

FREEDOM

anarchist fortnightly

inside

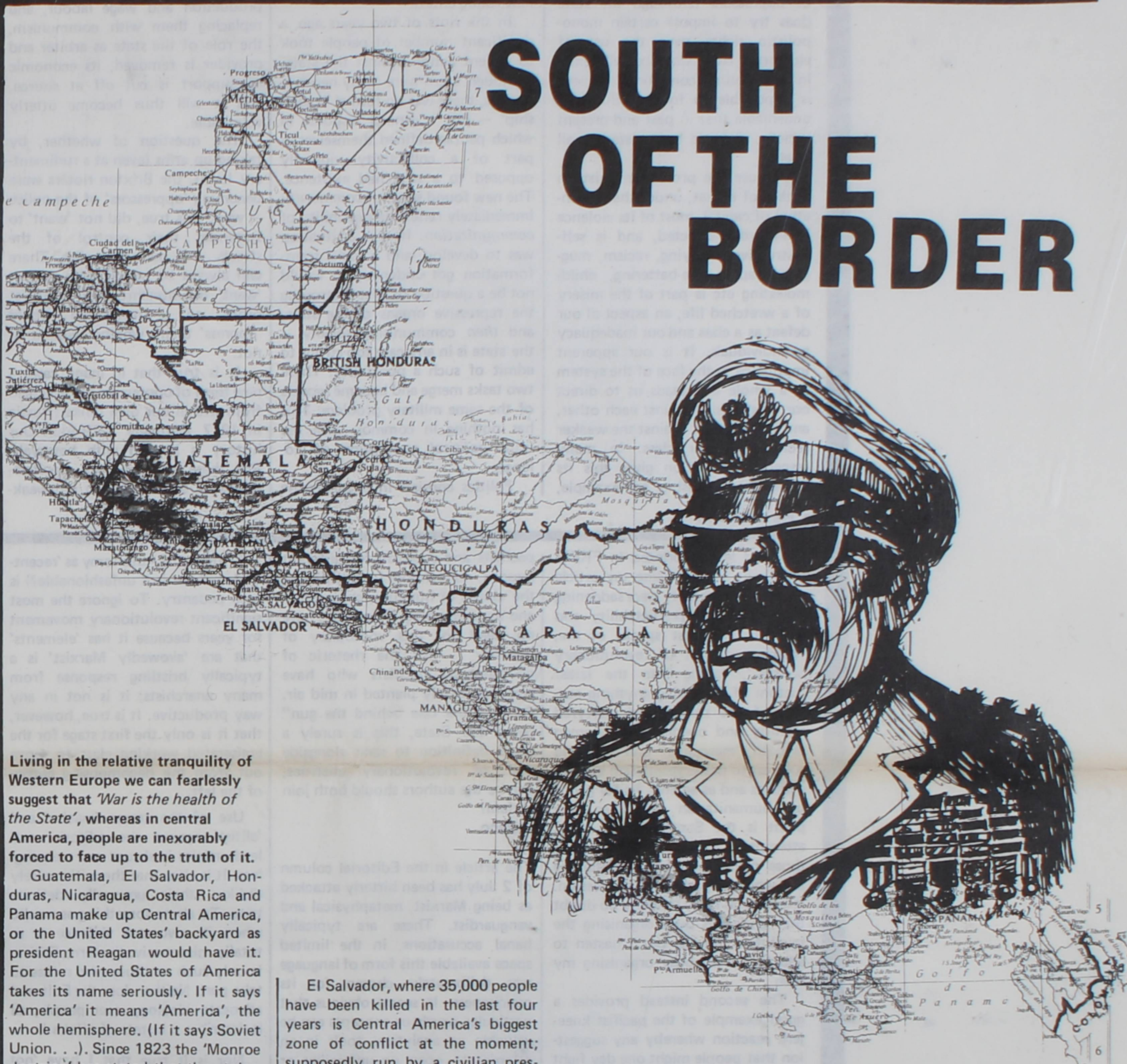
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editorial

Cruise missiles are coming to Europe and, if our leaders have their way, they will be followed by Pershing missiles complete with the thousands of technicians needed to service them. At great economic cost the 'Free World' (goodies) will be able to destroy the 'Godless Commie Hordes' (baddies) 15 times instead of 14 times, or is it 30 times instead of only 29? And there lies one of the more crazy premises behind the 'nuclear deterrent'. Threatening to kill your enemy 20 times is supposedly more 'effective' than merely threatening to kill them 5 times and 5 times is 'better' than once. Include in this equation the fact that any attempt to kill your enemy will result in the near total destruction of life on this planet due to the resultant radiation, fall out and climactic changes (regardless of whether your enemy replies with their missiles or not) then the only sane reaction is hysterical laughter. This logic is used to convince us that the mass slaughter of an entire planet's life-forms will somehow save it from 'communism' or 'capitalism', depending which side of the curtain you are on.

What's more, we are told, this is sanity. Daily the media and governments inform us that to object to your own destruction is wrong. It is to be part of the 'loony left', a 'crazy disarmer', or worst of all, a 'dupe of Moscow'. Those that can unleash this destruction, and their supporters, are the 'peace-makers', the 'concerned, sincere humanitarians'. They are the sane ones. The actions taken to preserve their ability to annihilate us all and even to extend it are 'in the public interest'. Apparently the 'public interest' includes being lied to, deceived, ignored, robbed, starved and ultimately destroyed — all for your own good.

Last weekend (22nd to 24th July) in Sicily, several thousand people attempted to occupy the Magliocco Airport to prevent the installation of 112 Cruise missiles there. For their own good they were tear-gassed, had live ammunition fired over their heads and over 200 were beaten up (this by the Saturday night, we have no details of what has occurred since). A protestor in a wheelchair



SOUTH OF THE BORDER

Living in the relative tranquility of Western Europe we can fearlessly suggest that 'War is the health of the State', whereas in central America, people are inexorably forced to face up to the truth of it.

Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama make up Central America, or the United States' backyard as president Reagan would have it. For the United States of America takes its name seriously. If it says 'America' it means 'America', the whole hemisphere. (If it says Soviet Union. . .). Since 1823 the 'Monroe doctrine' has stated that they tolerate no interference in an area that they consider to be firmly within their sphere of influence.

After Spain's domination of the area began to crumble the United States has tried to run it as a principality. The US has always supported repressive and undemocratic regimes in return for the fruits of financial and political exploitation. Guatemala, where the military were first placed in power by the US in 1954, has one of the worst human rights records in the world and yet Washington seems well on the way to resuming full military aid. Honduras which recently replaced a corrupt military regime with a corrupt civilian one, at the instigation of the US, is used as a base for CIA organised attacks on Nicaragua, and opponents of the regime are beginning to 'disappear' there too. Costa Rica, which abolished its army 35 years ago originally supported the Sandinist revolution, now, against its will, it is harbouring Nicaraguan exile groups.

was assaulted by police and one person is in hospital paralysed by spinal injuries. All news of these events has been suppressed. Previous to the occupation attempt some of the organisers were threatened by two masked

El Salvador, where 35,000 people have been killed in the last four years is Central America's biggest zone of conflict at the moment; supposedly run by a civilian president all power rests with the military. Elections due soon will probably be 'won' by the Right and will formally place Major Roberto D'Aubisson, who is closely linked to the death squads, at the head of the government. It was in El Salvador in May of this year that the first American serviceman died in Central America since military aid to the country began.

Panama is virtually owned by the US. The military have been in power since 1968, though elections are planned — aren't they always? As two-thirds of US foreign trade and petroleum passes through the Panama Canal there is no way any wishes other than the wishes of the US government will play a part in the political future of Panama.

This leaves Nicaragua where in 1979 a popular uprising overthrew the US backed regime of Antonio Somoza. Cuba has sent an estimated 6000 advisors, military and civilians, but no one believes US claims of massive arm shipments coming in from the Soviet Union destined for

the guerrillas in El Salvador. Nicaragua shares the common lack of promised general elections and political dissidents are barely tolerated.

Recently the Sandinist government put pressure on the guerrillas in El Salvador to stop their planned offensive and attempt to find a negotiated settlement. This was done in the hope that the US would lessen its pressure on them. Instead, president Reagan and the Pentagon, maybe seeing that their military pressure is paying off, are trying to dramatically increase aid to El Salvador at the same time as 'quarantining' Nicaragua.

Governments are unsavoury spectacles at best. Those established, supported and maintained by the USA in Central America are prime examples of human beings operating at their thuggish brutal worst. Any dissidence is seen as an 'international conspiracy' of subversion.

We might think that those in power would be content to manipulate events, and carry out the general asset stripping from a safe distance. But no, having learned nothing from Korea, Suez, Vietnam, Afghanistan etc, they seem to feel the need to intervene directly. US military exercises planned for next month include two eight ship task forces, one in the Caribbean, one in the Pacific. Also for the first time between 3000 and 4000 US combat troops are joining Honduran forces for six months, and Congress is now voting on funding to US allies in the region.

As inhabitants of a country also within the 'American sphere of influence' we had best follow closely the events in Central America. Who knows maybe one day our turn will come?

SD

men armed with machine guns. Shots were fired but, luckily, no-one was injured. In Britain wide coverage was given to the action by Greenham Common Women who entered the base and painted symbols on two

aircraft there. One was the newest US spy-plane. It is easy to see which action the State fears most. Its not the lunatics who have taken over the asylum. It's just the doctors that are mad. Something more than mere sym-

bolic action is going to be required to change things. It will have to be done soon, before Dr Reagan, Dr Andropov and the rest decide on compulsory euthanasia for their patients.

Disarming the oppressed

I must reply to Paul Hope's letter in FREEDOM.

Violence, like love exists as part of the human make-up. Like love, it can be given a physical expression, although even without that expression, it still exists. We cannot conduct a debate which restricts itself to whether violence is 'good' or 'bad' in the abstract.

Even in its physical expression, violence cannot be reduced to a 'tool'. It certainly is not simply an instrument solely under the control of oppressors (although the state does try to impose certain monopolistic rights over the use of violence). How violence will exist in any future communist society is impossible to foresee. But it is undeniable that in past and present society, violence has existed at all levels.

Because the proletariat exists in a state of defeat, under the domination of capital, most of its violence is inwardly directed, and is self-destructive. Bullying, racism, mugging, rape, wife-battering, child-molesting etc is part of the misery of a wretched life, an aspect of our defeat as a class and our inadequacy as individuals. It is our apparent impotence in the face of the system as a whole that leads us to direct our frustrations against each other, and in particular against the weaker sections of our class. In many respects, civilisation gives this its institutional blessing; for example,

men have traditionally held a monopoly of violence over children and women within the family.

However at certain moments this destructive violence can erupt into a generalised rage against the system which produces it. It is at such moments that the 'military question' is posed. How is the proletariat, which lives in division and defeat, to unite against its common oppression (without any separation between leaders and led, that is, without spawning military specialists, a new ruling elite)?

In the riots of two years ago, a significant number of people took to violent action against the state. Although there were many negative aspects, there was no formal 'leadership' — just a general response in which people defined themselves as part of a collectivity violently opposed to a wretched existence. The new found sense of *community* immediately raises the possibility of *communization*. If such a situation was to develop, and a social transformation got underway, it would not be a question of first destroying the repressive organs of the state, and *then* communising society — the state is in any case too strong to admit of such a possibility. These two tasks merge and become aspects of the same military problem. This has nothing in common with the usual *political* conception of violence.

Politics consists in changing the

system of managing society (eg through democratisation) for some alleged future benefit. Whether or not violence is envisaged, there is no intention of destroying the very basis of society, and the 'best' that could be achieved would be a more democratically controlled capitalism. We can and must destroy the state. But we will only achieve this if we abolish the principles on which the state is founded. By destroying the social relations of capitalism, in particular commodity production and wage labour, and replacing them with communism, the role of the state as arbiter and provider is removed, its economic life-support is cut off at source, and it will thus become utterly vulnerable.

The question of 'whether, by taking up arms (even at a rudimentary level), the Brixton rioters were becoming 'oppressors' of the police — who, it is true, did not 'want' to surrender their control of the streets — is pure semantics. There will always be people who do not 'want' the overthrow of capitalist order, so a revolution would 'oppress' them, whether violent or not.

It is true that in many cases a new form of oppression has emerged from within our own ranks (Russia in 1917, Germany 1919 etc). Our history is littered with betrayals. But these are only the *manifestations* of defeat, due to old weak-

nesses and disunity reasserting themselves long before any steps towards communization had begun in earnest. Even in its most advanced forms (workers councils/soviets) the conceptions of the old workers' movement remained essentially political both in theory and practice. And when the revolution stops going forward, it goes backward, in one form or another. It is precisely when people feel impotent and intimidated that they look for a centralist solution. This is why peddling pacifist moral imperatives only disarms the oppressed, leaving us open to domination via the conspiracies of our oppressors and would-be oppressors.

Incidentally, Paul Hope's letter shows just how narrowly political — vanguardist even — pacifists and libertarians can be, even when ostensibly slugging off the likes of the SWP. 'We have to control and manipulate the media', he declares, so people will 'accept us'. The party may have been jettisoned in the *formal* sense, but the party mentality persists. It is apparently still the task of an ideological elite to introduce a (non-violent?) revolutionary consciousness to the masses, and thereby create a 'movement'. This is a purely social-democratic conception, and amounts in fact to a rejection of social revolution. Lenin would be proud of you, Paul.

Playmate

Re-criticism

The two letters printed in FREEDOM no. 14 criticising my article on the death penalty were saddening both for their predictability and content. The first speaks of the, "Macho concept of revolutionary politics", falling into the latest custom of describing anything outside of the stereotyped martyred servility and obedience of women as both "masculine" and evil. And goes on to praise reformism both as a means and as an end. As for giving up humanitarian principles, the point is the State's facade in its attempt to present itself as having those principles while maintaining the whole apparatus of oppression. It comes as news to many no doubt that Oxfam is busy organising the revolution for us, but I hasten to add that I am busy organising my own.

The second instead provides a good example of the pacifist knee-jerk reaction whereby any suggestion that people might one day fight for their freedom, merely than asking nicely if they could have it back, is seen as a route towards blind violence and tyranny. Priests,

pacifists and cowards, for different reasons, may choose to hide behind the cloaks of humility, compassion and understanding, I, however, have no need for this vocabulary of apology nor the rhetoric of philosophical pacifists who have two feet firmly planted in mid air. As for "the one behind the gun" being the State, this is surely a novel definition to rank alongside that of revolutionary charities, maybe the authors should both join Oxfam?

Stefano

The article in the Editorial column of 2 July has been bitterly attacked as being Marxist, metaphysical and vanguardist. These are typically banal accusations, in the limited space available this form of language was deliberately chosen for its conciseness. It seems obvious that particular words or concepts can be valuable as analytical tools in an attempt to open up unfamiliar or disregarded perspectives on a given situation; to condemn this whole field into the hands of Marxists is just stupid ideological bigotry.

Criticism of Autonomy as 'recently dated' (or is it unfashionable?) is base pedantry. To ignore the most significant revolutionary movement for years because it has 'elements' that are 'avowedly Marxist' is a typically bristling response from many anarchists; it is not in any way productive. It is true, however, that it is only the first stage for the emiserated working class to move out from the decomposing corpse of the left.

Use of the terms 'macho' and 'elitist' against the editorial and lead articles is absurd and meaningless. It is clear that the critic merely dislikes their unusually definite tone. To abuse something as macho when it advocates violence is to totally misconceive the term. Elitism is only such to those who refuse to take part. Neither does the Editorial advocate ideology over people, all it describes is a state of affairs!

Nor is it true that I have 'not perceived the changes in the economic structure of the country', If you read the article what I refer to is society in general, a society of

capital which clearly has no geographical boundaries. The point of production therefore, whether in England or any third world country remains *the* critical point in the struggle for control. What I was trying to do was to bring back into relief this central condition of capitalist society. But the abrupt critical dismissals rather than any attempt to understand what I was saying suggests that their appreciation of analysis is shallow and because of this their own analyses may prove similarly inadequate.

If I 'sneer' at Oxfam and the like it is because their function is to apply the very minimum of treatment to the symptoms of the bloody domination of capital over the surface of the world. It is their existence that keeps the situation of enslavement tolerable and thus static. Resting on the miserly conscience of the rich West they dole out miserable survival in an antiseptic and inhuman manner. The truly human response to that situation is to feel hatred, not simpering gratitude.

D

Class War in Wales

Following the article on the Welsh Anarchist conference (July 2) I feel it necessary to provide the alternative account, particularly as I am one of the people identified as a 'class war anarchist'.

A heated exchange of ideas certainly took place on the subject of class war, but nothing to do with class war and its relevance to anarchism. As far as we're concerned our fight against the State is intrinsic to anarchism, not some outside force that may be considered relevant or not by the middle class wally's at that meeting.

As far as the printed word on direct action goes, I (nor my comrades), do not think that violence against public figures is a misconception by any means. It's plainly and simply logical progression. Blowing up Mountbatten and killing Airey Neave in the same efficient manner is the ultimate direct action, hitting them right where it hurts, no messing around. Apply the same no-nonsense spirit to other things of interest to anarchists and we'd be a lot further

down the road to commonly held anarchist aims today than we are now.

As regards us intimidating them, they are the only people in the position to say whether or not they felt intimidated so I can't really challenge that. What I will say is that the class war faction didn't piss about. My comrades expressed their ideas in a commonsense manner, directly and simply, and perhaps it was that which may have upset those people. It must be difficult to understand someone arguing the toss in simple everyday language without endless references to Bakunin and that lot. In the words of one class warrior "If that lot will tolerate each other, they'll tolerate any fucking thing".

In conclusion, if you'd have been Joe Public and wandered into that conference you wouldn't have stayed 5 minutes. Only the very deaf or the very dedicated could stick it.

Doc

Death & Oxfam

Stefano's item on the death penalty was clearly meant to shock and it seemed to make a relevant point honestly. Anyone who is not a pacifist agrees with the death penalty and I suppose this might be described as arrogant, but humility can hardly be considered simply as failing to defend effectively one's own being and those who are cherished should the only meaningful form of resistance require death for an assailant.

Arguably a pacifist cannot be an anarchist since it is unrealistic to expect opponents of a free society to refrain from trying to destroy such a society. Killing in defence of a libertarian society would be a requirement if that society were to survive. Certainly this process can lead to elitism and a callous disregard for life but it need not. In Spain it was not the fighters who betrayed anarchist ideals but the politicians.

As I have worked for Oxfam the reference to that organisation in a deprecating way by D in an 'editorial' (aren't signed articles supposed to represent the views of the individual

and not the editors?) was of interest. Particularly as I had just referred to this fact in an article seemingly rejected by the editors.

Humanitarianism has long been an essential element of anarchism (always, no doubt). It is fair to criticise Oxfam for not sufficiently attacking the basic causes of world poverty. However the genuine concern felt by many people who support Oxfam is something to respect and I think the editors of FREEDOM should clarify whether D's nonsensical rubbish consists of their own collective opinion. They could then, perhaps, follow D in applying to the *Sun* — as that is clearly the shit heap s/he should be inhabiting.

JW

FREEDOM
Editorial Collective
84b Whitechapel High St
London E1

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.

After the Litton Bombing a number of Canadian Comrades (Vancouver 5) were arrested. This article, taken from a 'Bound Together Books' News sheet, gives the latest details of their current situation. The shorter report (Bulldozer) deals with the wider repercussion of this latest attempt at state repression.

The Canadian Inquisition

Five Canadian activists have been arrested in connection with recent bombings claimed by groups calling themselves 'Direct Action' and 'Wimmins Fire Brigade'. Outraged by the effectiveness of these acts, the RCMP have launched an intensive campaign of harassment, intimidation and surveillance. Without regard for any rights to privacy, the five, Julie Belmas, Gerry Hannah, Ann Hansen, Doug Stewart and Brent Taylor, have had every room in their houses bugged and have had sophisticated listening devices trained on them while they were being tailed outside of their homes. Reporters have literally crawled through their garbage and read discarded bits of personal poetry on the air.

Already convicted by the media, the five have been held without bail since their arrest last January. 'The press is portraying these people as terrorists guilty of the charges. I'm concerned that we will have difficulty finding an impartial jury,' said Stan Guenther their defense lawyer. Each of the five faces more than a dozen charges. 'It sounds like they've dragged out every unsolved crime to clean out their books.' Evidence supporting these charges, however, is slow forthcoming. In fact, any formal presentation of evidence has been denied. 'The state after basically blackmailing us into accepting an incomplete preliminary hearing, has now gone against its word and is directly indicting us to trial,' Brent Taylor wrote in a prison letter dated April



Julie Belmas

15, 1983. In Canada, a preliminary hearing of the evidence supporting the charges is a normal prerequisite to a criminal trial. The five have also been denied the usual right to remand hearings held every eight days for those held without bail. The rationale for denying remand hearings and preliminary hearings includes the fact that court appearances are costly and dangerous since so many supporters try and get into the courtroom. All are searched before entering and selected individuals are not only subjected to metal detector scans and pat searches but are strip searched as well.

The bombings they are accused

of were not terrorist attacks against people but were sites that have been the centre of great public opposition for years. All the more acceptable channels of opposition had been exhausted. These included attempts to legally halt operations through mass public protests and education projects and civil disobedience resulting in arrests many times.

For years peace and environmental activists have worked through an unresponsive legal system and peaceful protest and civil disobedience channels. In two dynamite blasts \$10 million damage was done to the Litton Systems plant in Ontario which has been making electronic components for the cruise missile and the BC Hydro substation on Vancouver Island which is a vital link in the power grid which would allow BC Hydro (headed by PG & E's very own Robert Bonner) to transmit nuke



Gerry Hannah

power. The five have also been charged with the firebombing of three Red Hot Video outlets, which promote take-home-rent-a-cassette pornography depicting children as sex toys and violence against women as sexually titillating, even though the Wimmins Fire Brigade has claimed responsibility and insists none of the five were involved.

The manner of the arrest itself is shocking: ambushed by a gang of police disguised as highway workers the five were teargassed, dragged through the broken windows of their truck, then forced to the ground with guns to their heads. Because of their 'intensive surveillance' the authorities responsible must have known Brent and Ann were hoping to have already conceived a child when they were arrested in this brutal manner.

But this is not the first arrest in connection with these bombings, Police in Toronto had earlier used the Litton bombing as an excuse to arrest and interrogate activist Ivan LeCouvie. Those charges were even-



Ann Hansen

tually dropped but not before a series of raids and seizures had been instigated at homes and offices of individuals in the Toronto peace movement. As Ken Hancock put it 'There's the practical element to the raids not just the psychological intimidation of peace activists. Part of it is to disrupt our work.' Ken lost about eight shopping bags worth of materials including his personal address book and calendar.

Now the arrest of the five is being used as an excuse to harass and intimidate peace movement workers in BC. Houses have been forcibly entered and searched, address books and diaries have been confiscated. People have been followed and photographed while walking down the streets. Known friends and supporters of the five have been questioned by police.

Because of a news blackout, information in this case has been slow to spread. American reporters trying to cover the case have been forced to sign gag orders before entering courtrooms and have been followed and intimidated while in Canada. These tactics have been effective as few people outside of Canada have heard of these arrests or the ensuing harassment of the political community.

As was amply shown a decade ago when the FLQ was active in Quebec, the Canadian government has no respect for civil rights when

its power is being questioned. Certainly these five, Julie Belmas, Gerry Hannah, Ann Hansen, Doug Stewart and Brent Taylor, have been questioning the state power for years. These people are not isolated extremists, they are much loved and greatly respected by the many diverse people who have worked and played with them over the years. Their commitment and dedication have been an inspiration for many and their hard work is an example well worth emulating. Their political activism reaches back beyond the once vibrant thriving Punk music Scene where

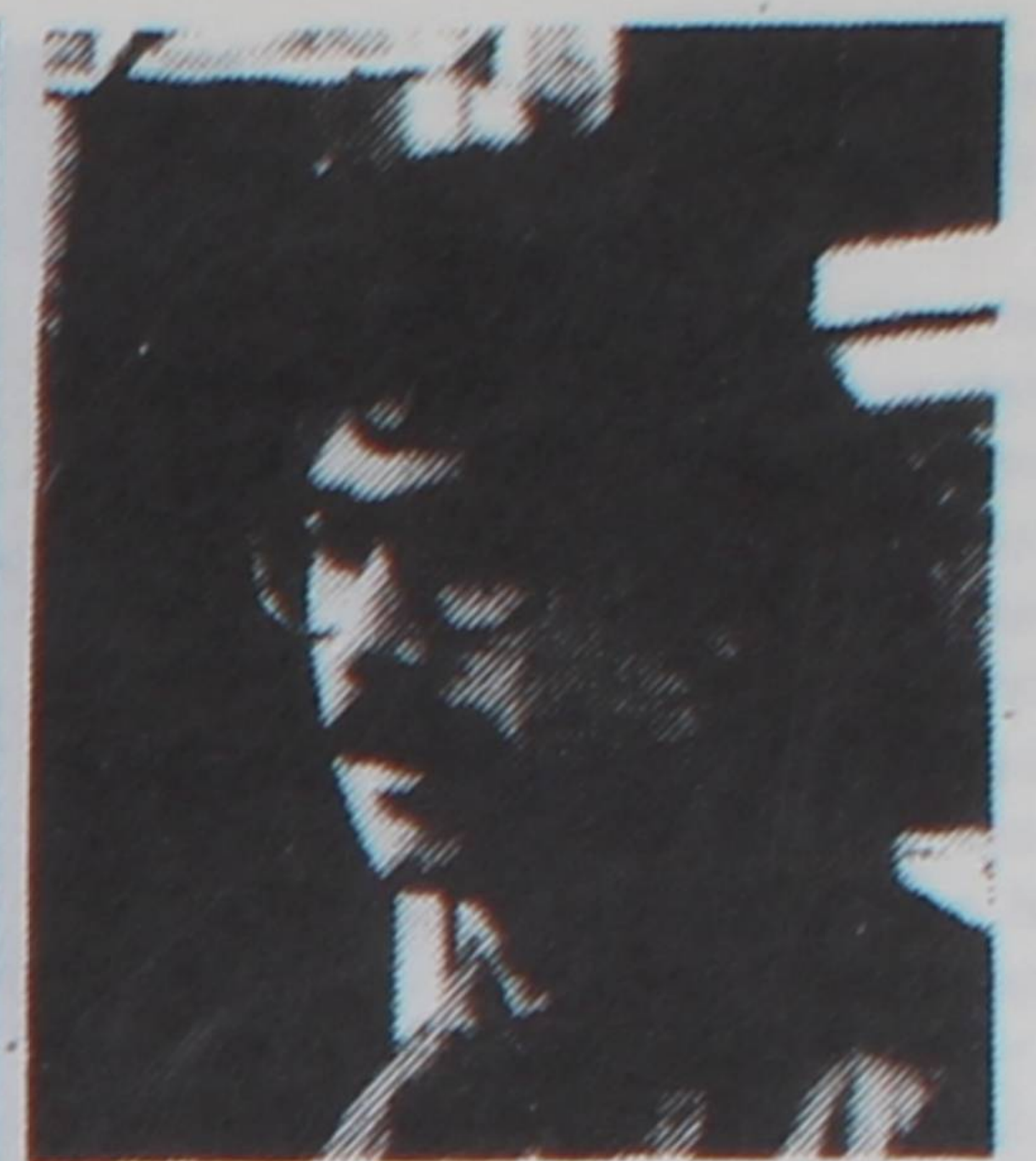


Doug Stewart

Gerry was a member of the popular politically conscious band 'The Subhumans'. The others were involved in organizing numerous concerts and educational events around nuclear and related issues. They have been involved in many types of activities including effective outreach to the establishment where they have garnered support for their Nuclear Awareness programs from such unlikely sources as the Mayor of Vancouver and Simon Frazier University which donated its facilities for a week long seminar on the history and implications of nuclear technology. They have been involved in extensive networking with many local and international groups ranging from the environmentalists in the original Greenpeace group to AIM members working for Native Sovereignty and the Pacific Life community working with the Ground Zero collective coordinating Anti-Trident work between the US and Canada.

Even though this case focuses on five individuals they themselves have been urging friends and supporters to keep up their spirits and to continue working for a mass public movement for social progress. 'My mind remains free, and although I feel angry I am not bitter. I feel strong and optimistic (not so much in a legal sense but in a survival sense). I find my compassion growing as I realize even more clearly how the people are being attacked and crushed by the heartless beast. As Ann says, "People should be angry, not because we are in jail, but because the military-industrial complex is still moving forward, virtually unchecked, with their life-destroying projects."—In resistance, lots of love, Brent'.

Supporters in the US and overseas are being asked to write letters to the nearest Canadian Consulate (1 Maritime Plaza, SF, CA 94111, tel: 415/981-2670 in the Bay Area) or Embassy (1746 Mass. Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20036, tel: 202/785-1400 in the US), protesting the abuse of civil rights of the five and the repressive tactics used against the community by the police.



Brent Taylor.

To contribute support...

Write letters to any of the five incarcerated: Julie Belmas, Ann Hansen, Gerry Hannah, Doug Stewart, Brent Taylor at:

Oakalla Prison
Drawer O
Burnaby, BC V5H 3N4

Financial contributions to the defense work can be sent to:
Free the Vancouver Five Defense Group

Account #91740-1
c/o CCEC Credit Union
205E 6th Ave,
Vancouver, BC V5T 1J7

Any other ideas/info to share, contact us at:

Free the Vancouver Five Defense Group

PO Box 48926, Bentall Station
Vancouver, BC V7X 1A1 Canada
or through

Friends of Free the Five
c/o Bound Together Collective
Bookstore/Meetingplace
1369 Haight Street
San Francisco, CA 94117 US

Bulldozer

A statement from the international Anarchist Press Syndicate dated July 23 1983 reports that on Monday 13 June the Toronto police raided the premises of *Bulldozer* a paper 'by and for political prisoners'. This is part of the ongoing investigation into the Litton, Systems Plant bombing and is one of a series of raids in recent weeks.

Local support work for the two people arrested in Vancouver and charged with the bombing was centred on the *Bulldozer* house. Raided in the midst of producing issue no. 6 copy, typesetting and the mailing list were seized. As a result production has been put back for a month. Political offences listed on the search warrant (but under which *no* charges have yet been brought) include seditious libel* and sabotage of Litton. It seems police were seriously looking for a 'Toronto link' to the bombing. This is encouraging because it means the case against the five arrested is probably very weak. However there is strong pressure to 'solve' the case by the police who may try to 'set someone up' in Toronto.

The direct result of surveillance (including bugging) by the police has resulted in a woman with no direct participation in political activities being charged with several offences relating to theft and abortion. These charges were used in addition as a lever to try and gain information about others from this woman.

The *Bulldozer* collective appeal for any financial assistance to help bring out their paper, challenge the legitimacy of the search warrants and fight the abortion charges. Contributions to *Bulldozer*, P.O.B. 5052, Stn A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1W4.

*which is an attempt to stifle debate and discussion by compromising the existence of the paper.



The International Blacklist

The International Blacklist (\$ 2.50 from Blacklist Group, 719 Ashbury st., San Francisco, CA, 94117, USA) forms an interesting counterpoint to the *International Anarchistic Addressbook* which I reviewed some issues ago. In many instances the same problems arise, like an endless series of Hammer Dracula films. In a few cases the authors have added new quirks of their own. Speaking in a general sense, however, this is a better book.

I am truly sorry to say this and not just because one hates to hurt feelings by making such comparisons. To be honest, one corner of my psyche would have taken a certain satisfaction if this project had been poorly done. The reason is that the ideology (though they would never say that this word describes their views) of the people who put this thing out gets on my nerves. I mean *really* gets on my nerves. This is hardly the place to go into a long diatribe about why I feel that the anti-organizational views popular in some quarters are, in my opinion, mindless, simplistic, hypocritical and a justification for all sorts of psychopathology. Or to feel sorry for myself that, unlike somebody outside of the anti-authoritarian ghetto, I have to endure the spectacle of silliness raised to the heights of a religious cult.

So, let's say that the authors' introduction where, in the heights of their magnanimity, they tell why they will list the CNT (and others) despite the fact that the CNT doesn't meet their standards doesn't prejudice me in favour of these people. Neither does their choice of afterword from the revealed writ of John Zerzan. For those unfamiliar with space travel, Zerzan is an individual who has denounced *The Fifth Estate*, a mag that calls for the end of civilisation, as 'reformist'. This particular spaceship has passed the heliotrope a long, long time ago and is well into intergalactic space.

But to return from the emptiness and cold of 'ultimate rebellion', many of the difficulties in the *International Anarchistic Address-*

book (IAA) don't show up here. *The Blacklist* is a 140 page staple bound effort, far more sturdy than the IAA. The cover appears to be of cheaper paper and therefore doesn't immediately call the word 'waste' to mind.

There are far fewer graphics, and what graphics there are are far better done than in the IAA. They are invariably well drawn (or photographed), coherent (even if heavily weighted to the authors' own ideology) and often extremely funny. They add to rather than detract from the text.

There is a set of instructions on how to use the book in English, French, Spanish, German and, unlike the IAA, Italian. The main listings, which contain full addresses and often short descriptions of the major activity of the listee, are grouped under national headings. The countries are listed under the usual native spelling. Thus Spain is found under Espana, etc. This is a commendably polite practice in a handbook meant to be used internationally. There is a short glossary at the beginning for the aid of those with language barriers. I like it, but I don't see the point of listing Scotland, Northern Ireland and Cymru (Wales) separately from England. If the authors were fully consistant they would have broken 'Canada' up into Canada, Quebec and Western Canada as the latter two areas have active separatist movements. One shudders at the results of this policy in relation to countries such as France or Spain. Either do it for all nations or don't bother. I recognize the political point they are straining (!) to make, but an empty gesture is an empty gesture.

Within the national listings items are arranged by alphabetical order. Toward the end of the booklet there is an alphabetical listing of all items, regardless of nationality, with an indication as to the country of origin. There is also a breakdown of the listings into Bookshop, Documentation Centre, Eastern European Information, Federations, Latin American Information, Newspapers and Publishing Houses and Distributors sub-groups, with cross-

factories don't
burn down
by themselves...

they need help
from you.

Learn to Burn.



references for the main listings. These extra tables are extremely valuable if you have a specific purpose in consulting the book.

This handbook contains about 1,400 items, if you include their supplement, as compared to less than 500 for the IAA. In both cases there is a lot of fluff. *The Blacklist* probably contains more stuffing than the IAA. My own address is listed no less than three times in *The Blacklist* but not all in the IAA. It's great for the ego. I guess this is my fault, but it is honestly hard to keep somebody 2,000 miles away informed of the usually unstable life of various anarchist projects, groups, etc., especially if others insist on using my address as a mail drop. My own case, however, is hardly unique. *The Blacklist* purulates with multiple listings that end up being the same group or individual under different disguises. In some cases this is legitimate, in others not.

Many of the extra listings are in because the authors of the Blacklist have decided to do things like copy FREEDOM's contact page or the IWW's local listings. They have also listed what seems to be every anarchist in Andalucia. The list for that province outnumbers that for the entire rest of Spain. Somewhere somebody got a hold of a list.... Speaking of lists, be forewarned of what a lot of the items are. The supplement, for instance, itemized every single punk magazine in Finland. There are also about 40 listings for information/solidarity with Eastern Europe only about half of which are anarchist. I can pick out groups, mags., etc. that I *know* are Trotskyite or vague leftist.

All of this is fine and dandy. Somebody may be interested in every punk magazine in the world or every Soviet Solidarity group with a vaguely leftist line. There is not necessarily any contradiction with anarchism in such items, even if there is not necessarily a connection. Similer reasoning applies to the prostitutes' rights groups mentioned.

Then, however, there are others. Focus, a Trotskyite organization in California that sends its papers to

some libertarian groups, gets a mention. So too do an assortment of 'non-sectarian' bookstores which might carry a few anarchist titles amongst the mountains of Marxism. Worst of all, however, is the inclusion of every single Wages for Housework group in the world. These people should not be listed. This is not because, like Zerzan and the authors, I think that they fail to meet morally pure 'anti-authoritarian' standards. Nope, it's just that the English language has to have *some* meaning left in it, and groups whose major activity is to demand an extension of the welfare state just don't fit under the heading of 'anarchist', 'libertarian', 'anti-authoritarian', or whatever. Okay for the abolish marijuana laws crew. Fine for the freedom for prostitutes groups. Sure about the loosen up in the Soviet empire people. All of this has a vague connection. But too much is too much. The only connection with Wages for Housework is that they use the same fashionable buzzwords as the anti-authoritarian ghetto.

So, a lot of the 1,400 listings may be fluff on an even greater scale than in the IAA. Even counting all the duplicate listings and the desire to 'inflate the ranks' with everything vaguely leftist, an objective reader is still left with the impression that the *Blacklist* is a far more thorough job than the IAA. Combine this with the well prepared extra tables, and you have a far more useful book. I personally find it bizarre that those whose politics never seem to reach above the level of mindless cheerleading for any act of equally mindless rebellion should produce such a good effort. Life always has its surprises I guess, and whatever my feelings about their opinions I have to extend sincere congratulations on a job well done. *The Blacklist* looks to be a labour of love, and I can only hope that the group who produced it continue to put in a yearly appearance. I would urge that each and every anarchist, libertarian socialist or whatever group get a hold of a copy.

Pat Murtagh



LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION



VERNON RICHARDS

THIRD EDITION
FREEDOM PRESS

NEW

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution (new edition with additional post-script). By Vernon Richards. (Freedom Press £2.95)

The older generation of readers of this journal discovered anarchism through the medium of Freedom Press publications during the Second World War, and of course were

anxious to learn about anarchist movements in countries where the idea had been something more than the ideology of a minority sect. The obvious example was the then recent history of Spain, where the civil war had been the immediate precursor of, and from the point of view of the Axis governments a training ground for, the war in the

rest of Europe.

They had accepted what Orwell called the *New Statesman-News Chronicle* view of Spain, for as he, who went to Spain as ignorant of the issues as anyone else, put it on his return, 'In England, where the press is more centralised and the public more easy to deceive than elsewhere, only two versions of the Spanish war have had any publicity to speak of: the right-wing version of Christian patriots versus bolsheviks dripping with blood, and the left-wing version of gentlemanly republicans quelling a military revolt. The central issue has been successfully covered up.'

This central issue was the popular revolution in the streets, which was the only reason why, after three republican prime ministers in one day had decided to yield to the insurgent generals, the right-wing rising was resisted. Not only this: there was a widespread seizure of land and industry and public services by the workers who operated them. This was news, but it was not the kind of news that suited Soviet foreign policy, the ideology of the Popular Front, or the orthodox social democrats of western Europe.

It was, however, important news for anarchists, both then and afterwards. What could we learn from the part played by the FAI and the CNT? What kind of compromises between ideology and reality? Immersed in a larger war, the new recruits to anarchism had to make do with propaganda articles in *War Commentary*, a handful of Freedom Press pamphlets left over from before the war, like Gaston Leval's *Social Reconstruction in*

Spain, and one or two books. There was, for example John Langdon-Davies's *Behind the Spanish Barricades* and Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*. Because of his enormous posthumous reputation, it is worth recalling that when Frederic Warburg published it in 1938, it sold only a few hundred copies. The remainders were bought during the war by Freedom Bookshop and sold to people like me for three shillings and sixpence. Then in 1943 there appeared Gerald Brenan's *The Spanish Labyrinth*, which explained just about everything in Spanish history, but stopped short at 1936.

During and after the war there were no scholars or publishers who thought it worth their while to examine the achievements and shortcomings of the Spanish revolution. But material began to appear in other languages. In 1940 D A de Santillan had produced in Buenos Aires his book on 'Why we lost the war'; an exile in Britain, Juan Lopez, had edited a collection of documents as 'Materials for discussion by the militants of the CNT'; and then in 1951 Juan Peirats had begun to publish in Toulouse his book on the CNT in the Spanish Revolution. The time was ripe for a critical study of the role of the anarcho-syndicalist movement in the Spanish revolution.

Vernon Richards was uniquely placed to undertake this task. He had edited *Spain and the World* from 1936 to 1939. He was familiar with the contemporary material from those years and with the flow of documents and recollections from the exiles from Spain. What he had-

n't got were the things that academic historians take for granted: the time and the income.

In his original introduction he remarks that it had been suggested to him that the book provided ammunition for the political enemies of anarchism. His reply was that 'Apart from the fact that the cause of anarchy cannot be harmed by an attempt at establishing the truth, the basis of my criticism is not that anarchist ideas were proved unworkable by the Spanish experience, but that the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists failed to put their theories to the test, adopting instead the tactics of the enemy. I fail to see, therefore, how the believers in the enemy, ie government and political parties, can use this criticism against anarchism without it rebounding on themselves!'

Even readers who have long ago absorbed the message of this book would be well advised to get the new edition for the sake of his guide to the recent literature. They will rapidly learn which half dozen books are worth reading in filling out the picture of what really happened in Spain. We haven't much excuse for staying ignorant. For a record of 'what upwards of three million ordinary people did when governmental power had collapsed' it is worth turning to another labour of love from the same author: his Freedom Press translation of Gaston Leval's *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution* which is an admirable counterpart to the present volume.

Colin Ward



Terrorism in Europe edited by Yonah Alexander and Kenneth A. Myers (Croom Helm, £13.95)

Here we go again — another expensive collection of worthless articles by ignorant academics on so-called 'terrorism' — ie, political violence used by small powerless groups against large powerful groups. The editors are connected with the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University in the United States and also with the quarterly magazine *Terrorism*; two of the eleven contributors are directly involved in American Intelligence, and the other nine seem pretty poor examples even of academic political scientists.

After a short editorial introduction, saying that terrorism has recently been increasing in Europe (ie, Western Europe), there are eight articles on various aspects of this subject. There is a very scrappy survey of all kinds of terrorism in the area from 1968 to 1981; there are two discussions of legal issues in the European Economic Community and in the British response to developments in Northern Ireland; there are three accounts of left-wing terrorism in Italy and West Germany and of the Basque terrorism in Spain; there is a historical study of the Schwartzbard affair, when a Ukrainian Jew assassinated the former Ukrainian Nationalist leader Petlyura in Paris in 1926, which seems rather irrelevant to the rest of the book; and above all, from our point of view, there is a historical study of anarchist terrorism in late nineteenth-century Europe, which seems even more irrelevant.

This article, which is the first in the book, is written by Marie Fleming, a Canadian political scientist who is the author of a recent biography of the French anarchist Elisee Reclus — *The Anarchist way to Socialism* (1979) — which is

quite good on Reclus's life but very bad on the anarchist background (it is available from the FREEDOM Bookshop at £2.95 plus postage). Her article, which derives from her book and which first appeared in *Terrorism* in 1980 is no better. It is based on the assumption that terrorism is an integral part of anarchism, although terrorism has been no more closely associated with anarchism than with any other political ideology, and although many if not most anarchists have always been totally opposed to terrorism. It briefly describes the well-known anarchist acts of terrorism from the 1870's to the 1980's and briefly discusses the views of Bakunin, Brousse, Malatesta, Most, Grave, Goldman and Berkman, but it concentrates mainly on what are seen as significant contradictions between statements by Kropotkin (cautiously deploring terrorism) and Reclus (romantically defending terrorists). She fails to understand the complex forces which drove some anarchist activists towards terrorism and which caused various anarchist theorists to say various things about it, or to recognise that 'propaganda by deed' didn't originally mean individual violence at all or that anarchist violence has been quite different from other forms of political violence because it hasn't been a preparation for seizing power.

In view of these fundamental defects in the opening contribution, no wonder the rest of the book fails to help our understanding of the current wave of terrorism in our part of the world — or indeed to help our knowledge of it when, for example, completely different figures are given in different articles for the numbers of recent terrorist incidents in Italy. If academics can't even get their facts straight, there really isn't any point at all; but even if they could, there is no reason to think that they would know what they meant. In the end all this book comes to is yet another item in the large and growing bibliography of material on anarchism which may be ignored.

NW



Class War 20p

The contributors to the report on the formation of the Welsh Anarchist Federation (July 2) tell us that a group of people calling themselves Class War Anarchists although unable or unwilling to coherently explain their terms of reference had no difficulty in dominating discussions to the extent that some people found them intimidating. After reading two editions of the crudely nihilist broad sheet — *Class War*, it is becoming increasingly clear what these people stand for and it is not difficult to understand why participants at the WAF felt so threatened, WAF may feel that sharing a contact address with *Class War* at 108 Bookshop, Salisbury Rd., Cardiff, is a little too close for comfort. If *Class War* increases in size I think it will become absolutely vital that no one confuses their respective box numbers.

To read *Class War* with satisfaction requires an incredibly low level of intellect and moral development. First readers should be aware of the linguistic meaning of at least a half dozen key words and phrases in the *Class War* extensive vocabulary. The word Wanker is synonymous with the term intellectual, Scumbag or Arsehole is used for politician, Fuck off means we violently disagree with you but are not prepared

to discuss the issue any further, Fuck right off denotes a certain impatience that you have not already gone. Rich Bastard — a member of the plutocracy, Bollocks — party political manifesto or a substitute word for shit, Shit — any perceived manifestation of the class enemy, including anarchist thinkers and papers they disapprove of.

According to *Class War*, because most anarchists will tolerate each other it is proof that they will tolerate anything and that there is no point in co-operating with such people. In the May issue they declared that such anarchists are just fucking liberals and that those who believe in class war shouldn't hesitate to give them the boot.

The notion of class war anarchism is summed up most succinctly on the front page of the current edition which states that now is the time for every dirty, lousy tramp to arm himself with a revolver or a knife and lie in wait outside the palaces of the rich and shoot or stab them to death as they come out. Tramps of the world unite no doubt. Sadly this is not a polemic. The class war anarchists don't just want to kick the Tories out, they 'just want to kick them' in a literal sense.

In the crudest terms possible they express their murderous desire for an explosion of class anger and

violence so that they can 'bash the rich bastards once and for all!' If we were to change the word rich for black we would know we were reading the National Front comic *Bulldog*.

The conceptual framework of class war anarchism denies the self-discipline and concern for the well being of humanity so characteristic of libertarianism. It places so little sanctity on human life that it calls for the murder of various categories of people. This is not really very different from the demands of the fascists. According to *Class War* the stuck up bunch of bastards known as the ruling class are the prime candidates for our anger and should be eliminated. Echoes of the French Revolution, Stalins Russia or perhaps the Third Reich? Pisarev, the theoretician of Russian nihilism, declares that the greatest fanatics are children and adolescents. The bullshit anarchist variety of *class war* falls easily into both these categories. Those amongst us still acquainted with the regular reading of lavatory walls in middle and secondary schools will be well aware of the social developmental age of class war thinking. In advocacy of senseless terrorism as a way to effect social change they expose their immaturity which prevents them from thinking through the possible relationships between ends and means in the pursuit of justice.

Their superficial understanding of the State leads class war anarchists to identify the privileged as obstacles to be eliminated rather than the system they represent. This accounts for their indifference towards human life and desire for destruction.

I cannot recommend this broad sheet, nor do I recognise it as having anything to do with anarchism. The notions of *Class War* and jackboot nihilism have more in common with Marxist dictatorship than with anarchy. In my opinion the notion of class war is counter-revolutionary and should be treated with the contempt it deserves like any other form of down market, left wing authoritarianism.

David Isiorho



Franz Kafka

Jaroslav Hasek was not the only anarchist-associated writer to have been born in Prague in 1883. Franz Kafka, too, was born there on 3rd July of that year. He was much attracted to the ideas of Kropotkin and as a young man attended the 'Klub Mladych' (Young people's Club) where he and Hasek are supposed to have met, though there is no hard evidence for this. Whereas Hasek was an active anarchist, Kafka's libertarian leanings were passive and were expressed mainly in regular attendance at meetings and debates. He was also a life-long friend of the Czech anarchist Michael Mares. To mark the centenary of his birth a collection of his short stories has recently been published.

There can be few writers who have been as over-interpreted as Franz Kafka. To choose just the main strands: the religious interpretations see his works as a deeply personal relationship between him and God; the existentialists claim he was searching for some meaning in a Godless, absurd universe; the psychological interpretations point to his problematic personal relationships (father, Felice Bauer) and see his works as an attempt to come to terms with these; the aesthetes claim he was writing about the limits of language; the Stalinists condemn him as a nihilist and a decadent who wilfully encoded social reality and the libertarian socialists refer to him as a 'poet of alienation' who 'destroyed the pseudo-concrete' thereby exposing the reification of capitalist social relations.

Such varied and contradictory interpretations serve to illustrate the complex and ambiguous nature of his works. However, all would agree that the problems he addressed were those of loneliness, injustice, guilt and punishment, remote, inaccessible authorities and confusing, almost unfathomable, family and social relations. Nor would any deny that his writings were intensely autobiographical. Because this is so it is necessary to look at his life to even begin to grasp what the man was getting at.

He was a German-speaking Jew brought up in a Czech city at a time of growing Czech nationalism which was both anti-German and anti-Semitic. He was petty bourgeois, sandwiched between an increasingly powerful industrial bourgeoisie and a rising proletariat. As the eldest child and only son of a self-made Jewish merchant he was strongly pressed to carry on the business when he felt that his sole vocation was writing, something his bullying father contemptuously ridiculed. (Kafka didn't leave home till he was thirty two.) As a boy he was tall, thin, sickly and shy. In adulthood he was plagued by a series of (mainly psychosomatic) illnesses - heart pains, headaches, insomnia, digestive disorders, extreme sensitivity to noise, piles -

and eventually contracted TB at the age of thirty four which killed him at forty one. He frequently felt himself to be on the verge of suicide or insanity. His great joy in life would have been to have married and fathered children, yet even though he was engaged more than once (twice to Felice Bauer alone) he never dared take that last step. (He didn't live with a woman till he was forty). He found social life frightening and oppressive and sought refuge in literature. ("I am made of literature".) While this thumbnail sketch does not seek to mechanistically explain why he wrote what he did, it does illustrate the everyday problems which confronted him and which undoubtedly influenced his choice of subject matter.

The above-mentioned themes were dealt with at length in his three unfinished novels, *The Trial*, *The Castle* and *America*. They were also ably, and perhaps more accessibly, treated in many of his short stories and to mark the centenary of his birth a collection of these has recently been published. For the first time in English we have a volume consisting solely of those works which the ever-reticent Kafka allowed to be published in his lifetime, and thus one which can almost claim to have his recommendation. (He ordered all his other writings to be destroyed, an order which, fortunately, wasn't carried out.)

The pieces in this volume are presented chronologically: a collection of prose poems, *Looking to see*, four individual stories and two collections of short stories, *A Country Doctor* and *A Fastening-Artist*. There are forty pieces in all.

The prose poems (written 1904-1912) are surprisingly light, but there are clear signs of the darker things to come, most notably in *Decisions* (about confusing social obligations), *The Bachelors' Lot* (loneliness) and *The Window on the Street* (isolation).

By the time the collection *A Country Doctor* (written 1914-1917) was published Kafka had undergone many traumas and disappointments and had also

contracted TB. His fear and distrust of social engagements is expressed bitterly in the title story in which conflicting domestic and occupational demands are made upon the doctor - "Writing out prescriptions is easy, but communicating with people beyond that is hard." - which result in him failing both his patient and his maid. A more humorous critique of social relations comes in *A Report for an Academy*. An ape gives a dry, matter-of-fact report to an academy on how he came to be accepted into 'civilised' human society merely reproducing the routine social behaviour of his captors.

Two stories in this section point to the remoteness and inaccessibility of political power structures. *At the Door of the Law*, which is the parable from the Cathedral scene in *The Trial*, describes how a man who is seeking entry into 'the law' meekly waits his whole life at the door, not daring to directly challenge the guard, only to be told as he nears death that the door was meant for him and him only but now it is to be closed. *A Message from the Emperor* is a similar story only in reverse. A "wretched subject" patiently awaits a message from the Emperor unaware that due to the vast distance the messenger has to travel the message will never reach him. Uncritical and uncriticised passivity seems to be just as much the keynote as remote power.

The collection *The Fasting-Artist* (1921-1924) was in fact published after Kafka's death but he did manage to approve the proofs in his last days. Of the four stories two are of particular interest and both deal with the relationship, forever present in Kafka's mind, between life and art. In the title story the artist's skill is, literally, that of fasting. (It was a common literary device of Kafka's to concretise metaphors.) However, many people think his fasting is a fraud and no-one appreciates his art. Near to death through fasting, he confesses that the only reason he has fasted is "because I've never been able to find the kind of nourishment I like. If I had found it, believe you me, I

would never have made this fuss ..." If this is Kafka justifying his retreat from life into literature then he went on to undermine his own defence with the last story of his life.

Josephine the Singer, or the Mouse People concerns a singing mouse who is held in awe by her community. On closer examination, though, the narrator (a mouse) is forced to admit that her singing isn't particularly special. "Isn't it after all simply squeaking ... which is not even a skill so much as a typical sign of life." That is, art without the 'f'.

Most of the volume is made up of four individual stories. The first three, *The Judgement*, *The Stoker* and *The Metamorphosis*, which were all written in a very fruitful period in late 1912, have as their common factor disastrous family relations, especially that between father and son. (In his *Letter to his Father* - 1919 - Kafka referred to his father as "the ultimate authority".) The story *The Judgement* is also intimately connected with Felice Bauer whom he had met for the first time only six weeks before writing it and with whom he had a tortuous five year affair, mainly via letters.

In *The Judgement* Georg Bendemann writes to a distant friend informing him of his engagement (to a woman whose initials are F.B.) Feeling the need to be delicate about the whole matter with his ailing father, he tells him of his friend and the letter. What seems to be a not unnatural state of affairs rapidly shifts into a nightmare when his father explodes with rage, condemns his son's disloyalty and sentences him to death by drowning, a sentence the son immediately executes in the nearby river. In *The Stoker*, which is also the first chapter of the novel *America*, the sixteen-year-old Karl Rossman has been banished to America by his father for supposedly seducing the maid. And in *The Metamorphosis*, surely one of the best-known short stories of modern literature, the son, who selflessly supports the entire family, awakens to find himself changed into an insect and eventually dies of a wound inflicted by his father.

(While such stories express a keen hatred of the bourgeois concept of the family, they have wider frames of reference, too. *The Metamorphosis* for example. Dostoevsky's character in *Notes from Underground* (1864), was so marginalised by social relations that he felt like an insect. Half a century later Kafka's Gregor Samsa discovers he is an insect. The margins have so narrowed that life as a human is no longer tenable.)

In all three stories the sons are punished without committing any offence. Their guilt is somehow assumed, taken for granted. This injustice is repeated in a more extreme form in *The Penal Colony* (1914). Here a complex instrument of execution inscribes into the body of the condemned the law which has been broken. He is allowed no defence and is not even

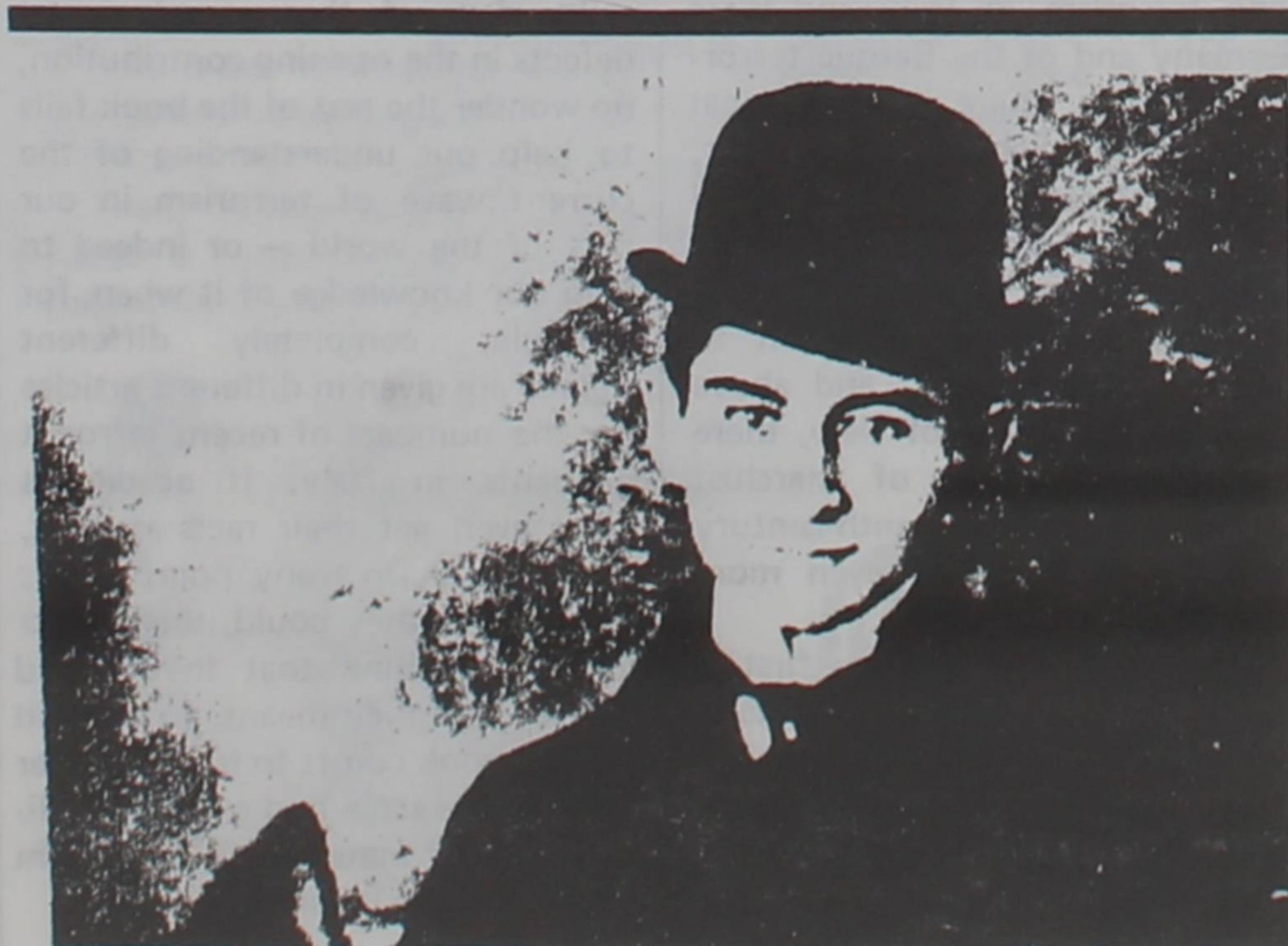
told of his sentence. Just as in *The Trial* the law is "drawn towards the guilty", so here "guilt is invariably beyond doubt".

It is Kafka's graphic depictions of such outrageous humiliations which have led some critics to see him as a prophet of totalitarianism and the holocaust. But Kafka wasn't looking forward when he wrote them, he was simply looking about himself. The horrors were there in the fabric of his everyday life in the disintegrating Habsburg Empire. But more importantly, most critics have failed to see a fatal flaw in such presentations, a flaw which permeates his whole work. In the four stories above people are not punished for *doing* anything, they are punished merely for *being*. Guilt is ontological. In the other stories defeat and failure are 'given' and passivity in the face of them is 'natural'. Human social life, like a polar winter, is something cold and bleak which has to be endured; it cannot be altered.

It is agreed that family and social relations are cruel and contradictory when based on the needs of capital, and they often do lead to loneliness, angst and self-hatred; it is agreed also that the power structures in society are opaque, distant and oppressive and they serve to reproduce inequalities and injustices. Kafka's observations on these points are stinging and lucid. Indeed, the chief reason he continues to be read is because he deeply and sensitively probed problems which have continued to plague us down the century. These problems, though, are not ontological but *historical*. They have not always existed nor will they always continue to exist. They can be changed, we can consciously create our own history. He failed to see this primarily because he withdrew from life, refusing to take sides, and this at a time - the First World War, The Russian Revolution, old Europe collapsing, the founding of the Czech Republic - when it was virtually impossible not to take sides. Kafka, whose perspective in literature was overwhelmingly that of the subject, by choosing not to choose (the existential dilemma), remained, like his characters, an object of history. He retreated into literature only to discover - surprise, surprise - that that ground, too, is not, can not, be independent nor neutral.

But credit where credit is due. Credit to him for the uncompromising honesty of his stories. Credit also for focusing on everyday personal problems as manifestations of the wider cultural and social crises, a connection which only relatively recently has been given due attention. But, with his acute consciousness of the ills of capitalist society, it was a tragedy for him to sit on the fence. After all, he knew that that was no hiding place.

Penguin books have published more recently still two collections:
The Complete Novels of Franz Kafka. £4.95. 640pp.
The Complete Short Stories of Franz Kafka. £3.95. 496pp.



Clydeside

Recent developments in Clydeside have witnessed an action at the Recruitment Centre in Maryhill and a Public Meeting on 'Why You Should be an Anarchist' which attracted a crowd of 150 people.

The achievement of the Maryhill action was to assemble 30 people many of whom did not know each other, including some radical feminists, and take part in an illegal demo through the streets from the West End to proletarian Maryhill. Unfortunately - and not surprisingly - the action fell a little flat outside the Recruitment Centre/Broo/Job Centre itself.

as we were 'moved on' fortunately further charges didn't follow. We have also been assisting the Faslane peace campers and their Camps outside the prisons in which they are temporarily incarcerated.

The initiative to hold the public meeting came from another anarchist forum, a general discussion group linking all those with different interests. 500 posters were spread around the town and 4 local speakers undertook to give short talks around the theme. The response indicated that the meeting held on Bastille Day on the 14th July was well timed. 120 people, mostly young but with a sprinkling of all age groups with an almost equal representation of women attended.

examples. In the middle there was a row about the 'sexist' use of language on the part of one of the speakers with a local anarcho-feminist leading the objections. There was a very short question time, with a predictable SWP intervention which brought heated replies from one of their ex-members to enthusiastic applause. A comrade also complained that the speakers had little to say about the present. All in all, however, the event was undoubtedly a success although little indication was given of the actual activities local anarchists engaged in. With the groundwork laid by 'Practical Anarchy' over the past couple of years it is clear that interest in anarchist ideas is on the increase. What we need to do is apply our analysis to the present conditions of 'life'. A 'free Aims and Principles' was disseminated and a meeting on CRIME & PUNISHMENT is to be organised for a months time.

K

Sheffield

Here is the latest news on the Anarchist Centre here in Sheffield: a few days after we moved in to squat the former Coroners Court, the Council (Sheffield's 'caring' socialist Council, that claims to have so much concern for the homeless that there are over 7500 single people alone on the housing waiting list) served us with a summons to appear in court for a possession order hearing on July 14.

local radio news, but the reports were predictably distorted.

The Council got their possession order (they had claimed that they needed the premises to convert to 'enterprise workshops'), but we had already moved to another Council-owned building across the road. The Council have got a possession order hearing on the new premises on July 25, but should we have to move, we already have several more premises, all Council-owned, in mind to move to.

The Black Flag readers' meeting and North East Anarchist Federation meeting were held at the Centre on July 16-17. We have

some local bands playing at the Centre tonight, and hope to have several bands from this area and other parts of the country playing over the weekend.

We are pledged to maintain an Anarchist Centre and precedence in Sheffield and will continue to squat other buildings if necessary to do so. We ask all anarchists to visit us or send messages of support. Together we can show them that we are strong, and WE WILL NOT BE BEATEN.

The Sheffield Anarchists

The Anarchist Centre, Nursery St., off The Wicker, Sheffield.

In Brief

The numbers of volunteer Special Constables have increased for the first time in 30 years, from 14,978 to 15,139.

US Navy ships have leaked radiation at least 37 times since they began using nuclear reactors, according to the Fund for Constitutional Government. They say that there has been significant contamination of coastal and inshore waters off Japan, Britain and USA on more than a dozen occasions. The Navy says that it has a 'perfect record' of reactor safety.

The Government has admitted that its job splitting scheme, launched with much publicity five months ago, has not been a resounding success. A total of 317 jobs have been split. The scheme is due to finish next March. There are 'no plans' to extend it.

The Zimbabwe parliament has solved its problem of having nothing to talk about (last issue). They are debating a Bill to introduce a 5 year jail sentence and a fine of 5,000 dollars for anybody who 'lampoons' the president, Mr. Canaan Banana.

South Korea is continuing its campaign to get in good shape to impress foreign visitors. The sale of dog meat, snake soup and earthworm

soup is to be banned in parts of Seoul.

Documents released under the Freedom of Information Act confirm that the USA has a top secret force of 250 people trained to go into action if terrorists threaten to destroy an American city with nuclear weapons.

New instructions to Social Security investigators warn them not to lie. Specifically mentioned are telling lies to try and trap a claimant into making an incriminating statement, falsely saying that allegations have been made by a third party and adopting various roles such as being employed by a different public authority or being a single parent. We hope that this does not imply that investigators have, in fact, been employing such subterfuges.

The US Senate has voted to resume production of nerve gas.

Archbishop Robert Runcie is disturbed that, in Britain, Christians are outnumbered by people who think that it is self evident that individuals have a right to happiness. Another delusion entertained by this naive throng is that this happiness could be a possibility for the whole world.

The government is back at work resubmitting legislation which was 'lost' due to the intervention of the election. This includes the draft Civil Defence Regulations, to force local authorities to take part in exercises. The latest estimate is that they will be approved by the end of November and in force by the end of the year. Meanwhile, the Civil Contingencies Unit of the Cabinet Office is hinting that the policy in the event of a nuclear attack will be reversed and we'll be told to leave home. We hope that they make their minds up quickly. It would be distressing to be caught short, so to speak, and have to face an emergency without the benefit of official advice.

The West German Government has introduced a new law on demonstrations. Anyone who fails to leave a demonstration after having been ordered to do so is liable to prison for up to three years. It is the responsibility of the demonstrator to prove he or she 'tried to calm' any potentially violent situation. Answering criticism that it might be difficult to leave, especially if hemmed in by police, the Interior Minister said, 'Those who do not follow police calls to leave are not normal citizens'.

More class war

Just read with great amusement the article about the formation of a Welsh Anarchist Federation (FREEDOM July 2).

Being one of these 'Class war anarchists' I noticed with boring regularity the very patronising wording about our attempts to put across the notion of class war to our 'comrades'.

The wording 'unable or unwilling to explain coherently what they actually meant by 'class war'' Just shows we are on one side and they - typical of the middle-class, liberal anarchist movement I'm supposed to be a part of - on the other side, of class confrontation.

Kids on the streets, workers, housewives will always recognise 'rich bastards, snobs, Joneses', so

why the fuck can't you?

Most anarchists spend their time in intellectual working debates on Kronstadt, Spain '36, Anarcho-syndicalism, THE RIOTS !! - Jerking off on the past.

When will most anarchists realise it is not only during election charades that they must go out on the street, and the rest of the year fester in smoke-filled rooms plotting revolution with yer old friends from university days (fuck you all).

I'd like to end this with a big fuck-off to all liberal, middle-class anarchists who don't know there's a war on in the streets here and in Northern Ireland.

Until ordinary people understand what anarchism is all about, it will continually be the irrelevant dogma it is now.

Sean M. & Stella C. for 'Class War'

Women and pornography

Men don't have to 'choose' between harmful contraception/abortion/unwanted children, suffer daily harassment - battering, rape etc. - or do the vast majority of housework and childcare (all unpaid). This must be the starting point of any discussion - we live in a masculine defined, male controlled society (Patriarchy) where all men oppress all women (men suffer but women are oppressed). Porn is the depiction of women as sexual objects for the use and abuse of men. Primarily a product of men's oppression rather than of capitalism, it is a multi-million pound growth industry defined, owned and controlled by men. Porn is a produce of patriarchal society which reinforces

oppressive relationships and attitudes.

We should oppose calls for censorship and (more) laws because (principles apart), these will be used more against children, feminists and libertarians than against the porn barons and their servants. Libertarian opposition to porn has nothing to do with 'morality' it is about women defining and controlling their sexuality, and all of us destroying oppressive relationships (the nuclear family, coupledom, compulsory heterosexuality and childhood) and taking other direct actions against porn and porn outlets.

Andrew Peel

■ 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,
Mejlgaade 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 4828, 7500 Karlsruhe.

FRANCE

Federation Anarchiste Francaise, 148 Rue
Amelot, 75011, Paris.

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

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

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

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

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

SPITSBERGEN

Stephen W Holland, age 27, 2 Glygar-
dynza Creke, 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, Tenstlernas Gata 51,
11631 Stockholm.

Syndikalistiskt Forum (anarcho-syndical-
ist bookshop), Husargatan 5, 41302 Goth-
enburg, 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
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 Comm-
ons, 3161 Mission St, San Francisco.

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

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

MISSOURI
Columbia Anarchist League, PO Box 380,
Columbia, Missouri 65207.

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 Feder-
ation, 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.**

USA
North American Anarchist Network,
(NAAN), PO Box 7033, Boulder, Color-
ado 80306, - sample issue £1.

■ MEETINGS

URGENT! There is a special meet-
ing of LAF on Sat 6 Aug, at Prince
Albert Pub, Warfield Rd, N1, 8pm,
to discuss changing the structure of
the Federation to group delegates
only.

The next 'normal' LAF meet-
ing is at the Metropolitan Pub, Farring-
don Rd EC1, on Sunday 14th Aug.

■ FUNDS

Deficit Fund

Contributions Received: July 7th -
20th Incl.

Tunbridge Wells B L £1.00; Pen-
zance N P £0.78; Argyll A M
£5.00; Lancaster M B £1.00;
Wolverhampton J L £1.50; J K W
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G D £5.00; Torpoint M R A £3.00;
W Croydon I C £3.00; Bridport A D
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£1.00; Brescia A C £2.50; Doncaster
P F £0.20; Wolverhampton J L
£1.50; J K W £0.50; Pudsey B C
£8.00; Total = £61.93
Previously acknowledged = £679.87
TOTAL TO DATE = £741.80
TARGET FOR 1983 = £2000!

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20th Incl

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J L £3.00; Anon £25.00; Torpoint
M R A £3.00; W Croydon I C £3.00;
Bridport A D £1.00; Manchester
R B £3.20; Wakefield D F £0.20;
Brescia A C £2.50; Wolverhampton
J L £3.00; Pudsey B C £8.83;
TOTAL = £57.73
Previously acknowledged = £476.81
TOTAL TO DATE = £534.54
TARGET FOR 1983 = £1500!

Comrades, FREEDOM depends on
your generosity for its existence.
The current levels of both the Def-
icit fund (which goes towards
the loss that the paper makes)
and the Premises Fund (which
goes towards the rates and over-
heads at 84b) are woefully short
of their targets. Please help us by
sending donations to either or
both.

EDS

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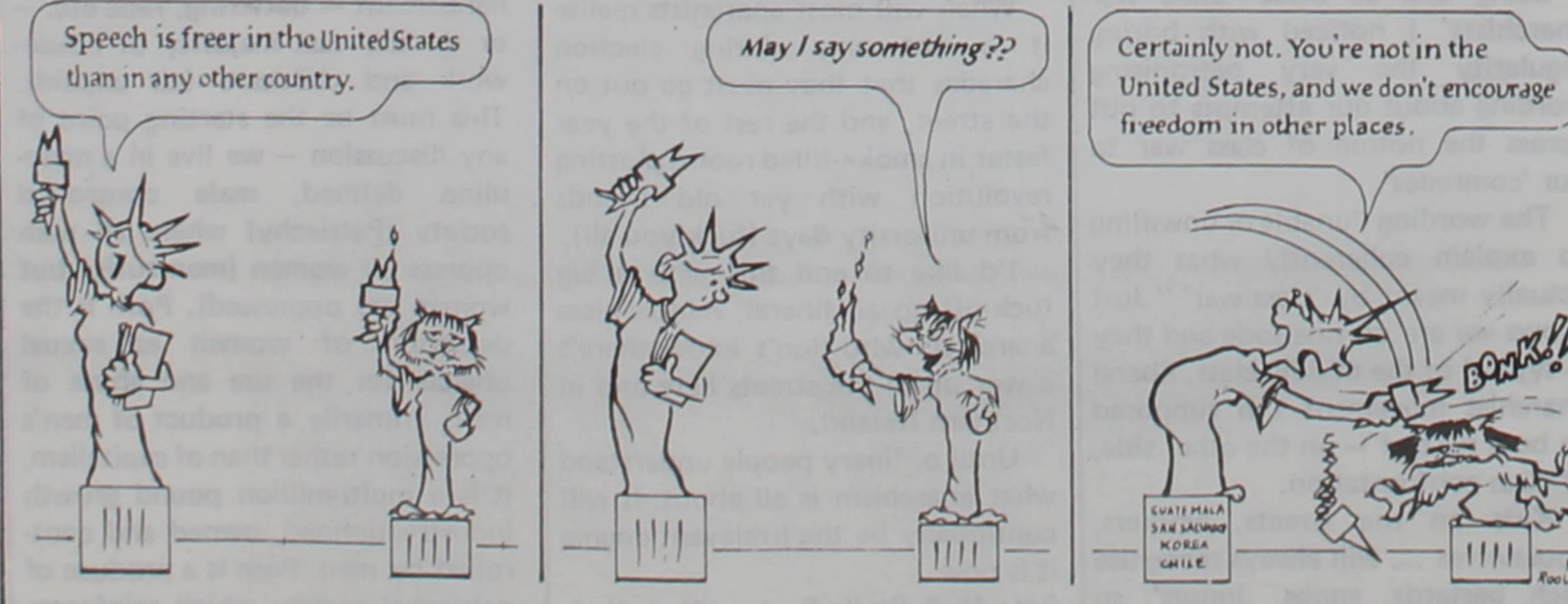
*Peter Arshinov: A History of the
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■ DEADLINES

FREEDOM Collective would wel-
come any readers who wish to help
fold and despatch the paper. The
next issue will be sent out on
Thursday 11 August, 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 8 August, longer
articles in by first post Thursday 4
August.

■ WILDCAT



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