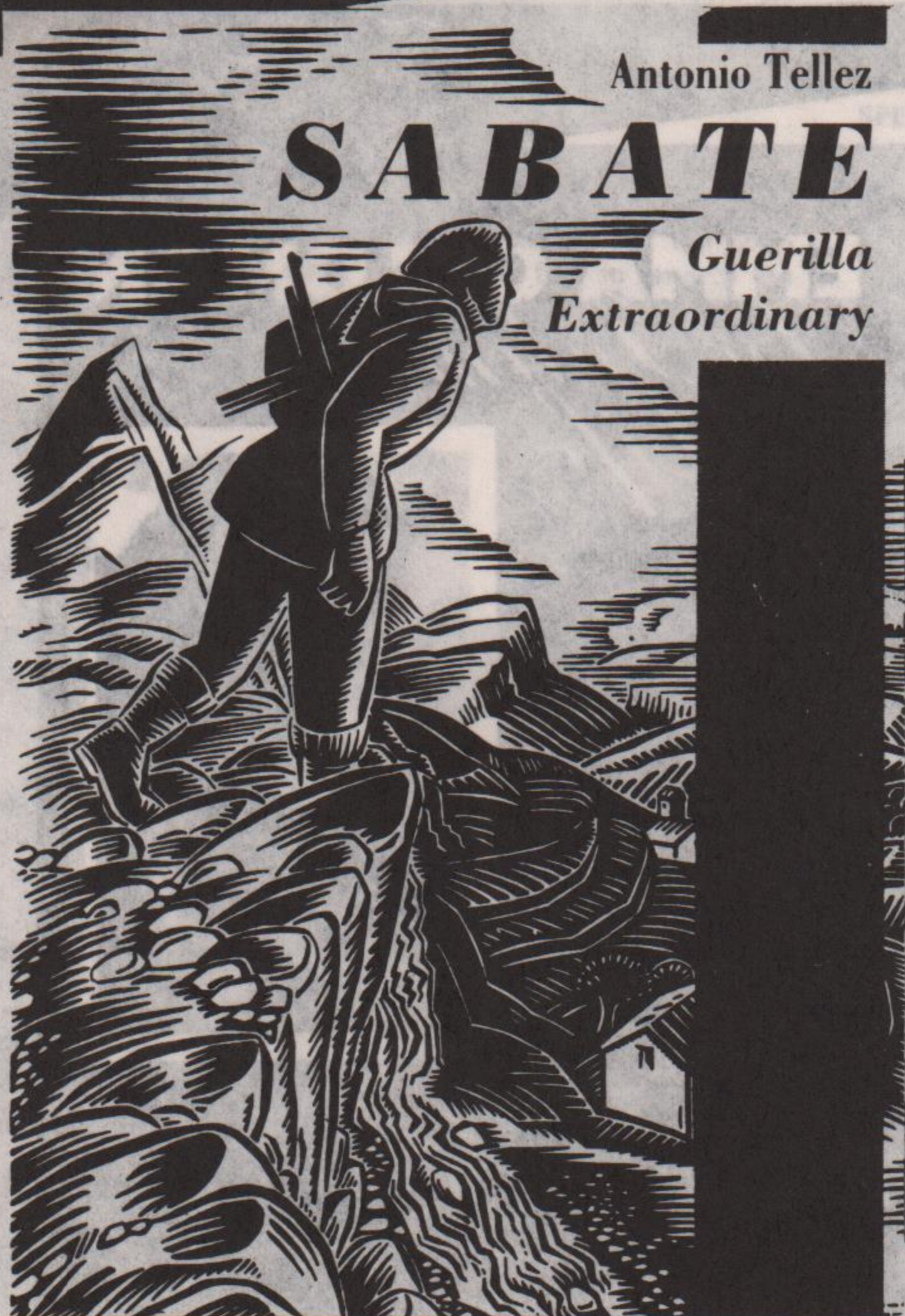
reaction to this extraordinary happening and its repercussions in Parliament, the courts, Sidney Street itself and elsewhere.

The battle resulted from a ferocious affray made 17 nights earlier, when seven unarmed City of London policemen confronted a group of Eastern European burglars and five were shot down. The book therefore opens with a close description of this incident — the Exchange Buildings outrage — and concludes with a summary of the legal proceedings which arose out of it.

The story, which unfolds chronologically, abounds in such unconventional ingredients as the dead

policemen's public funeral and memorial service at St Paul's Cathedral; Home Secretary Winston Churchill's presence at the battle, his astonishing behaviour there and the fierce criticism these aroused; the Aliens Act of 1905, its half-hearted administration and the virulent campaign against both; the strong anti-immigrant and anti-Semitic feeling stirred up by the crimes; the involvement of Errico Malatesta.

Based on almost a year's research at the British Library and the Public Records Office, *The Battle of Stepney* has taken another five years to assemble, write and edit. A more comprehensive account of these remarkable events is unlikely ever to be attempted.



Antonio Tellez

SABATE

Guerilla
Extraordinary

SABATE

Trade: A Distribution
Housmans Distribution
Mail Order: Anarchist Book Service
Housmans Bookshop
Freedom Bookshop

Antonio Tellez
Elephant Editions
paperback
£2.95

1936-39. Many things have happened since it was first published at the end of the sixties, and the experience of armed struggle in Europe is no longer limited to that of the comrades who carried on the struggle against Francoist Spain.

Sabate never stopped, never drew back, did not let himself be overcome by doubts. And let it not be said (as it has been said) that things were easier for him, because everyone agrees about combating fascism. That is all right for the hypocrites

who disguise themselves, certainly not for anarchists. Fascism is always before us, even when it wears the multi-coloured clothing of Mrs Thatcher's relatively permissive welfare State.

Everyone understands that easily. Less easily do they decide to act. That is why a book of this kind is always useful: because reading it pushes one to action, it arouses enthusiasm. Because it shows the thousand and one ways in which it is possible to strike the enemy. Because it gives no space to resignation and doubt.

6 This book tells of the life, the action and the death of an anarchist guerilla, active before, during and after the Spanish Revolution of

THE BLACK FLAG

The Black Flag

Trade: Housmans Distribution
A Distribution

Mail Order: Freedom Bookshop
Housmans Bookshop
Anarchist Book Service

Brian Jackson
RKP
hardback
£2.95 (reduced from £6.95)



A look back at the strange case of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti

Brian Jackson

Sacco and Vanzetti were two Italian immigrant anarchists living in the Boston area in 1920, who were accused of a payroll robbery and the murder of two guards. They were arrested and, after a long trial based on inadequate and prejudiced evidence, they were executed in 1927. In 1977, on the fiftieth anniversary of their deaths, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, after reconsideration of the legitimacy of this controversial trial, issued a proclamation which acknowledged the miscarriage of justice and which concluded with the hope of a 'resolve to prevent the forces of intolerance, fear and hatred from ever again uniting to overcome the rationality, wisdom and fairness to which our legal

system aspires'.

In his account of this celebrated case, Brian Jackson comments, 'It can hardly be maintained that guilt was proven at the time. But theirs was not an age of reason in American history. Both were guilty — and proudly so — of a cultural crime. They were foreign, working-class, armed and anarchist . . . In the end it was for this that the State executed them.'

Brian Jackson researched the case in Britain and then went to Boston to conduct interviews and gather information which, prior to the passing of the Freedom of Information Act after the Watergate scandal, had been unavailable. He places the

trial in the social climate of the period and exposes the nature of anarchism by looking at the lives of two of its exponents. The result is a moving reassessment of the case that still troubles the conscience of America.

"Our words — our lives — our pain — nothing. The taking of our lives — lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler — all. That last moment belongs to us — that agony is our triumph.

Bartolomeo Vanzetti

JOHN BROWN

JOHN BROWN

Henry David Thoreau
Montreal, 1984
pamphlet
60p

Trade: Housmans Distribution

Mail Order: Housmans Bookshop
Freedom Bookshop
Anarchist Book Service

HENRY DAVID
THOREAU

The name of John Brown is synonymous with the struggle against slavery in the United States. With his small band of militants he freed black slaves in audacious armed raids which outraged both conservative and liberal wings of the white bourgeoisie.

The response of Thoreau to the capture and execution of John Brown will be a revelation to all those familiar with the current image of 'Thoreau the pacifist'.

'We preserve the so-called peace of our community by deeds of petty

violence. Look at the policeman's billy and handcuffs! Look at the jail! Look at the gallows! Look at the chaplain of the regiment! We are hoping only to live safely on the outskirts of *this* provisional army. So we defend ourselves and our hen-roosts, and maintain slavery. . . . I think that for once the Sharpe's rifles and the revolvers were employed in a righteous cause. The tools were in the hands of one who could use them.

The same indigestion that is said to



have cleared the temple once will clear it again. The question is not about the weapon, but the spirit in which you use it."

CATALOGUE

MARCH
1985

The Anarchist Book Service is a non-wage paying, non-profit distributing project. All excess income, after meeting costs, is used to improve the range of titles available.

The primary purpose of the ABS is to enable those who, by virtue of where they live or because of the ordering policy of their local bookshop, have difficulty in obtaining anarchist literature. Even those with an 'enlightened' local bookshop rarely discover the wide range of titles available.

The following pages list the current titles available from us, together with a short description. Fuller descriptions of certain titles can be found in this copy, and previous editions, of the New Anarchist Review. Most anarchist periodicals have a policy of reviewing titles but, should you wish to know more about a specific title, please ask and we'll try to oblige.

Nearly all orders are filled 'first time' but occasionally we have to procure new stacks to fulfil an unexpected demand for certain titles. If this happens to you, we hope you will bear with us and not object too strongly to a short delay.

Existing users of the ABS will note that we have introduced, for the first time, a charge to cover postage. Whilst regretting this, it has proved to be necessary to ensure the continuing viability of the ABS.

We hope you find the following list useful (even if only for reference purposes!), and look forward to receiving your orders, comments and criticism.

Please note that:

BM BOOKSERV, LONDON, WC1N 3XX is our full address and is all that need be written on the envelope. Cheques and Postal Orders should be made payable to:

ANARCHIST BOOK SERVICE and should be 'crossed' to prevent evil-doers from benefitting by ripping off our post. Overseas (and Republic of Ireland) users are asked to pay in Sterling only. British banks have a tendency to charge unbelievably high sums to convert foreign currency, cheques and PO's.

Finally, the ABS has no moral objection to being given large or small donations of cash, office equipment, Caribbean holidays for the over-worked staff, etc, so feel free to send in the proceeds of your latest bank robbery, little brothers piggy-bank or whatever!

HOW
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How to Order:

- Write your name and address at head of paper. This is quite important if you want your books sent to the correct place!
- List each title, together with the author and price.
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(Overseas and Republic of Ireland customers please note: payment must be in Sterling).

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ANARCHY (1st series)

Considered to be the finest example of libertarian periodical publishing. Each issue would link several articles under a common theme. Editions available are:

Nos. 17, 19, 29, 30, 35, 42, 44-46, 48, 49, 52-55, 57-59, 65, 67, 72, 76, 86-88, 107-118.

per single copy: 20p

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Under the present editorial collective emphasis is given to international struggle and investigative journalism.

Editions available are:

35 .50
36 .50
37 .50

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Intended to supplement the Fortnightly Bulletin with longer in-depth articles, concentrating on industrial and international activities.

Editions available are:

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Autumn '84 .75

CIENFUGOS PRESS ANARCHIST REVIEW

Ambitious project intended to provide an extensive review of anarchist literature. Now defunct.

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4 .40

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10-11 (each) £1.00
12 £1.25

SOLIDARITY

Theoretical journal of the Solidarity group. Emphasis on analysis of capitalism and revolution and relationship between them.

Editions available are:

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Excellent pocketbook series explaining situationist ideas, critiques. Avoids jargon and strong on graphics.

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Magazine format, with articles, letters, reviews, etc.

Editions available are:

Winter '85 .75

INSURRECTION

A3 format, excellent design, agitational with strong emphasis on theory too.

Editions available are:

1 .50
2 .50

We can also obtain current editions of the following (prices can vary as can regularity):

BLACK FLAG (fortnightly) 25p-40p
FREEDOM (monthly) 40p
CLASS WAR (nearly monthly) 20p
WORKERS PLAYTIME (irregular) 20p-30p
CROWBAR (nearly monthly) 20p
OPEN ROAD (irregular, Canadian) 50p-75p
FIFTH ESTATE (irregular, USA) 50p-75p
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Sometimes we can obtain local papers (which are too numerous/ephemeral to list) so please ask if there's one you want to get hold of.

ABC OF ANARCHISM

A Berkman £1.50
Freedom Press
An introduction to the ideas of anarchist-communism.

AGAINST HIS-STORY, AGAINST LEVIATHAN

F Perlman £4.50
Black & Red
A personal odyssey through history with an emphasis on discovering the nature of power.

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G Woodcock £3.50
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J Lane .75
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A handy pocket book edition of this well thought out and argued proposition.

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Finally reprinted, Meltzer's introduction to anarchist theory and action.

ANARCHIST READER

G Woodcock £2.95
Fontana Books
A wide-ranging selection of essays reflecting the many influences and currents that have made anarchism one of the most radical ideologies. Edited by Woodcock it makes for a fine introduction to anarchism.

ANARCHISTS IN LONDON, 1935-55

A Meltzer £1.50
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A personal memoir of those years by a long-time activist, still working today.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM - HISTORY AND ACTION

Various .30
DAM Publications
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ANARCHO QUIZ BOOK

A Meltzer ed. .80
Simian Press
A compilation of the ever popular quiz published in the journal 'Black Flag'. Full of surprising little facts.

ANARCHY

E Malatesta .75
Freedom Press
Written by the Italian activist, this edition translated and published in 1974. Soon to be reprinted at, of course, a higher price, so get your copy now!

ANARCHY IN ACTION

C Ward £2.00
Freedom Press
Practical example of anarchist ideas in action.

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F Perlman .50
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Niccolo Press
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AUTHORITY HAS NO TEARS

G McCarty .60
Just Books
Poems from inside Long Kesh, otherwise known as Her Majesty's Cellular Prison, The Maze.

BAKUNIN AND NECHAEV

P Avrich .50
Freedom Press
A review of the paradoxical relationship between these two great Russian revolutionaries.

BAKUNIN ON ANARCHISM

S Dolgoff ed. £6.95
Black Rose Books
A well-edited collection of some of Bakunin's most important writings.

BATTLE OF STEPNEY

C Rogers £3.95
RKP
The events that led up to the 'Siege of Sydney Street' are here well documented, the author has obviously researched the period well and includes such events as the 'Tottenham Outrage' and the 'Exchange Building Murders', all part of the build-up to the Siege.

THE BLACK FLAG

B Jackson £2.95
RKP
Subtitled 'The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti', this title is now available at a considerably reduced price.

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M Brinton £3.50
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.80
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Freedom Press
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

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CUBAN REVOLUTION

S Dolgoff £5.95
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pamphlet A5
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Frans Masereel: 'L'Idea'

(104pp A4, Nautilus Editions, £10.00. Distributed by Elephant Editions, BM Elephant, London WC1N 3XX). Its 83 woodcuts were produced in Paris in 1927 and the book first published later that year in Munich. It describes the fate of Freedom — The Idea — symbolised by a woman, let lose in modern times. (The same term 'The Idea' had been used for many years in Spain as a synonym for the aims of militant anarchism). The series of expressionist drawings depict the world of priests, philistines, profiteers and politicians, the grisly circus of cops, magistrates, prisons and firing squads.

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Stefan Zweig, his close friend, describing Masereel's anarchism said: 'I know nothing that he hates more than institutions that reduce the richness and abundance of life to coldness, uniformity and immobility. He is the enemy of the coercive and unjust State, he is the enemy of despotic, conservative society, he does not adhere to any party, he is on the side of the weak, the oppressed, the victims.' Or, as Masereel described himself, he was simply 'a man in the street'.

Clifford Harper

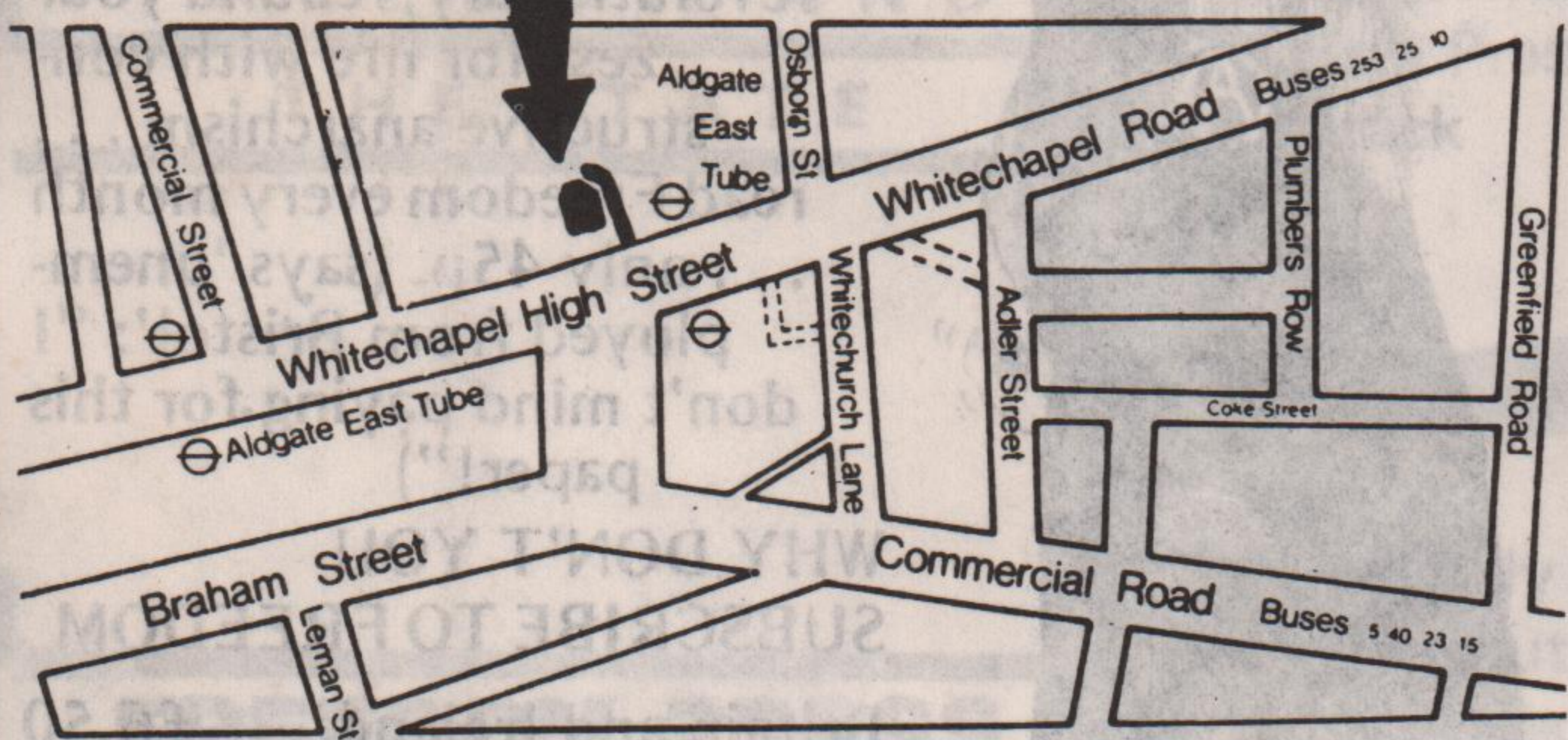


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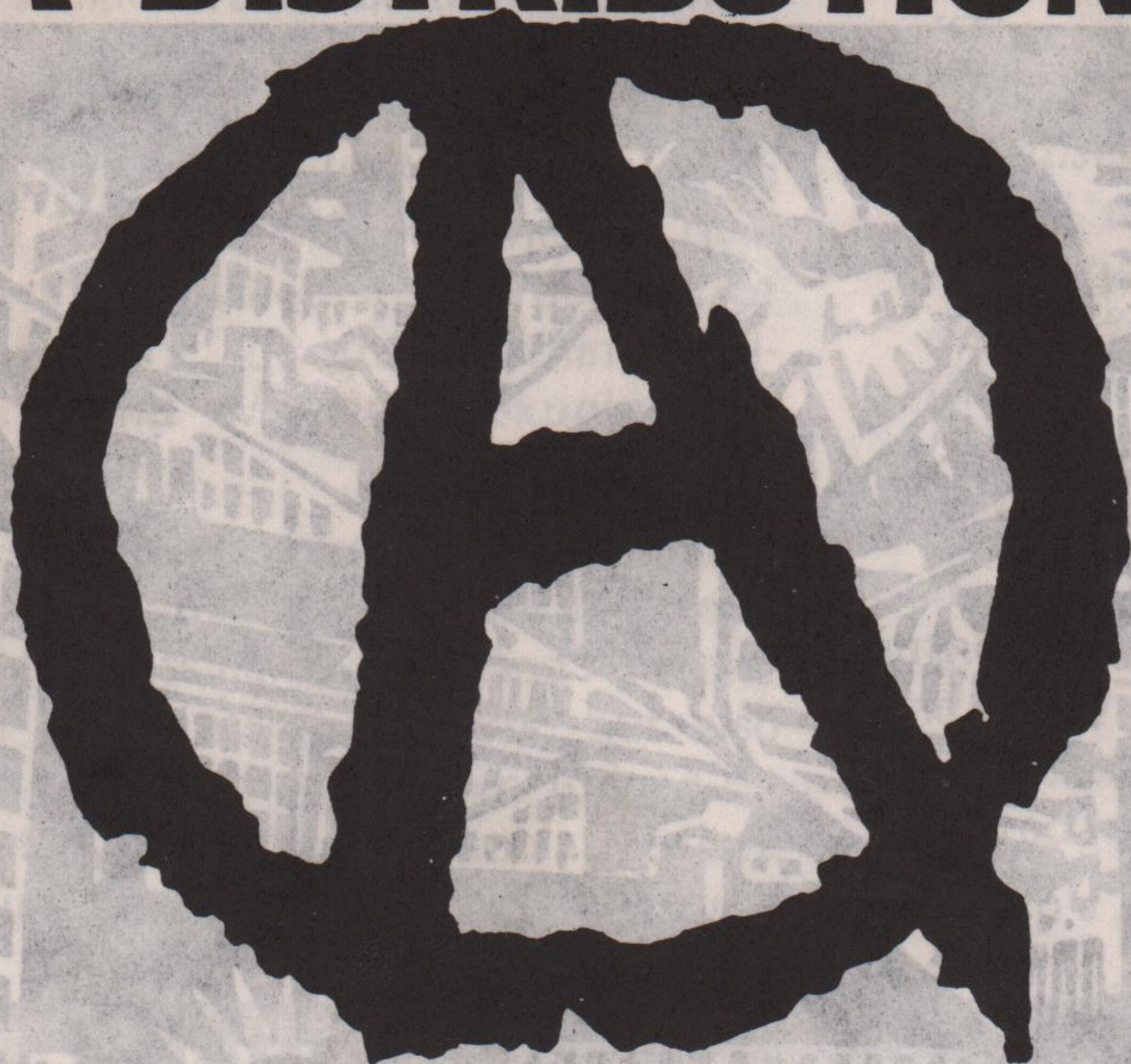
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