

# FREEDOM

anarchist fortnightly

## inside

|                                 |        |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| LETTERS                         | page 2 |
| Free the Five<br>Sizewell       | page 3 |
| REVIEW<br>Pakistan<br>Sri Lanka | page 4 |
| Anthropology                    | page 6 |
| REPORTS                         | page 7 |

## editorial

Ranging from the stage-managed sycophancy of the Conservative Party to the bitter backstabbing of the Labour Party this is the season of political conferences. Currently on show at the Blackpool seafront are those doughty standard bearers of the working class the Trades Union Congress. This is their 115th. performance and it is sad to say that the act is beginning to look more than a little stale.

After many years of training their members to accept compromises with their employers and to delegate all power and authority into the hands of the chosen few it is hardly surprising that the current economic and political climate has led to a drop in membership and general despondency within the Trade Union movement. When, as some political theorists would have it, the workers should be out on the streets fighting the system that has failed yet again to come up with the promised goods we see them instead resigned to their fate.

All the TUC has been able to come up with is an agreement to talk to the Employment Secretary Norman Tebbit about new anti-union legislation. This is called facing up to the reality of the situation. And so it is for the TUC has long been but another weapon in the hands of capital, helping to knock off the rough edges of factory life, papering over the chasms between employer and employee, claiming to be fighting to better the conditions of the working class while shoring up the status quo. Meanwhile the General Secretaries, Presidents for life, and Chairmen can keep their cushy jobs their political power and possibly a place in the House of Lords, for so are servants of the State rewarded.

It is important that anarchists distance themselves from these bastions of reaction and cease to pretend to be able to work within them for they are as much a part of the capitalist system as any political party. Infact as the supposed proponents of socialism and equality as well as the mouthpiece and muscle of working people the TUC and Unions in general have probably played a more insidious role in damaging the cause of true freedom than anyone else.

And they need not worry that Tebbit's laws will be too harsh for he knows he needs them and they need not worry that their members will disappear for they have nowhere else to go and they need not worry about anarchists and syndicalists because we are not strong enough. Yet.

# ARE THEY ALL MAD

Death and deceit, the prime fruit of politics, ripened in the September sun and came up with a bumper harvest.

By accident or design, a Korean civilian airliner was obligingly shot down by Soviet military fliers, and everybody had a field day. The ceaseless and relentless probing of 'the enemy's' defence system and alertness, countered by the 'enemy's' alertness and readiness to shoot first and ask questions later, provided 269 martyrs to the Cold War.

Weeping and wailing and righteous indignation followed. Heads of state rushed back to their offices from their ranch, dacha, villa or Summer Palace and immediately, unconcerned with fact, struck their familiar and required postures.

Their followers obligingly and dutifully followed suit. Southern Koreans demonstrated in Tokyo and London and, for all we know, in Darwin and Little Rock. Kremlin watchers watched carefully the total lack of reaction from the Kremlin, wherein the Soviet leaders just waited and waited for the Americans to put their feet in it.

Which they eventually did. Through the usual strange misuse of the English language which manages to put seventy-five syllables where seven could do the job, 'A Spokesman from the White House' let slip an admission that there had been an American 'reconnaissance' plane in the very same borderline waters into which the Korean Jumbo jet had 'trespassed'.

Please forgive our wearisome use of quotes around these words. Reconnaissance simply means spying — but we, in the Free World (forgive the capital letters too, please) don't lightly admit to going in for spying. Except in fiction, of course. On our side, where, as Reagan would know only too well, the good guys wear white hats and the bad guys black, the world of international espionage is merely the subject for wide-screen, technicolor blockbusters about James Bond, or

depressing seedy films about seedy characters coming in from the cold. It has to be thought of as fiction, not fact.

It's them cunning Russkies that do it for real. Funny, isn't it, that in any other field in which the Russkies are doing it for real, the Americans have to be shown to be matching them, bullet for bullet, missile for missile — and more. Not merely matching them, but being in the position to outgun them any time.

But spying is after all the art of secrecy, not of deterrence — though this in itself may require a great deal of bluff and deception. Remember those cardboard Messerschmitts the Nazis had on their airfields in 1939 — and the cardboard tanks the British scattered about the South of England in 1940? All kid's stuff by today's standards, when each side knows it is being photographed night and day from watching satellites.

There must be some advantage in using manned aircraft, like the USAF RC-135 — an adapted Boeing 707 — for the sort of border patrol that is maintained along all international frontiers between East and West blocs. Perhaps real live pilots are still a bit more perceptive than infra-red automatic cameras, but perhaps the real advantage is that they become part of the game and are regularly noted, recorded and accepted as part of the scene. Now nobody who has ever had any time to waste at an international airport could fail to notice that a Jumbo jet is different in shape from anything else on the field. It comes in looking like a humpback whale among the dolphins. There is in our opinion no possibility that the pilot of the Russian fighter (Mig-23 or Sukhoi-15 — another vagueness, but does it really matter?) could have possibly mistaken the Korean Jumbo for an ordinary spy plane. So what did he think? That was an extraordinary spyplane, of course, and its extraordinary behaviour backed this up.

For there seems to have been no sign from the Korean plane that the pilot was taking any notice at all of the fact that he was being signalled to by the Russian fighters. They apparently flew over him, flashing lights and wagging their wings and then started firing tracer bullets to warn him that he was off course and over 'sensitive' Russian naval and missile bases.

He took no notice (apparently) and so, according to the rules of the game that he should have been taught, he was shot down, passengers and all.

The whole thing bristles with questions:

1) Had the pilot switched to automatic, fallen asleep and not noticed

the plane was (presumably through a mechanical fault) hundreds of miles off course? Sounds unlikely, but these long night flights, and at 30,000 feet plus, it's a boring ride.

2) Was the whole thing a set-up, a CIA dirty tricks plot to counter in world opinion the recent USSR 'offer' to take away a certain number of SS-20 missiles to start the run-down of nuclear armament?

3) Was the airliner actually a cover-up spyplane? With or without the passengers' knowledge?

4) Was it routed to fly over USSR territory in order to test Russian ability to detect and react. And if this was not meant to be a test to destruction, was there some mechanical or human failure that prevented the pilot of the civilian liner seeing what was happening? If so, had the plane been fixed beforehand or was it all accidental?

We could go on with the speculations. The thing is that in human terms all this is so barmy — with the exception of 1) above — that the almost certain expectation of disaster should have ruled it out. And if 1) above was the real situation then the whole thing is a tragic accident which brings us back to the tragic reality that we live in a mad, mad, mad world.

The Russians were reacting in exactly the same way they were expected to. That is what is so lunatic about it. Go back to the Cuba crisis and see what Kennedy was ready to do to stop the Russians putting missiles on Cuba. Remember how Thatcher reacted on the Falklands — and how all that was brought to a shooting match by the sinking of the Belgrano — on orders given from England to the Commander in the area.

At first it was thought (hopefully?) that orders to shoot down the Korean plane emanated straight from the Kremlin. American commentators were pointing out that the Russian system is a rigid hierarchy and things are much more 'flexible' in the American forces. It now turns out that the order to fire came from the Commander of the USSR Far East forces (no doubt looking over his shoulder in the direction of the Kremlin), and thus the Russian system is more flexible than the Americans assumed. Perhaps it is worth the deaths of 269 persons to find that out.

What is so sickening about all this is that these deaths are being used for propaganda purposes. But it is not as though disasters like this are anything new in the catch-as-catch-can game of espionage. A few years back an Italian airliner mysteriously 'blew-up' in midair off the coast of Sicily, while a Mediterranean NATO fleet exercise was taking place. No great stink was made about that.

And we should not forget the fishing vessel SS Gaul which mysteriously vanished in February 1974 in the Barents Sea not far from the Russian port of Murmansk and relatively near another 'sensitive' Russian defence area. This fish processing vessel, out of Hull, was known to be carrying sophisticated monitoring (ie, spying) equipment and was unlucky enough to be working too close to Russian territory while a NATO exercise was going on to the North of Norway.

To this day, British authorities assert that the ship 'went down' — but the Gaul was one of the most modern ships of its time, equipped with all the latest safety gear, but not one genuine piece of wreckage or slick of oil has come to the surface in nine years — and no bodies either. Nobody among the relatives of the 32 men missing (on a boat usually carrying a crew of 25) believe for a moment that it sank. They believe it was captured by Soviet naval vessels. But neither the British nor the Americans say a word about that.

One thing that seems to emerge from the present episode is that the military authorities are in second-to-second contact with *their* planes, wherever they are. Japanese, Russian, American military airforce plotters were watching what was going on — but there seems to have been *no civilian aviation authority* whose job it was to alert the Korean pilot he was off course and to warn him of the consequences. Not even an alarm clock to wake him up.

So — 269 more victims on this arena where the lunatic games are played out at our expense. And these are not clowns any more; they are pathological lunatics playing their power games on and on into the sunset of the great orange mushroom cloud.

And, undoubtedly, we are mad, too, to put up with it.



'Oh, look dear isn't that a MIG-23?'. 'No dear it's an SU-15.'

**Pornography — The debate continues**

I'd like to make a few comments on Gjon's response to my previous letter on porn and censorship. Clearly he dislikes porn and that is fine, but he has no place telling me what I can and cannot read, which is exactly what people who destroy literature with which they disagree, eg, *Playboy*, are doing. If porn offends, one should not read it, but should not interfere with those who wish to. I doubt that Gjon would support the actions of people who went about burning copies of **FREEDOM** because they felt it corrupted traditional moral values, and I think he should apply the same standards to porn.

Depiction or description of sexual activity of any nature is not violence against anyone unless the participants are coerced, which appears to be the exception, not the rule in porn. And certainly the image portrayed of women (and men) in most porn is no more degrading than that depicted in most non-porn literature, especially advertising. Certainly *Nana* is no feminist tract, but I've never heard of any women destroying copies of this book because of its view of women. Why the double standard?

How can mutilating mags *not* be censorship? Talking or writing about sex, or distributing pictures of people having sex violates no-one's rights. It is absurd to say that

porn is different than all other lit in that it constitutes actual violence. Frankly I can't see how anyone could say that *Playboy* is worthy of destruction, while *Mein Kampf* is not (Gjon opposes censorship of fascist stuff) and pretend to be consistent.

It's unfortunate that so many anti-freedom types have tagged onto the anarchist movement. Freedom of speech and press must be absolute or it is not worth a damn. Calling Alex Comfort a reactionary because he is a sexual libertarian is an example of the strange way in which these censors view the world. If anarchy is ever going to change this world, we've got to cut loose these puritanical busybodies in anarchists' clothing, and stop giving them positive coverage in our press.

**Joe Peacott**

▲ So Joe Peacott (**FREEDOM** July 2) as an anarchist says 'we' should not interfere with 'free speech' and accept all the shit porn has to offer us. (Does he include the people who object to 'snuff movies' as being sexist because they object to porn dealers dealing in the death of women in their porn videos?) Or are we to take away the objectors right to 'free speech'?

No doubt Joe has umpteen porn mags under his bed with pictures of

women dressed up in school uniforms etc. so as he can get his small bit of pleasure. Then he can go on to the streets the following day and get his kicks replacing his fantasy image in a porn mag with the 'real live thing'. He may look upon this and say 'none of my mags have school girls etc. in them' — that doesn't matter, the principle is the same — if he can look at a porn mag, see a 'woman' who is available to him at any time it will turn out the same — every woman he passes in the street to him (and millions like him) should be available for him to abuse with his mind. My only regret is to think that he thinks he's not offending anybody.

On the other point — if ripping up *Playboy* is interfering with 'free speech', then I would rather be gagged than to be called an anarchist. If Joe Peacott's idea of anarchy is to debase 50% of the population of the world with his non-intervention in the anti-porn campaign — who gives a shit — there's plenty like him.

**Black Bairn**

▲ I am writing on the issue of pornography and a disturbing aspect of the latest feminist campaign against it which I am still unsure of but would like other sisters and brothers to investigate...

On three occasions now I have been involved in anti-pornography debates and campaigns, all with three different women's centres which I shall not name in case my information is incorrect in any way, and so that further investigations can be carried out. What I have uncovered on three different occasions was that some of the most prominent women involved were not in the least bit left-wing. Although they appeared to be at meetings, in more intimate conversations it became increasingly clear that they were not only opposed to pornography, but also to homosexuality, free love and abortion etc. Of course, it is possible that they just haven't thought things through, however it would be highly unlikely for such experienced campaigners.

So, out of curiosity at first, I decided to find out a little more about those women, and in two cases so far it appears almost certain that they are also involved with right-wing Christian organisations. I have mentioned this to other feminists who alas do not take me seriously saying that they are still women and therefore 'sisters'. I do not think so and feel that some positive investigation should be done to prevent our being used by women who only seek to serve patriarchy.

**AL**

**Why I am no longer an anarchist**

After having been active in the anarchist movement for over 10 years I do not find it easy to write down why anarchism does not give me any more a satisfactory strategy for anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle.

I had to revise my old conceptions of revolutionary strategy while studying the revolutionary struggles and achievements in Central America and the Caribbean: Cuba, Nicaragua, Granada, El Salvador, Guatemala. Neither in Cuba nor Nicaragua nor Granada is an anarchist society feasible in today's politic-historic situation, even if it were desired by the majority of the population. But this condition — anarchist mass-consciousness — was missing in these countries. And yet authoritarian revolutionary movements have succeeded to conquer the power of the state and are in the process of constructing socialist societies under extremely difficult conditions. The kind of socialism which we find does not reflect our anarchist ideals, but it is a hundred times better than the corrupt and cynical dictatorships that ruled before. A Cuba and a Nicaragua without the power of a state and without the support of other

socialist states would long ago have had to surrender to the economic blackmail and military intervention of the United States.

Anarchy in one country is not possible in the age of imperialism. We have to face the facts: A modern army with air force and specially trained units can defeat a country militarily, whose defence is based on workers' militia and/or autonomous fighting units. This was already the case in Spain in 1936. Franco's war was to a large part financed by the USA and militarily supported by German and Italian special troops. Only a stronger intervention by the USSR could have prevented Franco's victory. An anarchist revolution of course does not get such support.

The anarchist concept of an armed General Strike (armed workers' militia supported by autonomous military groups) may be capable of defeating the power of the state temporarily. But without a revolutionary army with a unified strategy and leadership a people in arms will in the long run have to submit to a modern mobile army. Workers' militia are immobile by definition. Tied to the place where they work and live the armed workers can defend the revolution

against local counter-revolutionaries but they can be disarmed and defeated one after the other by mobile military shock-troops. Autonomous revolutionary military groups can only be effective if they possess a common information network and a unified plan of action, ie, if they abandon their autonomy and submit to military hierarchy and command. The troops under Machno and Durruti had such a structure and were therefore a) relatively successful and b) strictly speaking not anarchist anymore.

But what about the argument, that a people can defy and even eventually defeat an internal or external occupying force by permanent civil disobedience and economic actions (Go-slow etc.)?

Well, if the people does not have the political power to distribute the fruits of their labour, ie, if it lives under the conditions of exploitation, of wage slavery, then the people rely on their wages in order to survive. The working class without political power is economically subject to the exploiter. Non-cooperation, long-term strikes etc. lead in the long run to poverty and misery of the people, while the occupying force can still live well

on the surplus of external means. See Poland today.

In Western Europe today a revolution seems so unrealistic, that it is easy to follow unrealistic revolutionary concepts. But if we look at the situation in Central America, where the social revolution is on the agenda, then it is the duty of a revolutionary to develop realistic revolutionary perspectives. A realistic perspective cannot be derived from an ideology of the 19th century, but must be based on the social and historic conditions of each individual country, taking into account the global political conditions of US-Imperialism and Soviet-Imperialism. Cuba is not equal to Vietnam, Poland is not equal to Afganistan, Nicaragua is not equal to El Salvador and England is not equal to Spain.

What I am propagating today is something like a revolutionary pragmatism. We have to fight for that which is possible. We must not give up our libertarian aims where they can be realised, but our anarchist philosophy must not stand in our way when a social revolution of authoritarian character is possible in one country.

**Klaus**

**Drugs, prisoners and fully-fledged anarchists**

It was interesting to read the letter by A Reader (**FREEDOM** 27 Aug.) where it was suggested to boycott products from countries where anarchist propaganda and organisations were illegal.

However, I disagree with A Reader about 'the anti-drug paranoia' in the case of Sicily. While I accept the freedom to use drugs or not as one chooses, I feel the situation in Sicily is not a simple question of free choice in the use of drugs. As far as I can see here we have a situation of a different culture with different values being imposed on people in Sicily along with the USA bases. Part of this will be an influx of drugs (such as heroin) which will be unscrupulously 'pushed' on more susceptible members of the community who have had little knowledge of drugs before. Hence a probable increase in heroin addiction and more human suffering. So the drug using can be seen as part of a greater cultural disruption and not just a question of 'free choice'.

I think the people of Sicily have a great deal to be concerned about from that direction quite apart from the military bases at Comiso.

**D Dane**

▲ In his review of Vernon Richards book *Why Work?* Geoffrey Ostergaard draws attention to the large increase in unemployment since the 1960's. There has been a similar and probably connected increase in the British prison population during that time.

Any concentration on the question of the development of leisure needs to take into account the growth of what is deemed to be crime. Increasing unemployment and the erosion of the work ethic cannot be seen in isolation since the increase in 'crime' and the prison population is likely to lead to an outcry, orchestrated by the mass media, for more authoritarianism.

Whether or not the prison buildings and the staff will be able to

carry out the containment of the increasing number of inmates is a further question of relevance. No doubt to some Marxist inclined libertarians the sphere of prison is peripheral, to those who have any strategy, however, incarcerated populations are fundamental.

**JW**

▲ In his letter (**FREEDOM** no. 17) Stuart states that the 'anarchism' of recruits from the Peace, Feminist, Animal Rights and Ecology is to be doubted and suggests that it is 'time wasted' to be involved with such.

Is he seriously suggesting that only fully-fledged anarchists form 'the movement'. Tell me, how does one become as complete an anarchist as Stuart?

From my own experience, in this society libertarianism is something that has to be learnt and practised. Having the courage to defy authority is the first step and probably the hardest. What better way to begin to practise rejection of authority

than by demonstrating for a cause one feels passionately about. Here enough enthusiasm may be generated to overcome the initial fear of breaking the law. Thus through experience of demonstrations, N.V.D.A., civil disobedience, etc., potential anarchists become aware of individual struggles and how they interrelate. With this increasing awareness will come the realisation that there can be no lasting solutions while the State exists. How is 'honest libertarian understanding' gained without actively experiencing the individual results and inherent faults of authoritarianism?

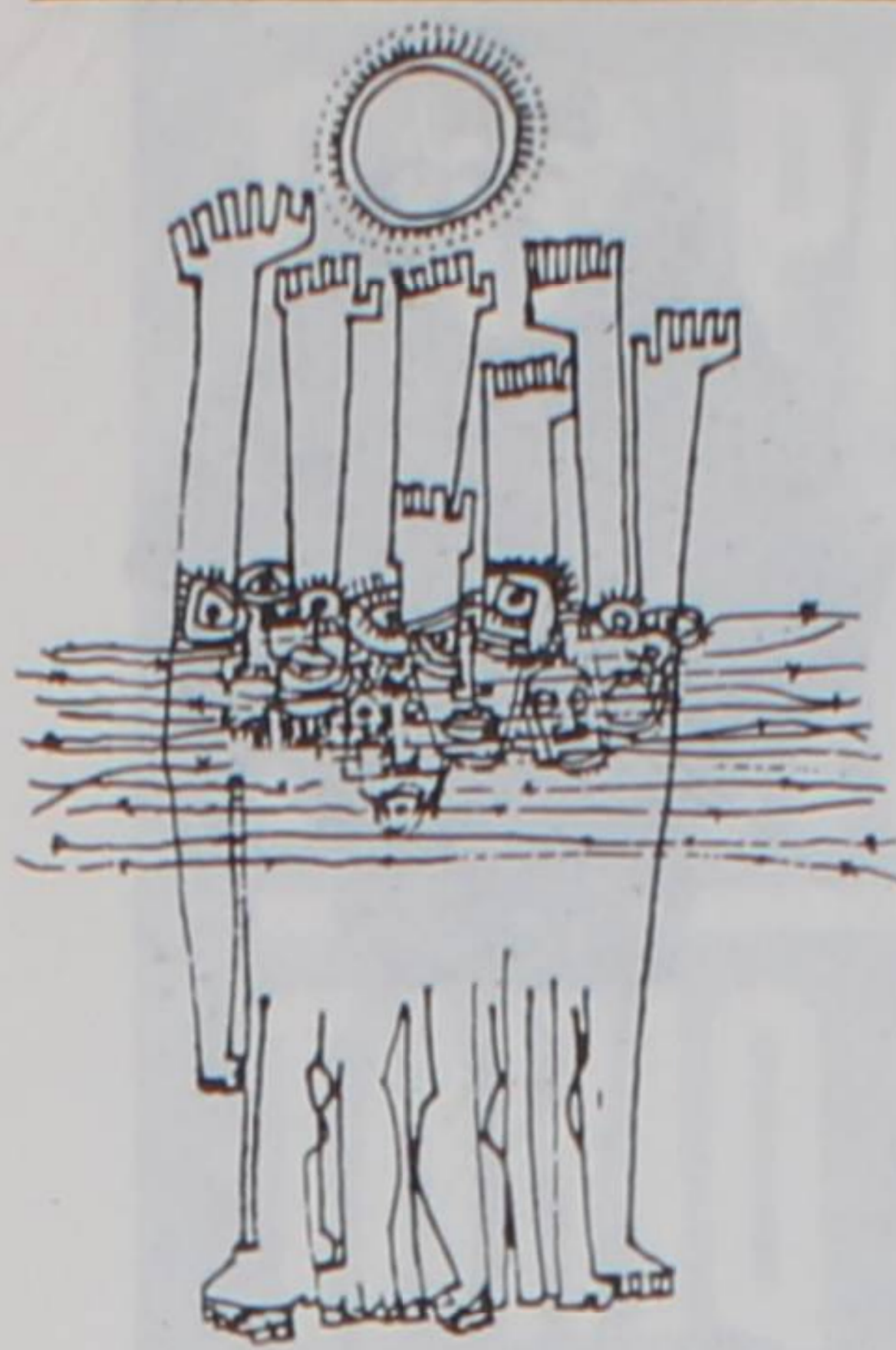
So these 'recruits' are as much a part of the anarchist movement as Stuart is, only less advanced. It is no 'time wasted' for a kid to attend an anti-vivisection demo or go to the 'Green Gathering'. Graffiti about peace is about anarchism; animal liberation is human liberation.

**Andrew**

**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.



# Free the Five

On September 6th, 1983 begins the first of a series of political trials dealing specifically with issues of environmental protection, women's liberation, nuclear proliferation, civil rights and militant resistance. People who work within movements involved in each of those issues will be involved with the ongoing work around the trials, and all of us will obviously be affected by the outcomes. Because of the sheer scope of the issues involved, the relevance of the trials to everyone cannot be easily imparted. For many people, even those of us already involved in political work, it is a new experience to be dealing with the law, courts and prisons firsthand.

But we must also see that in other countries, even other cities and other political movements, the necessity of dealing with court trials and imprisonment has become a common ingredient of all political work. In America, the Black, Native Indian, Chicano, and Puerto-Rican communities have fought long against the repression and imprisonment of their peoples. Even the labour movement now owes its strength to the history of the workers who confronted the power and law of the State head-on. For years throughout Europe and the US, radical activists have experienced arrests and trials as a result of protests against Western imperialism and militarism. Throughout the Third World, armies and death squads act against popular resistance movements. In Quebec, the FLQ experience taught many the awareness of the police and courts as enforcers of government and corporate policies.

Virtually every nation of the world has its share of political prisoners and murdered activists. And everyone throughout those nations whose lives have been touched by such struggles for freedom and justice have learned that power and force is used by the State yet it is called LAW. And then we are told there is a confrontation between the LAW and terrorism. So now we reach a situation where protest and resistance is labelled terrorism, the greatest emotive label to cripple protest and support ever invented by the international government agencies.

This all goes to attempt to explain the situation of the trials of the Vancouver 5. We have seen that the police attempt to propagandize the case as Law v. terrorism yet we

must resist that distortion. It is a political trial where there are very clearly opponents that envision and defend completely different world views. We can look at how freedom-fighters were treated elsewhere and use that here. But do we realise that we face a completely new set of conditions. Canada has had little experience with political trials of this nature, with the FLQ trials of a decade ago being the only exception. But to judge from the history of international protest movements, political arrests and trials in Canada will probably continue and become a more constant part of the fabric of our work.

Symbolically, the relevance of the case is in the demonstration of our strength in showing that we do not hold as legitimate the power (legally sanctioned) that institutions, governments, corporations, police, courts etc. have over our lives. The relevance of the daily details of the trials is in how we manage to expose the corruption of the police.... the destructiveness of BC Hydro and industrialisation.... the violent danger of Red Hot Video....the terrorism of Litton. Every effort must and will be done to put these operations on trial for their crimes against humanity. Every day though, we will face the reality that the State has these five activists on trial and their safety and future is of immediate concern to all of us and must be dealt with. People want this case to be made simple so they can understand it but that cannot be done. It is a complicated, expansive issue that people will have to grapple with from their own perspective, making their effort to understand and incorporate many different approaches and effects that this trial manifests.

**1st trial**  
**12 COUNTS**  
*conspiracy to rob a Brinks armoured car.*  
*possession of restricted weapons.*  
*3 counts of vehicle theft.*  
*4 counts of possession of stolen property (communication equipment, guns, vehicles).*  
*possession of explosives.*  
*breaking and entering.*

The first of four trials in BC begins September 6th. For that first week to 10 days, defence counsel will be making a number of pre-trial submissions dealing primarily with the defendants' right to a fair trial and the likelihood of getting that considering the general media hysteria so far. The impropriety of the RCMP giving a press conference on January 21st after the ban on publication of evidence will be discussed. The entire series of prejudicial press coverage will be documented.

In a courtroom, the only hope for any impartiality toward the accused always rests with the jury. The 12 jurors will be the only ones with the power and openness to judge from an overall human perspective. The jury selection process will likely begin during the second week, September 12th, and it is difficult to say how many days it will last.

Then begins the 'voir dire', most likely a lengthy six week process in which the judge alone will determine whether or not the evidence is admissible. The trial proper (with witnesses, evidence etc.) looks to be starting sometime in October and continuing into January.

This trial is extremely important because it sets the tone for the following trials, in both atmosphere and sentencing. The prosecution has lumped all the more 'criminal' charges into this first barrage in an unsuccessful attempt to depoliticize the trial and the defendants.

**2nd trial**  
**3 COUNTS**  
*arson/firebombing of Red Hot Video, North Vancouver.*  
*arson/firebombing of Red Hot*

*Video, Surrey.*  
*attempted arson of Red Hot Video, Port Coquitlam.*

This trial is due to start sometime around January 1984. A new jury will be selected for each of the trials. Any decision on the pre-trial motions will likely hold from the first trial.

Because of the nature of these charges, the ground opens up for a strong presentation against pornography and Red Hot Video. A large portion of the trial will operate with a political defense....to 'Put Red Hot Video on trial'. Feminist researchers and sociologists will be called to testify on the relationship between pornography and violence against women and children. Women from the local anti-pornography movement will testify on the struggle to educate people and to shut down those sellers of hatred and enslavement. Many precedents will be set by this trial.

**3rd trial**  
**5 COUNTS**  
*sabotage of BC Hydro Dunsmuir substation.*  
*possession of explosives with intent to cause damage to property.*  
*conspiracy to damage BC Hydro substations.*  
*conspiracy to damage Terry Fox Icebreaker (Gulf Oil ship to explore/exploit oil in Northern seas).*  
*conspiracy to sabotage aircraft/equipment at Canadian Forces Base, Cold Lake, Alb. (site of Cruise Missile testing).*

A very tentative date for this trial is March-April of 1984. Again this will be a very political trial with BC Hydro, industrialization, and the nuclear arms race on trial for their crimes conspired and committed against the land and the people! There will be evidence brought to light about the details of how an energy corporation with international associations operates and affects all it touches. Testimony from environmental activists will show the history of the opposition particularly to the Cheekye-Dunsmuir project which would ultimately see a nuclear power facility on Vancouver Island.

**4th trial**  
**robbery of IGA.**  
The \$ 50,000 robbery of a Vancouver IGA in February 1982 has been laid on 3 of the 5 defendants. The trial should be brief.

**litton**  
**4 COUNTS**  
*placing of explosive with intent to damage property of Litton Ind. causing explosion (likely to cause serious bodily harm to persons).*  
*conspiracy to damage property of Litton Systems.*  
*possession of explosives with intent to damage property.*

After all 4 trials in BC are complete, the 5 will be taken to Toronto and tried for the Litton bombing. Perhaps it will be late spring, early summer by that time and the preliminary hearing and trial could last several months. The prosecution is stonewalling requests to have evidence-to-date disclosed to the defense lawyers. As each of the previous trials unfolds, light will be shed on how to proceed with the Toronto charges.

**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 '0', Burnaby BC V5H 3N4.*  
*Financial contributions to the defence work: Free the Vancouver five Defense Group, Account # 91740-1 c/o CCEC Credit Union, 205 E. 6th Ave., Vancouver, BC V5T 1J7.*  
*Any other ideas/info to share, contact us at: Free the Vancouver Five Defense Group, PO Box 48296, Bentall Station, Vancouver, BC V7X 1A1.*

(from Free the five newsletter no. 6)

Leiston in Suffolk is best known as the home of A.S. Summerhill School. It will soon become better known as the nearest village to Sizewell Power Station by the sea. Sizewell is a hamlet of a few cottages, a pub, coastguard lookout and fishermen's huts.



Four of us arrived by truck looking as if we might have been an offshoot of the Peace Convoy. We were alone. On arrival at Sizewell we found the carpark blocked-off, concrete blocks placed to prevent any beach occupation and the tiny community in fear and trembling of a host of large buses and trucks squatting their deadend road. This had happened the year before, so that now the police put a cordon across the road and effectively turned away people who trusted them when they said the 'gathering' had been called off! We arrived later to find no police and no organizers of the weekend long picket at the power station.

Saturday morning we returned after sleeping in a layby and set up our information and book stall on the pavement leading to the beach. People trickled in and we finished as the 'Sizewell 17' when we all expected to find 17 hundred or even 17 thousand! However the outcome was a group which got to know each other. A vigil outside the entrance to the power station. Posters made and a counter exhibition displayed outside the CEGB's own exhibition centre; and lots of discussions with local people. We pitched our tents on the sandhills, contrary to by-laws and our book stall contrary to the local MP's pleasure.

The power station loomed above only a quarter mile away reaching down to the beach. Two platforms offshore provided the water intake and outflow for cooling purposes. A barbed-wire fence staked out the space for Sizewell 'B', next to Sizewell 'A', almost a mile along the beach. There must be little hesitation that the public inquiry will stop the nuclear power industry? (Part of the nuclear war industry!)

Constant humming from the power station and irregular 'shrieks' as the crane or gantry moved around disturbed the air along the beach. Ironically, as I was told by the retired coastguard and fisherman Josh, the last house to get electricity

was the nearest house to the power station. More importantly he mentioned being quizzed by a CEGB consultant as to tides. Here it flows North to South. The platforms controlling the water cooling are built with the outflow: nearest the shore - literally only about fifty yards out from the beach. Having swum in the sea, Southwards, drifting scum and warm sea water all around us, we can place this on record as having no after effects! Ho ho. We may know in twenty years. But this is the least worry when we know that workers in power plants of a nuclear kind do suffer cancers and leukemia. And what of the waste? This gigantic structure seems typical of twentieth century architecture being a rectangular box as alien to the seashore landscape as the Snape Malting's old Brewery is to the marshy inlets further down the coast. However Snape Maltings has a human dimension and has courtyards and warehouses which leave room for the individual man or woman to work in rooms with a human touch. There are even three-storey cottages built into the original structure. Horses carried the grains. Barges also tied up alongside the Maltings. Such power stations destroy natural habitats of wildlife and pollute the surrounding country. It is questionable whether such centralised giants are needed. Minsmere Nature Reserve attracts many walkers to the north, whilst to the south is Benjamin Britten country. Ipswich is the nearest large town. Orfordness another secretive bit of coastline where power station or Ministry of Defence establishments exist?

Attend the public inquiry for a day at Snape Maltings this autumn; picket the power plant and enjoy the coastline walk. Sizewell 'B' will become another link in the nuclear missile chain. We can begin to challenge the public apathy. Interestingly among the seventeen on the beach at Sizewell, five declared themselves to be anarchists.

Dennis Gould

Picture taken from Undercurrents





## INSIDE OUTSIDER

*Inside Outsider* by Tony Gould (Chatto & Windus/Hogarth Press £12.50).

This book on 'The Life and Times of Colin MacInnes' raises two questions — whether MacInnes is worth a biography, and whether this biography is worthy of him.

Colin MacInnes (1914-1976) was a highly individual writer who was briefly prominent two decades ago. For thirty years after the Second World War he made a precarious living from good freelance journalism — reviews, reports, broadcasts, essays — but from the late 1950s to the late 1960s he won a particular reputation as a well-informed interpreter of the new culture of youth, pop, blacks, drugs, sex, and so on. Similarly, during the same period he wrote much minor fiction, but between 1957 and 1960 he produced three picaresque novels which brought the same culture vividly to life.

The first question is whether his work has permanent importance. Very little journalism is worth re-reading, let alone re-printing, and many of the items in the collections of MacInnes's journalism — *England, Half English* (1961) and *Out of the Way* (1979) — have already dated, though many still stand as documents of their time, and some have lasting value. Similarly, his novels are beginning to disappear into oblivion, though the London trilogy — *City of Spades* (1957), *Absolute Beginners* (1959), and *Mr Love and Justice* (1960) — still lives. He may be

seen as a sort of George Orwell who hadn't written *Homage to Catalonia* or *Animal Farm* or *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, and it may be asked whether his work deserves a whole book.

In the same way his life, though as highly individual as his work, is hardly interesting enough for a whole book either, since he never did anything really important. Tony Gould, who is the literary editor of *New Society*, has recognised the problem, and has attempted to turn his semi-official biography into a study of the times as well as the life and work of his subject, but the second question is whether he has succeeded.

He has certainly collected a great deal of information by wide reading and interviewing. MacInnes had a remarkable family — indeed a family tree would have been helpful — and in some ways he was overwhelmed by his social and cultural heritage. Gould rightly spends much time and space on this, though he doesn't mention what MacInnes often emphasised — that he was completely un-English, all his ancestors being Scottish, Irish or Welsh, and that he made this the basis of his proud position as the 'inside outsider' of the book's title.

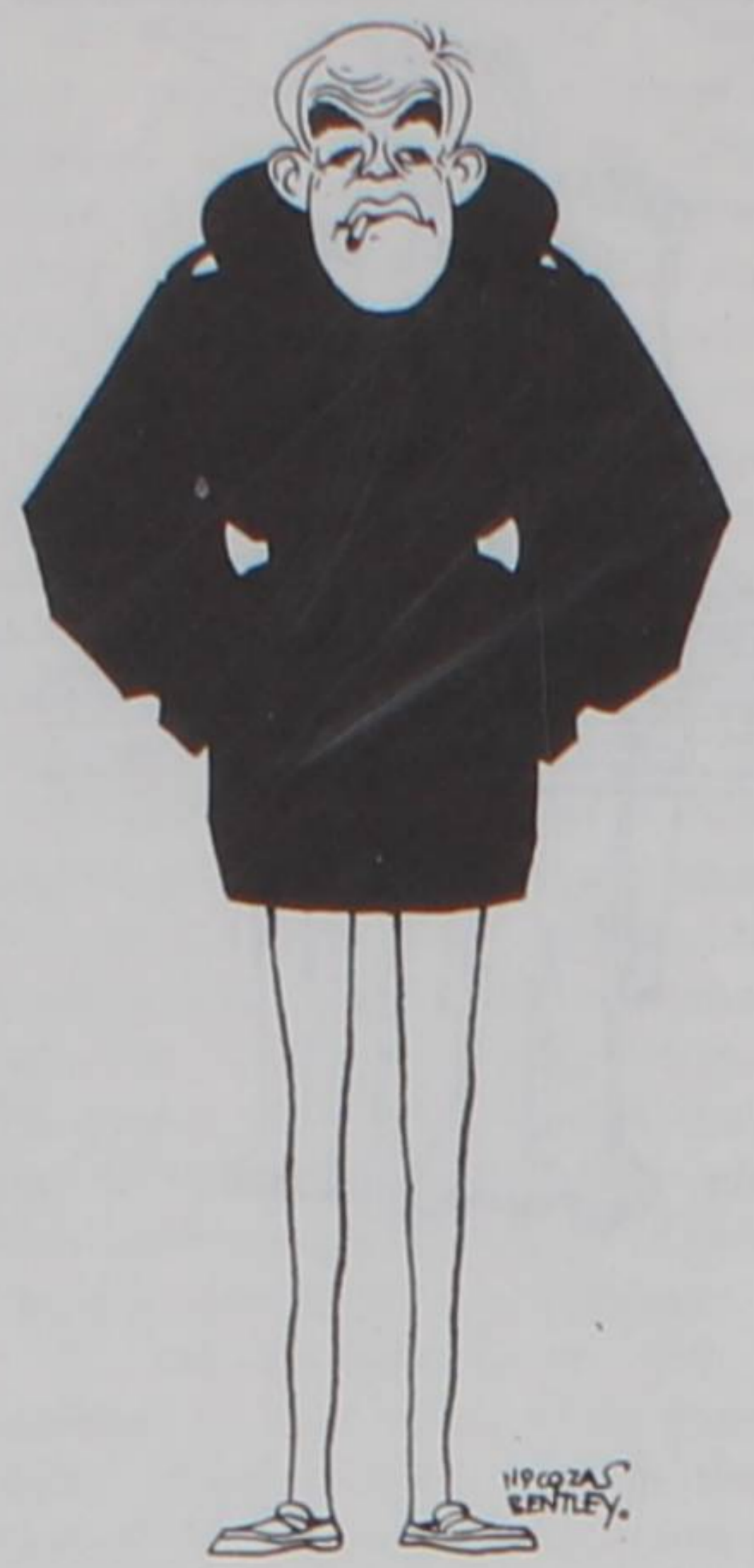
His childhood was disrupted when his mother (the romantic novelist Angela Thirkell) left his father, who was an alcoholic and a homosexual, and went to Australia with a new husband; and his

adolescence was disrupted when his mother left his stepfather and came back to England. MacInnes lived in Australia from the age of five to sixteen, which made him even more of a misfit, and he always kept a slight Australian accent. Back in England, he didn't go to university, but first went into business in Belgium and then became an art student in London. During the Second World War he served in the army, ending as a sergeant in the Intelligence Corps in Germany — an experience described in his first novel, *To the Victors the Spoils* (1950).

So far, so fairly good; but *Inside Outsider* begins to falter when MacInnes began to work as a journalist in 1946. The trouble is that biographies of most writers lose interest when they begin to turn their experience into their work, and that not only is journalism an uninteresting form of writing but MacInnes lived a rather uninteresting life. Gould does his best to strike a balance between the life and work, but the result won't make much sense to readers who aren't already familiar with his writing. Gould fills in the background to his special position — his bohemian style, his growing alcoholism and homosexuality, his mixing with blacks and drop-outs — but he fails to show the special qualities of his work or the significance of his career.

One of the most irritating defects of the book is the absence of a bibliography, even of MacInnes's own writings. One of the most interesting things in the book is Gould's account of three unfinished and unpublished novels — *Fancy Free*, an explicit sex fantasy; *Angus Bard*, a painful fictionalisation of his parents' life; and *Children of Eve*, a political fantasy involving anarchists stealing one of the Parthenon marbles from the British Museum. The manuscripts survive at the University of Rochester, NY, and it would be good to see them in print — especially the latter, which is dedicated to Colin Ward.

MacInnes wasn't spoiled by success as most people are, but he did go into a decline during his fifties. He quarrelled with most of his friends, he produced worse work for better money, he drank and smoked too much. But he remained a generous acquaintance and stimulating companion to the end, and he wrote good journalism beyond the end, his last articles appearing after his death from cancer. There won't have



to be another biography, and this one is probably as good as could be expected, but it is a disappointing book for anyone who knew and liked MacInnes.

This will be especially true for anarchists. MacInnes was a sort of anarchist all his adult life, and was a busy and useful fellow-traveller with the anarchist movement during the 1960s. In my obituary of him I wrote: 'Colin MacInnes probably did more than any other writer in this country outside the formal anarchist movement to turn the general libertarian revival into a specifically anarchist direction during the early 1960s' (FREEDOM, 15 May 1976). Gould quotes this in a chapter called 'Anarchist Sympathiser', but only a couple of pages are given to his actual involvement in anarchist activity and propaganda, and there is no proper assessment of his political views. The same is true of his later involvement in the Black liberation and gay liberation movements, and the result is that the book falls apart towards the end, rather as MacInnes himself did.

So the answers to the two questions are rather negative. This is a pity, because MacInnes should not be forgotten, but he shouldn't be remembered by this book. Never mind; he always liked to come and go as he pleased, and *Inside Outsider* may be an appropriate farewell.

NW

## Sri Lanka

found myself, as an ex-soldier and anarchist, giving advice to the occasional passing revolutionary, and was eventually foolish enough to commit it to paper in the form of a twenty-page treatise on raising a revolutionary army. For this ridiculous slip I was deported to the UK in November 1964, and rightly so.

The parallel between the situation then and now in Sri Lanka and the Anglo-Irish war in Northern Eire is beguiling. There is a culturally and religiously unassimilable minority at the north of the island unable and unwilling to retreat to the mainland. In both cases women prime ministers are being dragged electorally, if not by inclination, into protecting this minority by diplomatic and probably economic means. Force of arms is now also being used in Northern Eire and if it were not for the extreme reluctance of any Asian prime minister to engage in such expensive and unethical adventures the same situation could well develop in Sri Lanka. "Them as lives longest'll see the most" as my old dad used to say.

I put the problem in this perspective to highlight its fundamentally intractable nature. This nature is

well attested throughout history, and there are no instant solutions. When men persist in fighting one another for whatever cause, there are only three possible solutions for bystanders sufficiently powerful to entertain any realistic thought of solutions. ignore it as in Iraq v Iran, or in Eritrea; join in on one

side or the other, as the Protestant English have sided with the Protestant Irish in Northern Eire; push in between the antagonists and commence pouring concrete, as in Korea and Berlin, with or without the say-so of the antagonists.

Of course the anarchists offer their own unique solution of restructuring society so that the antagonisms mentioned do not begin to arise. Such a solution is currently regarded by all states as being a cure so bad that it kills the patient as well as the disease.

Removing our gaze, however wistfully, from perfectly feasible utopian solutions, we are left to concentrate upon the also-ran type outlined above. Since indifference or intervention will clearly lead to bloodbaths only differentiated by the techniques of filling the bath, ie,

knives and rocks versus phosphorus bombs and napalm, we arrive at what Aristotle was pleased to call 'the form of execution'. What is left is what must be if a late twentieth-century holocaust is not to take place around Jaffna: partition.

Please, please, do not take sides. This is not melodrama, the conflict of right with wrong. This is tragedy, the conflict of right with right. The recent and early incursion of Tamils into Sri Lanka over a strait one could swim across is as natural and inevitable an historical process as that of the white man into the Americas and into Australia, the Belgae into Britain and the ancient Chinese into Japan. Like birth, it will not be stopped, but it can be made a damn sight less painful and dangerous if its unstable side-effects are understood and controlled by able and sympathetic bystanders. Concrete walls, whether between countries or set around parks, are no more eternal than the sun. They weather, crumble, become a haven for flowers and children and eventually turn into an acceptable, even loved, part of the surrounding landscape.

Trevor M. Artingsoll  
Nederland

I would like to present a clearer analysis about the Sri Lankan crisis than I have yet seen presented in the media. My authority rests on two years (1962-64) residence there as a Colombo Plan Scholar, in which time I learnt enough Sinhalese to get by in the villages, many of which I visited and stayed in. I

# CAN PAKISTAN SURVIVE?

## TARIQ ALI

The Death of a State



*Can Pakistan Survive?* Tariq Ali  
Penguin £2.95, 237 pp pb.

Penguin must be quite gratified by the current disturbances. Here they are with a new book by a well known, if not notorious, media figure who is conveniently a Pakistani marxist. Ali summarises the history and prospects of the Pakistani state from its origins in the

Muslim League, a section of the anti-British movement before independence.

The new state was a mess from the beginning in 1947. Millions died in the chaos of partition. When things settled down a bit, India had a fairly stable political system. All Pakistan had was its theological justification. ('Pak' means pure)

Its very shape was a mess. The borders, typically, divided people with the same language and ethnic background. They were simply based on what the British could conveniently administer. In the west the Baluch straddle across into Iran and the Pathans into Afghanistan. These arbitrary lines have been a source of trouble ever since. In the north, Kashmir has been a constant problem. The Indian border has seen three major wars. And East Pakistan was separated by a thousand miles. The government was completely dominated by Punjabis and based on the old, colonial, civil service and the army. This state of affairs stumbled along for a decade. Then the army took over completely under the first of the singularly charmless (even by the usual run of military dictators) generals that Pakistan has managed to produce, Ayub. Resentment against the regime was focussed around ineffectual populists, Bhutto in the west and Mujibir Rehman in the east. There was a small left wing, but their effectiveness can be gauged from Ali's throwaway comment, 'In both parts of the country the old left had failed to make even the correct promises'.

In 1969 Yahya Khan replaced Ayub. The new incumbent reached unsurpassed levels of brutality and precipitated the secession of Desh and a war with India. To cope with the embarrassment of the defeat and the general unresy, the army called on Bhutto to act as front, a civilian as 'Chief Martial Law Administrator'. He set up a facade of reform, which still, incredibly, maintains his following among the credulous. His 'martyrdom' when the army got fed up with him also helps. Top general since 1977 has been Zia ul Haq, who has emphasised Islam.

This historical background forms the bulk of the book. Ali writes it clearly enough and generally avoids lapsing into marxism. However,

there is probably too much detail and too much assumed background, for the general reader. Much more useful is the final chapter, 'Geopolitics and the super powers'. In these 36 pages, Ali examines external influences on the stability of the Pakistani state. Since independence, India, obviously the major power in the region, has maintained a cautious foreign policy which it calls 'positive neutralism'. Stung by paranoia and an inferiority complex, Pakistan has been much more restrained. From the beginning, it was a 'bastion of the free world against communism'. This policy was conducted with enthusiastic involvement in SEATO and the Baghdad Pact. The role of the army has been continually reinforced by American weapons to protect against 'external enemies' (like the Baluch). Islamabad was very upset by the Carter regime's policies on 'human rights', which insisted on less overt oppression before delivery of the goodies.

Then, Allah intervened on behalf of the Pure. The USA was feeling dazed. Despite being The Good Guys, they had 'lost' Vietnam and Nicaragua. More importantly, Iran, their major base in the region had collapsed in chaos and Islamic fundamentalism. There was the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Coupled with the change of administration in Washington, the results were predictable. Once again, arms flowed into Pakistan. The US top military is quite open, they want bases for the Rapid Deployment Force, for example a naval base at Gwadar (more imposition on the long suffering Baluch) or Karachi. There is talk of resurrecting the old electronic surveillance centre at Badaber (near Peshawar). There is another line of argument, in Washington and in the Pakistani civil service, which suggests the possibility of some sensible agreement with India. However, the overall effect of the Reagan administration's policies has been to strengthen the reactionaries,

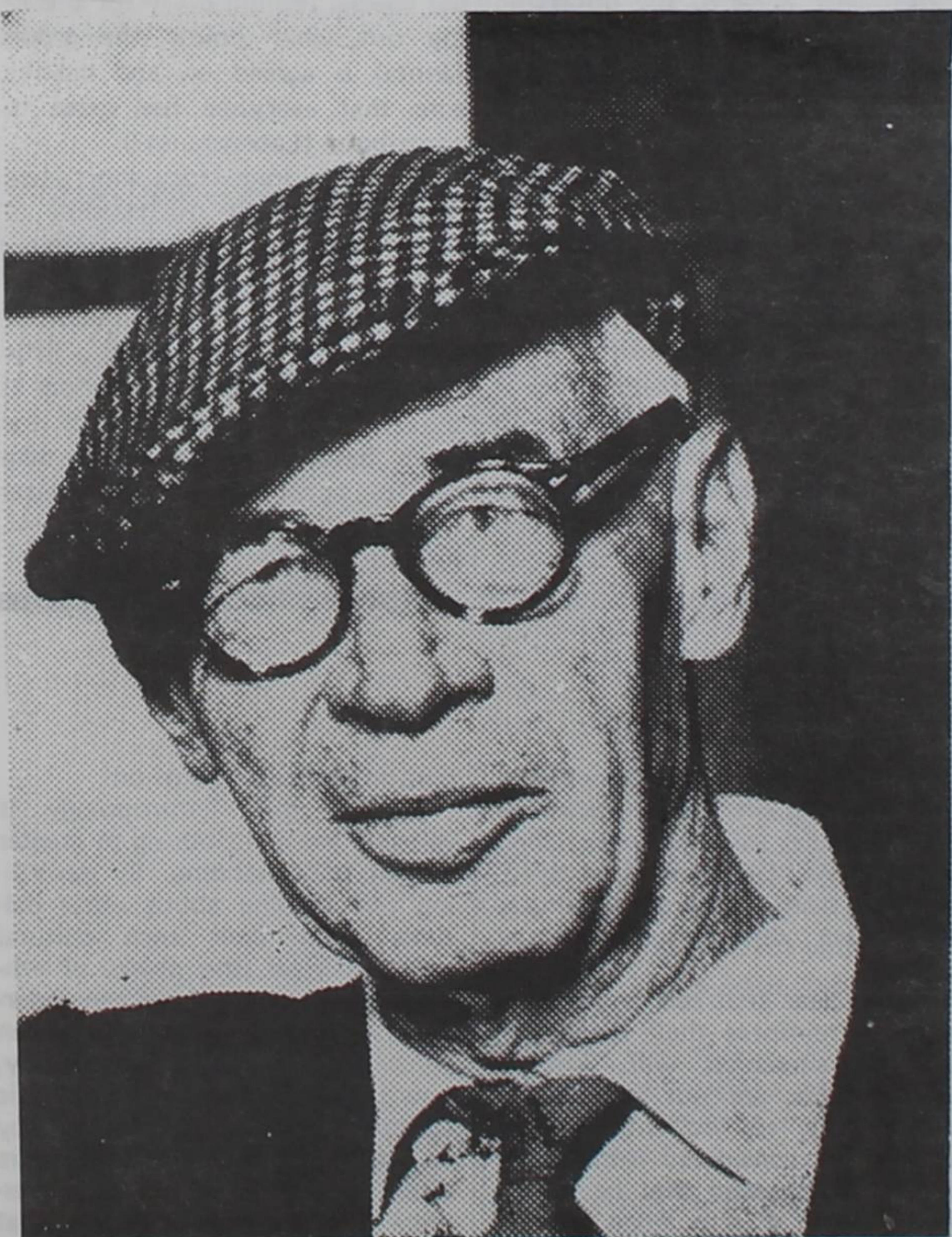
who think entirely in terms of solving problems by repression and purges. And Pakistan is developing nuclear weapons.

None of this power politics does anything for the Pakistani people. The place is still a mess. It is still dominated by Punjabis (the current upset is mainly in Sind. It has little chance of achieving anything unless it spreads). The economy is non-existent and run on behalf of landlords. It is dependent on money sent from emigrees, for example in Britain. In fact the major export is cheap labour. (In the early 1970's it was reported that 10,000 women had been sent to the Gulf states by the United Bank, to work as prostitutes). Even the much trumpeted Islamicisation is a failure, there are more Moslems in India! And while the Zia regime hides behind its veil, and operates through the Jamaat-i-Islami, which can most easily be described as fascist, all the prestige goes next door, where the good Ayatollah dismisses Islamabad as a load of hypocrites.

And if all these contradictions become uncontrollable, the oppression just doesn't work any more and the Pakistani state really does die? Ali is anti-nationalist, 'A voluntary Federation of South Asian Republics must remain the goal not only of socialists, but also of democrats, who should not accept the cruel and arbitrary lines drawn by past British rulers to divide nationalities and tribes from each other'.

Fair enough, as far as it goes. A wave of self determination could tear apart most of the states in the region. It would be nice to know that the Sindis, Baluch, Parthans, Turkmans, Kurds, Quashquai and the rest weren't being oppressed by outsiders. Of course, in a frenzy of traditional values, they might well be oppressing themselves, but that, apparently, is some sort of progress. More convincing progress would be the death of all states.

DP



# Henry Miller

Some of the truest anarchists have shunned even the label, because it is limiting and unnecessary. Bunuel never had to go shouting from the rooftops that he was an anarchist because everything he did was 'anarchic', and so it is with B. Traven, Hubert Selby, and many other well known people. None of these have been so overlooked and misunderstood as the writer Henry Miller. In the 1930's, when he was writing books which make modern permissiveness look like something out of the Ladybird series, he was heralded as the King of Smut, a reputation which clung to him all his life, even though of the fifty books he eventually wrote only a small handful contain any sexual reference; later he was accused of being sexist, although he had been championed from the beginning by one of the first feminist writers, Anais Nin, and himself had written many articles advocating total liberation of women, articles which make many of the left-wing feminists seem cautious and none too eager.

Miller was born in New York in 1891. There, in his own words, he acquired 'the typical American gangster spirit'. He left City College 'disgusted with the atmosphere of the place' and became a clerk with a cement company. Two years later his father (a Brooklyn tailor) gave him the money to go to Cornell University, but he spent it on his lover instead, then left her to become a ranch hand. On his way to a warehouse near San Francisco, he saw a poster advertising a lecture

being given that night by Emma Goldman, and after hearing that he began to think seriously about writing. He went back to New York where he took umpteen jobs in between bouts of sponging and panhandling and finally left for Paris (with a dollar in his pocket) in 1930.

Two years later, after more sponging and sleeping on people's floors, he wrote *Tropic of Cancer*, and never stopped writing until his death in 1980. He started earning money from his writing, which was systematically banned around the world for twenty years, in the early 1960's. He never compromised, writing always from passion and exhilaration, believing that 'what is not in the open street is false, derived, that is to say, literature'.

There followed several passages from some of his more 'political' articles. These are quoted to show his commitment to a better world, as well as his fury at the stupidities of the present one. Begin with Miller on writing:

*Most of our literature is like the textbook; everything takes place on an arid plateau of intellectuality. Ninety-nine per cent of what is written — and this goes for all our art products — should be destroyed. I want to be read by less and less people; I have no interest in the life of the masses, nor in the intentions of the existing governments of the world. I hope and believe that the whole civilised world will be wiped out in the next hundred years or so. I believe that man can exist, and in an infinitely better, larger way, without 'civilisation'.*

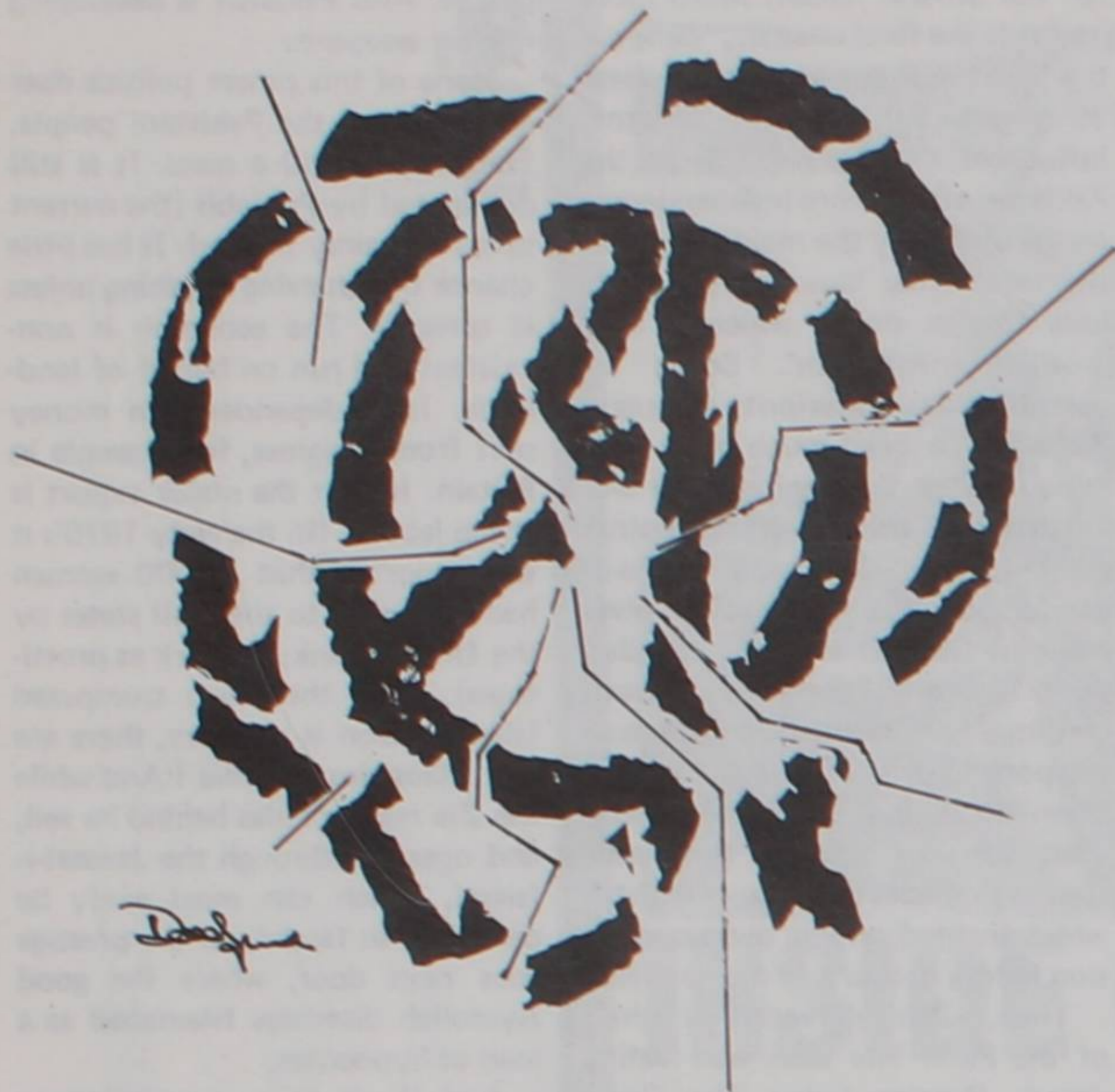
(from *The Cosmological Eye*, 1939)

*I would a thousand times rather be the most incorrigible convict than a hireling of those who are trying to maintain law and order! Finally, when you see it staring at you through the barrel of a rifle, you know what it means. A bas puissance, justice, histoire! If society has to be protected by these inhuman monsters then to hell with society! If at the bottom of law and order there is only a man armed to the teeth, a man without a heart; without a conscience, then law and order are meaningless.*

(from *The Airconditioned Nightmare*, 1945.)

*The cultural era is past. The new civilisation, which may take centuries or a few thousand years to usher in, will not be another civilisation — it will be the open stretch of realisation which all past civilisations have pointed to. The city, which was the birthplace of civilisation, such as we know it to be, will exist no more. There will be nuclei, of course, but they will be mobile and fluid. The peoples of the earth will no longer be shut off from one another within the states but will flow freely over the surface of the earth and intermingle. Governments will give way to management, using the word in a broad sense. The politician will become as superannuated as the dodo bird... Man will be forced to realise that power must be kept open, fluid and free. His aim will be not to possess power but to radiate it.*

(from *Sunday After the War*, 1944)  
Seamus Flynn.



It appears as if a dangerous fragmentation is taking place amongst us — not so much healthy debate as an unhealthy argument, a fruitless process that can only dissipate our energies, so much more unites us than divides us — but one might almost feel the opposite to be the case.

As libertarians, we see one thing only — Freedom, specifically the freedom of choice we need in order to fulfill our inclinations. All that restricts our freedom most directly is man-made — all such restrictions being the expressions of a primal fear that permeates and cripples the human species. It is change, and the consequences of change, that fulfill us — this fear is fear of change, an urge to fixity, limitation and enslavement, it manifests in a multitude of ways — political totalitarianism being the most characteristic, although such problems as racism and sexism also stem from it. What we fight against, therefore, is not one thing or situation, but, rather, an attitude of mind — one whose workings can poison all causes, all relationships, all language.

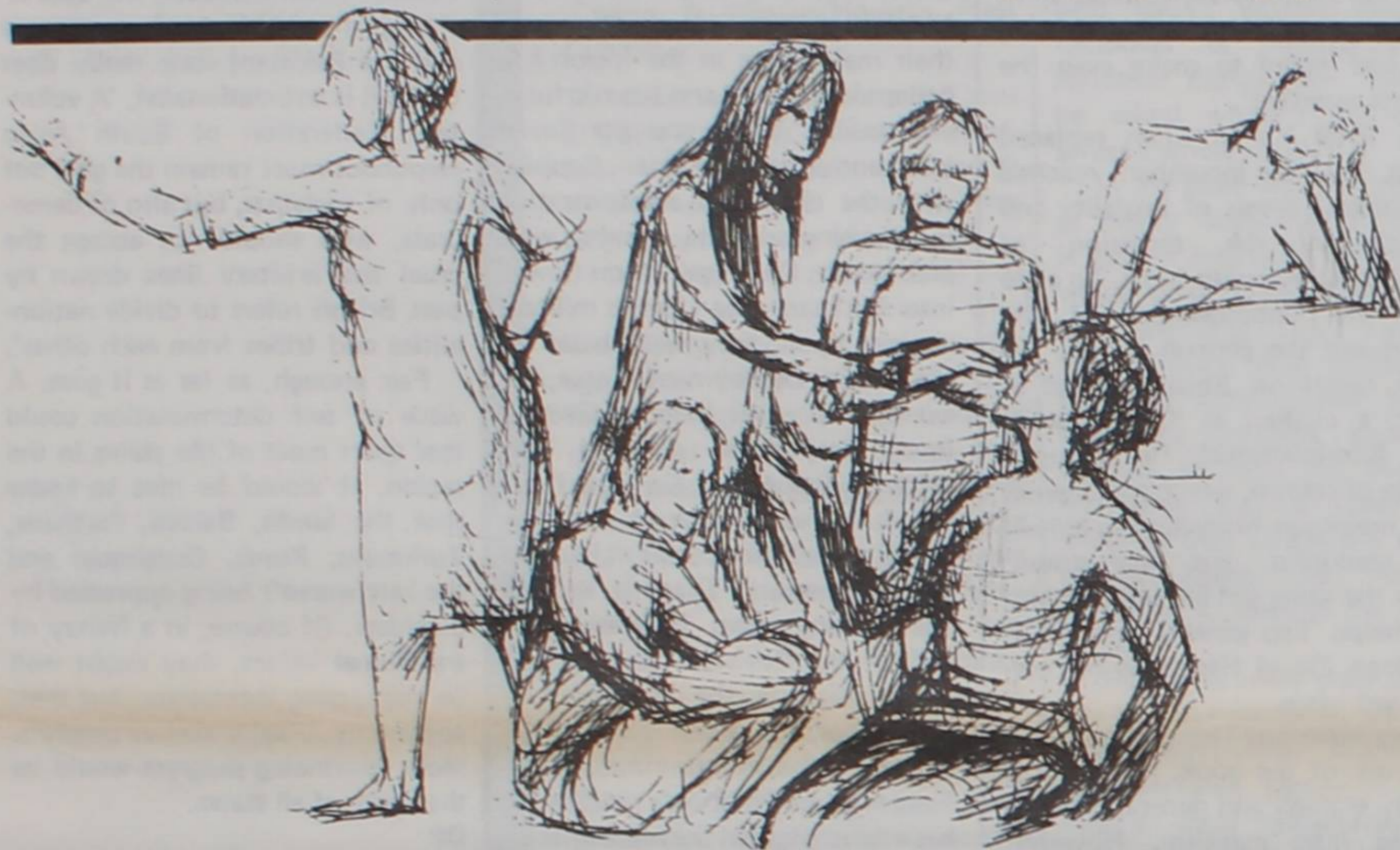
The road to freedom stretches beyond our sight, and there are degrees of freedom to be won so far ahead as to be imperceptible at present. No battle we must fight is more than a stage along this road — which leads me to the nature of the problem facing us, we are obsessed with the short-term — and have lost all sense of context and proportion as a result.

Of course it is the short-term objectives that collectively make up the long-term. But when one over-concentrates on particular problems, one develops an almost fetishistic attitude towards them. One can delude oneself into thinking that perfection can be attained by banishing the 'demon' that particularly haunts one — do away with the bomb, or patriarchy, or whatever, and all will be well — even anarchism can become fetishistic — the abolition of the state is no more than the beginning! Fetishism leads to fragmentation — different people concentrating on different objectives — also to intolerance and prejudice of a most virulent kind, such as certain sections of the

feminist movement seem particularly prone to at present. Such tunnel-vision can only lead, to fragmentation and paradox — movements so blinkered will tend to collapse under the weight of inner contradiction, the authoritarianism they engender ill-serving a fundamentally libertarian objective. Isn't this the last thing that should happen?

If we are to co-operate successfully, we must again realise that common ground which unites us — namely, the search for liberty, an unending search that is its own justification and the source of our humanity. For only when we have a sense of the long-term are we able to act wisely and effectively in the short-term — it is to our advantage that the goal is so very simple, so very clear for all its distance, but until we share such a perspective, it will be chance alone that guides us in the right direction — and chance is the last thing we should place our trust in!

Norman Jope



#### An introduction to non-violence training Peace News broadsheet 10p

As a *Peace News* reprint it has a certain esoteric affinity with other publications from the same stable particularly *Cruise on your doorstep* (review FREEDOM 4 June 83). Although these broadsheets complement each other I leave it to readers to make up their minds as to identifying which one encourages groups to carefully discuss, prepare and evaluate actions and which one sets out the possibilities for such activity bearing in mind, that if we are given two choices it is usually a good idea to opt for the third.

An introduction to non-violence training opens with an extract from Richard Gregg's book *The Power of non-violence* 1935. 'We need something for workers for peace

that would be equivalent to the Army Field Service Manual that is issued for instruction to all soldiers". While it is not my intention to comment on the work of Richard Gregg, I strongly question the themes of ideological conformity running throughout the broadsheet and the self-styled role of *Peace News* as a training agency. The regimentation of ideas represented in the broadsheet are a blue print for a submissive orthodoxy symbolised perhaps, harmlessly enough by a life style of role play and muesli, but beneath the veneer of yogurt and soya milk lies a system of social control totally opposed to independent thinking.

In describing techniques to facilitate the coming together of groups

and the sharing of feelings about actions the broadsheet relies heavily upon the theories of group dynamics and social work practice. Like *Peace News* itself the broadsheet draws on a wide range of traditions including counselling, psycho analysis, brain washing and aversion therapy.

As these ideas and techniques always depend fundamentally upon a cross fertilization of theory and practice, we should not be surprised to learn that training and action should be understood as part of a single process (how profound). The liberal use of professional terminology such as loosening up and energising scenarios, agenda clarifications and strategy developments, represent the parameters of its pseudo scientific character.

Under the heading of introductions we learn that name games are a useful technique to reinforce group feelings and help create a friendly atmosphere. The ball game is put forward as a technique to help meetings and training sessions run smoothly. A ball is thrown around the group, which is sitting or standing in a circle, and each person who catches it states his or her name. The ball is then thrown around the group again but this time the person catching the ball has to state the name of the person who has thrown the ball to them (confused — you will be). This is continued until it is obvious that everyone knows one another's names. No doubt this game provides much needed entertainment for *Peace News* readers, but it can hardly be presented as an efficient method of sharing information. Would it not be simpler to provide people with name tags?

The various methods of acting out situations beforehand to find out what our emotional and intellectual responses are likely to be are really designed to see how people operate as a group, ie, who participates and accepts its prevailing leadership. As these assimilation exercises encourage everyone who is in the group to participate — so that they all feel responsible for the action or meeting they are involved in, a crucial function of the group process is to modify the performances of those less committed to its aims.

The broadsheet identifies three broad categories of roles. What it terms task-roles are geared to getting the external work of the group accomplished, eg, initiator and information giver. Never mind the consensus bit this is really

leadership carried out by the person in charge. Secondly there is the set of maintenance roles associated with the smooth functioning of the group (state) during its existence (rule) and although it is characterised by such egalitarian terms as encourager or agreement tester it is really a submissive role especially reserved for proletarians, introverts and members of ethnic minorities. Finally there are individual roles that allow individuals to express individual needs but the broadsheet is not sure if such roles are helpful to the functioning of the group. This category of roles are occupied by rebels.

Under the heading of practicalities we are informed that all training sessions are introduced and informally led by a facilitator. These people are responsible for introducing tools (pickaxe, hammer, screwdriver, spanner) explaining what they are for and what they involve and making sure everyone feels happy with what they are doing (it ain't what you do, it's the way that you do it — perhaps). This non hierarchical chairperson has special responsibility for checking out what points the group (Junta) is agreed on and making sure that everyone has space to contribute. (Lebensraum?)

To cut a long story short, two pages later under the heading of Role Play the role of the facilitator has been upgraded and is subsequently referred to as Director. If this is beginning to sound a little hierarchical, we can find comfort in the fact that all members of the group have an opportunity to take this role at sometime — well at least theoretically.

David Isiorho

## We are not Billiard Balls

Being an anthropologist, I am compelled to respond to Pat Isiorho's letter in the 2nd July issue. Pat said that anthropology is 'value-loaded and far from being objective, yet it is presented as an exact science'. Each of these statements is true, but only depending on which particular school of anthropology one is considering.

Early anthropology was dominated by racist elites of the propertied classes, members of which were (and still are) not known for their objectivity and tolerance. These people were predominantly colonial governors who, having little to do, filled their non-administrative hours with studies (superficial due to their elitism and therefore being necessarily unobjective and racist) of the indigenous cultures. These primitive ethnographies were presented as 'see how stupid the natives are; we

can sleep easily knowing that we are taking good care of them' material for the amusement of the upper class snots in the mother country. Anthropology did not create colonialism. Early anthropology was not exact, nor did anyone pretend it was.

Of the more recent history of anthropology (from the 19th Century to the present) Pat seems only to know that it has been repeatedly presented as an exact science. (I don't have the time or the energy to devote to a decent synopsis of this history, but for a good overview I recommend *Culture and Morality* by Elvin Hatch.) This view has been taken by proponents of the Positivist school, including historical determinists, evolutionists and Marxists who enjoyed great popularity after the Second World War, then went into decline during the late sev-

enties, but who have refused to give up trying to portray anthropology as a rigorous science. As might be imagined, these folks are not objective, nor are value judgements (inherent in an evolutionary framework) absent from their analyses.

There is another school of thought within the discipline: the Humanist school. We maintain that cultures cannot be compared by values since the adaptations to environmental conditions are different in each culture. We also disagree with the idea that anthropology can ever be an exact or 'hard' science, like physics; a billiard ball will react in certain ways to pressure exerted upon it — there are equations that can predict the result of the exertion without even the need to repeat an experiment. The humanist

school maintains that human beings are not billiard balls; equations and formulae do not work when the variable of intellect is involved. People from different cultures will react differently to equal stimuli.

It is clear that racists will find data to reinforce their ideologies, just as anarchists will. Just as trade unions are not intrinsically anti-worker, so too anthropology cannot be considered intrinsically racist. Pat showed that he is actually aware of this when he said that anthropology 'is open to much misuse' (emphasis mine).

Pat seems to condemn the entire discipline because of its admittedly shitty past. It seems like this is the same line of reasoning that the communists use when condemning the entire anarchist movement for 'betraying the Rev-

olution' in Spain. Come on!

I feel that anthropology is valuable for contributing to greater human understanding. By describing and reading about other cultures from their own cultural point of view (the object of ethnographic fieldwork), we can understand a wider range of human behaviour. Without such study, how could we know of anarchistic societies (called 'acephalous' by bourgeois intellectuals who were afraid of using our word to describe our kind of society) that have existed for many generations? Knowledge is the prerequisite for understanding; ignorance only maintains intolerance and racist ideologies. And without anthropology there can be no real knowledge of other cultures and their uniqueness.

Lawrence Jarach

Autum leaves

Summer is over. The hot weather has gone, and the holidays have finished; the students are back at school and college, and the trade unions and political parties are back at conference; the General Election is forgotten, and the Government is governing; Parliament will soon be sitting again, and inflation and unemployment will soon be rising again. The social and political year has begun, and we are back to our normal lives of quiet desperation.

One of the significant developments expected by the end of the year — if they don't blow us up first — is the installation of the first American Cruise missiles in Europe, due to be deployed at Greenham Common in December, but likely to be quietly introduced before then. Although every public opinion survey has shown a clear majority against new missiles in general and Cruise in particular, the government has taken the result of the General Election as a clear mandate for its 'defence' policy, which includes Cruise and Trident and whatever else the Americans want.

One of the significant developments not yet accepted by most of the left is the collapse of the nuclear disarmament movement, and its failure to challenge this critical stage in the nuclear rearmament of Britain. Despite the relatively large illegal demonstrations of non-violent direct action during the last six months — at Greenham Common and Burghfield in April, at Upper Heyford in June, and at Greenham Common again in July — there is no real movement to organise such

action on the much larger scale necessary to have any influence on public opinion and any impact on the authorities.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which has sponsored all the recent NVDA, is trying to make sure that any future NVDA is kept purely symbolic and that there is no suggestion of genuine direct action. At the same time, the Greenham Common Peace Camp, which is now two years old and has organised nearly all the NVDA there, is trying to make sure that any future NVDA there is kept under control and is confined to women. This means that there is no prospect of really large and really effective direct action demonstrations against the coming of Cruise which ordinary people of both sexes can join. What is being organised instead is yet another enormous demonstration in London on Saturday 22 October, and various vague actions at Greenham Common.

The CND publicity for its latest demonstration proves its pointlessness. The absurd slogan is 'Where will you be October 22?' The obvious reply is 'And what will you be doing?' Three years after the first CND demonstration which showed that the nuclear disarmament movement had really revived, all they can think of is once more assembling on the Victoria Embankment and marching through deserted streets to some vast and empty meeting. There are two obvious dangers — one is that the numbers will be falling at last, which is likely enough after the gigantic gathering

of June 1982 and the utter eclipse of CND in the General Election of June 1983; the other is that the growing radical movement will decide to show its impatience more strongly than we did last time. Before then the 'Stop the City' demonstration on 29 September may show how things are moving.

As for Greenham Common, the discontent which has been simmering ever since men were excluded at the beginning of 1982 is beginning to boil over. No one denies the remarkable contribution made by the Womens Peace Camp and the Womens demonstrations during the past two years, but there is increasing concern that there seems to be less and less interest in stopping Cruise missiles and more and more interest in saving their souls, and that the Peace Camp is insisting on maintaining a monopoly of demonstrations at this crucial site. The issue was discussed at the Green Gathering in July and at the end of various marches in August, and now a meeting has been arranged at Conway Hall on Saturday 24 Sept. to discuss the provisional proposal to organise a national demonstration at Greenham Common during the week between Christmas and New Year.

And so, after three years, we are back where we began 25 years ago, with the nuclear disarmament movement split on various lines. Most anarchists will support the most radical possible direct action, and there looks like being plenty of trouble during the next few months. MH



FAF, LAF and 'Stop the City'

**Radio Libertaire destroyed**  
On Sunday 28 August 1983, at 6 am, the French anarchist federation's radio was seized by police forces.

The socialist and communist government want to clear the FM band of pirate radio stations, and Radio Libertaire was one of the most popular.

Militants of the French anarchist federation (FAF) and listeners were protesting strongly in front of the studio while the station was raided.

If the State didn't give us the right to broadcast, it was just because Radio Libertaire is an anarchist radio station.

It's the right of free expression in each country which is affected by this event. In France, we rely on a certain support and, in Paris, a demonstration will be organized.

IFA, AIT and other anarchist groups in the world already supported us strongly one year ago. We know today that we can still expect your active solidarity to defend this great propaganda medium which is Radio Libertaire.

Protesting delegations to the French embassies and consulates of foreign countries are effective ways to support us.

**French Anarchist Federation**  
(member of the International of Anarchist Federations)

**London Anarchist Federation**  
Next Meeting: Saturday 17th Sept. at The Prince Albert, Wharfedale road, Kings Cross.  
Starts at 8:30 pm  
Due to the almost compulsory mix-ups over dates/venues of recent meetings, it is essential that this

meeting be well-attended. It has become more obvious that, without greater support, the Federation is in danger of fading away. Therefore, would all those anarchists in the London area with a positive commitment to the LAF please attend.

**STOP 'THE CITY'**  
The next planned meeting is on Saturday 24th September — location to be arranged. There are co-ordinating meetings at 6pm on 12th and 19th September at 6 Endsleigh St.,  
Specific working groups are dealing with: press; publicity; legal; contacting 'city' workers; research; children's area; carnival; co-ordination on the day.  
Donations are urgently needed!  
Contact: Stop the city, c/o 6 Endsleigh street, London WC 1.  
Phone: Dave 01-809-1346, Andrew 01-609-1852.

In brief

Those 'political activists' have been active again. Judge Oliver Martin has pinpointed them as being behind an attempt to turn part of Notting Hill into a 'no-go area' for police. The case in question concerned an 18 year old, who can neither read nor write, who was convicted of helping to make petrol bombs. Four others were freed because of technicalities in identification. Obviously, clever deviants had led the youth astray. However, an example must be made, 18 months youth custody.

The South Korean authorities are much more hospitable than their neighbours. When a Mig-21 strayed into their air space last month, far from shooting it down, they welcomed the Chinese pilot with open arms. Now he has been given \$ 3.5 million in gold.

A Russian who stole a neighbour's sheepdog and made a winter hat from its fur has been sentenced to three years gaol.

A man cycling home drunk from a street festival in Cologne was called on by the police to ride 'in an orderly manner'. He ignored it and was shot dead.

According to research done for the Police Committee of the London Borough of Camden people with complaints should be advised to sue in civil courts rather than follow the official complaints procedure.

This latter upheld 3% of complaints last year. In contrast, damages claims against the Metropolitan Police have had about 40% success.

Police in Greater Manchester have denied that officers have been instructed to ask people calling for help about their colour or racial origin. This is very thoughtful, after all such people are presumably in some distress at the time. Accordingly, the information, which is recorded on a specially printed plastic card, is obtained by 'observation'.

Meanwhile, a survey on behalf of Community Relations Councils, lists a number of incidents where the Department of Health and Social Security has demanded to see passports as proof of residence status. As usual, these do-gooders seize on the point that in all these cases, the claimant was black. *The Observer* newspaper even claims, 'If officials are demanding passports as freely as alleged, they are clearly breaking DHSS regulations', which is self evident nonsense. They, themselves, quote the regulations as saying, 'Request passports only if normal questioning fails to remove doubt about the claimants status.' This 'doubt' stares them in the face. The Greater Manchester police can 'observe' it clearly enough for recording on their specially printed plastic cards.

Chinese authorities continue with their clampdown on 'evil members of the herd'. There is a campaign against gangs of 'hooligans, murderers, robbers, rapists and muggers'. Such anti-social behaviour is the lingering effects of the Cultural Revolution, individualism and decadent capitalist thinking. Two weeks ago in Peking, 30 people were executed by shooting in the back of the neck, in front of a large crowd.

Parents and officials bent the rules during a household registration census in China at the end of 1981. This is thought to be in order to avoid penalisation for having more than the permitted number of children. However, the authorities are confident about the accuracy of last year's national census. The difference between the two figures adds four million to the population.

A survey has found significant differences in nutritional status between pregnant women in Hackney and Hampstead. The average calorie intake in Hackney was below the level which doctors set as minimal to avoid retardation of growth. Half to three quarters of the women were short of vitamins A, B1, B3, folic acid, pyridoxine, C and D. Similer problems were not evident in women in Hampstead, where the average birth weight was two pounds heavier than in Hackney.

NATIONAL

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

**BASILDON**  
Contact:- Mark, 27 Little Lullaway, Basildon Essex.

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

**BELFAST**  
Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast

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

**BRISTOL**  
Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 197 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol 6

**BURNLEY**  
BAG, c/o 2 Quarrybank

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

**CARDIFF**  
c/o 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Rd, Cardiff 2  
C.O.I., Box 999, 108 Salisbury Rd

**CLEVELAND**  
c/o Liverton Crescent, Thornby. Also produces 'Common Cause' local anarchist paper.  
Box A, c/o 120 Victoria Rd, Middlesborough

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

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

**CUMBRIA**  
2 Forestry Cottages, Millfield, Hutton Roof, Penrith

**DONCASTER**  
Doncaster Anarchist Centre, 49a Doncaster Market Place

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

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

**FALKIRK**  
Black Bairn, c/o Box 3, 488 Gt Western Rd, Glasgow

**FORMBY**  
Floating Free, 58 Freshfield Rd, Formby, Merseyside L3 7JHW

**GLASGOW**  
'Practical Anarchy' (monthly free broadsheet send large sae) c/o Box 3 Calderwood. 15/GPP pamphlets c/o Box V2 At Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Gt Western Rd, G12 (Kglvinbridge Subway)

**GRAVESEND**  
Please contact Adrian, Lodge House, By Valley Lodge, Ifield Way, Gravesend, Kent

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

**HULL**  
Hull @ Group, 23 Nott St, (moving in Sept to 24 Albany St)

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

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

**LANCASTER**  
Tadeusz Szczepanski, 38 Bradshaw St, LA1 3BE

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

**LEEDS**  
Leeds Anarchist Group, Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge St, LS2 3AW  
Leeds Direct Action Movement, Box DAM, 59 Cookridge street, Leeds, LS2

**LEICESTER**  
Blackthorn Books, 70 High St, Libertarian Education, 6 Beaconsfield Rd, tel:552085  
The Anarchist Society, Societies' Room, Students Union Building, University of Leicester, University Rd, LE1 7RH

**LIVERPOOL**  
Liverpool Anarchist Group, Box LAG, 31 Gothic Street, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead, Merseyside.  
Discordians, Liverpool Students Union, Brownlow Hill, Liverpool  
North West Anarchist Federation, 224 Garston Old Rd, Liverpool 19, Merseyside

**LONDON**  
Anarchy Magazine, Box A 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1; FREEDOM Collective, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1 (01-247-9249). Aldgate East tube, nr Whitechapel Art Gallery.  
Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1. Meet Thursdays 7pm  
London Workers Group, c/o Little A C1 Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall E1.  
121 Books/Anarchist Centre, 121 Rallton Rd, London SE24 Tel: 274 6655 — Contact Address for:- Anarchist-Feminist Magazine; Pigs for Slaughter; South London Anarchist Group (SLAG); South London DAM; London Anarchist Youth Group meet every Friday at 121, 7.30pm.  
Martin Nicholas, 111 Reed rd., Tottenham, London N 17.

**NW LONDON**  
K Potkin, Student Mail, Polytech of Central London, 32-38 Wells St, WC1

**MALVERN**  
and Worcester area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrridge, Worcestershire

**MANCHESTER**  
Wildcat, Box 25, 434 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, M4 3BN  
DAM, Box 20, 164/44 Corn Exchange Bldgs, Hanging Ditch, M4  
Black & Red Society (Anarchist Group), c/o The Students' Union, University of Manchester, Oxford Rd, Manchester

**MORECAMBE & LANCASTER**  
Chris Preston, 27 Nightingale Close, Gosport, Hampshire PO12 3EU. (Correspondence only)  
North Lancs Libertarians, c/o Cliff M Poxon, 13 Carleton St, Morecambe Lancs LA4 4NX

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

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

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

**OLDHAM**  
Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Fallsworth

**ORPINGTON**  
RIK Fuller, 60 Ramsden Rd, Orpington, Kent

**OXFORD**  
Oxford Anarchists, 34 Cowley Rd

**PLYMOUTH**  
Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Ave, Penny-cross

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

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

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

**SHEFFIELD**  
Libertarian Society, PO Box 168, Sheffield 1  
Black Rat, c/o Students Union, Sheffield University  
Anarchists, c/o 4 Havelock Square S10 2FQ  
Sheffield Peace Action, 69 Rustlings Rd, Sheffield 11  
NEAF Secretariat: Box 168, Sheffield 11

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

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

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

**SWANSEA**  
Anarchist Group, Box 5, Neges, 31 Alexandra Rd, Swansea  
Billy, 63 Clynymaes Place, Blynymaes, Swansea

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

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

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

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

**YORK**  
Shell 22, 73 Walmgate, York

MEETINGS

**DISCUSSION MEETINGS IN CENTRAL LONDON**  
Arising out of Nicolas Walter's series of lectures last winter, a group has been formed to continue regular discussions on and around anarchism.  
They will be held every FRIDAY at 8 pm prompt at the MARY WARD CENTRE, 42 Queens Square, WC 1. Opening programme:  
30 September; Iris Mills on Anarchism and Feminism — central or diversion?  
7 October; Dorice Ross on The Drugs and Food Racket.  
14 October; Tony Jones on Anarchism, the individual and the law.  
21 October; Phillip Sansom on Anarcho-Syndicalism — is there an alternative? Contact: Box PS, c/o FREEDOM

Next NWAFF meeting will be 11 am, sat. September 24th at the Swan Hotel, London road, Liverpool (5 minutes walk from Lime st. station). Discussions will include 'Stop the City' and preparations for it. Delegates from other federations are asked if possible to attend. Accommodation for anyone travelling from afar will be provided. Ring John 051-727-1962.

LITERATURE

**VERBAL ABUSE**, a new anarchist monthly, available free from: Box A 4, Onslow Road, Southampton, Hants. Please send SAE. If large number required, small donation towards printing costs welcome.

BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

In Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

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).

**PUBLISHED BY FREEDOM PRESS**  
We can give full trade terms — plus postage — on these titles:-

**Lessons of the Spanish Revolution** by Vernon Richards. Third edition of standard work, with new extra postscript. Paperback £2.95 (50p).

**Collectives in the Spanish Revolution** by Gaston Leval, translated by Vernon Richards. Standard work. Hardback £6, paperback £4 (95p)

**Journey through Utopia** by Marie Louise Berneri. Classic study of utopian writers. Paperback £1.95 (60p).

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

**Housing: An Anarchist Approach** by Colin Ward. New edition of standard work, with postscript. Paperback £2.25 (45p).

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 22nd September, 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, 19th September, longer articles in by first post Thursday 15th Sept.

**Max Stirner's Egoism** by John P Clark. Critical study of individualist writer. Paperback £1.50 (39p).

**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 Duruti, Emiliano Zapata. Pamphlet 75p (21p).

*Illustrated catalogue available.* Please send SAE 9" x 6" (21p) or 2 Int'l Postal reply coupons.

**New from Freedom Press**  
Vernon Richards (Ed): **Why Work?**

WILDCAT

**Arguments for the Leisure Society** (210pp ppr) £3.00 (53p)

**Distributed by Freedom Bookshop**  
\*Rudolf Roker: **Nationalism and Culture** (614pp cloth) £15.00(2.00)

\*The Blacklist Group: **International Blacklist 1983: An Anti-Authoritarian Directory** (140pp ppr) £3.00 (40p)

Raoul Vaneigen: **The Revolution in Everyday Life** (new authorised translation) (216pp ppr) £3.00 (65p)

\*Wendy McElroy: **Freedom, Feminism and the State: An Overview of Individualist Feminism** (357pp ppr) £7.50 (95p)

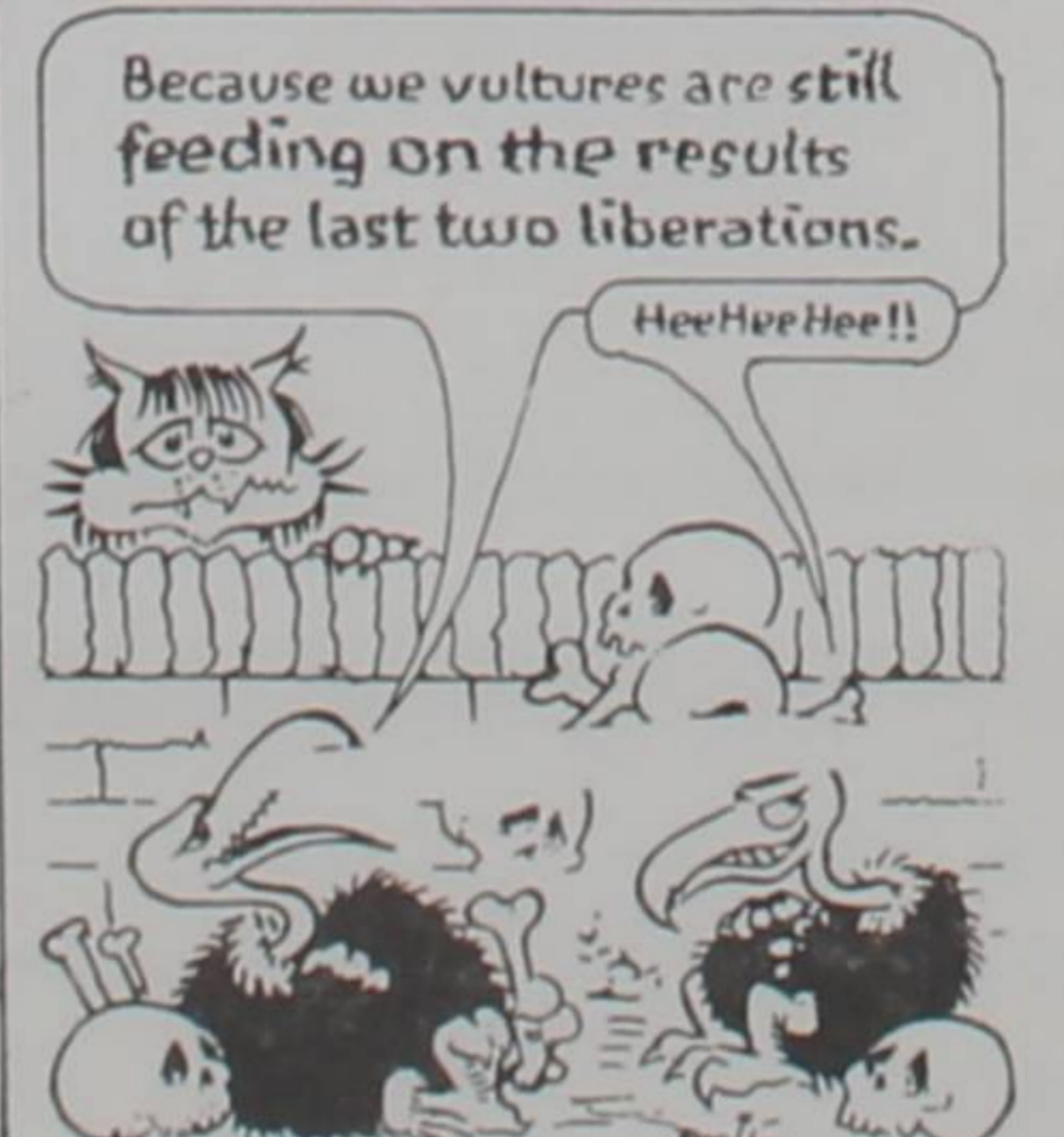
**Poland**  
\*Andrzej Tymowski: **Solidarity under Siege: Notes from Underground** (66p ppr) £2.00 (27p)

FUNDS

**Deficit Fund**  
Contributions received: August 4th-17th incl. = £65.75  
Contributions received: August 18th-31st incl.  
London, N8. I.W. £2.00; Gwynedd, H.D. £1.00; Reading. B.J.M. £1.00;

Bolton. D.P. £1.50; Northampton. C.P. £1.00; Leamington. N.H. £1; London, N8. V.P. £3.00; Kirkby in Ashfield. M.C. £2.00; Braintree. A.G. £1.00; Goton-on-Hudson, NY, USA. A.B. £1.80; Wolverhampton. J.L. £1.50; J.K.W. 50p; BFPO J.S. £1.50; Bolton, H.B.L. £1.00; I.T. £2.50; Raetih N2. L.K. £5.00; Anon. £1.40; Der Haag, Holland. R.L. £8.00; St. Cloud, USA. £16.50; In Shop, Anon. £8.63;  
TOTAL= £62.13  
Previously acknowledged= £770.80  
TOTAL TO DATE= £898.68  
TARGET FOR 1983= £2,000

**Overheads/Premises Fund**  
Contributions received: August 4th-17th incl. = £58.13  
Contributions received: August 18th-31st incl.  
London N8. I.W. £2.00; Ilkeston K.A.B. £1.63; Bolton D.P. £1.50; London N8. V.P. £3.00; Goton-on-Hudson, NY, USA. A.B. £1.80; Wolverhampton. J.L. £3.00; London NW1. A.A. 50p; BFPO' J.S. £1.50; London SE 18. F.Y. £1.00; Wakefield. D.F. 20p; Dyfed I.T. £2.50; San Francisco USA, B.M. £2.00; In Shop, Anon. £3.65;  
TOTAL= £24.48  
Previously acknowledged= £549.94  
TOTAL TO DATE= £632.55  
TARGET FOR 1983= £1,500



FREEDOM BOOKSHOP and FREEDOM EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE are both at 84B WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST LONDON E1. Phone 01-247-9249

FREEDOM SUBSCRIPTION RATES

|               |                 |
|---------------|-----------------|
| Inland        | £9.00           |
| Surface       | £10.00          |
| Europe All-up | £11.00          |
| Zone A        | £11.50          |
| Zone B        | 25 dollars      |
|               | 28 dollars Can. |
| Zone C        | £14.00          |

Printed and Typeset by Aldgate Press 84b Whitechapel High St., 01-247-3015

Distributed to Bookshops by A Distribution c/o 84b Whitechapel High St. London E1