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NEW

# ANARCHIST REVIEW

## Uprooting War

by **BRIAN MARTIN**

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**on combatting**

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**menace of global**

**militarization** »

**full review on page 5**



**FREEDOM**

**PRESS**

BRIAN MARTIN

## Uprooting War

FREEDOM PRESS





# UNTYING THE KNOT

Feminism, Anarchism & Organisation

**Jo Freeman**  
The Tyranny of  
Structurelessness  
**Cathy Levine**  
The Tyranny of  
Tyranny



Dark Star/Rebel Press

The first of the two essays in this pamphlet, Jo Freeman's 'The Tyranny of Structurelessness', was originally published in 1970. Cathy Levine's 'The Tyranny of Tyranny' was a reaction to it. The two are very different in style and approach. Whereas Jo Freeman addressed an issue which she believed required urgent consideration if the women's movement was to achieve social change, Cathy Levine seems more concerned with defending the feminist *status quo*.

The basic issues raised are of relevance to any grass-roots movement and cannot be convincingly dismissed. Jo Freeman argues that the form of organisation within the movement tends to determine the nature of the end-product. A mutually supportive group without formal structure will not, she suggests, have significant impact on outside reality.

She proposes that every group develops a structure, whether or

# UNTYING THE KNOT

## Untying the Knot

Jo Freeman and Cathy Levine  
Dark Star and Rebel Press  
pamphlet  
60p

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not formal structures exist within it, but that informal structures do not permit effective control over the actions of individuals who wield power. When the structure is formalised, the individuals to whom power and responsibility are allocated are more accountable to the group. This permits effective action by the group as a whole. Linking such groups would focus the power of the movement.

Cathy Levine's answer kicks out in many directions, with sexist and to my mind irrelevant attacks on men. She seems to equate the acknowledgement of structure with male-dominated socialism, lack of structure with anarchism — a naive dichotomy, for all that it may reflect current practice.

The secondary theme of the exchange concerns consciousness-raising: perhaps the archetypal unstructured group activity. Jo Freeman argued that it was limited, Cathy Levine that it held the key

to progress. I believe that the past decade has shown that consciousness-raising is not enough. Like psycho-analysis, consciousness-raising can become an endless in-group obsession which leads nowhere. Women become too comfortable, closeted in this self-generated me-feminist, you-monster microcosm of a subculture.

Jo Freeman's opening of this argument could have been taken further, to the next imaginative leap in the women's movement. It was not, perhaps because it was condemned as tainted with male concepts; and over the next decade, the sense of excitement in the movement died for many of us. But the argument is still worthy of consideration within the anarchist movement. The dilemmas of structure, organisation and effectiveness will remain with us.

Arabella Melville  
(first published in *Freedom*)

**NEW  
ANARCHIST  
REVIEW**

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**A DISTRIBUTION:** A co-operative of anarchist publishers set up to provide a joint distribution network for books and periodicals.

**HOUSMANS:** Long established bookshop and distributor of 'alternative' publishers.

**FREEDOM BOOKSHOP:** The main anarchist bookshop in Britain. Also linked with FREEDOM PRESS, publishers of anarchist titles since 1886.

**ANARCHIST BOOK SERVICE:** The youngster of the team, one year old and growing. It was set up to provide a wide selection of titles by mail order for those having difficulty obtaining them through their local bookshop.



# REBEL

# PRESS

## THE PUBLISHERS 2

# REBEL PRESS

*Rebel Press* started two years ago (you must remember the blaze of publicity) and has published two books and four major pamphlets. (Two of these pamphlets, for different reasons, were not under our imprint.) We are now the fastest-growing anarchist publishers, and second, in terms of total volume of sales, to Freedom Press. There you are — damned in our first paragraph.

When we started we felt that there was a role for a major anarchist publisher, which would not automatically end in bankruptcy. (We've read our Milton Friedman.) To this end we initiated a firm pricing policy, the book retailing at three times the cost price. A bookshop takes a third, distribution another sixth, leaving us a sixth for our own costs, such as publicity, depreciation and slush fund.

Originally we put in a sum of money (mainly housing benefit), but since then we have relied on sales of existing titles to finance subsequent ones. This has worked well, limiting our expansion to our success rate. We have now started paying ourselves back our original sum.

For publishers, real income comes in when you have to reprint something — costs are lower when you've already paid for typesetting and

plates are already made. Two of our publications are about to be reprinted, including *The Revolution of Everyday Life*. Reprinting gives us the income to bring out new titles.

It is wrong to suggest that anarchist books are automatically going to lose money. That is the attitude held by religious publishers too — so they heavily subsidise the tracts they think should be inflicted on the innocent public. Expensive books can moulder away in stock-rooms, until the public come to see the error of their ways.

On the contrary, there's considerable interest in anarchism, anarcha-feminism and situationism. Unfortunately there's little link up between this interest and what the various groups produce. We're trying, in a very limited way, to attempt to bridge this gap. We have just two criteria for publishing something; whether we enjoyed reading it ourselves, and whether it

will sell. (Knee-jerk radicals can recoil in horror at this point.)

Rebel Press will never provide income for individuals, all of the money goes back into future titles. I can't see us ever making a profit either, besides we're bound to lose money with the periodic police raids.

One thing that makes us wince is the "crap is beautiful" philosophy. This states that anything which wasn't hand-printed by deranged hippies in an unlit basement, alienates the masses. We strive for straight artwork, no widows (flash technical term), all in all a *professional* appearance. And this from the firm that brought you rub-off covers.

Our next title is *Dynamite* (by Louis Adamic) which is the classic study of class struggle in America. This is being typeset at the moment, so if you're really lucky, you should get it next year. Don't hold your breath.

## MAX STIRNER THE EGO & ITS OWN

The Case of the Individual Against Authority

## THE EGO AND IT'S OWN

Max Stirner  
Rebel Press  
paperback, 366pp  
£4.50

Rebel Press titles are available:

Trade: A Distribution  
Housmans Bookshop  
Mail order: Housmans Bookshop  
Freedom Bookshop  
Anarchist Book Service

This book, described as the most revolutionary ever written, is at once a historical document, a pamphlet of the intellectual disturbances of the mid-nineteenth century, and a timeless classic.



The Direct Action Movement is the British section of the International Workers Association — the anarcho-syndicalist international — formed in Berlin in 1922.

The DAM is a federation of locally based workers groups working both within and without the general anarchist milieu. DAM groups exist in most of the large (and not so large) towns and cities across Britain. DAM members are active in the unions, in unemployed groups, squatting groups etc.

DAM publishing exists at two levels, there are national DAM publications and numerous local publications. The following list will include both national and local publications.

## DIRECT ACTION IN INDUSTRY

This is a fairly detailed look at various forms of action open to the active worker. Drawn from the experiences of thousands of workers and organisations, it covers such diverse tactics as the wildcat strike, the go slow, the 'open' mouth, the sick in, etc. A useful handbook for the shop-floor subversive. (Price 50p)

## DAM AND THE TRADE UNIONS

Another A5 pamphlet and like all DAM pamphlets written with the reader in mind rather than the theoretically inclined. A succinct look at the trade unions of recent years and the sorry they have become. A catalogue of constant sell outs, inefficiency, bureaucracy and self-seeking. But there is hope yet! This pamphlet ends with the anarcho-syndicalist answer: factory councils, organisation and direct action. (Price 25p)

## DIRECT ACTION: WHAT ABOUT THE UNIONS?

Produced by the Rochdale DAM group, this pamphlet, following consultations with non-DAM shop floor militants, will shortly be revised and reprinted by the national organisation. This is a point by point examination of the DAM industrial policy and deals extensively with everyday shop floor organisation. Also detailed are the

activities, and violent reaction to, anarcho-syndicalist militants active in the work-place. (Price 30p)

## STRIKE ACTION

This pamphlet was put together by the London DAM groups and published by the DARK STAR publishing group. Written as an aid for the trade unionist and militant who has little experience of strike action. A step by step guide to help organise a strike, to spread the struggle, collect contributions, gain experience etc. Hopefully its appearance will aid the inexperienced and perhaps provoke an active dialogue with those who have more experience than others. (Price 20p)

Several of the local groups publish newsletters, wall posters and occasional leaflets. The Middlesborough DAM produce an excellent anarcho-syndicalist paper *Strike Back*. Burnley DAM produce the *Agitator*, South London DAM produce *Alarm* and South Manchester DAM produce *Antidote*.

The Middlesborough group have also published a 20 page pamphlet entitled *Revolutionary Unionism in Italy* which is a translation of the motions and speeches at the first congress of the refounded Unione Sindicale Italia. They have also produced the pamphlet *CHILE: Ten Years On*, and an account of the Warrington dispute. Similarly the Hull DAM have produced a small pamphlet entitled *Women Workers and Trade Unions*.

The Publication Committee of the DAM has at present a number of pamphlets in the pipeline, and hopefully before the end of the year will have produced the pamphlet *Racism and Struggle* which was written by an anarcho-syndicalist worker from one of the

national minority communities. Also coming out soon will be *Unions and Politics* a question and answer pamphlet which looks at trade unionism and the Labour Party connection today.

The national paper of the DAM is **DIRECT ACTION** which is currently published by the Leeds DAM group. This large format paper will be coming out monthly, after resolving publication problems which arose earlier this year. The paper gives in depth coverage of all major strikes and trade disputes both in Britain and overseas, as well as coverage of the anti-militarist and anti-racist struggles. (Price 20p per issue.)

The International Secretariat of the DAM publish an international news bulletin, **NEW WORLD** four times a year. The news bulletin gives detailed coverage of developments within the IWA sections and the international labour movement. (Price 25p per issue.)

Finally a pamphlet distributed by the DAM but published by our sister organisation in Australia, the Rebel Worker Group is well worth reading, its called *IWA: The Principles, Aims and Statutes*, its title alone speaks for itself. (Price 35p)

All titles mentioned above are available direct from the DAM at **SLDAM, c/o 121, Railton Road, London SE24.**

**NEW WORLD and DIRECT ACTION** are distributed by **A DISTRIBUTION.**

Most of the pamphlets mentioned are also available by mail order from: **Anarchist Book Service**  
**Freedom Bookshop**  
**Housmans Bookshop**



# UPROOTING WAR

## BRIAN MARTIN Uprooting War

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Brian Martin  
Freedom Press  
Paperback  
£4.00

What are the roots of war, and how do we eliminate it? These are the central questions dealt with by *Uprooting War*, the newest title on the Freedom Press list.

Unlike most 'alternative' works on war, this book is emphatically not about the dangers of war. Instead it is about action — specifically the action that can be taken by ordinary grassroots activists.

The author spares today's activists nothing, and is heavily critical of many of the traditional methods and beliefs of peace campaigners. He points in particular to the many anti-nuclear campaigners who nevertheless support conventional warfare. He shows how peace activists have tended to direct their best efforts towards convincing the very elites who most benefit from the war system. Perhaps more importantly he also points out that peace movements are often largely ineffective;

that they have no clear long term strategies and that their usual methods — such as demonstrations and meetings — may really only achieve the feeling of having 'done something' in their participants.

For Brian Martin the alternative is as simple as it is complicated. Activists must start finding ways of involving people in the struggle in their daily lives. He believes the roots of war lie in authority in its many forms — especially the state, bureaucracy, the military, patriarchy and capitalism. Only by challenging authority in all these areas, and by attempting to introduce new, libertarian forms of self-management, can the problems of war — and social organisation as a whole — be solved.

Brian Martin's alternative approach is based squarely on non-

violence. He sees this as the only means compatible with the end of a non-violent, no-war future. And it is precisely here that he will find critics on the libertarian left. For, whilst he goes a long way to showing how effective non-violent action and civil disobedience can be, many will feel that he has failed to prove that armed revolution cannot achieve the changes so desperately needed.

This is a significant work about anti-war strategy and draws together most of the major issues of concern to the pacifist libertarian movement, in a convincing and useful way. It is also a rarity amongst books on war, in that it offers some hope for a non-war future.

*Drawing on his own varied experience as a social activist, Martin charts, with a wealth of insights, a strategy that is consistently radical — if not also as 'purist' as some might like. The rationale for it is provided by his critique of five standard anti-war strategies: military defence; revolution first; convincing elites to solve problems by non-military means; influencing elites via public pressure; and symbolic non-violent action.*

*Radical pacifists can readily see the limitations of the first three but, for want of a better, have often fallen back on the last two. Symbolic nonviolent action is certainly the most promising, but it has not yet proved effective. As Martin observes, much of it is tacitly aimed at the elites through the mobilisation of public opinion. It suffers from limitations similar to other ways of applying pressure to elites.*

*Martin identifies three areas for building campaigns to strike at the roots of war:*

*social defence; peace conversion; and self-management. What he says on all three is illuminating but here a comment on the first must suffice. 'Social defence' is Martin's preferred term for 'civilian defence'. As advocated by the indefatigable Gene Sharp, 'civilian defence' has always struck me as a non-starter for one simple reason: the argument has been addressed to the political and military elites. But, if 'civilian defence' has the efficacy claimed for it, one thing is quite certain: no government in the world will adopt it as an alternative defence policy, although some might toy with it as a supplement to conventional military defence.*

*His main thesis can be stated simply: "a permanent end to the threat of war is not compatible with the state system". The roots of modern war — the organised violence of armed forces on behalf of states — are not the weapons or the soldiers or the political and military elites. If these were removed, others*

*would soon take their places. "The roots of war are the institutions which maintain centralised political and economic power, inequality and privilege, and monopolies over organised violence to protect power and privilege.*

*It is a safe bet that many peace activists will find it hard to accept Brian Martin's arguments. But, acceptable or not, all peace activists will profit from considering them as coolly as he advances them.*

*Of the book as a whole, my conclusion is this: it is one which every Peace News reader should have on his/her bookshelf, and within easy reach. Happily, Freedom Press have published it at a price that all of us, with a little effort, can afford.*

The above inserts are taken from Geoffrey Ostergaard's review of this title to be published, in full, in *Peace News*. Our thanks to both Geoffrey and *Peace News* for permission to use them.





## ON THE WRITINGS OF

# RAOUL VANEIGEM

*The Book of Pleasures* is easy to read, but difficult to review, especially if a reviewer pays serious attention to the author's warning, "Keep away, serious critics! This is not for you. I don't give a toss what you think of this book".

Well, I'm no serious critic and I'm in complete accord with all the ideas in the book, so expect no petty haggling over this or that point, no damning with faint praise or any other of the critics usual catalogue of tricks. Instead I simply urge you to read this book as soon as you can and put its ideas into practice immediately. In the author's words, "If you know all this and better, go to it!".

The book's greatest pleasure is its language. For too many years Situationist writing has laboured against a (well-deserved) reputation of being difficult to understand, if not virtual impenetrability. A body of theory as rigorous and demanding as Situationism requires an equally rigorous language, especially in its attempts to break through the sophistry and solipsism that cloaks so much 'radical' ideology. All the same, it's regretted that many, myself included, have often closed the pages of Situationist books and pamphlets with dazed incomprehension.

Reading *The Book of Pleasures* is easy. If nothing else it is a modern example of impassioned, visionary prose in the tradition of Blake, Rimbaud and Lautreamont. Passion unties Situationism's tongue. Here

praise is due to the translator, John Fullerton. From the first sentence the reader is borne along by Vaneigem's anger and impatience, emotions which illuminate rather than cloud his desire for a world of intense pleasure and which fuel his contempt for this present order of work, restraint and survival.

But this is no 'Hedonism Revisited'. Vaneigem is not another revolutionary deserting the barricades for the boozier and bed. For him, and for me, our choice now lies between death via work and constraint or life via unlimited creative pleasure. We seek a radically new society. Anything less leads straight to the gates of the universal factory. In these days, the unknown wonders of life emancipated cannot be found within the offices of the official revolution. The end, or reversal, of this world begins with the individuals' irreducible subjectivity, here work and submission meet implacable opposition. Here from the individuals' will to live springs "a world in becoming", while the old world "Goes down skid row very well on its own". Leave things alone. Cease work. Each time you work you destroy yourself. Attempt instead to live, follow temptations, do not worry over consequences. "The revolution will be a gathering of speed as the living race towards life. Then we will see if such a tiderace leaves the stucco walls of hierarchy, state and commodity civilisation standing".

Indeed, the domination of exchange over life will be broken by realising our desires, it cannot withstand the innocence which quietly urges us to laze in bed rather than clock in at work, to ridicule leaders, to refuse to pay. From such urges, multiplied a million times, will come the society that "millions of people feel a deep down attraction for. A society

without punishment to fear, bills to honour, pleasures to pay for, without power, frustration or submission".

This world cannot be ushered in by revolutionary militants and intellectuals, the management in the wings. How could it be? What part can they play? They have too much at stake in the present order. Their diktats to work have resulted already in too much blood and suffering. No, it will come from those who turn their back on revolutionary work, refusing to put off for one day longer their real desires, to make one more sacrifice to the future, seeking instead their own lives of independence and creativity. This is what we all wish, now is the time to begin.

*The Book of Pleasures* is a good place to start. No doubt this book will be greeted with the deafening silence that 'radicals' usually reserve for Situationist ideas. No matter. Situationism does not seek shelf-space in the ideological supermarket, preferring instead to simply state the obvious.

Of course, there are those who wouldn't recognise the obvious if it were lying next to them in bed.

**Clifford Harper**

*A reprint of 'Revolution of Everyday Life' is due in early 1985. There will be a price increase to £3.60 with that edition.*

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## THE REVOLUTION OF EVERY- DAY LIFE

My aim is not to make the real experience contained in this book comprehensible to readers who have no real interest in reliving it. I fully expect this experience to be lost — and rediscovered — in a general alteration of consciousness, just as I am convinced that the present conditions of our lives will one day be no more than a memory.

The world is going to be remade, not reconditioned. All its would-be renovators are powerless to stop this. If these experts do not understand me, so much the better; I certainly have no desire to understand *them*.

As for my other readers, I pray their indulgence with a humility that should not be hard to see. I should have wished a book as this accessible to minds quite unschooled in the jargon of ideas. I hope I have not failed entirely. Out of this confusion will one day come formulations capable of firing point-blank on our enemies. In the meanwhile, let sentences remembered here or there have what effect they may. The path of simplicity is the most tortuous of all and, especially here, it seemed better not to wrench commonplaces from a tangle of roots which we may transplant to another soil and cultivate to our own profit.

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I have never claimed to have anything new to say; I am not trying to launch novelties on the culture market. One tiny adjustment in what is essential has much greater import than a hundred incidental improvements. The only true new thing here is the direction of the stream carrying commonplaces along.

Ever since men grew up and learned to read Lautreamont, everything has been said yet few have taken advantage of it. Since all our knowledge is essentially banal, it can only be of value to minds that are not.

The modern world has to learn what it already knows, become what it already is, through a great exorcism of obstacles, through practice. We can escape the commonplace only by manipulating it, controlling it, thrusting it into our dreams or surrendering it to the free play of our subjectivity. I realise that I have given subjective will an easy time in this book, but let no one

**REVOLUTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE**  
R Vaneigem  
Rebel Press  
paperback  
£3.30

## THE REVOLUTION of EVERYDAY LIFE

Raoul Vaneigem

reproach me for this without first considering the extent to which the objective conditions of the contemporary world advance the cause of subjectivity day after day. Everything starts from subjectivity, but nothing stays there. Today less than ever.

The struggle between subjectivity and everything that corrupts it is about to widen the terrain of the old class struggle. It will revitalise it and make it more bitter. The desire to live is a political decision. Who wants a world in which the guarantee that we shall not die of starvation entails the risk of dying of boredom?

The man of survival is a man ground up in the machinery of hierarchical power, caught in a net of interferences, a chaos of oppressive techniques whose ordering only awaits patient programming by programmed experts.

Continued on page 8

**BOOK OF PLEASURES**  
R Vaneigem  
Pending Press  
paperback  
£3.95



# THE NATURE OF HUMAN BRAINWORK

## The Nature of Human Brain Work

AN INTRODUCTION TO DIALECTICS

Joseph Dietzgen

Joseph Dietzgen  
Red Lion Press (Canada)  
paperback, 127pp.

Trade: Housmans  
Mail order: Housmans  
Anarchist Book Service

Joseph Dietzgen was born near Cologne in 1828 and in his youth apprenticed as a tanner, which became his lifelong occupation. He participated in the Revolution of 1848 where he came in contact with the writings of Karl Marx and soon became one of his supporters. Marx had a high regard for the tanner, considering him to be one of the few people to understand his critique of political economy, and even went so far as to mention this in his introduction to *Capital*. Dietzgen was a frequent contributor to socialist newspapers, particularly *Volkstaat*, but it was not until 1869 that his first book, *The Nature of Human Brainwork* was published.

In 1884 he moved to the United States and was made editor of *Der Sozialist*, which he retained until 1886, when he moved to Chicago.

Continued from page 7

8 The man of survival, however, is also the self-united man, the man of absolute refusal. Not a moment passes without each one of us experiencing, on every level of reality, the contradiction between oppression and freedom; without each one of us being caught up and weirdly twisted by two antagonistic perspectives simultaneously: the perspective of power and the perspective of transcendence. So, although the two parts of this book deal in turn with each of these

That year the anarchist editors of the *Chicagoer Arbeiterzeitung* were arrested and charged with the Haymarket bombing. In spite of the state terrorism, Dietzgen stepped in and took their place, continuing publication of the paper. The Socialist Labor Party, which had been trying to distance itself as far as possible from the Haymarket Martyrs and anarchism, was outraged. But the old tanner could not be moved and even went so far as to declare that *he* was also an anarchist. Two years later he died of a heart attack and was buried alongside the murdered Chicago anarchists.

### Why Should We Read Dietzgen?

Joseph Dietzgen's writings, of which *The Nature of Human Brainwork* is but one example, provide one of the best introductions to dialectics. The language is plain and the style simple.

His writings are a good antidote to *Diamat*, the mechanistic ideology

perspectives, they should not really be treated as separate. Instead the reader must imagine they are synchronic; for description of the negative underpins the positive project, and the positive project attests to negativity. Ideally a book would have no order to it, and the reader would have to discover his own.

My shortcomings as a writer also reflect on the reader — as a reader and even more as a human being. If the element of boredom I experienced in writing finds an echo in the reader, here is but one more proof of our failure to live. For the rest, the

of Plekhanov, Lenin and Stalin that attempts to pass as dialectics.

Dietzgen was a libertarian socialist who tried to overcome the sectarian quarrels between the socialists and the anarchists. His politics stemmed *directly* from his dialectical approach.

He is a 'missing link' between the Marxism of Marx and the council communism and libertarian marxism of the Twentieth Century. Anton Pannekoek of the Dutch Left was deeply influenced by his essays.

Dietzgen was a precursor of phenomenology and phenomenological marxism.

He developed a nature dialectic without the scientism of Engel's *Dialectics of Nature*. Social ecologists should find this of particular interest.

Other than Antonio Labriola of Italy, Dietzgen was the only person in the late nineteenth century to understand and develop Marx and Engels' method.

L. Gambone (February, 1984.)

gravity of the times must excuse the gravity of my tone. Levity always lies either before words or beyond them. For our purposes irony will consist of never forgetting this.

This work is part of a subversive current of which the last has not yet been heard. It constitutes one contribution among others to the reconstruction of the internal revolutionary movement. Its significance should escape no one; in any case, as time will show, no one is going to escape its implications.

Raoul Vaneigem



# A DAY MOURNFUL AND OVERCAST

Trade: Housmans Bookshop  
Mail order: Housmans Bookshop  
Anarchist Book Service  
Freedom Bookshop

an "uncontrollable"  
Spanish/ English  
pamphlet, 52pp  
60p.

Written in 1937, this moving text was the result of the Republican Government's attempts to 'militarise' the autonomous militias of the Spanish Revolution. One of the most dedicated and feared (by authoritarians on both sides) of these militias was the "IRON COLUMN". Composed of former political prisoners released in the first days of the revolution and other militants, its uncompromising anarchist nature, its commitment to revolution and freedom could be traced directly to its members' harsh education at the hands of the State. Perhaps more than any other militia it realised the consequences

of the Communist Party-backed drive to centralise and discipline the command of the militias. The text is also a spirited defence of the "Iron Column", accused of atrocities by the Republican Government as part of its attempt to destroy the spirit of these men and women in preparation for militarization. They adopted the "insult" of "uncontrollable" with pride for they answered to no-one but themselves and the people they were part of. Lacking education, without the benefit of the "intellectual skills" considered necessary for

political debate, this militiaman states in simple and moving words the dilemma of the revolutionary seeing the revolution shattered by the heavy hand of "the party". When next some idiot tells you the working class are incapable of understanding or carrying out the revolution without the aid of a party or some intellectual guru's guiding hand, first remember this foul betrayal and, secondly, kick their head in to prevent the possibility of a repeat in the future.



*an "uncontrollable"  
from the Iron Column*

## THE MODERN STATE

Trade: Housmans  
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Frank Harrison  
Black Rose Books (Canada)  
paperback £6.95  
hardback £12.95

Starting from the assumption that the theory and practice of State control thus far in history has operated to diminish the freedom of the individual and local groups, Harrison attempts a major re-examination of the history and theories of social change.

The disputes within the first International and the implications of their outcome are related to the

historical trajectory of events surrounding the Russian Revolution, the Makhonist movement and the Kronstadt uprising, as well as the recent Polish experience.

Harrison unearths some fascinating material from the Russian archives, including the writings and first-hand accounts of little known but important participants in the revolution.

## THE MODERN STATE



FRANK HARRISON



# ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR 1984

And it came to pass that several persons of dubious intent did gather one dark and stormy night.

"Verily", said the First, "we doth lack an occasion wherein we can flog many and various titles to the eager masses".

"Tis true", replied the Second, "for mine storerooms doth overflow with printed matter of a revolutionary intent, but purveyors of said matter are sorely lacking".

"What is to be doneth?", did wail the Third, tears streamething down his tortured face.

Then spoketh the Fourth and most wiseth of them all.

"I hath pondered deeply upon this matter and last night I did haveth a vision. I saw streameths of happy, smiling radicals entering a room,

verily, a hall of stupendous beauty and form. And within this mighty building I saweth, arraigned in all their glory, the many and various titles that thou hast mentioned, and Lo!, didth the assembled masses dig deep into their pocketeths and did lavish much dough for the purchase of these tomes of wisdom."

"Tell us more, O Wise One!", begged the listeners.

"But then, horroreth of horroreth, didth the masses rise up and throw downeth the missives just obtained, and Lo!, did they demandeth their cash back!"

"No!, it cannot be!", cried the terrified trio.

"Yea, it is so!", exclaimeth the Wise One, "For unbeknowns to us, a bloody Anarchist had sneakethed in and told the masses that *their* Bookfair was taking place nearby!"

"Shame!" cried the First.

"Woel!" screamed the Second.

"Infamy!" wailed the Third.

"Tis so!" asserted the Fourth and wisest.

The group did split up and returneth to their dank and slummish abodes, with the Third mumbling to the Second,

"Marx didn't say anything about this in *Das Kapital*!"

Yes Folks, once more the Anarchist Book Fair has struck a blow for Liberty, Literacy and our publishers' bank balances! Verily, did the masses rise up and attend this historic occasion. As for the socialist Book Fair (taking place just up the road on the same day), our spies report much doom and gloom, by all accounts not a very successful occasion for them. Quite right too! We all had a very good day, so out thanks to all who attended, to the assorted publishers, bookshops, etc, and most of all, to the gallant food crew who raised £150 plus for the miners. Now the bad news. We're doing it again next year . . . Well, nothing's perfect you know, life's like that . . . sort of . . .

## Peace News FOR NONVIOLENT REVOLUTION

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## SAN FAIRY AN

It is essential for us to develop new ideas and not just reprint the gospel according to St Bakunin and others. What is good from the anarchist heritage must be preserved but anarchist ideas as bequeathed to us from the past are clearly insufficient and must be supplemented by new ideas. San Fairy An Press, therefore, aims to publish new writings, initially by the one person (me) who is San Fairy An Press but, as soon as my few ideas are exhausted, by others. So far only one pamphlet has been published — an anti-Marxist tract called 'Marxism versus Reality'. The intention is to persuade anarchists to ditch the Marxist economics that many of us have been fooled by. 'Marxism versus Reality' retails at one pound and, as the Freedom Press catalogue says, I think everyone should have a copy. Coming soon or not so soon are the pamphlets on drugs, ecology, students and more — see you.

Brian Moseley

IN ANGEL ALLEY, 84B, WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET,  
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# 121 BOOKSHOP

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121 BOOKSHOP stocks anarchist books, pamphlets, newspapers, posters and postcards. There are also free back issues of anarchist papers, and information on local miners support. On Fridays there are meals in the evening (ring first to check).

The Bookshop has been squatted for nearly four years, and is constantly being threatened with eviction by Lambeth Council. So far they haven't managed it — support will be needed when the time comes!

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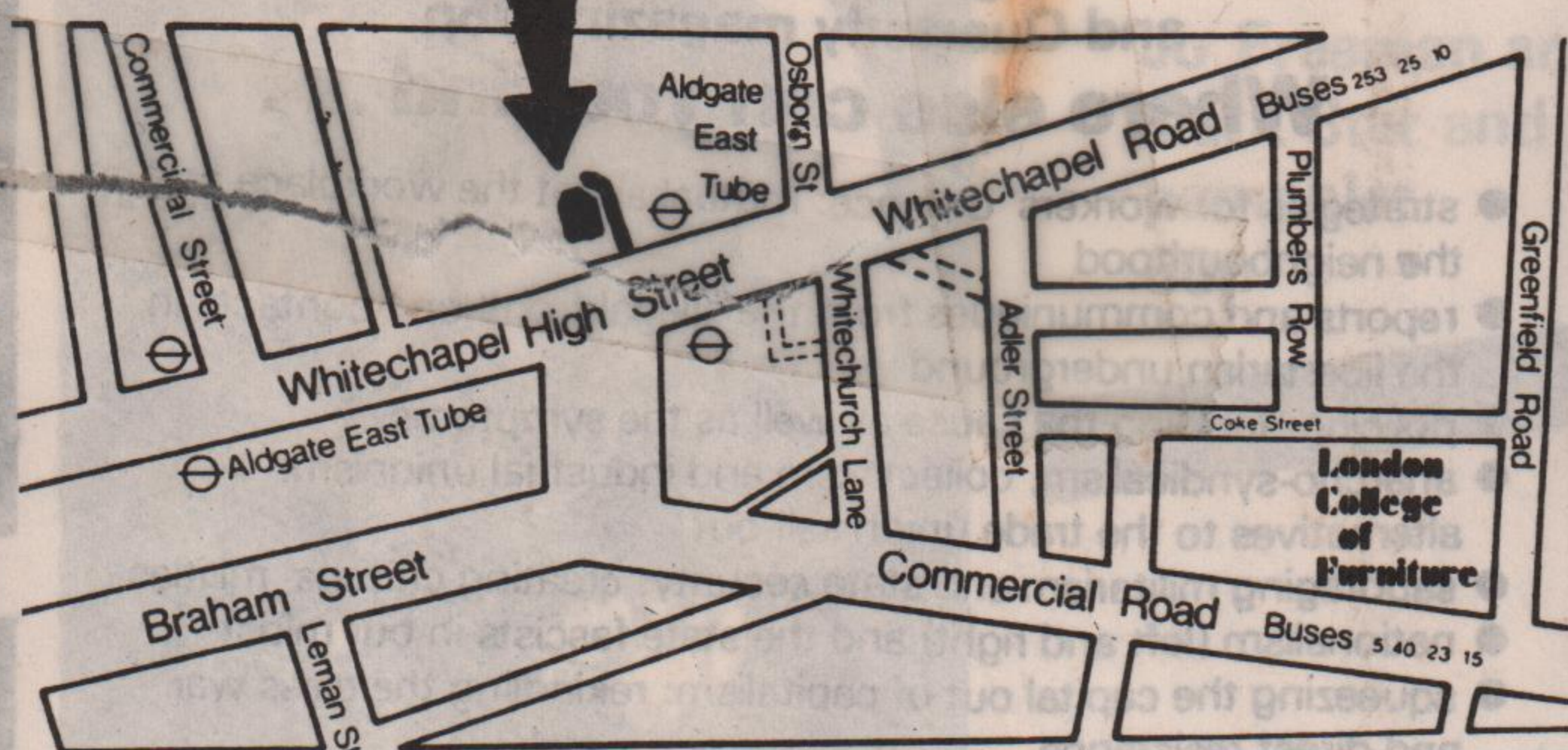
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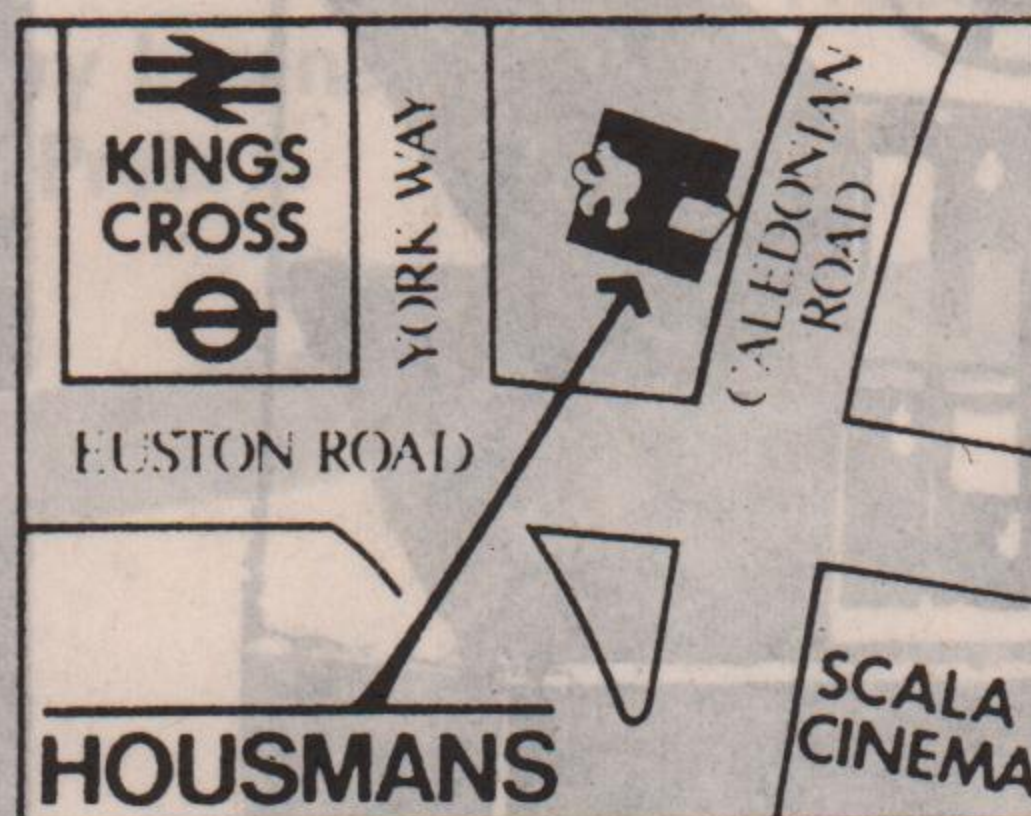
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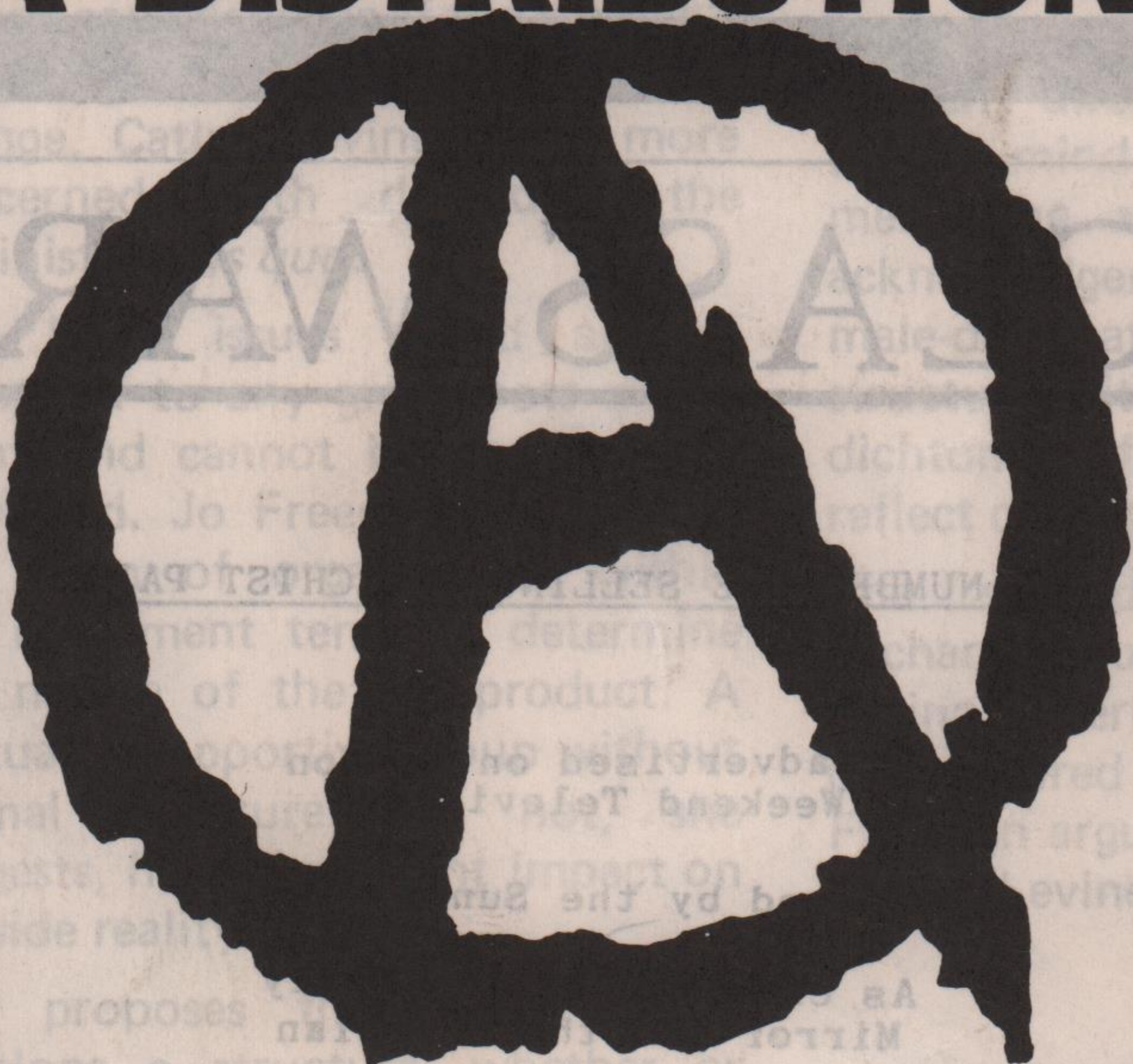
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