

FREEDOM

50p

ANARCHIST MAGAZINE

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WAR CRIMES

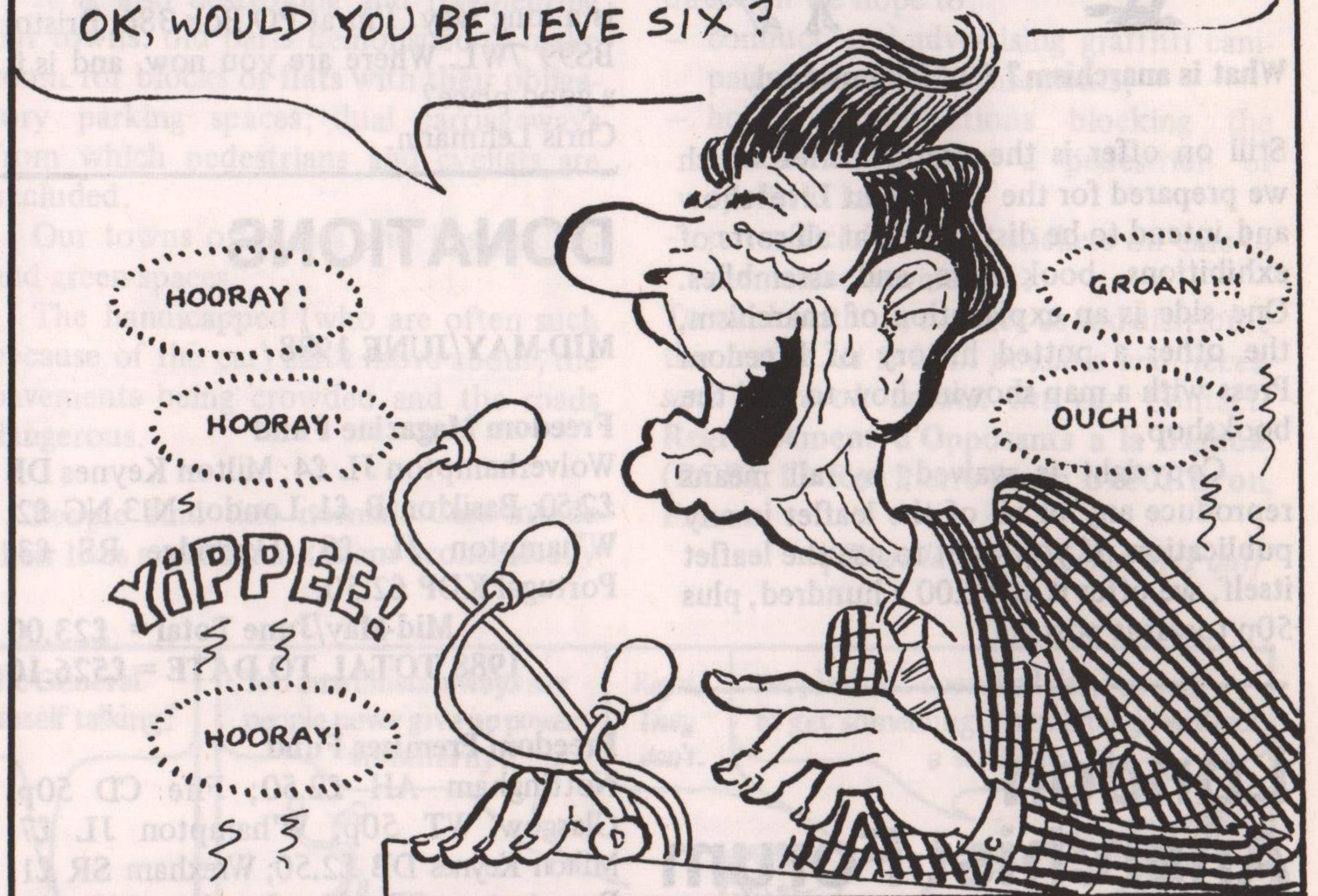
LESS than four years ago, a Korean passenger plane full of civilians went off course into Soviet air space and was shot down. The Soviet Army announced that they had shot down a spy plane. Later, when they could no longer deny it was a passenger plane, they said American spy planes were operating in the area (true) and they had shot down the passenger plane in good faith.

Last Sunday an Iranian plane full of civilians was shot down by an American ship in the Arabian Gulf. The US Navy immediately announced that they had shot down an attacking F111 fighter. Later, when they could no longer deny it was a passenger plane, they said the ship was under attack from gunboats (true) and they had shot down the passenger plane in good faith.

It is still alleged by some that the Soviet Army knew the plane they shot down was full of passengers, but shot it down because they thought it was *also* a spy plane. Their 'brutal but logical' act is contrasted with the 'incompetence' of the American sailors who should have been able to distinguish on their radar screens between a fighter and an Airbus. It took about four minutes for the aircraft to move from the edge of radar range to within firing range, and 'competent' operators, we are told, should have spotted the aircraft, prepared to fire, noticed the blip was more like a civilian aircraft than a fighter, checked the airport flight schedules, and decided to hold fire, all in four minutes of battle.

Modern weapons travel at amazing speeds over enormous distances from user to target, and when they are in use the accidental killing of non-combatants is practically unavoidable. The gunners who shot down the Korean and Iranian passenger planes were neither extraordinarily brutal nor extraordinarily incompetent. Given that there is a war on, their errors are excusable. What is not excusable is the war, and the fact that so much wealth and ingenuity is squandered on the perfection of ever more efficient weapons.

BARBARIC MASSACRE... WE WILL RESIST THE... SORRY, FOLKS, I THOUGHT THEY SHOT US DOWN. ER... HEM, TERRIBLE TRAGEDY... BUT THEY IGNORED SEVEN WARNINGS. OK, WOULD YOU BELIEVE SIX?



The difference between hooliganism and war is that, whereas hooligans fight each other, war-makers send their dupes and servants to do the fighting. From the archeological evidence, war is older than writing, probably as old as government. No doubt the first wars were between adjacent rulers, trying to increase their catchment areas for taxes.

For much of history, the death of innocent non-combatants was brought about one non-combatant at a time, with swords or other single-victim weapons, quite deliberately. It might be said in favour of modern weapons that they allow modern warriors to be squeamish. For the active participants (though not for the victims), war gets more and more like chess. In time of war it is permissible to kill a hundred thousand civilians by pressing a button, but putting fifty civilians to the sword has become a War Crime.

In favour of ancient and medieval weapons, it might be said they allowed people to win wars, to become rich at the expense of the conquered. Nowadays, weapons are so destructive and expensive everyone loses in a war, and the only people to gain from war preparation are the weapons manufacturers.

War was always horrible. The shooting down of a passenger plane, not as an act of aggression but by accident, is another instance of how the horror of war is increased by technical progress. But it is essential for governments, if they are not to collapse, to make war or at least prepare for war, and keep updating the weapons regardless of expense.

An anarchist society would have problems, as people never tire of telling us. But surely, no society could be less secure or more frightening than a society with governments.

FREEDOM

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A Distribution



What is anarchism? £2.50 a hundred.

Still on offer is the useful leaflet which we prepared for the 'Time Out Live' show and intend to be distributed at all sorts of exhibitions, book fairs, and assemblies. One side is an explanation of anarchism, the other a potted history of Freedom Press with a map showing how to find the bookshop.

Copyright is waived; by all means reproduce any or all of the leaflet in any publication. If you want to use the leaflet itself, we offer it at £2.00 a hundred, plus 50p towards postage.

London Anarchist Forum

While the Mary Ward Centre is closed for the summer, London Anarchist Forum will meet on the first Monday of each month in the North Room at Conway Hall (Red Lion Square London WC1). 4 July, 1 August, 5 September at 8pm.



Jugglers, clowns, street theatre groups, musicians, comedians and the like, interested in being on an anarchist cabaret contact list ??? If so please write giving a description of your act plus phone number/address to: Anarchist Cabaret, c/o Box ASS, Leeds Other Paper, 52 Call Lane, Leeds LS1 6DT.

London Christian Anarchist Group
If interested, write to A Pinch of Salt, c/o 24 South Road, Birmingham 18.

Radio

The play 'Kafe Kropotkin' by Bernard Kops will be broadcast on BBC Radio 4, on Monday 8 August 8.15 to 9.45 pm, and on Saturday 13 August 3.02 to 4.30 pm.

Griff [Everett]

Bob Dylan's Dream verse 6 — from Bulmershe Road in Reading to Sheffield is a long way. I'm at PO Box 386, Bristol BS99 7WL. Where are you now, and is it a good place?

Chris Lehmann.

DONATIONS

MID-MAY/JUNE 1988

Freedom Magazine Fund

Wolverhampton JL £4; Milton Keynes DB £2.50; Basildon B £1; London N13 NG £2; W'hampton JL £8; Uxbridge RS £3; Portugal KDP £2.50.

Mid-May/June Total = £23.00
1988 TOTAL TO DATE = £526.10

Freedom Premises Fund

Nottingham AH £2.50; Fife CD 50p; Glasgow WT 50p; W'hampton JL £7; Milton Keynes DB £2.50; Wrexham SR £1; Beaminster CR £2; London WG £2; Newport NFH £1; W'hampton JL £9; Paris SG £1.50; Pistoia FB £3; Glasgow BT 50p; Coventry MTP £2.

Mid-May/June Total = £35.00
1988 TOTAL TO DATE = £497.05

ON JULY 23rd the peace camp at Faslane invites everyone opposed to Trident to come and make their personal protest about Trident at the base being built for it on the Clyde.

The peace camp has been at Faslane for six years and is a symbol of resistance to the biggest escalation of the arms race ever undertaken by Britain. For the last two years a massive construction programme has been underway on the Clyde, devastating almost 4,000 acres of previously unspoilt land.

The peace camp are organising a 'People's Witness for Peace' for the weekend of July 23/24. The idea is for people to come and make their own protest in whatever non-violent way they feel is suitable for them to highlight the Trident work. On the Saturday people are asked to bring symbols of all that they care for to hang on the fence. The perimeter fence of Faslane is made of weld mesh, and is topped with razor wire. Overlooking it are fifty infra-red cameras and electronic sensors have just been fitted so that anyone cutting the fence can be detected. The weld mesh is too narrow to fit fingers through so you will need to bring crochet hooks to help you tie your symbols on, or attach hooks made out of wire to them.

On the Sunday the camp have invited Scottish Christian CND groups to do an act of worship, and there are plans for a music festival at the other end of the base.

The peace camp expects non-violent direct action to happen and will provide workshops on Scottish law and legal support, but we want all people to come to do what they want to do to show their opposition to Trident and the Polaris nuclear weapons already based here.

For leaflets and posters to help publicise this action, or for more information write to Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire or phone (0436) 820901. If you can spare a donation to help with the costs of this action please don't hesitate to send it. Cheques should be made out to Faslane Peace Camp. Thank you.

Faslane Peace Camp

FREEDOM AND EDUCATION '88

A day conference organised by Lib ED, a magazine for the liberation of learning

Sat 1st October

From 10-6

plus evening entertainment
at VAUGHAN COLLEGE
ST NICHOLAS CIRCLE
LEICESTER



WORKSHOPS/
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FEES £9 (waged)
£5 (unwaged)
inclusive of lunch and
refreshments

For further details send sae to Lib ED, The Cottage, The Green, Leire, Leicester, LE17 5HL

Gathering of Opponents of the Car

[The following is the text of a French leaflet left in the bookshop recently]

Gathering of Opponents of the Car

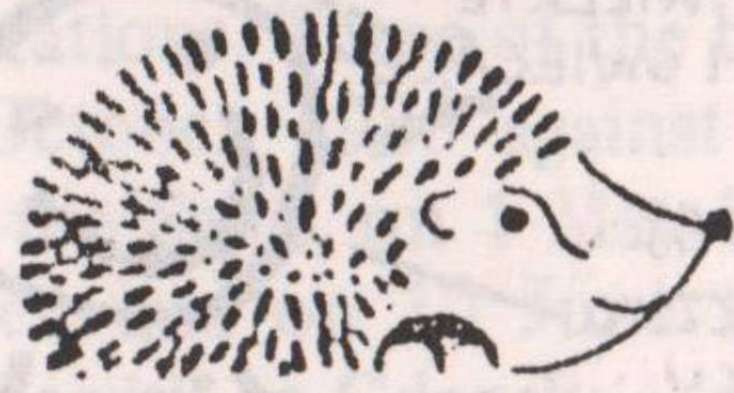
- BECAUSE we're afraid of cars;
- because as non-drivers, we've had enough of being second-rate human beings;
- because we've had enough of living in a society which puts up with so much suffering and waste for the sake of absurd economic logic, competition, hype, and outdated, unjust and imposed principles.

WE ARE AGAINST THE CAR

The true face of the car 'phenomenon' is not individual liberty but fear. A numbing fear, kept quiet when it's not being held up to ridicule. Yet this fear is not the expression of a mental aberration but a 'normal' and valid feeling, for the car represents the greatest danger to life in our society:

- the biggest cause of death and injury to the under-40s;
- 11,000 deaths in 1985.

It kills but it also destroys the environment: atmospheric pollution (1kg of lead per car per year, nitrous oxides, etc.) often



causing serious respiratory problems and contributing to acid rain which is killing the forests and lakes.

It is also destroying and fragmenting our towns: old parts demolished to make room for blocks of flats with their obligatory parking spaces; dual carriageways from which pedestrians and cyclists are excluded.

Our towns offer less and less gardens and green spaces.

The handicapped (who are often such because of the car) can't move about, the pavements being crowded and the roads dangerous.

People find this normal. Cars invade their lives and alienate them economically

but, so often are they indispensable for their work that people don't see this, nor what they are losing in their lives and all the possible solutions for living differently.

We don't pretend to have found the solutions to all the problems — it's up to everyone to think about them and try to remedy them — but on the other hand we can easily imagine that expansions and improvement of public transport, along with other ways of organising towns and workplaces, and a real respect for people, leading to the disappearance of the feeling of fear, could finally bring in a freer and more human society.

But for that we must promote a new frame of mind. To start us off in that direction we hope to:

- conduct anti-advertising graffiti campaigns on car advertisements;
- hold demonstrations blocking the traffic each time a pedestrian or cyclist is killed;
- put official-looking stickers on cars to shame the drivers, etc.

To work with us, contact us and distribute this leaflet. *It is both possible and necessary to revolt against the car.* Contact: **Regroupement d'Opposants a la Bagnole (ROB), 13 Rue Pierre Blanc, 69001 Lyon, France.**

[Translated by Kevin McFaul]



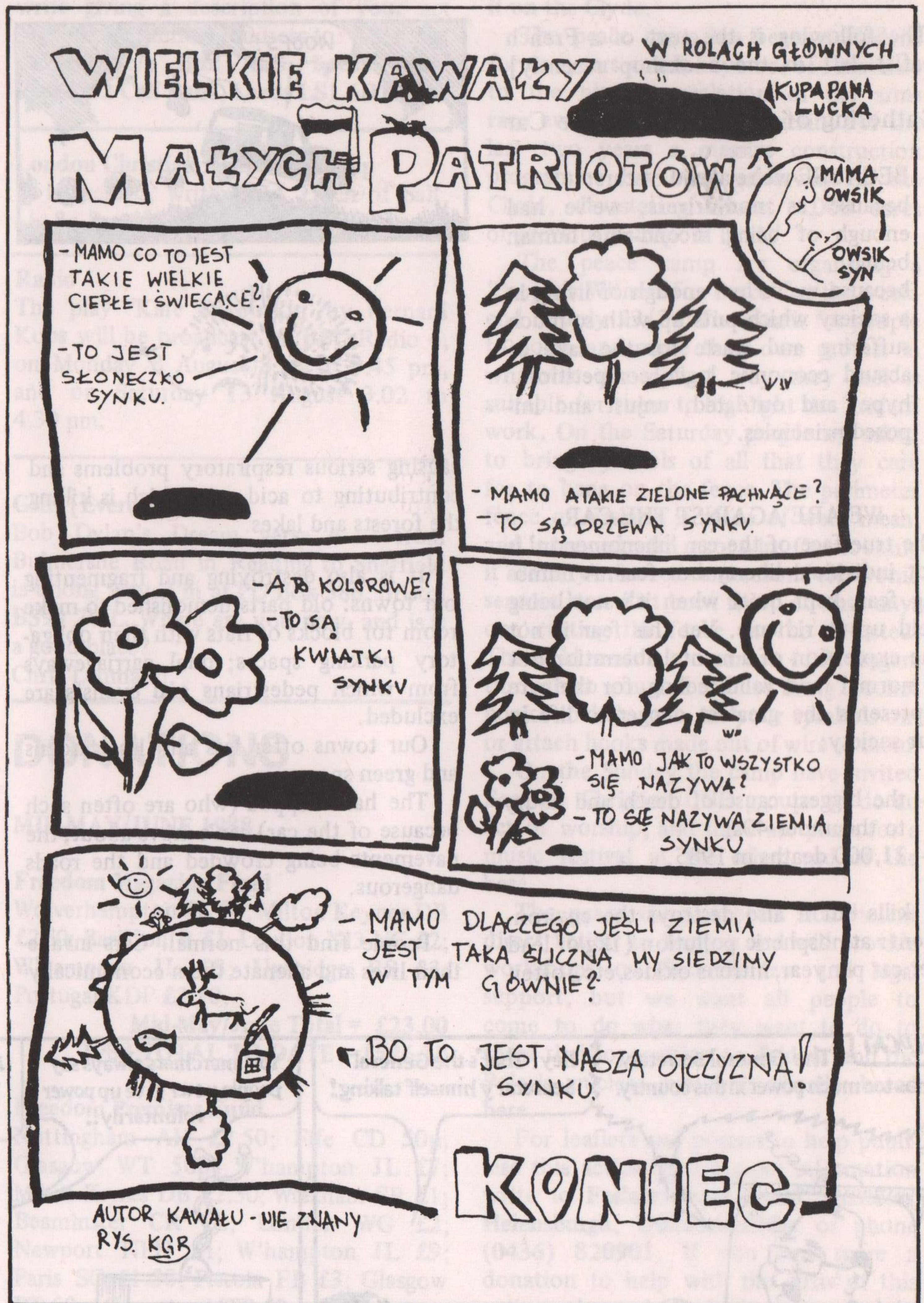
Greetings from Poland!

WE ARE writing this letter as Polish anarchists—participants in Ruch Społeczeństwa Alternatywnego (RSA: Movement for an Alternative Society). We have been working in organised form since June 1983; since September 1983 we have been publishing our own magazine — illegal, of course, like the whole movement.

Our anarchism comes not from reading classics, but from an analysis of the present situation in Poland. Everything in our country belongs to the State. The means of production, communication, and repression are monopolised by one-party government. The only Exceptions to this rule are agriculture (70% privately owned) and the Catholic church with its own organisation and press. Totalitarian rule gives birth to totalitarian opposition, fanatically anti-communist (which is why it is so admiring of capitalism and the Western world), nationalistic, dependent on the Church, intolerant of other people and ideas; and just like the government it uses censorship, and describes those who do not agree with it 'unpatriotic'. The only difference between government and opposition is that the opposition does not have a political police.

But there are worse things. The main problem with the opposition is its stagnation and the way it paralyses street demonstrations, so disliked by Wałęsa and the Church. Organisers of such demonstrations are condemned by them as agents provocateurs and police agents. Both Church and opposition prefer to wait for the good will of government or pressure from Western countries, meanwhile being content with the role of mediator between government and society (this is especially true of the Catholic church, which has never prospered so well as under martial law, since 13 December 1981).

Fortunately there is a change lately, as more people (Solidarność activists included) are turning their backs on Church and opposition leaders. There is no acceptance of passive opposition while living conditions are worsening drastically. This is a chance for radical groups, who do not seek the exchange of communism for capitalism, but negate the system as such. This tendency is popular mainly among young people, especially counterculture youth, who do not want to go into the army (mandatory in our country), breathe poisoned air, or learn and work in places which look like prisons. Our movement is among them. We think it is more important to build the alternative society right now, than to wait until the communists give up power.



Creation of an alternative society seems easiest in the area of culture, since this needs few material resources and is capable of existing underground. However, it is difficult to break the attitude that freedom consists in having an independent Polish police force, Polish factory owners, and Catholic mass instead of communist agit-prop on the radio. This attitude is seen in the so-called 'independent culture' where artists opposed to the present government are doing the same things as ever, but for a different sponsor.

Our movement supports all creative efforts which are independent of government, church, and opposition.

By not taking money for this we are avoiding commercialisation (which has happened to rock music). We support literature, graphic arts, theatre, cabaret, happenings, and amateur films. During the summer we organise meetings where everybody can express and exchange creative ideas. Exchange of ideas and independent information is also achieved by magazines, fliers, posters, murals, and most of all, open debating clubs. All this helps in the development of consciousness, in the search for one's own way of life. We try to show that people divided by particular ideas may unite in mutual interest and reach common goals — Freedom, Peace, and Justice.

By Freedom we mean lack of limitations; the only limit to my freedom is the freedom of other humans. Freedom is a condition of conscious activity. Passive people, without conscious motivation, will be slaves in every system. In Poland, freedom also means independence; for a few hundred years now, Germany and Russia have tried to suppress the creation in Poland of any system based on democracy, liberalism, and tolerance. Such dependence causes lack of faith in values, and admiration for capitalist or totalitarian models.

Peace, as we understand it, is the elimination of force in relation between nations and between people in society. However, we cannot stand still while government persecutes people. We have the right to self-defence, and we are ready for violence (especially in the case of an open fight for independence from the USSR.

Justice, we think, comes from working by one for oneself, from ownership of the means of production by those who produce. That is why we support the concept of 'Samorzadna Rzeczpospolita' (Self-

governing Republic) described in the 1981 meeting of Solidarnosc (the opposition seems to be forgetting about these directions). Also, we support the takeover of factories by workers' self-government by means of a general strike.

To achieve these goals we are ready to co-operate with anyone (of whatever opinions and ideas), who will recognise our right to be different and to live way we want to live.

There are examples of such co-operation with other groups, consisting mainly of young people: anti-government street demonstrations. Three of the biggest were on 13 October 1985 against mock-elections to the Sejm, on 1 May 1985 against price rises, and on 12 June 1987 during the Pope's visit to Gdansk.

Finally, there is the basic goal for today, to integrate people from the counter-culture with those from the political opposition. Mutual distrust, of artists in 'dirty politicians' and of oppositionists in 'madmen and nihilists', narrows the possibilities of our action. We are trying to break the barrier through half-political, half-artistic street actions, such as those

that recently happened in Wroclaw, the humorous, surrealist, street-theatre 'happenings' organised by 'The Orange Alternative'.

That is about us. We would like to know what is happening in your country. We would like to know what actions you take and if any new ideas appear (anarchist classics are pretty available in Poland, but there is nothing of more recent work). We would like to get wider scope on the problems of your society. We would like to hear from you about new economic, political and cultural events. Reliability of mass-media information, yours or ours, is very doubtful in this case. Also, we would appreciate your help in making contact with anarchist groups in other countries.

RSA translated by Chris Pawluc
Please write letters as private persons to private persons. Otherwise all letters are checked by Polish police.

[*Freedom*, on the safe side as usual, refrains from printing the names and addresses of Polish comrades. If you want to take up their invitation to correspond, please write to the *Freedom* editors.]

Mafia Summit Meeting

BOSSES of the seven most powerful Mafia families met in Toronto last month to work out plans to counter threats to their control of markets in the West. Joining the Godfather himself, Ronnie Reagano, were Family bosses Bella 'Belgrano' Thatchero, 'King' Kohleano, 'Frenchy' Mitterando, Mick 'The Eye-tie' Mulranio, and 'Nip' Takeshitapronto, descendant of the dreaded gangster Hireahitmano from the East Side.

Reagano, who flew in from his white-washed hideout the Villa Blanco, was making his last appearance as supremo. Things had gotten too hot for the old man. He looked anxious. He didn't want to collect any more slugs. Last time he got one in the brain and it was too dangerous for Doc to extract it. So, was he scared! And so was Frenchy Mitterando. Bella Thatchero was hopping mad at the way Frenchy had gone soft on the Fly-guy hoodlums who were muscling in on

their protection rackets. Bella suspected Frenchy of getting a handout, the double-crossing frog. Bella was bugged anyhow, because she wanted to be Godmother.

Top of the agenda was Extortion. Some of the South Side shits were not coming across with the goods. Worse still those shits didn't have the goods to come over with. 'Godammit', spat Fat Nig, Bella's protection money man, 'they'll call in the boys from the East and we're in big trouble.' 'Yeah', opined Ronnie, 'We got enough trouble on our own doorstep with Kohleano lookin' to drop da stakes'. And as he spoke he was thinking how Fat Nig better not step out of line because Bella had enough trouble on her doorstep too, with the Irish boys wanting the big time. So he better wrap it up good, or he would be handing his job on a plate to that creep Duke Assole instead of his buddy Georgie Boy.

Not least among the problems facing

the big seven was drugs. Prohibition in the old days encouraged the small time hoodlums and had to be revoked because they were getting too big for their shoes. And that was only alcohol. Coke and heroin were another kettle of fish. 'Howja legalise and control this stuff?' thought Ronnie, 'Christ if we could only have a war like we yoosta. Goddam nuclear weapons ...!' And there was Takeshitapronto ceeping outa the room for the third time. 'What's that dirty little yellow rat up to?', thought Ronnie, 'Shoulda never trusted him. The Belgrano was at least on the move, one way or the other, I'll say that for Bella. But Pearl Harbour ...'

When Ronnie came out of his thoughts, Mulranio was wrapping up proceedings and Nance, Ronnie's moll, was psyching herself up for the sweet talk, champagne and cigars. And she was thinking, 'If I can upstage that bitch Bella it'll make my day and everyone else's.'

EFC

NON-HIERARCHAL-SKILLS & KNOWLEDGE SHARING

FREES

SKOOL!

ORGANISED BY BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP

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FROM 3-6pm ALTERNATE THURSDAYS
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BOOKINGS (IF POSSIBLE) & MORE INFO. %NEW UNIVERSITY.

Freedom and the two CNTs

I WAS both interested and astonished to read your article, 'Freedom and the two CNTs', in the recent edition of *Freedom* (May 1988); interested because of the subject, astonished for the degree of inaccuracy. It struck me that if yourselves, at the centre of an information network, had so little idea of the situation it was little wonder that there were 'fierce quarrels among other anarchosyndicalists in Britain' over the situation in the Spanish anarchosyndicalist movement. Thus it seemed a good idea to respond to your call for information.

To begin with, the most glaring errors: The Congress of Valencia was not in 1936 (that was Zaragoza and has nothing to do with any divisive issues whatsoever), but in July 1980; secondly the 'unification congress' (not a conference) was not in 1983 but in June/July 1984 (30.6 - 1.7.84); thirdly the suggestion that the CNT affiliated to the IWMA or IWA in 1910 is wholly erroneous. CNT delegates (2) attended the Revolutionary Syndicalist Conference held in Dusseldorf in June 1922 which agreed to constitute (or reconstitute) the AIT (IWA) and the CNT was - belatedly - one of the seven union organisations represented at the Constituent Congress held in Berlin in December of that year.

Fourthly, and to shift abruptly to more modern history as did your article, five CNT's did not emerge after the relegalisation of trade-unions in 1976; ONE CNT emerged, and there continued to be only ONE CNT until the Madrid 'Casa de Campo' Congress of December 1979, when the organisation divided into two parts: those who walked out - and who subsequently, in the following year, held a Congress in Valencia (hence CNT-V), and those who remained, who retained control of the executive committee of the AIT (it had moved to Spain from France in 1976) and thus continued to be known as the CNT-AIT. Fifthly, the idea that there were at any stage five CNT organisations is completely inaccurate: to explain the initials you cite; the CCT-CNT was the Catalan regional confederation of the CNT-V and thus one and the same thing, the CNT-PPCC (Países Catalanes) were a group of Catalan militants subsequently expelled from the Catalan regional confederation of the CNT-AIT, while the CNT-O refers to militants and trade unions similarly expelled from the CNT-AIT in the period 1983-4, and who were known as the syndicates of opposition, but in neither case was there any sense of a separate CNT organisation being formed in the brief period before they joined with the CNT-V to reconstitute (in the opinion of this sector) the CNT at the 'Unification Congress' of 1984. Sixthly,

it has to be pointed out that the CNT-U, which you refer to frequently, doesn't exist - except in the British anarcho-syndicalist and libertarian press perhaps. Here in Spain there are two avowedly anarcho-syndicalist organisations (i.e. according to their statutes), the CNT-AIT and the CNT, the latter, according to the state courts, being the genuine possessor of the initials CNT, after the issue was - somewhat incredibly - taken there by the CNT-AIT.

That's the facts. I would like, however, to add another couple of things in passing. Firstly, you say 'Rifts developed between CNT in exile and the underground CNT. We do not know why.' In the circumstances this was a very sensible line to take as there were many rifts in the anarchosyndicalist organisation in exile and the story is very complicated. Although these are now of scant importance, certain differences between those in exile and a large part of the movement within Spain were still very important in the 1970's. Secondly, with respect to your final statement (last paragraph), the opening line doesn't appear to make a great deal of sense. Furthermore, the ensuing reference to 'hand-outs' is a somewhat unnecessarily scornful and thoughtless remark. What is at stake is the patrimony of a trade-union organisation, of hundreds of thousands of militants, a patrimony which was put together brick by brick and stone by stone, one which contained not just trade-union locales, not only agricultural lands, and collectivised factories, but buses, lorries, fishing fleets, and still more. People do not spend days at the top of the Columbus monument in Barcelona or in occupation of buildings around the country so as to receive 'hand-outs', as you put it. Militants, as much of the CNT-AIT as of the CNT, are fighting to force the

government, and behind it the moneyed property classes, to return what is theirs, what was seized by dictatorial fascism and still remains stolen property in the hands of today's 'socialist' government.

And to conclude: it seems to me - your article being evidence of this - that one of the reasons why British anarcho-syndicalists fight so much over the Spanish issue is that they're not very well informed of what's happened or is happening (another good example of this was the pamphlet produced by DAM a couple of years ago on the Spanish anarchosyndicalist movement in the thirties which had an average of about a dozen errors on every page). Why does the Spanish legend occupy so much space, in certain contemporary anarchosyndicalist circles, particularly when it's so badly understood? What about the British tradition of militant syndicalism - Noah Ablett, the Mainwaring, Guy Aldred or Tom Mann? You can't build an organisation out of an imported legend, especially when half the facts are wrong. Surely, with three million unemployed, state parasitism attacking the working classes as never before, and the numerical ascendancy and hegemonic control of the TUC seemingly on the point of finally surrendering to the laws of inertia, surely now is the time to put together a genuine militant syndicalist network of anarchist, libertarian content? - Over to you.

G.A.K.
Ensenanza (Madrid)

[For clarification, the first sentence of our last paragraph, 'We are partisan between those who want to coerce and those who resist coercion', is a general statement of our anarchist attitude, i.e. we take sides when the conflict is between bosses and victims.]



Authoritarian Anarchists

WE ANARCHISTS are for ever pointing out the weaknesses and contradictions of the political movements with which we are in disagreement. Trotskyists, as one example, we brand as authoritarians. Now this may well be true in terms of politics yet, as far as the *individual* goes, it is another matter. In my more than twenty years in the libertarian movement, I have never met any Trots quite as authoritarian as some so-called anarchists and, as far as slander-mongering goes, they could teach the Leninists a thing or two. The connection between one's politics and one's personality can be very peculiar, especially in the case of the *authoritarian anarchist*. This unfortunate individual likes to dominate others but not be dominated himself. They are soon forced out of hierarchical structures, which might seem their natural home, but the desire to dominate is so strong that the alternative, *individualist* anarchism gives no satisfaction — they must have an audience, even if only ten people. Their insecurity is so great that all challenges and differences of opinion are turned into 'matters of principle', for fear makes them extremely intolerant.

Anarchist groups present an outlet for their personality disorder. Upon joining an organisation, they immediately begin to manipulate the consensus procedure, a task at which they are masters. Through aggressive behaviour and the wearing down of opponents in long-drawn-out meetings, they force the group to adopt their positions. Those who challenge their authority eventually drop out and the remaining members are a mixture of yes-men and those who admit, 'Yes, he is an arsehole, but ...' Authoritarian anarchists are very energetic and so make themselves indispensable, hence many people grudgingly tolerate them.

Should the group last long enough, they eventually become *anarchist gurus*, and their opinions and prejudices begin to have some weight within the movement. Since they are intolerant know-it-alls, those who dare to disagree with them get treated as enemies to be suppressed by any means, fair or foul. As conflict develops, their defensiveness becomes more and more apparent, opponents are branded as revisionists, agents of the state, opportunists, etc, and the diatribes tend to exhibit a greater degree of hysteria and paranoia. All the unnecessary conflict and hostility they generate cause the average working person to consider anarchists to be fools quarrelling over nothing. Authoritarian anarchists are the perfect embodiment of the old Stalinist cliché, 'wreckers and splitters'. Whenever I have described some of the antics that go on in

our movement to non-aligned militants, they usually respond, 'Sounds like a lot of bloody loonies! Why do you waste your time on them?'

What can we do about these emotionally ill individuals that are attracted to our movement? One approach we have taken in the IWW to alleviate their disruptiveness is to not play their game. There was an individual within the union who used to find just about any excuse to create disputes. He would attack some individual or group, and other members would rise to the bait, and a terrific row would ensue. Finally we decided not to allow personal attacks in IWW publications and began ignoring his ranting and raving. Soon this person was isolated and the number of quarrels died down considerably. Of course, in a small group it is much harder to deal with this problem, but it would be a step in the right direction not to tolerate people who abuse consensus and not be so liberal about confronting manipulators and sectarians when they wish to join an affinity group. For years I have been hearing that the 'personal is political', so it's about time that the existence of the authoritarian anarchist became a matter of importance. We do not put up with sexism or racism within our movement; why, then should we allow this kind of aberration? On the other hand, *tolerance of opinion* should become an anarchist virtue. Many of us come out of hierarchical left backgrounds where tolerance is considered a dirty word, and this is an authoritarian

attitude we have yet to relinquish. Intolerance creates a perfect climate for the authoritarian anarchist and they have a tendency to shun groups that are noted for their openness.

Another factor which contributes to the problem is the dominance of patriarchal thinking. There are so many anarchists whose *underlying philosophy* did not really change when they were radicalised. They still see the world through bourgeois eyes at a really fundamental level, i.e., in terms of either/or choices, or seeing everything fragmented and unconnected, or reductionist thinking. Such views create a situation where sectarianism and dogmatism thrive. To offset this, anarchists need to develop a dialectical-holistic approach.

At a political level, we must see that our common goals (abolition of the state, capitalism and authority) and our common means (the action of the people and not some elite) are what should unite us, and that differences of opinion on other matters should be the subject of comradely debate. We are not vanguardists struggling with each other to be the dictators of some future 'workers' state'. Why not look upon our movement as a bunch of friends trying to help ourselves and others out of a bad situation? Perhaps, with such an attitude, the authoritarian anarchist will not be attracted to us in the first place. Perhaps we may even be able to help those we are already stuck with.

L. Gambone

Questioning Technology

A CRITICAL ANTHOLOGY

Edited and Introduced by Alice Carnes & John Zerzan

Comprising some 35 essays by distinguished writers and scientists (mainly from American publications) under three headings: (1) TECHNOLOGY, ITS HISTORY AND OUR FUTURE; (2) COMPUTERS AND THE INFORMED INDIVIDUAL, and (3) TECHNOLOGY: THE WEB OF LIFE ?

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HOOBIGANS

THE news media have recently been taking an interest in soccer hooligans, and while they were at it they have carried stories about village hooligans, hippy hooligans, hooray hooligans, and infant hooligans. A casual reader might get the impression that hooligans are a recent phenomenon, or anyway more common recently than they have ever been in the past; but this would be a false impression. The practice of young men going about in groups, looking for other groups to fight, is at least as ancient as the custom of deploring the lapse in moral standards and wondering what the world is coming to. The only feature which is fairly recent, and mainly British, is the word 'hooligan'.

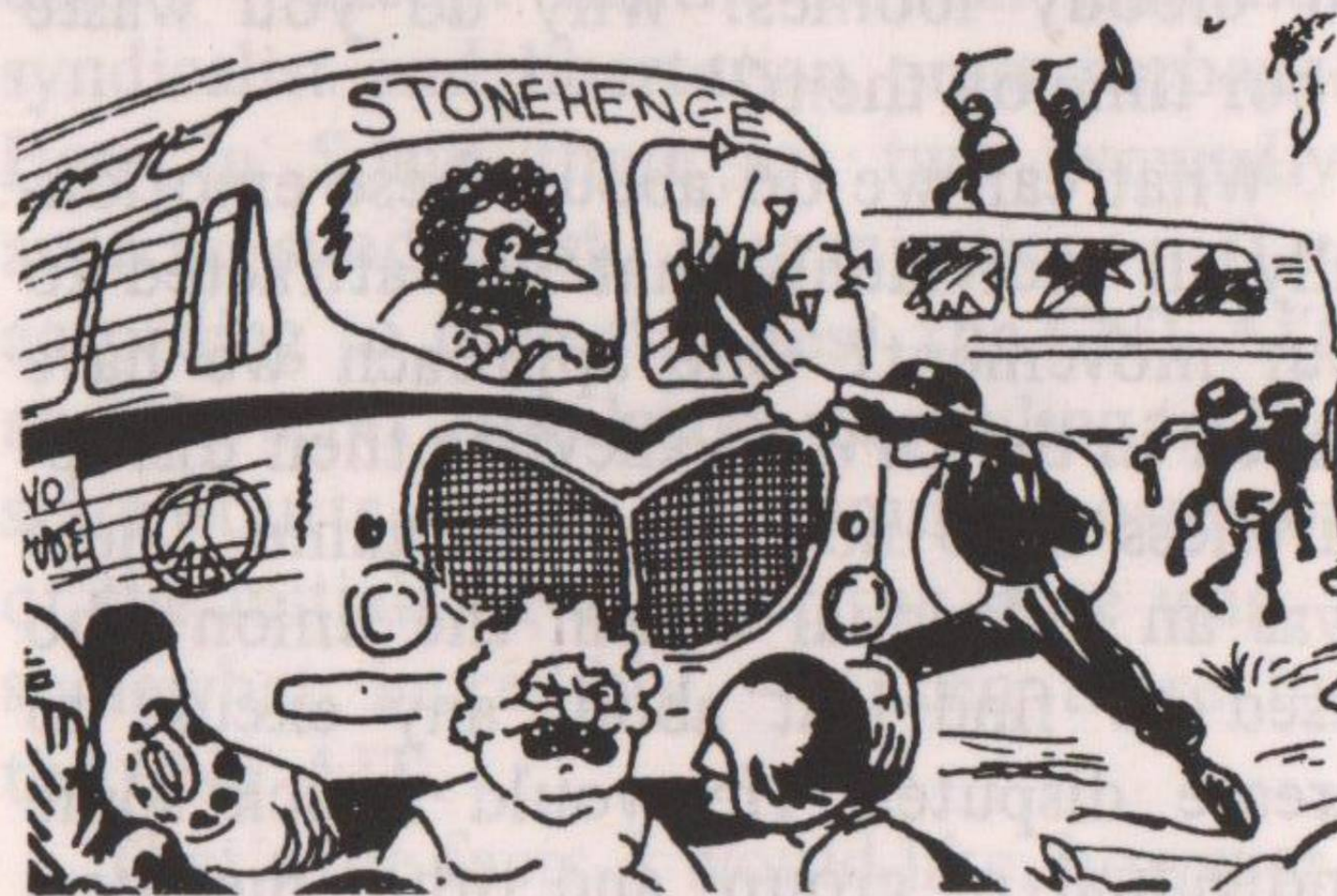
According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* it was first used in the newspapers in 1898; 'It is no wonder that Hooligan gangs are bred in these vile, miasmatic byways'. The origin is uncertain, but there was a music-hall song current at the time, about a rowdy Irish family called Hooligan.

There is a distinction between hooligans, who fight other hooligans, and the miscreants more often called thugs, who attack the inoffensive. The basic motivation of hooliganism appears to be simple enjoyment of a punch-up, but this is not a sufficient rationale because hooligans need to feel angry. A mountaineer can say he wants to climb Mount Everest 'because it is there', but a hooligan always needs a pretext, however feeble and implausible, for belting somebody.

During World War 2 there were brawls between soldiers of different regiments, a punishable offence which was privately commended by the army establishment, since it encouraged feelings of solidarity within regiments and was therefore conducive to military discipline. After the war, gangs in London and Glasgow fought for 'control' of territory, and these were succeeded by 'mods and rockers', who congregated in holiday resorts to fight on a sartorial pretext.

Soccer hooligans

In fourth-century Byzantium, hooligans fought on the pretext of preference for rival chariot-racing teams. In Britain now, the fashion is to fight on behalf of rival Association Football teams. The clubs (proprietors of teams) have always encouraged boisterous partisanship, which is worth more in ticket sales than the quality of the play, and further enhanced income by the sale of drinks containing alcohol, a drug which depresses pain and common sense, and so makes fighting easier. The wonder is that



football went on for so many decades without attracting hooligans.

Now that hooligans have come, the clubs are embarrassed. Most of them lose money anyway (the owners make money elsewhere and own the clubs as status symbols), and without the partisanship and alcohol they could not continue. So they erect enormous barriers between supporters of the different teams, thereby increasing partisanship but preventing punch-ups inside the grounds, and restrict alcohol to the high-priced 'boxes', prohibiting it on the lower-priced 'terraces'. Boozers on the terraces denounce this as class distinction, but the fact is that (until now) hooliganism does not occur in the boxes, and drug dependence is so common that many who like to watch football could not bear the prospect of Saturday afternoon without a tincture or two.

According to sociologists who have studied hooligans (Geoffrey Pearson the author of *Hooligan* and Patrick Murphy reported in *The Guardian* 16 June), they are nearly all from low-income backgrounds, but as unattached young men, who prefer to spend their money on booze and football, they are comparatively affluent. One gang, the Intercity Firm, took to travelling on scheduled Intercity instead of the much cheaper football specials, to avoid the attentions of the police. Another gang go to matches in suits, with the same object. Going in the boxes would make it difficult to get at the other hooligans on the terraces, but if a solution to this problem could be found the hooligans could certainly afford box prices. It is an interesting thought.

Last year at the Heysel Stadium in Holland, a match was scheduled between Liverpool, from England, and Juventus, from Italy. Hooligans travelling with Liverpool apparently took the noisy but peaceful Juventus supporters for fellow hooligans, and attacked them. Trying to get away the Juventus crowd knocked over a wall and many were killed. It was argued by some in England that the people to blame for this incident were the owners of the Heysel Stadium, on the grounds that the cage they provided for the audience was not strong enough.

Since then, no English club has played on the European mainland, but this year the English national team took part in a contest in Germany. The behaviour of the English audience was supposed to decide whether the English club teams would be allowed to compete in Europe again; in the event, it also decided whether the national team will be allowed to compete again. Soccer hooliganism is alleged to have spread throughout Europe, but the truth of this allegation was not demonstrated. For the England v. Holland football match in Dusseldorf, a fight between English and Dutch hooligans was predicted, but the Dutch supporters did nothing except support, and the English had to fight German hooligans instead. It is not certain whether the Germans could be described as *soccer* hooligans, because the punch-ups occurred in places like railway stations.

The pretext for fighting may perhaps be shifting away from football towards national pride. An English hooligan at Dusseldorf spoke in a radio interview about fighting for the honour of the country, and they were reported stripping down to their union jack underpants and singing 'God save the Queen' while making the 'Hitler' salute (which was also, of course, the salute of the intensely patriotic British Union of Fascists).

Other alleged hooligans

Most of the other 'hooligan' headlines appear to have resulted from an understandable desire, on the part of the journalists, to link routine reports with an interesting story. Only those identified as 'village hooligans' appear to be hooligans in the true sense. A conference of Chief Constables reported a marked increase in the number of gang fights in rural areas in the late evening, especially in South-eastern England. Perhaps this is connected with increased consumption of alcohol, as the price in comparative terms goes down.

The 'hippy hooligans' were people trying to get to Stonehenge for the summer solstice, who lost their temper when stopped. Alcohol no doubt fuelled their fury, but they did not set out with the intention of picking a fight, like authentic hooligans.

The 'hooray hooligans' at Henley regatta appear to have been not so much drunken hooligans as drunken thugs, assaulting the more-or-less inoffensive.

The 'infant hooligans', as some papers called them, are small children with less than the traditional respect for adult authority, discussed at a conference of head teachers. They must be a great

nuisance to teachers already burdened with too large classes, but on the whole their attitude appears salutary, and in any case it is not hooliganism. The 'remedy' suggested by some, including the ex-headmaster politician Rhodes Boyson, is a return to corporal punishment in schools; this is not hooliganism either, but thuggery.

The politicisation of hooligans

Patriotism and racism appeal to hooligans, because they provide a pretext for belting someone which, although it does not bear sober examination, may be discerned through alcoholic confusion. Some are members of fascist parties, and most of the rest are happy to join in fascist slogan-shouting.

Observing that hooligans are overwhelmingly of lower income group background and pretty frustrated, some people, notably but not only our Class War comrades, have sought to mobilise hooligans as a revolutionary force, with mixed results. Hooligans assisting strikers on picket lines tend to fight whether it is tactically sensible or not, and divert attention from the causes of the strike. Hooligans preventing fascist demos tend to debase the struggle against fascism to the level of a boozy punch-up between football supporters. The commendable anti-racist vigilantes, who patrolled Bradford at night in the days following the Honeyford affair, were ready to fight any racist gangs they met but were mainly a deterrent. The peace, which they saw as victory, would never have satisfied real hooligans.

It might be plausibly be argued that it is 'natural' for human males to attack the males of other human groups. Such behaviour has been observed in the wild in a closely related species, the chimpanzees. The silly causes for which hooligans purport to fight may be seen as a substitute for the 'natural' groupings of pre-humans.

With at least equal plausibility, it could be argued that the aggression of hooligans is an expression of social frustration. They gained nothing from school but were forced to stay there, and now they are grown up, the only jobs they are qualified for are as boring as school. Unemployment is even more boring. Alcohol lessens the pain of boredom and punch-ups provided a bit of excitement.

As anarchists we prefer the frustration explanation, because if hooliganism is natural a sane society is impossible. Fortunately for our preference, it appears that the incidence of hooliganism varies between societies, and tends to be less frequent where there is less government and more thought.

At some point in life, almost every boy has the ambition to be a man; but there are different ideas of what it means to be a man. Some children think of men as knowledgeable and entertaining, others as aggressive with access to recreational drugs. Attitudes tend to run in families, not because of genetic set but because of childhood experience. The objective of anarchist propaganda is to change attitudes.

D.R.

IN BRIEF

The police have no responsibility to protect you. A recent House of Lords discussion affirms that they do not 'owe a general duty of care to individual members of the public who might be potential victims'. It is acknowledged that they sometimes make mistakes but it is not to be doubted that they apply their best endeavours. Basically, they can't admit liability, or everyone would moan, taking up their valuable time. (Hill v. Chief Constable of West Yorkshire, 28 April 1988.)

Their Lordships did not give a ruling on the actual function of the police.

Wang Lin, a nineteen-year old Chinese student, was discovered cheating in an English test. In a fit of despair, he strangled his parents, according to New Chinese News Agency.

In Britain, opinion is outraged that people are invited to mortgage their houses to pay for medical treatment. In Indonesia, Loso, 53, is offering to sell one of his two children in order to pay for the removal of a leg tumour.

A satirist in Iraq has commented 'how prudent of the beloved president to keep his son safely in Baghdad, while Iranian leaders send theirs to the front'. Insulting the President has been made a capital offence.





Abortion

PETER Wakeham, inconceivably, did not get the message of my article 'We may question his views but not his sincerity' in the April issue of *Freedom*. Nowhere did I say, or imply, that I would 'pronounce death' upon an unborn child. I drew attention to the hypocritical stance of MP's and campaigners who support both the (mainly religious) SPUC campaign and Britain's possession of nuclear weapons.

As a male, I would not presume to dictate to a female, especially on such a female issue as Abortion.

If that is Peter's attitude, I am not surprised that women are scarce in anarchist circles.

E.F.C.

ANARCHISM is a political theory and practice, not a religion or moral system. Its opposition to the power of government is crucial. Individuals must be left to decide, not only whether or not to have an abortion, but whether to batter their children, whether to take drugs, whether to mug strangers. The only limit on these activities must come from other individuals.

Some individuals evade their natural co-operative instincts, calling instead for action by the government. When you ask government to control or prevent abortion, you give your freedom to government. Government will act in your name; so will police, prison officers and back street abortionists. But worse still, you show a lack of 'faith' in the anarchist assumption that people are essentially caring and co-operative, when left to themselves. Some women who have the choice do choose not to have abortions.

As a Humanist I want the handicapped to be accepted as equal. As an Anthropologist I want the widest diversity of genes to flourish. As a Christian I would preach the sanctity of life. As a therapist, I would warn any woman of the emotional shock of abortion. But as an Anarchist, I must first ensure that the woman has the right to choose.

You can be many things as well as being an anarchist, as the columns of this letter page show. But anarchism comes first. Without freedom from government control, we have no choices to moralise about.

J. Myhill

I FEEL that your readers should be given some explanation of the source of your correspondence on abortion. Following an article which I wrote in your December 1987 issue, 'Abortion: the right to choose', I received copies of letters which you had received from individuals calling themselves 'Anarchists for Life' or 'Pro-life Anarchists', and demanding space in *Freedom* to put their anti-abortion point of view.

The letters, from both Mr and Mrs Wakeham, were couched in aggressive and dogmatic terms, and were in fact demanding the right to come and tell us how, by supporting the concept that women could be saved the anguish of producing a grossly malformed baby (which can happen to anyone), we were preaching a 'master-race' philosophy, allegedly adhered to by 'some doctors'.

In this context it is interesting to note that the only creed which has preached the 'master-race' concept was Nazism — and abortion was banned in Germany in the thirties under Hitler. At the same time that other great Pro-Lifer, Josef Stalin, had rescinded the legalisation of abortion in the Soviet Union (effected in 1920 under the general liberalisation of sexual mores which followed the revolution). During Stalin's reign of terror, Russian women who produced ten or more children were awarded medals, as 'Heroines of the Socialist Revolution'.

So those two great men were on the side of the Wakehams, on the abortion issue. Throw in the Pope, and you sure have a winning team! To be honest, we must attribute different motives, but none considered women's freedom important.

The simplistic aggression of the Wakehams can be understood as a sign of despair. We learn from Mr Wakeham that his wife Debby (nee Sanders) was 'a campaigner for Pro-Life for 18 years, with TV and radio appearances to her credit and libertarian, recently converted anarchist'. From Mrs Wakeham herself we have confirmation that she is 'a recent convert to anarchism (having become disillusioned with the left)'. Their subscription to *Freedom* dates from last December, but already they know enough to tell us that 'The issue of life and death has been steadfastly ignored by anarchists for too long'. Such a statement must surely infuriate, say, our Class War comrades who are for-

ever crying 'Kill the rich scumbags!', and other groupings who support (verbally) armed resistance by somebody else.

I must say, though, that I tend to agree with Mr Wakeham's opening sentence, 'I'm sick to death of so-called anarchists'. *Freedom's* letter columns have recently been marred by calls for support for the Labour Party (Class War are even allowing a disillusioned Labour man to stand as the Class War candidate in the forthcoming by-election in Kensington), calls for a religious approach, and now, the insulting Wakehams.

It is obvious that with the demise of certain left-wing parties, and for that matter the (temporary?) closure of *Peace News*, there will be some lost souls looking for a home. The anarchist movement, with its loose and open structure, is clearly inviting. We have no patent rights in the use of the word 'anarchist', and do not usually go in for the condemnation of other groups which disfigures some anarchist polemic. It is unacceptable, though, when a couple of neophytes appear, calling themselves Anarchists for Life — as though the rest of us are Anarchists for death!

In his criticism of my article, Mr Wakeham was careful to ignore the 'right to choose' line and to concentrate on the more emotional 'disabled' issue which is really a side-issue, since the number of late abortions resulting from a scan or probe is a very small proportion of the total — but he does not touch on the cruelty of condemning a woman to go to full term knowing what is coming.

He says 'Anarchists are afraid to confront this issue lest they be accused of attacking women's rights ...' I have news for our uninformed new convert: anarchists were in the forefront of the struggle for abortion long before the wider political struggle was mounted. The first article I ever read on the subject was in 1942 in *War Commentary* — *Freedom's* wartime predecessor — written by an anarchist doctor who had just come out of jail as a conscientious objector. (I, too, in due course, did my porridge ...)

Both EFC and I have been readers and writers in *Freedom* for many years. I fancy we have both learnt that there is more to human freedom than striking holier-than-thou attitudes.

Justin

Modernism

SOME thoughts provoked by John Myhill's article. The modernists wanted to portray the inner self in relation to the outer world, the individual against an often threatening outside. They failed. These writers found it impossible to accurately convey fear of the state, of the unknown hierarchies, because they themselves were part of that threatening establishment.

While it is true that Woolf and Joyce were not rightwing, they saw themselves as part of the literary tradition, unconscious reactionaries. T S Eliot was the archetypal old school Christian tory, Pound and Hamsun collaborated with the Fascists and the Nazis. I agree that we mustn't condemn an artist for his/her politics, on the contrary enjoy the brilliance of their work, flawed though it is. But if the modernists had followed the paths they had taken they would have arrived at anarchism, this for all of them was unthinkable.

All except one? The only major writer of fiction to accept all the implications of external and internal tyranny and become a libertarian is William Burroughs. It is significant that he is a post-war writer, he is perfectly able to deal with the genocidal policies of the state, and the individual's lust for violence, because he is an anarchist writer. His basic message is that humans have an evil side (contradicting orthodox anarchist presumptions that everyone is 'good'), and that it is necessary to recognise and accept this darkness, neutralising it by not suppressing it. But instead turning it to better and more constructive uses.

Present day anarchist writing is suffering, because it is so safe. Are we writing what we want to, or what we think we ought? *Freedom's* pages are often full of cold and scientific approaches to problems and visions. There is a lack of passion and imagination. Conformism and uniformity are enforced by those who would rather criticise their comrade's efforts than take on the monolithic state-threat. It is essential that if we are to come to terms with ... then we must be prepared to discuss reality, in whatever form, rather than retreating to vague anarcho-theories totally without creativity, and relevance. Each of us is a dreamer, a poet. It is up to us all to define reality, create it for ourselves. Conformity and Marxist uniformity cannot be tolerated.

No name
(postmark Stratford)

MODERNISM was, and is, an artistic movement in rebellion against the dictum (variously attributed to Ovid, Quintilian, and Lin Yutang) that the essence of art is to conceal artifice. Authors, poets, architects, painters, sculptors, composers etc have always, necessarily, studied technique; but traditionally they use technique to convey something else. The modernists, with end-products like those described by John Myhill ('Anarchism as part of Modernism', May), forced the sophisticated audience to be aware of the artifice, and left the naive audience bewildered.

It is important that the modernist movement never spread beyond Art with a capital A, as found in art galleries, concert platforms, and literature which is 'approached' rather than casually read;

and even there it was never universal. Augustus John, for instance, was a painter contemporary with the modernists whose attitude was traditional. When the Glasgow anarchist orator Eddie Shaw asked him what work he did, John replied, 'I don't need to work. People pay me for painting.'

Outside of Art with a capital A there were artists, now perceived to be important innovators as 'great' as any in John Myhill's list, whose work was dismissed at the time as trivial; for instance Scott Joplin, Charles Chaplin, and P G Wodehouse. Their work was accessible to all, and appeared trivial to art snobs, because they followed the tradition of concealing artifice. Chuck Jones, lecturing at the National Film Theatre on 26 May, recalled watching Chaplin filming a 15-second shot in which he was to slide round a corner, on slippery oilcloth laid on the ground to represent ice. It took 162 takes to get a satisfactory shot, Chaplin falling and bruising himself about 100 times; but the cinema audience saw only the hilarious, successful shot.

Chuck Jones made a statement of his own to the same effect as the traditional dictum: 'Two things go into any work of art, the love and dedication, and the work; when it is finished only the love and dedication should show, because if the work shows, that is showing off'.

Revolution against artistic tradition is not necessarily connected with social revolution. I am not sure I follow John Myhill's argument that anarchism is part of modernism, but I hope it is wrong. I would prefer anarchism to be connected with Augustus John and Charles Chaplin.

Donald Room

Portugal

ANSWERING the 'Letter from Portugal' published in *Freedom* April 1988, we would like to make clear the following.

We are used to being criticised and attacked by 'close' people, which does not worry us; we do just what we think fair and right. However, for the benefit of *Freedom* readers, our answer to that letter is included in these questions: Who are we? What have we done? Who are the writers of 'Letter from Portugal'? What have they done?

Our group has about 20 people and has been in existence for 14 years without expulsions or splits. We publish a review (now in its 48th issue), described by many of us as one of the best in the world, and 20 books on libertarian subjects. Between 1974 and 76 we strongly helped the building of an anarchist federation. In 78, we were the main organizers of an anarchist festival. In 87 we promoted the international conference on

Technology and Freedom and made a serious contribution to the anarchist centenary exhibition.

Personally, we do not know 'Colectivo Parreirinha' (We called them 'naturists-primitivists' because we strictly quoted — between commas — that expression from a letter received from an old comrade who visited them). But they appear to be continuing a series of insidious actions orchestrated by some of the former group 'Acção Directa' (Direct Action), among them some former marxist-leninists who never lost their authoritarian, dogmatic, amoral and provocative ways. After being mainly responsible for the destruction of the attempts at a national organisation, they have devoted themselves to attack and demoralised those groups and periodicals that have managed to survive, particularly the old comrades of *A Batalha* and *Voz Anarquista*, and ourselves. They have never done anything positive: no local groups, no significant periodicals, no effective initiatives. They only live from

their incapacity, attacking others, in their ideological ghetto. They have absolutely no impact or social recognition, just recruiting occasionally a naive youth.

For our part, what we have published and what we have done can be documentally analysed.

It is true that we have undergone an evolution in our ideological positions since 1974 and most of us assume clearly as non-revolutionary (or reformists) and non-violent, but some others are keeping more radical opinions.

It is also true that we have left illusions several years ago about those who just call themselves anarchists. These days, we just keep a relationship with other people on a base of common interest and respect. We do not feel any solidarity at all with those who call themselves anarchists and are capable of practices that disgust us. The facts, not the flag, is important for us. The world is fed up with crimes committed under plausible excuses.

A Ideia

MORE LETTERS

Class

IN YOUR June issue JG raised a number of interesting points about the nature of class and whether it mattered. The most sensible thing that s/he says is that hierarchies have their greatest strength in the willingness of people to submit to authoritarianism. I have always believed that this is a powerful point and indeed in some ways it is the central insight which anarchists possess and which socialists, by and large, do not. The realisation of freedom is as much a question of achieving a change in attitudes as it is in changing physical circumstances.

What worries me about JG's article is that there is no recognition of the second half of this formula. The author appears to believe that physical circumstances don't matter too much and that because you can't define class it can't be very important. S/he also appears to believe that because a large number of Marxists have a very static vision of class that everyone else does too.

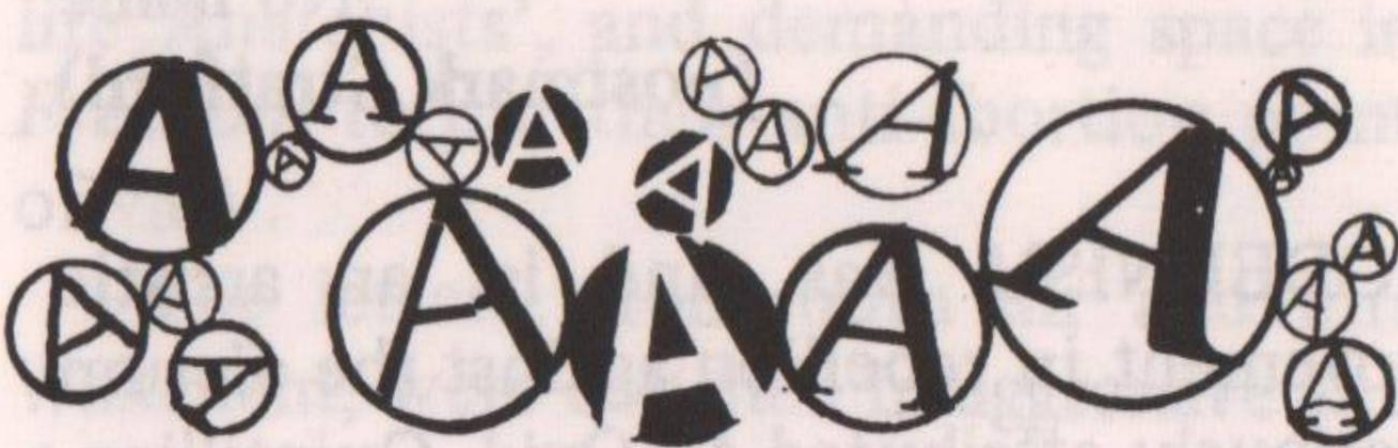
I believe that one of the mistakes of many Marxists is to attempt to define class when a social phenomenon such as class can only be characterised. It is possible to construct a model of what is 'working class' or 'middle class' but it is necessary to work with different models in different circumstances, and it is particularly important to use fluid models which respond to changed times. This means that Marx's model of the proletariat is now no longer terribly useful but the way Marx mentions 7 or 8 different classes in his descriptions of contemporary events can still be interesting and useful and there is nothing to stop us coming up with equally interesting characterisations of the class system in our own times.

If we want to understand the workings of the society in which we live and, more importantly if we want to change that society for the better, then it is still very important that we analyse the workings of the class system. How else are we to interpret the policies of a government which gives tax cuts to the very rich in the hope that it will make them work harder whilst threatening benefit cuts to the very poor in the hope that it will achieve the same effect? Clearly class interests and class psychology are still alive and well even if we do have a society in which it is possible to cross the blurred boundaries between classes and to adopt a confusing variety of lifestyles.

Anarchists have always had a very strong faith in the idea of justice. In my view this faith is still necessary because injustice and inequality are still blatantly

obvious. To put my argument at its crudest try telling an Ethiopian peasant that the reason her child has just died of famine is that she possesses a subservient attitude. I suspect it is somewhat simpler and more accurate to explain that her child died because she doesn't earn in a year what the ruling class put on a horse at Ascot. To say that our society is marked by gross inequalities is therefore not to call forth the remark 'so what' — it is to point out that one class benefits from the system and another class suffers and to accept that anarchism lines up with the poor who take orders and not with the rich who give them out even if we can't easily define which is which.

Andy Brown



Clause 28

THANKS to George Walford (*Freedom*, June) for pointing out that anarchists should not be misled into joining a campaign whose relevance is doubtful.

Suppose the popular press, in view of the current epidemic of hooliganism, were to call for a ban on beer. And suppose that as a sop to popular anti-beer feeling, the government were to introduce a Clause into a local government bill, prohibiting councils from subsidising beer sales out of the rates. (It actually happens that some councils have sold beer below total cost in community centres.)

No doubt there would be an outcry from the beneficiaries of council largesse, who would mount a campaign reminding us that beer has never been illegal in this country, and that great evils resulted from Prohibition in the States. They would call for the support of anarchists, including teetotal anarchists, on the ground that beer drinking should not be illegal. Yes, anarchists should oppose a prohibition law, but *the proposed Clause is not a prohibition law*, and the talk of prohibition is a smokescreen.

Clause 28 prohibits councils from 'promoting' homosexuality. Literally interpreted this will have no effect at all, because a council can not make anyone homosexual, any more than it can make anyone tall. Campaigners against the Clause tell us it will prevent us from seeing the plays of Oscar Wilde; I pity anyone trying to prove in court that Lady Windermere's Fan promotes homosexuality. They tell us it will prevent rules against discrimination on grounds of

sexual orientation; it will not. They tell us the phrase about 'pretended family relationships' will prevent mothers who happen to be homosexual from caring for their own children; rubbish.

Stephen Cowden (*Freedom*, May) frankly admits what will be lost as a *direct* result of Clause 28: 'service provision ... and funding for lesbians and gay men will quietly disappear. Lesbian and gay groups will be increasingly denied very basic council facilities ... and this will particularly affect those groups with the least access to the commercial gay scene'. In other words, councils will not be able to pay for facilities exclusively for homosexuals, out of rates which are levied on everybody. I do not blame those who have privileges from campaigning to keep them, but they should not induce others to join the campaign by means of misinformation.

The least defensible part of any criminal code is that there should be crimes without victims. *Freedom* (I am told) inveighed against the unjust imprisonment of Oscar Wilde, heterosexual anarchists joined the campaign for homosexual law reform in the 1960s, and continue to support the demand that young homosexuals should have right of consent. There should be no law against any sexual activity which has the full consent of those involved. But Clause 28 is not such a law.

Bosy

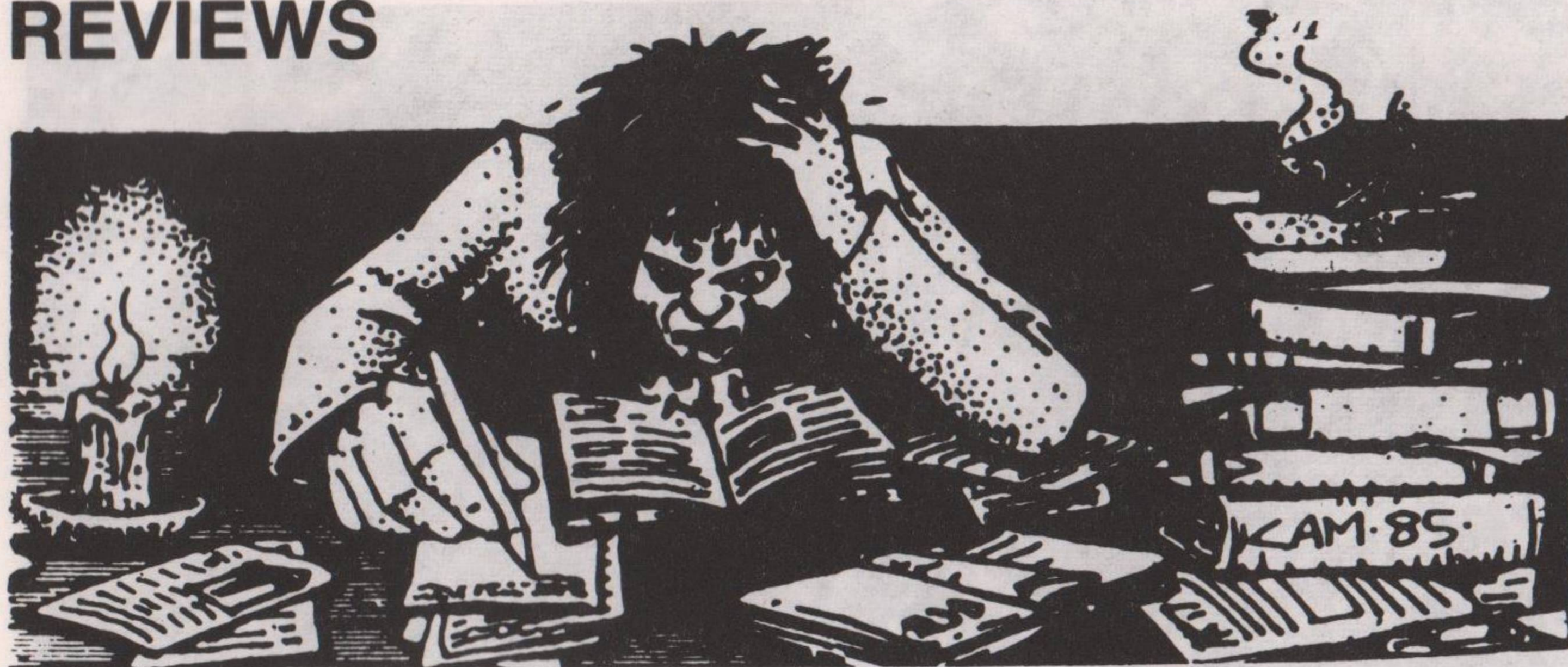
IN JUNE'S *Freedom* George Walford claims that we should not oppose Clause 29 of the Local Government Bill, because it is a law directed against local authorities. He ignores the fact that the consequences of Clause 28 effectively add up to undisguised and explicit discrimination against lesbians and gay men, surely not a situation any anarchist would welcome.

With Clause 28 as law, books by such writers as Oscar Wilde and Allen Ginsberg will disappear from the libraries, and plays with any gay content will not be able to be performed. In addition to this, it backs up the idea that gay sex is somehow unnatural — where in reality it is no more unnatural than any heterosexual sex that is not primarily concerned with procreation.

The fact that local authorities are authorities is irrelevant. Unlike George Walford, I believe that anarchism is opposed to any law that openly discriminates against any group on grounds of their sexuality. Even if we cannot achieve a free society immediately, we can at least try to make the one in which we live more free. Therefore as anarchists we should oppose Clause 28, not because it restricts the powers of local government, but simply because it is an undisguised attack on the freedom of a large portion of society.

Sean Bonney

REVIEWS



Bertrand Russell: A Political Life

By Alan Ryan

Allen Lane, £16.95

BERTRAND RUSSELL continues to attract interest nearly two decades after his death, and books by and about him continue to appear. The huge series of his Collected Papers is slowly emerging in Canada. Two excellent paperback anthologies of his essays edited by Al Seckel have been published in the United States — *Bertrand Russell on God and Religion* (1986) and *Bertrand Russell on Ethics, Sex, and Marriage* (1987) — but are unfortunately unavailable in Britain for copyright reasons, though many of his books of essays are still in print here.

Now Alan Ryan has produced a popular account of Russell's public career. He gives proper attention to the important contributions to abstract philosophy which originally made Russell famous and to the unimportant events of his private life which occasionally made him infamous, but he concentrates on 'his life as a polemicist, agitator, educator and populariser' and his 'ideas about society and politics'. Ryan's attitude is favourable but critical, and the book is well-written, well-argued, and generally well-informed.

But it isn't perfect, and the treatment of Russell's more libertarian tendencies is particularly imperfect. Ryan discusses Russell's relationship with anarchism only in connection with his book *Roads to Freedom* (1918) and his involvement with the Guild Socialists in 1919-1920. When he turns to Russell's relationship with the Russian Revolution as expressed in his book *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* (1920), he again refers to anarchism, but rather unfortunately: 'Apart from Russell, it was largely anarchists such as Victor Serge, Emma Goldman [sic] and Louis [sic] Berkman who realised that a new tyranny was in the making.' At that time Serge had ceased to be an anarchist and was still a Bolshevik; as for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Russell was in touch with both of them and was one of the former's supporters in Britain.

The last chapter of the book covers Russell's work in the campaigns for

nuclear disarmament and against the Vietnam War, for which he is probably best known nowadays. Ryan was himself involved to some extent, and he has studied some of the available material, but he seems to know little about the subject and he makes a remarkable number of factual mistakes. He is wrong about the nature of the Direct Action Committee (supposing that it was anarchist as well as pacifist), about Russell's relationship with it (which was closer than he suggests), about the formation and nature of the Committee of 100 (which are well documented), about the work of the Spies for Peace and their fate (suggesting that they

Here and Now number six

p/h2, 340 West Princes Street, Glasgow G4. 50p.

A MODERNIST journal (one of its contributors describes it as post-situationist along with the Pleasure Tendency and the magazine *Smile*), which discusses some interesting ideas but suffers from some sloppy writing in a few of the articles.

Pieces on Deep Ecology, Eastern Europe, the Libertarian Right, media, militant minorities, pubs, and workplace disputes, together with graphics and letters (the best part) makes it well worth the price.

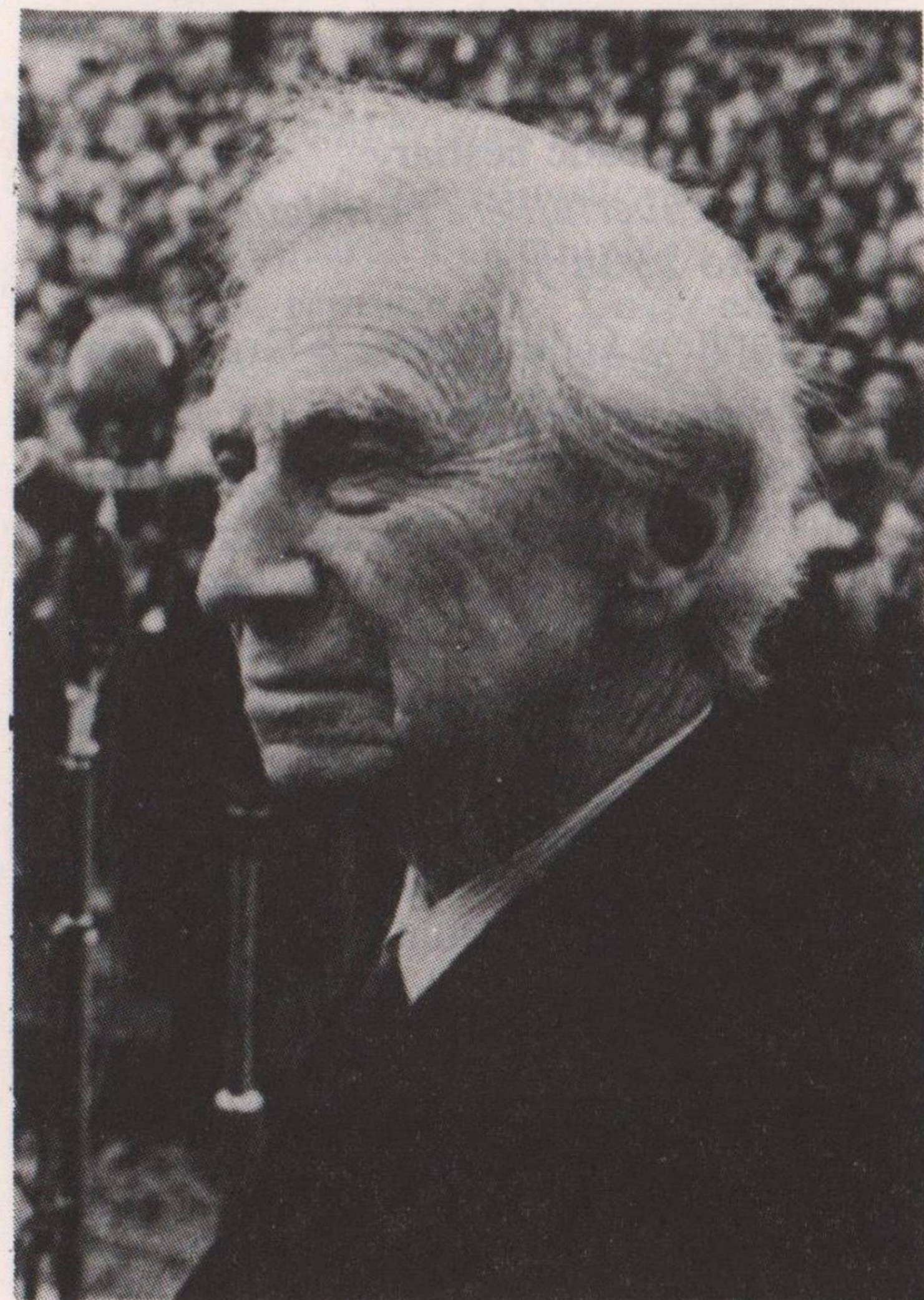
JM

Basic Bakunin

Anarchist Communist Federation 50p

THE opinions in this pamphlet are clearly those of its anonymous author, laced with phrases like 'Bakunin thought' and 'in Bakunin's view'. One is reminded of Nietzsche's *Thus spake Zarathustra*, a collection of dogmatic statements totally unconnected with Zoroastrianism, but with a resounding 'Thus spake Zarathustra' at every verse end.

This is not to say the essay is totally unconnected with Bakunin. There are even direct quotes from Bakunin (no source references) and when events are discussed which occurred since Bakunin's death, it is not pretended that the opinions



were caught), and so on. As a result of such ignorance and carelessness, this part of the book is considerably less impressive than the rest. But in general it is a useful guide to a man who was very important in his time and is still very interesting today.

NW

are Bakunin's own. Nevertheless, some statements may be questioned.

'Bakunin was astute enough to understand that ... it is not possible to draw a hard line between the two classes ... Between these extremes of wealth and power is a hierarchy of social strata.' But in Bakunin's time, before international capitalists were able to sell the products of Taiwanese and Phillipino labour in Europe and America, the difference between bourgeois and proletariat in Europe was very marked, and the intermediate class so tiny that Bakunin (and Marx) largely neglected it. It would be interesting to know exactly *where* he describes the multiplicity of social strata between the underclass and the rich.

(The best cheap summary of Bakunin's ideas, which also shows his witty, tub-thumping use of language, is still *God and the state*, currently published by B Books of Sheffield, 80p post free from Freedom Bookshop.)

DR



Behind all the democratic and socialistic phrases and promises of Marx's programme, there is to be found all that constitutes the true despotic and brutal nature of States.

*Mikhail Bakunin 1870
in Marxism, Freedom and the State
(ed. K J Kenafick) Freedom Press £1.50*

Spanish Photomontage 7 June to 16 July

Fauna: a fantastic bestiary

Joan Fontcuberta/Pere Formiguera

10 June to 23 July

Photographers Gallery, 5 & 8 Great Newport Street, London WC2

PHOTOMONTAGE, an art form pioneered by the Dadaists after the First World War and used to great effect by other Russian and German artists like John Heartfield, has enjoyed something of a revival in Spain since the death of Franco in the 70's and the ending of the cultural isolation. This excellent exhibition features work from the 20's and 30's by artists like Josep Renan and Pere Catala Pic who used their commercial backgrounds to produce political propaganda for the Republican Cause in the Civil War. There are the various types of photomontage from the absurd and violent imagery to the juxtaposition of harmonious/pictorial elements on show.

The works from the 70's uniquely parallel those of the 20's and 30's basically because once freed from the shackles of Francoist Spain, new political questions and new methods of presentation were needed. The neo-realist methods of the time were replaced by Dadist and Surrealist methods, fittingly coming mostly from Barcelona the 'home' of Gaudi, Dali and Bunuel.

If the use of certain imagery used in surrealism is too much for some people to take, the fantastic bestiary in the other exhibition would be the final straw. These beasts would appear to be the result of laboratory experiments gone hideously wrong. What they are in fact is a collection of photographs taken in the 1940's by Professor Hans von Kubert whilst working for the eminent scientist Dr Peter Ameisenhaufen. The whole collection of pictures, notes, maps, sound tapes etc was believed to be lost but this exhibition is part of what was found 30 years later. Accompanying the pictures are sound recordings and 'documentation' intending to provide 'indisputable proof' of the existence of such extraordinary animal species; the tree dwelling duck, the razor-toothed rabbit and the horned flying monkey of the Amazon jungle.

The aim of Fontcuberta and Formiguera in presenting this exhibition is to question the notion of objectivity in photography; can photography reflect *with* objectivity the reality of life, and if not, what is the status of such objective and scientific approaches in photography?

There is a book entitled *Fauna* to accompany the exhibition, for those who might wish to keep a record of these weird and extraordinary creatures.

FW



Joan Fontcuberta / Pere Formiguera, from 'Fauna'

The Radical Papers 2

edited by Dimitrios I. Roussopoulos

Black Rose.

THIS IS the third book which reprints material from the Canadian magazine *Our Generation*, following *The Anarchist Papers* and *The Radical Papers*, and the first one which acknowledges the fact. It contains seven items — Murray Bookchin on ecology again (heavy going, but worth the trouble), Noam Chomsky on the American political scandals of 1986 (mainly on Central America and the Middle East, and as good as ever), Gary Teeple on economic relations between Canada and the United States (rather narrow), Frank Harrison on Gorbachov and glasnost (rather superficial), Rossella Di Leo on male domination (rather abstract), Martha A Ackelsberg and Myrna Margulies Breithart on women in urban protest movements (rather scientific), and William O. Reichert on Edward Carpenter.

There is much good material here, but the general impression is of theoretical rather than practical interests. The essay

on Carpenter is particularly weak in its failure to comprehend his relevance in the British left — symbolised by the way Reichert curiously refers to him as 'Edward C. Carpenter' and to the 'prose style' of *Towards Democracy* (a 400-page poem!) and completely misses the importance of his sexual and religious ideas and above all the influence of his personality and his non-sectarian approach to politics. After all, Carpenter has never been forgotten in this country; he is still well known among anarchists and socialists and feminists and homosexuals, and many writings by and about him are available nearly 60 years after his death. It is misleading to suggest that he is in some way marginal or neglected.

Our Generation itself continues to appear twice a year (single issues are available from the Freedom Bookshop at £4.50), and contains both reviews as well as the articles reprinted in these books. Volume 19, Number 1 (Fall/Winter 1987-88) contains George Woodcock's review of Nancy Macdonald's *Homage to the Spanish Exiles* which first appeared in *The Raven* 1.

MH

Memoirs of a Revolutionist

Peter Kropotkin

Century Hutchinson, paperback £6.95

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon

George Woodcock

Black Rose, paperback £8.95

Living My Life

Emma Goldman

Pluto Press, 2 vols paperback, each £7.95

KROPOTKIN'S autobiography was first published in 1899 and was frequently reprinted on both sides of the Atlantic for more than 30 years; then there was a gap for more than 30 years. In 1962 a new wave of interest began with the publication in the United States of an abridged paperback edition, with an Introduction, Epilogue, and Notes by James Allen Rogers; this was later followed by several complete editions, edited by Paul Goodman, Nicolas Walter, and Colin Ward. Now the 1962 edition has been reprinted in Britain in the new Cresset Library. Its value is increased by the addition of some interesting new material in Rogers's additions, but diminished by the omission of such other material from Kropotkin's original text, and no change has been made to take account of the work done in several countries over a period of more than 25 years; but it is good to have the book available again.

George Woodcock's Biography of Proudhon was first published in 1956, and remains the best account in English of his life—though not of his work, which is better covered in later books by Alan Ritter and Robert Hoffman. A paperback reprint was published in 1972 with a short biographical supplement; now this reprint has a longer biographical supplement and



also a new 'Personal Preface'. The text hasn't been changed at all, despite the appearance of much new material in France over a period of more than 30 years, which lowers the value of the edition; but the new material is generally interesting (and occasionally surprising, as when Woodcock mentions his 'past as editor of *Freedom*'). It is good to have the book available again.

Emma Goldman's thousand-page autobiography, which was first published on both sides of the Atlantic in 1931, has already appeared in a couple of American paperback reprints. The Dover edition of 1970 reproduced the original text in two volumes on good paper, with no editorial additions. The Peregrine Smith edition of 1982 reproduced the original text in one volume on bad paper, with the addition of an Introduction by Candace Falk and 'A Remembrance' by Meridel Le Sueur.

This Pluto edition, published in 1987, reproduces the original text in two volumes on bad paper, without the original 13 illustrations, and with the addition of an Introduction by Sheila Rowbotham, the British feminist socialist writer. She has produced a typical piece, attractively written and intelligently argued, making use of the recent biographies by Candace Falk and Alice Wexler, but making no reference to the large amount of manuscript material in various libraries on both sides of the Atlantic or the recent collections of this material — *Nowhere at Home* edited by Richard and Anna Maria Drinnon (1975), and *Vision on Fire* edited by David Porter (1983) — and showing little appreciation of Emma Goldman's place in the anarchist and feminist movements. MH



From Cardboard to Mansion

Walter Segal at the Festival Hall

ON AT the Festival Hall recently was an exhibition of Walter Segal's self-build designs of houses, with the added bonus of a Gerald Scarfe's illustrated social criticism exhibition at the same time. When I was self-building the biggest obstacle to success and innovation was the planning departments and now of course it is the speculators and the price of land. Self-building is, of course, still being done by groups, but for the people on the lower end of the income ladder this has now become virtually impossible. This was made possible in Lewisham through the initiative of an anarchist in the planning department and the use of Walter Segal's designs and the use of the shelf panels. I heard one of the participants, describing the scheme at a Shelter conference, say the anarchists had changed his life.

I often hear people say they built their house, when what they mean is that they paid somebody to build it. When I built a house I really did, but even though I had a small parcel of land (about an acre), unlike the building speculator I had great difficulties with the planning departments, especially as the local councils in the country were often composed of large builders and farmers and their ilk who contrary to their professed belief in private enterprise do not like to see non professional practitioners of such enterprise.

To transfer ownership of council houses to Housing Associations will not necessarily give residents more control over their houses, and may merely transfer control from one group of bureaucrats to another. The house I built (3 bedrooms) comprised £990 materials, an Aga at £106 and 3 years spare-time labour at farm workers prices. It is in actual added value now worth less, as the land was

divided up into two more plots, yet a person doing the same (useful) job I was doing then now could not even think about buying it. Yet in terms of value, without the artificial increase in financial price, this cheap way of building houses becomes less and less possible. What happens when houses reach the phenomenal sums they reach in SE England is that people retire, move into the country areas, and make it impossible for people doing necessary but low paid jobs to find houses at reasonable prices to rent or buy.

The problem is, of course, that politicians of left, right and centre are on the coattails of Saatchi-and-Saatchi-inspired thinking, and do not see that funny money will inevitably result in tensions in society which will not result in the country being a comfortable place for anybody to live. A bolted and barred society is a prison of our own making.

Alan Albon

Farming Follies

WE HAVE all heard the old joke of paying farmers not to produce pigs, except that it was not such a joke to those with empty bellies. They now propose to pay farmers not to produce anything at all, after paying them many years to produce food that is in the long run for the community economically unsound. After reducing parts of the country to prairie-like landscape, produced by accountancy farming, the tabs will fall on the rest of the community who will pay for neglecting to observe what is going on around them.

As vast sums are spent on a doubtful nuclear industry that has developed beyond the knowledge required to control its consequences, the development of other sources of energy is neglected; the development of biogas for instance. There is the spectacle of highly concentrated liquor from silage etc polluting the water ways and straw burning that pollutes the air; biomass wasted, to say nothing of sewage polluting the sea.

Books by Dr Susan George; *How the other half dies: the real reason for world hunger* and the more recent book *A Fate Worse than Debt* (both Penguin), show the inadequacies of the financial system in terms of human needs. Western farming depends heavily on third world imports grown on the best third world land, as do much of our coffee, tea, tobacco, and many of the products so prominently displayed in our health food shops.

Small mixed farming practice and co-operative agriculture would make sound economic sense. Unfortunately it does not make financial sense, although there may come a time when the sheer irrationality of our activities in every field of human

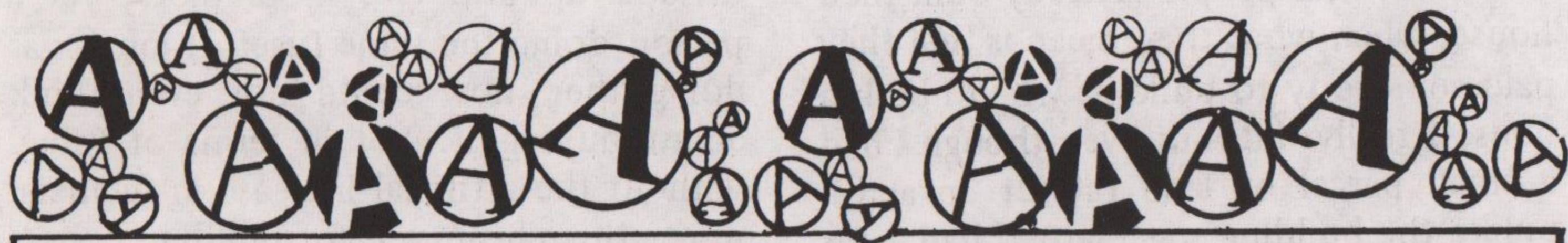
endeavour may force a more just attitude to the private ownership of land, a pollutant that is partly the source of the more obvious pollution.

It is interesting to observe the questioning that is going on in Russia about the incompetencies of the centralised bureaucracies imposed by the communists. They are considering cooperatives or collectives in more direct control of their economic life. When one considers the military action taken against the collectives in Spain by the communists in obedience to Stalin's foreign policy this seems to be a turn of the circle.

It appears that the brain damage disease that has infected sheep is spreading to other livestock such as cattle and even to cats and dogs. The incidence has been somewhat hidden by the vested interests in the pedigree cattle industry; however more interest is being taken in it. It appears that the organism is resistant even to very high temperatures, and the practice of putting bonemeal into many animal feeding products may be the cause of the spread.

This business of compounded foods and the additives they put in them requires investigation. We have a few chickens kept for ourselves and we only buy in chicken corn to supplement what they forage far and wide as pickers of unconsidered trifles. One of our neighbours whose son has severe allergy problems can only eat our eggs, for eggs called 'freerange' are probably fed compounded food stuffs even if they are truly free range. One of the problems of organic farming is of course the financial inducement to cheat that affects many areas of life today.

Alan Albon



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