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anarchist fortnightly

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editorial

It has been said that politics is the art of the possible. That gives it more credit than it deserves. It is more like the art of the plausible. It doesn't matter what you do or even what you possibly can do. The art is all in the style. Stage illusionists also have it down pat. The confident manner, the practised diversion and the quickness of the hand deceive the eye. Everyone enjoys it and goes along with the fun. Unfortunately, in the real world the innocent volunteer stays sawn in half.

Electoral circuses, with phony blood-letting, are as useful as television arcade games over the South Atlantic with real blood-letting. Or Royal pageants. Catch the suckers' attention and keep them fascinated while they are fleeced. It seems that we are about to be invited on to the stage to play our token roles. The only certainty is that we will come off fleeced.

Part of the mystique is the arcane 'traditions' of British parliamentary democracy. We are supposed to be fond of these eccentricities. They, apparently, fix a few days when elections can be held. Thursdays in June are popular at the moment. In a poll, 51 per cent said they expected the actual poll in that month. Ladbroke's the Bookmakers have stopped taking bets on it and they can be relied on to have a good assessment of probabilities.

The political parties have already started their pitch, Roll up, Roll up! It is even being suggested that the recent Budget was a give-away, but Chancellor Howe is so miserable, even by the usual lamentable standards, that no one noticed. They certainly noticed changes in income tax and national insurance, especially those with mortgages. That might even be enough to delay the election — who would disgruntled mortgage holders withdraw their votes from? Kites are being flown; lead may be, some time, removed from petrol; there'll be a kindly uncle, Minister for children's play; concessions are being made; the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill is toned down, for the articulate elite who make a fuss; we won't have to pay to have police at demonstrations.

This charade does matter to us. Not in the outcome, but in the fact that they all exploit us, and will continue to do so as long as we let them. Never mind their art of the possible. Be realistic, demand the impossible.

ROCK THE STATE!

We hope that YCND (CND's Youth Section) have better weather for their march and demonstration next weekend than their seniors did on May Day.

Many veterans of marches and demonstrations in the past are firmly of the opinion that God, the great authoritarian in the sky, is most definitely *not* on our side — indeed, how regularly do churchmen of all persuasions pray for our leaders to be strong in their handling of our affairs! Perhaps somewhere in some obscure little church there is a meddling priest who slips in an encouraging prayer for *our* dissidents as well as those in the Soviet Union, fighting a Godless state — but we now know that Cardinal Hume, head of the Catholic Church in Britain, is beginning to feel uncomfortable about his own meddling priest, the not exactly obscure Monsignor Bruce Kent.

It seems it is all right for the Catholic Church in Poland to support and offer solace to workers there opposed to the Communist state, but not for the same universal church here in Britain to oppose our capitalist state arming itself with enough nuclear weapons to destroy the world several times over.

Presumably Cardinal Hume believes that God created the world in six days? From his present stance it would seem that he also believes it quite acceptable for Reagan and Thatcher (and Andropov, for he wouldn't want to be left out) to destroy it in six minutes.

In our century God has been replaced, as the all-powerful authority, by the State. Every country has one, and don't be confused by the fact that nation states are always squabbling among themselves and often falling into frightful conflict. They are all part of the world-wide conspiracy of authority against the people, and what does it matter if a few million people die as long as the state endures? Of course they will squabble over the spoils, as they exploit both people and natural resources for their own ruling classes to wax rich and powerful. But unhappily, when it comes to it, the internationalism of the ruling classes is in better shape than the internationalism of the people, who, on the whole, do not realise that it is precisely the state — 'their' state, which is their enemy.

This is why, for all the sympathy we may have for the aims and the good will of those who march and demonstrate (and we do it ourselves!) we cannot lose sight of the fact that we are saying 'please' to our enemies — who don't give a damn.

'Gis a job!' sums up the 'demands' of the Right to Work Campaign. What kind of job? Nobody cares — just a job. For whose benefit? Don't ask. Making what? Money for the boss — that's what.

Ships for the Navy; control mechanisms for missiles, computers for the police; clothing for the SAS;

Harriers for the RAF; iron cages for our new prisons; rubber bullets for Belfast and water cannon for Brixton.

There's plenty of lovely work to be had, creating our own servitude. The law and order industry is a thriving corner of the economy — together with the arms industry, which, more than anything else, will be responsible for the 'upturn' in the nation's balance of payments — which will be heard much of when the election comes along.

Law and order and armaments — great industries of the state. Every state.

And what of the alternatives? Those who shout loudest 'Jobs not Bombs' ask you to believe that they are not after power as an end in itself, but to give them the opportunity to serve you. The power comes as a means to that end and the fact that nobody — but *nobody* — has ever taken up state power without being corrupted by it is totally ignored by those who go along with the manoeuvrings and manipulations inseparable from party

politics, which after all has as its aim the achievement of state power. For the noblest of motives, of course.

Marx said that the emancipation of the working class was a task for the working class itself. Since his day, every Marxist party has put itself forward as the necessary instrument for that emancipation — as the vanguard that will step forward and take over the machinery of the state to guide the destiny of the proletariat along the right paths.

We all know where those paths have led. Just as we can see the Conservative right in Britain creeping ever nearer to fascism, can we not be absolutely sure that the 'socialist' left — right- or left-wing Labour, or openly Trotskyist or Communist — would just as surely lead to totalitarianism? And listen to the Liberal/SDP Alliance on law and order — would you trust David Owen with *your* liberty?

And as far as the Bomb is concerned — well, please forgive us if we say we have been through a

Labour Party flirtation with CND before. What a party says out of power and what it says and does in power are notoriously different. When a party wins an election it suddenly becomes ever so *responsibie*. Its Cabinet members suddenly cease to be comrades and become statesmen. Repeat: State's men. And State's Women, of course.

They become openly what in fact they always are: your enemies. All those who would take responsibility from you; who would use you to fit the system, instead of the other way round, are your enemies. They will use your goodwill, your strength, your votes, to get to power — and then you're stuck with them. Unless you think of doing away with the whole shabby charade.

So Rock On, YCND! And while you're rocking the bomb, don't forget to rock the institution that needs it. Not the workers, not the people, not society: ROCK THE STATE!

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On May Day, the media rightly concentrated on the demonstrations by the brave Solidarity movement in Poland and wrongly ignored those in Britain. In London, despite the cold wet weather, several thousand people marched from Tower Hill to a festival in Victoria Park; as well as the official Labour Party and Trade Union contingents, and all the varieties of Marxists, there were nearly a hundred anarchists taking part. Our contingent (above) included representatives of FREEDOM and several other papers, members of London Greenpeace, the London Workers Group, the South London Anarchist Group, the Direct Action Movement, the London Anarchist Youth Group, the 121 Bookshop, and the new London Anarchist Federation, comrades from other parts of the country as far away as Cardiff, and also from Canada, Australia, and Spain. Our red-and-black flags attracted attention from enemies and friends, the latter including a trade-union marcher who told us how he had fought alongside the CNT in Spain and a group of Spanish tourists who happened to see us in Whitechapel. Anarchists held successful meetings before the march, sheltering from a storm under the war memorial at the Tower, and after it, taking over a platform in the Park. There was a stall selling Freedom Press literature and there were several paper sellers, though we found the ideological and meteorological climates equally unfavourable. The experience was encouraging, as a way of working together in our growing variety and unity, of showing our strength and numbers among the traditional left, and of meeting old friends and making new ones. The effort will be repeated on future occasions in the labour movement and peace movement, and we hope that more comrades will join us during the coming months.

Direct Action

Your pre-Easter issue gave very good coverage to the approaching CND demos in Berkshire. It is the more surprising that your report after the event should be so disappointing.

To deal with just a few points: concern is expressed, rightly, at incidents which appear not to accord with the ideas of non-violence. Concern is also expressed at measures designed to reduce the risk of such incidents, and designed to help participants deal positively with such problems. Rather than just seeking faults, would you like to explain how such behaviour 'of a kind which would have been unacceptable on the non-violent demonstrations 25 years ago' would have been dealt with?

Another point, where is CND going? 'We are glad to see the movement once again moving towards a major confrontation with the state, but we are sorry to see it doing so without adequate discussion or preparation.' I personally would strongly dispute the value of major confrontation with the state, but more importantly, FREEDOM appears to have missed the point that preparation for future events was very much one of the reasons for the blockade of ROF Burghfield. If it is not to be just one step in a process of involving more participants in action more radical than marching to Hyde Park and writing to MPs, it is wasted. If CND - the organisation - and all the participants learnt nothing from it, it might just as well not have happened.

My own experience was almost solely of pre-organisation in the Reading area and organisational

activities on the Pitchkettle campsite. (Regretfully, I did not feel willing or able to participate responsibly in the blockade. This was partly because, as you point out, 'much work needs to be done with the people who live in the areas affected.' What work in this respect had the FREEDOM collective undertaken before joining the blockade?)

The organisation of the event was, to my mind, far too centralised, and as a result, far too few people were confident that they knew what, and how, to do as regards the organisation and support of the blockade as a whole. This led to all sorts of problems. It happened partly as a result of it being decided and announced irresponsibly by the bureaucratic, committee-laden structure that is national CND, and then left in the hands of a tiny number of people to implement; and partly as a result of few individuals and groups coming forward to assist in planning and preparation. To criticise something without contributing is all too easy. (I do it myself!)

On one of your other comments, 'directness' and 'effectiveness' should not be so readily confused. We can and did directly confront something; whether we were or will be effective or not is a separate matter.

Despite these, and lots of other, too numerous to mention, criticisms it is good that FREEDOM should encourage debate about the issues. Whether lessons are widely learnt from the events at Easter depends on how much importance all the participants attach to digesting and discussing their experiences.

I doubt if CND of *Sanity* will

encourage it much!

Cliff

I picked up a FREEDOM at the demonstrations at Burghfield and read an account of the 'Trafalgar Square Demo' by 'Gray' and he said how much of a complete waste of time it was, and that's how I felt at the end of the chain and die-in at Burghfield. The boys in blue must have had an easy time just watching people lie on the floor and then wander off to a 'Marsh' and watch the speakers, (although I had to leave early), it, I felt was most disappointing. I was told later that some people were detained at Greenham but things were somewhat confused.

If we are to get rid of nuclear weapons it will not be by thousands of people holding hands for 14 miles once a year, it must be done by direct civil disobedience, ie Greenham, Molesworth (which never gets mentioned) and all the other places up and down the country that protest 365 days a year. Peace camps are only one of the forms of civil disobedience that are at our feet. There are countless others if you use your mind, but I seem to have gone on a bit long on this point. Keep up the good work and the new format.

Carl

Elections

I have just received FREEDOM of the 12th March and would comment on the page 1 article on elections. While I agree that elections are largely a waste of time you might as well get the facts straight. It is stated, 'there is a shift of opinion to the right almost everywhere in the world ...'. It would help a lot if you could take off your parochial neo-imperialistic blinkers with the assumption that because the British (and their American cousins) are moving to the right everyone else automatically *must* be. So called socialist/social democratic parties have in the last year or two won electoral victories in Spain (unthinkable even 5 years ago), in France (for the first time in a generation), in Greece (ten years after a military dictatorship), in Sweden (the biggest victory for almost 20 years) and in Finland, besides as you note (English speaking of course) Australia. This must be set against defeats in West Germany, Denmark and Norway. Start looking past London, and you will see that the situation is not as black as you paint it.

Keith Roe
Sweden

As one of the people who participated at the Burghfield demonstration at Easter, I should like to know the real position of the FREEDOM Collective regarding the present movement against nuclear bases in Britain. Your position seems cynical and pessimistic, and also rather shadowy, not really taking a stand but being critical and looking back to the 1960s.

Was the FREEDOM Collective prepared to take direct action at Burghfield? Are you prepared to do so in future, together with other anarchist groups and individuals? Being critical after the event is silly; it is what you do and learn when you are on the spot which counts.

An anarchist group from Cardiff went on 31st March they met up with anarchists from London and Southampton. Some registered, some didn't, but at Daffodil we said to CND that we (registered/trained) supported our comrades (non-registered/etc) and they supported us. We also challenged the authoritarian set-up by CND at Burghfield and some of the group (the majority) took a little bit of Direct Action which brought them into conflict with MOD police.

Meeting and talking to other anarchists was good and seeing so many black and red flags and @ was a tonic in itself. So please, FREEDOM Collective let today's anarchists have a little liberty.

Billy

Anti-Ecology

About your 'Anti-Ecology' write-up. Yes, lots of the Eco-movement is washed out, ingrowing, cliquy (like lots of other 'alternatives' I could mention). But that doesn't hide the fact that we're heading straight for an *Ecological* disaster. Even if the Bomb's banned or never pushed, we'll still - most likely - be living in a desert within the next few decades. It's not a future problem it's happening now - deforestation, pollution, destruction of soil fertility etc. It means any hope of *any* free society (or 'society' full stop) has a time limit before the world is too far destroyed to change anything. It's one more reason why things *must* change.

This isn't supporting the Eco-movement or saying it's revolutionary (at one Ecology Party meeting I went to, someone seriously said tenants fighting the council were stupid - there wasn't enough to go round). It's just *Ecology* - the fact that we do depend on Nature, and destroying it is fatal - will have to be *part* of an anarchist answer. If we ignore it, Anarchy will be as dead-end as the rest. Self-managed destruction.

Paul

Salvador Segui

I found the attack (in FREEDOM 7, Vol 44) on Salvador Segui, and obliquely, the CNT, absolutely scurrilous.

Pat and Julie Flanagan distort various quotes from historians, including Bookchin, to make out Segui as a left-reformist and following on from this, they state that the CNT is a left-reformist, class-collaborationist union.

Well, they seem fond of quotes, so let's beat them at their own game. 'In a sense his (Segui's) position represented orthodox Bakuninism being raised against terroristic voluntarism, . . . labour progress was necessary before libertarian communism could be implemented. If progress was not achieved, Segui feared, anarchists would return to a simplistic "propaganda of the deed" philosophy and block development of the labour movement indefinitely.' (*Red Years, Black Years*, Robert W Kern ISHI paperback, page 50).

Whether one agrees or not, with Segui's position, one can see that he was firmly within the libertarian camp, and could thus quite easily be characterised by Serge as a libertarian anti-anarchist. It is a

long way from here to social-democracy.

Segui was highly respected by libertarian workers, as can be seen by, for example, Miguel Garcia's lines in his own *Story* (Cienfuegos Press). To sully his reputation, in my eyes, is a direct insult to those workers. Indeed, the authors of this piece go on from here to make out that the CNT (they mean both the CNT-AIT and the 'new' CNT) are involved in propping up and furthering social-democracy in Spain. Oh yes? Neither union has signed the Pact of Mondoa, the Spanish 'Social Contract', in contrast to the UGT and CCOO, and both unions represent (still) the only forces able to move Spain towards a libertarian society. Let's hope re-unification on practical terms takes place soon, and further increases the efficacy of the most-class-conscious workers within Spain.

In conclusion, I feel that Pat and Julie Flanagan seem to owe more to the anti-libertarian positions of 'ultra-left' Leninist groups like 'World Revolution' than to working-class libertarianism.

NH

Plant Liberation

The animal liberationists are right when they point out how we humans viciously exploit other animals. But my feeling is that they don't go far enough. Haven't they noticed the way humans, along with nearly all other animals, destroy and mutilate plant life? Some people think that all that's okay because plants don't have feelings. But isn't that exactly what pro-abortionists say about unborn children, and what reactionary speciesists say about animals? And hasn't it been conclusively scientifically proven that talking to plants makes them happier and then they grow better? What I say is - how would you like to be a pea, stuffed full with alien chemicals against your will, ripped prematurely from your mother's womb (the pod), subjected to unnaturally low temperatures at a Birds Eye factory and then unceremoniously thrown into boiling water, all to satisfy an animal's selfish greed?

What we need is a Plant Liberation Front. Everyone who joined would have to swear never to eat animal or vegetable products. We could attack institutions which oppress plants - farms, fertilizer factories, canning and freezing installations, vegetarian restaurants and wholefood shops. We could then join with other radical groups and overturn the state and patriarchy.

Of course, Plant Liberationists would have to find non-oppressive sources of food. But that's not as difficult as it sounds. If all of us cut off small parts of our own bodies (such as our noses or ears, or for men, the reproductive organs as these are inherently oppressive to women) and ate them, then recycled the faeces, perhaps mixing them with soil and water to give variety, I'm sure we could survive for a long time.

L Erizo

Anarchist dialogue

The sort of attitude that Michel Prigent expresses in the letter 'On priests and state' (23 April) is one of the reasons why anarchists remain a small and ineffective minority in this country. If we refuse to have a dialogue with those who believe in God, we cut out a large part of humanity.

At Easter I found myself at the same gateway as Bruce Kent at the Burghfield Royal Ordnance Factory - two people starting at different times and places, but threatened by the same thing and taking the same action. I could never understand the Catholic Worker Anarchist group's rationale, but their militant opposition to the state expressed itself far more clearly than many militant atheistic anarchists I know.

Bruce Kent was very much affected by a personal tragedy during the Committee of 100 direct

action days; the present CND has moved forward a long way from the position of the old CND, as many of us who were active in those days know. The anarchist movement gained a lot of valuable members from those days; today the opportunity is greater, because, however slowly, there has been a movement in our direction. We should welcome it, and not just insult those involved in it.

Alan Albon

We have just heard that S. E. Parker, who has been active in the anarchist movement and has been a frequent contributor to FREEDOM for many years, had a serious heart attack and major operation a few weeks ago. We send him best wishes for a quick and complete recovery.

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

All signed articles reflect the opinion of the authors, not necessarily those of the editorial collective.



A summary of the accelerating timetable of forthcoming events in the peace movement as the new missiles approach.

Peace pieces

On 16 July there will be a Human Chain demonstration linking the American and Russian Embassies in London. And during the week of 26-31 July there is the Green Gathering at Pilton near Shepton Mallet, also following the very successful one last year.



Meanwhile a 'Walk for Life' begins at Faslane on 19 May, and will pass through Glasgow, Edinburgh, Torness, Berwick, Newcastle, Durham, Darlington, York, Bradford, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, Nottingham, Derby, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, Coventry, Stratford, Upper Heyford, High Wycombe, Reading, and Aldermaston, reaching Greenham Common on Hiroshima Day, 6 August, at the same time as many other shorter women's marches. And on 22 October, if we all last that long, there will be the next major CND demonstration in London.



Throughout these months CND is organising a nation-wide Peace Canvass, putting five simple questions about nuclear weapons to as large a proportion of the population as possible. There are also two important international conferences — the Berlin Convention on European Nuclear Disarmament from 9 to 14 May, in which the various national movements in Western Europe will be brought closer and will attempt to bring the movements in Eastern Europe closer as well; and the Prague World Peace Assembly organised by the World Peace Council from 21 to 26 June, in which the Communist-dominated national movements in Eastern Europe will be brought closer and will attempt to bring the movements in Western Europe into

line. It is hoped that many non-aligned and especially libertarian members of the British movement will take part in these two events to advance the arguments against the militarist policies of both sides in the nuclear arms race.

Above all, from our point of view, there will be a very ambitious week of non-violent direct action at Upper Heyford from 31 May to 3 June. The four days have been divided into six shifts, and people from various parts of the country are being asked to join the demonstrations at the appropriate times. Full details will be given in the next issue of FREEDOM, but further information may be obtained from the Upper Heyford Peace Camp, Outside USAF Upper Heyford, Camp Road, Upper Heyford, Oxon OX5 3LP (or by telephoning 0865 - 726441). It is hoped that at least as many people will be taking part as at Burghfield and Greenham Common at Easter, and that the nuclear base will be effectively closed throughout the whole period.



We must assume that the authorities in this country will soon start taking more drastic action against such demonstrations, as they have already done so elsewhere. In the United States hundreds of demonstrators are repeatedly being arrested at demonstrations against nuclear bases, and are frequently being imprisoned on serious charges. In Sicily women's demonstrations at the Comiso Cruise missile base to mark International Women's Day at the beginning of March were treated with considerable violence, and foreigners taking part were first imprisoned and then deported. The International Peace Camp was destroyed but is now being rebuilt, and activities will continue. The summer camp there will begin on 21 June, and as much international support as possible is necessary. Information may be obtained from the War Resisters' International, 55 Dawes Street, London SE17 1EL telephone 01 - 703 7189, and much-needed donations may be sent to the same address (made payable to WRI - Comiso IPC).

There really should be something for everyone somewhere, and we welcome offers to sell FREEDOM and also reports for FREEDOM.

MH

Unhealthy El Salvador

Reagan administration claims that the regime in El Salvador is somehow no longer a violator of human rights have been contradicted by yet another source. This time the reports of terror perpetrated by the Salvadorean government are made by sources so respectable that the US government will have a hard time evading the implications. Two different fact finding missions on the part of US medical organizations have brought back evidence that the Salvadorean authorities are engaged in terror on a massive scale.

The first delegation to report was sponsored by eight public health organizations, including the American Public Health Association. These people brought back a tale in which health service workers are the special targets of the right wing death squads. These gangs conducted numerous raids on hospitals and actually shot suspected guerrillas right on the operating tables. Eight of the 11 doctors who formed the National Committee for the Defence of Patients, Workers and Health Institutions have been either killed or 'disappeared'. Numerous other physicians have fled the country, and the committee interviewed a number of these in exile in Mexico. These doctors are not being replaced for the government seized the country's only medical school in 1980, burned the library and destroyed the laboratory and other equipment. This was supposedly because the university was a stronghold of 'leftist subversion'. The mind boggles at the connection between Marx and kidney disease!

This delegation also visited camps for people 'evacuated' from those areas of the country where there was substantial guerilla strength, and they found 'appalling health conditions' and 'widespread malnutrition'. The Americans were allowed to visit two prisons where political prisoners were held, a mistake on the part of the authorities for the commission brought back evidence of torture including beatings and chemical burns. Peter Romero, of the US Department of State's Salvadorean bureau, has agreed to investigate only two of the cases brought to light. Members of the mission are dismayed with this lack of response. Dr David

Halperin, a surgeon at the Kennebec Medical Center in Maine, reported that 'every single woman prisoner we interviewed said they had been sexually abused and every single male prisoner had been subjected to mock executions'.

A second delegation, sponsored by the American Academy of Science, the National Academy of Science, the Institute of Medicine, the New York Academy of Science and the International League for Human Rights, has also returned from El Salvador. Their findings agree with those of the other group, and both feel that there is a 'virtually complete breakdown of the health system'. Only a very few of the 80 mobile clinic units formerly operating in rural areas are still functioning. This is due to the climate of fear following the deaths of some 40 paramedical workers assigned to these clinics.

Both committees have yet to issue formal reports, but any recommendations for action run up against the fanatical Salvadorean atmosphere. The present regime, while formally recognizing that some organizations 'can be' neutral, is unable or unwilling to maintain control over those of its supporters who hold to no such neutrality. Thus concerned scientists such as Thomas Eisner, chairman of the subcommittee on science and human rights of the AAAS Committee on Scientific Freedom and Responsibility, who have attempted to raise support for shipments of medical supplies to El Salvador have run into 'a real logistics problem. Who would take over in terms of distribution?' Most donors would be unwilling to take the option of sending aid to the guerillas or, for that matter, to agencies connected with the US government.

Details of the formal reports will attempt to form a standard for judging the abuses in El Salvador in light of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly. The neutrality of patients and health workers will be particularly stressed. Whatever the emphasis, the final reports will be documents that the Reagan administration can hardly dismiss as a 'communist fabrication'.

PM



Following the success — or at least the absence of failure — of the Easter demonstrations, the peace movement has embarked on a hectic schedule in this year when the first Cruise missiles are due to be installed in Britain and when a General Election still seems likely.

On Saturday, 7 May, there is a Festival for Peace organised by the Youth CND in London, consisting of a march starting at the Victoria Embankment at 11 am and going across Westminster Bridge to Brockwell Park in Brixton, where there will be music, entertainers and speakers.

From 7 to 14 May there are Peace Weeks in various parts of the country, and from 14 to 21 May there is an Anti-Militarist Week organised by the Peace Pledge Union. During the weekend of 21-22 May there is a Peace Pentecost organised by Christian CND and centred on the American nuclear base at Upper Heyford. On 24 May there is an International Women's Day of Action for Disarmament.

During the weekend of 17-19 June there is the Glastonbury CND Festival, following the very successful one last year. (Information and tickets are available from the CND office, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ.) On 4 July there will be Independence Day demonstrations at American bases all over Britain.

Anarchists not Conscripts

When the sound of the music dies away on the breeze and you return to your own bedroom — if you are lucky enough to be housed — you may wonder what on earth the relevance of getting rid of the bomb is, if everything else remains the same? If we still have other weapons of 'mass destruction'; we still have a military 'policing-force'; we still have an uncivil police force; we still have many of us jobless and homeless?

If you think about 'the bomb', about nuclear missiles at all, you will realize that they are part of a gigantic 'military-industrial' complex — *A Business* — which has its 'lobbies', its shareholders, its MPs, its 'bribes' (money to pay off supporters). They are not some evil mistake — but the end result of scientists working for governments. The 'industrial-curse' as I call it, of people in all sorts of jobs being prepared to work simply for the money. Not asking themselves 'Is this work useful? Is this work harm-

ful?' For if they did so they would not work on arms-development or animal experiments. They would not suffer the loss of their daily lives in some factory or office. They would rather be outdoors, out-of-work, poor but free!

Having been on the dole now for five years and not exactly housed for three years, I can say this knowing that it is not easy living on Social Security. It is tempting to take the first job that comes along! However, think about army life before 'signing-on'. If you want to play a lot of 'sports'. If you want a career being numbered to the gentler things in life. If you wish to face 'family' problems. If you don't mind a militarized, brutalised career join the army. But remember your most likely posting 'travelling to distant and exotic places' will be to Belfast and Derry.

For the role of an army always has been to keep down its own people. Throughout history armies have been used like that. So a golden

rule which cannot be over-stated is: *The greatest threat to the British People is the British Army.* It may be that you think YCND should consider becoming YCD, but weapons will remain as long as we have governments.

Peace & Freedom: Without a libertarian campaign for greater freedom — which you can only take by direct action — we shall always have our 'Parliaments', conservative or socialist, advocating some sort of military police force. So that the sooner you begin to think about anarchist ideas: about the importance of nonviolent resistance, of NVDA — Nonviolent Direct Action — about the reasons for taking decisions yourself: and organising some sort of anti-militarist action with your friends: the sooner we'll be able to create an anti-militarist, more open and libertarian society. (The last thing our politicians want since they rely on police and military to keep them in power.)

Dennis Gould

Like anyone whose life and ideas were affected profoundly by the example of Mohandas Gandhi, I watched the film that bears his name with very mixed feelings, both with regard to its form and to the way it has distorted, in the interests of the present Indian political establishment, the last and in some ways the most crucial period of Gandhi's life.

Let me begin with the film itself. Considered as a cinematic drama, it is deeply marred by its inner conflict between intimacy and grandiosity.

However prominent the role that history and his own political clear-sightedness may have given him, Gandhi remained throughout his life an astonishingly private and independent person, obeying his inner imperatives rather than those of party or movement, and living with a quirkiness and an eccentricity that no leader dependent on the support of an organised political party would have dared to adopt. Gandhi did not have to wait for the liberation of India to become a free man, governed only by his personal morality. It is the strength of that morality, combined with an extraordinary sense of political strategy and timing, that explains his long ascendancy over the movement for Indian independence.

The intimate Gandhi, the eccentric and warm-hearted man of principle, is admirably portrayed by Ben Kingsley, whose absorption of the personality of his character is an exceptional triumph of acting. The process by which Gandhi, the tongue-tied and rather naive young lawyer, found within himself, through struggle and suffering, the stubborn fighter he eventually became is paralleled by the way in which, as the film goes on, one sees Kingsley becoming absorbed into the personality he represents.

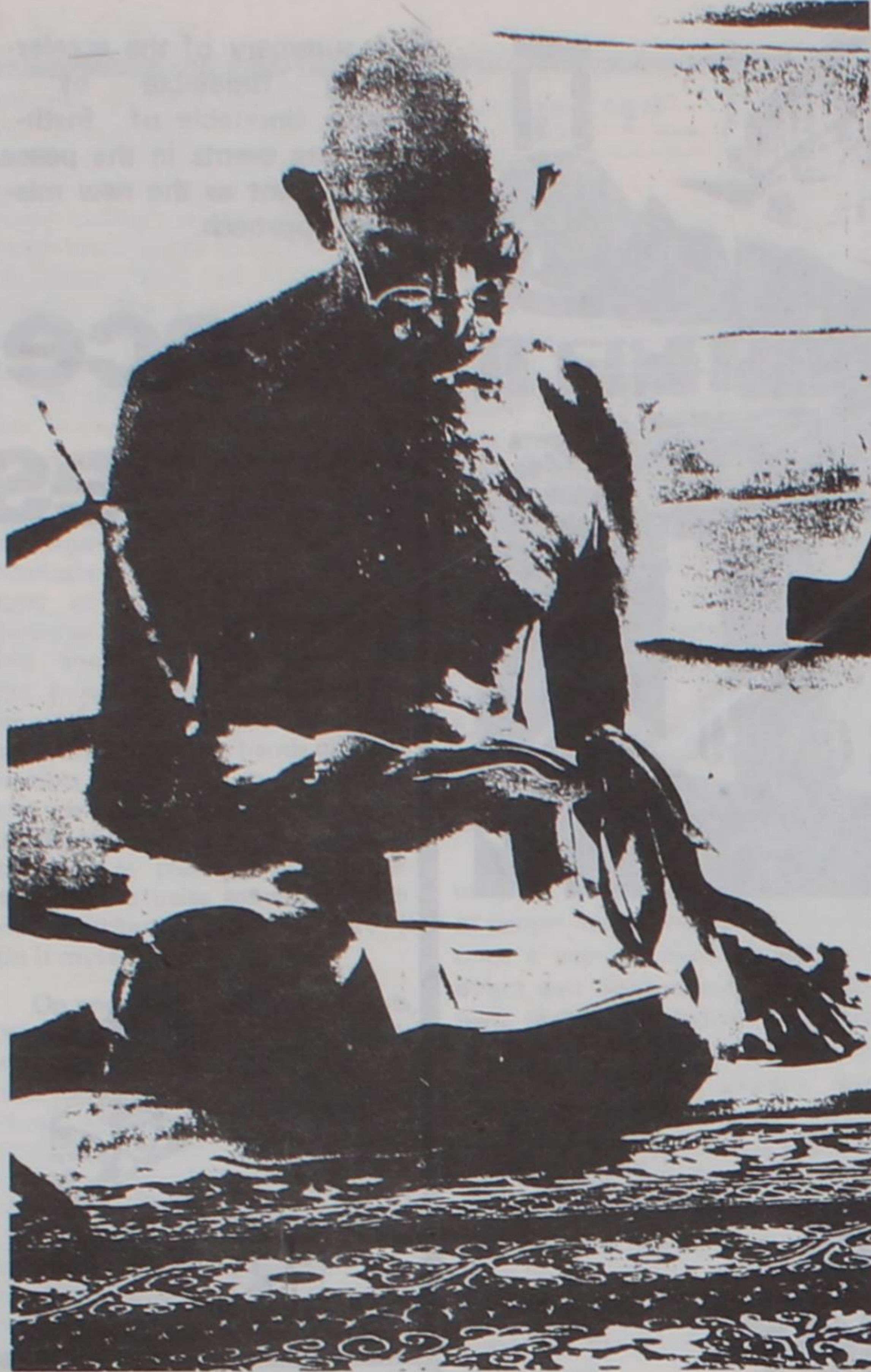
It is not a matter of physical likeness, for Kingsley's facial resemblance to Gandhi is not in fact very close; in the earlier passages of the film his long face and kind eyes remind one as much of that other just man, Orwell, as of Gandhi, and at no times does even the best make-up give him the appealing chapfallen ugliness of Gandhi's old age.

But all this is forgotten as the film continues, since Kingsley so lives himself into his character's personality that one knows in the end that this is how Gandhi walked and sat, how he talked, how he even thought; Gandhi's wry humour, his quiet laughter, his naive vanities, his sidetracked sexuality, they are all there, and so is the honesty towards himself and the straightforwardness to others that made Orwell remark of him, just after Gandhi was assassinated in 1948, 'compared with the other leading political figures of our time, how clean a smell he has managed to leave behind'.

It is a superb and memorable piece of acting, but the very intimacy with which Kingsley has explored and assumed Gandhi's nature contrasts with the lack of intimacy with which the film as a whole represents the India that Gandhi set out to liberate. The conventions of the wide-screen epic, to which the director Richard Attenborough has remained faithful, have prevented this.

Except for scenes between individuals, we are always looking at life from a distance, seeing India from the windows of fast-moving trains, watching from some distant and elevated point mass events populated by hundreds of striding or struggling extras. The sense of being in the close heart of Indian life that one gets from the films of the great Bengali directors like Satyajit Ray or Mrinal Sen is absent.

In the process of epic aggrandisement, everything is oversimplified, whether it is Gandhi's painful relations with his own wife and family, or the complex human



The best review of *Gandhi* we have seen is in *Open Road for Spring '83*, written by George Woodcock, who has made a special study of the man and his teachings. We acknowledge gladly both the author and the publication, which is available from Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver BC, Canada V6R 4G5. (You can get a sub for two hours wages — if you're working.)

interaction between the British and the Indians, which is shown by Attenborough in grotesquely black-and-white terms, so that the former are always the stage villains, whatever their personal qualities, and the latter always the stage heroes, totally lacking in the vices of power-hunger and corruption that became evident as soon as they assumed power with the departure of the British in 1947.

Attenborough has not grasped the elementary truth of political psychology: that however good a human being one may be, power will make one act evilly. Gandhi's great wisdom led him to evade, even at the time of India's liberation, the temptation to assume power.

These flaws in *Gandhi*, and the more shocking distortions to which I shall shortly come, are largely the result of the political auspices under which it was made. The film could not have been completed without the wholehearted consent and co-operation of the Indian government and Indira Gandhi, who moreover contributed a great deal of the \$20,000,000 that the film cost to make.

For that kind of co-operation and financial subsidy the Indian government asked its price, which was a film that would not only glorify India as a nation, but would also suggest that the centralised militarist state it has become since 1947 is really the India that Gandhi fought for by entirely non-militarist means.

The masses of India are still among the poorest people in the world, not much less poor than they were when Gandhi identified his lot with theirs, and anyone who has known the country for a long time and has understood its problems is saddened in the 1980s to see that the great sea of poverty has grown broader and deeper, while the raft of newly rich exploiters that floats on its surface grows ever larger and more prosperous.

It is this situation that makes all the more despicable the irresponsibility

with which the Indian government has recently paid enormous sums of money for symbolic events by which the mass of the people are only marginally benefitted, if at all.

No less than 500 crores of rupees (a crore being 10,000,000), which is the equivalent of \$500,000,000 Canadian, was wasted on the Asian Games last November, at a time when hundreds of millions of Indians still do not enjoy the simple benefit of clean water, let alone adequate food. Beside this extravagance, the \$10,000,000 or so which Attenborough received from Mrs Gandhi (and which was used largely to recycle superannuated British actors like John Gielgud, Trevor Howard and John Mills for stilted minor roles), may seem small enough, but it is still money taken from people who need it, to glorify people who do not.

Clearly it was implied, even if it was not specified, that *Gandhi* should in no way offer a criticism of the state that Mrs Indira Gandhi now rules. And so, at the end of the film, while we are indeed shown Gandhi courageously intervening to halt the mutual killings of Hindus and Moslems in Calcutta, we are given no inkling of the doubts he experienced and expressed after India became independent in 1947.

Nothing is said about his warnings that the Congress Party should be disbanded, its aim of India's liberation having been achieved, and be replaced by a Lok Sevak Sangh (Organisation for the Service of the People), which would eschew political power and devote itself to moral and social reform and to creating the kind of agrarian commonwealth Gandhi had long advocated — a decentralised society based on the revivifying of the villages. Nothing is said about his warning that the 'militarisation of India would mean self-destruction'. Nothing is said about his argument that 'self-government means continuous effort to be free of governmental control, whether it is foreign or whether it is national'

or of his assertion that 'the ideally non-violent state will be an ordered anarchy'.

Gandhi, in fact, wanted to create a libertarian and agrarian order, without an army and without a sense of national arrogance. He often called himself an anarchist, and in his vision of a village-based order, with a decentralised administration rather than government, he came very close to the ideals of Tolstoy and Kropotkin, both of whom he admired.

But all this was far from the intentions of men like Nehru and Patel, into whose hands fell the shaping of the new Indian state after the British went. They were intent on creating a nation-state like those established in nineteenth century Europe, and in order to do this they not only retained the army the British had created (even with its old regimental formations) but also the British form of administration, so that when in the 1970s Mrs Gandhi declared an emergency, she actually imprisoned her opponents under rules laid down by the British viceroys to deal with Gandhi and his campaigns of mass non-cooperation with the Raj.

Perhaps the final horrifying irony in Gandhi's career was that after his assassination, his murderer was hanged according to British laws he detested, and he himself was buried with military honours bestowed by an army against which he had fought with all the weapons of non-violent revolution. The circumstance that the army was now Indian and not British made no substantial difference; it still represented the militarism he had long condemned.

The fact that this very funeral should be one of the first great crowd scenes in *Gandhi*, a scene presented without an iota of critical implication, sets the tone for the theme of national glorification which throughout runs parallel to the development of Gandhi's life as a non-violent agitator and strategist. None of Gandhi's statements that suggested his dismay at the direction in which Nehru led India after 1947 is included, and this shows how far Attenborough has been willing to edit the truth in order to make a film acceptable to Mrs Indira Gandhi.

The fact is, of course, that it is not Mrs Gandhi and her Congress Party who in recent decades have represented the tradition of her great namesake. That has been sustained outside the circles of power, by individual teachers and activists like Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan, and by movements like Sava Seva, whose volunteers work outside the framework of government organisation for the regeneration of village life.

Yet despite the distortions I have indicated, the crucial message of Gandhi's life was too strong and clear not in the end to dominate the film, *Gandhi*. All power is vulnerable, and can in the long run be defeated by determined resistance. When governments and laws are manifestly unjust, direct action against them is necessary. But, since violence tends to be self-defeating and to lead to authoritarian structures, the best kind of direct action is non-violent resistance by civil disobedience and by non-cooperation. Such resistance, unlike violence, provides also the philosophic foundation for a society in which excesses of power can be eliminated.

Finally, demonstrated triumphantly in this film as in Gandhi's life, there is the lesson — a very anarchistic one — that nobody need quail before the power of the state, since individuals, in cooperations with others and even on their own, can deploy a moral power that changes the general mental climate and — ultimately — the political and social shape of the world.

Thus the film really carries two mutually contradictory messages. The first is that the nation is glorious. The second is that the individual will can in the end defeat all kinds of collective tyranny. At the present juncture of Indian politics, when Mrs Gandhi's power seems to be disintegrating, the second message is probably that which Indian audiences will take to heart.

There is no doubt that Gandhi, carefully studying the psychology of his opponents, did more than any other individual to bring an end to British power in India, partly by making the system of Raj virtually unworkable by organising mass refusal to cooperate, but also by making his opponents feel that their position was morally untenable. Thus he demonstrated the effectiveness, in a specific set of circumstances, of direct action carried out without violence.

It has often been said, as a challenge to the arguments of Gandhi's admirers, that the strategy he used may have worked against the British, but could not have worked against more ruthless oppressors like the Nazis or the Bolsheviks. But I don't think one can reasonably relate one set of circumstances to a completely different situation. Clearly every political situation will breed its own pattern of resistance, as the American civil rights movement differed from the Indian liberation movement.

It is entirely conceivable that if Social Democrats, the Communists and the trade unionists in Germany had abandoned their feuds and taken the initiative with a well-organised non-cooperation campaign as soon as Nazism appeared they would have been able to put up an effective resistance. The fact is that, unlike Gandhi, they were obsessed with the hope of power, and set party interests above general interests, and did not have the courage to act until it was too late and their house was tumbling about their heads.

Gandhi acknowledged that in certain societies — including that of the Nazis — non-cooperation would entail a great deal more suffering than it had done under the British Raj, but never saw the difficulty of the task as reason for not undertaking it. It was this unquestioning faith in the aims he set out to achieve and in his method of *Satyagraha* or non-violent resistance, as well as his lack of fear and of any desire for personal power, that gave Gandhi his extraordinary hold over the imaginations of the Indian people. And this, despite its faults and distortions, *Gandhi* well illustrates.

George Woodcock

POSTSCRIPT

The above article was of course written before the row over here about Richard Attenborough's proposed trip to South Africa to launch the film — to segregated audiences! After sufficient noise had been made, Attenborough announced that he would not be going to SA after all.

We can't help wondering whether Dickie had learned more than one lesson from Gandhiji — who knew exactly how to screw as much publicity as possible out of every situation?



This fairly short and absurdly expensive American book (which at 216 pages is much cheaper to copy than to buy) is actually very valuable. Richard Saltman, who is a research associate in political science in the Department of Health Policy and Management at Harvard University, has produced the first full-length English-language study of Bakunin's ideas which is at the same time reliable and favourable.

In a short preface he makes the unfamiliar and encouraging claim that Bakunin is both a coherent and a significant thinker. In the first chapter, 'Bakunin under Western Eyes', he attacks the prevailing interpretation of him as a fundamentally contradictory and consequently irrelevant writer. He describes this stock notion as 'the Paradox School', and says that, apart from K J Kenafick and Arthur Lehning (who have produced good but only short studies of Bakunin in English), 'the Paradox School encompasses most well-known English-language studies of Bakunin' — including not just Marxist writers, and liberal writers such as E H Carr, Isaiah Berlin, Eugene Pyziur, Max Nomad, James Joll, and so on, but also 'those works which harbor a "libertarian" bias' by 'right-wing libertarians' like George Woodcock and Paul Avrich (the latter's position being further described as 'right-wing "libertarian" individualism'). As Saltman says, 'Despite their otherwise diverse nature, all these authors share the central conclusion of the Paradox approach: in the final analysis, Bakunin's political thought was theoretically inconsistent and contradictory, without serious intellectual or political merit.'

Saltman then briefly analyses the three main errors of this approach. The first is to take everything Bakunin said and did into equal account, although he was an anarchist for only eight years in a political career lasting nearly forty years. The second is to put him into the wrong intellectual tradition, of romantic philosophers like Hegel and Fichte, of revolutionary practitioners like Babeuf and Blanqui, and of individualist theorists like Proudhon and Stirner, rather than of philosophers like Feuerbach, scientists like Lamarck, and above all Karl Marx. The third is, after making these two mistakes, to concentrate on his personal character, leaving political facts for psychiatric fantasies. After examining some of his predecessors' books, Saltman concludes that 'these authors were more interested in dismissing Bakunin's arguments for political reasons than they were in assessing his thought for any contributions to socialist theory or history' — a judgement which also applies to the two most recent books on the subject by Arthur Mendel and Aileen Kelly (reviewed in *FREEDOM* on 11 February 1983).



The Social and Political Thought of Michael Bakunin by Richard B Saltman, Greenwood Press, £29.50.

Saltman's own thesis is that 'during his mature anarchist period, dating approximately from 1866 to 1874, Bakunin set forth an internally consistent and fully fleshed social theory that bears little resemblance to the standard Marxist, liberal, or libertarian historical wisdom', and he devotes the next 150 pages of his book to a detailed account of this theory.

He begins by putting Bakunin into the naturalistic traditions of Ludwig Feuerbach, the German philosopher who transformed Hegel's idealist and theist philosophy into a materialist and humanist theory with revolutionary implications, and of Jean Baptiste Lamarck, the French scientist who developed the evolutionary theory which was to be brought to fruition by Darwin. This is plausible enough, although Saltman admits that Bakunin 'made only a few short references to Feuerbach' and 'apparently never mentioned Lamarck at all'; it would be more convincing to say that Bakunin (like Marx) absorbed the progres-

sive ideas in the social and natural sciences which were prevalent when he was a young man in the 1830s and 1840s, and which were powerfully expressed by Feuerbach and Lamarck (and by the German scientist Ludwig Buchner, who isn't mentioned). On this basis Bakunin (like Marx) built his political ideology, which his increasing interest in the reciprocal freedom of individuals and groups eventually transformed into what Saltman calls 'collectivist anarchism', which he describes in the three main chapters of the book.

One describes Bakunin's three critiques of artificial or arbitrary authority — of the state, including the bureaucratic and the 'People's' state; of science, or rather scientism, involving the abuse of knowledge by the intelligentsia; and of capitalism, following closely in Marx's footsteps but also foreshadowing the later anarchist critique of state capitalism as practised by Marxists. Another describes Bakunin's revolutionary theory — based on the activity of the rural as much as the

urban working class, not dominated by a party as in Marxist theory but stimulated by an 'association', which would act as an 'invisible dictatorship' in the tradition of the revolutionary secret societies of his time but wouldn't use personal violence or seize power. And the other describes Bakunin's relationship with Marx — showing that this was more complex than is generally supposed, since Bakunin was in many ways a Marxist, and explaining just how their ideas did differ, especially in their philosophical assumptions and in their attitudes to political authority.

These three chapters are valuable for giving an unusually positive view of Bakunin's anarchism, but less valuable than they might be because they tend to underemphasise the aspects which hostile commentators tend to overemphasise. For example, Saltman's justifications of Bakunin's theories of organisation and of violence would be more impressive if they were more critical and if they took account of Bakunin's practice in revolutionary groups and activities. Many anarchists who read Bakunin find serious contradictions between his libertarian and authoritarian tendencies.

The book ends with a very short chapter giving 'A Preliminary Assessment' of Bakunin's ideas. Saltman shows how he anticipated many subsequent critiques of bourgeois democracy and of Marxist dictatorship, and concludes that 'Bakunin has provided a theoretical grounding that places collectivist anarchism well within the mainstream of useful political analysis', that with his work 'the anarchist perception of reality gained the stature of a full-fledged political philosophy, worthy of equal consideration among the various political perspectives on the modern world', and that 'it is this contribution that makes Bakunin the true father of modern anarchism'.

The Social and Political Thought of Michael Bakunin would be better if it were longer, covering more topics and giving more detail. Saltman seems to read only English and French, and he hasn't used any of the relevant sources in Russian, German, and Italian. He doesn't mention many important writers on Bakunin, from Max Nettlau and Rudolf Rocker to Franco Venturi and Daniel Guerin, and he is rather unfair to some he does mention, such as Paul Avrich and Sam Dolgoff. He writes a flat and formal academic English, but at least he uses little jargon. What matters, though, is that he has produced a readable book which for once takes Bakunin seriously on his own terms and which joins recent books on Godwin, Stirner, and Proudhon in helping to clarify the work of the founders of the anarchist ideology. If only it were cheaper and more likely to be read by ordinary people.

NW

Anarchism and education

Compulsory education is a programme designed to produce compliant, status seeking, aggressively competitive, alienated human beings. The contradiction between compliance and competition is solved by the authoritarian hierarchical structure of society, which creates well controlled competition within its social-Darwinistic echelons. On the one hand the surplus of failures can be accommodated as factory fodder or cannon fodder whilst on the other the successes find security and financial superiority.

Progressive educationalists will pay lip service to the ideas of A S Neill but they dismiss or discourage any attempt to develop libertarian methods in independent schools or in home education circles. One thing that system could never allow

is educational freedom. Freedom implies an end to the rat race for qualifications to be replaced by the adoption of the encouragement of individual interests when the student is ready. This could be at any age literally. There are Open University graduates of over sixty. Freedom also implies an end to coercion in all aspects of society and the collectivisation of laborious tasks where necessary.

Infants respond to the offer to learn to read and write. Most of A S Neill's pupils entered formal classes, apart from a few, and it is to his credit that some of his pupils hardly ever attended formal classes. As he put it children should have the 'freedom to play for days or weeks or years if necessary.' If reading ability is seen as being worthy of enforcement then it is just another

weapon like C S gas in the arsenal of suppression. The written word can be as deadly as the truncheon in creating alienated human beings. In any case enthusiasm for reading can develop in time for those who do not learn when young. Even under the present compulsory school system there are those who cannot read well and consequently there are reading centres available for adults.

Rudolf Steiner introduced reading at a much slower rate than other educationalists and it is observable that the age ability to focus on letters and words varies with the individual. In evolution ideographs preceded phonetic symbols and in his schools children are taught to see a T as part of a tree for instance. It is quite probable that children between the ages of

five to seven could learn Chinese calligraphy with considerable enthusiasm because it is exciting visually and close to the type of line drawings which they begin to produce around that age.

At the present time education is predominantly 'public' school orientated even in comprehensive schools. The academic approach expects children to learn in the same way as described in Dickens' *Hard Times*, a classic portrayal of alienated humanity. As libertarians we can help to keep alive the work of Neill and others by assisting in the maintenance and development of alternative schools and organisations like Education Otherwise as well as exchanging skills and knowledge with each other.

A Anderson



Promises Promises

Renewal A Penguin Special published by Penguin Books. Paperback priced £2.50.

This book of essays subtitled 'Labour's Britain in the 1980s' and 'written by members of the Shadow Cabinet and edited by Gerald Kaufman, MP' must by reason of its style and content sink with all nineteen contributors, down into the Sargasso Sea of sermonising verbiage that the ill informed, the unread and the indifferent will accept as deep thoughts dredged out of their collective minds by deep thinking men trapped in what they must accept is now no more than a shallow struggle for political power when political compromise is the order of the day and idealism has been betrayed. There was a time,

before the 1930s when men and women believed that their majority collective vote could vote into office a political party of their choice that could bring about, in a matter of a few short weeks, a complete change in the social structure of their society but by trial and to many errors the falsity of his belief has been exposed and all that the people can ask for for their vote is either a few minor social reforms or a return to hanging. With the appearance of the late Hitler's Dear Diaries, and I swear I am not the author of them, the point should be made, but surely, that in 1933 the National Socialist Party was democratically elected into office and they changed the whole of German society but with or without the 1933 German election the German middle class right wing would have taken over

the State and as with all mass organisations whose armaments cannot compete with that of the State's they have to compromise with the class controlling organised armed power within the State and for that they have to exterminate those who demand that the idealism of the 'movement' must be honoured. Ask Trotsky, ask Roehm, ask John Becket, ask the Militant Tendency, ask the Gang of Four for having removed the ice pick, dug out the bullets or burned their expulsion papers they and their sad cohorts could form another party and then draw lots to see who would be the first one to be re-expelled. *Renewal* is timed to hit the news stands with a dull thud in the first week in May 1983 but unlike page three of the *Sun* it will not find a massive viewership. As members of

the Clause 4 Labour Party each of these Gang of 19 would claim to be a socialist and, like the Pope, they would swear allegiance to the Holy Writ and the fundamental principles of the founding fathers but no one, and that includes the millions who vote for the Gang of 19 hope, desire or believe that by their one vote they will be instrumental in bringing a socialist society into being within these islands. What we have in these 19 essays is the pedantic wordage and the intellectual dross that any committee, be it State or private, would spew out. The days when Bernard Shaw and Wells and sadly, sadly Foot could stir the blood and move the feet with prose and passionate arguments that proclaimed a socialist Jerusalem at the turn of every slum street are gone and these are the people who betrayed the hope of the majority and the idealism of the minority. I claim to know, and Heaven forgive me, that a violent change in a society can only be brought about by violent revolution and violent revolution if deliberately engineered or forced upon a people perpetrates a greater evil and though there comes that moment in historical time when one is forced to take part in mass violence it is foolish to believe that death and the gun will bring forth cider with Rosie.

Within *Renewal* Healey states foreign policy, Booth transport, Millan Scotland, Kinnock education and each with one eye cocked on the past with pious mentions of Ben Tillet, Aneurin Bevan, Orwell or Keir Hardie and the other eye cocked on re-election but all in all, Gang of 19, it is a sad rat bag of uninspired political clichés culled by tired men seeking to pander to various majorities for their votes and as the early Churchill would have demonstrated this is the type of harmless and charmless political fodder that any political party desperate for office would hand out and come the next election Jenkins or Ma Thatcher could and probably will finger flip through these 201 pages to decide what they will use in their own political interest.

Yet we are metropolitan man and we live out our lives within a society wherein sincere men and women seek answers to their and our economic and social problems through the political machinery. If we render unto Caesar the

things that are Caesar's and we all do when as good citizens we queue in the State Post Offices to pay our television licences and unto God the things that are God's by refusing to fill in a census form then let us not pretend that we have opted out of our society, simply for the plaudits of the mob no matter how small or vocal that mob might be.

I hold that there is only one true anarchist and that is the hedge-row tramp. A man or woman who makes no statements or claims and asks nothing of his fellow man and claims nothing of the State. Every society throws up its own elite, every collective finds that the more passive members are dominated and for peace of mind ready to compromise in tasks they would not wish to take part in.

And the answer is then let that individual move away?, but when I hear the term 'anarchist society' I see those bright bureaucrats with flowers in their hair trilling Orwellian 'suggestions' and I read Errico Malatesta 'refusing always to submit to its laws whenever possible, and constantly using force to oppose force' and Errico lad as with so many other comrades I agree with the things that you wrote that I or they agree with but I hold that there were times when you were writing crap. We should shake off the intellectual pretensions of believing that most of our fellow men and women are fools for choosing a new foreman by a show of hands, for it could be that they are more interested in their own lives than acting out their role as fodder in the anti-power struggle. Correct Errico? So here is Hampstead and W1 at the ready with their blue print for the new society outline in drear line by line and the crime of the Gang of 19 is that they rubber stamp the death of idealism in this party prepared handout for the voter fearful of change. I believe that a socialist society is a materialist society but a sensible and rational way for people to organise their economic life and I know that the anarchist moves through that society paying his/her social dues yet at all times seeking to defend and extend his or her individual liberty for anarchism is and always can only be a personal and individual thing.

Arthur Moysé



It May have taken several years, several attempts and a Canadian comrade to do it, but London anarchists have finally managed to get together to form a new Federation.

With very little argument, if a little trouble coming to the point, the 70 odd anarchists who met at the Metropolitan Pub on 22 April agreed there should be more formal links between the many individuals and groups operating in London.

It was decided the Federation should be a loose arrangement, without formal affiliation, so as to encourage anyone interested to take part. Its aims will be to put people and resources in touch with each other — contact and resources lists are being prepared — and also to act as a channel for London-wide initiatives. Meetings will be monthly for the time being. As soon as possible it's hoped to move the venue from the Metropolitan as it is noisy and unsuitable for disabled people; suggestions would be welcome. Otherwise the Federation can be contacted by writing to: Box F, c/o FREEDOM Bookshop.

Among the specific proposals for co-operation, a number of people said they'd like to see regular public meetings in central London. An independent group agreed to organise these, and hope to start as soon as possible with monthly dates — becoming weekly if possible. Suggestions and inquiries can be made to: Central London Anarchist Meetings, c/o FREEDOM Bookshop.

The next Federation meeting will take place on Saturday 21 May at 8pm at the Metropolitan Pub in Farringdon Road, EC1.

Libertarian Forum

Some comrades from the Centre Iberico and others have organised a Libertarian Forum for this weekend May 14th-15th. Each day will be divided into three sessions labelled Past (11am-1pm), Present (3pm-5pm) and Future (5:30-7:30pm) to discuss; on Saturday 14th, 'Social Science and Libertarian Thought', covering 'human nature, social structure and the State', with contributions from a libertarian sociologist, psychologist and anthropologist (and there are not many of them about — don't miss it).

On Sunday, the subject will be 'the Past, Present and Future of Libertarian Organisation, from communes, collectives, councils, co-operatives to whatever comes next.

Those who dislike the 'life as a perpetual university conference' syndrome, will be pleased to note that there will be no lectures or work-shops . . . just egalitarian discussion with a chair-human to protect the innocent and those who've come a long way.

Those who dislike the 'life as a perpetual anarchist meeting' syndrome, will be even more pleased to

note that the discussion will be followed by a PARTY, with live music, booze, food, weird people etc, etc, on BOTH evenings, from 8 till late. Entrance is free, but a serious effort will be made to collect money to cover costs!

Musicians and bands wishing to join in the planned libertarian jam session (and any other enquiries) should phone Stuart — 226 3002. The rest of you just turn up at Old Northcroft School, Shepherds Bush Road, (nearest tube Hammersmith Broadway). It's just past the dole office and already the home of a large friendly collective and thus a very appropriate venue . . .

Hew Warburg

We are sorry to report the death of Hew Warburg, who became associated with the anarchist movement in London in the 1950s (another contact through the Malatesta Club) and for a time wrote regular topical comments on the news in FREE-FOM.

In 1968 Hew was one of the half-a-dozen Friends of FREEDOM Press who contributed substantial sums, either as loans or gifts, for the purchase of our premises in Whitechapel High Street — originally consisting of 84a as well as our present 84b.

Unhappily Hew began to suffer from multiple sclerosis nine years ago and was supported during those years of steady decline by his companion for 25 years, Rita Milton. He died in his sleep in the early morning of Sunday 10th April.

PS

ANIMAL ACTION



The World Weekend for Laboratory Animals included several demonstrations in Britain. On 23 April, 2,000 people marched through central Edinburgh to the University psychology laboratories. On 25 April, there was a picket at Inveresk vivisection laboratories near Elphinstone. On 24 April, 8,000 people marched from Clapham Common to the

Medical Research Council and the British Industrial Biological Research Association vivisection laboratories at Carshalton. Here there was trouble, the demonstrators being met by hundreds of policemen (with dozens of horses and dogs!), and those who tried to approach the labs being attacked with truncheons and considerable violence.

PAM ACTION

The British based anti-militarist group People Against Militarism, who chained themselves to the railings of the Soviet Embassy in London in March (see FREEDOM 9/4/83) appeared briefly in court on April 12th, on charges of Behaviour Likely to Cause a Breach of the Peace.

The brevity of their appearance was due to the fact that no evidence

was offered against them due to some legal technicality, and they walked straight out of the court and led a poster parade right back to the Soviet Embassy in Kensington Gardens.

After that they picketed the offices of *The Guardian*, which had just been running a series of articles on a 'Moscow Week' by their leading feature writers — but to date

have made no mention of anti-militarist activity directed against the Soviet Government here in London.

Margaret Thatcher, please note: As the People Against Militarism say — some of us 'Do not need Margaret Thatcher to tell us about the Soviet threat.'

PAM can be contacted at 13 Cotswold Road, Bedminster, Bristol BS3 4NX.

PRESS NETWORK

There is it seems to me a very great need to establish a Press Writing Network in respect of items in journals both 'straight' and 'radical' which support Soviet tyranny or misrepresent those who are fighting for freedom in the Soviet Union and other Communist states. If any item appears in the press which takes a soft line re Chile or South Africa there is always a reply within two or three days, yet even in the tory press, which is supposed to be anti marxist, such items quite often

pass unchallenged. A good example is the reporting of the Siberian pipeline deal — I have not seen one letter in the *Guardian* or the 'trendy left' *New Statesman* opposing it on the grounds that it is being built with SLAVE LABOUR despite my appeal in letters to *FREEDOM* and *Peace News* (Dec 10th 1982) for people to write to the press. Likewise the suppression of the free Russian trade union SMOT which the TUC has TOTALLY IGNORED

has not provoked comment. I would like to appeal to EVERY READER to commit themselves to monitor at least one Daily, weekly, or local journal, and to get as many other people as possible to do likewise and to spread this idea by every possible means.

If anyone is interested in discussing the idea further, I would be grateful if they would telephone me on 01-579-7625.

Edmund McArthur

IN BRIEF

in memory, 'They call me Muddy Waters, I'm restless, man, as the deep blue sea.'

A government decree requiring police permission to own a typewriter has been put into effect in Romania.

Attacks on racial minorities amount to 'sedition' according to a senior Appeal Court judge. This presumably counts as the current statement of the legal position, according to the quaint system of 'judge made law'.

A 104 year old imam (prayer leader) has upset people in Bangladesh by marrying a 16 year old girl. He says that he did it to save her from starvation.

A man in Shreveport, Louisiana celebrated his baptism by stealing the minister's wallet on the way out. He successfully forged four cheques before being caught.

A Maori protestor who bared his arse at Prince Charles and Princess Diana has been charged with offensive behaviour. He is pleading not guilty, saying that it was merely 'royalty glancing at my back chamber'.

A seven inch plastic cactus in a joke shop in Manchester has been arrested. It is currently the subject of a court case concerning the display of indecent matter.

Hong Kong has come up with a scheme to charge for the use of the streets. All private cars will be fitted with tamper proof electronic number plates linked to a central computer. Electronic loops will be embedded in the roads to record and transmit a car's registration number, type, date and time to the computer. Accounts will be sent out every month. Should be handy for the police as well.

Item for discussion at the NUPE conference next month: Christmas Day should fall on a fixed day of

the week, rather than a fixed date. What a horrible thought, the anarchic nature of public holidays adds fun to life. Easter will be next. We must resist this bureaucratic tidy mindedness. They'll be claiming that May Day should be fixed on a Monday next.

Leeds City Council has become the first local authority to publish a detailed prediction on the effect of a nuclear strike on their area. They suggest that a one megaton bomb would kill 196,000 immediately and injure 176,000. Within two days another 245,000 would die from the effects of radiation. The total casualty toll would be 507,000. The population of Leeds is 713,000.

The Italian Supreme Court has given its learned judgement on nudity. 'Within the setting of a bathing beach' exposed female breasts 'no longer normally arouse emotional stimulations of either the repulsive or excitable kind'. However, total nudity is still indecent. 'The sight of the external male and female sexual organs arouses a sense of uneasiness or repulsion or perturbation or immodest curiosity or erotic excitement in the observer who possesses sensibilities and who is not exasperated by moral rigidity or sexual hypersensitivity.' Thank you, Italian Supreme Court, for telling us that it upsets people who are upset by it.

The latest bright suggestion, apparently quietly withdrawn, is that demonstrators should pay for the cost of their own policing. We welcome this, if it means that we can decide to save money by having no police there at all.

President Reagan has asserted that his Administration's policies of making it more difficult for teenage girls to get contraceptives, efforts to ban abortions and to restore prayer in schools reflect 'a great spiritual awakening'.

Voters in St Ives, Cambridgeshire,

have backed plans to site American Cruise missiles nearby. Returns were 178 for and 163 against — a majority of 15 in a 3.9% turnout. Now, that's the kind of response we would like to see in national elections.

The extent of the Conservative government's traditional commitment to tax cuts continues to emerge. Latest figures show that total tax for an 'average' household has risen 6.9% The 'average' household earns £172 per week. Those who have only ¾ of this have had their tax raised by 7.9%. Tax has actually fallen for some, those getting more than £568 per week.

The new regulations to make sure that we are protected from nuclear bombs have been published. It must be a little upsetting for a Conservative government to take on the role of state nannies, protecting us from ourselves from cradle to Municipal Corpse Disposal (Emergency Provisions) Facility. However, with the ideological stiffening of the Resolute Approach, they do not flinch from their Duty. The new regulations produce various responsibilities on local authorities to arrange Civil Defence. Conscription of local government employees has been dropped.

The new laws on drinking and driving allow the police to break into homes after accidents. Various officials are reassuring. Some one who crossed traffic lights on red would not have 'the full force of the law pouring through their front door'. Common sense will be used.' As it seems to be distressingly easy to have that full force pouring through the front door already, it is comforting to know that it will display the traditional British Bobby's bluff good humour. We are sure that there is no need to drag in the Special Report by the Police Complaints Board, finished last September but kept secret until this week, which found that there were 'serious lapses from professional standards' when the Metropolitan Police raided 11 houses in Brixton in July 1981.

ANTI-STATE HEALTH WARNING:

Anarcha-feminism can damage male egomania



A cartoon from the excellent first issue of the Anarchist Feminist Magazine, produced at 121 Bookshop and distributed by A Distribution (50p).

INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRALASIA

AUSTRALIA
AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY
Research and Resources Centre for Lib-
ertarian Politics and Alternative Life-
styles, 7/355 Northmore Ave, Lyneham,
ACT 2602.

NEW SOUTH WALES
Freedom, K153 Haymarket, Sydney
2000.

Redfern Black Rose Anarchist Book-
shop, 36 Botany Rd, Redfern NSW 2015.

Jura Books — an anarchist bookshop,
417 King St, Newtown, NSW 2042.
Everything Collective — put out an
anarcho-feminist magazine, Box 131,
Holme Building, Sydney University,
Sydney, NSW.

QUEENSLAND
Black and Red Bookshop, 5A Browning
St, West End, Queensland 4000, tel: 07
(447984).

Libertarian Socialist Organisation, PO
Box 268, Mount Gravatt, Central 4122.

Self-management Organisation, PO Box
332, North Quay.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA
PO Box 126 Norwood, SA 5067.

TASMANIA
Bill Graham, PO Box 70, Mowbray
Heights, Launceston 7250, Tasmania.

VICTORIA
Journal of Libertarian Politics and Alter-
native Life-styles, 51 Ormond Road,
Moonee Ponds, Victoria, Australia 3039.

La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o
La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria
3083.

Libertarian Workers for a Self-managed
Society, PO Box 20, Parkville 3052.

Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash
University, Clayton, 3168, Melbourne.

Resource Centre, 215 Victoria Parade,
Collingwood, Victoria.

Treason, Box 37, Brunswick East, Victo-
ria 3057.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA
Freedom Collective and Libertarian Res-
ource Centre can be reached through PO
Box 203, Fremantle 6160.

NEW ZEALAND
Blackmail, Box 13165, Christchurch.

Daybreak Bookshop, PO Box 5425,
Dunedin.

Dunedin Anarchists, Box 6227, Dunedin,
New Zealand

PO Box 876, Auckland.

PO Box 13165, Christchurch.

EUROPE

AUSTRIA
Liberte, Postfach 86, 1033 Wien.

Monte Verita, Neustiftgasse 33, 1070
Wien.

BELGIUM
Revolutionair anarchisties kollektief, c/o
Zwart & Rood, PO Box 546, B-9000
Gent, Belgium.

DENMARK
Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe,
Meiljgade 48, 8000 Aarhus.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
Graswurzel (Grass Roots), c/o W Hertle,
Grozerschippsee 28, 21 Hamburg 90.

Libertad Verlag Berlin, Jochen Schmuck,
Postfach 440 227, D-1000 Berlin 44.

Schwarzer Faden (Black Thread), Obere
Weibermarktstr 3, 7410 Reutlingen, tel:
07121/370494.

Schwarzer Gockler (Black Cockerel), c/o
A Muller, Postfach 4528, 7500 Karlsruhe.

FRANCE
Federation Anarchiste Francaise, 145 Rue
Amelot, 75011, Paris.

Union Anarchiste, 9 Rue de l'Ange,
63000 Clermont Feraand.

GREECE
'A Gallery' (Documents Centre), PO Box
1937, Thision, Athens.

HOLLAND
De Vrije, Postbus 486, 2000AL Haarlem,
Holland, tel: 023 273892.

NORWAY
Anorg, Hoxtvedt, 31B, 1431 As. (Pub-
lish Folkeblad 4 times a year.)

POLAND
Piotrek Betlejewski, age 22, Ulpolnana
30/37, 09 402, Plock, Poland.

SPITSBERGEN
Stephen W Holland, age 27, 2 Glygar-
dynza Croke, The Mining Community
Huts, NY Alesund, Spitsbergen, Svalbard
Arctic Ocean Isle.

SWEDEN
Magazine 'April', Box 15015, 104 65
Stockholm, Sweden.

Nya Bokcafeet, Box 15015, 104 65
Stockholm.

Syndikalist Forum, Tenstiernas Gata 51,
11631 Stockholm.

Syndikalistiskt Forum (anarcho-syndical-
ist bookshop), Husargatan 5, 41302 Goth-
enborg, tel: 031-13 25 04.

FRANCE
Union des Travailleurs Communistes
Libertaires, Write to Editions 'L' (with
no other mention) BP 333, 75525 Paris.

NORTH AMERICA

CANADA
Black Cat Press, PO Box 11261, Edmont-
on, Alberta.

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G. Van-
couver BC.

Wintergreen/AR, PO Box 1294, Kitchen-
er, Ontario, N2G 4G8.

MONTREAL
Chaos, c/o R Yves Breton, CP 95 S/N
Place d'Armes, Montreal, Quebec, H2Y
3E9.

USA

ARIZONA
Malicious Hooligans (anti-nuclear), 1110
W 2nd St, Tempe, AZ 85281.

CALIFORNIA
Autonomia, PO Box 1751, San Francisco,
CA 94101.

Bound Together Book Collective, 1901
Hayes St, San Francisco, CA 94117, tel:
(415) 668-2785.

Libertarian Anarchist Coffeehouse, meets
last Sunday each month at Cafe Comm-
ons, 3161 Mission St, San Francisco.

CONNECTICUT
Wesleyan University Eco-Anarchists, Her-
mes, Box HH, Wesleyan University, Mid-
letown CT 08457.

MINNESOTA
Soil of Liberty, Box 7056 Powderhorn
Station, Minneapolis, Minn 55407.

MISSOURI
Columbia Anarchist League, PO Box 380,
Columbia, Missouri 65201.

NEW YORK
Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, GPO
New York, NY 10012.

OREGON
Portland Anarchist Center, 313 East
Burnside, Portland, Oregon 97205,
USA.

WASHINGTON
Left Bank Publishing Project, Box B, 92
Pike Street, Seattle, WA 98101.

Social Revolutionary Anarchist Feder-
ation, PO Box 21071, Washington DC
20009.

Non-violent Anarchist Network, P O Box
1385, Austin, Texas 78767.

FUNDS

Donations Received: March 31st —
April 27th Incl.
Leeds P S £1.25; Swansea M M
£5.00; Wolverhampton J L £1.50;
J K W £0.50; S U Conference A H
£0.25; Wolverhampton J L £1.50;
J K W £0.50; Enfield Z J £11.00;
Mt View, USA, M S £1.50; Proceeds
from Collection by Italian Comrades
at Picnic per Miami Beach, USA,
A B £34.35;

TOTAL = £57.55
Previously acknowledged = £405.22
TOTAL TO DATE = £462.77

Campbelltown A M £2.00; Wolver-
hampton J L £1.50; J K W £0.50;
Southampton S C £2.00; Wolver-
hampton J L £1.50; J K W £0.50;
London SW15 J M £0.25; Mondoui
G F £0.45; Brighton M G R £5.00;
Porirua, NZ A G £0.50; N Miami
USA, M C £4.50; Silver Spring,
USA, B M £0.30; T M £1.00;

TOTAL = £20.00
Previously acknowledged = £462.77
TOTAL TO DATE = £482.77
TARGET FOR 1983 = £2000!

Premises Fund

Donation Received: March 31st —
April 13th 1983

Cambridge B W £1.50; Swansea
M M £5.00; Wolverhampton J L
£3.00; London NW8 D S £7.00;
Wolverhampton J L £3.00; Douglas
I of M, P C £1.70; Mt View USA,
M S £1.50; Anon, In Shop £2.00;
Wakefield D F £0.20;

TOTAL = £24.90
Previously acknowledged = £310.20
TOTAL TO DATE = £335.10
TARGET FOR 1983 = £1500!

Donations Received: April 14th —
27th Incl.

Wolverhampton J L £6.00; South-
ampton S C £2.00; Mondoui G F
£0.45; Brighton M G R £5.00;
Wakefield D E F £0.20; T M £1.00;
P A £0.50;

TOTAL = £15.15
Previously acknowledged = £335.10
TOTAL TO DATE = £350.25
TARGET FOR 1983 = £1500!

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.

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).

I would like to join or form an anarchist
group anywhere in the country. With the
electoral farce coming up let's really go
take anarchy out onto the streets. So if
you've got a squat/accommodation in
your town and would like an extra activ-
ist, 20 yrs old, please contact: Graeme
Hall, c/o 19 Grove Park Walk, Harrogate,
Yorks.

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Street, London E1 7AX. (Postage
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057-73345

Does anybody know where I can get
Anarchist songs on record or tape? And
isn't it time we had our own International
song, or is there one already? Any ideas
to: Bill Wells, Box A, c/o Grapevine,
The Bath-house, Gwydir St. Cambridge

Anarchist woman from Alaska and Son
(15) seek accommodation in London
area, May onwards. Contact c/o Jim at
FREEDOM if you can help.

LITERATURE

'Flesh and Blood' magazine requires
extra outlets and bookshops. S-O-R can
be arranged. For further details, including
trade terms, please write to Circulation
Dpt, Caroline Productions, PO Box 32,
Stevenage, Herts. Tel (0438) 728630.
'Flesh and Blood'—The voice of exploited
animals.

MEETINGS

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

DEADLINES

FREEDOM Collective would wel-
come any readers who wish to help
fold and despatch the paper. The
next issue will be sent out on Thurs-
day 19th 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 16th, longer
articles in by first post, Thursday
12th.

WILDCAT



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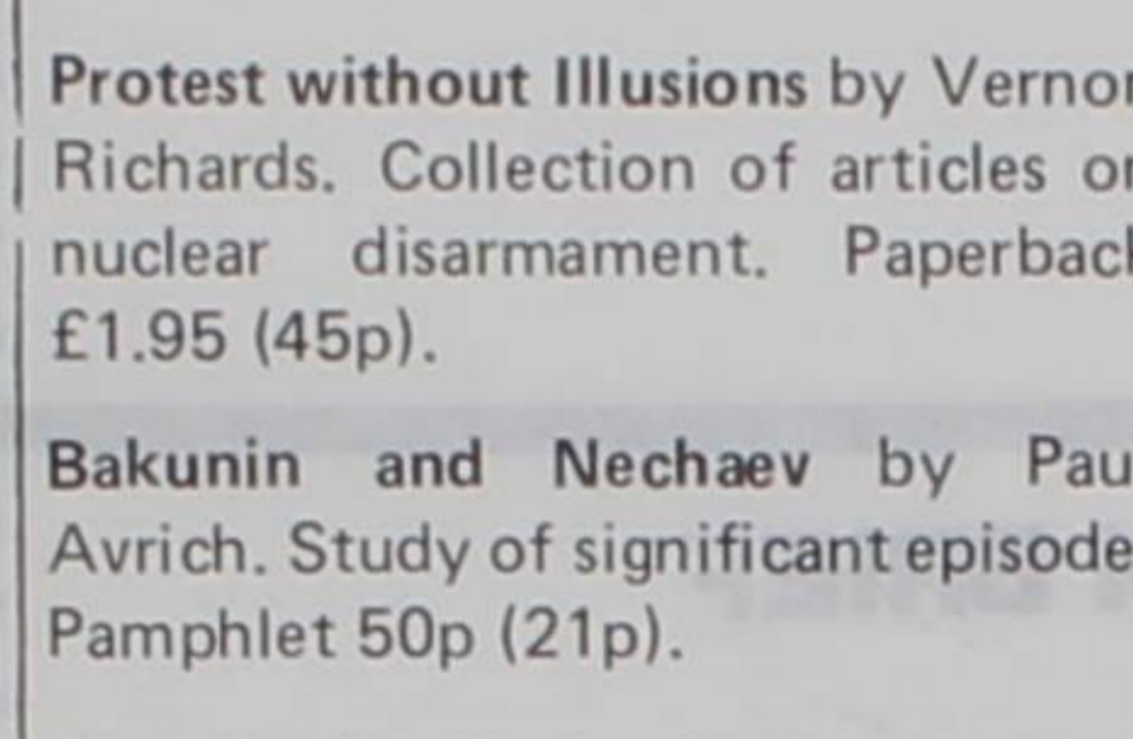
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WILDCAT



War is the health of the State !!!!!