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anarchist fortnightly

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editorial

British Trades Unions are the product and the expression of a tragic mistake. Out of the struggles of the workers through the nineteenth century they emerged as defensive organisations. Their role was to bargain, not to demand and create. They are set up on craft lines, so a given workplace will have several, divided expressions. And, perhaps worst of all, they are bureaucratic and hierarchical. This provides a professional, full time elite of officials. It is in their interests to maintain the status quo.

Any organisation reflects the type of society which its participants see. So, as British Trades Unions saw the attractions of seeking reforms within the system, they created political wings. The present expression of this is the Labour Party. Again, the assumption is that people's best interests are best served by appointing apparently well-meaning leaders. The Trades Unions and the Labour Party are fully 'recuperated'. They are now an essential part of our exploitive, bureaucratic and hierarchical system.

Simple 'syndicates' in other countries are similar. In some cases, there have been state syndicates, for example in Spain, Italy and still in Russia.

There has also been a tradition of revolutionary syndicalism, industrially, rather than craft based, scornful of political manoeuvring. This presupposes organisation from the bottom up by direct workers' control not by token representatives. All delegates must be recallable. These syndicates can then federate and confederate. Action is direct.

This form of organisation provided a massive alternative in the early part of this century. It reached its peak in Spain in the 1930s. Since then, the immediate attractions of piecemeal reform have beckoned more strongly. When free unions have threatened the system military force has been turned on them. It happened in Spain in the 1930s and it happened in Poland in the 1980s.

When the organisation and tactics of revolutionary syndicalism are united with a clear sense of the freedom of the individual and a drive to transform the whole of society we have anarcho-syndicalism. This is the manifestation of struggle in the workplace. There are other areas of life, the struggles for free sexuality, for communal life, for the right *not* to work, against the warfare state.

When all these strands coalesce we have anarchism.

Few of the millions of people who vote for the Labour Party or belong to Trade Unions ever consider that such organisations derive from revolutionary conspiracies whose members were once imprisoned or transported for making seditious speeches and leading violent demonstrations or for administering secret oaths and smashing new machines. Even fewer of the thousands of people who attend May Day meetings ever consider that these occasions derive from a militant campaign for shorter working hours, and especially from the martyrdom of a group of anarchists nearly a century ago.

May Day began as one of the traditional spring festivals of Europe. The name of the month comes from Maia, an Italian flower goddess, and in ancient Rome it began with the Floralia, a pagan festival of flowers and fun (celebrated, says one Classical Dictionary, 'with extravagant merriment and lasciviousness'), which continued far into the Christian era and still survives in some places. In England May Day was a festival of youth and joy, with a Queen and King of the May or a May Lady and May Lord to preside, May-flowers and May-garlands for decoration, a May-bowl to drink from, and a suggestive May-pole to dance round. Orthodox Christians of all denominations disapproved, but young people insisted on getting up at dawn to enjoy themselves. In the German countries it was mixed up with Walpurgis Night, when witches fly, and in the Celtic countries with Beltane, when bonfires are lit; but the main tradition of May Day remained one of innocence and fertility, with little or no interference from the religious or social establishment.

May Day would therefore have been a suitable occasion for festivity in the new political movements of the past two centuries, and the strange thing is perhaps that it took so long for the connection to be made. In the French Revolution it was proposed as a festival of Love or Nature, but this wasn't put into practice; though the appropriate month in the French Revolutionary calendar was called Floreal. Later the British utopian socialists sometimes gave it special significance, but this never lasted. When William Benbow proposed a Grand National Holiday in 1832 to establish the new order, he suggested no date; but when Robert Owen announced a New Moral World in 1833, he suggested that it should begin on 1 May 1834. However, the date passed and was forgotten as the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, the first working-class mass movement in this country, collapsed in ruins. The date was next announced half a century later and several thousand miles to the West.

After the American Civil War in the 1860s, there was a long and hard campaign for shorter working hours, which led to several Federal and State laws. They often came into effect on 1 May, which was called Moving Day in many parts of the United States, being a conventional day to move house or change jobs. But the laws had little effect, the average working week remaining six ten-hour days, and the labour movement continued to campaign

Celebrate MAY DAY



the real one!

for the real eight-hour day. At the fourth congress of the Federation of Organised Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, held in Chicago in November 1884, Gabriel Edmonston proposed that the eight-hour day should be imposed by direct action from 1 May 1886.

This proposal was taken up by the American labour movement, and the plan was supported by the revolutionary socialist movement (including many anarchists), despite serious reservations about such a reformist demand. On Saturday, 1 May 1886, thousands of people took part in strikes and millions of people took part in meetings all over the country. The situation was particularly tense in Chicago, where a bitter dispute at the McCormick Harvester factory had already led to bitter strikes and lock-outs. On 3 May there was fighting between strikers and socialists on one side and blacklegs and policemen on the other, several people being injured and one striker being killed. On 4 May there was more fighting;

and in the evening a mass meeting at the Haymarket was attacked by several hundred policemen, who were themselves attacked by a dynamite bomb which killed one, fatally injured six others, and injured another 60.

The person responsible was never caught or convincingly identified, but the country was thrown into a panic and the police arrested dozens of people, of whom 31 were indicted and eight eventually tried for murder. All of them were anarchists or near-anarchists; six were German, one English, and one native American. After a rigged trial before a packed jury from June to August 1886, concentrating almost entirely on the defendants' political beliefs in the absence of any real evidence against them, they were all found guilty, and seven of them sentenced to death. After hopeless appeals up to the United States Supreme Court, the convictions were upheld; at the last moment two of the condemned men (Samuel Fielden and Michael Schwab) were reprieved, and one

(Louis Lingg) managed to kill himself. A world-wide campaign involving not only anarchists but almost all socialists and many liberals failed to save the other four men.

On 11 November 1887, August Spies, Adolph Fischer, Georg Engel, and Albert Parsons were hanged in the Cook County Jail. On 13 November they (and Lingg) were buried in the Waldheim Cemetery, where their tomb soon became a monument. In 1893 a new Governor of Illinois, John Altgeld, not only pardoned the three survivors but also condemned the trial, in terms which were eventually accepted by virtually every impartial student of the case. (Sacco and Vanzetti had to wait half a century for such rehabilitation.)

For many years afterwards, 11 November was commemorated by left-wing organisations around the world on much the same level as 18 March, the anniversary of the beginning of the Paris Commune in 1871. But May Day soon re-appeared. In 1888 the American Federation of Labor, which had been formed in 1886, resumed the campaign for the eight-hour day and called for strikes and demonstrations on 1 May 1890. This time the movement became international as well as national. The first congress of the Second International, held in Paris in July 1889, welcomed the American initiative and decided to observe May Day as a world-wide demonstration of Labour solidarity in the struggle for the eight-hour day and in memory of the Chicago martyrs.

The demonstrations were so successful in so many countries that they were repeated in 1891, when they led to serious riots in many places — the one in Paris starting a series of events leading to the Bomb Era and the official persecution of anarchists, and those in Italy and Spain also having important influence on developments in the anarchist movement.

Australia already had a labour day, commemorating the eight-hour day being won as early as 1856. The United States and Canada, ironically, soon abandoned May Day; it was replaced by Labor Day, already proposed by the Knights of Labor in 1882 for the first Monday in September, as a sort of industrial substitute for a harvest festival, and this was made a national holiday in 1894.

In Britain, there was typical trouble and typical compromise from the start. The first international May Day, in 1890, was on a Thursday, and the revolutionary socialists and anarchists of London wished to observe it on the same day as their comrades elsewhere, so they held a meeting at Clerkenwell Green on 1 May. The reformist socialists and Marxists, and above all the trade unionists, preferred to observe it on the nearest Sunday, so they held a huge meeting in Hyde Park on 4 May. Thus was set the pattern which has lasted ever since, the great mass of the labour movement celebrating on Sunday, and only a tiny minority of revolutionary socialists and anarchists trying to insist on May Day itself. (Similar problems arose in Germany at an early stage.)

continued on the back page

■ On priests and the state

'L' who reviewed *On Terrorism and the State*, in a letter in reply to mine in the latest **FREEDOM** (April 9th '83), seems to think that he found a 'contradiction' because I said 'never trust a priest', and I quoted a bishop of Ely at the end of my letter. ('Whenever you see a book with a cat and mouse in the frontispiece seize upon it for the chances are as three to four that it will be found curious and valuable') No one can say this quote is not interesting in the context of Sanguinetti's book.

For the mice are all those who have been arrested by the State which is using the 'RB' as a cover, as a net, and as an organisation that it now controls. State terrorism is nothing but 'the substitution of persuasion by fear'. When I said never trust a priest, I had Brother Giroto in mind, he who helped ambush Curcio. I was also thinking of the Father Gapon case in Czarist Russia. And in the wider context I was thinking of all priests.

■ On art and anarchism

I am surely not the only **FREEDOM** reader to be appalled by the April 9 issue. The inside was all right, but the front and back covers were a complete turn off for anyone who might have thought favourably of **FREEDOM** after buying a copy at the ND demo.

It is a joke to say the black-hatted bombthrower is a popular misconception of anarchism. The popular misconception of an anarchist these days, at least among the well-informed, is some kid who doesn't believe a word of what he says but is just out to shock. The cover of April 9 **FREEDOM** looks like what a bunch of twelve-year-olds might produce to show how shocking they can be.

An article attacking the ecology movement, the people most likely at the moment to move forward to anarchism (governments are great

How can you criticize religion and not criticize priests? And then I thought of Bruce Kent, the radical priest of CND fame. I knew that the coming demonstration at Burghfield would be a peaceful flop, the screen of appearances was not torn, all was quiet on the TV front! Bruce Kent and all the others with a room at the top of CND did everything they could to maintain the balance of peace. After all the general election is not too far, the Labour voters must not be shocked by violent anti-nuclear demonstrations, more must vote Labour. But if the Labour Farm comes back to power it is 'clear' from their latest election dish-rag that Cruise and Co will stay in Britain. The Labour leadership are schizophrenic they are *for* and *against* nuclear weapons. Nuclear State terrorism helps *all* States to stay in business.

And then the CND officials even excluded the **FREEDOM** collective from a blockade at Burghfield, so it seems a critique of religion, of hier-

archy are not luxuries, but necessities of life. In any case it is not Monsignor 'Dog-collar' Kent who will quote the bishop of Ely in connection with *On Terrorism and the State*. Unless CND becomes a real grass roots organisation with no leaders and led, no priest or any other specialist at the top, it will remain ineffective and it will collapse just like it did in the sixties. For 'boredom is always counter-revolutionary'.

It is also interesting to find out the *history* of the cat and mouse frontispiece. It could be linked to 16th century religious reform. One bishop of Ely who lived around that time, was no lover of Ranters, Anabaptists. He urged his flock to denounce all those who opposed episcopal government. 'Blasphemers of all sorts, common drunkards, adulterers, fornicators, swearers, sowers of sedition, faction or discord among their neighbours' had to be turned in. In a word all those who wanted to live in a free

manner. Today the police would like the public to be 'their eyes and ears'. Just like the priests of old wanted it. *The Police and Criminal Evidence Bill* continues the long tradition of repression by the State, each time proletarians rise up against the commodity racket and wage-slavery, each time anger and revolt loom on the horizon. The irony of this Bill is that it is *already* throwing oil on the fire.

The quote and the cat and mouse frontispiece get a new meaning when *related* to the 'Red Brigade' nightmare. As for the motto in latin here is the best meaning I have heard: 'An alliance of unequals is not to be trusted', that is to say that in the end the cat eats the mouse.

I hope this letter will infuriate Monsignor Kent (the priest who wants to ban nuclear weapons, but keep God!), and the rest of the CND hierarchy, and that it will satisfy the anonymous 'L'.

Michel Prigent

■ On ecology and food

Thanks for a great front page article 'Anti-ecology' especially the illustration - I've now worked out where the girl's left shin is. On to the meat of the matter -

I go along with ecology as creating a mythology, soil worship etc, among punters who don't get out and try to raise food crops ... having half-heartedly tried for the past 7 or 8 years to break an allotment, and generally fallen short of anything you care to mention, I reckon I have a pretty realistic view of one form of food production ... and its relation to agrobusiness and factory farming.

Back-tracking to the geezer's strong on ecology, weak on food production ... yes, OK, ecology stands between self and reality (food production), like militarism stands between self and reality (getting your arse blown off) ...

if you follow either path you'll maybe come to a reality ... maybe not.

Problem in both cases is confusing words, print, hot air, posters, media ... with reality ... wankers of the world, unite - you've nothing to lose but your illusions.

Re means of production - it's pretty clear authoritarian society evolves authoritarian methods of production - which would likely be incompatible with a hypothetical anarchist society, or, if employed, would need authoritarian organisation, so why bother.

OK! I realise the article is an *Anti-Fool's* spoof and I'm another dull bugger who's fallen for it. Never mind.

Leis gach deigh durrachd

John Hopkins
East Lothian

■ On anarcho-syndicalism and the DAM

It was interesting to read Mark Nelson's and Ian Swain's criticisms of my article 'Against Anarcho-Syndicalism' which appeared in **FREEDOM** 12.3.83. I would like to reply to the points they make as what they fail to notice is quite important to the discussion about Anarcho-Syndicalism.

In response to Mark Nelson's question as to what I am arguing about, Anarcho-Syndicalism, modern technology or wasting space criticising 'Trade Unionism' as such; I feel that to talk about Anarcho-Syndicalism it is important to consider the relationship of 'Trade Unionism' and modern technology to society.

For example Revolutionary Syndicalism (and its anarchist devotees) can slide gradually and unknowingly into reformist syndicalism and/or modern trade unionism. An example of this happening was post First World War (GT - the French Syndicalist Confederation). Yet another example would be the Swedish SAC.

To the point Ian Swain makes about the shortcomings of capitalist unions not being applicable to Anarcho-Syndicalism I would suggest he looks at the formation of an Anarcho-Syndicalist bureaucracy during the Spanish Revolution 1936 - 1939. I think it would be dishonest just to blame particular 'leaders'. (A similar ploy to blaming the failure of the Bolsheviks to create a communist society on particular leaders rather than on organisational structure.)

Once again I hear the view, from both Mark Nelson and Ian Swain, that modern technology is basically alright if in the right hands (Anarcho-Syndicalist I suppose). Yet again this fails to look at the fact that much of modern technology is

inherently dominating, as my article briefly pointed out.

After this Mark Nelson seems to feel that I wish people to live in some 'pseudo-medieval commune' with all the numerous physical and intellectual hardships that follow from this.

What I do feel is that the communities created during and after a social revolution would have to try and move towards self-sufficiency as far as possible. This in itself would involve a huge changing of the structure of society. Obviously the form of this would vary from place to place as would the degree of self-sufficiency. This is not the same as an absolute state of destitution or even an absolute dependence on nature. Another thing I feel is that ecology would play an important part in the creation of a libertarian society.

I did not say that people should not use any technology at all. What I did say was that as far as possible people should be able to understand as much of it as possible.

Mark Nelson quotes fairly extensively from P Avrich's book *The Russian Anarchists*. I have also read this excellent book. Later Mark Nelson says that the debates between 'Anarcho-Communists' and Anarcho-Syndicalists are not irrelevant and out of date. I agree they are not! Years later with the increased development of modern technology the possibility of creating out of it a technology that is inherently libertarian is much greater, thus favouring a latter day 'Anarcho-Communist' type approach.

I do not accept Mark Nelson's reason that he quotes from Avrich that the Russian anarchists were 'too poorly organised to keep the rebellion being diverted into non-

socialist and non-libertarian channels' as the only factor in the failure of the Russian Revolution. If he really wants to learn from history he might see that the anarchists were only a relatively small minority of the population. They increased in numbers in the period 1917 - 1921 (this is according to Voline *The Unknown Revolution*) probably as a counter reaction to the Bolsheviks and were suppressed. I am not sure whether I consider the Makhnovist movement anarchist or not.

Another factor I consider could also help explain the failure of the Russian Revolution is having an industrial system with technology that is no different from that of capitalism!

D Dane

▲ The recent letter in **FREEDOM** (No 6 vol 44), sums up the whole attitude of certain DAM orientated people.

By saying that those who 'joined' the anarchist movement through the Peace, Feminist, Animal rights movements are nothing more than 'militant liberals' is probably the most sectarian statement that I have ever read in **FREEDOM**.

You just can't say that they are not anarchists because they do not subscribe to a syndicalist ideology. Anarcho-syndicalism is only one of many ways to achieve anarchy, and one that many anarchists can not agree with, either because they find factories and work places oppressive by their very nature, or that they believe in a form of agrarian community.

'Dino' then goes on to criticise the letter from Mak and Jaqui, who asked why some people 'hate' the DAM. He may suggest that a woolly-

minded and irrelevant anarchist movement is not going to like an anarcho-syndicalist organisation because that is what an anarchist organisation is all about. I would say, that not only is it an elitist statement but the NEAF and NwAF are also other forms of anarchist organisation, and the only ones that do not seem to be stagnant.

I would also suggest the reason that some people hate the DAM is because of certain people's insistence, and fanatical rantings, on building a mass movement before any real action could be taken, instead of going out there and trying to put their argument to the workers, ALL the time and not just during a strike. The DAM could be an excellent organisation if the talkers did more action and they 'got rid' of the small group of trot minded people.

The anarchist movement may be small but it is not without influence in some areas (eg Peace and Animal rights), but it seems to me that this can not be exploited because of the very feeling that we are small and UNinfluential. With this sort of attitude we are, and always will be, doomed to fail.

With 'Dino's' attitude it makes you wonder why he calls himself an anarchist at all. Especially as his views seem to be very sectarian and elitist: something the anarchist movement could do without!!!

Mark

Due to the enormous correspondence engendered by the 'Anti-Ecology' issue further letters appear on page 6.

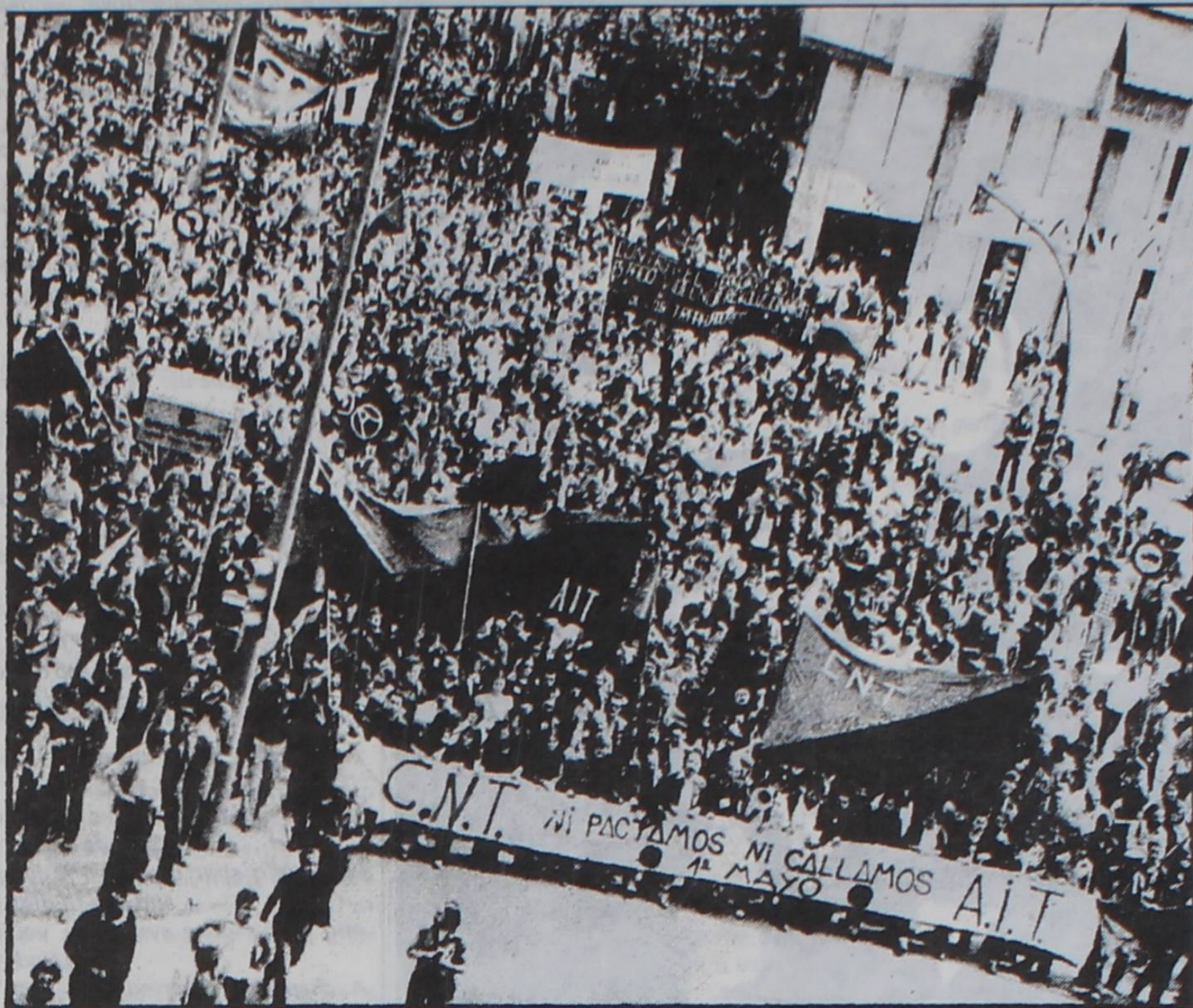
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CNT-AIT

Translated from an article in *Agora*, this is a report on a week of cultural events, conferences, debates and exhibitions which took place in parallel with the 6th CNT-AIT congress in Barcelona.



CNT march against the 'social contract'.

Alan Albon gives his impressions of the present situation in Spain after a recent visit.

A short visit to a country where one doesn't speak the language isn't conducive to a proper understanding of what is going on; but if one knows people who are involved in the anarchist movement, and if one already has a clear idea of and association with the country's history, there is a lot one can learn without much difficulty.

The CNT

At the moment there seems to be an almost equal division of opinion between those who want the CNT to have a revolutionary anarchist basis and those who want it to be a primarily syndicalist union similar to the socialist UGT, concentrating on immediate economic demands.

Many anarchists have recently left the CNT, and there are currently attempts to persuade them to return, which would of course help to determine the path of the movement. There is a body of opinion which would like the CNT to register as an official union which would give it access to state funds and negotiating rights with employers. As things are, for example, most Barcelona metro workers belong to the CNT, but the official negotiating has to be done by the UGT bosses. There aren't many situations where there are strong CNT branches, but where this is the case there is understandably strong pressure for registration. Many anarchists, however, would say that this would involve an unacceptable dilution of basic principles.

Visiting the local CNT headquarters in Cordoba, one realises how the long years of Franco's dictatorship took their toll, and one is reminded of the importance of grassroots support, which the Spanish anarchist movement once had but has gradually lost. One must recognise the changes in circumstances, the growth of the middle class and the corresponding spread of affluence to sections of the working class, which discourage the revival of the anarchist movement in the post-Franco democracy.

The present problem, and it is not confined to Spain, is to widen anarchist influence without diluting anarchist principles. There are basic almost biological issues that should unite the human race. There is the threat of nuclear annihilation that is slowly beginning to unite people again, and anarchists say that this threat of annihilation stems directly

from the authoritarian society in which we all live. There are wider social issues on which we can make contact with our fellow humans, instead of arguing how many angels can stand upon the point of an anarchist needle. As anarchists we should be more interested in and informed about the practicalities of living. In this we can learn from the old CNT before the Civil War.

The Women's Movement

As in Britain, the movement is growing in strength in Spain, particularly in the larger towns. The proposed relaxation of the abortion laws by the new Socialist government has aroused a howl of indignation from the Catholic Church that makes the so-called Pro-Life propaganda here sound like a whisper. So the women's movement in Spain is in for a rougher ride than in Britain, where it is the nuclear issue which has aroused such militant action. The peculiar logic of the Catholic Church does not show the same concern, for the sanctity of human life in areas apart from abortion. The radicals in the Church are now being reprimanded by the Pope for their activities in South and Central America. Throughout the Spanish-speaking world, and especially in Spain, the religious domination of 'the Holy Father' is closely connected with the secular domination of the Catholic establishment, and a strong feminist movement will present a serious challenge. It is to be hoped that the growing movement in Spain will, as in Britain, generally reject all forms of authoritarianism. But I was sorry to see that there is a strong Communist influence in the movement in the areas that I visited. The small International Women's Day demonstration we attended contained more men than women and had Communist type slogans. Apart from the pro-abortion demand, there was no hostility as far as one could see. There was a feminist meeting and festival in a square, with dancing and singing which attracted a good crowd, including nearly all the people in Cordoba who had any connection with the anarchist movement.

The Socialist Government

Many anarchists feel that the atmosphere under the new government will make it easier for anarchists to carry out propaganda, and already the government has made some challenges to the three organisations which influence Spanish life to such

a large extent.

(1) Big Business

The biggest of the homegrown variety is Rumasa, which has its finger in a great many pies. Investigation has revealed many malpractices which have been very detrimental to the Spanish economy, and the government is taking the concern into government control. This is not an anarchist solution, of course, and the widespread multinational companies will not be touched. There is the example of the Mondragon co-operative, which has grown successfully in the Basque area, where shareholders are confined to those who work in it and relinquish their shares when they retire.

(2) The Church

The proposal to make abortion easier has predictably raised cries of opposition, as I have mentioned. One has only to travel the country to see the hold the Church still has on Spanish society. Indeed it seems incredible how the anarchist movement grew up to 1936 in spite of this. I met many Spanish anarchists in France who were still to some extent influenced by Catholic ideology, which often has a strong emotional hold.

(3) The Army

The resolve to reform the Army, which is the most authoritarian arm of the establishment, and which reinforces the fears that are planted in people's minds at vulnerable times, is the most obvious attempt by the new democracy to exorcise the ghost of military dictatorship.

The growth of social democracy

The middle class has become much more of a force in Spanish society, particularly in the large towns. There is no doubt that many people find the restrictions imposed by the more conservative elements in Spanish society very irksome, and would like to see the power of the Army and Church curbed. This element in society wants to preserve its privileges and often has a very paternalistic attitude to the working class. What such people do not realise is that privilege and liberty do not mix, and what they are trying to do is to secure their own power. All that the Socialist government will mean in a society which is still based on buying and selling, is that there will be a growth in middle-class bureaucracy and a shrinking of the productive work force, leading ultimately to recession and increased division in society.

Between 300 and 1000 people attended the various events every day discussing such diverse subjects as: 'marginal movements', prisons, education, UGT-CNT workers movement, women and social struggle, nationalism; authors and plays, repression in Latin America and Anarchism in the USA.

There were contributions from a number of well-known names including, Daniel Coln-Bendit, the writer and essayist Fernando Savater; Agustin Garcia Calvo, the writer and linguist; Chomsky's collaborator, the linguist, Carlos Peregrin Otero ... Two representatives from the Montreal Anarchist Institute, Dimitri Roussopoulos and Yoland Cohen; from the CNRS in Paris the researcher Lopez Campillo; the teacher and writer Rene Loreau; the psychoanalyst Eduardo Colombo. The numbers attending moved Cornelius Castoriades (Paul Cardan) to say that 'Only in Barcelona and Milan could you get such large numbers of people together for political discussions.'

The debate on Anarchism in the USA was introduced by two films from Pacific Street Film Collective of New York, one of these being about the Yiddish Language Libertarian Movement. At the same time, with the help of the Cinemateca de Catalunya there were four sessions of documentaries and other films on the Civil war and the Revolution (1936 - 39). Also shown were short excerpts from some 200 previously censored films, some of which had been held by the Exilio, from Amsterdam and from the stocks of the Cinemateca Nacional de Madrid. A number of the latter

films were made available thanks to the help of an old CNT militant from the Sindicato de Espectaculos.

Among the films shown were 'El corto verano de la Anarquia' (The brief summer of Anarchy), featuring Durruti and Oswald Bayer's 'Patagonia Rebelde' about the strike of European and Chilean exiles in Argentina at the beginning of the century. This film was seized by the Junta after their 'putsch' and only one version, in German, was saved.

Two plays were performed; Dario Fo's 'Accidental Death of an Anarchist', about the assassination of Giuseppe Pinelli, during '69, in Milan, and 'El Cabrero', the story of a shepherd returning from several months in prison where he had been sent by an Archbishop for his blasphemous Flamenco songs.

There was also a huge exhibition of material from the Amsterdam Institute, from Salamanca Archives about the war, from l'Ateneu Enciclopedic Popular and l'Institut Municipal d'Historia de Barcelona, as well as from the CNT's own archives. Along with vast numbers of photos and posters, there were publications and documents about: the formation of the CNT, 1910 - 1936, the Civil War and the Revolution, the 'Exile' and the 'Clandestinity' and the reconstruction after Franco.

All in all it was a week of great depth. As many people said, there was so much going on that you had to run from place to place in an attempt to take it all in.

Lisard

(translated from *Agora*)

The Wall

While we were in Cordoba a cinema showed the Pink Floyd film *The Wall* unthinkable in Franco's time. It was largely a young audience which was deeply affected by the powerful statement, and the Gerald Scarfe design I am sure appealed to Spanish taste. What was interesting was that before this film, an anti-abortion film was shown, being received with whistles and shouts of opposition. The film was emotive in the extreme, showing a woman and her boyfriend approaching a clinic in London and the foetus inside shouting, 'Don't kill me!' The height of hypocrisy was the showing of concentration camp victims side by side with aborted fetuses; considering the Catholic Church's record with regard to the concentration camps and Franco's massacre of his defeated enemies this was breathtaking.

The problems in Spain must be viewed with some sympathy. Among anarchists there is a desire not to become a small group of extremists without much influence, as in so many other countries. The decisions about what compromises will not lead to the destruction of the CNT as an anarchist force must be hard ones to make. Their problems are becoming very similar to ours. This is not to say that libertarian thought has not had its successes, but you have to live a little time to appreciate them.

The Moorish Influence

The Moorish influence may be seen everywhere, particularly in the

architecture, which tends to survive better than anything else. We were taken by anarchist friends to the ruins of a Moorish city outside Cordoba which is being slowly restored. One of our friends who had studied that period of Spanish history was obviously very impressed with the skill of that civilisation.

My personal experience of modern building disasters makes me feel that we have a lot to relearn in this area. Much of the skill that they had in the agricultural field has certainly been lost, as the arid nature of much of Spain shows. The modern irrigation methods are not appropriate to climatic conditions in Spain where 75% of the water is evaporated, so that those big landowners with the capital can corner a meagre water supply.

General impressions

Among anarchists, at least, there appears to be a much more collective feeling, and with unemployment and social security payments for only 18 months there is much mutual aid. Although there is a general urge towards regional federal autonomy, there is some resentment about Catalonia taking workers from the poorer areas, like the other European countries, and then wanting them to go when economic pressures dictate. The Basques rely more on their own workforce. In a country like Spain, where there are such enormous regional differences, some economic mutual aid is as necessary between areas as between individuals and groups. I came away with a feeling of apprehension but also of determination.

Many great works of art and literature have arisen from war, some of the greatest in reaction against it, especially as it has become increasingly destructive. Perhaps the aesthetically most creative war was what was then the physically most destructive war of all — once called the Great War, then renamed the First World War when another war came, and now nearly forgotten as the last war approaches. Every country involved in the frightful fury of mass murder from 1914 to 1918 was politically devastated but culturally stimulated by the experience. In Britain this effect appeared above all in poetry, the strong romantic tradition of the previous century being shattered by the impact of a war in which for the first time the intellectuals were victims as well as observers. The most striking of the British war-poets then and one of the most vivid still is Siegfried Sassoon.

Sassoon was perhaps the perfect person to express this extraordinary episode. His father came from the international Jewish family of the Sassoons, but his mother came from the intellectual English family of the Thornycrofts; his parents separated, and he was brought up by his mother as a country gentleman and dilettante writer. He went to public school and Cambridge, where he failed to get a degree, then occupied himself with hunting and cricket, having his juvenile and derivative poetry privately published in slim volumes. He was also homosexual and idealistic, and altogether about as marginal as a member of the upper-middle class could be.

The war changed everything. Like so many of his contemporaries, he enlisted at once in the burst of patriotic enthusiasm which was well voiced by Rupert Brooke. He was nearly 28, a few months older than Brooke, who had also been to Cambridge. He became an officer, spent several months training, went to France, was taken ill and wounded several times (his brother was killed at Gallipoli), became a hero (being nicknamed 'Mad Jack' and winning the Military Cross), but also became a poet. Like so many of his contemporaries, he was transformed by trench warfare in France. He arrived in November 1915, within a few months was writing 'outspoken' war poems, and in April 1916 began publishing them in various periodicals back in Britain.

He became a noted contributor to several liberal papers in London, but above all to the *Cambridge Magazine*, the anti-war paper produced by C. K. Ogden (a polymath who had founded the freethinking Heretics Society and later invented Basic English), where dozens of his poems appeared during the next couple of years. He was praised by the cultural establishment (Thomas Hardy, John Masefield, Arnold Bennett, H G Wells, Virginia Woolf and so on) and embraced by the social establishment (lords and ladies, MPs and millionaires). But he gradually turned away from the liberal intellectuals, who were as ambiguous in their view of the war as such people always are. He turned instead towards the socialist and pacifist circles, which were mobilised by the imposition of conscription in 1916, and were led by people like Bertrand Russell, while on sick leave in London, he circulated a public statement against the war: *I am making this statement as an act of wilful defiance of military authority, because I believe that the war is being deliberately prolonged by those who have the power to end it. I am a soldier, convinced that I am acting on behalf of soldiers. I believe that this war, upon which I entered as a war of defence and liberation, has now become a war of aggression and conquest. I believe that the purposes for which I and my fellow soldiers entered upon this war should have been so clearly*



The War Poems by Siegfried Sassoon, edited by Rupert Hart-Davis, Faber, £5.25, £2.95 paperback.

Diaries 1915-1918 by Siegfried Sassoon, edited by Rupert Hart-Davis, Faber, £10.50.

stated as to have made it impossible for them to be changed without our knowledge, and that, had this been done, the object which actuated us would now be attainable by negotiation.

I have seen and endured the sufferings of the troops, and I can no longer be a party to prolonging those sufferings for ends which I believe to be evil and unjust.

I am not protesting against the military conduct of the war, but against the political errors and insincerities for which the fighting men are being sacrificed.

On behalf of those who are suffering now, I make this protest against the deception which is being practised on them. Also I believe that it may help to destroy the callous complacency with which the majority of those at home regard the continuance of agonies which they do not share, and which they have not sufficient imagination to realise.

In July he sent it to his commanding officer, got a sympathetic Liberal MP to read it out in the House of Commons, so that it was printed in several newspapers, and threw his medal into the sea. An ordinary soldier would have been quickly imprisoned, but an officer and a gentleman who was a hero and a poet could not be treated so harshly. His friends, including the poet Robert Graves, rallied round and pulled strings in all directions, and he was quietly sent to the Craiglockhart hospital for shell-shocked officers near Edinburgh, where he met the poet Wilfred Owen. During the second half of 1917 Sassoon wrote some of his best poems, and Owen began to write some of his even better poems. (Their relationship has been the subject of many studies, including Stephen Macdonald's play, *Not About Heroes*, now showing in London.) After further spells of sick leave and service, he was finally put out of action by being shot by one of his own men; but he was only wounded, and survived the war — unlike Owen and the other great poets Isaac Rosenberg and Edward Thomas, and so many others — living for another half-century.

Sassoon was active for a time in the socialist and pacifist movements,

campaigning for the Labour Party in the 1918 General Election, writing in and working for the *Daily Herald*, and lecturing in the United States. He continued to write anti-war poems until the mid-1930s, and was an influential figure in the homosexual underground; but he gradually reverted to his former existence as a leisured man of letters, became a Roman Catholic, and even married. For the rest of his life he resented being known only as a great war poet, but this was what he was, and this is why he is still remembered after his death in 1967.

Indeed the war continued to dominate his work as it dominated his life, and he repeatedly returned to it. First he published his poems in a series of volumes — *The Old Huntsman* (1917), *Counter-Attack* (1918), *Picture-Show* (1919), *War Poems* (1919), and so on — which were eventually included in *Collected Poems* (1947). Then he published fictionalised memoirs of his experiences, without using his name or mentioning his poems, in three volumes — *Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man* (1928), *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (1930), and *Sherston's Progress* (1936) — which were later included in *The Complete Memoirs of George Sherston* (1937). Then he published factual memoirs in three more volumes — *The Old Century* (1938), *The Weald of Youth* (1942), and *Siegfried's Journey* (1945) — the last of which retold the story of the First World War at the end of the Second World War. In 1981 his diaries began to appear, and there will eventually have to be a proper biography and a proper edition of his poetry.

At the centre of Sassoon's life and work there will always be the war years and the war poems. Some of the poems are included in every relevant anthology, are quoted in every relevant context, and have entered the canon of English literature. He was by nature a lyrical writer, but his name was made by satirical poems. Consider 'Blighters':

*The House is crammed: tier beyond tier they grin
And cackle at the Show, while prancing ranks
Of harlots shrill the chorus, drunk with din:*

'We're sure the Kaiser loves our dear old Tanks!'

*I'd like to see a Tank come down the stalls,
Lurching to rag-time tunes, or 'Home, Sweet Home',
And there'd be no more jokes in Music-halls
To mock the riddled corpses round Bapaume.*

Or 'They':

*The Bishop tells us: 'When the boys come back,
They will not be the same; for they'll have fought
In a just cause; they lead the last attack
On Anti-Christ; their comrades' blood has bought
New right to breed an honourable race.
They've challenged Death and dared him face to face.'*

*'We're none of us the same,' the boys reply.
'For George lost both his legs; and Bill's stone blind;
Poor Jim's shot through the lungs and like to die;
And Bert's gone syphilitic; you'll not find
A chap who's served that hasn't found some change.'
And the Bishop said: 'The ways of God are strange.'*

Or 'Base Details':

*If I were fierce and bald and short of breath,
I'd live with scarlet Majors at the Base,
And speed glum heroes up the line to death.
You'd see me with my puffy petulant face,
Guzzling and gulping in the best hotel,
Reading the Roll of Honour, 'Poor young chap,'
I'd say, 'I used to know his father well;
Yes, we've lost heavily in this last scrap,'
And when the war is done and youth stone dead,
I'd toddle safely home and die — in bed.*

Or 'Suicide in the Trenches':

*I knew a simple soldier boy,
'Who grinned at life in empty joy,
Slept soundly through the lonesome dark,
And whistled early with the lark.*

*In winter trenches, cowed and glum,
With crumps and lice and lack of rum,
He put a bullet through his brain,
No one spoke of him again.*

*You smug-faced crowds with kindling eye,
Who cheer when soldier lads march by,
Sneak home and pray you'll never know
The hell where youth and laughter go.*

Or perhaps the saddest, 'Does it matter?':

*Does it matter — losing your legs?
For people will always be kind,
And you need not show that you mind
When the others come in after hunting
To gobble their muffins and eggs.*

*Does it matter — losing your sight?
There's such splendid work for the blind;
And people will always be kind,
As you sit on the terrace remembering
And turning your face to the light.*

*Do they matter — those dreams from the pit?
You can drink and forget and be glad,
And people won't say that you're mad;
For they'll know that you fought for your country,
And no one will worry a bit.*

Or perhaps the harshest, 'Fight to a finish':

*The boys came back. Bands played
and flags were flying,
And yellow-pressmen thronged the
sunlit street
To cheer the soldiers who'd refrained
from dying,
And hear the music of returning
feet.*

*'Of all the thrills and ardours war
has brought,
This moment is the finest.' (So they
thought.)*

*Snapping their bayonets on to
charge the mob,
Grim Fusiliers broke ranks with
glint of steel*

*At last the boys had found a cushy
job.*

*I heard the yellow-pressmen grunt
and squeal;*

*And with my trusty bombers turned
and went*

*To clear those Junkers out of Parlia-
ment.*

This last poem was reprinted as recently as 7 January 1983 in *City Limits*, with magnificent drawings by Clifford Harper, many others are still as powerful as ever, and all of them are well worth reading after 65 years.

These two new books give a dazzling double view of Sassoon's war. *The War Poems* contains more than a hundred items from or about the war; most are from various previous books, but seven have previously appeared only in periodicals, and thirteen have never previously appeared at all. *Diaries 1915-1918* contains the original diaries for the same period, together with relevant letters to fill the gap during the crucial second half of 1917, along with dozens of poems, some frequently published but others never published until now. So here at the same time are the fullest collection of Sassoon's war poems and the first publication of the raw material for his war poems and memoirs.

Both books are edited by Rupert Hart-Davis, the veteran publisher and writer. He has edited them as lightly as possible, with minimal introductions and annotation, which makes them easy to read but frustrating to use. He has slightly modified the text of the diaries, but he doesn't say exactly where or how. He has arranged the poems in order of composition and added some of Sassoon's remarks on them, but he doesn't give enough information about the circumstances of their composition or their previous appearance or non-appearance or the variations in their text, all of which are interesting and often significant.

One important thing about *The War Poems* which he doesn't mention is that, although it is nearly twice as large as the book with the same title published back in 1919 and is indeed fuller than any previous collection of Sassoon's war poems, it still isn't complete. Thus about a score of the poems now published for the first time in the *Diaries* are silently excluded from *The War Poems*. Most of them are unimportant, but they should surely have been included, and some of them are characteristic. One is ironically called 'For England':

*He ducked and cowered and almost
yelped with fear,
Thought, 'Christ, I wish they
wouldn't burst so near!'
Then stumbled on, afraid of turning
back,
Till something smashed his neck;
he choked and swore;
A glorious end; killed in the big
attack.
His relatives, who thought him
such a bore,
Grew pale with grief, and dressed
themselves in black.*

Nor does the book even contain all the war poems which have been previously published. One odd omission is another characteristically ironical sonnet published in

the *Cambridge Magazine* on 2 June 1917, called 'News from the Front':

*Home for ten days from that huge
thunderstorm
Which blares and bellows doom
beyond the Channel,
He stretched his legs, contented,
clean and warm,
Dressed in his old brown lazy suit
of flannel.
Patting the dog who rubbed against
his knees,
He said, 'By Jingo, it's a glorious
day!'
Sunlight on garden-slopes and whis-
pering trees
Made thirsty war seem strange and
far away.
'Oh, yes, we're doing fine!' (His
wife was there,
Sitting beside him in a wicker chair.)
'I'm sure this summer'll see the
fighting ended.'
But, Jim, you said the same two
years ago.
'Well, things were rather rocky
then, you know;
And we weren't quite so cheery as
we pretended!'*

There are also a few irritating misprints, which should have been corrected.

But, even though both books could be better, they are very valuable, and they should be read by anyone interested in the anti-war struggle as it emerged in this country in the First World War. Sassoon wrote some of the finest poems against war, and some of the finest of them have now been published for the first time. One is perfect example of his irony, called 'Decorated':

*I watched a jostling mob that surged
and yelled,
And fought along the street to see
their man:
Was it some drunken bully that
they held
For justice — some poor thief who
snatched and ran?
I asked a grinning news-boy, 'What's
the fun?'*



*'The beggar did for five of 'em.'
said he.
'But if he killed them, why's he let
off free?'
I queried. 'Most chaps swing for
murdering one.'
He screamed with joy; and told me,
when he'd done,
'It's Corporal Stubbs, the Birming-
ham VCI!'*

And 'To the Warmongers' was written when he was invalided home in April 1917:

*I'm back again from hell
With loathsome thoughts to sell;
Secrets of death to tell;
And horrors from the abyss.
Young faces bleared with blood,
Sucked down into the mud.
You shall hear things like this,
Till the tormented slain
Crawl round and once again,
With limbs that twist awry
Moan out their brutish pain,
As the fighters pass them by.
For you our battles shine
With triumph half-divine;
And the glory of the dead*

*Kindles in each proud eye.
But a curse is on my head,
That shall not be unsaid,
And the wounds in my heart are red,
For I have watched them die.*

Sassoon was in London on Armistice Day, 11 November 1918 — the one event of the First World War which is still remembered every year. He wrote in his diary that he 'found masses of people in streets and congested tubes, all waving flags and making fools of themselves — an outburst of mob patriotism. It was a wretched wet night, and very mild. It is a loathsome ending to the loathsome tragedy of the last four years.' Four months later he wrote 'Aftermath', with its hopeless refrain, 'Have you forgotten yet?', and its hopeful reply, 'Look down, and swear by the slain of the war that you'll never forget'. Sassoon did more than anyone else to make sure that we'll never forget; the rest is up to us.

NW

An address book



The International Anarchistic Addressbook (published by Liberte, Postfach 86, A-1033, Wien, Austria) is not the first attempt at such a project. The Blacklist Group of San Francisco produced a similar publication about two years ago. The *IAA*, however, is a far larger and more ambitious undertaking. How does it stand up?

Well, it flies and it doesn't fly. Knowing the difficulties that this sort of project entails, I can only commend the compilers for their good work. They have performed a difficult job. The comrades admit some of their difficulties in the foreword, printed in French, German, Spanish and English (but strangely not in Italian). They depend on the responsibility of foreign comrades to transmit information. The transitory nature of many anarchist groups makes many listings provisional at best.

Some non-anarchist groups may be thrown in by mistake.

But given all this, the 460 addresses from 24 countries amount to a remarkable collation. The listings from France, Spain and Italy are particularly valuable for the English-speaking world, as information on these countries is particularly hard for English-speaking anarchists to find. The book is arranged in alphabetical order by nation, with a brief list of each country's groups followed by self-description by whatever groups decided to elaborate more fully on their nature. These brief descriptions, unfortunately, follow no visible rhyme, reason or order. One often comes across listings in the description section that aren't found in the preceding short lists for each country.

Considering the expense to which the Liberte comrades have gone to

produce a good-looking product — high-quality paper, glossy softcover book format — the lack of careful proofreading and planning is unfortunate. The short lists at the beginning of each section should contain all that country's listings. I am also doubtful about the quality of the binding, and I would urge readers to handle the book gently or risk a shower of pages. I would have much preferred a less professional-looking but sturdier stapled newsprint edition; the money saved could have been better spent elsewhere.

Speaking of money, one major mistake was that the *IAA* nowhere contains any clue about how much it might cost. If you want to buy it, how do you do so? The Liberte comrades are also, as I think too many European anarchists are, addicted to the overuse of random graphics. There are very few of the 185 pages that don't have a picture, some have many more. The maximum I found was five separate items on one page. Some are very good, some are crude or just plain weird. Some have a connection to the group being advertised; some have no connection to anything, anarchist or otherwise. A little moderation would have been in order.

I also have problems with some of the listings. If anything, as I can certainly judge from the Canadian and British listings, the number of anarchist groups and contacts is somewhat understated. In some cases this is most certainly forgivable. It isn't the Vienna comrades' fault if people won't send a letter, with all of five minutes' work involved, saying, 'Yes, we exist.' In other cases it is less excusable. The number of British listings could have been more than doubled by simply copying the contact list on the back page of FREE-

DOM. Similarly, if one is going to list the IWW as anarchist (a designation they would object to) then one should at least reprint their contact list for local Wobs. Also, if the syndicalist IWW is anarchist, then numerous left communist, councilist, etc, groups that are far closer to anarchism should have been listed.

Then I have trouble with some of the items which were included. Perhaps it is fair to list papers which aren't anarchist but have some anarchists working for them. I also guess that it is fair to list the right libertarian Laissez Faire Books, though I think that this is a more doubtful case. But the bloody 'Kerista Village'? Now, maybe this collection of people see themselves as anarchists and their (to use a cliché made popular by their subculture) 'life style' as one variant of anarchism. I don't know, because I can't tell from their description/advertisement. All that I can tell is that these aging hippies are — aging hippies, with all the marks of a California religious psychopop cult, right down to their market product, something called 'Gestalt-O-Rama TM'. Seriously! The TM I think stands for 'trade-mark' rather than Transcendental Meditation, and I don't think that the purpose of an anarchist directory is to provide ads for crooked mindworms.

But, to be honest, this sort of thing is very rare in the *IAA*. When you're dealing with 460 addresses, a few flakes must creep through. One doesn't get any idea of the relative importance of the groups listed, but a group of people compiling a list of foreign contacts couldn't be expected to classify the contacts according to what strength they represented. For that they depend on the honesty of their respondees. To their credit, most of the one-person addresses who wrote in

clearly stated that they were individuals. The presence of individuals and very small groups tends to inflate the number of contacts for the United States relative to other countries, but that's part of the American individualist tradition.

I think that I have complained about the defects of this book to too great an extent. Any fool, including this fool, can find fault. The book is a massive and valuable contribution to the anarchist movement and an indispensable tool for any anarchists who wish to expand their international contacts. To my knowledge, this sort of thing has never been attempted before the 1980s, and I am sure that the Liberte comrades will learn to correct the few minor problems and that future editions (they plan to publish the book annually) will be even better. I would hope that future editions might drop some of the graphics and include short summaries of various descriptions of groups in the major languages of anarchism (Spanish, Italian, French, English and German). Personally, I can read the French and crunch through the Spanish and Italian with a dictionary, but I am totally at a loss with the Germanic languages included. I feel sorry for others in my, or a worse, state.

People who decide to send away for a copy, as every serious anarchist should, will find endless value and even entertainment in the listings. Comrades will find a range of journals, groups, projects that they hardly believed existed. They may even find simply brilliant ideas such as the self-managed Australian photography collective, 'Developments'. Simply put, this is the source for anyone interested in finding out what we all are doing now.

Pat Murtagh

Easter and after

Anti Ecology

The biological movement... leading to a liberation of individuals... food shop where these products...

malnutrition and, as recent reports indicate, is in continual danger of acute famine. The biological reality is that the writer of the article can eat well because he has access to what the soil produces; the social reality is that he can eat meat because others are starved of grain, and swill it down with coffee grown in areas that should be supplying others with grain or whatever else they want to eat.

The two problems we have to consider are: 1) That we in the west are like the great metropolitan empires of the past, drawing on the resources of the Third World without return, leaving behind encroaching deserts; 2) That we must learn to relate consumption with resources and control the waste produced in the satisfaction of that consumption.

The social problem of treating everything as a commodity has to be reversed, and at this point we have to persuade those concerned with the rational management and fair distribution of the world resources that the market-place is no longer relevant to the world's problems and obstructs the solution. The days when people could burn a piece of forest, grow what they could, and then move on, are past, yet with the aid of technology we are still mentally at that stage.

basic ecology (balance) of an area or of the relationships between species. This both threatens the fabric of evolution and can also result in unforeseen practical problems for us. In a cultural sense, to respect and relate to our natural environment is a foundation for a strong, meaningful and diverse human culture.

However, the article rightly pointed out that this aspect of society cannot be isolated from the system as a whole. To struggle for ecology in isolation would either be impossible or just to attempt to modify industrial capitalism (as the Green Party in Germany is trying). Hence at the same time we must struggle to achieve the other aspects of a free society - anarchy (the abolition of all institutions and relationships of power) and community (the creation of strong co-operative human associations). This is only possible through social revolution.

When people question and resist particular aspects of their oppression, the system works to co-opt, separate and diffuse opposition. Hence resistance to wage-labour exploitation is controlled by trade unionism, opposition to patriarchy becomes channelled into demands for women's 'rights', confrontation with forces of repression and authority is turned into demands for 'civil liberties' and reforms.

Control is generally exercised by the middle class, whether through political parties, government-funded pressure groups, the media or through low-level 'representative' authority figures such as union officials or community 'leaders', etc. This of course also happens to resistance to industrialisation which the system tries to channel into meaningless reforms and futile

protests. But the fragile yet angry real struggle continues. The movement for ecology exists wherever people directly resist road and airport extensions, nuclear energy, tower blocks, traffic violence (6,000 killed, 330,000 injured here in 1982), industrial labour, the industrial environment and rhythms of living, and pollution: whenever people try to prevent the exploitation and destruction of nature (including animals and humans).

Industrialists, whether capitalist, marxist or anarchist, caricature an ecological society as one of 'unending toil', one without any technology. This is insulting to anyone's intelligence. What needs to be developed is technology appropriate to aid creative human activity and organisation - ie practical and convivial. As the FREEDOM Review (Vol 42, No 14) entitled 'Technology - its results and uses', clearly stated, 'There's been no glorious rural past. Slavery to nature is no better than slavery to machines. We need to progress to a post-industrial society.' That Review, an extensive and practical look at industrial and convivial technologies and processes (and a sort of 'blueprint' of possibilities) is due to be reprinted soon as a pamphlet by London Greenpeace. (They are also going to publish a pamphlet taking a practical look at alternative energy systems.)

This is a very important discussion which we need to develop responsibly, avoiding fixed positions, caricature or word-games. To discuss in depth what we are fighting against and for is crucial if we are to achieve an anarchist future.

Dave Morris

Alan Albon

If 'ecology' meant to modify capitalism or return to a 'golden age of peasant toil', as the article in the April 9 issue of FREEDOM claimed, then I too would reject it. But it refers to one aspect (a fundamental one) of our society - that of our relationship to the natural environment. In a practical sense, to dominate or destroy nature is to upset the

trial

in protest throughout... to the university of York... the University of York...

The unsigned article that appeared on the front page of the last issue of FREEDOM (9 April) together with a gratuitous illustration that appeared to have no relevance to anything else in the paper, must have some reply.

Any social organisation must have something to say about the management and distribution of resources. That is all ecology is. The faint thread of truth that ran through the

mass of verbiage in the article is that there are too many people in the ecological movement who do not connect human exploitation with the thoughtless exploitation of material resources. Anarchists need to point out the historic and present connection. It is because metropolitan people are alienated from the biological realities of existence that a large part of the human race suffers from

The rejection of industrialism comes from a similar analysis of economic processes as your own. It involves rejecting the exploitation of people in wage-slavery. It has nothing to do with a sentimental attachment to a pre-industrial pastoral world. It is opposed to centralised power. It recognises that we depend on our natural environment for life, and respects that environment. Therefore it is opposed to the exploitation of the environment as well as the exploitation of people.

Every experience in our present lives reflects the power of the State working through us. The State, over generations, has perfected the methods of consensus control. The great Institutions of the State are shared among us. Some, like the Police, the Armed Forces, the Government, work outside us, around us; others, the more damaging, the Education System, the Church, the Medical Profession, the Capitalist Economy, are meshed with our lives, deeply embedded in us, creating dependence upon them. What is called 'ecology' recognises this. The State moves through everything. Sub-cultures are only functions of a State so powerful that it can create the illusion of choice.

Now, the choice between State food (as advertised, and served in all State institutions - prisons, schools, hospitals) and 'Natural' foods, is not a choice between State and sub-culture. Neither is it at this stage a choice between food produced through exploitation of labour and food produced through cooperation between like-minded people - either way it is produced and marketed with everything else. But so is FREEDOM, the anarchist fortnightly, and your paper, ink etc. The fact that whole foods are produced and marketed in a similar way to State foods is not a logical reason for rejecting them, unless the FREEDOM collective has access to some other food source? I thought not. Food is not just pro-

duction. It is nourishment, and the nature of the nourishment depends on the food. Badly prepared food does not nourish the person who eats it. Perhaps FREEDOM has no time for food in its struggle for freedom. I would suggest that there can be no freedom without health. The State knows this. This is why there are no real efforts to deal with the numberless sick people in this country.

The State captures the mind through its Educational and Ideological systems. (One function of all subversive literature is to attempt to undermine this grip on thought.) The State captures the body through the Medical Profession, and through nutritionally deficient food (as well as through the fatigue of work, through pollution, through warfare etc. The list is really endless). Ill health - sickness - creates a direct bonding between the individual and the State, through the servant of the State, the Medical Institution. People who eat nutritionally sound food (which has to be redefined by all of us) do so in order to break one link of the chain that surrounds us. I eat such foods. Before I began to eat them, I was a sickly woman, an anarchist one day, running to the Doctor for drugs the next. I have not been ill now for 5 years. I have freed myself from one link in the chain of oppression, and believe me, the State knows the danger of such transformation. Wholefoods, and the understanding of health which is encompassed by the description 'ecology', threatens the images of health, diet and lifestyle as defined by the State, images designed to create dependence on large centralised institutions, designed to create passive consumerism, a relinquishment of autonomy, a surrender of the individual to the State.

What is happening now, and what your writer is describing, is that the State is attempting to incorporate wholefoods into its ideology. So far it has been very successful; that is

hardly surprising. The bourgeoisie have had 200 years experience. Consensus democracy functions by seizing revolutionary ideas and simultaneously neutralising them while incorporating them into its ideological world-view. Whenever the State has failed to complete this draining process, revolution has occurred (Russia being a classic example of first failure and then success).

So, to identify ecology with the State ideology of ecology is to fall victim of the State's propaganda, which relies for its success on the confusion between real revolution and the illusion of revolution. I regret that your writer has done just this.

Your writer puts forward the standard Marxist attack on the individual (ironically the same argument used against anarchists): 'the problems are seen as essentially internal and not as external in the social relations of the society of capital'. In part this is true. For the illusionary ecology - yes. In this way the State does channel revolutionary potential away from the real causes of conflict. But for the real ecology (how tragic to have to prefix it with 'real', but as Camus wrote, 'when evil puts on the mask of good, it is good that is called upon to justify itself'), for the real ecology your writer's comment is false. The problems are not seen as solely internal. They are seen dialectically. It is not enough to say 'I'm alright, it's the system that's wrong'. We have internal and external problems that feed off one another, and unless both are considered and dealt with, both will remain. It is of no use to put on a gas-mask if you have already breathed in poison, but it is equally damaging to leave off the gas mask. We have all breathed the poison of the State. Remove the source of the poison - that is vital. But remember that you have breathed it for years.

What I am trying to describe is called resisting oppression. The

oppression comes ultimately from without. The resistance comes from within. The symptoms of this resistance are what constitute disease - the attempt of the body to heal itself.

Your writer has noticed, in the ideological ecology movement, the symptoms of State transformation of revolutionary potential. Your writer's problem is that s/he does not know that this potential is revolutionary. In the real ecology movement, there is no middle class consumer guilt, no '60s drop-out dreams, no cult of crashing out on drugs, escaping to a pastoral paradise, no distortion of agriculture, no neurosis about food (nor the attitude that food 'doesn't matter'). Here is the knowledge that the subversion of the State and everything it stands for must take place at every level, following two directions:

- 1) External revolutionary confrontation with the State and all its organs through whatever means are deemed appropriate - written, verbal, active, etc.
2) Internal revolutionary confrontation with the State and all its organs through the recognition of the way which the State functions through all of us, and therefore a self-consciousness involving:

- a) Taking back our minds, seized by schools and colleges;
b) Taking back our bodies, by looking at the way we live: what we eat, what we wear, the way we furnish our places of work and rest.

The solutions to these problems lie with individuals. Ecology offers one analysis (or rather many).

Ecology is the practice of transformation in both directions: transforming ourselves by transforming the State; transforming the State by transforming ourselves. In this sense ecology is revolutionary, and your article is thoughtless.

Damn it! Conned again! Best wishes, In struggle, Mary Estella

Reading

On Wednesday 12th April five Drug Squad officers entered Acorn Bookshop in Reading with a warrant to seize publications under the Obscene Publications Act. Although challenged, they insisted they had authority to close the shop, which they did for about 90 minutes. A search was carried out on the two floors of the shop, and seven boxes of books seized. A copy of the list made on the premises was available to the only worker present, as she had some carbon paper; it is unclear if it would otherwise have been given. The books taken related to drugs, legal and illegal; everything taken had been on sale for some time, in some cases years. The police wanted to know what books sold in the shop and took the daily sales ledger and the file where orders are collected for publishers; copies of these were supplied on the same day, but the originals have been kept, together with invoices from the suppliers of the books. The reason given was that they were 'documents per-

taining to the business'. The choice of books taken, as well as the lack of familiarity with the suppliers, some of whom are currently being prosecuted under the same act, revealed an ignorance of the field. Some idiosyncratic choices were made eg *Junky*, Burroughs (Penguin), *Doors of perception*, Huxley (Granada), *Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, Wolfe (Corgi), *Dictionary of Drugs*, Fisher (Granada), *Hell's Angels* (Penguin) and *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (Granada), both by Hunter S Thompson. All of these can be found in most paperback bookshops. *Opium, diary of a cure* by Cocteau was taken, as were *Growing Natural Tobacco*, *Tomorrow's Epidemic* (a War on Want publication on tobacco and the Third World) and *The Coffee Lover's Handbook*. Whether these or any other titles will be returned is unclear. They are now to be examined by the DPP, and are potentially all up for forfeiture. People in Reading are most

concerned at the way the raid was carried out; no customers were in the shop when the officers entered, but none were allowed to come in afterwards. The shopworker was threatened with being charged with obstructing the course of the warrant if she tried to explain to customers what was happening. Local support has been most heartening, and press coverage unusually good. A press release was issued to pre-empt any police version of events, and bore fruit, so some publicity for the shop has resulted. Unfortunately, so have legal costs and loss of stock. This is the latest of a series of raids on bookshops and publishers, some of whom have now started on the long haul through the courts. Grassroots in Manchester (061-236-3112) are co-ordinating information about the various cases. Press Release put out by Acorn Bookshop 17 Chatham St Reading tel 0734 584425

Nuke publications

An updated version of a government booklet, giving advice to farmers on how to cope with nuclear war, is to be withheld until after a general election. It is feared that it might arouse similar hostility and derision as other official efforts in this area. In the old edition, farmers were advised to stay indoors for a few days after a nuclear blast. After that, crops from below ground, such as potatoes, will be quite safe, but others such as wheat must be considered suspect. Meanwhile, anti-nuclear sentiment continues to spread amongst the medical profession. The executive of the British Medical Association's committee for Community Medicine has urged colleagues to boycott the government's war plans. Such a regional plan has been leaked to the press. It is reported to cover everything down to the number of carbon copies which will be necessary for messages in Kent, Surrey and Sussex. It bases its estimates of death and casualties on Home Office figures, 60% sur-

vival in the worst affected areas and 95% in the least. The BMA is more pessimistic, thinking that deaths would be from 2 to 2½ times the Home Office estimates. This would be about 38.6 million deaths immediately, in the country as a whole, with 4.3 million left to die from burns, radiation and starvation. Another development in the commercialisation of the holocaust comes from a new glossy mag called *Practical Civil Defence*. It carries on from *Protect and Survive Monthly* which went bust last year - the editor begins by moaning about losing two and a half grand over it. It claims to have no connections with any political party, government, industrial or religious organisation but at £18 subscription for 6 issues there is a lot of money to be made (more than the £2500 lost last time). The articles are incredible. One gem entitled 'Holocaust Hygiene' includes the information that prob-

lems will arise with deep freezers when electricity supplies are cut and advises you to wash your hands after going to the bog (what bog?) in your nuclear shelter (what shelter?). Another unoriginally called 'Facing the Unthinkable' uses the analogy to the nuclear build up not of the usual World War II but the Zulu wars and cowboys and indians! Other subjects include civil defence programmes in other countries, shelter building for accomplished civil engineers specialising in concrete structures and removing fallout from your water (drinking water!) The adverts, surprisingly, are not for commercial fallout shelters, although air filters and geiger counters are advertised. One for 'civilian, military and police equipment' shows a photo of a soldier in full kit - I'll go along with that, who needs to buy a shelter when you've got a gun? R A E

SCRAM, ALF, Ladd



SCRAM the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace, are pleased to announce that they are supporting the 'Walk For Life' between Faslane the Nuclear Submarine base on the Clyde, and Greenham Common, where Cruise missiles are due to be sited later this year. The Walk will arrive in Edinburgh on Thursday 26th May, and after a day of action in the city will leave on Saturday 28th May. The Walk will weave its way through East Lothian along the proposed rail route for the nuclear waste from Torness to Windscale. The dangers of nuclear waste transportation will be made clear to all along the route. On Bank Holiday Monday May 30th SCRAM are organising a 'Festival of Re-Creation to welcome the walkers, and those taking part in a 'Cycle Ride for a Nuclear Free and Safe Energy Future', which will leave for Torness from Waverley Bridge, Edinburgh on Monday 30th May at 9am. Everyone is welcome to take part in these events. The Festival will take place at Barns Ness/Whitesands, about one

mile West of Torness. There will be Folk and amplified music, theatre, videos, games, food, creche, stalls, non violent direct action groups training sessions, and much much more... The campsite at Barns Ness will be available from Saturday 28th May, until Wednesday 1st June, at the small charge of 60p per person per week, so why not take a week off what you normally do, and join in our Re-Creational activities in beautiful East Lothian. For more information please contact: SCHAM 11 Forth St, Edinburgh. Tel: Edinburgh 557 4283/4. Biorex Laboratories in Canonbury Villas, Islington, were again raided by militant animal supporters at the weekend. An anonymous spokeswoman for the Animal Liberation Front said they cut their way through the fence to get in, then put strong glue into door locks and daubed slogans including 'Animal Belsen', 'Animal Torture Centre' and 'Imprisonment Without Trial'.

The woman added: 'The aim of the raid was to delay Monday's vivisection by stopping some of the staff getting into the buildings, and to cause damage so that Biorex has to spend money on damage repairs, and increasing security.' ALF Comment Biorex are licensed by the Home Office to carry out painful experiments on animals. This is the fourth time in 6 months that these laboratories have been attacked by the ALF. There will be another demo in support of Dafydd Ladd on April 30th in Cardiff. Assemble at 2.30 pm outside the Empire Pool, Wood St (City Centre). On 18th March it was announced that the trial would begin in Cardiff on 12th September 1983. This means that between the first arrests and the trial more than 1½ years will have elapsed. If Dafydd is not granted bail he will have served the equivalent of more than a 2 year sentence before any verdict is reached.

In brief

The *Observer* continues to fail to take its thinking to its logical conclusion. This week's issue has an article by Hugo Young (Political Editor). This examines the authoritarian nature of government and the need to be careful. 'In the end, government has an inexorable tendency not to be benign ... All power corrupts.' Yet, in the end, he can come up with no more than a need for vigilance, especially from the elite such as journalists, and 'We do need to be judged by laws, not men. But the law must be a good one.' Meanwhile, the leader

examines the new Data Protection Bills. Here the conclusion is 'It does nothing to protect any of us from oppression and mistakes by the biggest and most dangerous computer user of all - the state.' A bit of editing could easily have removed 'computer user'. A clergyman in Leeds is refusing to marry police officers or christen their children because of their 'dishonesty and offensive behaviour'. The local police federation representative says that officers are considering legal action. He is sure that

policemen in West Yorkshire, as elsewhere, treat everybody with respect and courtesy. Alan Goodman has been sentenced to life plus 40 years after he ran amuck with an automatic rifle on the Temple Mount, Jerusalem. He claimed that the court's verdict gives a stamp of approval to Arab-child murderers and fascists. The levels of female infanticide in some parts of China mean that baby boys outnumber girls by 9 to 1, according to *People's Daily*.

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 Wine-tavern 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, Middlesborough

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 7JHW

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 HU5 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; Librarian 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, Wavetree, 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 Raitlon Rd, London SE24 Tel: 274 6655
Anarchist-Feminist Newsletter, c/o 121 Raitlon Rd, SE24
Pigs for Slaughter, c/o Raitlon Rd South London Anarchist Group (SLAG) c/o 121 Raitlon Rd South London DAM, c/o Raitlon Rd SE24
South London Stress, c/o 121 Raitlon Rd SE24
Squatters Defence Network, c/o 121 Raitlon Rd SE24
Toxic Graffiti, c/o 121 Raitlon Rd, SE24
Martin Nicholas, 186 Mount Pleasant Rd, London N17

MALVERN
and Worcester area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrridge, 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 Vevers, 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-syndicalist 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

MEETINGS

The 'Black and Red' Society of Essex University wishes to invite everyone to their 'Day of Happiness and eternal Delight' at Essex University on Tuesday 3rd May. Streettheatre, cinema, sketches and generally fun for a day and a night with a late party.
Any group doing anything that wishes to appear during this day (outside if sunny, inside if raining) please contact David or John at 0255-830686 or write to Dave Hallows 'The Manor House', The Street, Weeley, Essex.

Nottingham Anarchists have great pleasure in announcing yet another attempt to get Nottingham Anarchist Group off the ground. Whether it flies or not is largely up to you. A meeting has been arranged for Friday 29th of April at 118 Mansfield Road, Nottingham, starting at 8pm. Friday is a rotten night on the telly, so why not come along?

Centro Iberico Libertarian Forum, 14-15 May at Hammersmith Old Northcroft School, on Shepherds Bush Rd. Further details:- 226 3002.

HELP! Two alienated anarchists Ste & Milly (who is pregnant) plus dog are looking for an anarchist community (self-sufficient if possible) which needs new members. I (Ste) would also like to offer my help or start anarchist posters to promote freedom + peace. If you think you can help in any of the above don't hesitate to write to: 41 Baxters Green, Shirley, Solihull W. Midlands B902RT.

I am hoping to compile an anthology of poetry inspired by the Greenham Common Experience. Work by women & poetry a priority but short stories & work by men considered. Artwork also welcomed. Contributions please, by end June, to: Pat Van Twest, c/o Womens Centre, 44 The Grove, Bristol 1. (SAE for returns, please.) Phone 0272-737580

House for Rent
Woman leaving country for 2-4 yrs wants someone to: a) look after her 4 cats (she will pay), and/or b) rent her 8 room, house in Peckham, S London (Approx £60pw, negotiable). Contact immediately Dave, 01-809-1346 (mornings).

DESIRES

HELP! Two alienated anarchists Ste & Milly (who is pregnant) plus dog are looking for an anarchist community (self-sufficient if possible) which needs new members. I (Ste) would also like to offer my help or start anarchist posters to promote freedom + peace. If you think you can help in any of the above don't hesitate to write to: 41 Baxters Green, Shirley, Solihull W. Midlands B902RT.

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BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

Books from FREEDOM Bookshop
Please add postage as in brackets. Titles marked * are published in N America (N American purchasers please convert £1 — plus postage — at \$ 1.60 US and \$ 1.90 Canada).

Ian McEwan: Or Shall We Die? (32pp cloth) £4.95 (39p)
—: The Greenham Factor (16pp ppr large format) £1.00 (27p)
John Minnion & Philip Bolsover (Eds): The CND Story (158pp ppr) £1.95 (33p)

Plus Published by FREEDOM Press
Vernon Richards: Protest without Illusions (168pp ppr) £1.95 (53p) (illustr). We can give full trade terms — plus postage — on this title.
Marie-Louise Berneri: Journey

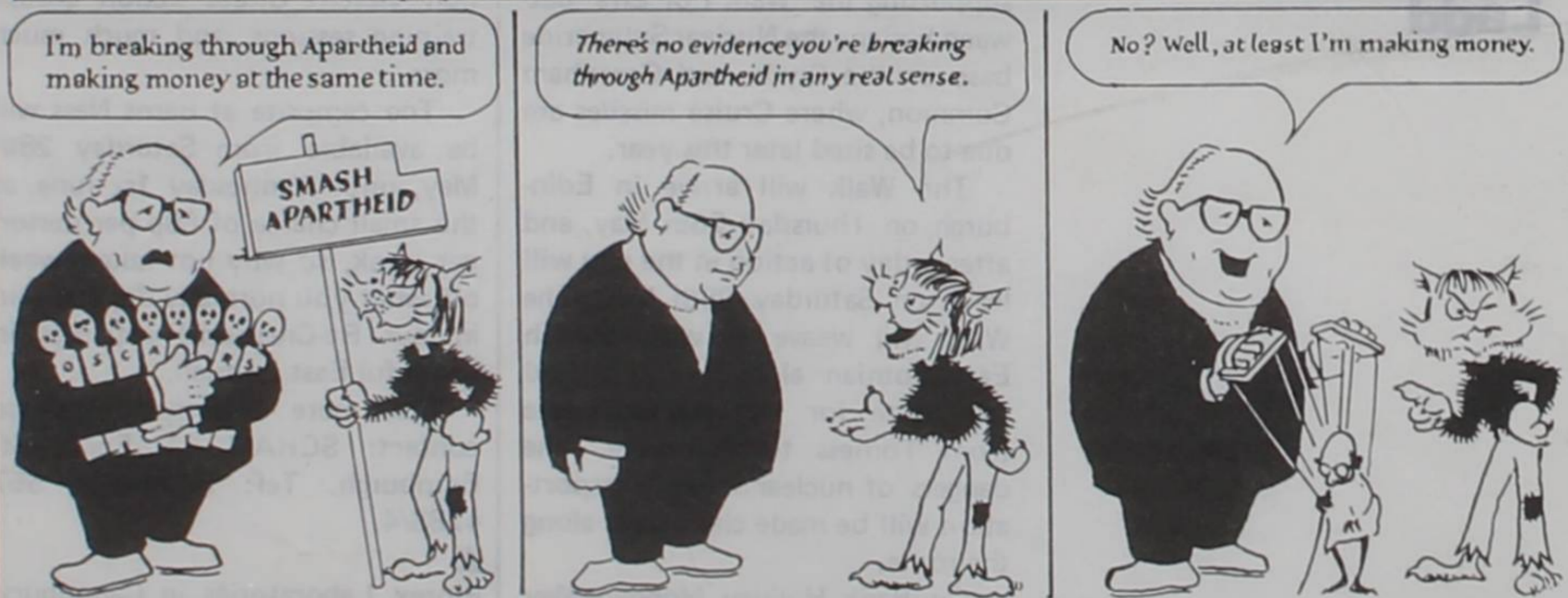
through Utopia (339pp ppr) £1.95 (65p)
Colin Ward: Housing: An Anarchist Approach (200pp ppr) with a new postscript. £2.25 (45p)
[also available at full trade terms — plus postage].

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 5th May, 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, 2nd May. Longer articles in by first post, Thursday, 31st April.

WILDCAT



CELEBRATE MAY DAY

continued from the front page
During the subsequent century, there have been significant developments in the position of May Day. In Russia, following the February Revolution in 1917, it became a national rather than a class festival, and then, following the October Revolution, it became a state ritual. This pattern was followed in the various other Communist countries after the Second World War, so that what began as a demonstration of working-class solidarity became a demonstration of military strength. If genuine demonstrations of working-class solidarity are held on May Day in a Communist country — as in Poland for the past few years and again this year — it is in opposition to the official demonstrations and in defiance of the Party dictatorship.
Ironically, the same sort of thing happened in Nazi Germany, Hitler

making May Day a national holiday in 1933 to prevent any demonstration of working-class resistance to his regime, and later in Vichy France, Petain taking the same precaution in 1941 for the same reason. this sort of co-option of May Day was sanctified by the Roman Catholic Church after the Second World War, 1 May being made the Feast of Joseph the Worker in a glorious act of political hypocrisy. Many Western countries with strong social-democratic movements have also absorbed May Day into the state system in various ways. This was finally done in Britain in 1978, the first Monday in May being made the May Day Bank Holiday in a further typical piece of compromise, so that May Day is still celebrated on the wrong day in most years. Meanwhile the British labour movement continues to prefer the Sunday.
In 1983, as it happens, 1 May is on Sunday, so we can all celebrate

it together. The official event, supported not only by the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress but also by the Greater London Council, will be a march from Tower Hill to Victoria Park in the East End of London, followed by a mass meeting. Other large towns and cities will have similar events. Revolutionary socialists and anarchists will be present in the largest numbers we can muster, as we have been since 1890, and indeed since 1886, and we shall be putting our view of May Day as strongly as we are able all the way from Tower Hill.
For us, May Day is not an innocent festival of renewal or a comfortable celebration of the way the leaders of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions have betrayed their followers and their origins for another year. We see it as a commemoration of the victims and martyrs who fell in the bitter struggle for a decent working life

in the past, and as a militant demand for a better working life in the future — starting now. To put it on the simplest level, there still isn't even a genuine eight-hour day, when so many people have to work extra hours of overtime and shifts and rosters to earn enough to live on; and there still isn't a proper understanding of work, when three or four million people can't get jobs at all, when most of the jobs people do get aren't worth doing, and when all most of the left can suggest is the 'Right to Work' or 'Jobs not Bombs'.
So we observe the real May Day for the original reasons, and we call on all serious socialists and libertarians to join us, this year, and every year until we can celebrate a genuine revolutionary victory rather than the empty triumphs of parliamentary socialism and reformist trade unionism.

FREEDOM
Editorial Collective
84b Whitechapel High St
London E1

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