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editorial

So, it has finally been fixed. We are to be allowed to play our part in the Great Democratic Process. It is our privilege.

The sum total of this democratic privilege is that on June 9th, we can traipse down to a local hall and mark a cross on a piece of paper. And afterwards, we will have to put up with the government. Let us see what that means.

According to Opinion Polls (which, on past record, are completely wrong) the Conservative Party will form the next government. We are in a position to make a reasonable guess what that means. The Conservative Party has formed the government for the past four years. They promised to reduce taxes. They have done so, for the well off, by raising them for everybody else. They promised to reduce inflation and government spending. They have done so, by supervising four million unemployed. They promised to renegotiate EEC contribution. These negotiations are 'ongoing'. They promised to improve conditions for law and order and the armed forces. They have done so. This enabled the Nation to fight a small colonialist skirmish, at somewhat disproportionate cost. The Conservative Party's promises for our future are much the same.

The traditional alternative to a Conservative government is given by the Labour Party. Last time they formed the government, they raised taxes for most people, they promised to reduce inflation and unemployment and to obtain good terms for EEC membership. They maintained the forces both of social control and military might. One difference is that they placed more emphasis on social control by aid agencies rather than the police. Now they promise EEC withdrawal and nuclear disarmament. The likelihood of either of these can be estimated by the adherence to them of figures such as Dennis Healey. The press says that this is because he knows that they will never be implemented; the Labour Party has no chance of winning the election. In fact, he knows that they will never be implemented anyway. On non-nuclear 'conventional' weapons the Labour Party has always had a 'conventional' point of view. Most Labour MPs supported the colonialist adventure. Oh, the Labour Party has promised to bring in a Protection of Privacy Bill. Again.

The unusual factor in this election is the presence of the Alliance. This is an opportunistic mish-mash. The Liberals, who like to take principled stances on all sorts of things, demonstrated their political integrity during the last Labour government. They are prepared to make alliances with anybody who will allow them the illusion of influence. They have continued this

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anarchist fortnightly

If voting changed anything, they'd make it illegal.



ANTI ELECTION SPECIAL

See pages 3 to 6
ANARCHIST PERSPECTIVES
and a call for an
ELECTORS' STRIKE, 1888,
and
TO BE GOVERNED
— a 32 frame poster
by Cliff Harper
(Reprints of this poster
on fine white paper
are available from Free-
dom Bookshop at 50p
(+ 20p p&p)

UPPER HEYFORD

The most ambitious and demanding direct action demonstration ever organised by the nuclear disarmament movement has been planned at the American nuclear base at Upper Heyford during the week after the Whitsun bank holiday.

Upper Heyford is about 15 miles north of Oxford, between the roads to Banbury (A423) and Northampton. It is an RAF camp which is used by the USAF for more than 70 F111 nuclear bombers and which is now being modernised and extended. What is planned is a continuous blockade of more than a dozen camp gates for four days and three nights.

The period of the blockade has been divided into six shifts for the various regions of the country, as follows:

Tuesday, 31 May	South-East and South
Wednesday, 1 June	North-West and Ireland
Wednesday, 1 June	Midlands
Thursday, 2 June	North-East and Scotland
Thursday, 2 June	South-West, South and Wales
Friday, 3 June	London and East Anglia

As at Burghfield and Greenham Common on Easter Thursday, this demonstration will be highly illegal and strictly non-violent. Demonstrators have again been asked so far as possible to come in organised groups and to have some previous training. Parking and camping sites,

lavatories and first aid posts, co-ordination and training, have all been prepared. But demonstrators will have to provide their own transport, shelter, refreshment, and music.

The organisers have appealed for money, transport, photographers and any other help available. Write to the Upper Heyford Peace Camp, outside USAF Upper Heyford, Camp Road, Upper Heyford, Oxon OZ5 3LP; or telephone Oxford 726441.

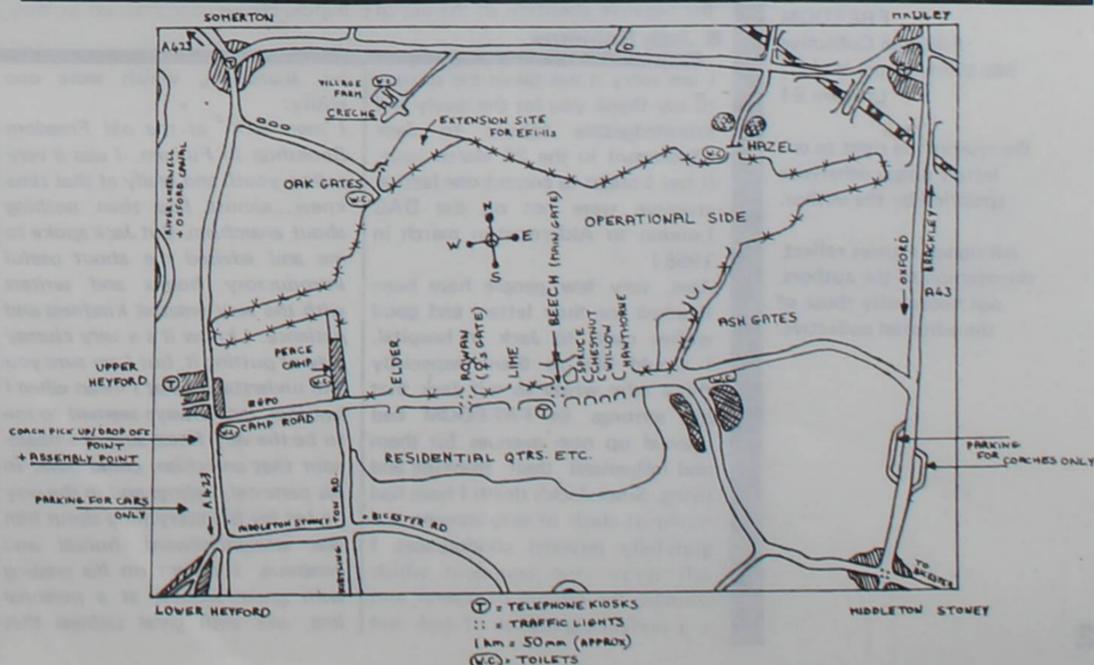
The whole action is once more being organised locally by the people at the Upper Heyford Peace Camp, which has been going since Easter

1982, and is once more sponsored by the CND National office. Incidentally, the CND National Council decided in April to continue sponsoring Greenham Common as a women-only site, but not to sponsor a proposed two-week blockade there; instead there will be a five-day blockade at the beginning of July. It remains to be seen whether this series of direct action demonstrations can maintain the growing numbers and determination of the past few years.

Unlike Burghfield and Greenham Common, Upper Heyford is a full-time operational nuclear base, and the authorities cannot be expected

to tolerate an action attempting to immobilise it for any time — let alone four days — without taking counter-action. It is expected that this time there will be arrests and may be violence from the police, so it is particularly important to maintain self-discipline at all times. Yet we hope that the rather exclusive and puritanical tendencies we saw at the Easter demonstrations are kept under control, and that as many people as possible are encouraged to take as much action as possible on this important and imaginative demonstration.

MH



■ Syndicalism

Although the syndicalists (FREEDOM 9.4.83) quite rightly savage the nostalgia of certain anarchists for a pre-industrial agrarian society, and though they make sensible noises about the importance of the class struggle at the point of production, they are a long way from mounting any serious defence of syndicalist methods.

Unless things have changed radically without my noticing, revolutionary and anarcho-syndicalism advocate the formation of new revolutionary unions, which are supposed to act both as the organisations of the revolutionary proletariat in the pre-revolutionary period and as the institutional basis of post-revolutionary society. In my books, it is only a defence of this particular revolutionary strategy — rather than some vague reminder of the importance of 'class struggle' — which can adequately

pose as a defence of syndicalism. Yet such a defence is nowhere mounted. Instead we find the hymns of praise for the Direct Action Movement — 'the largest functioning group in the organised British movement' as we are told by Dino (FREEDOM 26.3.83) but still a fraction of the size of the Flat Earth Society, let alone the RSPCA (whose members or close sympathisers seem to be doing a 'deep entryist' job on British anarchism, masquerading as animal liberationists). We find the embarrassing adulation of the metaphorical bulge in the worker hero's trousers. We find the exhumation of the corpse of the old debate between anarcho-syndicalists and anarchist communists.

Why don't the syndicalists actually offer a defence of syndicalist strategy? Could it be that they have none to offer? Could it be that the

idea of forming 'new revolutionary unions' under current conditions is nothing more than a utopian dream?

My sense is that the syndicalist project in indeed inapplicable in the developed Western world. If we look at any of the major revolutionary upsurges in the West since World War Two, we find *not one* in which syndicalist forms were even marginally relevant. Paris 1968, Italy 1968-9 and 1977-9, Portugal 1975, Spain 1977 — all saw autonomous workers' struggles developing 'from nothing' (ie not from the activity of a syndicalist trade union), and none resulted in the formation of syndicalist unions to act as the permanent organs of proletarian resistance.

Now this could be the result of 'false consciousness', but somehow I doubt it. Rather, it is a matter of the workers having *gone beyond the need for syndicalist unions.*

They have proved themselves perfectly capable of sustained organisation of militant struggle — and in such a situation they have no need for new revolutionary unions, which would be in constant danger of bureaucratic degeneration just as their predecessors were in syndicalism's 'golden age'.

I am not here questioning the importance of militant class struggle of an organised nature. But we would be doing better if instead of dishing up the outdated platitudes of syndicalism we undertook a rigorous examination of alternative traditions of libertarian class struggle — the tradition of the advocates of workers' councils, and the tradition of the Italian autonomia.

Yours for a post-syndicalist practice,

F A Woodbine

■ Ethical — Ecology

The clumsy, confused, pretentious and almost incoherent text of 'Anti-Ecology' (9th April) is guilty of serious errors and misrepresentations. It is true that there is sometimes a conservative/liberal reactionary element in the ecological mentality, but the article presents a case that is needlessly negative and largely unfounded. Further, it appallingly makes no attempt whatsoever to identify the differences between ecological issues, ecologists, campaigns (both within and between groups, or between parties and movements), and above all the various ideological motivations that underpin the general concern for the environment.

There are two broad levels on which this issue can be seen: ideology and political action. On the level of ideology, 'ecologism' as a development of unacceptable capitalist industrial relations/production is a positive step. People are generally drawn to the ecology movement through a rejection of capitalist excesses (both state and private enterprise), not from a covert desire to buy off genuine dissent. Indeed the ecological disposition is a major form of genuine dissent in advanced capitalist societies. It has always been an element of socialist concern, socialism itself being an underlying current of dissent in capitalist society. Thus even more orthodox socialists have seen 'the need to identify the left more deeply with ecological concerns: William Morris did so then, and Rudolf Bahro and Raymond Williams do so now. Amongst anarchists the concern is if anything greater, and so it should be.

On the level of political action, smaller scale government is not to be rejected out of hand. In fact it is an essential element of a libertarian politics — remember 'All power to the soviets?' Unlike Bolsheviks, anarchists believe this principle should apply in practice as well as in theory. Anarchism is not about the negative abolition of the act of

governing as such, but about the positive development of self-government. Therefore we should aim continually at smaller scale government and the devolution of power, since anarchism seeks to minimize the distance between the executive body (communal council, local administration, etc) and the rest of the population or constituency — physically as well as constitutionally. If the Green Movement in Germany and the Ecology Party in Britain have inhibited certain anti-parliamentary sentiments by promoting parliamentary politics, then surely this is a result of their party-political reformism, not their ecological concerns. After all, the other (non-ecology) parties are no less reformist, and it might be noted that they are far less radical as well. But the fact remains that the ecology movement as a whole, rather like CND (and the anti-nuclear power lobby, which mediates between and overlaps both) serves as a nucleus for attracting people into politics who would otherwise not be involved at all. In doing so, it reveals the need for greater involvement, shows up the limits of conventional left-centre-right politics, and offers direct action as a possible means of political action.

Further, contrary to the claims of 'Anti-Ecology, hard work is not only a product of the Protestant ethic, nor is it necessarily a product of ecology. Hard work was and is an essential feature of the revolutionary transformations in Europe and elsewhere — France, Russia, the USA and now in the poorer countries. Hard work is often if not always necessary everywhere this side of utopia, just as the job of revolution always requires hard work and sacrifice. A workless utopia, even if possible and desirable, will itself require much hard work to achieve. In fact, it might be said that the only people alien and averse to heavy toil are the leisurely middle-classes, accustomed as they

are to living off the backs of others through profit. But this does not mean that a fetish should be made out of labour, a trap into which traditional leftists rather than ecologists are more liable to fall. And if some ecologists happen to be mystical, this does not discredit ecology any more than, say, the fact that most socialists are authoritarian discredits socialism. If all politicians are corrupt, it does not necessarily mean that all political activity is corrupting.

The argument that 'the social relations that exist under capitalism' remain unchanged with a scaling down of production, cited by the article, is a typically Marxist one. It tends to forget that the development of capitalism entails not only the increasing centralization of ownership but also that of productive resources. Thus to reverse the advance of capitalism it is necessary to dismantle current production, distribution and consumption patterns. More importantly, the argument appears not to consider that with communal control of the means of production and distribution, exchange values become equated with use values once more, thereby effectively abolishing the surplus value of capitalist exploitation. But it is true that the scale of production remains quite distinct from the relations of production — in theory. In practice, capitalism (both private and state) takes off only after a certain degree of centralization of production has occurred, and then proceeds to exacerbate that centralization. Below that threshold, a smaller, more amenable, more accountable and optimal scale of production remains conducive to non-capitalist, non-exploitative communal control, and more accessible to the individual. And when labour becomes personalized again in this way, it no longer remains alienated.

There are of course pitfalls in the ecology movement, as there are in any other. For example, the

capitalist industrialist James Goldsmith is known for his enthusiasm in financing his brother Edward Goldsmith's magazine *The Ecologist* ('journal of the post-industrial age'), seeing it as a liberal safety-valve to ease growing dissent in capitalist society. Thus others like Illich have argued that the liberal ecologist's adoption of safe, renewable forms of energy (alternative technology) represents little progress if for example the new wind generators and solar panels are to be produced by the same multinational companies, and if consumer habits remain unchanged. On balance it appears that the ecology movement(s) need to become more sophisticated politically, but not be rejected outright. Ecologists may require time to develop a deeper political awareness, as we all do, and in this anarchists need to act with them, more as catalysts than as obstacles. Ecologists require encouragement, not discouragement — and this implies constructive criticism, not nihilism.

Ecologists may not (yet) be anarchists, but anarchists need always to be ecological. In fact, this entire distinction between ecology and anarchism, and between ecologists and anarchists, is quite false and destructive, and smacks of ideological pedantry, fundamentalism and intolerance. The destruction of the environment does not become a good thing just because it is done by anarchists rather than by capitalists or the state. The chauvinistic negation of ecology is characteristically either capitalist or workerist, not anarchist. Class struggle is no longer the only source of conflict with the status quo, as Marxists like Habermas have recently come to understand, and anarchists above all should be the first to realize this. Anarchism and ecology share enough enemies and goals to work with and learn from each other.

BN

■ Anarchos resignations

Five members of the Montreal Coordinating Committee of the Anarchos Institute have resigned. The present Coordinating Committee felt that the distribution of our letter was 'inappropriate use' of the mailing list. Since they had already removed the membership files from the Anarchos office, we were not in a position to dispute this decision. Therefore we are attempting to inform present Institute members and prospective members of our statement through the anarchist press. Our letter of resignation is available from: PO Box 1415, Station H, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3G 2W4.

■ Jack Robinson

I am sorry it has taken me so long to say thank you for the lovely and knowledgeable tribute to Jack (Robinson) in the 26 March issue. (I feel I ought to correct one factual error—we were not on the DAC London to Aldermaston march in 1958.)

Also, very few people have been thanked for their letters and good wishes cards to Jack in hospital. I would like to thank especially those who wrote to tell Jack that his writings in FREEDOM had opened up new avenues for them and influenced their thinking and living. Since Jack's death I have had an equal stack of very moving and gratefully received condolences. I will quote one comment which contains the essence of several, and is a perfect expression of Jack and

his anarchism, which were one entity:

I met Jack at the old Freedom Bookshop in Fulham. I was a very callow youth and really at that time knew...almost less than nothing about anarchism. But Jack spoke to me and advised me about useful introductory books and writers with the very greatest kindness and patience. I know it's a very clumsy way of putting it, but I am sure you will understand what I mean when I say that Jack always seemed to me to be the very finest sort of ambassador that anarchism could have. In his personal dealings and in the way he led his life everything about him was straightforward, honest and generous. I reflect on his passing with great sadness at a personal loss, and with great sadness that

there are now a very small and declining number of comrades of his very special sort.

I become daily more keenly aware of how special Jack was, and how his person was the propaganda, being approached by people relating kindnesses he has done for them, and being told of their deep respect for Jack by people who otherwise wouldn't have given anarchism a second's thought.

Mary Canipa

We apologise to those readers whose letters have not been published but once again we find ourselves without enough space.

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

All signed articles reflect the opinion of the authors, not necessarily those of the editorial collective.

THE STATE IS THE MENACE

Anarchy means 'without government'. It does not mean chaos; it does not mean arson, rape and bloody murder; it does not mean without any social order.

On the contrary, anarchists maintain that the present chaotic condition of the world is precisely the result of *government* — the few imposing their will upon the many. It does not matter how the few manage to do this — by military dictatorship or by that engineering of voluntary servitude called democracy — the result is the same: gratification of power lust for the governors, frustration and indignity for the governed.

In a democracy such as Britain, the rough edges are softened, even, during the past, by the Conservatives, who are now, under the pressures of recession, showing much truer colours — showing that,

if anybody's going to suffer in defence of their system, it is not going to be the party or the class it represents. When the economic chips are down, Tories make it perfectly clear that the people exist for the system, not the system for the people.

The other parties who wheedle for your votes at election time (not to be seen again till the next election) do in fact have the same mental attitude, but realise that they must bait their hooks with worms of a different flavour.

What everybody should realise however, is that, once hooked, you are pulled into the same old net of obedience, the net for which you have been schooled, preached at, cajoled, bribed and bullied all your lives: the obedience which depends on the inculcation of patriotism, nationalism, tribalism, religion and

above all *fear of authority*.

For all our knowledge and technology, experience, sophistication, science, this fear grips the vast majority of people today just as much as ever — and for one very good reason. It is that the so-called 'revolutionary' doctrine that has succeeded in replacing traditional systems in many countries, has in reality been anything but revolutionary. It has been frankly reactionary, simply substituting one tyranny for another — with the added menace for the ordinary people that it now has modern, sophisticated methods of control at its disposal — methods which are gladly being adopted by the proponents of the old systems as well.

Add to that the fearful weapons which modern states now have at their disposal and the ease with which these could bring untold

misery and suffering to *all* the peoples of the world, and it becomes clear that as never before the centralised state poses a menace to the peoples, the animals and the vegetation, to the land and the seas and even the upper atmosphere, of this planet Earth.

All the political parties aim at coming into control of the centralised state and all political parties are led by a handful of ordinary people who have worked themselves into extraordinary positions. The winners in the struggle for power will come into not only 'ordinary' political power, but, now, the most extraordinary Godlike power over the whole of humanity. A few of them are now swearing, hands on hearts, that they will renounce this frightful power; the majority make no such claim.

Our anarchist attitude is that

NOBODY should ever be allowed to have this kind of power — but it is power that has grown up over centuries of the domination of those who produce wealth by those who wield the sword, the gun, and now the missile. Ever since there has been a conscious anarchist movement — over 100 years now — we have pointed to the danger, the fallacy, the sheer bloody stupidity of government.

We have been laughed at by those who didn't take us seriously. Those who did — governments and their servants — have beaten us, locked us up, shot, hanged and garrotted us, and used their media, from the education system to the gutter press, to pervert what we have had to say.

The odd thing is, the longer governments survive, the more true do our words become.

The following comments upon important issues of the day should in no way be taken as anarchist gospel, for there is no such thing. No rigid doctrine limits the freedom of anarchists to interpret the application of anarchist ideas to their own circumstances.

Anarchist Perspectives



WORK OR EMPLOYMENT

Anarchists prefer to talk about 'work' rather than 'employment', for the simple reason that in any form of society, past, present or future, some form of work has been, is and will be necessary to maintain life — at whatever standard is thought desirable.

Ever since the human species realised that there are better (ie, more secure) ways of organising our existence than by nomadic wandering, haphazard hunting and food gathering, manual labour and intelligence has been applied to making use of natural elements to provide a more settled life for men, women and children.

While it must be admitted that land settlement and cultivation has led to the principle of private ownership of the means of life — primarily the land itself — this need not have been so, and indeed in many stable communities to this day, the principles by which many people live are based upon living, communal relationships with the land and what it has to offer without being raped or poisoned or exploited without thought for the future.

It is in the 'advanced' countries that the drive for quick profits has led to the merciless exploitation of the land and its wealth — and of the people who live on it.

Here we come to 'employment'. In any modern economy, workers are hired by the hour, the day, the week or the month to sell their labour to whoever it is who claims 'ownership' of the means of production. This can mean a patch of land, a coal mine, an oil rig in the North Sea, or a ship upon the sea. It can mean tilling the soil, working in an abattoir, a tannery, a brick works or a building company, a clothing factory, a plant for making television sets, hi-fi equipment, records, computers or a printing press or a furniture factory. It can also mean a plant for atomic research, for making missiles and rockets and bombs and planes and guns and CS gas and water cannon or it can be an office for sending out gas bills and tax demands and summonses and census forms and conscription papers for the Forces.

It is all 'employment', and it all makes us remember William Morris's distinction of 100 years ago between

'Useful work and useless toil'.

Today we can go further, for so much of today's employment is controlled by the state, which directs some useful work, but much more toil which is not merely useless, but positively harmful.

Those who scream loudest today for 'JOBS' do not draw this distinction, because they are fundamentally afraid to come out with the real demand that should be made: *that work be divorced from employment*.

The reason why they are afraid of this demand is because this is the unashamedly revolutionary one. This is the demand that the means of production and distribution shall not be controlled by employers serving the profit motive, be they private companies or state boards, but by the productive workers, operating self-management for the community at large — for need, not for profit.

No political party bidding for power will make this a plank in their platform for it is not linked to political power. This is why, on fundamental issues, there is no point in choosing between them.

NUCLEAR POWER ... FOR WAR

All anarchists (allegedly bomb-crazy) were revolted by the explosions of the atomic bombs over Japan in 1945. The final atrocities of the war, they pointed the way to the next.

Britain's noble ally, America, (Russia was the other one!) had developed the bomb and wanted to see its effect upon a real live city of human beings. It's dropping was demanded by Roosevelt, while Churchill and the leader of the British Labour Government of the time, Clement Attlee, agreed. The rest is history.

The bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were peanuts compared to what can be dropped now. Yet the children of Hiroshima are still dying.

Any sane person must want the abolition of nuclear weapons. But we cannot wait for every last megalomaniac to agree to give them up before we start the process of world disarmament. The people of

every nation have the right to try to compel their own government to divest itself of these anti-human weapons — and since Britain is, you might say, providentially designed to be a nuclear target, we should set

the pace for the rest of the world.

The only trouble is, we are asking the state to give up its murderous power . . . so, if it won't, we, the people, must take that power away from it.

... AND FOR PEACE

When we were first made aware of nuclear power as a means of generating electricity for heating our houses, driving our trains, etc, we welcomed it as a means of releasing miners from the dangerous and dirty work they carried out for us all underground.

Because of the association with weapons, however, we have had to rethink the question. And more than that. It has become clear over the years that nuclear energy poses its own problems in terms of menace to those who work with it — and to the surrounding countryside and populations. Until these

are ironed out, we oppose uncontrolled development of nuclear power stations.

More than that, there is the question of security. If it is true that 'terrorists' could steal quantities of plutonium, for producing their own nuclear weapons, then the state has a clear excuse for introducing widespread security methods for the control of whole populations.

The possible 'economic' advantages of nuclear energy are therefore wiped out by the disastrous social effects, since they could lead to the establishment of a police state.

LAW AND ORDER

As the recession has deepened during the past three years, tensions have surfaced in our class-divided society which remain submerged during more comfortable times.

Capitalism regards workers as a commodity, to be bought and sold exactly as machinery or other plant used in a productive process. When the demand for the finished product falls off (which is what 'recession' means) the machinery can be sold or put into mothballs, the factory closed, the workers dismissed.

Longterm, faithful servants of the company may be paid a 'redundancy' sum, perhaps amounting to some thousands of pounds, which may tide them over for a year or two of no earnings. Others, not so lucky, may get nothing but their unemployment 'benefit'.

For school-leavers, staring blank-eyed at a labour market with no buyers, the situation is desperate. With no skills and no chance of getting the necessary 'experience', the possibility of finding any reasonable way of 'making a living' is remote. For disadvantaged minorities, particularly, practically non-existent.

Yet still, consumer society dangles its bait. Seductive commercials on the telly, shop-windows full of desirable goodies, taunt the dispossessed by displaying how well the other half can live.

Inevitably and predictably, what is called 'crime' has increased. You cannot expect millions of families to exist in varying states of deprivation without desperate individuals snatching something for themselves. Businessmen do it by organising carefully their planned bankruptcies; dispossessed youngsters do it by blatant robbery.

Equally inevitably, the state, which can be benign in times of prosperity, turns towards authoritarian methods to maintain what it

laughingly calls 'Law and Order'.

Not the order of a harmonious society, where free access to the means of life would be the right of everybody, but the compulsive and authoritarian order of the prison, the barracks, the mental hospital.

The present prison population in Britain (over 45,000) is not only the highest in our history, it is the highest in Europe, and among the highest, per head of the population, in the world. We have more long-term prisoners, more 'lifers' than any comparable country; our antiquated, Victorian prisons are crammed full and more unconvicted prisoners are held on remand, while recommendations are made to judges to cut down sentences — to no avail.

Meantime, more money is being spent on police and their repressive equipment, guns are being issued more and more frequently (without the public — who foot the bill — being aware of it) and more and more policemen are being found to be indulging in corrupt practices. While the percentage of crimes 'solved' by the police is constantly falling.

Britons love to sing 'Britons never, never, never will be slaves' while the police state grows daily ever, ever, ever more strongly about them.

Anarchists maintain that what is called 'crime' is inevitable in a class-divided society. If a minority of the population control the means of life and the majority can exist only on their terms; if society is divided into haves and have-nots, with the wealth of the haves down to inheritance or exploitation or both and the deprivation of the have-nots just down to their bad luck, you cannot expect loyalty to laws which are made by the rich and powerful precisely to keep

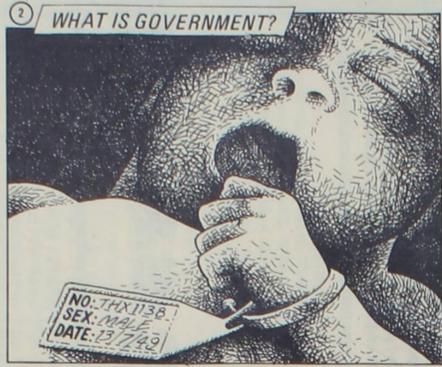
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WORDS (PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON 1848 PARIS) VISUALS (CLIFFORD PETER HARPER 1981 LONDON)

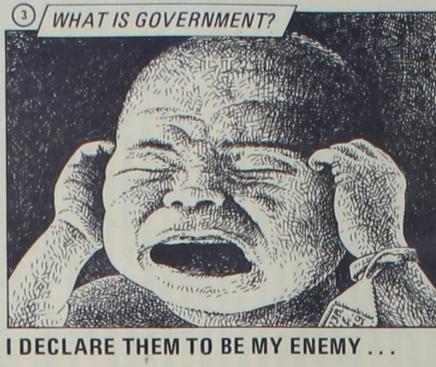
WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?



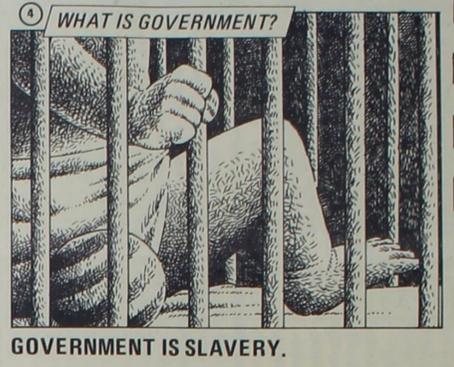
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WHOEVER LAYS THEIR HAND ON ME



2 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
IS A USURPER AND A TYRANT;



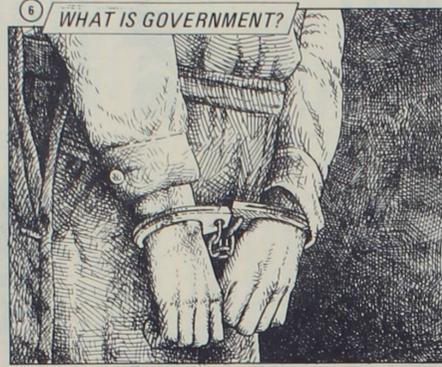
3 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
I DECLARE THEM TO BE MY ENEMY...



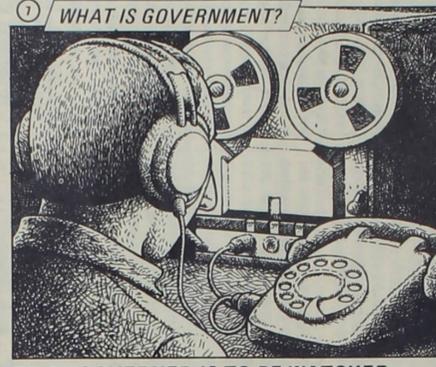
4 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
GOVERNMENT IS SLAVERY.



5 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
ITS LAWS ARE COBWEBS FOR THE RICH



6 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
AND CHAINS OF STEEL FOR THE POOR.



7 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
TO BE GOVERNED IS TO BE WATCHED,
INSPECTED, SPIED ON,



8 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
REGULATED, INDOCTRINATED, PREACHED
AT, CONTROLLED, RULED,



9 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
CENSORED BY PERSONS WHO HAVE
NEITHER WISDOM NOR VIRTUE.



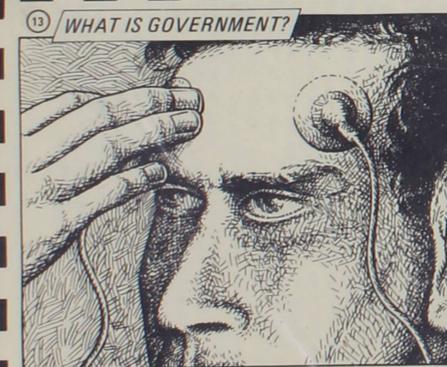
10 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
IT IS IN EVERY ACTION AND TRANSACTION



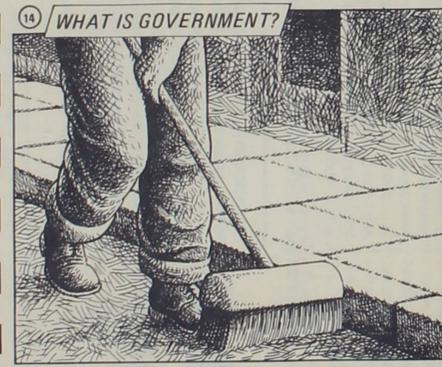
11 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
TO BE REGISTERED, STAMPED,



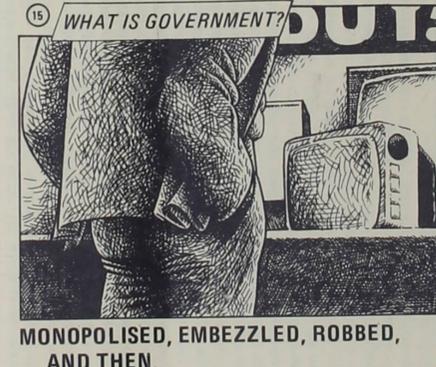
12 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
TAXED, PATENTED, LICENSED, ASSESSED,



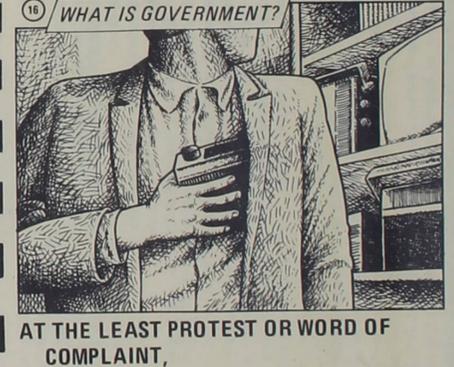
13 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
MEASURED, REPRIMANDED, CORRECTED,
FRUSTRATED.



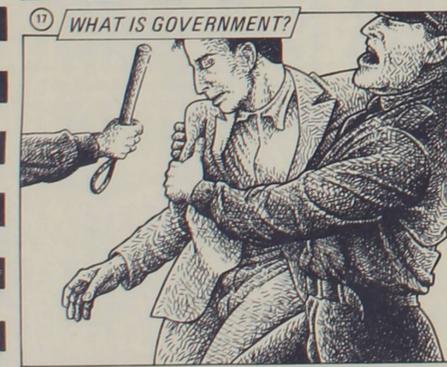
14 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
UNDER PRETEXT OF THE PUBLIC GOOD
IT IS TO BE EXPLOITED,



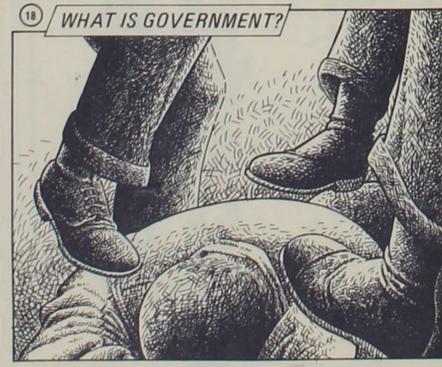
15 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
MONOPOLISED, EMBEZZLED, ROBBED,
AND THEN,



16 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
AT THE LEAST PROTEST OR WORD OF
COMPLAINT,



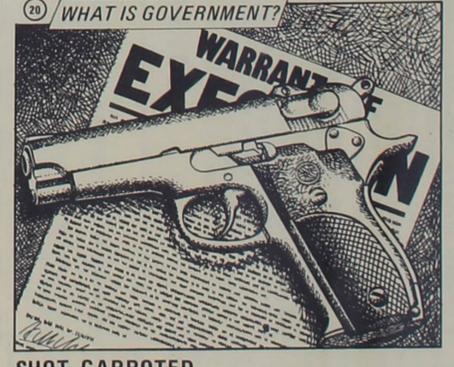
17 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
TO BE FINED, HARASSED, VILIFIED,



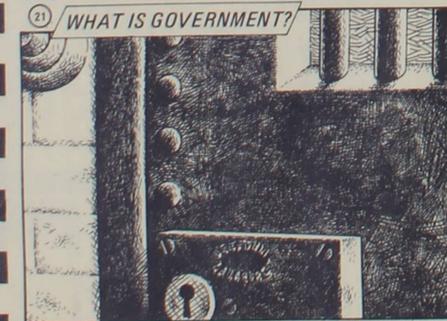
18 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
BEATEN UP, BLUDGEONED, DISARMED,



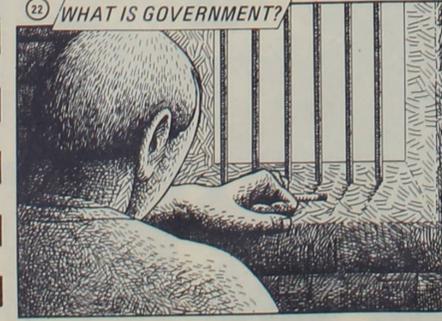
19 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
JUDGED, CONDEMNED, IMPRISONED,



20 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
SHOT, GARROTED,



21 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
DEPORTED, SOLD, BETRAYED,



22 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
SWINDLED, DECEIVED,



23 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
OUTRAGED, DISHONoured,



24 WHAT IS GOVERNMENT?
THAT'S GOVERNMENT, THAT'S ITS
JUSTICE, THAT'S ITS MORALITY!

them that way. And that's what our laws fundamentally are.

The small area of legislation that protects the individual exists for the sake of 'law and order' itself. It exists for the protection of state monopoly over what is right and what is wrong — just like violence.

The state has to have a monopoly of violence, which today knows no bounds. Whether it be the great and glorious massacres of wartime or the shameful killings in police-stations, prisons or on the streets, the forces of the state get away with murder. But try an individual act of anger, vengeance or madness and it's a different story.

A sexually free person does not rape; an economically free person does not steal; one among equals does not envy — unless, in each case, there are reasons for emotional or intellectual imbalance. A sane society would seek to remove those reasons, but an authoritarian society seeks only to punish the results, not cure the causes.

That is what is wrong with statist systems of 'Law and Order'. They impose laws which lead only to further disorder. Things can only get worse.

SEXISM, RACISM AND EDUCATION

We link these heading together because they are each aspects of prejudice and of conditioning.

For both boys and girls brought up in a patriarchal system, it is not easy to see things in a non-sexist way. For everybody brought up in an imperialist, or, as now, a post-imperialist, society, it was not, and is not, easy to discard the effects of conditioning built into the British education system, linked as it is to the production of citizens fit to serve the state in its various needs.

Our state education system was launched just over a century ago, in the wake of the private and church systems which had evolved with the needs of the ruling class and the emerging middle class of the industrial revolution.

This enormous economic upheaval incurred driving people off the land and into the factories, where totally different disciplines and skills were demanded of them. Nineteenth Century peasants could get by without being able to read; factory workers couldn't — so they had to be taught, quickly and by severe discipline, and to understand that their status as industrial

workers was above that of the lesser breeds across the sea who merely produced the raw materials which they turned into finished goods. (Ironically, this attitude seeped into that of the 'revolutionary' Marx, who saw the industrial toilers as the vanguard of the proletariat, more advanced and farseeing than the peasantry from whom they had sprung.)

The 'education' which was to fit the workers for their industrial slavery was also geared, therefore, to inculcate unthinking loyalty towards the British Empire. The teaching of geography was all about the parts of the world painted red and history consisted of our glorious battles (ie, those we won) and the unending sequence of kings and queens.

Meanwhile the lives of industrial proletarians and their wives and children became ever more divided and alienated, with the man's pay packet the only source of wealth to enter the home. To describe the down-trodden industrial slave of the 19th Century factory as a 'Patriarch' is some perversion of language — but undoubtedly the

concept of the man as the head of the house is taking a long time to die.

But it is dying — unhappily more as a result of women becoming wage slaves than by changes of attitude on the part of men — just as changes in racial attitudes are changing more through assertion and achievement by blacks than by general enlightenment on the part of whites.

Among anarchists, the general concept of freedom for all has brought us for many years into the forefront of the struggle for sexual

freedom, with early demands for the spread of knowledge of birth control and abortion, just as it has made us fiercely opposed to racial discrimination. In both these areas, the motivation has been the extension of the freedom of the individual — as it has also been in our attitude to free education, which should be nothing more than the presentation of opportunities for children to proceed to learn at their own pace, in their own interests, preferably through integration with their communities, rather than by isolation in separate institutions.

HOW CAN YOU VOTE FOR THAT?

The basis of anarchism is that all individuals have the right to develop at their own pace, to satisfy their own needs (subject only to the proviso that they harm nobody else) and to find for themselves the ways in which they make their own contributions to society and the means by which they co-operate

with others for the common good.

Not only do you not need leaders for this but, almost by definition, leaders and hierarchies bring the kiss of death to such concepts. Where's the profit, where's the power? How can you vote for that?

The Electors' Strike

This article was written nearly a century ago by the French journalist and novelist Mirabeau, at a time when he had moved from the political right to the political left and was becoming involved with the anarchist movement. It was written during the election campaign of 1888, was first published in the conservative newspaper *Le Figaro* (on 28 November 1888), was immediately reprinted in the anarchist paper *La Revolte* (on 9 December 1888), and was then distributed as an anarchist leaflet during that and many subsequent elections. (The translation has been slightly altered, mainly to avoid several references to political parties and individuals whose names no longer mean anything.)

One thing which astonishes me wonderfully — I could say it stupefies me — is that in this scientific age when I am writing, after innumerable experiments, after daily scandals, there can still exist in 'our dear France' (as they say) an elector, a single elector — this irrational, inorganic, deluded animal, who agrees to disturb his business, his dreams and his pleasures, to vote in favour of someone or something. When one reflects for a single moment, doesn't this surprising phenomenon seem calculated to refute the most subtle philosophies and to contradict reason? Where is the novelist who will give us the physiognomy of the modern elector, and the psychologist who will explain to us the anatomy and mentality of this incurable lunatic? We await them.

I realise that a swindler always finds backers, censorship finds defenders, comic opera finds patrons, the gutter press finds readers, the President finds artists to celebrate his triumphal and rigid entry into a provincial town; I realise that a versifier persists in looking for rhymes; I realise all this. But that a Deputy, or a Senator, or a President, or anyone among all the strange buffoons who seek an elective position, whatever it may be, can find an elector — that is, the undreamt of creature, the unlikely martyr, who feeds you with his bread, dresses you with his cloth, fattens you with his flesh, enriches you with his money — with the sole prospect of receiving in exchange for his generosity some blows on the head and kicks on the behind, if not shots in the heart: in truth, this exceeds the already pretty pessimistic ideas I had acquired about human stupidity in general

and French stupidity in particular — our dear and immortal stupidity, by Jingo!

It will be understood that I am speaking here of the informed, convinced elector, the theoretical elector — the person who imagines himself (poor devil!) to be playing the part of the free citizen, exercising his opinions, imposing (oh admirable and baffling madness!) political programmes and social demands; and not of the elector who knows all about it and laughs at it, the person who sees in the results of all his power only a blow-out on right-wing meat or a booze-up on left-wing wine. To him his sovereignty means getting drunk at the expense of universal suffrage. He is correct, for this is all that matters to him, and he doesn't care about anything else. He knows what he is doing. But what about the others?

Ah yes, the others! The serious, austere, sovereign people, those who feel intoxicated when they look at each other and say, 'I am an elector! Nothing is done without me. I am the basis of modern society. By my will the Government makes laws which compel millions of people.' How can there still be people of this kind? However stubborn, proud and paradoxical they may be, how come they haven't long been discouraged and ashamed by their work? How can it happen that there may be found everywhere, from one end of the country to the other, a chap who is as stupid, as unreasonable, as blind to what may be seen, as deaf to what may be heard, to vote red, blue or yellow, without being forced to do so, without being paid or bribed to do so?

What curious sentiment, what

mysterious suggestion is really being followed by this thinking biped, endowed with free will, as is claimed, who goes off, proud of his right, assured that he is performing a duty, to deposit in some ballot box some vote with whatever name written on it? What can really be said to justify or even explain this extravagant action? What does he hope to get? For in the end, in order to consent to surrender to greedy masters who devour and bludgeon him, he must think and hope for something extraordinary which cannot be imagined. He must, through some powerful intellectual deviation, have ideas about Parliament like those about science, justice, devotion, work and honesty; he must be able to discover in Deputies' names some special magic, and to see in them as in a mirage a vision of future happiness and immediate relief blossoming and ripening. And this is what is truly frightening. Nothing teaches him a lesson, neither the most farcical comedies nor the most disastrous tragedies.

Yet during the long ages that the world has endured, that societies have unrolled and followed each other, one after the other, there is a single fact which dominates all history — protection for the great, destruction for the small. He can't understand that he has only one reason to exist in history — to pay for a pile of things he won't enjoy, and to die for political groups who don't care about him at all.

Does it matter to him whether it is one person or another who asks for his money or his life, when he is forced to give one and lose the other? Of course not. But between his robbers and his executioners he has preferences, and votes for the

more rapacious and the more ferocious. He voted yesterday, he will vote tomorrow, he will always vote. Sheep go to the slaughterhouse. But they don't say anything, they don't hope for anything. And at least they don't vote for the butcher who kills them, for the citizen who eats them. More beastly than the beasts, more sheepish than the sheep, the elector names his butcher and chooses his eater. He has made revolutions to acquire this right.

Oh fine elector, inexpressible idiot, poor wretch — if, instead of letting yourself be taken in by the absurd tales you are told each morning for a few pence in the papers, large and small, right-wing and left-wing, which are paid to fool you; if, instead of believing in the empty compliments with which your vanity is fed and your pathetic sovereignty is worn to tatters; if, instead of staring, eternal gaper, at the clumsy lies on the posters; if you would sometimes read Schopenhauer and Max Nordau, two thinkers who have long known all about you and your masters — then perhaps you would learn some amazing and useful things. Perhaps, too, after reading them, you would be less keen to resume your serious manner and fine clothes or to hurry anymore to those homicidal urns in which, whatever name you put, you are putting in advance the name of your mortal enemy. They would tell you, as judges of humanity, that politics is an abominable lie, and that everything about it is against good sense, justice and right, and that you should have nothing to do with it, you whose account is entered in the great book of human destiny.

Dream after that, if you wish,

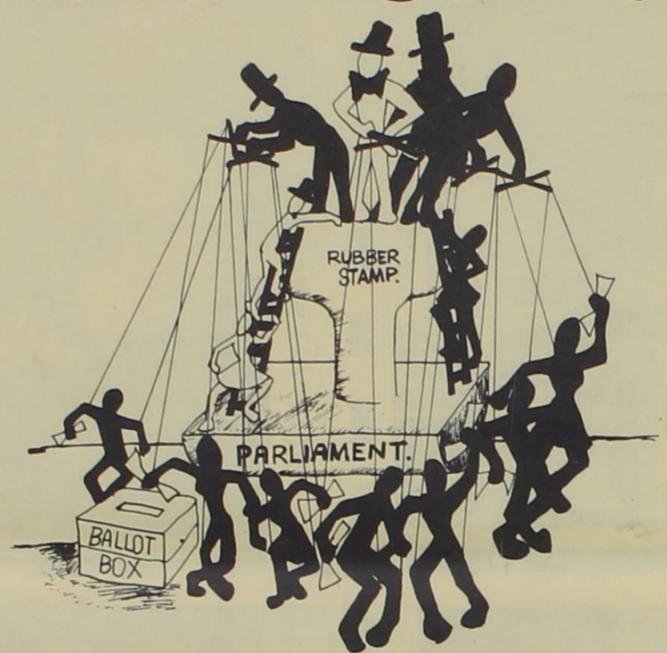
about heavens of light and perfume, about impossible fraternity, about unreal happiness. It is good to dream, and it relieves suffering. But never muddle a man with his dream, for where man is there too is pain and hate and murder. Above all, remember that the man who asks for your vote is by that action a dishonest man, because in exchange for the position and fortune which you hand him, he promises you a pile of marvellous things which he won't give you and which anyway he can't give you. The man you exalt represents neither your poverty, nor your aspirations, nor anything of yours; he represents only his own passions and his own interests, which are contrary to yours. To comfort yourself and to restore the hopes which would soon be deceived, don't imagine that the distressing spectacle you are taking part in today is unique to one age or one system and that it will pass. All ages and all systems are worth the same — that is, they are worth nothing. So go home, good fellow, and go on strike against universal suffrage. You have nothing to lose, I repeat; and it will amuse you for a time. At your door, closed to the beggars for political aims, you can watch the crowd go past, and smoke your pipe in silence.

And if there exists in some unknown place an honest man worthy to govern and love you, never mind. He would be too jealous of his dignity to get mixed up in the dirty party struggle, too proud to accept from you a gesture which you should never make except to cynical audacity, to insults, and to lies.

I tell you, good fellow, go home and go on strike

(Translated by N W)

WHY VOTE ?



BRIGHTON MARCH

On Thursday 28th April Brighton & Hove Unemployed Workers' Union staged a march through Brighton, calling on the local council to provide a new Unemployed Centre to replace the present cramped, decaying and badly-sited one.

Despite much pre-march publicity and about 17,000 local unemployed, only about 200 went on the march, and many of these were students. Labour council candidates took the opportunity to try to sell themselves.

The bureaucrats who run the Unemployed Union (in the absence of widespread everyday participation) had arranged with the police to hold a regimented and trouble-free march to the Town Hall, then hand in a petition. The march began very quietly. A few leftists struggled to read the words of 'The Red Flag'

from a songsheet, but were countered with chants against 'The State' and 'All Politicians' from the large anarchist contingent.

Those who strayed from the ordained pace and route of the march were apprehended by stewards and police. Three people were arrested, but the Unemployed Union bureaucrats preferred to dissociate themselves — arrests interfered with their planned spectacle of a well-ordered 'protest'. Whilst a large contingent went to the police station after the march to support those arrested, the rest were persuaded to crowd the public gallery at the Council meeting, booing Tories and cheering 'socialists', though both supported the Unemployed Centre 'in principle'.

The following day, a group of people, mostly unemployed,

squatted a big empty building in the centre of Brighton. This can operate as a temporary place to stay, a place to meet, share ideas, do creative things and have a good time. However long or short-term it turns out to be, hopefully it will be a catalyst for this area, suggesting direct action to claimants, the homeless and badly-housed and all those dispossessed by the system. It is also an answer to the legalistic minds in the Unemployed Union, who rejected squatting as a solution to their search for premises. Unfortunately for them, their dead-end 'campaigning', even when disguised as 'unemployed self-activity', does not interest the unemployed.

Brighton Anarchists

ALF TRIAL

Four animal rights activists have been convicted at Chelmsford Crown Court, of conspiring to steal beagles during an Animal Liberation Front raid on Life Science Research laboratories at Stock, Essex, on February 14th last year.

The verdict came on April 14th after the retrial of 5 activists when a previous jury failed to agree. All faced charges of conspiracy to cause £75,000 worth of damage to the laboratories, conspiring to steal beagles, criminal damage and theft.

Maggie Woonton was cleared of all charges, but Steve Davies, Mark Corsini, Linda Harman and Chris Davis were convicted of conspiracy to steal beagles and Steve and Mark were also found guilty of causing criminal damage.

Throughout the trial, the judge,

Brian Watling, did his utmost to ensure that the defendants were convicted — those found guilty are to appeal against conviction on at least 8 points.

The appeal cannot take place until after the four have been sentenced. This will not take place until June, as there are still at least 2 more trials to go, involving another 16 people.

Donations towards the legal expenses of the defendants should be sent to:

OPERATION VALENTINE
DEFENCE FUND,
c/o ALF
Box 190,
Peace News,
8 Elm Avenue,
Nottingham,
England.

▲ The Nottingham Anarchist Group has reformed with 20-25 people attending the initial meetings. Much of our time so far has been taken up in getting to know one another but we've been discussing the production of a poster/broadsheet, work around (un)employment, and working with CND in setting up a Peace Centre.

As it's likely we'll be active around the general election it's important that FREEDOM readers locally get in touch as soon as possible with the group at its new contact: Box A, Mushroom Bookshop, 10 Heathcote St, Nottingham. Tel: 582506.

NOTTINGHAM GROUP

MAY DAY MAY DAY

This is the text of a leaflet written by some Reading anarchists which was handed out at the May Day march in London.

Comrades — welcome once again to the May Day march and festival of alienation. You have been enrolled as a private in the stage army of the Left, so eyes front, back straight, and follow your leaders! There are lots of different leaders for you to follow, and choosing together can be fun!

For a start, there's the Labour Party, who advocate the gradual approach to social change (really good value if you plan to live forever), and spend a lot of their time propping up the capitalist system. Ask about their nationalisation scheme, where capitalist conditions of exploitation have been so faithfully reproduced that neither workers in the industry nor the consumers are able to distinguish between 'nationalisation' (TM) and the real thing.

More accomplished performers are the Communist Party, who, with a flourish (the swiftness of the hand deceives the eye), can turn the 'Capitalist State' into 'State Capitalism', and nobody can spot the difference.

The empty space in between is occupied by the various Bronsteinist factions such as the Swerps, Werps, and Twerps — more usually known as 'Trots', after their mentor Leon Trotsky, the Butcher of Kronstadt.

Organised labour will be represented by the Trades Union Congress — even they tried to organise a revolution once, but talks broke down when they couldn't get management to agree.

All these groups agree that work

is exploitation. Most work is about following orders, humiliation, and boredom. If you're lucky, you won't get an industrial disease. Yet, at the drop of a hat, any one of these organisations will whip you into the ranks of a 'Right to Work' march. In a farcical re-run of *Spartacus*, the slaves hammer on the gates of the slave-camp and demand to be let back in.

But seriously, folks — all the groups on this march today consider themselves to be part of the 'progressive' movement. The problem is that there is no more progress. Fights about health and safety at work, pay and conditions, trade union rights, the rights of the unemployed, cruise missiles, etc, have become, despite their very real importance, *rearguard* actions.

In the near future, you may get the chance to vote for one of these 'progressive' candidates. Your vote could make a difference — if your idea of 'making a difference' is a friendly nod and a few extra quid for your favourite good cause. But voting never *really* changes anything (if it did they'd make it illegal) — not one of these candidates will give you back your life. They have all fallen into the trap of reasonable demands and responsible negotiations. Negotiation is a ruse; we are going to take back *everything* — what is there to discuss?

By their 'reasonableness' and 'responsibility' the progressive parties have been rendered incapable of making any real social change. At the same time, more and more ordinary people are starting

to comprehend the enormous confidence trick which has been played on us all; more and more people wish the social system would go to hell. In the summer of 1981, 'riot-type' situations occurred in over sixty British towns. Over 4,000 people were arrested; over 700 were sent to prison. Can you imagine the bleatings of our elected representatives if this had happened in Gdansk or Chile?

The only person worth voting for is yourself. The only way we can each get what we want is to cooperate with each other. Stuff leaders, stuff saviours of the world, and stuff ideology — together we can create new living institutions, new groupings, new social relationships. We can provide for ourselves (we do already — who do you think keeps things running now?). We need to show that there are other ways of doing things.

It is not a matter of transforming private or state property, but of abolishing it; not of mitigating class difference, but of abolishing classes; not of 'improving' the present society, but of creating a new society; not of some partial success that would give rise to a new division, but of a thorough rejection of every new disguise of the old world.

If this kind of life looks interesting to you, then why not do something about it? It is amazing how much time you'll have to really rebuild your world when you give up all the time-wasting token gestures like marches, petitions, and elections. This could be our last chance to unmake history.

IN BRIEF

After earning our gratitude (last issue) for clarifying their position with regard to beach nudity, the Italian Supreme Court has somewhat spoiled things by contradicting themselves within a fortnight. They have now ruled that a female bather may only remove the top part of her costume if she has the consent of the majority of the people on the beach. They offer no advice on how to canvass such consent.

It has been reported that the only request of an Afghani elder to Princess Anne in her capacity as president of the Save the Children Fund was 'more guns'. Unfortunately, Her Majesty's Pushtu is not a strong point, so she had to rely on a translation. It would appear that the official interpreter is a communist agent, as his version was that this is 'a usual refugee request', so she missed her chance to contribute to the anti-Soviet effort.

Comment from the Prime Minister's press secretary, 'I can sympathise as well as understand the suspicion with which the media regards government and all its works, but it should not assume, as it often seems to do, that the government is by definition up to no good.'

Government ministers have said that amendments to the Obscene Publications Act should be left to Private Members.

NATIONAL

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

BASILDON
Are there any anarchists out there in Basildon, Essex area? Contact: Mark, 27 Little Lullaway, Basildon Essex.

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

BELFAST
Anarchist Collective, Just Books, 7 Wine-tavern St, Belfast

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

BRISTOL
Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 197 Cheltenham Road, Bristol 6

BURNLEY
BAG, c/o 2 Quarrybank

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

CARDIFF
c/o 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Rd, Cardiff 2
Whistle Blowers, Box 999, 108 Salisbury Rd

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

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

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

CUMBRIA
2 Forestry Cottages, Millfield, Hutton Roof, Penrith

DONCASTER
Doncaster Anarchist Centre, 49a Doncaster Market Place

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

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

FALKIRK
Black Balm, c/o Box 3, 488 Gt Western Rd, Glasgow.

FORMBY
Floating Free, 58 Freshfield Rd, Formby, Merseyside L3 73HW

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

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

HULL
Hull @ Group, 23 Nott St, (moving in Sept to 24 Albany St)
Libertarian Collective, 70 Perth HUS 3NZ

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

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

LANCASTER
Tadeusz Szczepanski, 38 Bradshaw St, LA1 3BE

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

LEEDS
Leeds Anarchist Group, Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge St, LS2 3AW
DAM + Federation of Leeds Anarchists, Box RU

LEICESTER
Blackthorn Books, 70 High St; Libertarian Education, 6 Beaconsfield Rd, (tel 552085)
The Anarchist Society, Societies' Room, Student's Union Building, University of Leicester, University Rd, LE1 7RH

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

LONDON
Anarchy Magazine, Box A 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1; FREEDOM Collective, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1 (01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube, nr Whitechapel Art Gallery.
Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1. Meet Thursdays 7pm
London Workers Group, 11 Leyden St, E1
121 Books/Anarchist Centre, 121 Raitton Rd, London SE24 Tel: 274 6655
Anarchist-Feminist Newsletter, c/o 121 Raitton Rd, SE24
Pigs for Slaughter, c/o Raitton Rd
South London Anarchist Group (SLAG) c/o 121 Raitton Rd
South London DAM, c/o Raitton Rd SE24
South London Stress, c/o 121 Raitton Rd SE24
Squatters Defence Network, c/o 121 Raitton Rd SE24
Toxic Graffiti, c/o 121 Raitton Rd, SE24
Martin Nicholas, 186 Mount Pleasant Rd, London N17

MALVERN
and Worcester area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storridge, Worcestershire

MANCHESTER
'Wildcat' or 'Solidarity' at: Box 25, 164/5 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, M4 3BN
DAM, Box 20, 164/66 Corn Exchange Bldgs, Hanging Ditch, M4.

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

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

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

NOTTINGHAM
Anarchist Group, Box A, Mushroom Bookshop, 10 Heathcote St. 582506
Jackie Veevers, 7 Irene Tce, Basford
Individuals Anonymous 12p sae, above address

OLDHAM
Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Failsworth

ORPINGTON
Rik Fuller, 60 Ramsden Rd, Orpington, Kent

OXFORD
Oxford Anarchists, 34 Cowley Rd

PLYMOUTH
Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Ave, Penny-cross

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

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

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

SHEFFIELD
Libertarian Society, PO Box 168, Sheffield 1
Black Rat, c/o Students Union, Sheffield University
Anarchists, c/o 4 Havelock Square S10 2FQ

SOUTHAMPTON
c/o 78 Northumberland Road, St Mary's

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

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

SURREY
Damp Squid Anarchists (North Surrey) Tel: 01-399 3197

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

SWANSEA
Anarchist Group, Box 5, Neges, 31 Alexandra Road, Swansea.
Billy, 63 Clynymaes Place, Blaenymaes, Swansea

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

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

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

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

MEETINGS

The next meeting of the London Anarchist Federation will be held at 8pm on Saturday 21 May at the Prince Albert pub in Kings Cross, N1, (not the Metropolitan as previously stated). This is on the corner of Wharfedale Rd and Balfe St and the nearest tube is Kings Cross.

Welsh Anarchist Conference
4-5 June at URDD Centre, Conway Rd, Pontcanna, Cardiff.
Saturday 10-8 - Workshops
Sunday 11-5 - Setting up
Welsh @ Federation
Creche & accommodation available.
Meet Friday evening June 3
Bristol Hotel (Lounge), Penarth Rd, Nr Railway Station, Cardiff.
Contact: Box 666, 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Rd, Cathays, Cardiff.

DESIRES

HELP! Two alienated anarchists Ste + Milly (who is pregnant) plus dog are looking for an anarchist community (self-sufficient if possible) which needs new members. I (Ste) would also like to offer my help or start anarchist posters to promote freedom + peace. If you think you can help in any of the above don't hesitate to write to: 41 Baxters Green, Shirley, Solihull W. Midlands B902RT.

I am hoping to compile an anthology of poetry inspired by the Greenham Common Experience. Work by women & poetry a priority but short stories & work by men considered. Artwork also welcomed. Contributions please, by end June, to: Pat Van Twest, c/o Womens Centre, 44 The Grove, Bristol 1. (SAE for returns, please.) Phone 0272-737580

We would like to hear from other anarchist groups in England, particularly alternative education collectives. Tolstoy College is a 14 year old teaching collective that strongly identifies with the anarchist tradition. We are always interested in making contact with other groups, both here and abroad and appreciate being on your mailing list. Pass our name along:- 107 Townsend Hall, Main Campus Buffalo, New York 14214 Tel (716) 831-3098

BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

Feminism
Feminism & Nonviolence Study Group: Piecing it Together: Feminism & Nonviolence (58pp ppr) £1.50 (27p)
*Wendy McElroy (Ed): Freedom, Feminism & the State: An Overview of Individualist Feminism (357pp ppr) £7.50 (95p)
[we can give full trade terms - plus postage - on this title].

Fiction
William Godwin: Caleb Williams or Things as they Are (351pp ppr) £2.50 (45p)
Mordecai Rushward: Level 7 (139pp ppr) £1.95 (39p)
[perhaps the finest novel yet to

appear on the subject of Nuclear Holocaust].
Alexandra Kollantai
Cathy Porter: Alexandra Kollantai: A Biography, (537pp ppr) £5.50 (95p)
Alexandra Kollantai: Love of Warfar Bees (232pp ppr) £2.95 (45p)
A Miscellany
*Edward Hallett Carr: The Romantic Exiles: A Nineteenth Century Portrait Gallery (Bakunin, Herzen & Ogarev) (391pp ppr) £8.50 (95p)
*Peter Kropotkin: Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution (362pp ppr) £4.95 (95p)
*Murray Bookchin: The Ecology of Freedom (385pp ppr) £6.95 (95p)

DEFICIT FUND
Donations Received: April 28th - May 11th Incl
Cambridge A C W £1.00; London SE26 J A B £5.00; Oxford J C S £1.00; London N17 G R £12.50; Wolverhampton J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; Wolverhampton J L £1.50; J K W £0.50 (again!); Leeds A C £3.00; London NW5 N B £1.00; Chelmsford E H A £1.50; M G £0.50; London SW6 A D £1.00; Harley J T £1.25; Brighton M A £0.85.
TOTAL = £32.60
Previously acknowledged = £482.77
TOTAL TO DATE = £515.37
TARGET FOR 1983 = £2000!

PREMISES FUND
Donations Received: April 28th - May 11th Incl
Brantree A G £4.85; London N17 G R £12.50; Wolverhampton J L £6.00; Leeds A C £3.00; Dortmund P F W £3.00; London SE15 T C £0.50; Doncaster P F £0.20; Farnborough L Y £1.00.
TOTAL = £31.05
Previously acknowledged = £350.25
TOTAL TO DATE = £381.30
TTARGET FOR 1983 = £1,500
Friends, A third of the year is over. We have received a total of nearly £900 of our £3,500 targets. This means we are already about £300 behind schedule

Continued from front page
ignoble tradition by teaming up with the SDP, despite their completely antagonistic policies on many central issues. The SDP must be the most sickening even amongst this lamentable crew. One of the few consolations of the election is that many of them, being renegade Labour MPs, will be annihilated.
Voting for any of these people is

a total waste of time. Worse, to quote the old slogan, it encourages them. It gives legitimisation to their claims to 'represent' us. Some people are tempted by the snare of 'lesser evilism'; the Tories being class enemies, labour a load of shit - but at least they're better than the Tories. Even *Peace News* is toying with this argument. Look at it this way: how many out and out, blatant bits of fascist legislation

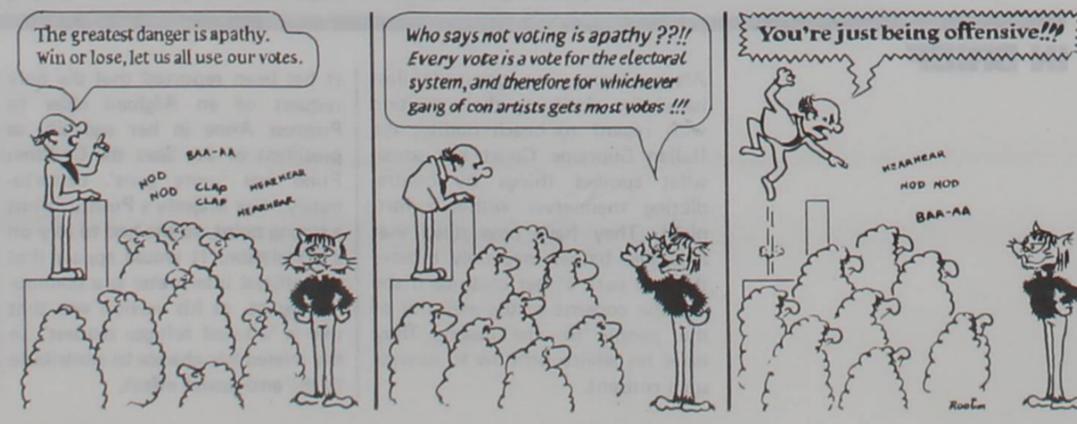
have the Tories got through? Is their record any worse in this respect than a party that produced, say, the Prevention of Terrorism Act? So, where is the difference? The difference is in style, tone and rhetoric.
When we come down to it, they will tell whatever lies they think are necessary. They will break any promise as it becomes expedient. They will provide a circus. Meanwhile, the true government, the admin-

istration, goes on, irrespective of which public face it wears. And that administration steadily gains more power over every aspect of daily life, for 'our' own good. Until we refuse to allow this, it will continue. And the puppets out front continue to strut and fret, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.
Don't pander to their insecurities. Don't give them the satisfaction. Don't vote.

DEADLINES

FREEDOM Collective would welcome any readers who wish to help fold and despatch the paper. The next issue will be sent out on Thursday 2nd June, 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 30th May, longer articles in by first post, Thursday the 26th.

WILDCAT



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

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