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### editorial

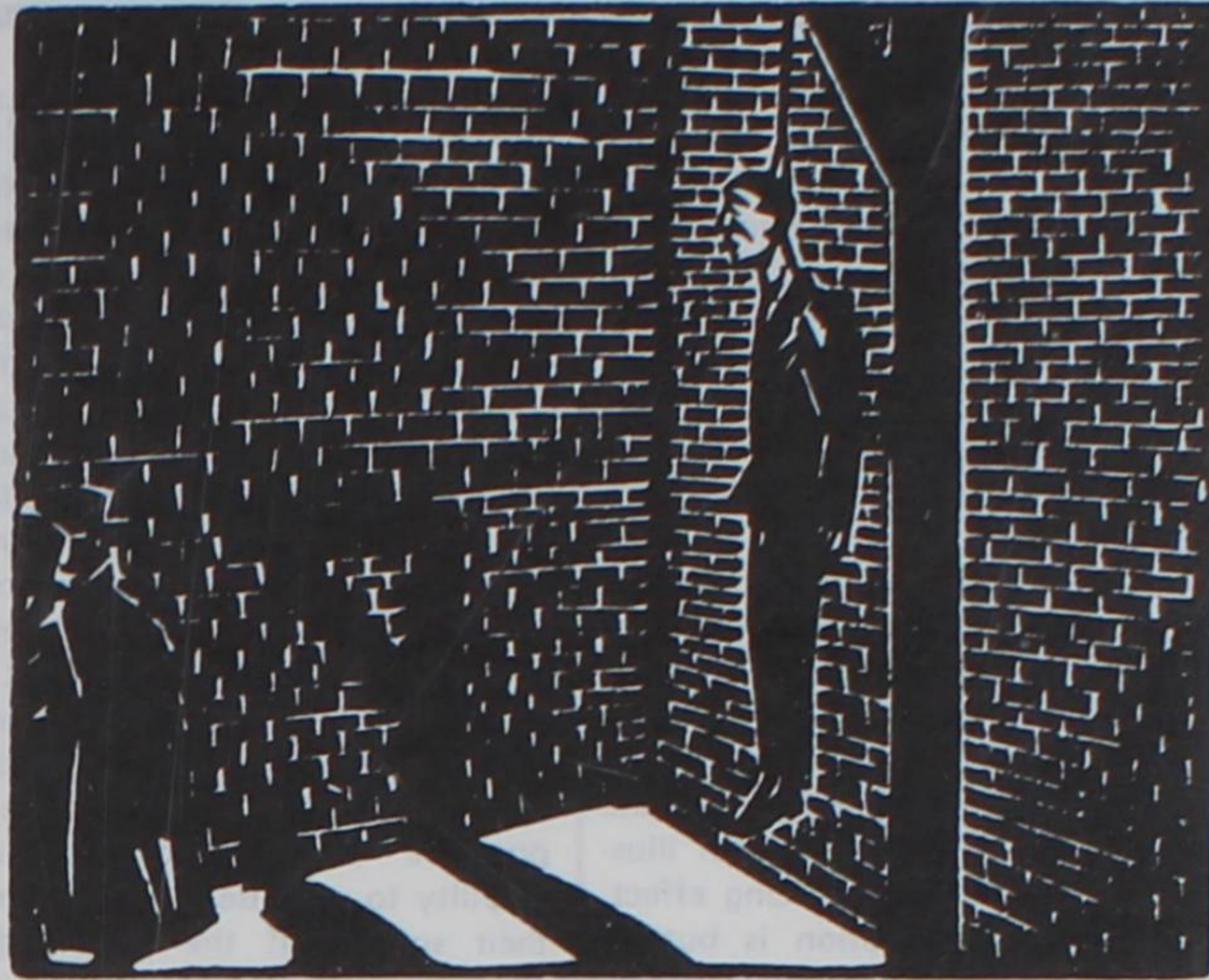
It is true to say that the end of this particular economic recession will mark the end of the illusion of the traditional workers movement. Transparently the Trade Unions and the labour movement are mere accommodators of the continuing re-modification and retrenchment of capitalism while the myth of their radical opposition has been perpetuated both by the representatives of the institutions of the labour movement and the ideologues of its history. Their veritable history however has been one of miserable defeat and the fragmentation and destruction of the spirit of resistance.

It is also still true that production, this particular aspect of society is the aim of society in general. Whoever dominates it therefore dominates and controls everything. It is through this that the *real* domination of capitalists over society is achieved, and it is through their *potential* command over production that the power of the workers is expressed. So, the point of production is pivotal: it is the point of the frontal clash between capital as power and any counter-power. It is the key to the destruction of the capitalist project and any attempt to re-create society.

From this it follows that the first task in the destabilisation of power is the radical separation of the working class from the left and TU's, from the workers movement, its traditions and history. It is the end of the line for the history of representation, the strategic form for the immediate future must be the creation of a movement for Autonomy.

The traditional anarchist movement with its ideological baggage from the 19th century and its appeal to 'humanitarian' impulses which correspond to those of Oxfam and the RSPCA and its tedious repetition of statements of the obvious, cannot provide the analytical vigour nor (because it is peripheral) directly sustain or generate an attack on the monstrous nature of power as it exists in the metropolis of modern capitalist society. If the anarchists are to pull themselves from the gutter of political insignificance they must help develop flexible forms and strategies for subversion of production which are more difficult or impossible to be re-appropriated by capital and the state in the way that traditional forms have been.

D



## IN FAVOUR OF THE DEATH PENALTY

The election of a Tory Government with a very large majority has reawakened the debate on the restoration of the death penalty. The battle-lines are clearly drawn with the forces of good and light — progressive liberals, reformist socialists, high-minded intellectuals — ranged against the forces of evil and darkness — right-wing Tory

partisans law-and-order authoritarians and the low-brow masses. It has even been suggested that, should a referendum on capital punishment ever be staged, anarchists should perform their function as an appendage of the general 'left' by laying down their arms and taking part in the vote. For surely we must do all we can to stop this great evil being

committed.

And yet the reintroduction of this measure would be no more than the logical consequence of any judicial system based on punishment and revenge against those who dare transgress the law (just as police brutality is an intrinsic part of any police force) — a system which is based, with most people's wholehearted approval, on locking people away in inhumane conditions for long periods of time in order to 'rehabilitate' them and teach them not to do it again. It is in fact arguable whether being jailed for life is preferable to being put to death. Some inmates in American prisons think not, and have gone so far as to demand their own executions.

Not having a death penalty has not stopped murders in police custody, suicides in jail, the death of Irish Republican hunger-strikers, dead demonstrators, and having it again will not save murder victims or those killed in Northern Ireland.

No, the argument will come to rest on moral grounds and finally be defended by the 'sanctity' of life argument. To hear our politicians who support a warfare state (such as Michael Heseltine, the Minister of Defence) decry judicial execution merely highlights their hypocrisy. Much like a nation of Pontius Pilates, they seem to wish to wash their hands of the barbar-

ities that their social system has created and portray themselves as civilised and oh, so very moral.

And yet, at first glance paradoxically, I and many other anarchists would not deny ourselves the right to 'kill'. We do not need the pretence of a judicial system mandated by the people or by command from Parliament to put into action our revolutionary justice. In the end we must trust ourselves, in the arrogance of our own beliefs, to see us through those times of upheaval, when we are forced to fight for our lives and to end other lives. For we believe in the death penalty. It is our final sanction against those who would oppress us. It is the state we do not believe in, and its death penalty that we see as grotesque and as abhorrent as the edifice of laws/police/judges/executioners that it will sit on.

All the people who voted, for whichever party, elected this government, for they agreed to the rules of the game and played for keeps. It is not for us to tell them who to vote for but to show them there is no need to play the game. It will not be our job to ask them to vote against the death penalty. It is up to us to show them we can live without any laws, 'good' or 'bad' ones, for while they exist there can be no justice.

Stefano

## AGAINST THE BOMB AFTER THE ELECTION

The nuclear disarmament movement is in a difficult position following the General Election. It failed to make its activity an election issue, since most people vote according to party rather than specific policy. The Conservative Party has always been in favour of nuclear weapons, even at the cost of reducing other arms. The Labour Party has always been in favour of nuclear weapons in practice, whatever it says in theory, and Labour Governments have been no different from Conservative Governments. (Attlee began the British Bomb, Wilson maintained Polaris, Callaghan improved it.) The Liberal and Social Democratic Alliance is divided, and would probably behave like the others.

The only entry of the so-called 'defence' issue into the election campaign was as one more way the Conservative Party and the media could discredit the Labour Party for being officially unilateralist. No doubt most supporters of the nuclear disarmament movement supported Labour, and many campaigned for Labour candidates, so the movement in general shares the disappointment of the Labour defeat. After all, only a small minority of the population opposes the British Bomb and the North Atlantic alliance, with American nuclear bases in this country.

But a small majority opposes the installation of new missiles into this country, whether the British Trident or the American Cruise. The nuclear disarmament movement is therefore tempted to campaign only on this issue, and to advocate not nuclear disarmament but a nuclear freeze. This is already being recommended by some of its most popular and

powerful leaders, and this may be expected to become the central policy for the rest of the year.

Such a strategy suits the radical movement, which has recently been taking increasingly ambitious direct action against bases where new missiles or more missiles are planned. The next major demonstration in this programme is at Greenham Common next week, when women will attempt to blockade the planned Cruise base for the whole week. As at Upper Heyford a month ago, the five days have been assigned to various regions, as follows:

Monday, 4 July	Scotland and International
Tuesday, 5 July	Wales, Ireland South-West
Wednesday, 6 July	London

Thursday, 7 July	South-East
Friday, 8 July	North and Midlands

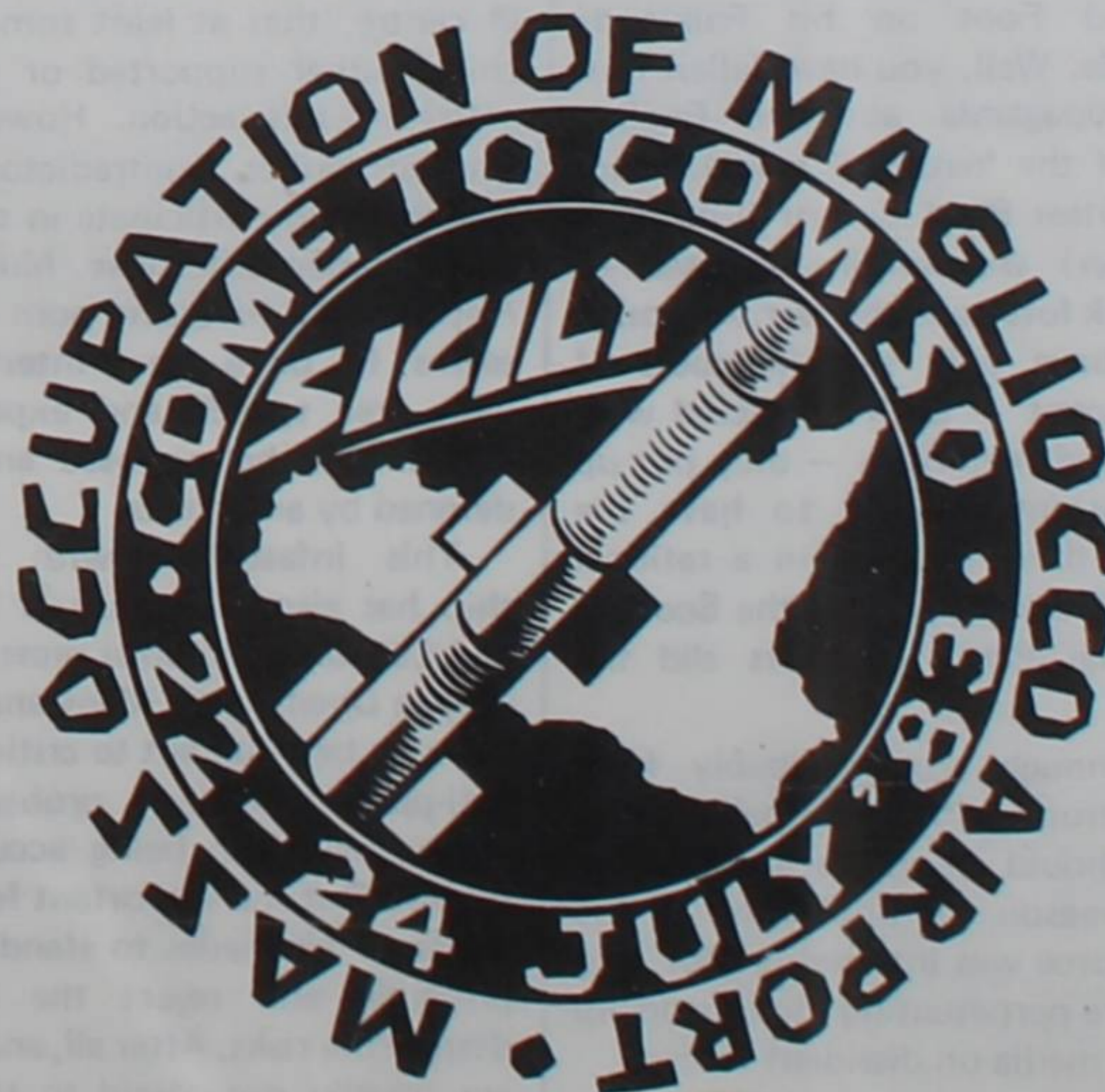
Once more, this demonstration will be highly illegal and strictly non-violent. Demonstrators have again been asked so far as possible to come in organised groups and to have some previous training. And they must of course be self-sufficient and should be prepared to demonstrate for 24 hours, from 6m to 6am. Following the precedent of Upper Heyford, mass arrests are again expected, and everyone will be watching closely to see whether the attendance and commitment continue to increase in the new political situation.

Meanwhile there are several conventional demonstrations. Mid-

summer Day has just been celebrated at several places in several ways. The Greenham Common blockade begins on Independence Day, which commemorates the Declaration of Independence of the American Colonies against British rule in 1776, and this will be celebrated at several places in several ways, with a Declaration of Independence of the British people against American bases. On Saturday, 16 July, a human chain is planned between the American and Russian Embassies in London. Demonstrators will assemble in Hyde Park at 1pm, form the chain at 2pm, and have a peace picnic at 3.30

But the nuclear disarmament movement is just as active in other countries, and in particular there will be a major demonstration at the planned Cruise base at Comiso in Sicily on 22/24 July. This is being organised by the local Coordinamento Leghe Autogestite (which was described by Jean Weir in FREEDOM on 15 January) and is being supported by political and youth groups in many parts of Italy. Unlike the recent direct action demonstrations in Britain, but like the Direct Action Committee and Committee of 100 demonstrations 20 and 25 years ago. This will be not a mere blockade but a mass occupation of the base, and a large international presence is important. Further details will be published in the next issue of FREEDOM, but the British contact address is the Brixton League Against the Cruise Missile Base at Comiso, c/o 121 Bookshop, 121 Railton Road, London SE24.

MH



**Bestial, medieval and vile**

Like most of your readers, I did not vote in the General Election; indeed, I have only voted twice in my life — in 1945 and in 1974. I make no apologies for my non-action, even though I am not an anarchist.

I find no fundamental difference between the major political parties. They are all part of the capitalist system and part of the parliamentary mixing machine. Even on specific issues the Labour Party, by its reformist nature, is incapable of

keeping its rather extravagant policies. It can only go as far and as fast as the electors, the City of London and the trade union 'barons' will let it. This does not yet extend to nuclear disarmament, and certainly not to war itself; nor to the Common Market or even to unemployment.

Some 'left-wing' Labour Party members have talked about 'taking to the streets' and 'riots', and even of revolution. This is wild talk by politicians who will goad other

people into action and then stand aside with hands unstained.

There is a need for extra-parliamentary activity and grass-roots community action, as long as it is non-violent and meaningful. The people can manage quite well without the politicians.

However, now that Thatcher has such a huge majority, there is one issue that is sure to come up, and that is capital punishment. Thatcher is fanatically in favour of the return

of hangings, and is almost certain to get the support of the new young Tories, and it may well get through this time. This bestial, medieval, barbarism will have the support of a large section of the 'people' (sic!), and I believe we should take steps now to prepare a campaign against this measure. We need a steady stream of education, agitation and propaganda to forestall this vile measure.

Douglas Kepper

**Racist illustration — Donald replies**

Having read the review by Donald Room 'Notes from a mud hut' I must protest about the racist illustrations it contains. I have never been a lover of anthropology, it is value loaded and far from objective yet it is presented as an exact science. Anthropology I feel is necessary for white society especially societies with a colonial past. It is open to much misuse and many racist ideologies have relied on it for some kind of respectability.

The illustrations in the review only reinforce the widely held beliefs that all non whites live in mud huts and run around half naked. Not many readers associate the illustrations solely with the text to which they refer when viewing a stereotype. It serves merely as a reinforcer of an already perceived attribute. If the reviewer wanted to have a sly dig at the ecologists why did he not choose another book for review for there are better ways of achieving this aim than to highlight

an isolated community that is hardly representative of the racial group in which it is located. A fourth world model would have been more appropriate most of these desperately poor and white inhabitants of Britain live a primitive life style from necessity not choice.

A great number of stereotypes concerning non whites arise from anthropology. Surprisingly most appeared conveniently during the time of colonial control. They have become so ingrained into our thinking that they are unconsciously perpetuated. Even the enlightened who have attempted to eradicate their own racism find such illustrations have a reinforcing effect. The Cuban revolution is but an example of this kind of reinforcement. It has been termed a Carnival revolution by the communist party and by some of the bourgeoisie press. How many of us have caught ourselves using this expression full of racial imagery.

Apart from the few sentences near the end of the review there appears to be an absence of anarchist analysis. If anarchism states its claims to truth as a model of how society should, could and can be run for the benefit of the majority of its members as the natural result of these so called primitive and isolated communities then two questions follow central to the credibility of the whole anarchist debate. Is the society described in the book the way it is because the members have organised it so or is it the inevitable result of the fact that they are a primitive people and have an inability to organise themselves and their society. If the first is the case — where is the evidence to support it and have the people maximised the range of choices. Is all progress to be considered negative — is even the wheel un-anarchic and statist? If the latter option is the case, then what the state says

about anarchists must be true — we are irresponsible and impractical.

Pat Isiorho

Donald Room writes:

Gratified to know someone actually read my review, and I hope Pat Isiorho will go on to read the book itself before making a final judgement. The reason I reviewed the book is that I think it is a good book of interest to FREEDOM readers. Reviewing a book for the purpose of making a point about something else is a didactic device I have never heard of until now. I must remember it.

The pictures were drawn by me (see first paragraph of my review) and of course I deny the charge of racial stereotyping. The illustrations follow the text of the book in taking the mike out of anthropologists, missionaries, bureaucrats, villagers, travellers, and everybody else the anthropologist encountered.

**'Stop the City' doomed to flop**

With regard to the plan to 'Stop the City' 29 Sept as a protest against war, I would like to pose a few questions and express my reservations.

Although it is great to see libertarians taking the initiative for once, does it have to be so dramatic and ambitious? Bearing in mind that the police have months to prepare, even with the most excellent organisation and large numbers of participants, I can see little hope of

success.

If the protest is to go ahead (personally I would prefer to see it called off in favour of a less ambitious project), it is the level of organisation that will largely determine its effectiveness. This includes intelligence gathering, eg, it will be necessary to know how many police to expect and where they will be, where the arrested will be taken and what charges are likely etc the list is endless, but without

decent answers the action is doomed to flop.

Of course good organisation is necessary even for much smaller projects and we shouldn't let it put us off taking action, but I say again — does it have to be so dramatic? Who are we trying to impress? I would prefer to be part of a small, well planned, relevant action that has a good chance of success, than be part of a grand anarchist fuck-up that lands me in a cell and all

for nothing. When we take on the might of the State, let it be on our 'home grounds' — exploit their weaknesses, use surprise, irrationality etc.

I don't want to put the dampers on this project, but nor do I wish to see hundreds of anarchists behind bars. How about using the planning meetings for the 'Stop the City' protest for discussing alternative actions?

Kasha Checkmate

**Nuclear disarmament — Authors' re-reply**

Something went wrong with the end of our letter (18 June) about coverage of the nuclear disarmament movement in FREEDOM, between being written and printed, so we are writing again to clarify what we have been trying to do.

We are convinced that the radical wing of the nuclear disarmament movement is one of the main libertarian forces in British politics today, as it was 20-25 years ago. We have therefore tried to write about

as well as take part in its current activities. But we are also concerned that such discussion and activity should always be critical, and should always emphasise the libertarian perspective on events and developments.

At the present stage, we can only say that we were disappointed by our most recent experience at the Upper Heyford blockade, despite the large number of anarchists present and the high level of liber-

tarian methods employed. After being repeatedly dragged around and dropped in the mud at what was only a very token blockade, we do feel that something much more serious is necessary if the movement is to move anywhere. There has been enough symbolic action, in which thousands of people have now got to know each other and themselves, and it is time for some real direct action.

Perhaps the Greenham Common

blockade will reveal more of what we should and shouldn't be doing, and perhaps the summer lull can be used for some proper planning of the next stage. Whatever happens, we hope that FREEDOM will continue to publish coverage which at the same time reports what is going on and comments on what is good and bad about it.

MH and NW

**'English' propaganda**

I have to point out a mistake in your front-page article 'Vote for Fear' (4 June), when you say that the whole House of Commons cheered Foot on his Falklands attitude. Well, you have fallen foul of propaganda and the English bias of the 'national' media. From the outset Plaid Cymru (I'm not a member) was totally opposed to the task force and the war. Although they have only two Members of Parliament — both re-elected with increased majorities — they put up a constant struggle to have the whole thing debated in a rational light. I don't know if the Scottish National Party members did the same.

Although you probably have little truck with 'Nationalist' MPs, you should be more accurate, as their reason for opposition to the task force was internationalist, and you are perpetuating the censorship of the media on dissident voices.

Dafydd

**Pornography and censorship**

I was disappointed to read the report on the anti-porn demo in your June 4 issue. It appears that, since this march started from 121 @ centre, that at least some anarchists either supported or participated in this action. However, I find it rather contradictory for anarchists to participate in such an authoritarian enterprise. Mutilating *Playboy* and harassing porn dealers seems to be a clear interference with free speech and expression, and should be opposed and condemned by anarchists.

This infatuation with censorship has also shown up in the US and Canadian anarchist press, especially in *Open Road*. Many anarchists seem to be reluctant to criticize the anti-porn movement, probably because they fear being accused of sexism. But it is important for anarchists of all shades to stand up for principle and reject the censors despite the risks. After all, anarchists are usually not afraid to take unpopular or controversial positions, are we?

Joe Peacott

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



# ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM



The case of Anarcho-Syndicalism lies in the hands of its judges who, like any other judges, barely understand it in historical, theoretical and practical terms. The interchangeability of Anarcho-syndicalism does not imply revolution or any form of anarchist organisation. It is merely a workers' organisation through which the workers try to recuperate their judicial and economic losses and to materialise their demands which very rarely are revolutionary in outlook. Thus syndicalism provides no ample scope for a revolutionary struggle while the case of anarcho-syndicalism is quite a different matter.

Anarcho-syndicalism, implants itself in the day to day struggle but tries to transcend it by incorporating within it a more general struggle — human emancipation where the workers are going to play an important role. What differentiates Anarcho-syndicalism from all other forms of syndicalism is that the workers are not fighting to establish an alternative government but rather to get rid of all forms of governments and revert the decision making process to where it belongs — the society. Anarcho-syndicalism is the organisation where the workers learn to practice solidarity and to use direct action to achieve their final aim: the emancipation of the working class and by extension, of society.

Direct Action needs not be understood as a form of confrontation but as a tool of industrial and social actions which preclude avant-gardism and statism and which implies awareness of the oppressive socio-political-economical relationships. Then and only then direct action can claim to be a revolutionary weapon in the struggle for a new society: the classless, libertarian and egalitarian society.

It is rather ominous that various anarchist writers are confining Anarcho-syndicalism to the factory floor and thus, willy-nilly, are echoing the Leninist view, putting all forms of syndicalism under the same subordinate historical role. In this frame of reference, Anarcho-syndicalism is an aberration, dangerous to the flow of the Bolshevik as well as the bourgeois oppression,

and therefore, necessary to be suppressed. Hence the necessity to emasculate its social significance, to ignore or minimize its historical role, to pervert its ideological content and to condemn outright its praxis. It is not incidental that the first aim of Stalin and his dupes was to destroy the CNT conventions, aside factory, there are, district delegates. This fact has important theoretical and practical implications. Thus, society is not separated from the factory. The factory is within and not without society. Class, in this case, is not a particular but a general term. It refers to whole society as being a class society. Formulating or re-formulating classes may help theoretical clarity but does not alter the fact that we live in a class ridden society: a society of rich and poor, exploiters and exploited, governors and governed, those who give the orders and those who obey orders of those who work and those who rip off the benefits; or to use the classical anarchist definition we are divided into two classes: the oppressors and the oppressed. Therefore, any struggle for a free and just society implies a class struggle. If Anarcho-syndicalists give pre-eminence to the factory floor, it is because there the contradictions are more glaring. Nonetheless, revolution cannot be but an all embracing phenomenon. This may be an objectionably simplistic view but, nevertheless, contains not one but a few grains of truth.

To revolutionise the struggle, Anarcho-syndicalists try to bring out the various forms of exploitation in full relief; to overcome barriers and prejudices which divide workers from workers; to argue the emancipation of the workers as an act of the workers themselves, rather than, an act of parties and Leaders manipulations to reveal all social and power deceptions, opening the road to personal and class awareness which eventually will lead to the formation of workers revolutionary consciousness. Consciousness of which Marxist-Leninists have always talked of but refuse to acknowledge unless it comes from the outside, from the bourgeoisie, in form of Leaders, avant-guards and social-democratic intellectuals

or, in Bolshevik sense, in from of Commissars and apparatchiks. To prove the validity of his statement that the workers left to themselves lack revolutionary consciousness, Lenin and Trotsky attacked the workers with guns and brought them to complete submission by force. And now the revolutionary consciousness reign unperturbed in forms of generals and military-industrial complexes.

For the revolutionary consciousness to have an existential impact, solidarity ought to become an operative force. To do that, Anarcho-syndicalists have fought for equal wages as a means to pull down wage barriers which divide the workers into qualified and unqualified, intelligent and stupid, black and white, men and women etc. Also, in the frame of capitalist society, they try to practice mutual aid, *not charity*, as prerequisite for solidarity.

The Anarcho-syndicalism, with the defeat of the CNT, has failed. Let us drink a toast to it! Post-mortem explanations are easy and a dead body does not kick. And yet, the struggle Anarcho-syndicalists have engaged in was very uneven. They were faced with fellow workers, who, instead of fighting their own battles, were fighting political battles. They fought the Comintern's agent — the Communist Party, which aimed at breaking the CNT revolutionary ethos and re-establishing the old bourgeois order. Then they had to fight the fascist-bourgeois society and its lumpen supporters among the workers. Finally they have to cope with leftist intelligentsia for whom the masses are material while the revolutionary debacle the way to a technocratic-bureaucratic government. Finally they had to face some anarchist comrades who mistook their personal craving as revolutionary standard. As 'Comrades it is necessary to undertake a rigorous examination of alternative (to anarcho-syndicalism) traditions of libertarian class struggle — the tradition of the advocate of workers' councils', etc (letter to FREEDOM 21/3) to learn how they perished in the struggle against their left-wing brothers — the

communists, or the right-wing social democrats; or to be reduced to a rubber stamp legitimizing the soviet model of exploitation; to learn how the Anarcho-syndicalists and Anarcho-communes were wiped off the map by the advocate of Sovietism: Lenin and Trotsky, and by Stalin's cohort, such as Lister during the Spanish Revolution; to learn that all these revolutionary practices were interwoven with the Anarcho-syndicalist theory and not separated from it. . . As, comrades, we need a rigorous examination to realize that compartmentalized anarchism is not a study proposition but a method to divide, rule and manipulate — a bourgeois aberration; to realize that anarchists fail to practice, here and now solidarity, that is, they fail to put an alternative proposition to capitalist-hierarchical society; that they are atomized, self-righteous individuals — a contemporary bourgeois disease, which prevents them from creating libertarian organization; a blatant indictment of anarchist failure. It is easy of comrades like P Flanagan, to criticise CNT (ignoring many facts not suitable to him) as suffering from social-democratic conformism and then keep aloof from any libertarian praxis. No wonder then that Anarcho-syndicalists are conformists because those who are non-

conformists do not act. What a pleasant trip in the realm of anarchist theory.

Surely the Anarcho-syndicalists have made many mistakes and they welcome constructive criticism to prevent them from making similar errors, but to jump to sweeping condemnations and generalisations that Anarcho-syndicalism is prone to bureaucratization and corruption, as if other groups and organisations are not, is an easy way out of the argument. Unless one is an individualist and refuses to take part in organised activity, one is prone to corruption. If this is so then the critics of Anarcho-syndicalism are not in an envious position. The iron law of oligarchy applies to all organisation not to Anarcho-syndicalism alone. No organisation is a sanctuary and no person is beyond corruption. The terror of the uncorruptibles was more corrupted and authoritarian than of the corruptible ones. The Anarcho-syndicalists are not an exception. But they are trying an exceptional thing in that they try to undermine all conditions: material, social, political and personal which make of the corruption a virtue, a lucrative vice, hierarchical blessing and power paradise.

JG

## CALABRIAN ARRESTS

In the spring of 1982, during the anarchist campaign to free from prison an alleged member of an armed group, Monica Giorgi, and other comrades arrested at that time, a manifesto containing some poetry appeared on the walls of Siderno in the region of Calabria in southern Italy. Monica was later acquitted of a charge of kidnapping and released on grounds of lack of evidence. However, on the eve of the national elections in Italy, and concerned by the growing resistance movement to the anti-missile base at Comiso, the authorities have launched a new wave of repression against the anarchist movement in that area, using the poetry as a excuse. The following report is taken from an article by the anarchist groups of Cosentino which appeared in the June/July issue of the antimilitarist and antiauthoritarian magazine *Senzapatria*. The verses, quoted below in the original Italian, are called 'Out on the Streets!' They urge anarchists to take a more active role in freeing their comrades from prison and end: 'Get out on the street/bring your enthusiasm/help your emancipation/Take up the guns and tear down the gates/let us restore the/comrades to life/ San Vittore will be our Bastille.'

On Friday, 6 May, in the middle of the night, the carabinieri of Spezzano Sila and Locri burst into the bar of Casole Bruzio, which is run by anarchists. One of the comrades, *Giovanni Ceravola*, was arrested. The place was searched, without a warrant, and various material (posters, some copies of newspapers and even tax returns) were confiscated.

At the same time the 'forces of law and order' went to the house of *Marisa Amendolia*, another comrade from Siderno who has been living and working in the province of Cosenza for years. Here too they searched for and confiscated material.

These two comrades were arrested and a similar operation in Siderno resulted in another four arrests, those of: *Sergio Lupis*, *Luigi Diano*, *Vincenzo Leraci* and *Michele Fedele*. They were all charged with 'instigation to carry out an armed insurrection against the powers of the state' and with 'subversive association'. The charges are based

on a manifesto, containing the poetry (quoted above) which appeared on the walls of Siderno between February and March 1982. From this the zealous procurator of Locri has concocted 'crimes of illegal carrying of arms, damage to public property, attack against persons exercising penitentiary functions' from which is derived the charge of 'association with the aim of committing acts of violence for the purpose of subversion of the democratic order'. The same deductions have been made with regard to the collective *Niente piu sbarre* (No more frontiers), whose name appeared at the bottom of the manifesto and whom the authorities have linked first with the worker student collective of Siderno and then with the *Azione Rivoluzionaria* (Revolutionary Action) group.

The worker student collectives, an organization operating over a wide area of Calabria at the beginning of the 70s, were an expression of social struggle based on the immediate needs of people and against the power of the *mafiosi*. Their struggles were repressed, and they dissolved. Only a contorted imagination could believe that an inexistent collective could now form a 'real subversive association with the aim of supporting subversive groups and existent terrorists'.

The same applies to *Azione Rivoluzionaria* which was dissolved by its members after they had been imprisoned. (AR was an anarchist guerrilla group which carried out several armed actions in Italy in the 70s, a long article by them appearing in FREEDOM's Review at that time: Eds.)

Over recent years repression has been growing, criminalising a large part of the militant movement and closing those spaces which it had been opening up for itself (social centres, free radios, magazines, anti-institutional actions, etc). Faced with such repression anarchists in Calabria have been trying to take the initiative again, starting a new newspaper called a *terra nostra* setting up collectives and a committee of libertarians against repression. The most recent actions have been antimilitarist activities against the installation of missile bases at Comiso and against all forms of militarism.

# THE COMMONWEAL

SUMMER 1983 NEW SERIES ISSUE No. 1  
 ...THE PEACE (ON A NON-VIOLENT...  
 ...WANTS A FREE SOCIETY...  
 ...DIFFERENCE...  
 ...AN ANTI-STATIST COMMUNIST MANIFESTO...  
 ...ABOUT ANARCHY...  
 ...LITERATURE...  
 ...LITERATURE...



The *Commonweal* Number 1, Summer 1983 (Box Terrier) £1.20 (plus 27p) from Freedom Bookshop

The original *Commonweal*, nearly a century ago, was the organ of the Socialist League for ten years, and for the first half of that period was one of the best socialist papers ever produced in this country. Its main editor and publisher (and financial supporter) was William Morris, the great writer and artist who joined the socialist movement in his forties and who represented the best tradition of non-anarchist

libertarian socialism. Under him it was a general socialist paper, following no narrow line and containing articles by leading Marxists (including Marx's friend Engels, his daughter Eleanor, and her companion Aveling), by other state socialists (including Bernard Shaw and Belfort Bax), by libertarian socialists (including Joseph Lane), by anarchists (including Frank Kitz and David Nicoll), and above all by Morris himself (including some of his best political prose and verse).

But the Socialist League soon split into its component parts, losing

first the Marxists and other parliamentarists and then the non-anarchist anti-parliamentarists (including Morris and Lane). In 1890 Morris was replaced as editor of the *Commonweal* by Frank Kitz and David Nicoll, and soon afterwards he led the Hammersmith Socialist Society out of the League. Kitz and Nicoll were enthusiastic agitators but incompetent editors, both more than a little crazy, as the Socialist League disintegrated and the *Commonweal* rapidly deteriorated. In 1890 it became a monthly again, in 1891 Kitz left under a cloud, and in 1892 Nicoll was imprisoned for his brave defence of the Walsall anarchists. The *Commonweal* fell into the hands of people like H B Samuels and Dr Fauset Macdonald, who were so immoderate that they were suspected of being agents provocateurs, and it came to a merciful end in 1894. Nicoll, who had been excluded after his release from prison, had begun a paper called the *Anarchist*, and changed its name to the *Commonweal* in 1896, producing occasional increasingly pathetic issues until 1907.

The name of the *Commonweal* has often been used since then, most recently by the anti-war socialist party which was formed during the Second World War and which confusingly calls its paper the *Libertarian*. Now there is a new *Commonweal*, which is uncomfortably similar to the original one in some of its more unfortunate aspects. It is not so much a magazine as a 96-page booklet. The original material which takes about two-thirds of the first issue is badly written and badly produced. Almost all of it is anonymous, much of it is attributed to the Bermondsey Anarchist News Group, and most of it seems to have been written by the same person.

There is a short introduction giving an inaccurate account of the first *Commonweal*. There is a rather

hysterical article on recent developments and future plans in the police, especially in London, ending with a good short analysis of the Police Bill which was withdrawn at the time of the General Election but which will probably reappear in some form. There is a rather silly article on 'The Peace (Non) Movement' which was written before Easter and which therefore takes no account of the significant developments in non-violent direct action during the past three months. There is a very bad poem. There is an ambitious article, 'Towards a Free Society', on the present situation and the anarchist response which ends by saying very little. There is a brief attack on the trade unions. There is a documented attack on Trotsky's view of workers in Bolshevik Russia. There is a reprint of a good leaflet produced by the London Workers Group on the Social Security system. There is a reprint of Joseph Lane's 1887 pamphlet, *An Anti-Statist, Communist Manifesto*, taken from the Cienfuegos Press edition of 1979 with the misprints and without any introduction. There is a long article about the most recent issue of *Anarchy*, strongly criticising its uncritical approval of armed struggle. And there is a detailed bibliography of publications on libertarian subjects, with useful though unreliable comments (Albert Meltzer is not an uncritical syndicalist, for example, and Nicolas Walter is not a pacifist).

Altogether the first issue of the new *Commonweal* is rather a mess, but it certainly contains plenty of material at a low price and it occasionally comes to real life. Anyway it is always good to see a new anarchist paper, and we hope to see more of this one. According to the introduction, two or three issues a year are planned, depending on the response to the first one, so its future is up to its readers.

MH

## SOCIAL PROTEST, VIOLENCE & TERROR IN NINETEENTH- & TWENTIETH- CENTURY EUROPE



*Social Protest, Violence and Terror in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Europe*, edited by Wolfgang J Mommsen and Gerhard Hirschfeld, Macmillan and Berg, £20.

This cumbersome and curious book is a symposium derived from a conference held by the German Historical Institute at Bad Homburg in

November 1979, and it consists of a score of articles on various cases or aspects of political violence or terror used by minority groups

against established governments. It is typical of academic work in saying simultaneously a great deal and very little about this important subject — a great deal in terms of quantity, very little in terms of quality.

The opening and closing articles by Franklin Ford and Wolfgang Mommsen, which attempt to set the scene and sum up the book, are good examples of how to say nothing in detail and at length. The 20 articles in between are sometimes interesting but more often irritating, yet a few are worth noting because they concern anarchist theory and practice.

Malcolm Thomis, a professor of history at Queensland University, Australia, contributes a boring discussion of the fascinating topic of violent protest in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century. Ulrich Linse contributes a derivative account of 'Propaganda by Deed' and 'Direct Action' as 'two concepts of anarchist violence', ignoring the fact that neither technique is necessarily violent and concentrating on how they have been conceived rather than how they have been used. Walther Bernecker contributes a more useful because more factual account of direct action and violence in the Spanish anarchist movement, though it is spoilt by stopping at 1900, before both techniques became effective. Andrew Carlson contributes an account of terrorism in the German anarchist movement during the 1870s and 1880s, based on his book *Anarchism in Germany: The Early Movement* (1972), and just as badly argued and badly written.

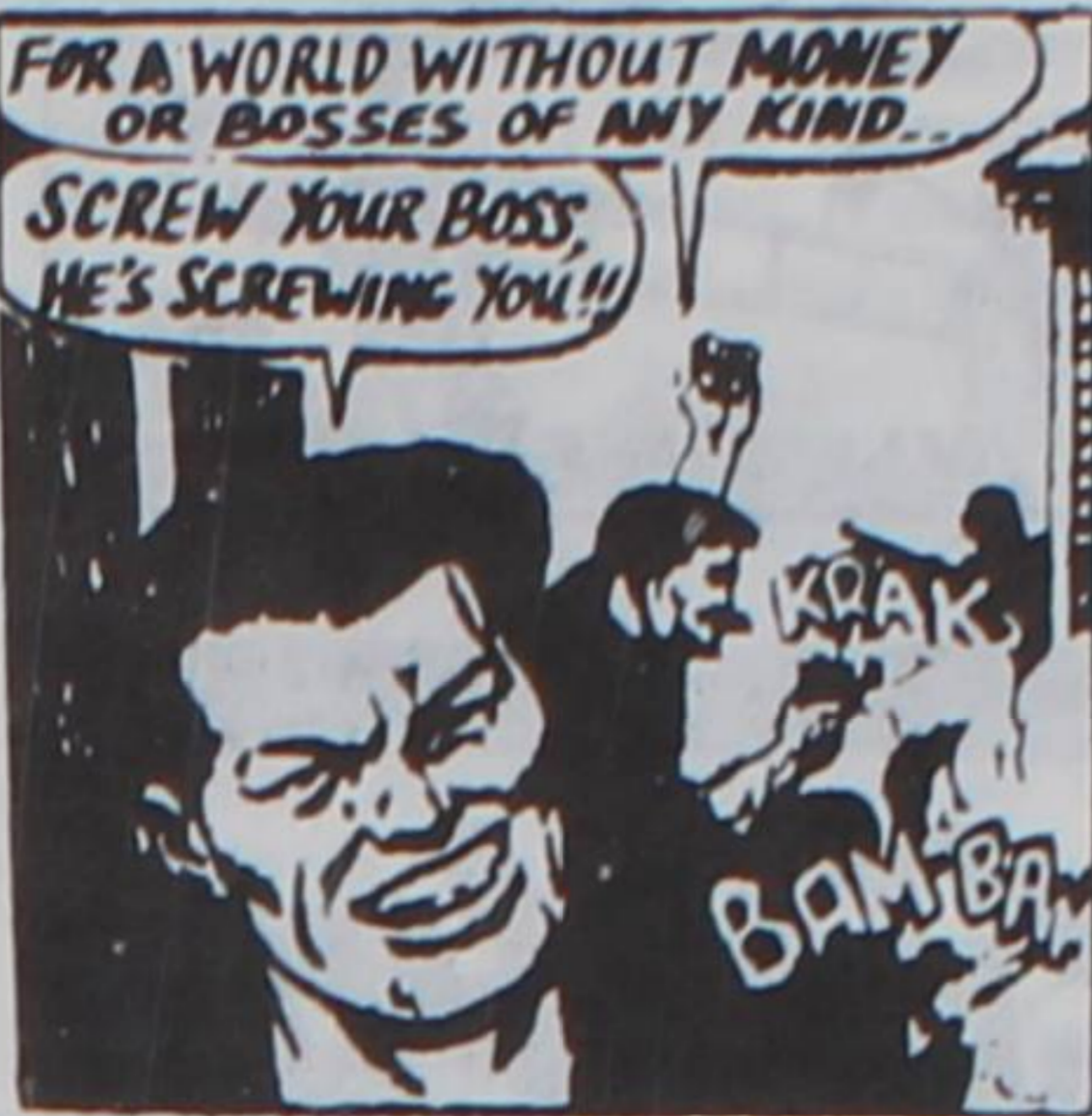
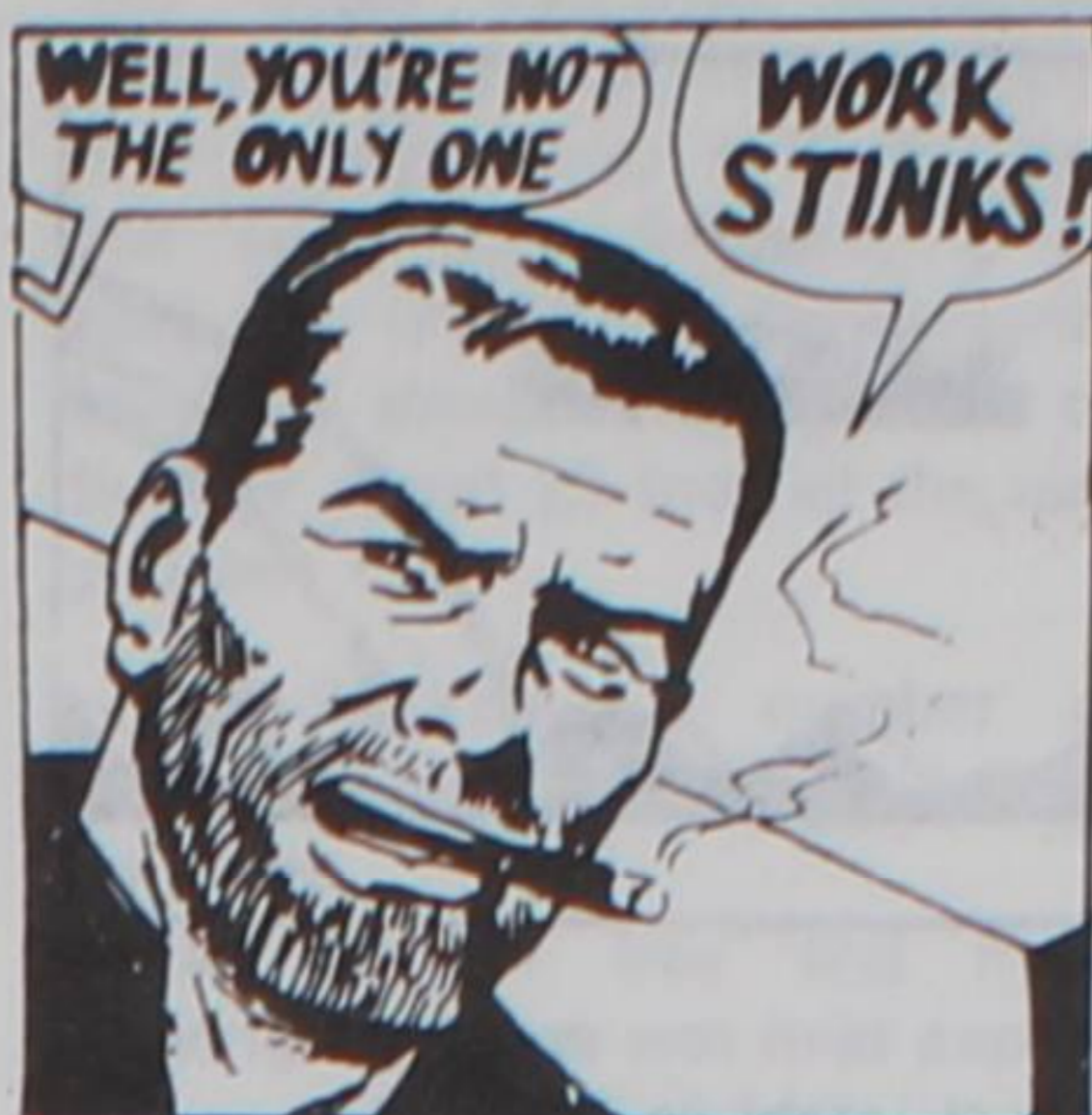
By contrast, F F Ridley, a professor of politics at Liverpool University, contributes a discussion of the revolutionary syndicalist movement in France, based on his

book *Revolutionary Syndicalism in France* (1970), which avoids getting bogged down in details and offers several well-informed and well-argued ideas on this much-distorted subject. Wilfried Rohrich contributes an article on Sorel which for once doesn't call him an anarchist but which instead calls him a 'revolutionary conservative', which isn't much of an improvement. There are also articles on non-anarchist violence or terror in Germany in the early nineteenth century, in Russia before the Revolution, in the Basque region of Spain since the Civil War, in Ireland at various times, and in Italy, Austria and Germany between the World Wars. There is nothing on the most important periods of anarchist violence, in France during the 1880s and 1890s, or in Spain during the twentieth century.

The book is expensive and badly produced, but it is at least long (more than 400 pages), perhaps too long for what it contains. Its overwhelming defect is the abstract and ignorant attitudes to political violence shown by nearly all the contributors, which distort and disguise the sensible things they do say. Few outsiders seem to understand that violent methods used by minorities are almost always caused by the way previous non-violent methods have been answered by violent methods used by the majority, that violence against the state must be seen in the context of violence by the state. Until this elementary fact is grasped, there is no chance of serious study of violence used by anarchists or by nationalists or by other revolutionaries of right, left, or centre. Meanwhile, this book stands as a warning of how *not* to study it.

NW

**DID YOU  
EVER WANT  
TO KILL  
YOUR BOSS?**



**THE THINGS WE GIVE UP IN ORDER TO WORK ARE NEVER RETURNED**

*Contributions to the Revolutionary Struggle: Intended to be Discussed, Corrected and Principally Put Into Practice Without Delay, by Ratgeb, Bratach Dubh Editions, 95p. (Distributed by A Distribution; available from Freedom Bookshop, plus 27p postage.)*

'Haven't you ever felt like giving up reading the newspapers and putting your foot through the television?'

Anarchism is, when you get down to it, only one more ideological commodity occupying shelf space in the supermarket of politics. All the same, it has one or two ingredients that, for me, make it especially attractive. These are its convincing description of the aims and

practice of people in insurrection and rebellion, and its coherent understanding of how (and why) authoritarian society works.

However, one of its weaknesses, for me, is the apparent gap between what is and what should be. In order for humanity to arrive in an anarchist future, a massive and total transformation of every social experience must take place. How can this happen? Where can it happen? And, most irritating of all for someone easily bored like myself; when will it happen?

Finally I had to face up to the fact that it wouldn't be overnight (though you never know), and, judging by my personal experience of the contemporary anarchist

movement, nor would it be as a result of our efforts. Although such musings can result in a state of mind best described by the phrase 'dead end', ultimately such problems don't really matter. Life goes on.

The author of *Contributions to the Revolutionary Struggle* has no such difficulties. He succeeds, very convincingly, in locating the answers to those questions — how, where, and when? — precisely in everyday life. Those last two words should provide a clue to the particular perspective of this pamphlet and its author, who though writing under the pseudonym 'Ratgeb', is in fact none other than Raoul Vaneigem, previously known for his *Revolution of Everyday Life* (soon to be republished by Rebel Press). In earlier works, Vaneigem and his fellow Situationists produced a thorough and convincing analysis of the real nature of our world, while in passing successfully demolishing all that claims to oppose it, especially the existing revolutionary movement. More importantly for me, as an artist, they placed great emphasis upon art as the 'Northwest Passage' leading from this society to a free world. All good stuff, but in the meantime...?

Well, in the meantime we, and everyone else existing in this hamburger factory, have our desires. And every now and then our desires manifest themselves in peculiar little thoughts that some would say were best left locked up in the attic, unacted upon. *Contributions to the Revolutionary Struggle* is a catalogue of such wrong thoughts and evil promptings.

Imagine, if you can, entering a Catholic confessional. In the darkness you crouch before the grill and whisper, 'Forgive me father, for I have sinned.' 'What is your sin,

daughter?' 'Well, yesterday I stole a bottle of booze from the supermarket... 'Is that all?' 'No, father, the day before I thought about beating up the foreman at work.' From the blackness that lies beyond the wire mesh comes not the expected admonition to utter the requisite number of Hail Marys plus an instruction to report immediately to your local nick for a free NHS lobotomy, but a rather more unexpected response:

*Ah, I see. But have you ever felt the urge to burn some distribution factory (ie supermarket, giant store or warehouse) to the ground? Haven't you ever had the disagreeable sensation that, aside from a few odd moments, you do not really belong to yourself and are becoming alienated from your real self?*

A Situationist has occupied the confessional. Vaneigem, or Ratgeb, or whatever he wants to call himself these days, has listed some of those desires we might have nagging away at our unconscious and answered them with all the responses a healthy ego could provide. 'You wanna go out and steal?' — 'Good, go ahead.' 'You'd like to beat up your boss?' — 'Sure, why not?' 'You think sensually about strangers?' — 'Great, what you gonna do about it?': and so on and so forth. Of course, the author puts it a little more theoretically than that (you know what these Situationists are like, all long words and impenetrable, interminable sentences — though I must say that this pamphlet does use a more down-to-earth language than I've come to expect from a writer of that particular persuasion, maybe the credit for this lies with the pamphlet's translator), but anyway that's more or less the drift of it.

However, Vaneigem/Ratgeb doesn't leave it there. It's not simply that we're all possessed of desires to commit the forbidden. Such an idea is hardly worth graffitiing on a toilet door, let alone a 45-page pamphlet. Nor that at some time or another many of us concretely act out such desires. The current prison population testifies to this, if testimony be required.

It's more that such wishes and desires and acts are in themselves evidence of a generalised insurrection within and around us. Further, that these acts provide to an extent the minimal programme of the revolution-theory, practice and goal.

The pamphlet is produced to the usual good standards of Bratach Dubh Editions — anything from this publisher is worth taking a look at, by the way — though the cover is hardly what I'd call eye-catching. (They should get in touch with a good anarchist graphic designer.) It's moderately priced. It could be a little briefer, the language a little less theoretical. Written as it is, it's unlikely to fall into the hands of the kind of people the author should be addressing, but that's a criticism of most revolutionary literature, isn't it — ever felt like you were talking to yourself? All the same, it's an excellent read. More importantly, it has something real to say about the world we inhabit and how it'll change. An exciting contribution to a vital discussion, as they say.

Clifford Harper



Illustrations taken from the 'Blacklist'

# Now you see it, now you...

All our living is a theatre of illusion; only death is real. The passions and the great rages, the dedication to noble or ignoble causes, the sacrifices and the historic betrayals, the self-sought flames of martyrdom earthly honours and dust-gathering gelt become as one with gentle love for love's sake or hatred to smooth an irritation; for all become secondary with the consumption and the consumption of the next meal, and heals the passions spent become as one in the worm infested grave. We are the actor and the spectator in this theatre of illusion; and, come death, the curtain falls on our farce.

One sits within a dark room, surrounded by fifty or sixty people, within the security-obsessed Swiss Embassy listening to the silence that is broken only by the single-toned, single-keyed voice of Willy Rotzler and the click-click-click of the slide projector throwing its coloured images on to a small screen; and, while waiting for light to break through and the waiters and waitresses to force drinks on one, one broods on the trivia of 'Contemporary Swiss Art/Rational and Irrational Trends' followed by cocktails, gin, brandy and whisky. For Mr. Rotzler is an art historian, and it is he who declaims from within the faceless silence. All that one can say, in their defence, of the Dadaists, the Surrealists, the action painters, the abstract painters and the rest of the bonny battalion is that they have and still have a talent to amuse, but it was and is small, light-weight talent. And their paying audience was and is the pseudo-intelligentsia and the cosmopolitan

and sophisticated wealthy middle-classes, barren of any ideology and debarred by reason of birth and bank balance from carrying the banner in this week's great cause; and they pay to be amused. We are metropolitan man, and as such we are prostitutes living off the reluctant labour of the field worker; for we produce not one ear of corn or one potato of our daily meal, so that within our claustrophobic apologetic society we demand to be amused and for a price we will be Amused, from 'dirty' postcards to the Falkland's war. But for the artist he/she is no more than a luxurious parasitical growth flowering within any decaying society, and as such owes no obligation to anyone but his or her self; and fortunate are those rare few who are hired to illustrate any great historical lurch of the human race, be it the Penny Black stamp or Picasso's 'Guernica'. My honest thanks to the Swiss Cultural Attaché, Mrs. B. Junod and that fine art gallery Gimpel Fils, who worked so closely to bring these Swiss artists to our attention; but for me they are no more than the bright and pretty minutiae of history.

And yet the Town and his yodelling Frau know in their hearts that I am wrong and that the medium is the message, for like most non-manual working middle-class intelligentsia they may not believe in grass-tall fairies, creatures from outer space or God, but on the bones of the martyred sainted Margaret Thatcher they believe in the late Arthur Koestler's Ghost in the Machine and the 20th century

technological myth of the Thinking Machine. No mechanic crawling under an ancient broken-down lorry, no youth working an amusement arcade space machine, no one who has had to pry into the innards of a mobile radar-set in a rain-sodden Dutch field at four in the morning with a field-phone clattering out why?-why?-why? can ever believe that any idiot machine could, can or ever will think; but for the Town and his blue printing Frau the answer is enshrined within the Tate Gallery and Harold Cohen's computer drawing machines. The fifty-five-year-old English painter made his reputation as an Abstract Expressionist, but on visiting America he changed his style by reducing the painted area within his canvases to bare essentials, and now he has become the impresario of the Thinking Machine as Creative Artist. Within the Tate exhibition there are four computer-driven drawing machines, programmed to make original drawings, and a large painting based on these; the words are of the press hand-out, and the emphasis is mine. What I see is a small computer-operated machine receiving instructions from a main computer, which chooses how to drive the two motors which control the movements of the pen across the paper; and four machines churn out twelve 'unique' drawings every hour, which are then on sale to the Town and his head-nodding frau. Yet what I of my innocence believe I see is not a thinking machine creating unique works of art but a haphazard scribble produced by letting the tip of a large felt-tip pen vibrate across a sheet of paper. Should one so wish it, then the artist would hand-colour various areas within the random, as they appear to me, scribbling. I would hold that, if one fixed a large felt-tip pen on any large sheet of paper lying on a flat surface and then fixed the pen to any ancient vibrating machine, one might/could produce an inspired pastiche of one of the Harold Cohen computer

drawings, but maybe the machine and I failed to communicate. A month or so ago, within the Tate Gallery, it was Jean Tinguely the Swiss sculptor — and blame me not if the birth-place of cuckoo clocks, *The Sound of Music* and clinical cleanliness steps once more back into the act — and he demonstrated his meta-matics machine that with a built-in chance element produced coloured scrawls. Children and adults played with Tinguely's machine and took away their coloured scrawlings signed by Tinguely, the maintenance man. The wit and the bizarre humour of his mechanical jokes gave pleasure, for no one believed that there was a thinking mind within Tinguely's machines; but I find Harold Cohen's computer 'unique' art-producing machine too solemn and portentous in relation to its wandering scribbles, so Raphael, rest easy lad, the machine is not — repeat not — taking over.

We live in a world within which with so many things we are divorced from brute reality where the very food we daily eat is advertised to taste of 'the real' and our culture our information and our politics are relayed to us via the machine. In that transition all flaws, errors and doubts are removed and we are offered, for a price, a living world devoid of constipation, diarrhoea, and moral and aesthetic doubts. We may not believe, but we assume and accept. The British Museum are exhibiting the set of William Hogarth prints 'Industry and Idleness', and in all these years of our foolishness we believed that we were viewing the works of Hogarth when what we are viewing is the work of the engraver based on the paintings and the drawings of the artist Hogarth. One is fortunate if one is able to view the fluid lines of Hogarth's monochrome paintings and his free-hand drawings for the series and accept them as the work of an artist, while dismissing the engravings with their sharply outlined figures and the inevitable cross-hatchings, and to

know that, for all those generations who believe that they have viewed, admired and enjoyed the work of the artist Hogarth, the answer is a sad nay; for what they see or have seen is inferior reproductions based on magnificent journalistic paintings and drawings. And let us have a care, for in that near distant future, or is it here, Harold Cohen and Tinguely's dribbling machines might one day challenge those finger-tapping monkeys whose end to infinity is to bash out *Hamlet* or spattering out a rerun of Leonardo Da Vinci's 'Last Supper', but machines or touchtyping monkeys will never, can never produce a great and major work of art based on and peculiar to the eternal agony of men and women seeking that knowledge beyond the confines of the human mind.

But on lesser levels there is much to applaud, and nowhere more than the Summer Exhibition at the Royal Academy. It is attacked by all those who fail to get hung and by many of those who do. Like all-in wrestling, it arouses violent emotions, not only among the participants and the audience, but from those who would never fain view it yet can explain that the whole thing is a con job dreamed up by the organisers to rook the mugs. They are probably correct, but I don't give a damn, for the Summer Exhibition at the Royal Academy is, almost without exception, the work of men and women who paint for the pure pleasure of the act. Third-rate, fifth-rate, it is unimportant, for they paint because they love to exercise and display their small and happy talents. There is that moment within the wrestling arena when the scratchy sound system blares out 'The Entry of the Gladiators' and the hero and the villain climb into the ring, two falls, two submissions or a knock-out and I get that same feeling of excitement when entering the Royal Academy for their Summer Exhibition.

Arthur Moyses

# CONSERVE ECOLOGY



BICICLETA

In April a leading article appeared on the front page of *FREEDOM* under the title 'Anti-Ecology'. It suggested that the ecology movement was a product of 'privileged guilt' among the affluent middle class, a form of romanticism that had a specific ideological function, namely to make the capitalist system seem more humane and palatable. The 'back to nature' movement, it argued, made a fetish of the Protestant work ethic, deified the 'virtues' of property, and expressed a retreat from historical realities in its renunciation of industrialism. It came as a surprise to many people, including myself, to read such a critique within the pages of *FREEDOM*: understandably it provoked a justified and reasoned response from a number of people. For under the rubric 'ecology' the article simply attacked particular trends within the ecology movement, and, as Mary Estella suggested, it confounded and confused the 'ideology of ecology' with real ecology, which, as she rightly suggested, is potentially revolutionary. The article thus made two important omissions. One was that it glossed over the critical situation in which we find ourselves. Under the present economic system not only are 500 million people malnourished — and even in countries where there has been economic growth the number of people below the poverty line has noticeably increased<sup>1</sup> — but there is strong evidence, given present trends, that the biosphere is being increasingly devastated. Even if we can avert a nuclear holocaust present human activities engender such ecological degradation that future life on this planet is seriously threatened. Even the most romantic ecologists express concern over these trends, even if they only suggest 'modifications' to the present capitalist system. The anti-ecology piece simply by-passed such issues.

A second omission was that the article indicated little awareness of how inseparable are the links between an ecological perspective and the libertarian tradition. As Dave Morris put it: a respectful and symbiotic relationship to the natural world is the very foundation for a 'strong, meaningful and diverse

human culture'. An important distinction between anarchism and authoritarian socialism (particularly of the Marxist variety) not only revolves around the question of state control: it focusses also on the ecological bias that the anarchist tradition has always expressed. In not making a fetish of industrial production, or holding that the industrial proletariat was the sole agent of social transformation, the anarchists never expressed the Promethean ethic which Marx, Engels and Lenin clearly shared with the capitalists. Many leading anarchists therefore — Kropotkin, Mumford and Bookchin are examples — have argued for what can essentially be described as an ecological approach. But this did not imply a 'modification' of capitalism, or a renunciation of industrial technology and urban living and thus the return to some glorified peasant existence. What was suggested was a decentralised society which integrated industry and agriculture, and manual and mental skills — a socialist community in harmony with nature. Marx's vision of communism, where there is the 'genuine resolution of the conflict between man and nature, and between man and man — the true resolution of the strife between existence and essence... between freedom and necessity,' expressed this viewpoint. So too, in a more sustained and genuine way, does Murray Bookchin, whose writings over two decades have coherently explored the kind of ecology which the article singularly ignored.<sup>2</sup> Needless to say, though many of Bookchin's seminal ideas on ecology have been appropriated by the green movement (and even by some Marxists they seemingly prefer to pay homage to such gurus as Schumacher and Galbraith, both apologists for the capitalist state.

But the 'thread of truth' which Alan Albon discerned running through the article needs I think highlighting: for too many people in the 'ecology' movement (in its broadest sense) do not connect human exploitation (capitalism) with the ecological crisis. As the article suggested, in seeing problems as essentially internal and personal rather than as related to the dynamics of the capitalist system, and

in channelling opposition to the system into the arena of parliamentary and reformist politics, the ecology movement has tended all too easily to support the forces of reaction. To illustrate the apologetic and petit-bourgeois implications of what the article refers to as 'ecologism' (which is a very different kind of political philosophy from the social ecology advocated by Bookchin) one can hardly do better than examine two 'ecological' texts that are currently on sale in most bookstalls — Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* (1974) and Robert Allen's summary of the IUCN World Conservation Strategy *How to Save the World* (1982).

Schumacher's study has become something of a classic, and his writings have had an important influence on the Ecology Party. Many of his suggestions for an alternative future are I think convincing: his advocacy of intermediate technology and the economics of permanence; his criticisms of nuclear power and orthodox market theory; his suggestive insights on the links between industrial capitalism and positivistic philosophy with its 'man against nature' ethos. His essay 'Peace and Permanence' certainly reflects the influence of Gandhi, but on the whole Schumacher's politics are essentially liberal, for what he advocates is a balance between management and workers, whereby public ownership is utilized to sustain and preserve 'non-economic values' (his phrase) debasement by capitalism. Many of Schumacher's ideas have been expressed long ago by anarchist writers. Yet he does not — like the anarchists — follow the logic of his argument and advocate the dismantling of the private enterprise system. For nowhere does he suggest that we should put an end to the system that fosters the nuclear weaponry, that creates the pollution, that 'ravishes nature' and 'mutilates man' (his phrases). Rather he pleads merely for the reassertion of orthodox religious values to counterbalance the effects of the capitalist system. Hence his appeal to the Buddha, and his plea that we should 'seek first the kingdom of God' — although Buddhist doctrine can hardly be said to enjoin an ecological or symbiotic attitude towards the natural world.

Robert Allen's popular outline of the World Conservation Strategy reflects a similar viewpoint. Indeed like the Brandt report, though full of interesting data and suggestions and expressing a genuine and humanitarian concern over the destruction of the biosphere (the Brandt report focussing on the other 'survival' issue, world poverty) it nowhere indicts the world economic system that causes both the poverty and the environmental degradation — which has escalated in the last few decades, as commercial enterprises have plundered the seas, devastated the tropical forests, and radically changed the rural landscape through farming methods that treat the countryside as one big factory.<sup>3</sup> Allen stresses that human activities are progressively making the planet less fit to live in, and that the conservation of the biosphere is imperative for human survival. And he details a long catalogue of environmental problems and threats — land impoverishment, a reduction in genetic diversity, deforestation (which may well have serious climatic effects), the spread of deserts and the depletion of marine resources are among those discussed. As much of the data is drawn from FAO reports we may assume that the rubric 'a disappearing planet' is not an exaggeration. Yet when Allen comes to discuss the underlying factors that have created this ecological crisis the blame seems to be largely placed on peasant communities which because of their 'growing numbers' and poverty, strip the land of its trees, cultivate steep and unstable slopes, overgraze the pastures and overhunt and overfish the local wildlife. (160) They clearly need conservation-based rural development schemes to help them to survive — no doubt advised by overpaid UN technical experts. Allen admits however that the affluent also should 'constrain their demands on resources, and ideally reduce them, shifting some of their wealth to assisting the deprived'. The future of the poor depends therefore, he suggests, on conservation, and on sharing by the rich. Like the Brandt report Allen fails to explain why poverty exists in the first place; misleadingly links poverty to environmental degradation (thus omitting to discuss and highlight the

role that commercial enterprises have had in the impoverishment of resources and in creating inequalities — whether they be local landed elites, timber companies, plantations, ranching syndicates or multinationals); avoids any discussion of the economic system that is primarily responsible for both the poverty and the spread of environmental destruction; and thus fails to recognize the important connection between human exploitation and the ecological crisis. What the rural peasants need is not 'sharing by the rich' but an end to their exploitation.<sup>4</sup> To overcome these problems Allen suggests a number of broad strategies — better legislation and planning by governments, the need to make policy-makers more aware of conservation issues, and the need to integrate 'development' and 'conservation'. The possibility that governments do not represent communal and rational interests but rather the interests of the propertied classes — nowhere better illustrated than in Furer-Haimendorf's recent study of Indian tribal communities<sup>5</sup> — seems not to have occurred to Allen. Equally strange is the notion that 'development' and 'conservation' somehow conflict, for surely any economic activity that impoverishes the environment (or leads to increasing inequality or poverty) is simply not development. It reminds me of a question addressed to Sunderlal Bahuguna, one of the leaders of the N Indian Chipko movement. Asked by a reporter how he could resolve the conflict between ecology and economic development Bahuguna replied that there is no conflict, for ecology is 'long term economics'. Allen admits that some of the factors which inhibit conservation and development are beyond the scope of a conservation strategy: they demand other strategies, he suggests, including one for 'a new economic order'. But exactly what this would entail seems to be outside his brief.

Thus with both Schumacher and Allen we have a critical assessment of the present world system, specifically in terms of its ecological defects and limitations: yet neither are willing to challenge its essential premises or unmask its exploitative basis. All they can offer are ethical exhortations and reformist modifications to the capitalist system. It is only this kind of 'ecology' that *FREEDOM* should refute.

## References

- 1 cf Keith Griffin and Azizur Khan (Eds) *Poverty and Landlessness in Rural Asia* ILO 1976
- 2 Murray Bookchin's primary studies are: *Our Synthetic Environment* Harper 1962; *Post Scarcity Anarchism* Wildwood 1974; *Towards an Ecological Society* Black Rose 1980; *The Ecology of Freedom* Cheshire 1982.
- 3 With respect to the British countryside see Marion Shoard *The Theft of the Countryside* Temple Smith 1980
- 4 For more adequate assessments of the causes of world poverty see Susan George *How the Other Half Dies* Penguin 1976; Frances Lappe and Joseph Collins *Food First* Condor 1977; Teresa Hayter *The Creation of World Poverty* Pluto 1981. It is also apparent that capitalist farmers and UN technical experts have much to learn from tribal communities when it comes to conservation.
- 5 C von Furer-Haimendorf *Tribes of India: the Struggle for Survival* Univ California 1982. A critical assessment of what 'development' means to tribal communities and peasants is explored in Shelton Davis *Victims of the Miracle* Cambridge Univ 1977 and John Bodley *Victims of Progress* Benjamin 1982

Brian Morris

**Formation of Welsh Anarchist Federation**

The Welsh Anarchist conference was held in Cardiff, with attendance from several places in South Wales and South-West England. It was held on 4/5 June, the Saturday involving about 40 people and the Sunday about 25 (not all the same people).

On Saturday a number of workshops were held on the following topics.

**Elections** A free and frank exchange of views was held expressing a wide range of ideas. It was felt that it was important to carry out post-election work to counter post-election depression. It was also felt that posters and leaflets should be more positive than just 'Don't Vote!'

**Class War** A heated exchange of views took place around the relevance of class war to anarchism.

**Direct Action** There seemed to be certain misconceptions about direct action as meaning violence against public figures, rather than people taking control of their own lives.

**Feminism and Anarchism** Initially there were separate women's and men's meetings. The women's meeting discussed the ideas that the struggle against hierarchy and power has got to go hand in hand with the struggle against patriarchy. The men's meeting discussed their own

feelings in coming to terms with feminism. Some of the men felt that too often only lip service was paid to feminism. There was then a joint discussion about a feeling that feminism had also become a commodity and a career for a lot of women. It was also felt that anarchism comes close to feminism whereas other political groupings remain hierarchical and power-based. It was felt, however, that many anarchists fail to talk about personal politics.

**Communications** A practical discussion took place on the usefulness and potential of various proposed schemes regarding newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets, etc.

**Entertainment** A discussion took place on the usefulness of alternative means of propaganda, and putting fun into politics—eg theatre, street theatre, pirate radio, pirate tv, hot air balloons, public meetings, tapes and cassettes, music and bands, putting LSD into reservoirs.

In conclusion, it became clear during the course of the day that there was a tendency for certain individuals to dominate discussions. There was a group of people who called themselves Class War Anarchists, whose style of debate some people found intimidating in the larger workshops. They also seemed unable or unwilling to explain

coherently what they actually meant by class war.

On Sunday there was a discussion on whether a Welsh Anarchist Federation would still be possible and, if so, what it could achieve, and then on deciding its structure and organisation. There was much discussion whether the WAF needed a statement of principles. In the end they were felt to be either unnecessary or undesirable. It was resolved to establish a communications network, and resource network. The idea of a central collating point for mailing was eventually rejected. It was resolved to have a general conference every six months and a social event approximately every two months. It was left open to individual groups to call meetings on specific topics or projects through the network. Projects that had a strong measure of support were: the production of posters, a post-election leaflet, and a series of pamphlets giving the anarchist perspective on nationalism, work, education, class, defence, etc. It was resolved to make contact with other groups and federations in the Islands and overseas.

The contact address is: WAF, Box 666, c/o 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road, Cardiff, Wales. (This is an account by seven people present.)

**Election news from Keighley**

Over 1,000 leaflets and 1000 stickers were distributed during the election campaign and the Tory Party had their locks glued up. Unfortunately it was only a partial success, with one door remaining unaffected.

A pamphlet called *The Road to Socialism* was produced and distributed free at all Labour Party public meetings. On Friday 3 June, while I was handing out leaflets at a public meeting, I was forcibly removed

from the hall. Pamphlets were snatched off the people attending the meeting, ripped up, and thrown away. I was also prevented from distributing leaflets outside the hall. As they looked quite nasty I left, but came back and entered the hall 'wearing' a red gag and holding a poster saying, 'Labour Party gags opponents', and sat down at the front of the hall, staging my one-person protest. There were favourable reactions from some of the

people attending, and interest from the press. A leaflet was rushed out for the next morning condemning the Labour Party's action, and was distributed at a town centre rally attended by the local candidate. Violence again met those distributing the leaflets, but they could not stop us.

**Simon Saxton**  
1 Selborne Grove,  
Keighley,  
W Yorks,

**Greek Anarchist re-arrested**

Photis Danapos was released on 18 May after a 53 day hunger strike. (See FREEDOM Vol 44 No 11 LAF Report). On the 27 May he was re-arrested under an anti-terrorist law and sentenced to 10 months. He went back on hunger strike on the 13 June and appealed against the sentence. On the 24 June the supreme court accepted the

appeal and set a date for the hearing in September. His lawyer requested that he be allowed out on bail till that date, this was rejected with no reasons being given and he remains in custody and on hunger strike.

Please send protest letters, etc to the Greek authorities.

Photis can be contacted at:  
Agios Paulos Hospital  
Korydalos,  
Piraeus,  
Greece.

And his lawyer:  
Basil Karaplis,  
Aristidou St. 8,  
Athens,  
Greece.

**Jailed Animal Rights campaigners granted bail**

Four animal rights campaigners who were jailed on 3 June for their part in an Animal Liberation Front raid have now been released on bail pending appeal, after spending about ten days behind bars.

Steve Davis (sentenced to six months' imprisonment), Mark Corsini (four months' detention), Linda Harman (twenty-one days' imprisonment), and Chris Davis (twenty one days' imprisonment), were convicted at Chelmsford Crown Court on criminal damage and conspiracy

to steal charges in connection with the ALF raid (codenamed 'Operation Valentine') on Life Science Research Laboratories at Stock, Essex, on 14 February 1982, when £76,000 worth of damage was caused and beagles, rats and mice were rescued from painful experiments.

Steve Boulding (sentenced to fifteen months), and Peter Sales (six months), also sent to prison in connection with the raid are still inside, but it is hoped that an application for bail for them will

be made soon.

Nine more people are due to be sentenced on 24 June.

Donations to help those imprisoned and towards legal costs should be sent to:

Operation Valentine Defence Fund,  
c/o ALF,  
Box 190,  
Peace News,  
8 Elm Avenue,  
Nottingham 3,  
England.

**In Brief**

That'll frighten them. A magistrate at Horseferry Road Court has become exasperated by what he sees as obstruction by prison authorities not producing prisoners for remand hearings, 'if (the accused) is not produced, I shall take steps myself.'

A nice touch. The liner QE-2, after performing its gallant Falklands duty in drab pebble grey, is to be repainted black and red.

The Greek government has decided to abolish voluntary military service for women because it is 'unprofitable'. Instead, they are considering compulsory drafting.

Qian Kinzhong, head of the Chinese National Family Planning Commission, has said that a compulsory sterilisation campaign in the southern province of Fujian, was 'understandable and reasonable'. He is in favour of extending it to all women who already have two children.

Pills to 'protect' people in case of a nuclear accident or war are being stockpiled in the Isle of Man.

Albania has rejected a proposal for talks to make the Balkans a nuclear free zone on the grounds that they would be useless because four of the local nations belong to military alliances.

Edem Kodjo, the outgoing Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity, has suggested that black African states should acquire nuclear weapons in order to counter South Africa. Kenya's largest circulation newspaper describes the suggestion as 'one of the most useless' ideas he has espoused.

A survey by the Home Office finds that there is no evidence that juries are becoming more sceptical of police evidence.

Senior police officers are to ask the government to set up prison camps to solve the problem of remand prisoners held in police cells.

The suicide rate amongst 50 year olds in Japan has gone up over 12.8%, because of 'money worries'.

Punjabi authorities adopted an effective method for dealing with a proposed rail boycott by Sikh activists. They cancelled all the trains. Lets see them have a boycott now!

Another pioneering survey has extended our sociological understanding. It was into the effects of having a television in the bedroom. The national average for people possessing this facility is 58%, (69% in Scotland). 17% of the sample said that it interfered with reading in bed. There is a class basis to how much viewing interfered with sex, 6% on average but 11% in the lower middle class. Those over the age of 55 reported the least difficulty with this aspect. 3% found that the machine interrupted games like Scrabble. A surprisingly similar number found that it interfered with pillow fights.

Our report of Upper Heyford (18 June) mentioned that people were being bound over for 12 months. In fact, it seems that people who have pleaded Guilty are simply being given a conditional discharge, which obviously is not that heavy. Those who pleaded Not Guilty have had their cases adjourned to dates in August.

INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRALASIA

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

**NEW SOUTH WALES**  
Freedom, K153 Haymarket, Sydney 2000.

Redfern Black Rose Anarchist Bookshop, 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 Alternative 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, Bruswick East, Victoria 3057.

**WESTERN AUSTRALIA**  
Freedom Collective and Libertarian Resource 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 anarchiestes kollektif, c/o Zwart & Rood, PO Box 546, B-9000 Gent, Belgium.

**DENMARK**  
Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe, Meljigade 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 Welbermarktstr 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, Høxtvedtv. 31B, 1431 As. (Publish Folkeblad 4 times a year.)

**POLAND**  
Piotrek Betlejewski, age 22, Ulpolnana 30/37, 08 402, Plock, Poland.

SPITSBERGEN

Stephen W Holland, age 27, 2 Glygdynza Creke, The Mining Community Huts, NY Alesund, Spitsbergen, Svalbard A Arctic Ocean Isle.

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

Nya Bokcafeet, Box 15015, 104 65 Stockholm.

Syndikalist Forum, Tenstlernas Gata 51, 11631 Stockholm.

Syndikalistiskt Forum (anarcho-syndicalist bookshop), Husargatan 5, 41302 Gothenburg, tel: 031-13 25 04.

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

NORTH AMERICA

**CANADA**  
Black Cat Press, PO Box 11261, Edmonton, Alberta.

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver 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**  
Malignous 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 Commons, 3161 Mission St, San Francisco.

**CONNECTICUT**  
Wesleyan University Eco-Anarchists, Hermes, Box HH, Wesleyan University, Middletown 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 96101.

Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, PO Box 21071, Washington DC 20009.

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

Emma Goldman Group, c/o Paul Hetz- necker, 883 Bay Road, Amherst Mass 01002.

DESIRES

Keele Anarchist Group have just set up a small bookstall with the aim of selling anarchist literature at as big a discount as we can manage. At present we have hardly enough books to cover our table and hardly enough money to cover our bills! Any help in getting books cheaply would be gratefully received.

FUNDS

Deficit Fund

Contributions Received: June 9th - 22nd Incl.

London E17 I R T £1.20; Wolverhampton J L £3.00; J K W £1.00; London N7 L K £1.00; Sittingbourne P K £1.00; Gravesend A J £1.30; Cove L Y £0.25; Liverpool P L £1.25; Bristol T C £5.25; TOTAL = £15.25

Previously acknowledged = £620.52  
TOTAL TO DATE = £635.77  
TARGET FOR 1983 £2000!

Overheads Premises Fund

Contributions Received: June 9th - 22nd Incl.

Leeds W G £1.83; Wolverhampton J L £6.00; Sittingbourne P K £1.00; TOTAL = £8.83  
Previously acknowledged = £436.53  
TOTAL TO DATE = £445.36  
TARGET FOR 1983 £1500!

Friends,  
Our deficit funds are in a quite desperate plight — our targets are the minimum we need in order to survive. We were hoping for at least £1000 and £750 by the end of June. We are £370 and £300 short of that — in other words we need around £670 in one week to put our targets back on schedule. Please help us to survive to further the cause of anarchism. Please give as generously as you can.

Thanks

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Please add postage as in brackets. Items marked \* are published in the USA. N.American purchasers please convert £1 - plus postage - at \$1.60 (US) and \$2.00 (Canada).

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Malatesta: Life and Ideas edited by Vernon Richards. Study and anthology of anarchist writer and agitator. Paperback £2 (50p).

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The Impossibilities of Social Democracy by Vernon Richards. Collection of articles on Labour Party and Trade Unions. Paperback £1 (45p).

Protest without Illusions by Vernon Richards. Collection of articles on nuclear disarmament. Paperback £1.95 (45p).

Bakunin and Nechaev by Paul Avrich. Study of significant episode. Pamphlet 50p (21p).

Anarchy by Errico Malatesta. New translation of classic text. Pamphlet 75p (21p).

ABC of Anarchism by Alexander Berkman. Classic text. Pamphlet £1.50 (33p).

Fighting the Revolution Three studies of revolutionary leaders — Nestor Makhno, Buenaventura Durruti, Emiliano Zapata. Pamphlet 75p (21p).  
Illustrated catalogue available.

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A MISCELLANY

Trade terms not available

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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 14th July, starting at around 6pm. This is also a good time to come in 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 11th July, longer articles in by first post, Thursday 7th

WILDCAT



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