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editorial

The 'state' has many faces. The most dramatic is naked violence, keeping people in order or trying to channel their attention to some supposed external threat. At the other extreme it is a state of mind, internalised assumptions about the way things have to be. Oppression and Repression. In between it is a bureaucratic octopus, extending its regulations into all aspects of daily life.

In Britain we have what used to be called a Welfare State. There's rather less actual benefit to be seen these days, but the idea hangs on that the state can be benevolent, or, at least, neutral and capable of being used benevolently by the well meaning. A couple of seemingly trivial changes in the law illustrate this nicely. We are to be restrained and restricted for our own good.

It is now illegal to travel in the front seats of a car without a seat belt. It is now illegal to ride a motor bike bigger than 125cc, 12bhp on a provisional licence. The assumption is that, at a stroke (2 or 4) deaths and serious injuries will be reduced. The more noble minded politicians think that they are protecting us from ourselves, the more cynical that money will be saved. Yet, on the first day of the new regime, some towns reported only 65% compliance and many police forces said that they wouldn't bother enforcing it, only issue warnings.

The point is not to launch a tirade against these laws in particular. It is what they represent that is interesting, the tidy mind that is unhappy unless there is an officially legislated limit for everything. Take the seat belts. It has been estimated that about a quarter of drivers used to wear them in towns and about half on the open roads. As about one in ten simply forgot to do them up on the first day of the much publicised law, it cannot be long before things are back to normal, just an extra count to be tacked on if you're going to be done anyway, like a bald tyre. Or an excuse for random breathalysing.

But we can all be comforted by the knowledge that Something is Being Done. That all those unreliable people out there are being kept in order. (When we, just this once, nip down the road unbelted, this is different). One of the justifications for the existence of states is that they protect us. This is evidently untrue, as the looming threat of nuclear annihilation and the Metropolitan Police's clear up rate show. But their claim to protect us from ourselves is also important. People are not to be trusted. We need kindly paternalism or there will be chaos, anarchy. States need irrelevant rules. They are a constant reminder and reinforcement.

We must insist that it is *our* life. We can and will make our own decisions. A couple that seem sensible are to wear seat belts and not to ride large motor bikes until we are sure we know how.

WATER

How seldom we think of the most important things! We hardly notice how our bodies work, so long as they are healthy, but we notice soon enough when something goes wrong with them. In the same way we hardly notice how our societies work, so long as they are healthy, but we notice soon enough when something goes wrong with them. Despite the great defects of the class system and the state, the whole elaborate process of the economy continues around us to a considerable extent without our conscious knowledge or any central control, through a complex self-regulating system of balanced demand and supply. But if one part fails in our bodies or in society, we suddenly become aware of the delicate balance of the entire structure, and if the fault isn't cured it becomes disturbed and even collapses.

We work and play, buy and sell, read and travel, eat and drink, turn on the gas and electricity, send letters or make telephone calls, and take water from the tap or pour it away, scarcely considering how it all happens. But any link in this great chain of individual and social being can be broken by flood or drought or frost or heat or war or revolution, or just by a strike, which may be seen as a symptom of underlying disease. In our society during recent years there has been increasing pressure on various weak

points in this system, as one essential service after another has failed and has been hurriedly repaired, until the next time. This year the most essential service of all has failed, and for the first time there has been a national strike in the water industry.

Just as water, after air, is the most important resource of the body, so water is the most important resource of human society. Life on earth began in water, all living things depend on water, and the first priority of every human settlement is the water supply. Water has always had a strong symbolic significance as a metaphor for life, purity, clearness, cleanness, freshness, coolness, salvation, and so on, and it has a strong religious significance in many cultures where washing and bathing have a ritualistic meaning. The first thing that happens to us after birth and after death is that we are washed. Universal importance is attached to rain, springs, rivers, lakes, wells, spas, fountains, and the sea. It has even been argued that water is the basic of civilisation, since the first great historical civilisations (China, India, Mesopotamia, Egypt) all appeared on large rivers (Yangtze, Indus, Tigris and Euphrates, Nile). Indeed the Marxist historian Karl Wittfogel wrote a whole book, *Oriental Despotism*, based on the 'hydraulic theory' that the state

originated in the control of elaborate irrigation systems by ruling groups. Certainly ancient Rome was built not so much on its hills as on its water, the superstitious worship of the Tiber being followed by the practical construction of great aqueducts and great sewers which brought water to and took waste from the Eternal City, and which survive after 2,000 years.

In Britain, where there is normally plenty of water for all needs at all times, the problems of water and sewage became serious only with the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century. Millions of people left the open countryside, where water could be taken from wells or rivers and waste could be returned to the soil or the sea, and settled in crowded towns, where water easily became contaminated by sewage, bringing illness and death instead of health and life. Through a typically British compromise, piped water and sewerage were supplied to the growing towns by a tangled network of private companies and municipal corporations, while repeated epidemics of water-borne disease (especially cholera) during the mid-nineteenth century brought health regulations enforced by central government. The result was one of the great triumphs of nineteenth-century civilisation, an irrational but practical combination of capitalist, municipal and national enterprise bringing water to and taking waste simply and safely from populations far larger than had ever lived together before. Hence the traditional British obsession with drinking water and proper drains, and the relative British immunity from water-borne disease.

This was the system we lived under until only a decade ago, for the water industry survived the tendency to state control even during the huge nationalisation programme of the 1945 Labour Government. Only in 1974, as part of the huge administrative programme of the 1970 Conservative Government, were all the local water companies and boards finally taken over by regional Water Authorities under a National Water Council, beyond even the limited democratic or commercial control of the old days. The coming of centralised state bureaucracy has had all the usual effects — an increase in administrative staff, an increase in expenditure (reflected in growing water rates), a decrease in efficiency, and a collapse of the morale of the water workers who actually bring our water and take our waste without our noticing it: until they stop.

The water dispute is officially about pay, the water workers rightly resenting the way they have been left behind by similar workers in the electricity and gas industries. But, like most disputes, it is really about much more important things. What is ultimately at stake is how our society maintains itself. The old regime, a class system moderated by democratic checks and human balances, is being replaced by a new regime, a state system based on bureaucratic hierarchies and welfare hand-outs, not just in this country but in the converging industrial countries of both West and East. The water dispute may seem to be one more insignificant inconvenience, but is in fact one more significant symptom of the spreading disease of modern civilisation.

The likely cure will be a hasty compromise, by which the workers are bought off with a slightly improved pay offer, until next time.

A better cure would be a return to the old system of local boards, amenable to some degree of democratic and commercial control, in which the workers have a sense of belonging. The best cure would be a move towards a new system of workers' control with consumers' participation. The water would be supplied and the waste removed as before, paid for by flat rates without special charges, and the people who do the job would run the job, while the people who use the water would have a say in the system.

Here we may give two relevant instances from previous anarchist theory and practice. Peter Kropotkin's book *The Conquest of Bread* (1892), his most detailed exposition of anarchist communism, argued that the best system for the distribution of land, resources, goods, services, and so on, would be one of free access in conditions of plenty and of fair rationing in conditions of scarcity: 'In a word, the system is this: no stint or limit to what the community possesses in abundance, but equal sharing and dividing of those commodities which are scarce or apt to run short.' And in the chapter on food he added a comment:

It is a fact worth remarking that the same system prevails in the great towns in the distribution of one commodity at least, which is found in abundance, the water supplied to each house. As long as there is no fear of the supply running short, no water company thinks of checking the consumption of water in each house. Take what you please! But during the great droughts, if there is any fear of the supply failing, the water companies know all that they have to do is to make known the fact, by means of a short advertisement in the papers, and the citizens will reduce their consumption of water and not let it run to waste. But if the water were actually scarce, what would be done? Recourse would be had to a system of rations.

This communist system, which still prevails in the great towns and cities of most of the capitalist world, was adapted to what Kropotkin advocated and what we advocate by syndicalist methods during the Spanish Revolution. As part of the programme of collectivisation in the Republican zone which followed the beginning of the Civil War in July 1936, the unions took over all the public utilities in Barcelona, including the water industry. The Federated Public Utility Workers Industrial Union of Catalunya, which had been formed during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in 1927 and which was evenly divided between the anarcho-syndicalist CNT and the socialist UGT, took over the supply of gas, electricity and water at the end of July 1936 and maintained it throughout the two-and-a-half years of the war; indeed the supply of water was actually increased, and the service broke down only during serious bombing or shelling. (Information may be found in the relevant section of Gaston Leval's book *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*, the English translation of which is still available from the Freedom Bookshop.)

But such a system would have to be part of a general shift towards a free and equal community, of the kind we advocate in every issue of FREEDOM. It just happens that the water industry presents a perfect example of what has gone wrong and how it could be put right.



'Silent too long', for and against

The main editorial article in the first issue of the new format refers to a 'bewildering array of variations' of anarchist publication and to a 'sad mish-mash of differing definitions of what anarchism is' in the pages of FREEDOM itself. In my view not only is it a bit insulting to FREEDOM's contributors to find that they have been published by the editors only to have the editors suddenly turn on them in this way, it is also in itself bewildering. For, far from remaining 'Silent Too Long' editorials in fairly recent times have deliberately stated that FREEDOM should be a 'pluralist' paper, open to a number of different anarchist views, a 'forum for discussion' and so on. 'Anarcho-hyphens' of most, if not all descriptions, were therefore positively encouraged to write for FREEDOM and the result is that, although uneven in content, the paper has been refreshingly free of dogmatism and unusually readable as political papers go.

In the best of all (possible?) worlds no-one would need to call themselves an anarchist at all. In a society much closer to anarchist practice than our own an anarchist would automatically be understood to be a non-sexist, non-speciesist advocate of a non-hierarchical and stateless society who did not oppress women, eat meat or go to church. But people do not shed all their prejudices and habits as soon as they 'become' an anarchist. Feminists who are anarchists, for instance, have found it necessary to make this point by using the hyphen. And I imagine that a number of anarchists have clung to that unfortunate term pacifist at least in

part because of a tendency in the anarchist movement to romanticise the idea of the guerilla fighter. Throughout the history of anarchism it has been necessary to use qualifications of some sort or another, whether hyphenated or not.

Of course FREEDOM's editors have every right to change their policy with their change of format if they so wish. But if for reasoned argument they start to substitute sloganizing phrases like 'twisted deviation' and, from the height of their editorial chair to sit in judgement on who is a 'total' anarchist and who is only 'part-anarchist', poser, credibility seeker, shit and traitor to the dead, I shall begin to see the ghosts of revolutionary dictatorships stalking these pages!

Gillian Fleming
London SW15

I was beginning to think that nothing was going to be said about the current depressing trends in anarchist theory and practice. Lets face it, apart from isolated incidents anarchism has been far from influential. Now, we'll be lucky if it has any influence at all. It appears directionless and blind. It was thus a relief to read your first editorial of the year.

After many years in the movement, it is distressing to observe the stagnation and retrospective nature of anarchism in Britain. On the one hand are the 'self-indulgents' of your article, those who deviate from the revolutionary struggle to such an extent that it is embarrassing to be forced to include them when propagandizing to potential

comrades. On the other there are groups like Direct Action who seem unable to progress beyond the '36 Spanish experience and in their determination to be more proletarian than thou, run the risk of becoming narrow and dogmatic.

Anarchism is a revolutionary concept. It will remain a mere concept unless we reconsider our tactics and attitudes in the light of the 'changes' capitalism has undergone. Anarchism is not a concept that can be embraced by those who just want to do what they want to do. It is about fighting on all fronts to arrive at a situation where *everybody* can have these choices made available to them and not just a privileged minority.

Anarchism is about class struggle. It is dedicated to waging a fierce and unceasing war against capitalist society and all that it engenders. It is also dedicated to attempting to change people's consciousness in a non authoritarian way. Lapsing into hedonism, perhaps hopelessness or the smugness of having evolved some sort of line will not do this. WE MUST BE ACTIVE AND WE MUST CONVINC

At present the left is in disarray. All are 'waiting' for the revolution to happen, either as a result of the contradictory external laws of capitalism which will result in crisis or by the seizure of power by a revolutionary elite. WE MUST NOT WAIT

It is now, while this state of affairs exists, while all are floundering around in their various theories in the welter of dead ideas that we must be progressive, revolutionary and active. We must convince the left as much as others. We must

seize all that is open to us in terms of communications and direct action and tirelessly propagandize by living, working and approaching others in a revolutionary anarchist way.

The many deviations that the left and in particular the anarchist movement has succumbed to - mysticism, dope, animal liberation, the works, have become the self-initiated rosy red herrings of the revolutionary movement. Such issues will not destroy the state. There is no conspiracy by the ruling class - there doesn't need to be. It would be wrong to undermine the importance, ultimately, of such issues in changing consciousness, but to concentrate and elevate one and exclude others implies the politics of frustration. The 'masses will not respond so we must patronize animals and liberate them.' (Interestingly, people are in exactly the same position ie bourgeois v proletariat but we do not use the same liberationist tactics!) Capitalism relies on the perpetuation of nuclear weapons for its very existence, but no matter, we will go on demonstrating passively and smoking dope and on it goes.

Anyone who thinks animals superior to humans, women superior to men, God superior to people, and most of all, dope, pink hair and apathy superior to potential liberation should get out of the movement.

Bigotry does not come in to it ... just a burning desire for total revolution. Or isn't that what anarchism is about?

In solidarity,

Joanne Smith

'Emancipation' replies

It is a pity that every rumour or second-hand piece of information becomes truth in the anarchist movement. This is particularly distressing when the rumour is both slanderous and untrue. I am specially referring to R.Yves Breton's letter in FREEDOM of 25 December 1982.

Such rumours are even more distressing when one considers that the FBI uses rumours to discredit individuals and groups in order to keep movements factionated - a practice I'm sure other internal security agencies employ.

I in no way mean to suggest that comrade Breton is an agent. Actually, I've never even heard of him until this time. Which is all the more reason why I am upset that he is accusing me and other members of the *Emancipation* collective of 'scabbing' for the local Washington D.C. weekly *The Washington Tribune*. I have no idea where

his information originates, but it could not be further from the truth.

I do indeed work for the *Tribune*. I began delivering papers just before the writing staff quit and offered to leave as well. Upon further inquiry, I was informed by those who left that they did not want their jobs back and were not out on strike. I explained to them that the reason I asked was that I am a Wobbly and I do not scab. Your readers might also like to know that prior to getting this job I was unemployed for seven months and made only \$65 per week (roughly £32). This is considerably below subsistence in the US. Still, I felt that my self-respect and principles were important enough to me that I would have left my position had there been an actual strike. I am the sole Wobbly or member of the *Emancipation* collective working at the *Tribune* now or at any other time. I tell you

this to clarify the situation, not because I feel answerable to those more virtuous than I

In any case, even if the charges being made held even the slightest shred of truth, it would be an indication of the character of those who scabbed. I must state that I resent the implications made by identifying the rumoured scabbers as 'Emancipation' collective members and their affiliation with the Anarchist Association of the Americas. Certainly we would not condemn an entire community if it were rumoured that one of them had committed some less than virtuous act. And it makes me wonder as to the motives and origins of the charges being made.

The 'Emancipation' collective is a totally autonomous local group of the Anarchist Association of the Americas. The monthly magazine is not AAA's organ, but we do our

best to act as a forum for the anarchist ideas. The publication is non-partisan and members of the collective include syndicalists, anarcho-marxists, communists, Buddhists, Christians, and people from upper, middle, and working-class backgrounds. Our pages are open to any well-written anti-authoritarian article, whether they be from AAA affiliates or not. We will be happy to send anyone a sample copy (please send a self-addressed stamped envelope to Emancipation, Box 840, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D C, 20044).

In the future, I hope Breton, FREEDOM, and others will take the time to check on the validity and origins of any such charges and that we can all put the back-stabbing to rest.

Peace and Anarchy,

Scott M Rodell

Anarchists, pacifists, and christians

I enjoyed reading the excellent account of the Lyon trial in the last issue of FREEDOM by Nicolas Walter. But I think there is some doubt about the accuracy of his statement that the publicity the case received in France, far from suppressing anarchism, gave a sharp stimulus to the growing movement.

In spite of popular sympathy, the movement suffered an undoubted setback in France - certainly in the Lyon area, even though Pierre Martin kept it going at Vienne. And as Lequin has pointed out in his study of the workers of the Lyon region (*Les Ouvriers de la region Lyonnaise 1848-1914*), in spite of all the popular enthusiasm for attending the meetings of Louise Michel and later Sebastian Faure, there was little evidence of any widespread anarchist action among the workers after the persecution of the 1880s. The fierce repression directed against revolutionary socialists in Italy had earlier evoked possibly even more overt popular

sympathy (certainly in Italy itself) but again this sympathy was not transformed into very much active support among the people. and the Italian movement also went through a very difficult period at this time, according to Masini. (*Storia degli anarchici italiani - da Bakunin a Malatesta*.) The parliamentary socialists do seem in fact to have been more successful in establishing a wider base of support among the people, and it was not until the 1890s that the anarchist movement was again able to offer a really effective challenge to the reformists.

I like the new format of the paper very much.

Caroline Cahn

As a person who is not a pacifist I agree with Ames' comment that whenever two opposing groups clash, one pacifist, the other willing to use arms, the latter will always win. However, resisting the attacks of authority doesn't mean

supporting a 'lunatic fringe' approach. What matters is doing what is necessary to prevent people from getting hurt. In some situations this means physically restraining or fighting off certain individuals who are hell-bent on causing serious injury to others, whether these individuals are police, rapists, Nazis or whatever. A policy of total non-resistance is a policy of being submissive and surrendering to domination. That is a form of obedience to authority and obedience is definitely not anarchist policy.

The 'violence vs. non-violence' debate, so called, is causing a lot of division in some anarchist groups and it is such a pointless debate anyway as there is no precise line one can draw between what is violent and what is not. Who are the most violent, peace demonstrators who lie down on zebra crossings outside the stock exchange creating a lot of disruption and physical discomfort for motorists and threatening to cause a serious acc-

ident or individuals who throw bricks through bank windows in the dead of night when no-one else is around? And doesn't the pacifist technique of 'moral persuasion' (psychological coercion) often become a form of authority?

Neither pacifism nor terrorism.

Z

To an anarchist who happens to be a christian (NOT an Anarcho-Christian) (What's the difference?)

For Chrissakes, are you hung up or something? To prevent this myth being resurrected I shall knock the nail right on the head. You can't be a Christian and an anarchist. If you believe that the Son of God has spoken, you are bound to accept his word as the ultimate authority and this is obviously against all anarchist thought. True, anarchists fight for freedom, not though, for the freedom to be a fascist or a bolshevik or a Christian.

Neither God Nor Master.

PP

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We reserve the right to cut
letters unless otherwise
specified by the author.

We have heard very little about the Polish Anarchist movement since the rise of solidarity in 1980. Here we reprint a proclamation from the Anarchist group 'Sigma' in Warsaw, originally printed by 'Direkte Aktion' in Dortmund, West Germany.



MESSAGE FROM POLAND

We are a group of anarchists and anti-authoritarian left-wingers in Warsaw who came together to a discussion circle ('Sigma') at the beginning of 1980. We all agreed in a general distance to the existing political system in our country. Most of us came to anarchism by some literature. For example: at the beginning of the fifties some works of the Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin were published in Poland (*Mutual Aid, The French Revolution, Memoirs of an Anarchist and Ethics*) in small editions - all of them were accessible to everyone in the public libraries. Another important authority for us was a series called *Biblioteka Myśli Socjalistycznej* in which during the sixties beside texts of Owen, Saint-Simon and Fourier some works of Pierre Joseph Proudhon (2 vols.) and Mikhail Bakunin (2 vols.) were edited; in addition to that a very badly edited collection of works of the most important Polish anarchist Edward Abramowski - was published as well.

These texts, although involved in official Marxist-Leninist comments and often disfigured by arbitrary shortenings, nevertheless woke some interest in anarchism, especially within circles of students.

Until martial law was declared in December 1981 it was possible for us - although under several bureaucratic and financial difficulties - to visit western countries. There we came in direct contact to libertarian groups and got additional literature which both strengthened our interest in anarchism.

When the great strike movement developed in August 1980 which resulted in the foundation of Solidarnosc, the first independent trade union in Poland after World War 2 and occurred an atmosphere of changes in the whole Polish society, we decided to publish and propagate the libertarian ideas.

At the end of 1980 we gave out the first edition of our review *Nova Gazeta Mazowiecka* planned as a theoretical discussion forum and organ of the anti-authoritarian left-wingers in Poland. Besides opinions about the current political situation, poems and satire, we published short articles about the theory and history of the libertarian movement, e.g. a *Short Story of Anarchism* and an essay about the Kronstadt Rebellion of 1921.



Within a short period our review became very popular for left-wing members of Solidarnosc and students so that the Russian ambassador in Warsaw protested very strictly against its further appearance. Partly our articles were reprinted by other groups - in Krakow and Wroclaw - so that its general edition sized about 6,000 copies

Beside *Nova Gazeta Mazowiecka* we gave out a series of booklets *Archivum Lewicy* in which we published detailed texts about anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism. Until the declaration of martial law we

gave out 6 volumes of our review and 5 booklets and they were spread all over Poland by a net of private contacts. Both publications were printed at Warsaw University whose leaders carried out quite a liberal position against opponent student groups during the 'Polish Summer' (1980). Besides our publications there existed another anarchist review (at Wroclaw) but we were informed about its existence only by chance after December 1981. (During an examination this review was shown to one of our members and he was asked whether he had any contact to that group at Wroclaw.) Beyond this several other left-wing publications (reviews, booklets and books) were given out in Poland and reflected some sympathies for anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism until the declaration of martial law.

The political position of our group - expressed in our publications - can be defined in this way: - a strict opposition against the totalitarian Jaruzelski regime remote controlled by Moscow.

- the support of the self-determination of the Polish people.

- a critical solidarity with Solidarnosc and the movement for civil rights, that means

- the support of all those who fight for a real autonomy of the working class and

- distance against all those who work for the installation of a national and clerical government as in the Western countries.

No doubt the libertarians in Poland were not surprised by martial

law but since we had had no success in establishing an operating coordination between the different groups until December 1981 (much less a common programme), we were not able to coordinate our underground activities after the military riot of Jaruzelski. Another problem was that parts of the libertarian groups worked right from the beginning under total conspiracy, which rendered contacts most difficult. One week after the declaration of martial law we were informed by chance about the existence of another anarchistic group in Warsaw. We got this information by a leaflet - distributed at the university - which propagated an active resistance against the military junta.

After December 13th and the temporary arrest of some of our members it was necessary to organize all our activities in the underground. All the printing machines and other materials we had used for distributing our review have been confiscated or even destroyed by several police raids. At present printing machines, paper and colours are not available - it is even difficult to get them at the black markets - and prices there exceed our financial capacities.

Getting rid of our technical possibilities and with permanent fear of being observed by the police the only chance for propagating our ideas during the first few months under the new military junta was to write leaflets by hand or to draw paroles on the walls at night, which was quite dangerous for us. After

the first great wave of repression we got in contact to other undogmatic groups in Warsaw. In May 1982 we were able to give out and distribute the underground review *Rownos* (Equality) together with other comrades in Warsaw. Besides this - as we were informed the other day - the edition of an anarcho-syndicalist paper *Prezlom* (Subversion) is being planned. But till now we did not get in contact to these comrades.



Partly libertarian positions are propagated in a trotskist paper called *Metro*, which aroused long debates within the left opposition because of its strong critics against the reformistic policies of the Solidarnosc leaders. We intend to give out again our *Nova Gazeta Mazowiecka* and several booklets on anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism. In order to arrange this and to spread libertarian ideas in Poland we need your political and material help very urgent. So support us in our fight

- against the Jaruzelski junta and all the nationalistic and clerical forces.

- for the self-determination of the Polish people.

Group 'Sigma'
Warsaw September 1982



Message from Makhno?

The past few months have seen the arrival of letter bombs at many different addresses. The most widely publicized have been those sent to prominent politicians. Some have been attributed to Scottish Nationalists, one addressed to 10 Downing St was claimed by the 'Animal Rights Militia' and the 'Angry Brigade Resistance Movement' has claimed the attack upon the Conservative Office in Leeds (a communique was received and published in *The Leveller* however, no doubt mindful of the events following their last communique, FREEDOM did not receive a cope, so Wakefield CID need not travel all the way down here on another fruitless voyage!). Less widely publicized has been the four letter bombs sent to the offices of Aeroflot, Intourist, Soviet Weekly and the Soviet Embassy in London. At first the police

attributed them to the 'Jewish Defence League', but this was not confirmed.

On 8th Feb, the *Guardian* newspaper reported receiving a letter from 'Makhno's Anarchist Army' claiming these 4 attacks. The letter accuses the police of lying about the 'Jewish Defence League' and refers to a letter that was inside one of the letter-bombs. As all the devices were defused before being handed to the British police one can only presume that this letter, if it exists, is even now sitting in a file in Moscow. This claim may be a hoax or it may well be truthful; either way the tactic of sending letter-bombs deserves criticism. There must be other ways of showing dislike for certain people or organisations than sending explosives through the post.

Apart from the very real risk of

premature explosion and consequent injury to postalworkers and very junior office staff, the targets of such devices are well equipped to identify and deal with them long before they arrive near anyone important. As letters are seen as very personal things, the concept of the letter bomb seems to be a direct personal attack. This is not so. Letter bombs threaten no-one but our fellow-workers in the postal industry. They are wasted time, effort and resources. They are used as a pretext for the widespread harassment of anarchists and dissidents. As people dedicated to removing the State we should expect such harassment, but please, let it be for a worthwhile reason, for a successful attack not these rather pathetic pin-pricks which harm no-one but ourselves.



Michael Bakunin: *Roots of Apocalypse* by Arthur P Mendel, Praeger, £24.25
 Mikhail Bakunin: *A Study in the Psychology and Politics of Utopianism* by Aileen Kelly, Oxford, £17.50

Bakunin is a perfect example of the Hero as Man of Revolution, as Carlyle might have called him, but he was so unsuccessful that relatively little was written about his life or work, and there isn't yet any really satisfactory book on him in English; these two, which were both published during 1982, are no exceptions. The standard biography by the late E H Carr is now 46 years old, is deeply prejudiced against its subject, and is both much overrated and quite outdated, but it still hasn't been superseded, and seems unlikely to be for some time.

Arthur Mendel, a professor of history at Michigan University who specialises in Russian topics, has attempted to replace it with a book which is longer and more up to date, just as scholarly and prejudiced, but not nearly as well considered or written, and both badly produced and highly priced. Mendel says that he began the book to emphasise Bakunin's defence of freedom, but ended it convinced of Bakunin's threat to freedom. Similarly, he discovered that Bakunin's well-known irreligion and activism and violence were balanced by opposite elements of religiosity and passivity and non-violence. But his particular contribution to Bakunin studies is to write a biography entirely in the context of Freudian psychoanalysis. His book is in fact a 'psycho-biography' of a kind which is more popular in North America and Continental Europe than in Britain.

Mendel's facts are not new. The deep contradictions in Bakunin's character and doctrine are familiar, being all too obvious to his associates and followers as well as to his enemies, and being discussed in several later studies which are mostly ignored by Mendel. Similarly his sexual impotence and financial irresponsibility have long been biographical commonplaces. Mendel does provide a service in taking us through the primary material by and about Bakunin in more detail than has been done before in English, but the value of this service is reduced if not destroyed by the rigid ideological manner of its presentation.

Mendel's thesis is that Bakunin

suffered from an unresolved Oedipus complex and a simultaneous narcissistic neurosis, and that his social and political thought and action were no more than a projection of and a therapy for his personal psychopathology. The problem with such a thesis is that it can be verified by everything and refuted by nothing. In Bakunin's case, for example, the available material suggests that he loved his father more than his mother and one of his sisters more than any one; Mendel argues that this is evidence not against but for his thesis, proving respective repression and displacement of his real, unconscious feelings. Like most victims of psychiatrists, Bakunin can't win, and, being dead for more than a century, he can't answer back.

Even if Mendel's thesis were correct, however, this wouldn't help us understand either Bakunin or Bakuninism. The diagnosis of one Russian revolutionary anarchist leader as oedipal and narcissistic, even if correct, doesn't explain either him or the movements he led. Thousands of men have been brought up like him without ending up like him, and thousands of men have ended up like him without being brought up like him. Mendel tells us both too much and too little at once. No doubt Bakunin, like everyone else, was driven by irrational motives; but what is significant about him, as about anyone else, is what he made of them: and this is what Mendel misses, and why his book fails. Despite Carr, Bakunin wasn't just a fantasist and a fanatic; despite Mendel, he wasn't just a particular or even a general psychopathic case.

The other recent book on Bakunin is a lot shorter and a bit cheaper, and it is more carefully considered and more elegantly written. Aileen Kelly, a lecturer in Slavonic Studies at Cambridge University, has written not a fashionable Freudian psycho-biography but a traditional liberal analysis of the intellectual as revolutionary, yet her approach and conclusion are much the same as Mendel's, and once more Bakunin's extreme and inconsistent doctrines are seen as an abstract projection of his psychological processes.

The main problem is that her sources are familiar and her comments are unoriginal. Despite the publisher's claim that 'this book presents a new interpretation of the contradictions in Bakunin's political philosophy and of their general significance', it actually offers nothing which can't already be found in the previous hostile books by Mendel, by Eugene Pyziur nearly 30 years ago, and above all by E H Carr more than 40 years ago. Once again Bakunin's mature social and political ideas and actions are derived from his early personal and intellectual development, and are treated as the symptoms of neurosis and the fantasies of a bohemian intellectual.

The main trouble is that virtually all the authors of such books on Bakunin (and other such figures) are not only intellectuals themselves but nowadays academics as well, with no real knowledge or direct experience of political — let alone revolutionary — life. It is fairly easy to sit at a comfortable desk and write a clever book ridiculing and patronising someone like Bakunin, but it is far more difficult to grasp the true sequence and significance of the ideas and events in his crowded career. Mendel and Kelly do no better than their predecessors in understanding how this complex man moved from study to barricade to prison, or from idealism to nationalism to anarchism, and above all they fail to convey why more than a century after his death he is still worth reading about — and even worth writing books about.

NW

OFF HISTORICAL REPRINT

The BOURGEOIS role of BOLSHEVISM ITS RELATION TO WORLD REVOLUTION

A note about *The Bourgeois Role of Bolshevism* that Alan Albon reviewed in Freedom of 15 January 1983, as a work by Guy Aldred which 'perceived all the indications of the Bolshevik drift to totalitarianism'. I am afraid that the review makes little sense as a) it was not written by Guy Aldred and b) it was written in 1932 at the earliest and so it can have little claim to 'perception'.

The work was originally published as an article in German in *Fatekorrespondenz* (no. 3 of 1932, I believe), and was prepared by the 'Group of International Communists of Holland' (i.e. a group of 'left' or 'council' communists based in Amsterdam.) This appeared in English as an article *Theses on Bolshevism* in the US council communist journal *International Council Correspondence* (no.3 December 1934). In turn the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation (APCF) of Glasgow published it as a pamphlet in 1935.

It may have been assumed by those who reprinted the pamphlet recently that Guy Aldred was the author because of his prominence in the APCF. Contrary to such an assumption, Aldred withdrew from the APCF in 1933. The APCF, however, survived into the 1940s (changing its name to the Workers Revolutionary League in 1941) and printed and published a number of pamphlets and journals, including the *Bourgeois Role of Bolshevism* Willie McDougall of the APCF was largely responsible for this publishing activity. The publication of this particular pamphlet shows among other things, the close links between the APCF and certain US council communists.

One or two other points raised by the review: firstly, it is not true to say that 'Aldred first became an active pamphleteer' subsequent to the first world war. Aldred was an active pamphleteer, and much else long before world war one. From 1906, following his conversion to anti-parliamentarianism, he issued a series of *Pamphlets for the Proletarian*.

Secondly, a general point concerning the anarchist response to the Russian Revolution and the Bolsheviks. It is both difficult and not very useful to pick out certain anarchists who 'were not misled into thinking that it (the Bolshevik Revolution) was the new utopia'. Most anarchists WERE initially 'misled' in this way and for good reasons. It took those anarchists associated with Freedom, for example, a good two years to come to anything resembling a firm position condemning Bolshevik methods, including the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. Even then many anarchists remained unconvinced and continued to criticize editorial views hostile to the Bolsheviks.

Later, in 1923-4, Aldred was to have a prolonged argument with, among others, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman over the latter's claims concerning the persecution of anarchists and others in Russia. Aldred remained sceptical about such claims, requiring firm proof of the persecutions, and this from someone who was clearly not 'misled', recognizing Lenin's 'fatal compromise', as he put it, from an early date (1920).

It is difficult, therefore, to extract one consistent anarchist view on the Russian Revolution, and — as ever — the arguments and controversies reveal more about differences within the anarchist movement than any remarkable insights into the deficiencies of Bolshevism.

Despite these somewhat negative comments, it is very good to see an APCF pamphlet in print again. It would also be good to see an authentic Aldred pamphlet reprinted — may I suggest *Socialism and Parliament* (suitably updated) as a good starting point? Even more important, and a ready preventive against errors such as those I have pointed out concerning Aldred, would be the publication of John Caldwell's excellent biography of Aldred, *The Red Evangel*.

— Bob Jones



Spray It Loud

Edited by Jill Posner
 Routledge and Kegan Paul
 £2.95

A photographic compilation of political graffiti captured on the streets of London by the woman who brought you the 'run you down' post-card and radicalized the post-office sorting rooms and mantle-pieces of the Western world.

Grffiti: the true peoples' art. Free, bar the initial payment on pot or can. Direct, you can't avoid it, it has untold potential. No skill required, no place needed to exhibit (inside) and no entrance fee. The show is here and now, all can

be revealed. Also, let us not forget its risk. Hefty fines can be handed out (as happened during the Irish hunger-strikes). Have you not wondered about those half-finished scrawls?

Well, gathered here between glossy covers, its vibrancy and potency are destroyed. Yet another consumer article. A radical read for the comfortable classes, number one in the City Limits 'alternative best-sellers'. 'Oh yes, I remember that from the *Spray It Loud* book, is what you'll say on confronting the word and message. Spend the money on paint.

Max

ANARCHISM & EDUCATION. Public meeting in McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, on 16 February 1983 at 7.30pm. Speakers will include Farquhar McLay and others of the Clydeside Anarchist Group.



Anarchism and education

Children demand nothing more eagerly than real education. They see it as an integral part of the world they inhabit and take it, as in language or walking, seemingly undeterred by any difficulty. Nobody is teaching them anything, but as long as they are not shut out from the adult world and excluded from adult activities, they learn. Traditionally, for the great mass of the people, this was how the education and socialization of the young was achieved. Children learnt from doing and observing at first hand. Parents, workmen, the community as a whole were the educators. And, most crucial of all, there was no artificially created gulf between the worlds of adult and child. Until fairly recent date, formal education divorced from the practical application of community skills, both manual and in the wider sense social and cultural,

was the exclusive preserve of princes, priests and ruling elites.

The thrust of industrialism and the new technologies from the steam engine onwards led inevitably to social and economic transformation. Urbanization grew to grotesque proportions alongside the factory system and the need for mass labour.

With the great battalions of the dispossessed penned up in towns in such formidable and potentially dangerous numbers, the demand for stricter ideological conformity became irresistible: the need to straightjacket these hungry and goaded post-revolutionary beasts into a morality of subservience. What was to be filtered down to the poor was the ethos of the new middle classes whose power and influence had risen with their great wealth. It comprised the well-

known virtues and proprieties: Self-hate (sexual), duty (God, money), hard work, sobriety, obedience to masters, subservience to rank, worship of wealth. These were the attributes which would, with time and unremitting application, see one well on one's way towards 'getting on' which was, in effect, the repudiation of one's class, a public denunciation of the culpability of that class. To achieve this miracle of social engineering they built schools, somewhat after the prison model, wherein the children of the multitude, for the first time in history, were condemned to be 'taught'.

It may not have been an entirely original idea. The Catholics had invented the system, mainly for the manufacture of clerics. Over the centuries the Church had perfected it as a powerful instrument of thought control. It was a well-trying

and proven formula, if extremely brutal, especially on the minds and bodies of young children. It was to become even more brutal in the hands of the State.

Of course, as with jails and mental hospitals, the regimen in today's schools is no longer openly brutal. The horrors of the day industrial schools and the old reformatory schools, certificated and uncertificated, which sprang up under the aegis of half-a-dozen Education (Scotland) Acts between 1872 and 1908, are no longer common.

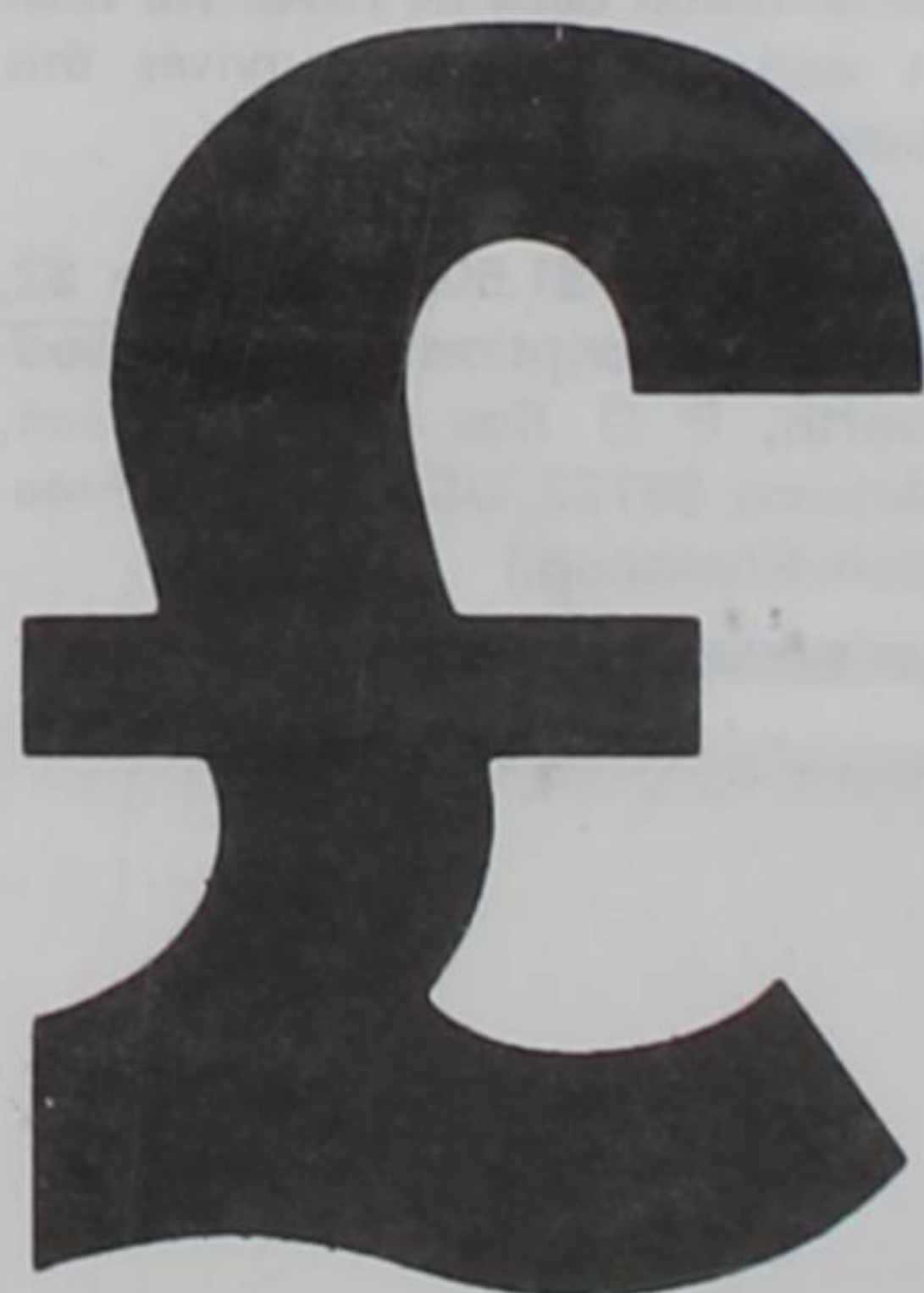
Schooling techniques and management began to be liberalized as soon as the mass education miracle became assured of success. But fundamentally the *raison d'être* of the schools has not changed. The essential component in the programme has stayed the same. The inculcation of a socially alien ideology is still

what it's all about. Turning the great masses into the great mouses.

It is revealing that among the millions of oppressed and rejected in society today it is only the young blacks who seem capable of fighting back. Sufficient generations of dupes have not yet rendered them timid and cowed and mute.

To attain an integrated society, as Kropotkin said, you need an 'integral education' which would cultivate both manual and mental skills. Education would be taken out of the schools and away from the pedagogues — for teaching, as we know it, has always been only one thing, instilling an ideology to support a system of exploitation. If it had been anything else, we, 'the low, the lost, the last and the least', would never have smelt it.

Farquhar McLay



When one questions the role money plays in the activities of modern society one is met with objections on how we are to exchange goods or to value labour. When the question is examined it can be found that there was never a time when the exchange of goods was so hindered or productive labour so undervalued as today. Relative values are impossible to ascertain and we have the spectacle of food too expensive to buy denied to millions who need it, of brick-fields bulging with bricks while brick-layers are unemployed and millions inadequately housed, of electricity too expensively produced for prospective consumers who suffer from hypothermia. While money is regarded as capital, real capital from which real wealth is derived is systematically destroyed to pay the interest on the unreal capital from which those who control society derive their power. From the interest derived from this unreal capital they pay the vast bureaucratic and coercive system that props up this gigantic fraud.

Money manipulators

The fact that a piece of paper can have more value one day than the next and that you can buy and sell it without adding one iota to the sum of human wealth, shows that a big fraud is being perpetrated on the human race. Yet millions of people are involved in this big fraud, complicated machinery used to work it, all out moving tons of vegetation-derived paper. In fact the number of people involved vastly exceeds those in actual productive work. To sustain all this is a web of illusion that has largely replaced the old mysticism and if that fails, a complex system of fear and coercion.

The professionals

Another prop to this money idolatry is a network of professionals who make the rules and enforce them and, whatever happens, providing they play within the rules, they cannot lose. For instance, when an architect cocks something up (and they often have in post-war housing) at great expense, you then have to employ another architect and a lawyer at great expense to establish the liability of the first architect in order to put it right. It is this sort of old boys' network that helps to mystify the whole system for the mass of people who then conclude that the business of producing enough food and housing clothes and fuel is beyond their wit to organize. It is the work of anarchists to cut through this mystification of which money plays such a part and restore people's confidence in what they have been doing since the beginning of time.

Alan Albon

On Britain

On Tuesday 4th January 1983 I watched with some interest BBC 1's poorly presented by overrated new documentary entitled 'Dahrendorf on Britain' by the bourgeois sociologist of the same name.

Ralph Dahrendorf begins his nobby study in Victorian England with the intention of sharing with his viewers a deeper understanding of our national prospects for the year 2000. He informs us that Britain's history over the last hundred years has not been one of revolution but gradual improvement. However, minor riots here and there are not ruled out, providing we can interpret, analyse, diagnose, or twist in representing a struggle for progress within a free society. This history is concluded with Dahrendorf's concern for the decline of national service and the Dunkirk way of life, culminating in a ridiculous proposition suggesting that the good old days that all knew and loved must have been somewhere between the turn of the century and the 'you never had it so good' period of the 1960s.

Dahrendorf's insistence that Britain is not a state society is underlined most emphatically by his ideas regarding the autonomous nature of British institutions. Well, I agree with Dahrendorf if he is suggesting that state institutions are autonomous of us the people and the police are a law unto themselves. However I doubt very much if that is what the good professor had in mind.

David Isiorho

On Greece

During the last few years, many comrades in this country have given a false picture of the embryonic anti-authoritarian/anarchist situation in Greece by presenting themselves or their company as collectives, affinity groups etc. We have already declared many times in the past (see the epilogue of our work in English 'A brief history of anarchism in Greece') that there is *not* a serious anarchist movement or even influence in greek society.

Not wanting to participate, ourselves, in the the Greek anarchy-mythology we must make things clear about our own project. We are not a strong anarchist action group, but just 4 persons creating an initiative for the formation of an alternative documentation centre in Athens. Our previous activity was only the publication of a quarterly alternative magazine from 1980 to 1982 (a member of APS). At present we work as an international documentation centre by mail, sending *absolutely free* on request, xeroxed documentation to everyone interested in anti-authoritarian subjects.

We must repeat these things because some local 'comrades' look like trying to extend the silly infighting that has gone on among Greek 'anarchists' during the last few years, and also against our own project ('they get material free...' etc), those who waste all their energy fighting other comrades instead of fighting for the creation of a serious movement in our country have 'discovered' that we are not 'anarchist' enough, just as racists discover that some are not 'white' enough...

As long as we can afford to send documentation freely we won't give up. We are not 'Big Mouths' like you, dear greek 'comrades', do you hear us? We started something and someday we *will* finish it! Stamp out Clique-ism! Co-operate.

Vlasis
For 'Alternative Gallery'

SLANG

SLANG (South London Anti-Nuclear Group) have an excellent exhibition on the Uranium cycle, from mining through enrichment, nuclear energy, transport, reprocessing, plutonium extraction to waste transport, waste dumping, weapons construction etc.

Consisting of 18 panels of colour photographs and text, the exhibition is professionally constructed, and can be mounted on screens for maximum effect.

Hire charge is £5 per night or £15 per week.

Please contact Martin Bond: 01-801 0122.

SLANG is also collecting information, newspaper cuttings etc on nuclear accidents, past and present, for the compilation of an exhibition on this subject. If you come across anything you think may be of use, please send it to: SLANG, 9 Priory Grove, London SW8.

Darker than a 1,000...



Interior of the proposed Sizewell Water-cooled Nuclear Power Station

The Guatemala refugees who try to survive on a bi-weekly diet of beans, cornflour and rice are now placing their hope in the suggestion that they might be moved to the agricultural state of Oaxaca in northern Mexico, meanwhile they survive a step ahead of Efrain's uniformed murder squads and there within the Commonwealth Institute are the beautiful weavings of a gentle people who are being murdered by the thousands for reasons that they do not understand.

We have witnessed at TV hand the Indian government, the Israel government and the American government indulge in mass murder for economic and political reasons and now it is Efrain's turn to pose for the camera as he takes the salute to the uniformed murder squads marching off to perform the murder of entire village inhabitants and then to scorch the earth a la American style sunny side up.

Ma Thatcher and the British Foreign Office share our worry but not for humanitarian reasons for they know that the American government is poised to resume the sale of arms to Efrain and the Guatemala military dictatorship but if that happens then what will Ma Thatcher have to do if the Guatemala dictatorship does an Argentine ball bender and attacks the 2,000 British troops stationed in Belize in support of Guatemala's 133 year old claim that it is not I or Ma Thatcher that own Belize known in the golden days of Hollywood as British Honduras but General Efrain Rios Montt and his military tailor. Somewhere in the Caribbean there is a single British frigate and though Ma Thatcher, after the vote winning Falkland punch up, is cock pit happy, I do not believe that the squadron of Harrier jumpjets stationed in Belize will prove effective against Efrain's murder squads and the answer of course is to look learned, nod the head and repeat 'It is a problem indeed it is a problem and we must work for a solution' and if truly committed, to pass a resolution.

But there at the Commonwealth Institute in the Kensington High Street are the Indian costumes from Guatemala so very beautiful, mocking London's grey light with their birds of paradise colours, woven by gentle people who ask so little in return — simply not to be murdered as they farm their tiny strips of land that barely suffice to feed them. And the Town and his sombre faced frau, full of wine, potato crisps and good SDP principles cut their way through the human undergrowth of Kensington High Street to the Science Museum for it is press day, and sherry, and the opening of the new Nuclear Physics — Nuclear Power gallery and a huge mock up of the inside of an Advan-

ced Gas-cooled Reactor.

The full-scale section on display is that of the Gas-cooled Reactor core that is being built at Heysham and Torness, and it stands among 'From the 11th December till the 3rd of March 1983 the Commonwealth Institute Gallery will be filled with the vibrant colours and intricate design of more than seventy Indian costumes from Guatemala, displayed complete with accessories, in a spectacular exhibition.' And they are there on display bright colours weaving, woofing and warping within the primitive hand operated looms on display glowing with the bright colours of the imported dyes and they give pleasure to the eye and sadness to the soul, for these are the beautiful shrouds for men, women and children marked for murder.

This second week in January in this Year of Our Lord 1983, the Guatemala military dictatorship as part of their contribution in the battle against the world wide inflation have proudly proclaimed that in November/December 1982, they only committed 276 murders as against their 1981 figure of 1,175 murders of the Guatemala peasantry while Amnesty International state that the Guatemala security forces as the government murder squads are known on the pay roll have murdered 7,500 since 1978, and that must include the 2,600 murdered in the first six months of General Efrain Rios Montt taking the Holy Oath of Office. Those who walk among us and place objective truth as their first priority come damn the consequences will wish to know if all these figures include the nine badly decomposed bodies resurfaced from an unmarked grave, but this I do know, that Alberto Francisco Ramirez aged 29 will consider the numbers game academic for he has — late newflash style — been found dead on the side east of Guatemala city with his hands and feet hacked off.

In the world of south American power politics Mexico is being forced to abandon its liberal acceptance of the thousands of fleeing Guatemala peasants as by the tens of thousands they are swept by terror across the Mexican borders seeking to evade the Guatemala murder squads known as the 'Kaibiles' after the Mayan god of war, for the murder squads as in other parts of the world now move over borders with absolute impunity carrying their mass murders into and beyond the Mexican refugee camps; and for what they believe are reasons of their own internal security the Mexican government is crying no more, no more, and in various Mexican areas have reluctantly ordered the Guatemala refugees to return to their villages where it is accepted they will be murdered.

models of the work of the last fifty years from the old 'split the atom' to the large cloud chamber yea even to stating that the Pressurised Water Reactor is 'now being assessed for use in Britain' when it is already in production for the commercial generation of the 600,000,000 watts of electricity to light our way to our own each and individual dark and lonely hell.

There are ten year old boys who can take this type of technological exhibition in their short strides. They are the sporting off-shoots of the Adams family, and they win international chess championships, make their own computers and solve Times crossword puzzles and work out mind crushing mathematical equations concerning the position of Soviet space crafts seeking political asylum in the free world half a million miles out in space. To them this exhibition is small time for they will become in their turn the new priests of the 20th century, the Experts, and the Experts despise the human race for its simplicity and I for my part despise the Experts — not for what they know, but for what they do not know, in that despite their claustrophobic facet of one small area of human knowledge, when they step down into the crowd they are no more than one more mean and sensual man or woman whose opinions in the matter of our moralities or daily survival can be accepted as acceptable or rejectable as that of the unskilled labouring worker stumbling at his or her jeaned tailored side and this, the Experts from the priest to the scientist to the politician will not accept.

Slightly legless from drinking in the beauty of the National Gallery's purchase of Monet's Gare St. Lazare and Renoir's Seine Asnieres, there was an inevitability that I should find myself seeking absolute truths from the nuclear expert to whom I was introduced also within the Science Museum. Some five hundred years before the birth of Christ saw the birth of Anaxagoras at Clazomenae, in Iona, and inevitably he became a Greek philosopher but he never made the top billing on the Greek philosophical circuit either playing straight man or second banana to such top ranking philosophical comedians as Pericles, Aspasia and Pheidias but Anaxagoras's claim to a footnote in history is that he stated that every solid piece of matter is divisible from now to infinity. A single grain of sand can be measured and weighed and then halved and that half can be measured and halved again and from now to infinity each new half can be measured and weighed for infinity is the one thing that the human mind cannot conceive of or comprehend and not only does it lie beyond all known universes but, literally, in the infinite halving of a single grain of sand. And that is the question that I have sought an answer for these many years and I stood in the Science Museum among all the technological splendours of this nuclear age slightly legless, a medieval peasant seeking an answer at a living altar and I asked the expert what happens to that grain of sand and he realised that he was wasting time on a fool and drifted away among the Cloud chamber and the water cooled and the gas cooled. We are of an age when They can ask of a child in a children's crossword puzzle 'what drug do you get from the poppy?' and the child will answer opium and any disco youth would tell you that the drug marijuana comes from the leaves of a meadow plant, yet we are of an age when yearly we swallow tens of millions of aspirin tablets that must be manufactured from thousands of tons of basic materials but we do not know what that basic material is. Everything by its very nature comes from the soil and medieval man and woman knew the basics of their food and

medicine, and there was no virtue in that simply primitive necessity but we are 20th century technological man and woman and of the tens of millions of packaged foods, drugs and medicines that fill the supermarket shelves by the very nature of our metropolitan society we have isolated ourselves to the extent that we have literally no knowledge of the great lorry loads of earth torn, plant ploughed basic materials used in the manufacture of our survival drugs and foods.

It is for this reason that the Experts put barbed wire around the nuclear generating stations, why the obvious is held to be State secrets, why we are told that the aspirin tablet is made from acetylsalicylic acid but never what is the earth basics in the huge sacks, why Sir Michael Levery at the National Gallery press conference could not and would not disclose areas of the price that the National Gallery had paid for Monet and the Renoir and sad in heart I make my way to the Whitechapel art gallery to brood on the pleasant and mildly amusing clay doodlings of Barry Flanagan and the huge brash paintings of the young Italian Francesco Clemente.

What can one say of Clemente except that compared with the 1920-1930 polemical paintings of the German Max Beckmann, Clemente's work is crude, sweet and superficial but of Barry Flanagan he has a slight talent and that talent is to amuse and at the moment it is his crudely fashioned happytime hares.

There was a time when the Bond Street dealers were hawking cold cast sculpture as used in the better type of continental cemeteries, but Barry offers cuddly rocks all soft and flowful but 'fistfuls of wax or clay scaled up and reproduced torso-sized by Italian-stone carvers, every fold and wrinkle', and the italics are mine for we will never know who those Italian stonecarvers are, the murderers of the Guatemala peasants, the basics of the aspirin tablet, the authority within the nuclear power stations, the cost of the Renoir and the Monet at the National Gallery and can you halve a grain of sand from now to infinity unless we hammer and hammer and hammer upon those doors behind which in silent self-admiration stand the Experts.

Arthur Moyses



THE MATCH! STRIKES BACK

The American anarchist paper *The Match!* has reappeared after an interval of more than five years.

The Match! originally appeared at Tucson, Arizona, as a student paper, in 1969. From 1971 it was produced almost single-handedly by Fred Woodworth, until it disappeared in February 1977. For those seven years it was one of the most stimulating anarchist papers in the English-speaking world, being not only well written and well produced, but very funny and very angry too, and it has never been replaced. Fred Woodworth told the story of his struggles and sufferings as editor, printer, distributor and main contributor in the *American Atheist* in March 1981 (at a time when he was writing a column there), and it seemed that he would never manage to start it again.

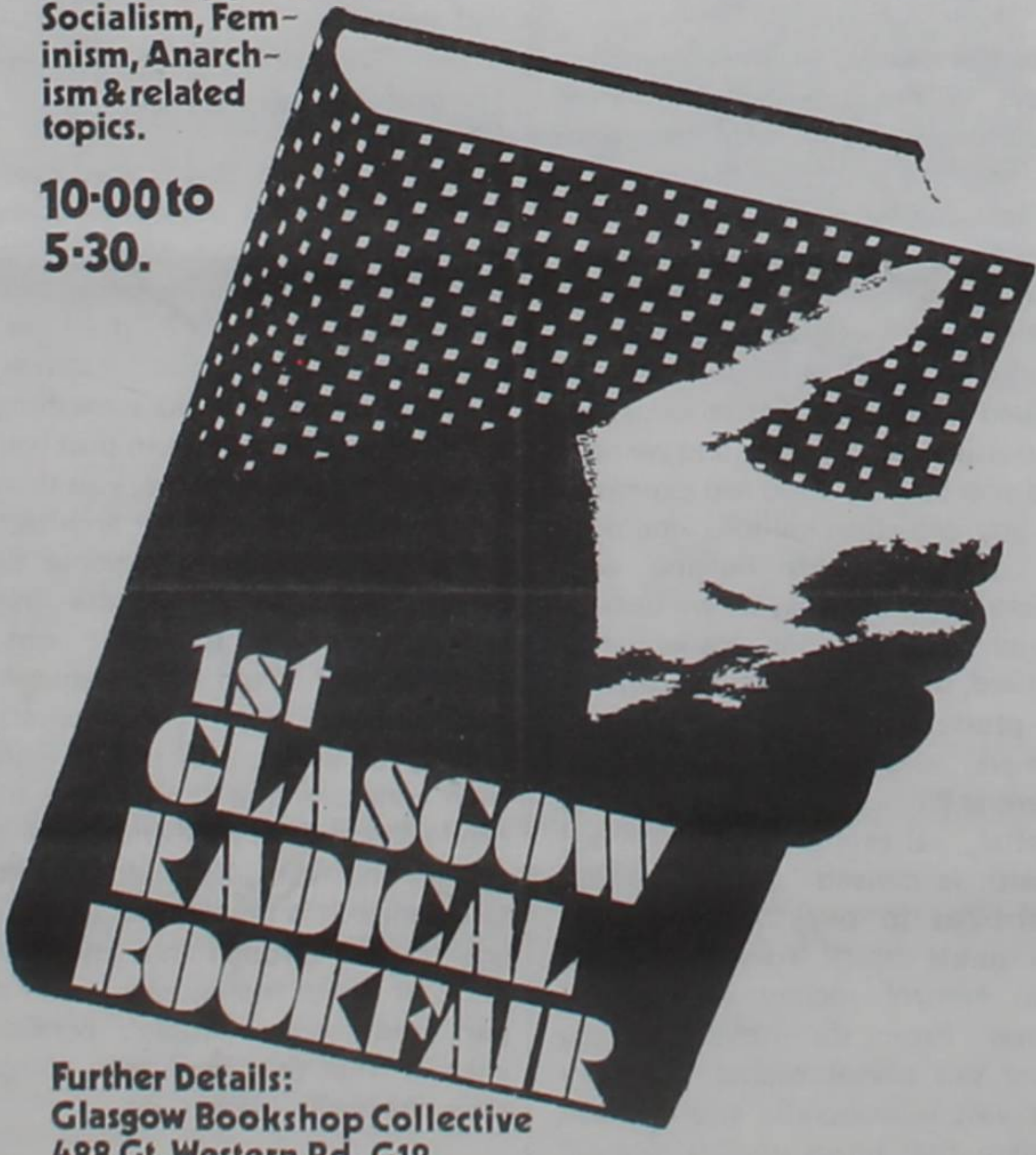
But a new issue at last appeared in Fall 1982 and another in Winter 1982. Instead of being an 8-page large-format monthly, it is now a 20-page or 28-page small-format quarterly. The first new issue (Number 74) contains a long article by Fred Woodworth describing the end of the old *Match!* and his struggles to revive it, and the second (Number 75) contains many letters welcoming its return. One of the most interesting items is the continuation of the autobiography of 'Kent Winslow', which began serialisation back in 1976. We wish it well and hope it survives this time.

Single copy \$1.50, back issue \$2, annual subscription \$6: Fred Woodworth, P O Box 3488, Tucson, Arizona 85722, USA; or from Freedom Bookshop.)

McLellan Galleries,
270 Sauchiehall Street
Sat 26 Feb.

Books, pamphlets, periodicals from many publishers
Socialism, Feminism, Anarchism & related topics.

10-00 to 5-30.



Further Details:
Glasgow Bookshop Collective
488 Gt. Western Rd, G12.

Bedfordshire peace march

On Saturday 29th January a small march - maybe 1000 people - took place in High Wycombe, Bedfordshire, in support of the Daws Hill Peace Camp, and against the local US Air Force base and NATO Strike Command, which is planned as the US Forces' reserve European headquarters in the event of war. The mixture of marchers was rather bizarre - Young Liberals, Tories Against Cruise And Trident, Labour (surprisingly little in evidence), Stalinists and Trotskyists, Christians and pagans. And a little group of anarchists, contributing a leaflet pointing to CND's limitations and the need for more effective direct action.

An argument between an anarchist and a member of the rigidly pro-

Moscow New Communist Party resulted in the anarchist being criticized by a march steward, who said 'We all want peace, and the point of this march is to give a good image to the media. We must appear united.' But anarchists who take part in anti-nuclear actions as part of the struggle against authoritarian systems can never drop their differences with those who seek such systems, whether Conservative or Communist.

The atmosphere of the march was very passive and law-abiding. Many of the marchers chatted cordially with the police. Oh well, perhaps they were 'Police Against The Bomb? Occasionally an anarchist song or a predictable SWP chant ('Jobs, Not Bombs' etc.)

broke the funereal silence, but neither provoked much response, positive or negative, from most of the marchers. Among pavement observers, most showed a vague, passing interest. A few shouted encouragement, and a few others shouted insults ('Rentamob!' etc.)

After passing through the town we passed the small peace camp which asks for more support and participation. Then we passed the US base, and finished on a recreation ground, where a rally began. A speaker thanked the police, to considerable applause. Cold, tired and bored, we decided to leave. And to work out more effective ways of attacking the war machine.

Dave
Brighton Anarchists

Morally bankrupt

It appears that asbestos companies have finally found the sure way to dodge outstanding health claims from the millions of workers who have been poisoned over the years. The expedient is to simply declare bankruptcy, but this 'bankruptcy' is not the sort of belly-up process that the average person faces when the creditors close in. No, after all, what do you think expensive lawyers are for?

There are approximately nine million people in the USA who have worked for the asbestos industry and who might claim damages because of the risk of developing mesothelioma or asbestosis. So far the courts have been going badly for the industry. Last September the Supreme Court of New York State ruled that ignorance of possible health effects was no excuse. In California the Manville Corporation lost a case and was forced to pay a victim \$ 28,000 over and above workman's compensation.

This may seem like a piddling amount compared to the hundreds

of millions worth of assets that corporations such as Manville hold. Yet it has prompted the Manville Corporation to sue for bankruptcy. The reason is that there are still 16,500 claims outstanding against this corporation alone, and a study has revealed that 32,000 claims might yet be filed.

For years the corporation has disputed where their liability should begin; when workers are exposed, when the disease appeared or when medical hazards existed. One court has already concluded that Manville deliberately concealed knowledge of asbestos hazards from its workers. So far Manville has spent 24.5 million in lawyers' fees and paid out \$ 24 million in damages.

Bankruptcy, however, sweeps all the company's problems away with a mark of the pen. The bankruptcy reorganisation has left the company far healthier than it was previously. The scheme was to assign the assets associated with asbestos to a new company (previous name of the company was the Johns-Manville Corporation, new subsidiary is the

Manville Corporation), thus shielding 74% of the corporate assets from asbestos related claims. It is now claimed that claims against the John-Manville Corporation are no longer valid because that company no longer exists. Rather tricky, yeah?

Manville is not alone in this dodge. They were inspired by the example of the Union Asbestos and Rubber Company, which shed its skin to become Unarco Industries Inc and then repeated the process to end up as UNR Industries. This company hasn't been in asbestos since 1962, but claims are still coming in. When UNR was created it was assigned only the pre-1970 assets, amounting to about 10% of the total corporate empire. UNR then promptly filed for bankruptcy on the grounds of excessive asbestos related claims.

And so the wheels of justice keep on turning. One might hope that future dodges will prompt people to find a more effective way to make the companies pay than the long trip through the courts.

Towards an election

After decades of economic, political and civil repression at the hands of the two political wings of the armed state, let 1983 be the year of disaster not alone for the Thatcherite Conservative Government, but also the other political parties which are set to exploit to the hilt the alleged gullability of the working class, which includes the millions of homeless, ill-housed, and workless people.

The vast majority of working people are existing in a state of abject poverty as a result of the intense exploitation experienced by them at the hands of the capitalist class.

Over a very long period of time the working people of this country, generation after generation have been led to believe if a certain 'socialist' party is returned to Westminster the result would be more homes, plenty of worthwhile jobs, a better standard of living, a health service second to none etc, etc.

The Labour Party has always been assisted in its quest for supreme political power by the Trade Union

leaders (fat and well fed), the Communist Party (docile and dogmatic) and the 57 varieties of grumpomarxism.

The vicious attacks and encroachments by the past Labour Governments on the working class movement is legendary.

Yet certain middle class elements within the 'social' professions, white collar unions, CND, Troops Out Movement, Homeless Groups, Claimants Unions, et al, are trying to convince us, yet again that the Labour Party is government, those architects of so much social misery is a better option than Thatcherism.

The way for Thatcherism was well paved by the 'socialist' governments under Wilson and Callaghan, let there be no doubt about that.

Hopefully the working class will not be so easily manipulated by the garden path careerists amongst the Professional Class.

Instead of wasting time and energy voting, the working class can organise collectively in their own communities.

Exploring in depth Co-operativ-

ism, communes, mutual aid, workers control, peoples' councils, etc, which could be linked in voluntary federated networks. The old decrepit leadership of the trade union movement with its long history of selling out the working class will not now bring aid or comfort to the millions of exploited workers, the homeless or the workless.

It is up to us ourselves to establish our own democratic organisations free from middle class domination.

By means of street protests, direct action, and civil disobedience we can build our strength, our solidarity and our working class consciousness.

The illusions and bankruptcy of the labour party has been exposed often enough and people who choose to ignore this reality and participate in elections are doing no favours to the working class.

BE FREE, BE SOCIALIST, BE FOR ALL, BE ANARCHIST, DON'T VOTE - ORGANISE NOW.

Swansea Anarchist Group

In brief

▲ The Turkish government continues to adjust the constitution. A new draft bill deals with declarations of emergencies. These can last six months. Then, local governors will be empowered to impose curfews, ban meetings and public rallies, order an end to strikes, close publications and halt broadcasts. All able bodied people between the ages of 16 and 60 would have to report for work. If it is decided that public funds are inadequate, private citizens would have to provide property, materials, food and medical supplies. Meanwhile, the trial has begun of 740 people who were involved in the commune of Fatsa in 1980. They are accused, amongst other things, of setting up an independent Marxist state. 260 face death sentences.

▲ John Hickmott, a 'technical writer', who has 'studied mental illness', has decided that a tendency to violence is inherited. His grasp of genetics appears to reach 'O' level standards, he produces a statistical analysis based on Mendel. As far as we can tell, the erring gene is recessive and sex linked, so men display it and women are the carriers. This causes Mr. Hickmott, writing in *Police Journal* to worry about the consequences of conjugal visits by the wives of such prisoners. He lacks the intellectual rigour to carry his argument to its logical conclusion, castration would eliminate any threat. R.W.Stone, chief constable of Essex, who edits the magazine, says that if Mr. Hickman is correct, 'it is a matter which should be seriously considered.'

▲ Sudanese authorities have announced tough measures to deal with demonstrators. These include flogging and heavy fines. Lesser treatments are available for 'illegal gatherings of school-boys'. The incentive for the move is the impending absence of President Numeiri in the USA. We are not told what special preventive powers he operates whilst at home.

▲ Three policemen, photographed carrying pickaxe handles during last years Brixton riots, have been 'reprimanded'.

▲ Two police officers have been suspended after a fight at a Christmas party where they allegedly punched and kicked the chief of a CID squad.

NATIONAL

ABERDEEN
Subversive Graffiti Collective, c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen (includes the ex-members of Aberdeen Solidarity). Activities include production of a local free news-sheet.

BASILDON
Are there any anarchists out there in Basildon, Essex area? Contact: Mark, 27 Little Lullaway, Basildon Essex.

BEDFORDSHIRE
Bedfordshire and isolated Anarchists, write John 81 F Bromham Rd, Bedford MK40 2AH

BELFAST
Anarchist Collective, Just Books, 7 Wintavern St, Belfast

BIRMINGHAM
Birmingham DAM, c/o Peace Centre, 18 Moor St, Ringway.

BRISTOL
Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 197 Cheltenham Road, Bristol 6

BURNLEY
BAG, c/o 2 Quarrybank

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge Anarchists, c/o 186 East Rd, Cambridge
East Anglian Anarchist Federation c/o Grapevine, 186 East Road

CARDIFF
c/o 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Rd, Cardiff 2
Whistle Blowers, Box 999, 108 Salisbury Rd

CLEVELAND
25 Liverton Crescent, Thornby. Also produces 'Common Cause' local anarchist paper.
Box A, c/o 120 Victoria Road, Middlesbrough

COVENTRY
Anarchist Group, c/o Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL

CRAWLEY
Libertarian Group, Ray Cowper, 1 Bluebell Close Crawley, W Sussex

CUMBRIA
2 Forestry Cottages, Millfield, Hutton Roof, Penrith

DONCASTER
Doncaster Anarchist Centre, 49a Doncaster Market Place

ESSEX
DAM, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gdns, Saffron Walden, Essex
Oral Abortions, The Catskills, Maldon Rd, Gay Bowers, Danbury

EXETER
Anarchist Collective, c/o Community Association, Devonshire House Stocker Rd

FORMBY
Floating Free, 58 Freshfield Rd, Formby, Merseyside L3 7HW

GLASGOW
'Practical Anarchy (monthly free broadsheet send large sae) c/o Box 3 Calderwood. 15/GPP pamphlets c/o Box V2

At Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Gt Western Rd, G12 (Kelvinbridge Subway)

HUDDERSFIELD
Huddersfield Anarchist Group & DAM, c/o Peaceworks, 58 Wakefield Rd, Huddersfield

HULL
Hull @ Group, 23 Nott St, (moving in Sept to 24 Albany St)
Libertarian Collective, 70 Perth HUS 3NZ

KEELE
Keele University A Group, R Knight, c/o Students Union, The University, Keele, Staffs

KEIGHLEY
Anarchists, c/o Simon Saxton, 1 Selbourne Grove, Keighley, West Yorkshire BD21 2SL

LANCASTER
Tadeusz Szczepanski, 38 Bradshaw St, LA1 3BE

LEAMINGTON AND WARWICK
Lemming and Yorick A's, c/o 23 Radford Rd, Leamington Spa, Warwks CV31 1NF

LEEDS
Leeds Anarchist Group, Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge St, LS2 3AW
DAM + Federation of Leeds Anarchists, Box RU

LEICESTER
Blackthorn Books, 70 High St; Libertarian Education, 6 Beaconsfield Rd, (tel 552085)
The Anarchist Society, Societies' Room, Student's Union Building, University of Leicester, University Rd, LE1 7RH

LIVERPOOL
Box LAG, 37 Bagot St, Wavertree, Merseyside L15 2HA.
NWAFF, c/o 224 Garston Old Rd, Liverpool 19, Mersey side
Discordians, Liverpool Students Union, Brownlow Hill, Liverpool.
North West Anarchist Federation, 224 Garston Old Road, Liverpool 19, Merseyside.

LONDON
Anarchy Magazine, Box A 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1; FREEDOM Collective, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1 (01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube, nr Whitechapel Art Gallery.
Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1. Meet Thursdays 7pm
London Workers Group, 11 Leyden St, E1
121 Books/Anarchist Centre, 121 Railton Rd, London SE24 Tel: 274 6655
Anarchist-Feminist Newsletter, c/o 121 Railton Rd, SE24
Pigs for Slaughter, c/o Raiton Rd
South London Anarchist Group (SLAG) c/o 121 Raiton Rd
South London DAM, c/o Raiton Rd SE24
South London Stress, c/o 121 Raiton Rd SE24
Squatters Defence Network, c/o 121 Raiton Rd SE24
Toxic Graffiti, c/o 121 Raiton Rd, SE24
Martin Nicholas, 186 Mount Pleasant Rd, London N17

MALVERN
and Worcester area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrige, Worcestershire

MANCHESTER
'Wildcat' or 'Solidarity' at: Box 25, 164/5 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, M4 3BN
DAM, Box 20, 164/66 Corn Exchange Bldgs, Hanging Ditch, M4.

MORECAMBE & LANCASTER
North Lancs Libertarians, c/o Cliff M Poxon, 13 Carleton St, Morecambe, Lancs LA4 4NX

NORTH STAFFS
Careless Talk Collective, R Knight c/o Students Union, The University, Keele, Staffs

NORWICH
Norwich @ Group, c/o Box 6, FREE-WHEEL, 52-54 King St

NOTTINGHAM
Jackie Veevers, 7 Irene Tce, Basford
Individuals Anonymous 12p sae, above address

OLDHAM
Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Fallsworth

ORPINGTON
Rik Fuller, 60 Ramsden Rd, Orpington, Kent

OXFORD
Oxford Anarchists, 34 Cowley Rd

PLYMOUTH
Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Ave, Penny-cross

PORTSMOUTH
area anarchist group, c/o Garry Richardson, 25 Beresford Close, Waterlooville, Hants

READING
Reading Anarchists, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham St

RHONDDA
and Mid Glamorgan, Henning Anderson, 'Smiths Arms', Treherbert, Mid Glamorgan

SHEFFIELD
Anarchists, c/o 4 Havelock Square S10 2FQ

SOUTHAMPTON
c/o 78 Northumberland Road, St Mary's

SOUTH WALES
DAM, c/o Smiths Arms, Baglan Rd, Treherbert. Write for anarcho-sindicalist contacts in Treherbert, Rhondda, Pontypridd, Penarth, Barry and Cardiff areas

SOUTHAMPTON
'Southern Stress', c/o October Books, 4 Onslow Rd

SURREY
Damp Squid Anarchists (North Surrey) Tel: 01-399 3197

SUSSEX
Brighton Anarchists, c/o Students Union, Falmer House, University of Sussex, Brighton East Sussex
Hastings Anarchists + Poison Pen, 92 London Rd, St Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex
Sussex Anarchist Society, c/o Hastings Anarchist Group

SWANSEA
Billy, 63 Clynymaes Place, Blaenymaes, Swansea

SWINDON
area, Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon

TAYSIDE
Josh Cowan, 3/R 17 Cheviot Crescent, Dundee, DD4 9QJ

TYNE & WEAR
Newcastle Anarchist Group, c/o 2 Priory Court, High St, Gateshead, Tyne & Wear, NE8 3JL

WAKEFIELD
Anarchist and Peace Group, c/o Fazackerley, 36 Bowan St, Agbrigg, Wakefield, West Yorkshire

WEST WALES
Terry Phillips, 7 Heol Nant, Felinfoel, Llanelli, Dyfed SA14 8EL

LITERATURE

END OF MUSIC (a critique of the music industry) — contact Box V2, 488 Great Western Road, Glasgow G12, or from A Distribution (London). 60p incl p+p.

THE BOURGEOIS ROLE OF BOLSHEVISM — An Anonymity Press reprint. 40p incl p+p.

ART AND ANARCHISM — by Farquhar McLay. Also from Anonymity Press, Box 3, 488 Gt Western Road, Glasgow G12. 40p incl p+p (more copies being reprinted now).

DIRECT ACTION NOW: a journal of applied anarchism. 12 dollars (US) for 12 issues. DAN-fp, Box 253, 55 McCaul St, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5T 2W7

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DESIRES

Are there any anarchists in Wales interested in forming a Welsh Anarchist Federation or Contact network. Please contact Paul, 10 Taff Embankment, Grange-town, Cardiff, for further information.

IF you are interested in setting up an anarchist commune in Wales, contact: **THE PEACE COMMUNE.**
c/o Molesworth Peace Camp, Old Weston Rd, Brington, Huntingdon, Cambs. PE17 5LP

MEETINGS

Meal & Discussion 2.00pm, Sunday 20th February (Meal £1), 121 Anarchist Centre, 121 Raiton Rd SE24, Tel: (01) 274 6655
Topic: "Lessons from the TV Series — The Spanish Revolution".
Speaker: Albert Meltzer.

FUNDS

DEFICIT FUND
Donations Received: January 21st — February 2nd Incl.
Sutherland J A J £3.00; Nottingham M P £0.25; Wolverhampton J L £3.00; J K W £1.00; Romsey K A S £1.00; San Diego USA L S £6.70; Leicester J E £0.50; Canterbury S £0.25; Lieksa Finland T V £0.25; Tiverton J A £0.10; Harrogate J C £1.00; London SW16 £0.25; Wakefield D F £0.50; Oakland Ca USA D K £6.70; TOTAL = £24.50
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TOTAL TO DATE = £96.62
Target for 1983 = £2000

PREMISES FUND

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TOTAL TO DATE = £106.05
Target for 1983 = £1500

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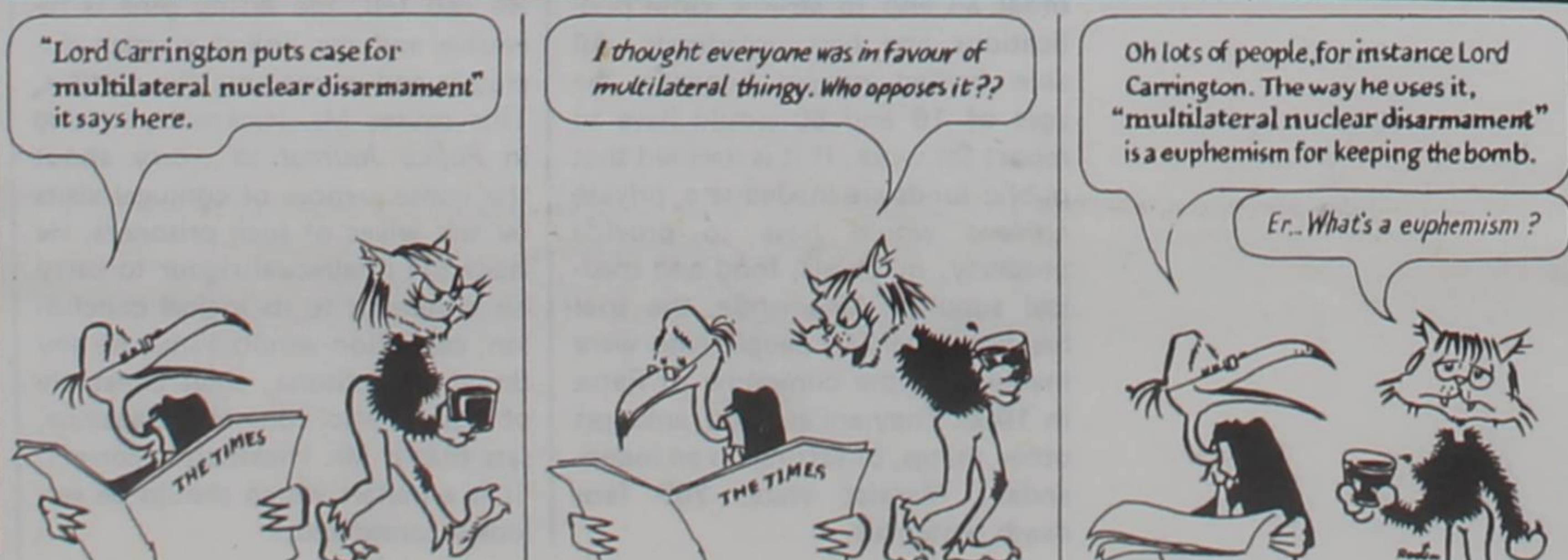
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NOW AVAILABLE AGAIN
Colin Ward: Housing: An Anarchist Approach — with a new postscript by the author. 200 pp ppr. £2.25 (\$ 4.50), (+ 40p post). From FREEDOM PRESS, (In Angel Alley), 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1. Trade terms available

DEADLINES

FREEDOM Collective would welcome any readers who wish to help fold and despatch the paper. The next issue will be sent out on Thursday 24th February, starting at around 6pm. This is also a good time to come and meet the editors.
FREEDOM also needs your written contributions and any graphics or photographs readers feel would be useful to us. Copy deadline for short items for the next issue is first post, Monday 21st. Longer articles in by first post, Thursday 17th.

WILDCAT



FREEDOM
Editorial Collective
84b Whitechapel High St
London E1

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