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editorial

The Franks Report on the Falklands War, which appeared last week, not only is, but has been generally recognised to be, an official whitewash. Lord Franks is an ideal type of establishment figure, and his Committee consisted of trustworthy members of the main political parties. In the Report they unanimously agree that the Government could neither have predicted nor prevented the Argentine invasion in April 1982. They would, wouldn't they?

Neither of the two leading political parties can bear much examination of their previous policies on the Falklands, because they have both combined the characteristic faults of British foreign policy throughout the present century — a general willingness to appease external pressure, an equal willingness to resist internal pressure, and the eventual resort to force when the contradictions become intolerable. Such policies precipitated British involvement in both world wars, the collapse of the British Empire, a series of failures such as Suez and Northern Ireland, and the apparent success, but actual failure, of the Falklands.

Successive Conservative and Labour Governments (including several leading Social Democrats) led Argentina to expect a surrender of sovereignty over the Falklands, but failed to persuade the Falklanders and feared to confront their British supporters. Intelligence reports were just ignored and military preparations were bungled. The result was aggression and counter-aggression. Now they are all back where they started, with the loss of hundreds of men and thousands of millions of pounds and pesos. This has been repeatedly demonstrated in some newspapers and television programmes, and is confirmed by the detailed contents of the Franks Report, whatever its final conclusions.

All we can add is to ask, if the Government could neither predict nor prevent the war, what was it there for? Britain first failed to tell the Falklanders they couldn't be defended, then failed to defend the Falklands and had to reconquer them, and now must defend them at enormous cost to them — and to us. The only justification of the State is that it guarantees the security of its subjects. For this security, no thanks.

'One shouted to the other "Is he dead?" and the first one answered "No, his hands are still moving". Then they began to laugh. It was really hysterical laughter.'

'Who is it Susie? Who have we shot? ...

'Suddenly it was like everyone was backing off. At first they had all looked really hyped up.'

GUN LAW

The incident in which the police ambushed and wildly shot up a mini in the middle of a London street in the evening rush hour, nearly murdering an innocent man, has hit every headline in the country to such an extent that we hardly have to spell out any details of this bizarre event.

For the benefit of our many readers abroad, however, we will briefly outline the background. London police are looking for a man called David Martin, who escaped from Marlborough Street Court on Christmas Eve by squeezing through a window and getting away over the rooftops. He was being charged with attempted murder in August of a policeman, who was shot in the groin when he went to investigate a burglary.

Martin was caught by the police and arrested — having been shot in the shoulder — on September 15. He had thus been remanded in custody for three months — presumably for his shoulder to mend and to be fit enough to appear in a magistrate's court. He was obviously fitter than that, since he could abscond over the roof and get clear away. Understandably, the police are furious with Mr Martin.

Somehow, they learned that he was going for a ride the other Friday in that little motor car and they set up an ambush. Incidentally, they must have known exactly where he was going, because they were waiting on the curb in Warwick Road, Earls Court, at the junction of Pembroke Road, when the car stopped at the traffic lights. They fired at the car, one bullet hitting the nearside rear tyre, and then raced towards the car, surrounding it, and pumped lead into the man in the front passenger seat.

Accounts are vague as to how many policemen were present in this incident — it would seem about five, three of whom did the shooting. Unhappily for them, there will be no medals for gallantry in apprehending a known and dangerous criminal, for the man in the front seat was a video film director by

the name of Stephen Waldorf, a man with no criminal record but whose girl friend — the Sue Stephens quoted above — was a friend of Martin's.

Hence the connection and, hence, if we want to be fair to the police (as of course we do) the reason why they thought it was Martin in the car.

The number of bullets fired seems to be vague, as well as the number of cops, and accounts (in the absence as we write of the official enquiry) vary from five to eight. Miss Stephens probably collected her grazes from the first volley, fired from the pavement. As the second volley was being shot at Waldorf, the driver of the car, a Mr Lester Purdy, opened his door and ran away, at which Waldorf tried to crawl over his seat and fell out of the car on the far side, where, said one witness, at least one policeman kept firing at him. It would seem that rather more than eight shots were fired.

By this time our gallant defenders of law and order were shrieking with hysterical laughter and it was not until Ms Stephens clambered out of the back seat and shouted that they had made a terrible mistake that they bothered to look at the apparently dead man's face. Then their laughter stopped.

But Waldorf was still breathing — and never has a London ambulance (probably already waiting at the scene?) torn faster through the London rush hour to get him to hospital. There he was found to have at least four bullets in him; two in the head and two in the abdomen — one cutting an artery which flooded a lung and one in his liver. As we go to press we are happy to say that the marvels of modern medicine have saved his life and he is recovering. We hope he should be so lucky.

'SORRY', SAYS THE YARD. By now the fat was in the fire. Scotland Yard apologised profusely for the incident and poor dear Mr Whitelaw, the Home Secretary, was once again being grilled in the

House of Commons, where he proceeded to promise 'No Whitewash' and to dish out a completely false set of statistics on the number of times guns had been issued to London police in the last year ... or two ... and he was sorry that he couldn't answer any more questions because the matter was now going to the Director of Public Prosecutions and thus was sub judice and no more could be said. Whatever happened to Parliamentary privilege?

It is thought that three policemen may be charged. They are suspended and one, Detective Constable Finch, is thought to have been present when Martin was arrested and shot in the shoulder on Sept 15 — and so, you might think, reasonably able to identify him. It is also thought that Finch fired the bullet that punctured the mini's tyre — although firing at tyres is forbidden in the stringent rules that govern gun use by London's police — probably because innocent bystanders may be hurt.

The other two suspended are DC John Jardine and DC Fred Dean — both attached to C11, the Yard's Criminal Intelligence Branch. Nuff said?

Our readers abroad may by now be puzzled at all the hoo-ha about this incident, for might this not be an everyday event in, say, New York? Oddly enough, a not too dissimilar incident was reported in the *Guardian* on Jan 18, about a 'police rampage' in New Orleans in November 1980, following an apparently motiveless shooting of a policeman in the predominantly black area of Algiers.

After beating sworn statements (since repudiated) out of a couple of men, two groups of police from the local precinct raided two houses at 2.45 in the morning, dragged two men out of bed and shot them — in one case shooting his wife as well, and in both cases with children present.

Oddly enough, there is a television account of how the police 'went berserk'. The *Guardian*

account did not make clear how the television camera happened to be on hand at the time — but it has been accepted in court at the trial of seven police and is being shown on national television, including Dallas, where the trial is taking place 'to get a fair trial'.

The differences between these two incidents are considerable — but one is that in the States, the police are always armed and should be used to living in an armed society, jealously guarding its gun law. In Britain, the police are supposedly armed only on special occasions under 'strict' control. And they can still go berserk, hysterical or can just be mistaken.

Guns are issued much more than most of us think. Apart from the regularly armed bodyguards, for the famous and powerful, guns were issued in London at the rate of 18 times a day in 1982. That's 6,300 times, mostly to plainclothes detectives, about 35 per cent of whom are authorised to carry guns.

In 1981, guns were issued to police 4,983 times compared with 2,164 times that guns were carried by criminals. The police always make sure they can out-gun any criminal. But note the increase in the police numbers from 1981 to 1982. Up by nearly 25 per cent.

Britain's police are carrying guns more and more, and police corruption is growing more and more — as conditions for more and more people are getting worse and worse.

We wonder if there can possibly be a connection?

Late news

The two other occupants of the car, Sue Stephens and Lester Purdy, were arrested later and charged with 'aiding Martin by handling stolen goods', namely several guns, holsters, body-armour and surveillance equipment. They have now been released on police bail. A further person, Peter John Enter, has also been arrested on the same charges. He has been remanded in custody.



Sidney Street, 1911. 'Plus ca change, rien ca change ...'

Reactions to change

Your intemperate reaction to the many and varied sects crowding the anarchist scene demands a brief and, I hope, reasonably detached reply.

I would agree that the hyphenating device does imply some sort of compromise or qualification; historically the anarchist tradition has embraced most of the tendencies suggested by the groups sheltering under red and black umbrellas, although 'anarcho-capitalism' is, as you so picturesquely infer, a blatant contradiction in terms.

John Ball, Gerard Winstanley, William Godwin and William Morris, to name only a few better-known figures in an English context, would not escape censure on some points from the sterner sort of anarchist 'comrade' (yes, the term does have repulsive overtones!) In the light of strict doctrinal orthodoxy, some of the revered occupants of our 19th and 20th century anarchist pantheons might provoke occasional heartsearching; after all who can deny that a Peter Kropotkin or a Gustave Herve came through the supreme test of the 1914-18 war with far fewer 'credits' than, say, a Fenner Brockway or a Clifford Allen?

Anarcho-feminists and anarcho-pacifists, to take the most obvious candidates, should ideally gird their respective loins and 'come out' as anarchists without fear and qualification. Until they do, can't we live and let live together?

An anarchist who happens to be a christian (NOT an Anarcho-Christian).

I am glad to see FREEDOM in a large format again (though it is a pity about the old-fashioned sans-serif typeface and white space), but I am puzzled by some of the contents of the first issue (15 January). The main article ('Silent too long') wonders what readers will find in the paper, and suggests 'a mish-mash of differing definitions of what anarchism is, does, should do, doesn't do, etc'. There certainly do

seem to be some serious problems.

On the front page, the editorial article (by a member of the Freedom Collective) says what anarchism is and does. It gives some of our basic ideas, mentions such things as anarcho-feminism, anarcho-syndicalism and the anti-nuclear movement, and comments: 'While they are anarchists, it is the same struggle.' Fair enough; but this is contradicted on the same page by the main article (by another member of the Freedom Collective), which says what anarchism isn't and doesn't do but should be and do.

This curious article criticises the confusion in the anarchist movement, but does its best to cause more confusion. It alleges that anarchists wrongly 'remain silent' about falsification of their history and theory, despite all the corrections and controversies on these subjects in our press and elsewhere. It attacks the variety of 'anarcho-hyphens' and 'part-anarchists' in general as 'posers' and 'twisted deviations from anarchism', and in particular abuses 'anarcho-Christians' for their 'reactionary crap' and 'anarcho-capitalists' as 'shits'. It claims a commitment to 'anarchy in the whole beautiful meaning of that concept', and concludes that anarchy 'is total - or it is nothing'. Does this extreme position express the policy of the Freedom Collective, or is it just one more variety of or deviation from anarchism?

On page 2, there is a letter (from another member of the Freedom Collective) supporting 'anarcho-pacifism' on the basis of a lifelong commitment to it. There are also two letters containing angry feminist attacks on the moderate criticism of the sexist aspects of the Greenham Common demonstrations included in the article of 11 December (which was written by me just before going to support the demonstrators). They show no awareness of the dangers of such a

policy, and make no acknowledgement of the article of 25 December (which was written by me after taking part in the demonstrations). There is no editorial reply.

On page 3, there is a full-page report of an American riot in November, which has nothing to do with any kind of anarchism - except that it is written by an 'anarchist-communist', and that it reflects the juvenile fascination with street-fighting which has appeared in FREEDOM during the past couple of years.

On page 4, there is a full-page report of anarchist involvement in the anti-Cruise movement in Sicily, but there is no reference to the recent demonstrations at Comiso - including three marches which arrived there from various parts of Italy during December and January.

On page 5, there is a full-page report of the peace-camp movement in Britain, but there is no reference to the most recent direct action demonstrations - at Upper Heyford on 31 December, when 1,000 people blockaded the base all day, and at Greenham Common on 1 January, when 44 women invaded the base at dawn and were all arrested. Nor is there any reference to the huge demonstrations in West Germany during December, when tens of thousands of people blockaded and invaded dozens of bases all over the country.

At this point I stop wondering what the editorial policy is, and begin to wonder whether there is one at all. Surely a paper which sets out to serve the whole anarchist movement should try to do two things - report the most important events in the world-wide struggle against authority, and offer reasonably consistent and coherent editorial comment. FREEDOM has been doing this on and off for nearly a century, and I have been involved in it on and off for nearly a quarter of a century; but I can't help wondering and worrying about the present line, or lack of it.

NW

Following the excellent lead article 'Silent Too Long' condemning (among others) anarcho-pacifists and claiming 'We want to print ... articles that reveal the shoddy natures of the pseudo-revolutionaries', I opened the new-format (not, unfortunately content) FREEDOM with much less trepidation than usual, only to find on Page 2 two letters on Greenham Common, one 'personal' view dealing mainly with peace camps, the Review section given over entirely to anti-nuke struggles, Page 6 to housing, and Page 7 to anti-militarism, Utopian holidays and anarchist festivals. You stand, therefore, by your own criteria, condemned. And just to fend off the expected reply, the Peace Camps (capital letters) may be full of so-called anarchists; this, however, does not make them anarchist struggles, their methods are eminently reformist, aiming as they do, to make our 'leaders' change their minds, and their ends equally so; we abolish nuclear weapons, then what about germ warfare, conventional weapons, NATO (even coming out of NATO would do no good, look at France), what in the final analysis about bourgeois capitalism? There is an anarchist aphorism which contains a kernel of truth, which runs; 'Be Realistic, Demand the Impossible', demand what they cannot concede ie freedom and equality.

M Snow

PS Re the letter commenting 'Many women see nuclear weapons as the most horrific example of male violence', many women and men see nuclear weapons as the most horrific example of institutionalised violence.

Due to limited space further letters on this subject will appear in the next issue.

Eds

Error of my ways

Letters and articles in FREEDOM have made me see the error of my ways, and I hope the feminists and non-female feminists will forgive me - who wrote the leader article saying we should dismiss all the pseudo-anarchists?

All along I've had the wrong idea about anarchism - silly me - I thought it was about freedom and equality for the masses and minorities with a future that is loving and caring. Now I understand that there are to be privileges for some that they have an historical right to. I am now in a position of rethinking my whole ideology eg I used to

think South Africa was a racist state governed by whites who are anti-black. Now I realise that it's not anti-black but pro-white; there's a distinct difference when you think about it. After all, blacks had South Africa for thousands of years before the whites settled there and showed the blacks how to really build towns etc. It was about whites discovering their own strength, encouraging many more whites who had never experienced colonisation before to go and settle without fear of being eaten by black cannibals.

Whites were more civilised, with

technology, sophisticated religion, morality and law. On the other hand, the blacks lived a nomadic existence, hunting animals inhumanely with spears, walked around semi-naked wearing beads, paint, and funny hairstyles. Also they didn't have proper legal procedures to sort out the numerous squabbles they had. Nor did they have prisons and capital punishment.

If the blacks in South Africa really want to prove themselves, they should stop walking around moaning about being left out, settle down in their internment

camps, accept apartheid systems and help the whites discover themselves in order to make South Africa great so it can go ON and ON and ON and ON.

An enlightened black once told me that 'if the blacks cannot understand why whites feel the need for apartheid, that is the very reason why whites need to have it.'

Yours for a Gay, White Matriarchy
Zeno Evil

PS You really shouldn't print this letter because it's from a heterosexual male - or is it?

Nuclear Free Zones

Pat Isiorho makes a very good point in the 'Nuclear Free Zone' letter about how the Labour Party in power could manipulate the peace movement. It is worrying to see how many CND supporters, even those involved in the peace camps and direct action, are still thinking in terms of achieving their aims through a policy of changing the minds of politicians and political parties, especially before an election. None of the main parties have any genuine desire for disarmament and it seems clear that governments aren't going to disarm themselves of the source of their political power.

What might happen, however, is that the world leaders get round a table and negotiate some sort of arms control agreement in which they could cut down on surplus weaponry, stabilise the arms race and prevent it getting out of their control and thus keep it running smoothly in their interests. By doing this they could maintain

and consolidate their position of political dominance. Many of those longing for 'peace' without having given much thought to what exactly the word means, will be drawn, probably under Labour and SDP politicians, into supporting such negotiations, believing them to be real moves towards world peace and cooperation.

What one could see in the next couple of years is the world powers organising a kind of post war political carve-up of Europe, just like after World War II, without the problem of actually having to go to war (not just yet anyway). Not only have we much to fear from multilateral rearmament by governments, but we also have something to fear from multilateral disarmament by governments. If all our peace campaigning merely achieves is getting Reagan and Andropov to meet each other and shake hands then we have definitely gone wrong somewhere.

Paul Cook

Direct Action?

Most anarchists would probably say that direct action is the best way of getting change. Should it always be non-violent though? This is where opinions differ.

Although I have been a pacifist in the past I have recently come to the conclusion that though non-violent direct action may be morally right, in some circumstances aggression can only be met with aggression.

For instance the occupation of Porton Down last year by Animal Rights protestors would not have taken place without the aggressive acts of pulling down fences and tussling with police.

Purist pacifists may disagree but I think that whenever two opposing groups clash, one pacifist, the other willing to use arms, the latter will always win.

The State up to now has been mildly annoyed at the increasingly militant Animal Rights demos and the resolve of the Peace Campers. However if the Peace Movement does increase its use of non-violent

direct action in 1983, as it says it will, I can see the Government putting its foot down.

I just hope that as the year progresses demonstrators using NVDA won't be so naive as to think that the worst they can expect is to be dragged away by the Filth. I really expect to see the use of water cannon, batons, riot gas and possibly rubber or real bullets, against protestors.

Or am I being too paranoid? Remember the State has had centuries of experience in repression. As for public outrage, well, a D-notice a day keeps the truth away.

I truly hope that now a dyed in the wool pacifist will write in, proving me wrong, and say how, in practice, pacifism can overcome the militarist State. We can't afford to wait for Utopia though, the struggle for survival is now. This is not a call to arms but perhaps the 'lunatic fringe' of any libertarian cause might have the right idea.

Ames

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We reserve the right to cut
letters unless otherwise
specified by the author.

Spain is unique in Europe, if not the world, in having a functioning anarcho-syndicalist movement, the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*. Although its strength is a shadow of what it was in the glorious, tragic days of the Spanish Revolution/Civil War, the CNT weathered the storm of 40 years of fascism, to re-emerge as a legal organisation in 'democratic' Spain, an alternative to the principle national unions — the Socialist Party-aligned UGT and the Communist CCOO. But the Eighties have not favoured the CNT so far, and it celebrates its sixth national Congress this month faced by declining membership, internal division, a working class demoralised by unemployment, and a cynical apathetic mood amongst youth. I managed to attend two of the open discussion meetings held by the CNT in Barcelona to coincide with the Congress, and I was struck by the age of the participants; there were plenty of people, but very few under 30. The older militanta have always been an inspiration for the reborn CNT. In their current situation, I wondered whether they might be its only remaining strength. But Ramon Calopa, Information Secretary of the Catalan Regional Committee, emanated a cheerful, determined optimism when I spoke with him. A veteran of the struggle himself, he has seen worse times than these.

CNT TODAY

The majority of people here expected too much from the change to democracy. The result has been a general disillusion. We've lost a lot of members ourselves, more than other unions, though the number of our activists has stayed the same. In the late Seventies we had an influx of a certain type of people; in Spanish we call them 'marginised' — hippies, if you like. Now most of them have gone, because of their very individualistic way of seeing things. They don't want to lose any of their independence, they have the idea of creating anarchy in their own lives. The most they can do in terms of organisation is to form small groups which of course often fall apart, rather than belong to a union.

The other movement out of the CNT has been of those people I call reformists. Even during the dictatorship, when we were operating clandestinely, there were infiltrators who wanted to work within Franco's 'vertical unions'. Then, after the fall of fascism and after we were legalised, this internal struggle developed between the so-called 'parallels', who wanted to co-operate with the reformist unions and the industrial practices set out in the government's Statute of Labour, and the rest of us who were determined to remain true to the principles of the CNT. This struggle was a bitter one, coming almost to the point of violence, because they were using our name and our insignias. We used the recourse of the legal system to stop that. Things came to a head at the last Congress, in 1979, when they were forced to leave. We won't have problems of that type any more, though we'll always have more tension, more dissent, than in any normal union. We're bound to have differences of opinion, and we don't try to hide them — on the contrary, if we are true to our beliefs we must bring our disagreements out into light of discussion. We try to pass congress motions without a vote, but this rarely happens. We would be behaving in an authoritarian way if we tried to enforce unanimity! So we vote on motions, the number of votes depending on the number of paid-up affiliates of each union.

The CNT isn't an anarchist organisation: you don't have to be an anarchist to join it. Anyone can join, even members of political parties, as long as they don't occupy posts in any party. We are a confederation of unions, that operates according to the principles of anarcho-syndicalism — which is to say, completely differently from the other

unions! For example, all decisions are made from the base upwards. The base consists of the individual unions, which are made up of workers of the same industry in a given geographical area. Each union is autonomous; it can choose, for instance whether to elect officials, or whether to elect officials, or whether to delegate the responsibilities of treasurer, secretary, book-keeper, on a day-to-day basis. My own union, the teachers here in Barcelona, has no elected officials. Then there are the local and regional committees, which also act on the assembly principle. They have no independent decision-making powers, since their role is merely that of spokespeople for the unions they represent. In the old days we had the Industrial Federations, which represented the interests of particular industries across the country as a whole, and people are talking about re-forming these. Some say that would just create another potential level of bureaucracy. I myself think it's a utopian idea at the moment, because we simply haven't the members to justify it.

Another major difference between us and the reformist unions is that we have no paid officials. Everyone who is elected to local or regional committees is a delegate who's subject to recall, and who gives his or her time and work voluntarily. The minute you pay someone, you are on the way to creating a bureaucracy and the corruption that goes with it. We have a moral outlook on questions like this. A comrade caught stealing from the organisation, for example, could be expelled — though only by his or her union, not by the federation. We place more emphasis on the unionist as an individual, a person, rather than a 'worker'.

What's really needed is a revitalised libertarian movement, working both outside and within the CNT. That was the role of the FAI (Iberian Anarchist Federation) in the old days, and should be now, but it's inactive. The FAI, the Free Women, and the Young Libertarians were separate organisations, 100 per cent anarchist, working alongside our members, raising their consciousness, training militants. As anarchists we don't limit ourselves to defending the working class materially. We have the longer-term vision of the struggle for maximum well-being: a social transformation. So in our cultural events and meetings, at the libertarian study centres, we try to spread these ideas, and to make our

membership more conscious. We see the CNT as a strategy in the process of social change, which will, of necessity, come in stages. We need the workers because of their numbers, because they can be an instrument to achieve change. We'll always need unions, since only self-organisation within the workplace can ensure that production continues during the first stages of social transformation, as happened in 1936. The collectives of those days have a special place in our hearts. We consider them our greatest achievement because they proved that the factories could continue operating long after the bosses had run away.

I myself joined the CNT at the age of 17 as a result of my reading, and my realisation that change was necessary. I had the hazy idea that the CNT reflected these ideas, and after joining they became clearer. That clarity of thought only begins after you start to think for yourself. Many people join CNT nowadays, as they did then, for family connections, or because their friends do. But the majority join because of what they have read, particularly the youth, who have only a vague idea of what it's about. We've never really practised proselytism: people read about the revolution, they join us. To that extent, it's true that the strength of the CNT comes from our history, what we symbolise.

Actions — at the moment, strikes and demonstrations. We haven't the strength to mount violent actions, although we have been able to hold two general strikes in Barcelona, in '76/'77, when we had maybe half a million in the Plaza de España. We couldn't do that today, though we do have majority strength in certain firms — generally, small or medium-sized firms. The thing is, we won't take part in union elections, or in the company committees set up by the Statute of Labour. We believe in direct negotiation with the bosses. Now even the UGT is coming round to the idea of leaving the company committees. And the CCOO is falling apart; so conditions are favourable for us at the moment. We have more or less 25 per cent of the Seat workforce in a couple of plants around here. And last year we had several strikes in Barcelona; at Siemens, at Roca for example. The one at Roca was a hard struggle, it lasted five months with fights with the police and everything, but we won. We had the majority of the 1500 workforce. The demands were over safety and hygiene. We give less importance to wage demands — they're a mirage, when prices are going up all the time anyway. Work conditions are more real from our point of view. As for control over work, that's not worth thinking about under present conditions — what for? All the attempts that have been made to involve workers are just a form of co-option —



make the workers even more like the bourgeoisie.

At the moment we've got the problem of the metro workers in Barcelona. Some CNT members there — not longstanding militants, quite new people, stood for election to the company committee, which is completely against our principles and against the decisions of the last Congress; and they won! Maybe they didn't agree with the CCOO who used to be the majority union there, and they reckoned that if they stood under CNT colours they'd win; they didn't even talk to the rest of the transport union. So it's a difficult situation, because we are completely against these company committees, we think to participate in them just strengthens the capitalist regime, a system in which man annihilates himself. The thing is, Congress decisions are binding on the unions, it's the only restriction on their autonomy. It has to be like that, or else we couldn't function as a general union. As a last resort, these people could be expelled from the CNT, but it probably won't come to that; they might just stand down from the committee, or else stay on it, but as independents.

It has to be admitted that we're not in a strong position at the moment. Even when we had that peak of enthusiasm after Franco's death, it still wasn't the right time to put forward a revolutionary programme. We weren't prepared, we didn't have the necessary base for action. But, historically, we were strong in all the 'periphery' of Spain — here in Catalunya, in Andalucia, in Asturias. And we will be again, because of the deceit of the socialists, who've promised a lot but can't really do anything, since they have to support the regime. So when people see they've been deceived, they won't have any other alternative but the CNT. They can't win any other way. Our analysis could be taken as a scenario for another civil war. We're preparing for it, because, if you've no alternative? But we realise this time that we won't gain anything if we limit ourselves to Spain. One country alone can't win a revolution. So we're trying to look more towards the exterior. After this Congress, we'll send delegations abroad to other unions, to anyone who wants to listen. Of course, we need to improve our propaganda inside the country as well. Our national paper, CNT only comes out twice a month and isn't very widely available. We're doing badly economically! This Congress is the first one that the bourgeois press has been invited to — we'll see what they do; you have to take the risk.

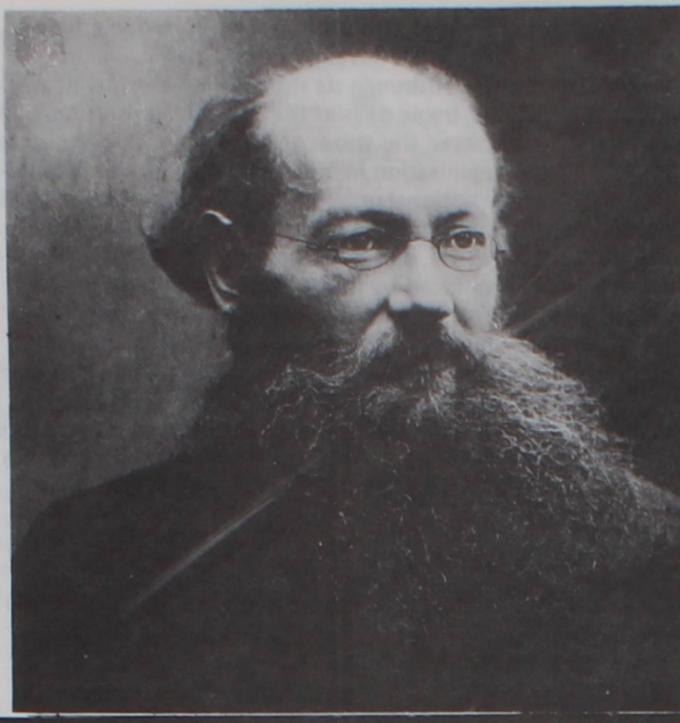
Although it may seem strange, the CNT is something you have to feel more than understand. If it stays on an intellectual level, you don't get anywhere. That's the strength we have, we've always had; good militants who haven't even heard of Bakunin, but who are ready to die for the CNT. To some extent, it is like something religious. It's a sentiment. Spain has always been a catholic country, fanatical, and perhaps elements of that kind of education stay with us; a kind of psychological/historical mischance, so that, for example, the majority vote for the socialists, and then a few days later, they receive the Pope with a kind of fetishistic enthusiasm. We worship myths, and we still have this herd instinct...

Simon J



CENTENARY STUDIES

The anarchist ideology was partly developed by British writers (such as Winstanley, Burke, Paine, Godwin, Shelley, Hodgskin, Cuddon), and libertarian activity may be traced in British history from the People's Rising of 1381 through the English Reformation and the English Revolution to the labour movement of the early nineteenth century. Yet there was no organised anarchist movement in this country until the 1880s, and most of the initiatives which led to its emergence came from abroad. This first article, by Nicolas Walter, in a series of occasional studies of some of the relevant developments a century ago concerns the leaflet illustrated here, which arose from a dramatic trial of French anarchists in January 1883.



1. The Lyon Trial

The first organised anarchist movement in the world appeared in France. It originally rose and fell during the Second Republic, between the Revolution in 1848 and the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon in 1851. It rose and fell again at the beginning of the Third Republic, between the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and the suppression of the Commune movement in 1871. In 1872, as part of the reaction against the left by the 'liberal' regime, the Chamber of Deputies passed a law banning the International Working Men's Association, which drove all socialist — including anarchist — activity underground or into exile.

An emigre movement soon appeared in Belgium, Spain, and especially Switzerland, and a clandestine movement also appeared in south-eastern France, especially in Lyon (where there had been a brief revolutionary rising, joined by Bakunin, in September 1870). In 1874, 29 anarchists were tried in Lyon for membership of the International, and 26 of them were imprisoned. In 1877, a French Section of the anti-authoritarian fraction of the International was formed by delegates of a dozen groups meeting in Switzerland. Anarchists also participated in the legal National Labour Congresses held from 1876 to 1879.

In 1879 the Chamber of Deputies passed an amnesty for those who had taken part in the Communes of 1871. The resulting return of prisoners and exiles stimulated the rapid growth of the socialist movement, but also its division between anarchists and various parliamentary fractions. In 1881, the anarchists withdrew from the National Labour Congress, and several of their leaders attended the International Revolutionary Congress in London — the last such event for 26 years, and the effective end of the First International.

By this time, there was a lively anarchist movement in France, especially in Paris and Lyon, and it was in Lyon that the first open anarchist papers began to appear. (*La Revolution sociale*, which was published in Paris in 1880 — 1881, doesn't count, since it was produced by a police spy!) Between February 1882 and June 1884, no fewer than nine militant papers appeared and were banned in succession.

Meanwhile, there were two significant developments in the movement itself. One was the direct participation of anarchist individuals and groups in popular agitation, especially in the labour movement; the other was the deliberate perpetration by anarchist individuals of personal violence, under the influence of the Russian Populists, whose campaign of terrorism had culminated in the assassination of the Tsar in March 1881.

Both developments emerged in the Lyon area in the early 1880s.

A bitter labour dispute in the mining town of Montceau-les-Mines, 70 miles north of Lyon, led in the normal way to outbreaks of violence. The difference was that the clandestine organisation which threatened to attack bosses, officials and blacklegs, and which in August 1882 attacked religious symbols such as roadside shrines and chapels and even attempted a local insurrection, called itself the Black Gang (*Bande Noir*) and seemed to be anarchist. (A similar organisation called the Black Hand (*Mano Negra*) operated in Andalusia in southern Spain at the same time, and provided an official excuse for the persecution of anarchists, many being arrested and several being executed in 1883.)

In October 1882, the trial of 23 alleged members of the gang began. By the time it ended in December, only nine were actually found guilty (and sentenced to between one and five years' imprisonment) and no connection with anarchism was proved. But the affair had greatly increased fear and hatred of the real anarchist movement, which strongly supported the Montceau events. These continued long after the 1882 trial, and led in 1884 to further strikes and riots which supplied the material for Emile Zola's novel *Germinal* (1885).

Meanwhile, events in Lyon had led to another trial, this time of real anarchists. In October 1882, bombs were exploded in a fashionable restaurant and a recruiting office. Those responsible were never traced, but official suspicion was directed at the anarchists, whose speakers and writers had supported the militancy at Montceau, and whose current paper had attacked the restaurant as a place which would be destroyed as 'the first act of the social revolution'. Particular suspicion fell on an activist called Antoine Cyvoct, who took refuge in Switzerland and then Belgium and wasn't tried in Lyon until December 1883 (he was sentenced to death but reprieved, being imprisoned until 1898).

During autumn 1882, the authorities used the Lyon bombs to allege a widespread anarchist conspiracy. From October to December, dozens of militants were arrested, not only in Lyon but elsewhere in France, and charged with involvement in the International. The climax came in January 1883, with the Trial of 66 (there were in fact only 65 defendants, but Victor Berlioz-Archaud, who was one of them, was counted as two). Fourteen (including Cyvoct) were still at large, but 51 were present in the magistrates court (*Police Correctionnelle*) in Lyon. They included some of the leading anarchists in France — especially Joseph Bernard and Tousseint Bordat from Lyon, Etienne Faure and Jean Ricard from Saint-Etienne, Pierre Martin from

Vienne, Felix Tressaud from Marseille, and Emile Gautier from Paris. They also included Peter Kropotkin, which had important results for the trial and later for the anarchist movement in Britain.

Kropotkin, who came from an aristocratic military family in Russia, had become an anarchist during a visit to Switzerland in 1872. He worked in the Russian Populist movement in St Petersburg from 1872 until his arrest in 1874, was imprisoned from 1874 until his escape in 1876, and then lived in Western Europe until the Russian Revolution in 1917. After staying in Britain for a few months, he settled in Switzerland, working with James Guillaume on the *Bulletin de la Federation Jurassienne* and with Paul Brousse on *L'Avant-garde* and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. After another visit to Britain in 1877, he worked for a few months in Paris, narrowly escaping arrest in 1878, and stayed for a few months in Spain before returning to Switzerland. There he began *Le Revolte* in 1879, which became the leading French-language anarchist paper. He was already well known as a scientific researcher and journalist, and as a propagandist for the Russian Populists, and he now became well known as a leading figure in the international anarchist movement and the main propagandist for anarchist communism.

In July 1881, he attended the International Revolutionary Congress in London, being the delegate of the 'Lyon Revolutionary Party' as well as of *Le Revolte*. On his return to Switzerland in August he was expelled. He moved to Thonon, on the French side of Lake Geneva until his wife had taken her degree at Geneva University, made a speaking tour of the most active centres in south-eastern France during November, and then moved to Britain. But they were depressed by the low level of political life in this country, and he later considered this period to have been 'a year of real exile'. Saying, 'Better a French prison than this grave,' they returned to Thonon in October 1882, and he continued to edit *Le Revolte*. But two months later he was arrested, and joined his comrades in a French prison.

The Lyon trial was held from 8 to 19 January 1883. The defendants were officially tried for being members of a socialist organisation, but the prosecution concentrated on their anarchism. The individual defendants were given considerable opportunity to explain their ideas in public — which was only fair since they were in effect on trial for their ideas — and this opportunity was seized by several of them, especially Gautier and Bordat, and above all Kropotkin. His interrogation on 9 January and his defence speech on 15 January made a great

impression not only in France but abroad. On 12 January, a collective Declaration, which had been drafted by Kropotkin and signed by 47 of the defendants, was read out in court by Tressaud, and this also made a wide impression.

At the end of the trial, five defendants were acquitted, four (Kropotkin, Gautier, Bernard, Bordat) sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and 42 to shorter terms. The appeal by most of them (not Kropotkin) was heard from 26 February to 6 March and was dismissed on 13 March, though some of the sentences were reduced. A full account of the trial was printed in *Le Revolte* on 20 January and reprinted as a pamphlet, *Compte-rendu du proces de Lyon* (1883); a more detailed account of the whole case was published by Jean Grave (who had taken over *Le Revolte*) as a book, *Le proces des Anarchistes devant la Police Correctionnelle et la Cour d'Appel de Lyon* (1883).

The case received wide publicity in France, and far from suppressing anarchism it gave a sharp stimulus to the growing movement. On 9 March 1883 an unemployed demonstration in Paris was led by anarchists carrying a black flag to loot bakers' shops; for their part Emile Pouget and Louise Michel were sentenced to eight and six years' imprisonment respectively in June. And during 1883 and 1884 anarchist papers began to appear in Paris, *Le Revolte* moving there in 1885.

The case also received much publicity abroad, and was the subject of prominent coverage in the British press. The leading newspaper, *The Times*, published daily reports of the trial and a long editorial welcoming the verdicts and sentences. It noted that 'the chief interest, of course, attached to the defence of the Russian refugee, Prince Kropotkin'. The liberal papers, especially the *Daily News*, gave as much coverage and much more sympathy.

In the United States, the press coverage included a long account of the trial in Benjamin Tucker's anarchist fortnightly *Liberty* on 17 February, containing a translation of the Declaration. In Britain there was no anarchist paper — Johann Most's German *Freiheit* having been suppressed in May 1882 — and indeed there was no real anarchist movement yet. The main arena for libertarian activity was still to be found in the local Radical Clubs, and in such broader left-wing organisations as the Democratic Federation and the Labour Emancipation League, which had been formed in 1881 and 1882 respectively. The most important single focus was still the international club in London which brought together native and foreign anarchists; it used several names (especially the Social Democratic Working Men's

Club) and several addresses (especially 6 Rose Street, Soho), and was at this time called the International Socialist Club and based at 15 Poland Street, Soho.

Members of this club, calling themselves the 'International Socialist Federation', published the translation of the Lyon Declaration which is reproduced here, on 23 January 1883. According to Max Nettlau in the third volume of his history of anarchism — *Anarchisten und Sozialrevolutionäre* (1931) — the organisation probably had no real existence; but according to Max Nettlau in the British chapter of his bibliography of anarchism — *Bibliographie de l'anarchie* (1897) — the leaflet was probably the first real anarchist publication in this country. The English version is different from the American version in *Liberty* a few weeks later, being slightly more fluent and less literal. (It omits the opening sentence: 'What anarchism is, what anarchists are, we shall explain.')

A year later, the English version was reprinted in the radical monthly *Republican* (which often reported anarchist events and publications) as 'Anarchistic Manifesto', with George Standing's editorial comment: 'The ideas expressed have no practical bearing upon English politics; but they are reproduced here in order that the anarchist views may be known from authoritative sources' (April 1884). Another year later, an incomplete and inferior translation was published in the first issue of the individualist monthly *Anarchist* as 'The Lyons Anarchist Manifesto', described as

'substantially a copy of a declaration of the principles of Anarchists, which was read at the Lyons trial', with Henry Seymour's editorial comment: 'Although a general and comprehensive statement of Anarchistic doctrine, I take exception to the exclusively communistic portions thereof' (March 1885).

'One explanation for all this attention being given to such a document for so long is that it was a virtually unique short statement of anarchist beliefs connected with a particularly dramatic episode. Another is suggested by an article in the second issue of the *Anarchist* by Charlotte Wilson, who had been converted to anarchism by the Lyon trial. Writing as 'An English Anarchist' (a pseudonym she had already used in a series of four articles on anarchism in the Social Democratic Federation weekly *Justice* during November and December 1884), she described recent developments of organised anarchism in France and Britain:

When the Lyons trial fixed public attention on the minds of men, who in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century were considered sufficiently dangerous to be condemned for their opinions alone, the corrupt and hypocritical clique which calls itself 'Society' contented itself with a sneer at mad fanaticism, and congratulating itself that the disturbing element was suppressed, passed on to seek some fresh excitement. Nevertheless, when the noble words of Kropotkin's defence rang through the length and breadth of France, they found an echo in the hearts of all

honest seekers after truth. (April 1885)

It was indeed the cult of Kropotkin's personality which attracted so much attention to the case outside France, especially in Britain, as symbolised by the repeated publication of the Declaration he had drafted. It was also symbolised in March 1883 by a petition for his release which was supported by dozens of liberal intellectuals in this country (including Swinburne, William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, Leslie Stephen, John Morley, and Patrick Geddes). But such pressure could not overcome the hostile pressure of the Russian government, which had been secretly applied to the Swiss and French governments throughout Kropotkin's exile, until growing protests in France eventually brought amnesties for all the anarchists in prison.

Kropotkin was finally released after three years, in January 1886. He stayed for a time in Paris, writing and lecturing, but in March he moved to Britain, where he lived for more than 30 years. He became the most prominent member of the growing anarchist movement in this country. He joined Charlotte Wilson's group, and, after working for a few months with Seymour and the *Anarchist*, they began the monthly *Freedom* in October 1886. The scattered seeds sown by the Lyon trial at last began to bear real fruit in Britain.

(Thanks to Paul Avrich and Heiner Becker for their help)

MANIFESTO

OF THE
SOCIALISTS TRIED IN LYONS,

BY THE
FRENCH REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT,
JANUARY 11th, 1883.

WE Anarchists are citizens, who in an age when the freedom of opinion is preached everywhere, have thought it our right and our duty to advocate unlimited liberty. We are thousands, millions perhaps in the world, for we have only the merit of saying aloud what the masses think silently; we are millions of workmen, who demand absolute liberty, nothing but liberty, but *entire* liberty.

We demand liberty, that is, we claim for every human being the right and the means to do all that he pleases, and nothing but what he pleases, to satisfy all his desires with no other limits than those imposed by natural barriers or impossibilities, and the necessities of his neighbours which must be respected. We demand liberty, and we believe such liberty to be inconsistent with any authority whatsoever, whatever its original form, whether elective or imposed; Monarchical or Republican, whether it be inspired by divine right or universal suffrage. History teaches us that all Governments resemble each other and equal each other in value. The best are the worst. More cynicism among some, more hypocrisy among others, but at the bottom, there are always the same proceedings, always the same intolerance. The most tolerable Government in appearance always knows how to find under the dust of old legislative repressive measures, some law against the international association of working men in order to suppress annoying opposition.

The evil therefore does not reside in one form of Government more than in another, it is in the very governmental idea itself—in the principle of authority. Our ideal is the substitution in place of legal and

administrative tutelage and established discipline, free contracts constantly subject to revision. We Anarchists propose to teach the people to live without a Government, as they are already beginning to learn to live without a God; they will likewise learn to do without property holders.

The worst tyrant, indeed, is not he who locks you up in prison, but he who starves you! Not he who takes you by the coat-collar, but he who takes you by the stomach!

There is no liberty without equality, no liberty with a society in which capital is monopolised in the hands of a minority which is continually decreasing, in which nothing is evenly divided—not even public instruction, which nevertheless is paid for out of the common purse. We believe that capital—the common patrimony of humanity, since it is the fruit of the labour of past and present generations—ought to be put within the reach of all, to the exclusion of none; and that no individual ought to seize more than his share to the detriment of the rest.

In a word, we claim equality—real equality—as a primary condition of liberty.

From each one according to his abilities—to each one according to his necessities.

This is what we sincerely and energetically wish, this is what shall be, for no authoritative measures can prevail against claims both legitimate and necessary.

What scoundrels we are! we want bread for all, knowledge for all, work for all, and for every man independence and justice.

This Manifesto was issued during the trial in Lyons on the explanation of the principles of the Anarchistic Party, and signed by 46 Prisoners.

Subscriptions in aid of the Suffering Families of the Prisoners, may be forwarded to the Secretary, International Club, 15, Poland Street.

Translated and Published by the International Socialist Federation, 15, Poland Street, London, W.

January, 28th, 1902.

BOOKS



Nestor Makhno in the Russian Civil War by Michael Malet, Macmillan/LSE, £25.

The Anarchists of Casas Viejas by Jerome R Mintz, University of Chicago Press, £14.

The traditional historiography of twentieth-century revolutions resembles a two-party parliamentary system with a ruling establishment of liberals on the right and a loyal opposition of Marxists on the left, disagreeing about the interpretations but agreeing about the issues. In this duopoly, there has been little room for third parties, and the anarchists in particular have suffered from the historians of both sides, rather as they have suffered from the authorities of both sides. But the revival of anarchist activity in the 1960s was paralleled by a revival of interest in anarchist history, and this development has been especially significant in the cases of the Russian and Spanish revolutions, as may be seen in these two books published during 1982.

The difficulties with Russia are that the revolution happened more than 60 years ago and that the victors still control the country and much of the material. Nestor Makhno was the leader of the Ukrainian 'Insurgents', a mainly peasant and broadly anarchist movement which emerged in 1917, opposed not only the Germans and the Whites but also the Nationalists and the Bolsheviks, and was des-

troyed by the latter in 1921. The history of this movement depends almost entirely on Bolshevik attacks and anarchist replies, and the barest facts are often obscure.

Michael Malet's book, based on a doctoral thesis, is the first proper account in English which describes the movement on its own terms rather than as an aspect of broader national or political or military events. The narrative is sparse and the discussion is brief, but the essential story is now presented for non-specialist and non-sectarian readers, though Malet doesn't conceal his sympathy for the Makhnovists. He takes modern work into account, but rightly concentrates on the original material, much of which still isn't available in English. He speculates about the material which isn't yet accessible at all, and about the survivors whose evidence would be fascinating if it could ever be recorded, but there seems little hope of such a development.

The difficulties with Spain are less serious — the revolution happened more recently, the victors have lost control of the country and the material, and anyway Fascists seem less interested than Communists in rewriting the past. Casas Viejas is an Andalusian town which was the scene of a notable revolutionary insurrection and reactionary suppression in 1933, three years before the Civil War. Jerome Mintz's book, based on a study of the written material and on interviews with the survivors, may seem to be a narrow monograph on a single episode in a single place, but it turns out to have much wider interest and much deeper significance.

Mintz is an American anthropologist, and he has produced a remarkable combination of documentary and oral history, of chronological narrative and social anthropology, managing at the same time to tell the story of the anarchists and anarchosyndicalists in Spain in general and in Casas Viejas in particular and to bring the story to vivid life through the words of dozens of local witnesses. The result is one of the best books about the Spanish Revolution or the anarchist movement; it is also well written, well illustrated, well pro-

duced, and relatively cheap — a rare event these days. Mintz convincingly demolishes both liberal and Marxist myths about the Spanish anarchists, and compellingly depicts their real world in a classic of revolutionary historiography. The same sort of work has of course been done for subsequent revolutions — if only it could have been done for the Russian Revolution — but it has never been done better than this.

NW



Iron Britannia: Why Parliament waged its Falklands war, Anthony Barnett, Allison & Busby, 160pp, £6.95 hardback, £2.95 paperback.

This is advertised as 'the only book on the Falklands War not to describe a single battle'. Instead it is 'the only book about how our politicians behaved and why'. (Notice the subtitle.) It examines the attitudes and statements of such politicians and their reflection in the media. Much of the book first appeared in *New Left Review* last August. It has been updated and expanded.

There is a steady industry in Falklands reruns. Most of this is recycled journalism spiced with personal impressions by eyewitnesses of the campaign. This book brings things back home. It seems familiar to those in Britain who watched with a mixture of incredulity, anger and

slightly smug cynicism. It was all too pat, too much a Victorian Imperialist stereotype, gunboat diplomacy, militaristic valour against an inferior rabble, drum beating newspapers. Barnett's dedication is to those who made him see that it was not a comic expedition.

The book succeeds. It is well written and witty. He allows politicians to condemn themselves with their own statements. He underpins these with a biting critique of the modern British State and with his own sardonic anger. His analysis is of a vague hotch potch of attitudes which he calls 'Churchillism' and its inappropriateness. He gives a chapter to that emergency, we might say extraordinary, parliamentary debate when a mob of MPs vied to flaunt Union Flags. Inveterate peacemonger, Michael Foot, spoke for Great Britain.

The South Atlantic Campaign was admirably suited for the role it assumed. It was a long way away, it had tinges of Hearts of Oak and plucky anti-fascism, there was no chance of conscription actually involving any of the spectators. Perhaps most strongly, it was entirely pointless, grossly extravagant. So, it was all for a 'principle'. How cosy from 8,000 miles distance.

Now the Falklanders are to get British citizenship, as a reward for their services to the British State. Perhaps people in Hong Kong should hope for Chinese aggression, though it might be more effective to change the colour of their skins.

Is this still relevant, beyond emphasising that sections of the British ruling class have still not outgrown the past and learned nothing from Suez? And that large sections of the population will go along with their deadly illusions? In fact, these two points are the core of it all. The delusions of sovereignty and nation states are still powerful. In the final resort, to save their wounded pride, these people have ultimate weapons available. And they will be able to control them, and us, just as long as they are allowed to. Anthony Barnett is aware of these aspects. From his summing up, 'We do not yet know, nor have we seen created, those forms of direct, popular self-determination that

could displace the curse of sovereignty ... So long as the institutions and passions of nationalist sovereignty retain their domination, in Britain as elsewhere, the world will continue to be ruled by those who are likely to ensure its destruction.'

DP



Miguel Garcia's Story edited by Albert Meltzer, Miguel Garcia Memorial Committee and Cienfuegos Press, £1.

This 72-page booklet contains material by and about Miguel Garcia, the Spanish anarchist who died in London just over a year ago at the age of 73. An obituary article by Albert Meltzer appeared in *FREEDOM* on 19 December 1981, but it is good to have this more substantial memorial.

Most of the text is Miguel's own account of his life up to the end of the Civil War in 1939. As Albert Meltzer explains, this was the original beginning of the book *Franco's Prisoner* (1972), being cut for reasons of space. Miguel describes his childhood and youth and his experiences in the war, and everyone who knew him or has read his book will want to read this.

There are also an introduction and tailpiece by Albert Meltzer, and personal appreciations by six comrades from around the world, including Stuart Christie and Phil Ruff in this country, and there are dozens of illustrations. The result is not only a satisfying way to remember a fine man and good comrade but also a stirring story for its own sake.

From every economic consumer outlet, in the fashionable Friedman jargon that we used to be-dazzle each other with on our Monday weekly monthly meetings of the Junior Defectors Club held at the counter of the coffee stall opposite the London School of Economics 'me buy you sell', from the supermarket stores of Hong Kong to the railings of Kensington Gardens, there is an endless flow of your actual, genuine hand painted paintings.

Konveyor Belt Culture

I do not seek to deride the production, sale or purchase, for they provide a modicum of pleasure for a small amount of money and if one accepts that like the clothes off the peg, the tinned peaches or the National Health appendix operations they are not works of ball bending genius then let pleasure be the order of the hour. Factory produced paintings in that they are not the work of a single man or woman but the product of a number of work people based on a master prototype. Women and children tinting eighteenth century prints, the Great Masters leaving it to the apprentices to fill in the robes, skies and clouds of glory, the Disney factory workers colouring millions of sheets of instant love for the populace, the Belgium factory that produces those bright landscapes now on sale in the big stores wherein one painter slaps in the sky, another the field, another the white cow and clouds, another the trees, another the brown fencing, until, having passed from hand to hand within minutes slap and twist of the brush another painting genuine and hand painted is ready for the packing department and the wall of the living room VAT.

If the demand exceeds the supply of one man or woman's unique genius then one assumes that it must follow that Friedman's law of supply and demand must operate and unique and instant genius will be produced, for the demand creates the supply. It has ever been so, from the Masters ancient and modern forging their own work to Tom Keating, and I love the man for it, helping to fill the art galleries and the dealers' galleries of the world with the works of known and established masters painted long after the reference book originals were worm meat.

One followed the Town and his fan flicking frau up and into the higher reaches of the National Portrait Gallery for the Anthony van Dyck exhibition and here indeed was a brilliant artist who turned the

courtiers of King Charles' fashionable court into men of insolent dignity, cavaliers born to the thin bladed sword, Royalist bully boys whose unworthy cause is still the toast of Roedene Girls School, the heroes and heroics of every child's book of the period, and has every sentimentalist weeping into their port and lemon. Yet this is what they paid for and this is what they got and van Dyck's contribution to English portrait painting was that he took the frozen and rigid figure out of the frame and replaced it with the casual pose and in doing that he can claim credit for what would have been inevitable, changing the style and posing of English portrait painting. And here was a brilliant craftsman, but no genius, who turned himself into a factory in that, having created his prototype style and pose, in his short life of forty two years his factory turned out 400 paintings with the van Dyck hall mark. He would set the pose and sketch in the figure and his skilled assistants would then work on painting after painting with van Dyck to give the finished works his final master touch. One painting a week and each sitter/stander with a rigid one hour appointment as with a 1982 dentist. The market is there and there is a limit to what two hands can produce so it becomes konveyor belt art and if the signature is authentic then who's complaining.

This cannot be said of the 200 paintings and what have you on exhibition within that concrete jungle that men call the Barbican, from which no man, including staff, seems to have found their way out to breathe of the horrors that they have witnessed. It is said that the present Lord Mayor of London did not see his collection of paintings until after he applied and got the job, so one must write that off as the agony and the loneliness of high office. En masse these daubs have the sensitive mind shuddering like an empty beer glass in a nuclear holocaust, for one Victorian daub in a dealer's window

in the St James's Palace area can be written off as High Camp for sale to the top ranking Special Branch Buckingham Palace security to give their chambers a schmaltzy air, but concrete wall after concrete wall of garish bad paintings is truly guilt by association. It was the period when Rossetti, Millais, Leighton, Tissot, Paton, Sir Edward John Poynter, Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema and the rest produced work that is so mind deadening that not even the excuse of guilt by association can excuse it. With garish colours, lacking any subtleties of depth or tone, at their best they are no more than coloured illustrations and at their worst object lessons of bad taste. There are literally thousands of these pathetic canvases hanging in galleries across the western world, for every provincial art gallery has at least 50 in its stock and 20 galleries have 1,000 and every town in Europe and every town in America has its gallery, just as every catholic church in Italy, Spain and France has hanging high on its shadowed walls its 19th century religious paintings mouldering under years of darkened varnish, incense and dirt, and while it would be blasphemy to take them down and clean them and expose their pathetic banality to the All Highest's merciless sun christian charity demands that the Lord Mayor's 'Pictures' should be left in the oblivion from which some unkind hand exposed them.

One rightly associates the Royal Academy, as the last bastion of Empire pre 1914, with the wily Pathan holed up behind every rock of India's north west frontier and the young subaltern dying in the arms of his faithful sergeant and Sue standing at the window, one hand at her throat, and those drums O God those awful drums and Sir Hugh, bemedalled and scarlet clad, as he stands sword in hand at the centre of the remains of the regiment checking the catalogue, for they were the good days, the brave days, and we shall never see their like again etc, for assuming that one can con the Academy season ticket



holders that China and Japan were once part of the British Empire one must say that the exhibition selectors of the Royal Academy do get slightly carried away with their bound volumes of *Boys' Own Paper*. 'The Treasures of Ancient Nigeria' at the Academy, sponsored by Mobil, is a worthy exhibition and one that provides pleasure and interest but like most of this type of exhibition I do feel that its place for exhibition should have been at the British Museum for a hundred or so magnificent bronzes covering a period of over 2,000 years will have the Town and his shield carrying frau slightly glazed eyed when what they ask of the Academy is 'your actual art tonal values and large brushes 1983 USA'.

Yet for those who would seek pleasure from worthwhile contemporary art work from the African continent there are the wire works created by Zimbabwe children at the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood. Here is work from 'found rubbish' by children that could be accepted, by an uncatalogued audience, as among the best work of the dadists or the surrealists. Logical in its conceptions and aesthetically exciting as finished works of art I hold of a number of works that they surpass the best of the Jean Tinguely whose dadist poetic Heath Robinson mechanical logical lunacies crank and turn and click to the joy of adults and the amusement of the young within the Tate Gallery.

But it is back to Nigeria via the Royal Academy and the Westbourne Park Underground for a small shop at 453 Harrow Rd W10 has been converted into a gallery for the exclusive showing of the art work of coloured people. I have no use for segregation, be it race/colour/religion/material wealth/politics or any other rubbish but on invitation I attended to see to see. A small gallery in a working class street, a dozen coloured men and women, two or three white men and women and a Thames television crew. Sonny complete with black beret

and brightly coloured shirt barred my entrance through the door, asking 'What do you want man?' or should there be a ?? and I held up my invitation saying 'You invited me here man' and Sonny stepped aside with a 'Then come in man' and man entered. Having eliminated all the idiotic racial prejudice it was all systems go for a ball of a time with wine, cheese, pate, french bread and a pleasant woman who giggled at all my dirty jokes. It is the type of gallery that I find great pleasure in, small, off beat and with a high standard of work on display. One looks out of the window of the small back kitchen at the waters of the Willesden canal literally inches away from the window frame and one drinks of the wine and thinks of a fresh joke for the pleasant woman.

The works on display are by three men and all of a high standard and one moves from Uzo Egonu from Nigeria to that of Aubrey Williams from Guyana, who lived with the primitive Indian Warrau tribe, to that of Ronald Moody from Jamaica. Each man in his own fashion produces work ranging from the sophisticated primitive, the cosmopolitan abstraction to the purest craftsmanship of printmaking and one can only walk around the gallery wine glass in hand admiring and admiring.

But it is down the Tottenham Court Road with the Town and his gift bearing frau to the Christmas exhibition at the Angela Flowers Gallery with 'Snow' as the theme and the spur and with so much magnificent work on exhibition by nineteen artists what can one say except to pay homage to the lovely watercolour of Arthur Moyses. A poem of subtle harmonies, muted tones that create the very feeling of this season, a master work by a master hand. For any gallery honoured by being allowed to exhibit the work of Britain's finest water colour painter has reason to bend the knee in supplication. Arthur Moyses I salute you.

Arthur Moyses

Dwight Macdonald 1906-1982

He was born in New York on 24 March 1906, of a family of lawyers, but he turned to journalism while he was a student. After graduating at Yale University in 1928, he worked for a few months at Macy's store and for seven years on Henry Luce's business magazine *Fortune*, leaving after political differences in 1936. Like so many intelligent young people half a century ago, he became what he called 'a tepid Communist sympathiser', and his knowledge of the business world and his skill at the journalistic trade could have made him a formidable writer for the new faith. But he quickly broke with the Stalinists over the Moscow Trials, and became 'an ardent anti-Stalinist'.

From 1937 to 1943 he was one of the editors of the revived *Partisan Review*, and from 1939 one of the leading propagandists for the

Socialist Workers Party. His position was important because Trotsky was living in Mexico, and the United States had become the main arena for anti-Stalinist Marxism. But during the Second World War Macdonald became disillusioned with the Trotskyists, especially when they supported the war effort after the United States and the Soviet Union became allies in 1941, and at the same time he turned away from Marxism and towards anarchist pacifism.

In 1944 he began his own magazine, *Politics*, which first as a monthly and then as a quarterly was one of the most significant magazines on the American left for six years; its closest contemporary was George Woodcock's *Now*, published in Britain during the mid-1940s, and both papers were distributed here by the Freedom Press.

He described its line as 'a new kind of radical approach - individualistic, decentralised, essentially anarchist', and he used his position as a member of the intellectual establishment in the United States to attack the totalitarian ideologies of both left and right and to resist the rise of 'bureaucratic collectivism', culminating in the warfare state, especially after the mass atrocities on both sides at the end of the war.

He drew together a broad group of remarkable contributors from several countries who shared his independent and intransigent position. *Politics* published such American writers as Paul Goodman, C Wright Mills, Daniel Bell, Nicola Chiaromonte, Mary McCarthy, Marianne Moore and John Berryman, such European writers as Andre Gide, Victor Serge, Simone Weil and Albert Camus, and such British writ-

ters as George Orwell, Alex Comfort, Julian Symons, D S Savage and George Woodcock. Macdonald's own articles represented a powerful libertarian critique not only of Fascism and Marxism but also of liberalism, and clearly and convincingly presented the arguments against war and the State.

But as the cold war intensified, Macdonald became disillusioned with all left-wing politics. 'I lost interest because I saw no possibility under Eisenhower', he said, later. In 1949 he was forced to close *Politics*. 'This has been a one-man magazine, and the man has of late been feeling stale, tired, disheartened.' In 1952, in a public debate with Norman Mailer, he stated, 'I Choose the West,' even though his support for Capitalist America against Communist Russia was limited and critical; his hatred

Dwight Macdonald, the American journalist who died at the end of last year at the age of 76, was an important figure in the libertarian movement in the 1940s and again in the 1960s.

Sheffield Peace Centre

On Monday 10th January, a group called 'SHEFFIELD PEACE ACTION' moved into a large empty building in the city centre.

We have set up a peace centre which will hopefully be self-supporting. A library/bookshop, peace exhibition, creche and a Protect and Survive type shelter have already been set up. We plan to use other rooms for films, theatre, live music, a vegetarian cafe, a large meeting hall and space for NVDA etc. Workshops are also available.

The centre is open to all groups and individuals involved in peace and related issues, within the city and surrounding areas.

We intend to make the centre run in an informal and non-hierarchical

way in the spirit of peace camps — in contrast to the council run 'Peace Shop' — in the pipeline for 18 months but yet to materialise.

It was a sense of frustration and disillusion with bureaucracy and the 'official' peace movement which led us to take this action.

The response from the public has been very positive, with a willingness to contribute financially and a petition of support collecting over 500 signatures in the first few days.

Visitors have been impressed by our form of organisation and the positive alternative to the sterile politics of CND. Local CND has been non-committal in its response, with predictable accusations of 'splitting the movement' etc being

reported in the press.

The response from the council of 'Peace city' has been openly hostile, they are totally unwilling to negotiate, and the electricity and telephones were cut off after the first day.

We urgently need support, both financial and moral, and letters of support would be appreciated to help establish our address.

SHEFFIELD PEACE CENTRE
94 Surrey Street,
Sheffield S1
South Yorkshire

Late note

Local CND has called an emergency meeting to discuss the Peace Centre ...

Bristol, Crewe, Yorkshire, London, etc.

This is to inform readers that a new organisation called the BFR (Bristol Free Radio) has formed.

The BFR is committed to the encouragement of Free Radio in the Bristol area. The reasons for its formation are in particular: a) that Bristol is one of the few cities without any form of free radio, b) that many minorities of the cultural, musical and political types do not have broadcasting to their satisfaction and c) that the bland music and propaganda of the establishment stations is threatening my and many other people's mental health.

I also feel that something must be done before the Campaign for Punk Radio (a 'SOUNDS' con-trick) takes the final step into making punk part of the establishment.

The first station will solve the latter problem, albeit only in Central Bristol, by broadcasting punk and various other kinds of music that don't get airplay.

We would greatly appreciate support, and we would also like to hear from anyone interested in free radio in the Bristol area.

BFR
110 Cheltenham Road,
Stokes Croft,
Bristol
B56 5RW.

On Friday 21st January the Crewe section of the North West Anarchist Federation (NWAFF) organised a demonstration at the Civic Hall, Nantwich. The demonstration was aimed at people attending the Cheshire Farmers Hunt Ball, a regular feature of the 'Hunt' calendar.

The turnout was very pleasing, numbering over 80 people including people from Manchester, Liverpool, Chester and North Staffs.

For a first attempt the action was a success, as many harassed and nervous smiles from the 'Hunt' showed.

The NWAFF will be organising many more activities soon of varied nature and can be contacted at; 224 Garston Old Road Liverpool 19 Merseyside.

At a recent meeting we came up with the idea of Yorkshire and Humberside District Anarchist Conference.

It would be on the weekend of 4th February 1983. There would be a social on Friday evening, with the plenum and workshops on Saturday and Sunday.

Workshops suggested so far are; cooperation between anarchist groups, anarcha-feminism, demonstrations (what can we do other than just tag along?), anarchism and trade unions and direct action.

We might have some videos too. Please send other ideas and requests for workshops to the address below. Accommodation is available, but we would appreciate it if you told us how many people would be coming from your group and how many people would need a place to stay.

Black and Red
c/o Students Union,
University of Leeds,
Leeds LS2.

We hear that the Libertarian Alliance, the main right-wing 'anarcho-capitalist' organisation in Britain, is in the middle of a classic sectarian split, involving quarrels about policies and personalities, claims about names and members and premises, thefts of private documents, threats of legal action, and even direct violence. If the rival factions can't find sympathetic millionaires to look after them, they will presumably have to fight it out in the free market. Meanwhile the Alternative Bookshop is still open at its new address: 3 Langley Court, Covent Garden, London WC2 (01 - 240 1804).

Anarchy takes to the airwaves in London in the New Year. A group called *Freespace* will be broadcasting for an hour on a London pirate radio. There will be news, reviews, music and humour. Anybody from any part of the country can take part by contributing news, interviews, ideas for programmes or complete tapes. For further information and details of broadcast times, etc contact; Box Freespace, c/o 121 Railton Road, Herne Hill, London SE24.

Over two and a half million people, about 6½% of the possible electorate, are not on the rolls. The figure has been produced by the Census Office. We don't know if this allows for those who weren't on the Census either. Suggested explanations include unwillingness to be on an official list, a desire to avoid possible jury service or flooding by mail order advertising and, surprise, surprise, 'they don't want to'.

The Foreign Office has produced an explanation for the loss of a page from one of the documents in the Helen Smith case. The amount of attention given to the case at all is mystifying enough, and we note that the enquiry about the two women who went missing in Italy is to be reopened. However, the missing page of the post mortem report. Apparently, officials in Jeddah misread the Arabic numeral three (٣) for a two (٢). Now there is a reassuring example of skilled, professional diplomats in tune with their surroundings.

Our note about the past production of *FREEDOM* (15 January) should be amended in two details: it remained a fortnightly paper for six years after the Second World War, and became a weekly paper only in May 1951; and one issue was missed each month from March 1961 to December 1971, when *Anarchy* was published by the Freedom Press.

An old comrade, Jack Robinson, who worked for *FREEDOM* for many years, has had a stroke and is currently in hospital, paralysed down one side. He would welcome hearing from friends old and new.
Ward G2, Zone 1
West Suffolk Hospital
Bury St Edmunds
Suffolk

of bureaucratic and militaristic Marxism outweighed everything else.

From 1951 to 1971 he worked for the *New Yorker*, the leading literary weekly in the United States, and became well known as a cultural critic. He specialised as an elitist opponent of what he called 'mass-cult' and 'mid-cult', the low-brow and middle-brow literature he despised, from a position of 'high culture', and as a pedantic reviewer of such easy targets as new dictionaries and new translations of the Bible.

In 1956 — 1957 he worked in Britain for *Encounter*, the Anglo-American anti-Communist monthly, where in March and April 1957 he published a long essay called 'Politics Past', describing his political career. Even at this time he remarked that 'anarchism makes more sense today than any other radical philosophy', and he explained:

The revolutionary alternative to the status quo today is not collectivised property administered by a 'workers' state', whatever that means,

but some kind of anarchist decentralisation that will break up mass society into small communities where individuals can live together as variegated human beings instead of as impersonal units in the mass sum. The shallowness of the New Deal and the British Labour Party's post-war regime is shown by their failure to improve any of the important things in people's lives — the actual relationships on the job, the way they spend their leisure, and child-rearing and sex and art. It is mass living that vitiates all these today and the State that holds together the status quo. Marxism glorifies 'the masses' and endorses the State. Anarchism leads back to the individual and the community, which is 'impracticable' but necessary — that is to say, it is revolutionary.

While he was in this country, he spoke to the London anarchists at the Malatesta Club on 10 March 1957, an occasion which was reported by C W in the 'People and Ideas' column (*FREEDOM* 13 April 1957). Colin Ward recognised what

Macdonald had done for our cause, and regretted that he seemed to have abandoned it and had become a member of the American New Right, calling himself a 'conservative anarchist'.

But Macdonald didn't become a political fossil. At the beginning of the American New Left, he spoke at a student convention in 1960 on 'The Relevance of Anarchism'. Later he was one of the many leading intellectuals who supported the movement against the Vietnam War, but also one of the few who supported the student movement. His old antagonist Norman Mailer included a vivid account of his participation in the 1967 March on Washington in *The Armies of the Night* (1968), and he became notorious for his approval for the great sit-in at Columbia University in 1968. 'I have reluctantly decided that civil disobedience is the only answer to the immorality of our times.' To the end he refused to accept any orthodoxy.

Dwight Macdonald died in New York on 19 December 1982.

Obituaries appeared in the *New York Times* on 21 December, describing him as 'a one-man anti-Communist Left movement on his own', and in the *London Times* on 6 January. He had displayed at various times the weakness and the strength of the libertarian intellectual — at his weakest a hired entertainer for the establishment, at his strongest an eloquent opponent of the warfare state. When the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, he wrote in *Politics*: 'We must "get" the national State before it "gets" us. Every individual who wants to save his humanity — and indeed his skin — had better begin thinking "dangerous thoughts" about sabotage, resistance, rebellion, and the fraternity of all men everywhere.' A year later he affirmed his basic principle: 'We must emphasise the emotions, the imagination, the moral feelings, the primacy of the individual human being ... The root is man, here and not there, now and not then.' That was when he was at his best, and that is how he should be remembered.

INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRALASIA

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

NEW SOUTH WALES
Freedom, K153 Haymarket, Sydney
2000.

Redfern Black Rose Anarchist Book-
shop, 36 Botany Rd, Redfern NSW 2015.a

QUEENSLAND
Black and Red Bookshop, 5A Browning
St, West End, Queensland 4000, tel: 07
(447984).

Libertarian Socialist Organisation, PO
Box 268, Mount Gravatt, Central 4122.

Self-management Organisation, PO Box
332, North Quay.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA
PO Box 126 Norwood, SA 5067.

TASMANIA
Bill Graham, PO Box 70, Mowbray
Heights, Launceston 7250, Tasmania.

VICTORIA
Journal of Libertarian Politics and Alter-
native Life-styles, 51 Ormond Road,
Moonee Ponds, Victoria, Australia 3039.

La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o
La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria
3083.

Libertarian Workers for a Self-managed
Society, PO Box 20, Parkville 3052.

Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash
University, Clayton, 3168, Melbourne.

Resource Centre, 215 Victoria Parade,
Collingwood, Victoria.

Treason, Box 37, Brunswick East, Victo-
ria 3057.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA
Freedom Collective and Libertarian Reso-
urce Centre can be reached through PO
Box 203, Fremantle 6160.

NEW ZEALAND
Blackmail, Box 13165, Christchurch.

Daybreak Bookshop, PO Box 5425,
Dunedin.

PO Box 876, Auckland.

PO Box 13165, Christchurch.

EUROPE

AUSTRIA
Liberte, Postfach 86, 1033 Wien.

Monte Verita, Neustiftgasse 33, 1070
Wien.

BELGIUM
Revolutionair anarchisties kollektif, c/o
Zwart & Rood, PO Box 546, B-9000
Gent, Belgium.

DENMARK
Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe,
Meljigade 48, 8000 Aarhus.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
Graswurzel (Grass Roots), c/o W Hertle,
Grozerschippsee 28, 21 Hamburg 90.

Libertad Verlag Berlin, Jochen Schmuck,
Postfach 440 227, D-1000 Berlin 44.

Schwarzer Faden (Black Thread), Obere
Weibermarktstr 3, 7410 Reutlingen, tel:
07121/370494.

Schwarzer Gockler (Black Cockerel), c/o
A Muller, Postfach 4528, 7500 Karlsruhe.

FRANCE

Federation Anarchiste Francaise, 145 Rue
Amelot, 75011, Paris.

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

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

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

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

POLAND
Piotrek Betlejowski, age 22, Ulpolnana
30/37, 09 402, Plock, Poland.

SPITSBERGEN

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

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

Nya Bokcafeet, Box 15015, 104 65
Stockholm.

Syndikalist Forum, Tenstiernas Gata 51,
11631 Stockholm.

Syndikalistiskt Forum (anarcho-syndical-
ist bookshop), Husargatan 5, 41302 Goth-
enburg, tel: 031-13 25 04.

NORTH AMERICA

CANADA
Black Cat Press, PO Box 11261, Edmont-
on, Alberta.

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G. Van-
couver BC.

Wintergreen/AR, PO Box 1294, Kitchen-
er, Ontario, N2G 4G8.

MONTREAL
Chaos, c/o R Yves Breton, CP 95 S/N
Place d'Armes, Montreal, Quebec, H2Y
3E9.

USA

ARIZONA
Malicious Hooligans (anti-nuclear), 1110
W 2nd St, Tempe, AZ 85281.

CALIFORNIA
Autonomia, PO Box 1751, San Francisco,
CA 94101.

Bound Together Book Collective, 1901
Hayes St, San Francisco, CA 94117, tel:
(415) 668-2785.

Libertarian Anarchist Coffeehouse, meets
last Sunday each month at Cafe Com-
mons, 3161 Mission St, San Francisco.

CONNECTICUT
Wesleyan University Eco-Anarchists, Her-
mes, Box HH, Wesleyan University, Mid-
dletown CT 08457.

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

MISSOURI
Columbia Anarchist League, PO Box 380,
Columbia, Missouri 65201.

NEW YORK
Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, GPO
New York, NY 10012.

OREGON
Portland Anarchist Center, 313 East
Burnside, Portland, Oregon 97205,
USA.

WASHINGTON
Left Bank Publishing Project, Box B, 92
Pike Street, Seattle, WA 96101.

Social Revolutionary Anarchist Feder-
ation, PO Box 21071, Washington DC
20009.

MEETINGS

Families Against the Bomb Peace Camp
Maid Cross Hill, Lakenheath, Suffolk.
Tel Mildenhall (0638) 716556.

Saturday 12th February 1983, 12 noon
onwards. Gathering together of people,
ideas, enthusiasm, strength: music, enter-
tainments, marquee, tea stall, creche,
kids activities.

Helpers needed.
Please come! Bring Food, wood, blan-
kets, candles etc.

Sunday 30th January
Libertarian Walking Club
Assemble from 11.00am Baker St
Tube Station. Platform to Amersham.
11.31 train to Amersham. 10 mile
walk. Or meet at Amersham station
at 12.19. Everyone welcome — bring
packed lunch.

DEFICIT FUND

Contributions received: January
1st — 19th 1983

I of M P C £1.00; Ilfracombe I L
£0.25; Wolverhampton J L £1.50;
J K W £0.50; Sheffield J D £0.80;
Carlisle L R T £0.25; Llanbradach
R W A £5.50; Poole J A G P £1.00;
Almeria, Spain C B £3.00; Ex-
mouth A B H £1.00; Maidstone
G A £0.16; Wolverhampton J L
£1.50; J K W £0.50; Gateshead
G D £1.00; B'ham T C £2.75;
London W4 R W £6.00; Leeds
D A £3.00; Hove H C £2.00; Lon-
don SW11 H G £5.00; Bristol

PREMISES FUND

Contributions received: January
1st — 19th 1983

London NW8 D S £5.00; Wolver-
hampton J L £3.00; Brilley B R
£6.00; Penarth T B £11.00; Llan-
bradach R W A £5.50; Gravesend
A J £0.50; Wolverhampton J L
£3.00; Colchester F R £2.50;
B'ham T C £2.50; Leeds D A
£3.00; Hove H C £1.00; Saffron
Walden M E £1.50; Wolverham-
pton J L £3.00; Derbyshire K A B
£0.50; London N16 I A M £1.00;

DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT,
Burnley Group, Day School.

Sunday 13th February, AUEW Rooms,
Hargreaves St, Burnley.

10.30 am — 12.30 Sexism, Fascism
12.30 — 1.30 Dinner
Sandwiches and Tea provided
1.30 — 3.00 pm Class Struggle,
Unemployment

There are alternative classes morning and
afternoon.
Registration fee: 50p

For further details contact Burnley DAM
164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Man-
chester M4 3BN.

DESIRES

Could L M of Nantwich (contributor to
Freedom Deficit Fund in FREEDOM
15/1/83) please contact the group in
Crewe via NAAF, 224 Garston Old Road
Liverpool 19, Merseyside.

Every year there are festivals composed
of many people sympathetic to anarchist
ideas.

We want to establish an anarchist pre-
sence ie bookshop — food, drink. We
need certain basic equipment/money/
ideas.

Contact Alan: Freedom Press, 84B
Whitechapel High St, London E1.

LITERATURE

END OF MUSIC (a critique of the music
industry) — contact Box V2, 488 Great
Western Road, Glasgow G12, or from A
Distribution (London). 60p incl p+p.

THE BOURGEOIS ROLE OF BOLSHE-
VISM — An Autonomy Press reprint.
40p incl p+p.

ART AND ANARCHISM — by Farquhar
McLay. Also from Autonomy Press, Box
3, 488 Gt Western Road, Glasgow G12.
40p incl p+p (more copies being reprint-
ed now).

Cross: A series of shock slogans and
mindless token tantrums £1.20 (inc
postage)

'To those who might like the ideas but
can't stand the music'. From Housman's
Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd, Kings Cross
London N1. Trade Orders to Housman's
Distribution.

Insurrection
Anarchist bimonthly 80p. Available
from A Distribution or directly from
Jean Weir, c/o Alfredo Bonanno, CP 61
CATANIA, Italy.

NEW CONTACT

North West Anarchist Federation, 224
Garston Old Road, Liverpool 19, Mer-
seyside.

BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

In Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel
High St, London E1. [Please add
postage as in brackets. N American
purchasers please convert £1 — plus
postage — at \$1.60 (US) or \$2.00
(Canada) unless a dollar price is
specified. Titles marked * are
published in the US.]

Published by Freedom Press
Marie-Louise Berneri: Journey
through Utopia (339pp ppr)
£1.95 (\$4.00) (60p)

Vernon Richards: The Impossibili-
ties of Social Democracy
(142pp ppr) £1.00 (\$2.25) (42p)

Vernon Richards: Protest without
Illusions (168pp ppr)
£1.95 (\$4.00) (50p)

Paul Avrich: Bakunin and Nechaev
(32pp ppr) £0.50 (\$1.00) (25p)

Vernon Richards (Ed): Malatesta:
His Life and Ideas (309pp ppr)
£2.00 (\$4.00) (50p)

Gaston Leval: Collectives in the
Spanish Revolution (368pp ppr)
£4.00 (\$8.00) (94p)

Alexander Berkman: ABC of Anar-
chism (86pp ppr)
£1.50 (\$3.00) (36p)

John P Clark: Max Stirner's Egoism
(111pp ppr)
£1.50 (\$3.00) (36p)

Errico Malatesta: Anarchy (in a
new translation) (54pp ppr)
£0.50 (\$1.00) (25p)

'Anarchy' Journal Vols 7 — 10 in-
clusive 1967 — 1970 (400 pp per

vol) cloth

£7.50 (\$15.00) (94p) per vol
[Regret we cannot supply this title
at trade terms.]

Distributed by Freedom Bookshop
'Freedom Pamphlets': Fighting the
Revolution: Makhno, Durruti and
Zapata. (44pp ppr)

*Leo Tolstoy: Patriotism or Peace
(8pp ppr) £0.25 (13p)

*Leo Tolstoy: Letter on the Peace
Conference (8pp ppr) £0.25 (13p)

Robert Polet: The Polish Summer
(44p ppr) £0.75 (25p)

Libertarian Socialist Organisation
(Australia) Revolution Re-assessed:
The Politics of Human Liberation
(52pp ppr) £0.75 (25p)

*Rudolf Rocker: Nationalism and
Culture (614pp cloth)
£15.00 (£1.84)

Remainders distributed by Free-
dom Bookshop

Tom Mann: The Industrial Syndi-
calist (1910 — 1911) Complete
Facsimile Edition (390pp ppr)
£1.00 (60p)

Kenneth Rexroth: An Autobiog-
raphical Novel (367pp ppr)
£1.00 (94p)

[Please note — we can give full
trade terms on all titles on this
list — plus postage — except the
Bound volumes of 'Anarchy']

Please send an sae (25p 9" by 6")
for our full booklists.

Despatching & Deadlines

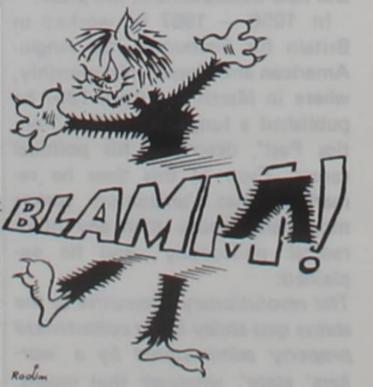
FREEDOM Collective would wel-
come any readers who wish to help
fold and despatch the paper. The
next issue will be sent out on Thurs-
day 10th February, starting at around
6pm. This is also a good time to
come in and meet the editors.

FREEDOM also needs your written
contributions and any graphics or
photographs readers feel would be
useful to us. Copy deadline for short
items for the next issue is first post,
Monday 7th, longer articles in by
first post, Thursday the 3rd.

It's like Gilbert Longden has said.
If capital punishment isn't revived...



there'll be gun law on the streets.



FREEDOM
Editorial Collective
84b Whitechapel High St
London E1

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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	28 dollars Can.
Zone C	£14.00

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