

# FREEDOM 50p

ANARCHIST MAGAZINE

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## HOLIDAY HOMES

### AND HOUSING SHORTAGE

FOR the past few years, firebomb attacks have been made on holiday homes in rural areas of Wales, and communiques have been issued, allegedly from political groupings, claiming these actions as part of a campaign to deter well-to-do people from the adjacent industrialised areas of the English Midlands from buying country cottages, and in so doing pushing up property prices thus preventing less well-to-do local people from acquiring homes.

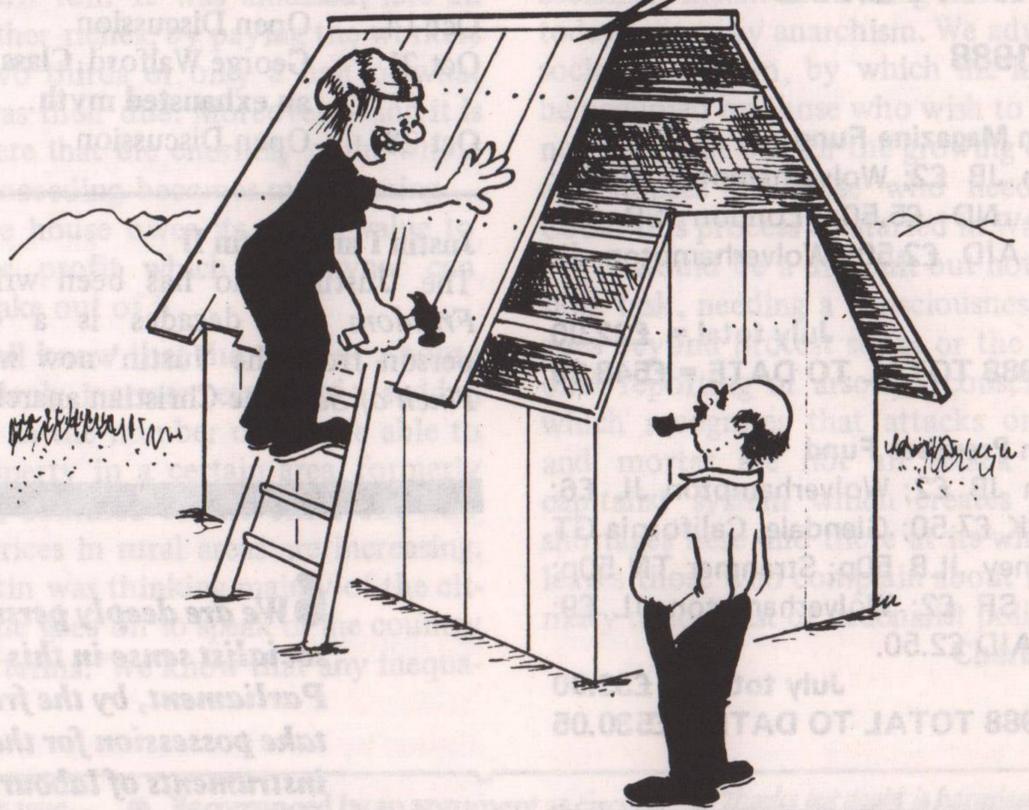
It will immediately be asked how the burning of houses can solve a housing problem, but anyone acquainted with the Welsh political scene will understand that such acts, whether well-intentioned or malicious, and whether effective or not, only come about as a result of the despair felt by many Welsh people at the economic and political pressures which are destroying the basis of Welsh culture, and the rural communities which largely support it.

The most public expression of that culture is the National Eisteddfod, that gathering of poets, writers and choirs which is held each August and which to the English eye, seeing only the robed figures and the ceremonial, looks like some sort of quaint ritual; but it is an event of the highest importance which attracts numerous visitors from all over Wales. Although the Eisteddfod is non-political, it is natural that the joyful atmosphere spills over from the Eisteddfod field into the local pubs, where naturally some of the talk is of a political nature. This year the event is to be held at Newport, Gwent, and no doubt the Gwent constabulary will be discreetly in the background, making sure that the law is observed.

A Welsh popular music group named Anhrefn (the word may be translated into English as 'anarchy', but only in the sense of disorder or confusion) was booked for a gig at a disco club in Newport for the fourth of August, but the manager of the club cancelled the booking after a visit from the police 'who', she is quoted as saying, 'suggested' she cancel the event 'for the club's sake'. Perhaps she had in mind the future renewal of her licence.

We quote from the *South Wales Argus* (28 July): 'Chief Superintendent Arthur

If nobody buys it for a holiday cottage, it's a chicken coop.



Jones, of Newport police, said they had no evidence that the concert would have been disorderly. He stressed that they were merely making the club manager aware of the connection between the group and Class War'.

In the same issue the *South Wales Argus* in its editorial first condemns the campaign to burn holiday cottages, then condemns Class War 'who openly support the arson campaign and are dedicated to "the overthrow of capitalism"'. It then goes on to question the action of the police:

There is a slight but sinister risk that this could be introducing political considerations into the normally apolitical stance of the police... the police could be in danger of treading an extremely narrow line.

And we are minded of the famous edict of Voltaire: 'I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it'.

#### Facts and opinions

Before we go on to comment, let us ascertain the facts as reported in the *Argus*. It seems that Anhrefn had taken part in a 'Rock against the Rich' tour organised by Class War, and was going to call its cancelled gig 'Rock against the Eisteddfod', which its spokesman Rhys Mwyn describes as 'sloganeering which should not be taken too seriously'. More seriously, the *South Wales Argus* tells us that Class War 'are believed to raise money for the holiday home arson campaign'.

Now, we do not believe Class War is raising money for the arson campaign (though we do not believe either that it would be successful, were it to bring an action for libel against the *Argus*). It is true that the latest issue of *Class War* (no. 29) carries a short article stating that 'firebomb attacks on holiday homes owned by the rich have continued', under the headline 'Keep the Home Fires Burning'; but this seems to be in line with its

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## Book now for Book Fair 1988

THIS years Anarchist Bookfair will be held on Saturday October 8th at Conway Hall. At the moment we need all possible stallholders to contact us (*New Anarchist Review*) at 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. The cost of the Hall and the publicity comes from the stallholders, who pay 10% of their takings on the day. We are asking for a £10 deposit for a full table (a fiver for a half) which will be non-refundable. Last year space was in short supply and it seems likely that those who have not paid a deposit will have no table space.

There will be a social in the evening, so if you have any ideas or offers of help (for example with the creche or with publicity) please contact us at the above address.

New Anarchist Review

## London Anarchist Forum

Monday 5 September at 8pm in the North Room at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1, Open Discussion. Subsequent meetings on **Fridays**, at Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, WC1 (Behind Southampton Row, opposite Russell Square. Meetings start 8.00pm, Forum people usually in ground floor cafe beforehand).

- Sept 23 Charles Crute (an editor of *Freedom*): **Anarchist publishing, problems and prospects**
- Sept 30 Open Discussion
- Oct 7 Peter Neville, **Anarchism and civilisation**
- Oct 14 Open Discussion
- Oct 21 George Walford, **Class politics; an exhausted myth.**
- Oct 28 Open Discussion

### Justin I and Justin II

The 'Justin' who has been writing for *Freedom* for decades is a different person from the 'Justin' now writing in *Pinch of Salt*, the Christian anarchist mag.

The Raven 5 is now ready. On the front is a drawing of a totem pole, to illustrate an article by George Woodcock, 'Raven, the Prometheus of the Indians'. Inside are some delightful new illustrations to the Bestiary poems of Kenneth Rexroth, by Clifford Harper. Other articles include Caroline Robertson on Victor B. Neuberg, Brian Richardson on Modern Architecture, Colin Ward on the Thinner City, George Walford on the Source of Anarchism, L Susan Brown on Anarchism and Human Nature, and an account of the Spies for Peace after twenty-five years. 96 pages, £2.50 post free.



**‘We are deeply persuaded that if anything is to be done in a socialist sense in this country, it will be accomplished outside Parliament, by the free initiative of British workmen, who will take possession for themselves of capital, land, houses, and instruments of labour, and then combine in order to start life on the new lines of local independence.**

**Parliamentary rule is capital rule. It has served its time. No Parliament, however noisy, will help to accomplish the Social Revolution. And it is not to parliamentary rule that the revolted workmen will look for the economic and political reorganisation of the People.**

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## HOLIDAY HOMES

continued from front page

policy of giving approval to violent actions carried out by other people.

Who believes it? We find it difficult to believe that experienced police officers believe any such thing. Most likely they were just going round trying to nip any potential trouble in the bud!

In the second place, the *South Wales Argus* condemns those who are dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism, which includes ourselves, and asks only that police should not overstep 'the narrow line' that is go beyond their *legitimate* concerns, which are of course primarily the rights of property. Property rights are the foundation of the capitalist system, by which everything that is produced is for the benefit of the few and not for the benefit of all, and the justification for the existence of the state.

We have no doubt that the police would defend to their own deaths if necessary the rights of property owners; but if *South Wales Argus* wants to defend 'to the death' (or at least to the last drop of ink) the rights of Anhrefn to sing protest songs, let it find the group another venue in which to perform, and for ourselves we hope it will continue to give pleasure to its fans.

And to Anhrefn and the young class warriors, and anyone else who might still be reading, let us say that were it not for the 'rights of property' there would be no housing problem, since we have the natural and human resources to build houses for everyone, indeed two houses for those who want them. (We can even satisfy the

desires of those who may answer those curious advertisements in the 'situations vacant' columns of the press, which tell us 'A year ago, I was unemployed. Now I have three houses. Would you like to be like me?') In a sane society there would be no need for the (relatively) well-to-do to escape from the workday life of the cities to rural retreats, no cause for the destruction of rural life or national cultures.

### Kropotkin was right

Kropotkin, in *The Conquest of Bread*, says that dwelling houses are in no sense due to those whom the State recognises as their owners:

The house was not built by its owner. It was erected, decorated, and furnished by innumerable workers ... the money spent by the owner was not the product of his own toil. It was amassed, like all other riches, by paying the workers two thirds or only a half of what was their due. Moreover — and it is here that the enormity of the whole proceeding becomes most glaring — the house owes its actual value to the profit which the owner can make out of it.

We all know that the value of a house can suddenly increase because of a sudden increase in the number of people able to buy property in a certain area; formerly this was confined to the cities but now house prices in rural areas are increasing. Kropotkin was thinking mainly of the cities, but he goes on to speak of the country in these terms: 'We know that any inequa-

lity which may exist between town and country in the early days of the revolution will be transitory and of a nature that will right itself from day to day; for the village will not fail to improve its dwellings as soon as the peasant has ceased to be a beast of burden of the farmer, the merchant, the money-lender, and the State ...'

And hasn't Mrs Thatcher built up the philosophy of a 'property-owning democracy'? Well, the answer to the question of second homes, or holiday homes, is EXPROPRIATION, a taking over of houses by those who most need to live in them. 'Stay where you are', says Kropotkin, 'but rent free. No more duns and collectors. Socialism has abolished all that!' By 'Socialism', Kropotkin did not mean what we think of today as Labour Party socialism: you pay rent on your council house, built by loans from the banks to pay for the landowners. When Kropotkin wrote, socialism meant something like what we, today, mean by anarchism. We advocate a social revolution, by which the land will be occupied by those who wish to work it not for profit but for the growing of food, and houses by those who need them. Could this process be started in Wales?

It would be a difficult but not impossible task, needing a consciousness which goes beyond protest songs or the sensational reporting of arson, a consciousness which recognises that attacks on bricks and mortar are not an attack on the capitalist system which creates housing shortages here and there at its whim, and leaves those who complain about it to the mercy of socialist or nationalist politicians.

Charlie Crute

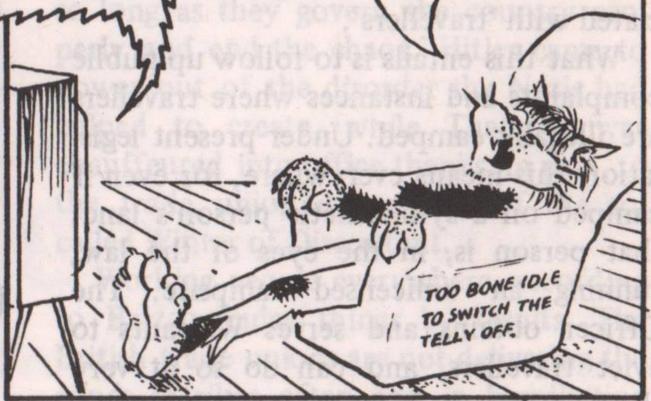
### WILDCAT

Friends:  
I will tell you how  
to withstand doubt.

We know that what the bible says is true.  
The bible says the bible is true.  
Therefore what the bible says **must** be true.

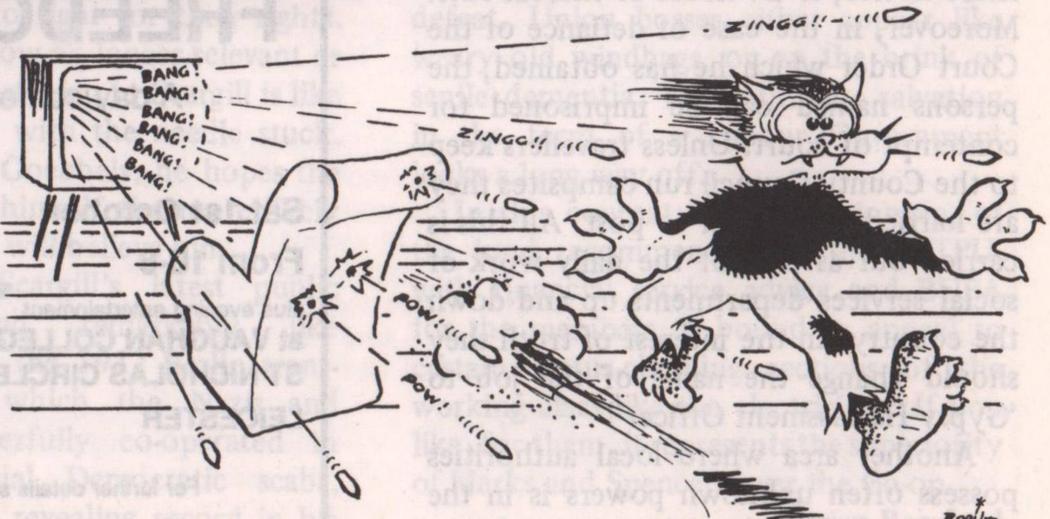
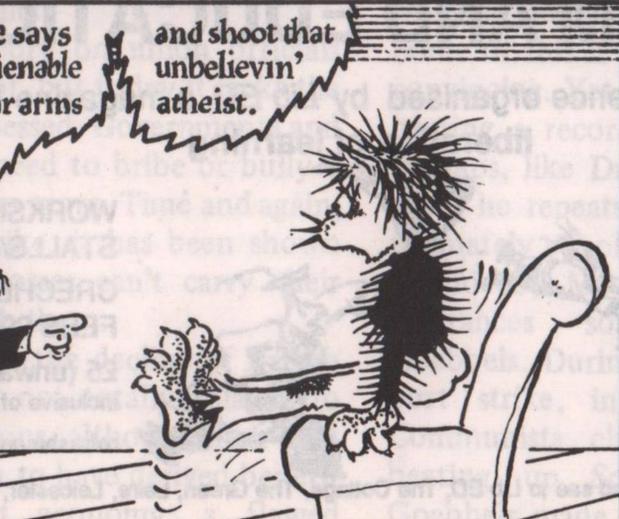
Be convinced by an argument as circular  
as that, and there is no argument  
by which you can be unconvinced.

Thanks but doubt is harmless. Now  
tell us how to withstand religion.



Friends: the bible says  
you have the inalienable  
right to bear arms

and shoot that  
unbelievin'  
atheist.



# Conning the People

WATCHING Big Brother Neil Kinnock's much praised Party Political Broadcast in the run up to the June '87 General Election, one could have been forgiven for thinking, as he defended Labour's post war record and the Welfare State, that these services: Hospitals, Old Peoples Homes, Home-Helps etc were provided free of charge to those in need. I did not notice any politician at the time say anything to the contrary; indeed the thrust of the Tory propaganda was to persuade us that the NHS and Welfare State was 'safe in our hands'.

Now we all know that in reality resources have to be provided to run such services and that currently the principle means of doing so is provided via means of national taxation in the form of PAYE and NI deductions from wages, and locally in the form of rates. Even in a transitional society to anarchism resources would still have to be used for such purposes.

However, what did not feature in Kinnock's speech is that there is an unseen, and largely unknown side to the work of the social services departments throughout the country. I am not referring to the 'social worker = soft cop' theme, 'hard cop' and 'debt collector/landlord' are the words which spring to mind!

All Social Services Departments throughout the country have an Officer, entitled in my area's case the 'Gypsy Liaison Officer', whose task is to ensure the quiet and smooth operation of the local 'travellers' campsites, which are administered by the local authorities, and to deal with other related problems associated with 'travellers'.

What this entails is to follow up public complaints and instances where travellers are illegally camped. Under present legislation this means everywhere, for even if camped on a sympathetic person's land, that person is, in the eyes of the law, running an unlicensed campsite. The Officer obtains and serves Warrants to evict travellers, and can do so at very short notice, ie 24 hours or thereabouts. Moreover, in the case of defiance of the Court Order which he has obtained, the persons named can be imprisoned for contempt of court. Unless travellers keep to the County Council run campsites they are harried from pillar to post. All this is carried out as part of the daily work of social services departments up and down the country. In the interest of truth they should change the name of the job to 'Gypsy Harrassment Officer'!

Another area where local authorities possess often unknown powers is in the assessment of residential accommodation

charges for elderly people living in local authority old peoples homes, or part III accommodation as it is known to the bureaucrats. These powers are held under the provisions of the Supplementary Benefits Act 1976, and the National Assistance Act 1948.

This accommodation is not free. In my area the local home varies from £31.60pw to £137.34pw. The charge depends on the level of your finances, but essentially is worked out on the basis of the local authority taking all your pension and superannuation and leaving you a 'Personal Allowance' of £7.90pw. If you own a house the value of that is taken into consideration also, as is any other money or savings you possess. If you resist the pressure to sell your house, on admission to the home a 'legal charge' on the value of the property is obtained. This means that on your death your friendly social services department has the first claim on your estate after payment of funeral expenses. The authorities only allow you a mere £1200 in savings before they start including them in their calculations. They then take 25p pw for every £50 you hold over £1200. It may not sound much but a typical assessment looks like this:

Savings	£ 3,000
Proceeds of Sale of House	£40,000
	£43,000
less disregard	£ 1,200
Total	£41,800

divided by 50 = 836 assessable units  
 836 multiplied by 25p = £209pw from Capital  
 plus Retirement pension £39.50  
 = £248.50pw accommodation charge  
 Of course the actual figure charged is only the 'full cost', as they call it, of

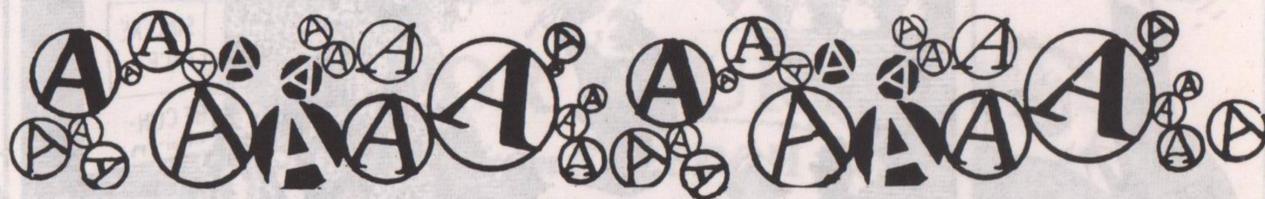
£137.34 per week but usually any worker who owns a house will find themselves in this position. The house which they have spent their working lives obtaining is taken from them by the local authority.

So not only have workers to pay for the NHS and Welfare State via taxation and rates all their working lives, but their very homes and savings are taken also. This is not a redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor, it is the state grabbing even more of workers assets for itself. When Proudhon said 'Property is Theft' it was not workers houses he had in mind!

Comrades considering leaving their homes to Friends of Freedom Press Ltd please note; there are some ways around the above difficulties, the most effective being to transfer the ownership of your home to a trust of which the FOFP are the beneficiaries but to retain for yourself a 'life interest' in the property. This means that you retain the right to live in, and even to move the location of your home, but as YOU don't legally own it the local authority cannot consider it as part of your assets should you have to, for reasons of frailty, illness etc allow yourself to be admitted to an old peoples home, and on your death the value of your home can then go, if you so wish, to the FOFP instead of filling the coffers of the local authority. Making a will alone is not enough, as a local authorities right to your money will have first claim on your estate, and leave little resources for your wishes to be enacted.

So next time round comrades, when Labour and other politicians start proclaiming on the privilege of our 'free' NHS and the Welfare State ... you have been warned.

Jonathan Simcock



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# Divorce TUC Style

AS THE WAR for members heats up between the trade unions, the divorce of the electrician's union, the EETPU, from the Trades Union Congress looks likely. An inevitable consequence of the shrinking membership that economic hard times, and a skilled Government have inflicted upon the labour movement.

The declining density of trade union membership is forcing the unions into cut throat competition with each other. Now only about one third of Britain's workers are in a union. With the volume of total TUC members down to just over 9 million from more than 12 million in the 1970s, it is difficult to see how the Bridlington Agreement, which bans the poaching of members between TUC unions, can hold.

Up to now the struggle has focused on the fight for members on the so-called Green Field Sites, where some unions have sought single union deals. In many cases this resulted in the bosses picking and choosing the union they want for their workers, following a 'beauty contest' put on by the rival unions. Often this has got the employers a 'sweetheart agreement' with a no-strike clause.

The EETPU has been in the forefront in pioneering such deals. On some occasions, such as Ryan Electrical, the union has conscripted a workforce in defiance of their own stated desire to join another union, and in conflict with TUC guidelines.

The refusal by the EETPU to keep to the TUC code for single union deals, has led to the latest clash resulting in the union's probable suspension. If, as expected, it results in the expulsion of the electricians at the TUC Congress in the Autumn, it will mean open warfare for members, especially in firms where the electricians are in a minority.

## Old ideas

It used to be commonplace in left-wing journals to see the British union bosses described as traitors bent on selling out their members. This is how *Direct Action* (anarcho-syndicalist), in a leading article 'Scabs Fall Out', represents the current TUC conflict.

The Judas theory on union officials is a handy concept, but today it lacks the force it once possessed. Governments and employers don't need to bribe or bully a General without an army. Time and again, in strike after strike, it has been shown that the union bosses can't carry their own members with them.

The reasons for the decline of British trade unions are not totally related to economic conditions, although their past successes do seem to have derived benefit from a buoyant economy; a flawed

ideology underlies their degeneration. In the main the ideas of the British trade unions were formulated at the turn of the Century: an odd mixture of Marxism, Syndicalism, and Fabian Socialism. None of these creeds could forecast the development of sophisticated capitalism in the late twentieth century.

Anarchists ought not to gloss over these problems, which require further clarification.

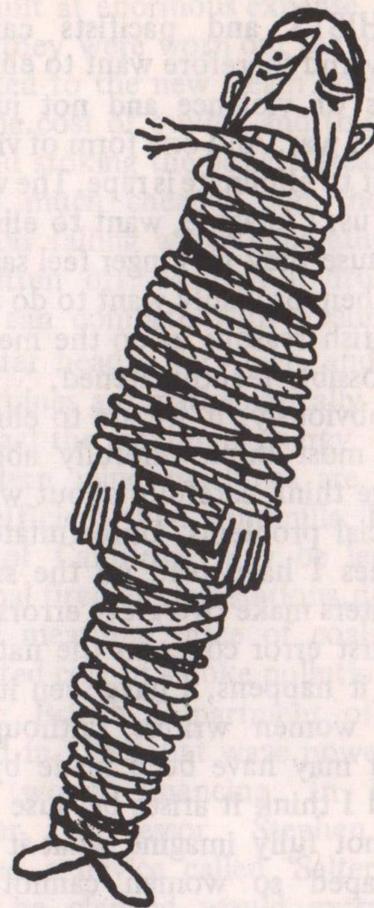
Fabianism in the Labour Party, advocates gradual change, and control from the top down. Once described by Malcolm Muggeridge as 'Pursuing truth through facts and arriving at fantasy, seeking deliverance through power and arriving at servitude', it has dominated the values of main stream British trade unionism, and has been in consequence a source of its greatest weakness.

Labour Party Fabianism, by proposing centralism at the expense of local autonomy, undermines trade union initiative at the grass roots. Successive Labour Governments by promoting the Fairy Godmother vision of the State — beer and sandwiches for the TUC hierarchy at Downing Street; incorporation of the unions into the business of Government; perks and paid time-off work for shop stewards on union business; redundancy laws and other protective labour legislation for the workers — all drained the trade unions of their independent responsibilities and stamina. Consequently since the coming of the Thatcher government, trade unions have increasingly come to look like children who have lost their parents.

Syndicalism, that other great strand of British trade unionism, suffered a blow with the defeat of the miners during their strike. It seems clear that Scargill and his executive pursued crudely syndicalist methods during the strike. That this approach failed must now demand rigorous analysis by serious anarcho-syndicalists.

My view is that at the start of this century syndicalism provided some powerful myths and maxims, which inflamed working people to fight for their rights. Some of this is now no longer relevant or convincing. Yet listening to Scargill is like hearing a record with the needle stuck. Perhaps, like Dr Goebbels, he hopes the more he repeats himself the more likely ultimately people will believe him.

Indeed, Mr Scargill's latest public utterances sound remarkably like Goebbels. During the 1932 Berlin transport strike, in which the Nazis and Communists cheerfully co-operated in beating up Social Democratic scabs, Goebbels made a revealing record in his



diary: 'Our party apparatus works splendidly. In every clash our men are leading the violence. There are already four dead and countless wounded, both among workers and the police. The authorities say that the financial conditions of the transport company make it impossible to grant the workers' requests. These considerations are no concern of ours. An opposition has a right to ask even what the government cannot give.'

There is a danger in the kind of simple minded syndicalism portrayed by Scargill, which can't think beyond the latest strike. It tends to produce a public state of mind which says: 'I don't care who comes next so long as they govern the country properly and end the chaos.' Hitler came to power out of the disorder the Nazis had helped to create, while Thatcher was chauffeured into office thanks, in part, to the trade union disruptions of the so-called Winter of Discontent.

Working people everywhere, according to Balzac, judge things by results. The British trade unions are not delivering the goods. Strikes often end in humiliating defeat. Union bosses either appear like weary old windbags, or on the brink of senile dementia. Their ultimate salvation in the form of a Labour Government looks a long way off.

In this context business unionism, of the kind recommended by the EETPU, with financial service advice and BUPA for the members, is bound to appeal to certain status-climbing sections of the working class like the electricians. If you like, for them, it represents the superiority of Marks and Spencers over the Co-op.

Brian Bamford

# Rape and the State

ANARCHISTS and pacifists care for humanity and therefore want to eliminate all forms of violence and not just the violence of war. And one form of violence they want to eliminate is rape. The women amongst us, I imagine, want to eliminate rape because they no longer feel safe, but most of them probably want to do so also for unselfish reasons as do the men who cannot possibly feel threatened.

But, obviously, if we are to eliminate rape we must think carefully about it, just as we think carefully about war and other social problems. Unfortunately, in the articles I have read on the subject, many writers make two grave errors.

The first error concerns the nature of men. As it happens, I have seen it made only by women writers (although, of course, it may have been made by men also), and I think it arises because just as men cannot fully imagine what it is like to be raped so women cannot fully imagine what it is like to rape. Therefore, we read such statements as, 'All men are capable of rape,' and, 'Most men rape or attempt to rape at some time during their lives.' These statements are absolute nonsense and are made without the slightest shred of evidence. I think they are made because the writers concerned think that just because a man has a penis he must be capable of using it under any circumstances. The statements are untrue because if a man is to rape he must not only be physically capable of it but also mentally capable of it.

And probably most men are certainly not mentally capable of rape. I was never taught directly but learnt to respect females from the example of my family and contemporaries. I learnt that while I had to defend myself from other males on no account was I to hurt a female, not even in retaliation or defence. Females were weaker than males and no matter

what they did they had to be protected at all times. As a result of this upbringing and no doubt because of my inborn nature which is common to all of us, I could never use undue persuasion to make a woman accept me physically, much less force her to do so by violence. If I was forcing myself on a woman, I should be too much concerned with her fright and physical suffering to have an erection, much less an orgasm. Of course, I would never attempt to rape because I would never want to hurt a female and I do not have the personality that needs to be violent to satisfy it.

Now the point is that there must be many, many more men like me. In fact, the majority. Most men today have not had the same upbringing as myself (because I belong to an older generation), but to assume that they have no chivalrous or protective attitude is to do them a grave disservice. Men need a loving, or at least a friendly relationship, to have sex. Therefore it is extremely unrealistic for women to assume that all men are their natural enemies. Most of them are their natural allies who want to do all they can to protect them. (It is, however, understandable when women judge the many by the few. If I could not go out alone without protection, I would feel the same. But I would be wrong!)

Saying that men have an instinct to rape is erroneous and dangerous because it is on a par with saying that men have an instinct of aggression. If we accept that men have an instinct to fight, then we must believe that it is impossible to eliminate attacks on women.

The second error arises when pacifists and others equate rape with war. It is quite common to read that rape and war have the same roots and the implication is that both have a common cause. But there is no common cause. Both rape and

war are possible only because some men share a common weakness. (They are all capable of using violence under certain circumstances.) But that is not the same thing as saying that both rape and war take place for the same reason. Far from it. Some men, for example, are gifted with dexterity, and these men can make good forgers or surgeons. But one would not say that forgery and surgery have the same roots. So if we want to eliminate both rape and war, we have to think of them separately and not imagine that they are intimately connected.

Some men rape today because they have a certain kind of character, and that character is formed by their environment as they live in it. All of us have different environments and so all of us have different characters. But we all share one common general environment: the state. Depending on personal experiences in our early years, the state has a different effect of each of us. Some men who have become violent and aggressive will, with the example of government violence before them, become rapists. Their characters have become so twisted that they need the satisfaction which only the ultimate domination of women can give. Wars, on the other hand, have a number of causes but they exist mainly because the state pattern of society needs them for its continuance. And when wars are fought, they are not fought by men who are working out their frustration and aggression, as men are when they rape, but by loving family men who have been either forced to fight or hoodwinked so that they volunteer to fight.

To confuse the aggression of the rapists with the aggression of soldiers in war is a grave error, and if we continue to do it, it will make the elimination of both very difficult.

If we eliminated all the personal violence in the world and retained the states, we would still have wars. But if we eliminated the states and created our ideal free society (which we would have to do when we abolished the states), we should not only eliminate wars but also the rapists and the other violent personalities because there will be no deleterious environment to create their bad characters. We cannot eliminate war by eliminating the violent personalities, but we can eliminate the violent personalities by eliminating war. Therefore, while doing what we can to eliminate the effects of rape now, most of our time should be concentrated on the abolition of war, and that means that most of our energy should be concentrated on the abolition of the states.

Derrick A Pike

## Questioning Technology

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Edited and Introduced by Alice Carnes & John Zerzan

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# Alternative energy and 'unfair debts'

SOURCES of energy other than muscle power are usually classified into chemical, nuclear, and 'alternative'. None of them provide energy for free. If a forest dweller makes a wood fire for cooking there is no money involved, but there is cost consisting of the wood burned plus the labour of collecting and stacking it, plus the effort of igniting it, plus the damage caused by the fire. If the forest dweller has access to trade, s/he may decide it is less costly to sell something and buy a box of matches than to keep on igniting wood by friction. Any comparison of different energy sources must assign a value to every item of cost: fuel, transport, construction of plant, maintenance, pollution, danger, protection; and divide the total cost by the total useful energy produced (waste heat not counting as useful).

Inevitably there are disagreements; the coal lobby and the nuclear power lobby tend to underestimate the pollution and danger, and the renewable resources lobby to underestimate the cost of development and construction, relative to the expected returns. There is also malpractice. A recent report by a House of Lords Committee turns up what looks at first glance like a conspiracy to nobble a wave power project, though an innocent explanation may yet be revealed.

## Chemical energy

By far the oldest method of producing heat, and by far the commonest method still, is to burn organic material. This releases carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, including carbon from 'storage' in wood and fossil fuels. So far this has not produced a discernible increase in atmospheric carbon dioxide; every slight increase has produced a corresponding increase in plant growth, mainly in the upper few metres of the oceans (the 'oxygen factory' of the earth), and the carbon has passed through food chains back into 'storage' in the ooze on the ocean floor. For decades now there have been predictions that this 'carbon cycle' was about to become overloaded, causing an increase in atmospheric carbon and the dreaded 'greenhouse effect'. Evidently the carrying capacity of the carbon cycle is greater than people thought, but it is not infinite. The amount of material burned increases constantly, as per capita energy consumption rises, and the world population increases. Maybe next northern-hemisphere winter, the greenhouse effect will start. (The 'sulphur cycle' is already overloaded, and acid rain is falling.)

Meanwhile valuable resources are being burned away. Petroleum is the source of plastics, nylon, silicones, detergents, medicines, all kinds of riches, yet it is being used for fuel at such a rate that in thirty years there will be none left. Wherever there are coal mines there is devastation, as poisonous materials are inevitably dug up in addition to coal, and dumped on the surface. Wood burning contributes to the destruction of forests, and dung burning depletes the soil.

## Nuclear energy

Forty years back, the world was shocked by nuclear weapons actually used against people, but nuclear power stations appeared to most environmentalists as preferable to burning. Uranium mining is dangerous and poisons the land surface in the same way as coal mining, but you get many times more usable heat per ton of poisonous waste from uranium than coal. And more important, nuclear fission does not make smoke.

It is now clear that the problems were underestimated. The nuclear powered cars which were envisaged are not feasible because of the amount of insulation necessary for even the smallest possible radiating core; the smallest vehicle possible is a gigantic submarine. Radiation is more harmful than was thought, and leaks and accidents have proved unexpectedly difficult to control. Most important, the problem of clearing up after the fuel in a station was exhausted appears to have been more or less neglected. It is grossly irresponsible to keep on building nuclear fission stations, when it seems obvious they will cause intractable problems just when the oil is running out.

(I remark in passing that nuclear fusion stations, if ever they succeed, will not use radioactive fuel and will be much less dangerous than fission, may be even less dangerous than coal. We should reserve judgement on the fusion studies until they come up with something.)

## Alternative energy

'Alternative' or 'renewable' energy sources are those which can be used without being used up: falling water, sunlight, geothermal heat, wind, tides, waves, and so on. They use up no fuel and produce no chemical or radiation pollution (though they may ruin the landscape and make a lot of noise), but the costs of plant construction and maintenance may be very large in relation to the usable energy produced.

The Industrial Revolution in England

began with water mills. Dams, races, and wheels to tap the energy of falling water were built at enormous expense, but long before they were worn out the mills were converted to the new steam power. Even with the cost of buying and transporting coal and stoking the boilers, steam power was so much cheaper that the capital spent on falling water apparatus had to be written off. Modern hydro electric plants can compete with steam because the water head is very high, and because the turbines are mathematically designed to extract the maximum energy.

Modern wind machines are similarly more efficient than windmills. The wind farms of California may be less costly than coal fired electric stations, depending on the measured price of coal and the calculated cost of smoke pollution.

The British Department of Energy decided in 1982 that wave power was no longer worth financing. In 1983 an engineer, Professor Stephen Salter, invented a device called 'Salter's Duck' which he claimed would extract wave power efficiently, and the Department commissioned an engineering firm called Rendell Palmer & Tritton to investigate. Their report was unfavourable.

In fact the investigation was made by a temporary employee of RP&T, Gordon Senior, now a member of the Offshore Safety and Technology Board. His report was favourable but RP & T, for some reason, reversed his main conclusion before handing it on to the Department. He was told he had a 'duty of confidentiality' to his employers not to reveal the disagreement, and kept quiet until, in his new job as independent consultant, he stated his own opinion to the Lords Committee. He said the RP & T report on Salter's Duck 'cast unfair doubts on its long-term viability'.

Shortly after receiving the RP & T report, the Minister for Energy was interviewed on television about the proposal to expand nuclear power. He was specifically asked about wave energy, and replied that the possibility had been carefully investigated and seemed unlikely to make a significant contribution to energy needs.

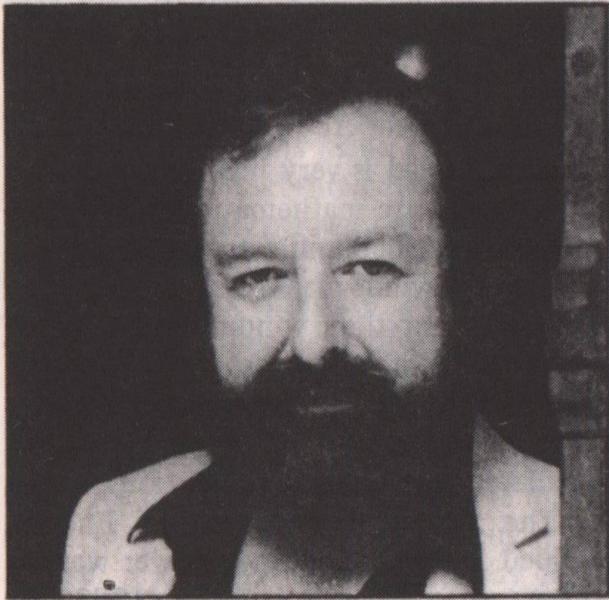
There seems to be something going on up there. We do not have enough evidence to say exactly what, but we are entitled to our suspicions.

Andrea Kinty

Acknowledgements to *Private Eye*

*Reader's Digest* has withdrawn an offer to give free advertising space to an animal welfare trust because it is upset by pictures of suffering animals. There seems to be a contradiction somewhere. Meanwhile, the Turkish government has banned dancing bears as 'inhumane'.

# Interview with Michael Moorcock



**Interviewer Paul Morrison:**

**How do you see the development of your work from your early period through 'Sword and Sorcery'; S.F., to the 'Colonel Pyatt' Novels; your non-fiction and your present work?**

Your first question ... is a bit of a big one really. In a way although my technique's developed my interests have remained fairly much the same. The first novel I ever wrote was in fact the search for a novel called 'The Hungry Dreamers' set in Soho and thankfully lost.

I think a little bit of it appeared in a Fanzine in the early 60's and I was writing all different kinds of fiction from a very early age just as I was reading all different kinds of fiction. I was never particularly obsessed with one kind of fiction. I read social novels, plays, classics, Frank Richards' boys stories, P. G. Wodehouse, a vast amount of popular thrillers and the like, and E. F. Benson for instance the David Blaize books and the Mapp & Lucia books and so on. I read a lot of comedy and although Edgar Rice Burroughs, 'Sword and Sorcery' and fantasy were a great enthusiasm they didn't make up more than a relatively small percentage of what I read.

I still have not read a great deal of the so-called classic SF stories. I find most of it unreadable as a matter of fact. I find most SF unreadable, I find most 'Sword and Sorcery' unreadable, just as I find most detective stories unreadable.

As I have said elsewhere I am inclined to enjoy individual authors who work in a particular genre not a genre itself.

I have used fantasy and science fiction to experiment a little bit, to practice if you like before doing something slightly

ambitious like the Jerry Cornelius books, the 'Colonel Pyatt' novels are a sort of extension of the Cornelius books. What non-fiction I have done has been largely at the request of editors or publishers.

I don't regard myself as a very good non-fiction writer.

Present work — *Mother London* — is a social novel essentially, although it employs techniques that I developed in the Cornelius books and there are obvious sort of echoes of the Cornelius books in *Mother London*.

You ask me how I see the development of my work and I can only say I don't really see it developing in any linear way, just as I have grown more technically skilled I have been able to tackle certain ideas I have had for a long time.

**What would you like to say about your time as editor of 'New Worlds', particularly in regard to the direction and innovations you helped guide it through?**

It's hard to talk about *New Worlds* because it was a sort of a nightmare. It went on for years, the magazine was constantly beleaguered. I spent most of my time trying to keep it alive, just physically, financially, alive.

I believed in it obviously and I think that what we were doing was interesting.

It was a period of considerably innovation which began with people like Ballard and myself in the late 50's, although it didn't really find any expression until the early 60's — don't think there has been a period like it since. What I have seen of new work — much of which I like — it seems to me not to have that same willingness to jump in with both feet or run it up the flagpole and see what comes down, or whatever you call it, those days — much more optimistic sense that if we tried something out it was worth going all the way.

Nowadays things like Cyber Punk, that particular movement is consolidating various other popular forms and producing a sort of amalgam of hard-boiled detective story and the near future SF story sort of thing Philip K Dick did so well.

I think we encouraged people to go as far as they possibly could, we were willing to back them in that way. I am not sure there is much that is willing to do that these days.

**How do you see the general direction of S.F. today? Has it changed for the better or worse in your estimation?**

I don't know whether it has changed for the better or worse. I like the little bit of what I read, but I don't read very much, so really I am not the best person to ask what it's like today. I like some of

the so called Cyber Punk writers — again I don't see their work as being hugely innovative — again only in terms of genre. I think what we were trying to do in *New Worlds* was break out of genre — trying to make new conventions — I think a lot of the late 70's and 80's has been a period of consolidation, nostalgia, looking backwards — which you see pretty much in all forms of creative stuff at the moment.

I don't think much SF was ever very good and I don't think much is good nowadays but what is good, is as good as it ever was.

**In your time as Editor you came up against several attempts at suppression and censorship — how did you view this then? How do you view the situation now as regards censorship in Britain?**

I am totally opposed to censorship which seems to be at odds in some people's minds with my total opposition to pornography. I believe that many kinds of pornography are used as propaganda in maintaining the status quo as it exists now between men and women. I believe that men are essentially a power elite who control and define the lives of women and as a believer in women's rights and the eventual triumph of the women's movement I can only continue to work against that and what I do is to try to find means of fighting pornography without censorship to make people, particularly men, aware of what pornography as we commonly understand the word does to maintain that very unfair situation. That doesn't stop me fighting against the obscene publications Act which I do politically. I am against it. I have written against it. I have worked against it. It doesn't stop my going for the Freedom of Information Act which I'd be very glad to see go through.

Most of my life I have been involved with attempts to improve the situation of writers and part of that improvement in my view is to try to abolish censorship particularly literary censorship, political censorship, any kind really.

I think that we are going through a period in the world in general that you could call reactionary. I think we're in danger of an increased amount of censorship and I am currently trying to fight that along with a lot of other people who have for one reason or another apparently been identified as pro-censorship. People who are simply not pro-censorship but are as profoundly against censorship as I am, people like Philip Dworkin and Catherine McKinnon. There's a lot of nonsense been talked about that which I won't bore you with any further.

I know you have a keen interest in Anarchism and the feminist movement, would you like to tell me a bit about your views?

I began political life as an anarchist — in those days I suppose it was a much more naive belief. I then went through a period of trying to express myself politically through more conventional political parties and eventually realised they are all so damn corrupt I might as well be an idealistic anarchist and humanist and maintain my own political position by that means. That also fits in better with my support for the feminist movement.

I believe that the women's movement is the most important political movement of this century, possibly of the millenium. I think that the kind of political writing you find in the women's movement has a very serious bearing on all our lives, particularly to do with how power is used, maintained and of course abused, so that for me the feminist movement is absolutely central to the improvement of society.

I would also like to ask you about what you are doing now. I know you had a book published very recently.

I have had a book published recently — that's usually true, sometimes more than one — the book is *Mother London* which I think is probably going to be my — in many ways I think it's the closest — most personal book I have ever written. It deals mostly with what I feel — deals best with what I feel about — much more of a social novel than anything I have ever written recently with the exception I believe of

the Pyatt books. It's set in the real world. It's set in a real London. It's a fairly complex book, it's a non-linear book. I have had to come up with a rather more complicated form than I used in the Cornelius books but still rather similar.

The reason for doing that is one is anxious to avoid cliché, conventional interpretation of the subject matter, the work that one's doing and so one looks for a form which will with luck avoid that or help people to avoid it. Whether it will or not I don't know ...

In the summer I am planning to write an Elric novel which I began last year. A sort of summer holiday for me I suppose. I am also hoping to write a book about living in Morocco but have not yet found a publisher who is willing to commission the book so I will be able to afford to live in Morocco ... for the length of time it would take!

I've got a collection of short stories I am working on at the moment which will also include non-fiction — mainly political non-fiction.

I'm not doing any music at the moment. Although there is a chance that some of the music Pete Pably and I did for 'Gloriana' and 'The Entropy Tango' will actually be appearing in the next few months since there's an independent record producer who has asked if he could put some of it out. Pete is going through our tapes trying to find stuff that's remotely usable and discovering a lot of it isn't.

I think that's it as far as forthcoming work is concerned.

## IN BRIEF

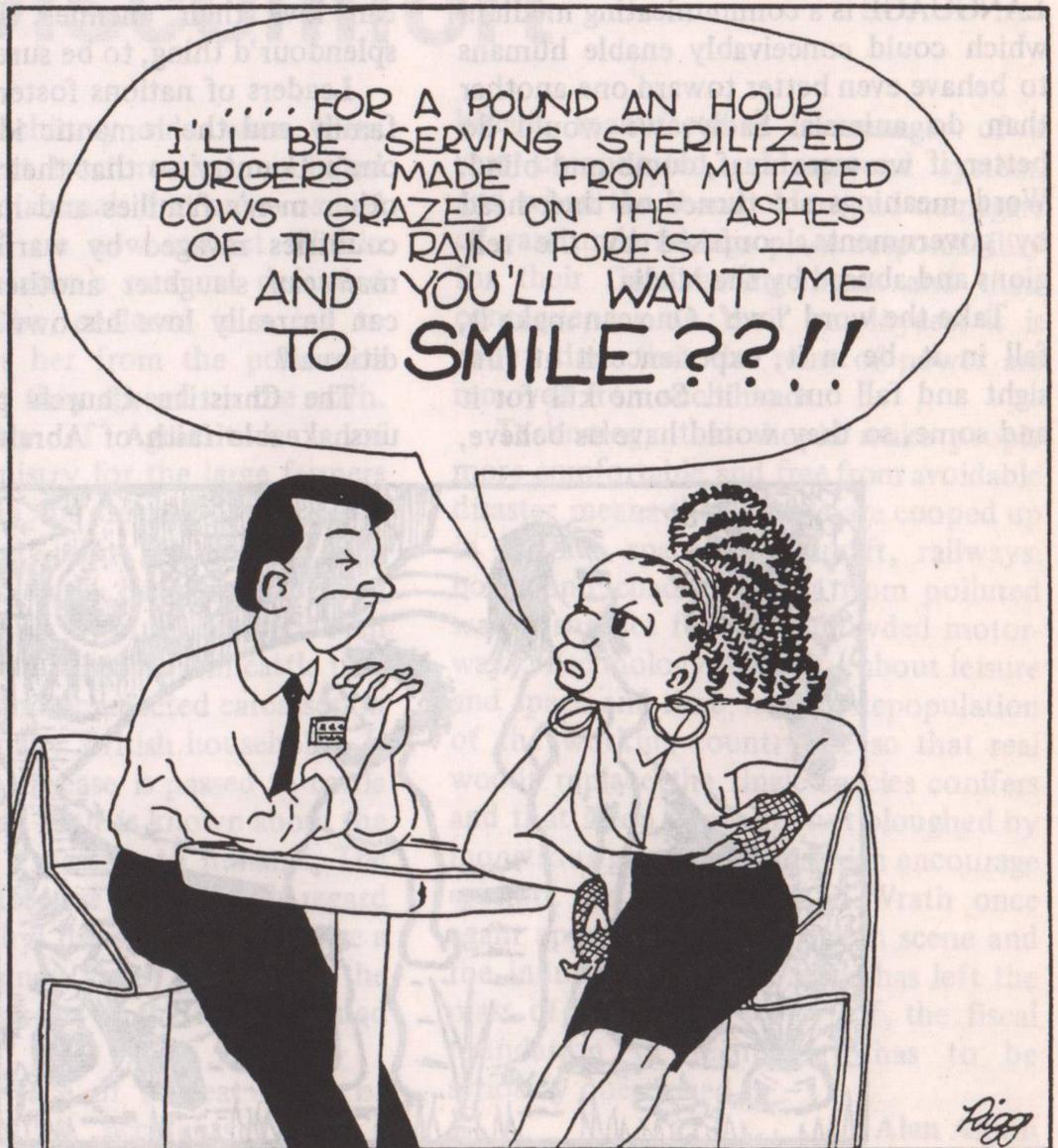
Young people wearing Class War tee-shirts (possibly Young Conservatives in disguise) got a neat bit of publicity for the Conservative candidate in the Kensington by-election, by preventing his speech at a meeting then attacking him as he was leaving. The Class War candidate John Duignan, also present, was arrested, but released when the Conservative candidate told police he had been trying to stop the attack.

The Libyan government has produced a charter aiming at world peace. There are 27 clauses, including banning housemaids, nuclear weapons, and most grounds for divorce.

The Chinese parliament has approved the restoration of military ranks.

The perils of life in the Soviet Union. An average of 70 bathers drown each day as a result of drunkenness, inexperience or inadequate safety precautions. Passengers using unauthorised electric heaters caused a fire, which swept through a cruise ship moored off Japan, killing 11 people.

The Lord Chancellor has clamped down on magistrates. From 1992 they are to be forced to admit their identities in court.



# Organise against the Poll Tax

THE only way to beat the poll tax is to organise ourselves in an non-payment campaign based on anarchist principles.

Hold public meetings to plan resistance based on *local direct control* of all activity. All decisions must be made by these open meetings and any committees formed to carry out these decisions must be under the control of the meeting. The committees must do what we tell them, not the other way round. If the committees fail to carry out the decisions decided upon, then replace the committee. Only a campaign based on rank-and-file control will succeed.

Before, during and after all meetings, organise yourself: first in your closes,\* then by the street, then the area. Co-ordinate your action through street committees made up of one delegate per close. Again, these committees must be under the direct control of the people with all initiatives coming from below up, so that the committees remain under your control.

Using these committees to co-ordinate your own *direct* action will be the only way to beat the poll tax.

Organise in the factory and the Bru\* on the basis of the one big union of all the people in the place. Only *united* action will win in all areas of our life. Occupations can do our cause no harm.

Organise against the poll tax everywhere: at home, in the street, in the factory, in the Bru, in the pub, everywhere. Only the action of the great majority without 'leaders' can win the fight. Beware those who say they can win it for you on your behalf.

Only a *mass* non-payment campaign by a united working class can crush the poll tax and create an alternative to the state and capital.

## The way forward

It is up to anarchists to put forward the above ideas. The Marxists have, in general, tried to dominate the fight in the interests of 'the party'. The SWP have been the worst, condemning independent working class organisation and calling for all 'socialists' to organise to lobby the Labour Party in order that they (Labour) can lead the fight. This is defeatist (and their 'argument' is ultra-leftist nonsense) as well as un-socialist. The *only* way forward is the self-management of the fight by the working class (i.e. the great majority of the population). Any structure created in the fight could be used as a basis for an independent, anarchistic working class movement, but this is for the future.

The important thing is to organise people in *our* area and co-ordinate this

activity by an anarchist/libertarian network until such time as the movement gains its feet, then this network will be needed to put forward the best way to fight the poll tax.

At no time must this network replace the community action committees. The job for anarchists is to promote the fight using direct action and other anarchist ideas (such as mandated delegates, etc.) and to get as many people organised as possible in an anarchistic way. This is the idea behind community resistance in Glasgow.

United anarchist action is necessary. Unless we work together the Marxists will propagate their reactionary ideas on how to fight the tax, leading to an increased chance of defeat.

All the above is one individual's viewpoint based on what has been happening in Glasgow, and many points can be improved upon, but the important thing is that we organise ourselves as well as our class to defeat the poll tax. Hopefully England and Wales will learn from our mistakes. Only *collective* action will win!!

IMM

Glasgow

\* Notes: closes = tenements; the Bru = the dole.

# Love is a many splendour'd thing

LANGUAGE is a communicating medium which could conceivably enable humans to behave even better toward one another than do animals. Sadly, we would do better if we were deaf, dumb and blind. Word meanings are turned on their head by governments, confused by the religions and abused by the Media.

Take the word 'love': One can make it, fall in it, be in it, experience it at first sight and fall out of it. Some kill for it and some, so they would have us believe,

can love their enemies. It is a many splendour'd thing, to be sure.

Leaders of nations foster love of one's family and the romantic idea of love of one's Country so that their men will kill other men's families and have their own countries ravaged by warfare: But if a man can slaughter another man's kids, can he really love his own? Is love conditional?

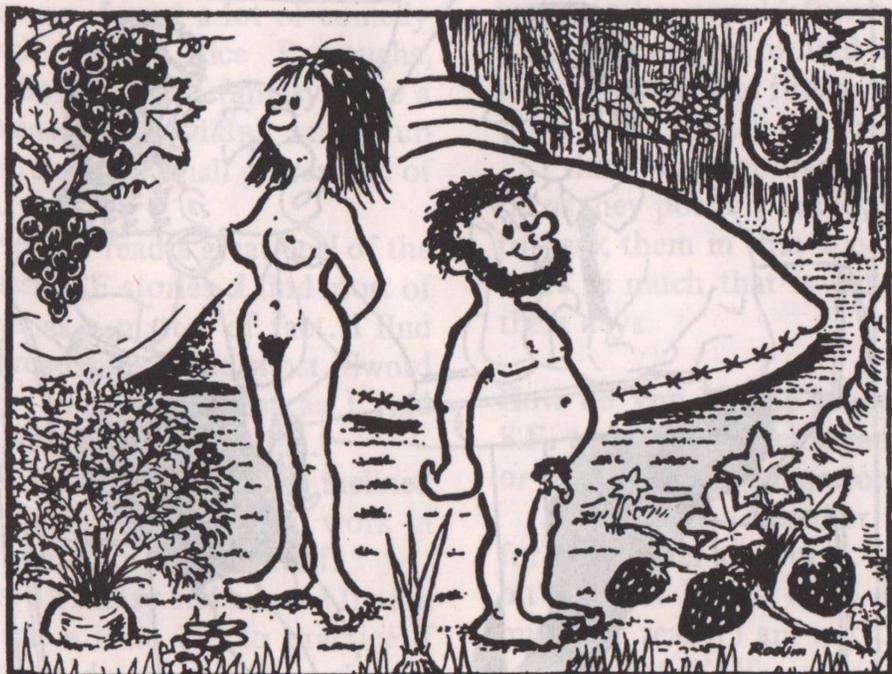
The Christian Church proclaims the unshakeable faith of Abraham, who was

fully prepared to murder his own son, Isaac, for the love of God. The gutter Press display the serial weddings of Oscar winners as great love affairs instead of the disastrous sexual encounters of mal-adjusted people.

The idea that there is a direct connection between love and sexual desire is a romantic, ie false, notion. It is just as possible to perform a sex act with someone you do not even know as it is with someone you love. Because sexual desire is such a strong emotion, it should be the last thing to take as a measure of love between people, whether of the opposite or the same sex. Most sex acts take place between people too young to have known each other long enough to love in the real sense — as the divorce statistics testify. True love may be measured just as accurately by infrequency of coitus as by frequency. When unwanted and abandoned kids can be referred to with the expression 'love child', we are in a linguistic mess indeed.

Without much doubt it is all Menspeak. If women were given the chance to take an equal role with men in life, the word love might be more meaningful and precise.

EC



# Economics and Trade

EDDIE MAY ('A Blind Alley for Anarchists', June) suggests rightly that the workers and peasants together won the French Revolution and rightly that the peasants benefitted more. But that doesn't prove that the workers don't have a stake in the system. The new middle class rulers who replaced the nobility were the new customers for the working class who depended now on this middle class to extract the surplus from the peasant, which they did at first with the use of soldiers. The peasantry was still being forced to produce the surplus to feed the middle classes and their workers, now by cash taxes rather than tithes. So the peasants had to grow crops to sell for cash and hand back that cash as taxes.

Eddie May writes: 'If the basic cause of wealth is the food expropriated from the peasantry (the tithe), what then was the base of wealth (and trade etc.) in post 1789 France?' (It was still the food. Where's the problem?) 'Are we also to assume that the French peasantry was not exploited and oppressed after the revolution?' (No, we are not. Again, where's the problem?) 'What also fed the growing number of non-agricultural workers?' (The peasantry!) I can't make sense of these questions unless Eddie May doesn't realize that peasants are forced to produce crops by cash taxation, rent, sharecropping etc. and not just tithes.

Eddie May asks how 'I would explain that Britain was the richest and most powerful country throughout most of the nineteenth century at a time when it was unable to produce enough to feed itself?'

This is another odd question. Having starved Ireland to death, it got itself an empire and fed off that. Where's the problem?

Eddie May's implication, I think, is that it was the wealth created by manufacturing which fed the population. I think he presumes that manufactured goods are exchanged with the peasants for their food. This is not so. The peasants are forced to produce the food by tithe, taxation, rent, sharecropping etc which is stolen from them by governments and landlords. It is for the governments and landlords that workers make the baubles to exchange for the food, not the peasants. That is why the workers need strong rulers.

If they were not forced, the peasants would not produce the surplus — the Law of Least Effort, known in sociological circles as 'the Leisure Preference' and the cities would disintegrate.

It seems likely that Eddie May does not realize that peasants are forced to produce the surplus. The issue for anarchists is will they continue to produce, unforced?

## 'Wake up at the back there'

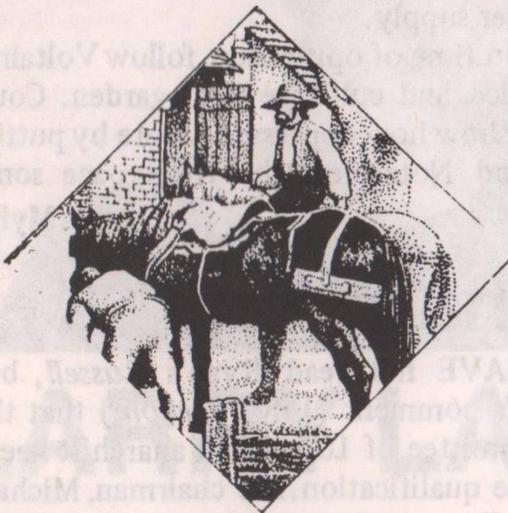
To try to show that power does not cause trade Howard Moss writes that 'the rise of early mercantile capitalism in Europe, having as its centre Italy, was not particularly connected with powerful centralised state rule.' Howard, write out a thousand times, 'For 500 years Venice was the most powerful state in Europe. For 500 years Venice was the most powerful ...'

Howard suggests that Babylon with no trade is an example of power not creating trade. As I have already shown, the Mesopotamian kings had a strong, enforced external Royal trade. So power does cause trade. The no-trade example of Babylon was *internal*, which was not profitable to the kings (as I explained in the last lesson) until the later invention of coinage. There was no internal trade in Babylon, not because power does not cause trade but because there was not yet any percentage in it.

(Another major cause of external trade is landless overpopulation [itself derived from power], the Phoenicians, Athens, Venice, Florence, Flanders, then Britain and Japan 'Export or Die'. But that must wait for more space.)

Richard Hunt  
19 Magdalen Rd, Oxford

# Technological Discomfort



VISITING a local agricultural show one observes the few breeds that are now on show and how many old English breeds have disappeared from the scene. There were only three breeds of pigs on show. The cattle were dominated by large muscle-bound continental breeds that probably do not do so well on grass, which is Britain's best crop and also a source of fertility. On the other hand there were a large variety of goats and a very good showing of the small and economical Dexter cattle from people with very small holdings.

On the machinery side were these monstrous great tractors that reminded me of the great animals that once roamed the earth and are now extinct. Within them the operative's ears are defended against the noise, enclosed in a cab to defend him or her from the poisonous substances that they spread on the earth.

The Ministry of Agriculture is of course the Ministry for the large farmers who collude in the demise of the small farmers and are slow in dealing with problems that could have an effect on human health. Bovine spongiform encephalopathy is a disease from cattle that has landed harmonic injected carcasses on the table of many British households. It is thought the disease is passed to cattle from sheep, and little is known about the possibility of it passing to humans. The Ministry's ineffective action with regard to the Chernobyl disaster does not give a lot of confidence about protecting the consumers' interests in the face of vested interests.

But in the face of a great string of disasters miscalled accidents, when a

biscuit manufacturer is manager of a vast complicated underground system, and when the shareholders and managers of vast undertakings place responsibility for their fiscal arrangements and their consequences on their employees, it is about time that the reins of power are removed from such hands.

Technology that should make people more comfortable and free from avoidable disaster means that people are cooped up in smaller spaces in aircraft, railways, boats and coaches, apart from polluted water, suspect food and crowded motorways. Technology should be about leisure and space and time, not the depopulation of the working countryside so that real woods replace the single species conifers and that steep slopes are not ploughed by monstrous great tractors which encourage erosion. As the Grapes of Wrath once again appear on the American scene and the industrialisation of India has left the mass of the people worse off, the fiscal foundation of technology has to be seriously questioned.

Alan Albon



## Hooligans

A BRIEF word on the piece by DR on hooligans (July). In the book by Geoffrey Pearson DR mentions, he gives the earliest recorded trace as being rumoured to be in Dublin, and there were certainly reports of hooligans in Dublin earlier than anything that he recorded.

When I lived there a direct link was made between 'hooligan' and the mythic ancestral spirit/synonym for Ireland Cathleen ni Houlihan. (gh between two vowels in Irish is pronounced as a glottal stop, and rendered in English variously as 'h', 'g' or omitted entirely.) It was normal Republican Irish belief that hooligan was just another rude name the English had produced for the Irish.

However that doesn't seem to explain why the word was first used in Dublin; and I would think it is more likely that the term referred specifically to an Irish (gaelic) speaker. (There was a mass exodus from the gaeltacht areas of Western Ireland after the famine.) There was however a passage of a generation or so between the famine and the emergence of the 'Hooligan' counter-culture. But compare this with Rastafarians, generally, here, black youth, born a generation away from the West Indies, grew up revolting against the Victorian-type families of their homes, and peasant ways, but finding themselves rejected and unable to assimilate into the society of their contemporaries, they artificially created an historic Afro-Caribbean culture, round an eccentric minority of the nationalist movement, which had been similarly alienated in the homelands.

Reference to the pictures in Pearson's book, especially the cartoons reproduced from the turn of the century, make it plain that English commentators viewed the hooligans as an Irish originated movement. (Though just as there are some white Rastafarians, so no doubt disaffected non-Gaelic minorities, amongst British working class youth, would have rallied to the largest counter-culture around.)

This was the working class reflection — or at least not reflection since it began first — of the cultural rebirth of the Irish language and Irish-influenced English literary work, that was manifest in the Abbey Theatre and inspired the rebirth

of Irish republicanism. Arguably the latter only started when the absence of any large number of peasant Irish speakers meant it no longer marked the Irish out as being of the peasant class if they were able to speak gaelic and so the educated middle class which had previously pretended that it couldn't speak Irish, now wished to study the language, and the legends that had survived in it. While the hooligans were the first generation of peasant-descended urban workers, revolting both against their peasant-formed parents and the English working class that had shunned them.

Laurens Otter

'HOOLIGANS', another generally sound article marred by factual inaccuracy. The Heysel Stadium is in Belgium, not Holland, and the deaths occurred in 1986, not last year.

UFD

## Christians

MAY I say, in response to Christian Vassie's letter (May), that I have long been a fan of that eccentric shaman called Jesus. And along with the Buddha, and such christian mystics as Eckhart and Jacob Bohme, Jesus has no doubt something to teach us about the human condition. Anarchists can even learn something from reactionaries like old Hegel and Jung. But what they have to teach us has little to do with religion per se. Jesus' advocacy of mutual aid is commendable: but this idea is derived from a pre-existing cultural reality. Mutual aid does not need the sanction of religion. And to equate sociality and mutuality with religion is fallacious. I also don't think there is much to be gained from a dismissive attitude towards religious anarchists like Tolstoy and Gandhi. In fact I sent *Freedom* last year a piece on the anarchism of the Hindu mystic Aurobindo — but the editors obviously felt it wasn't of much interest to readers. But the interesting ideas of mystics like Jesus, Tolstoy and Aurobindo are not the issue. What we are concerned with is religion as a social institution, and my own feeling is that, along with the two other 'tyrannies' — 'capital' and the 'state' — it has done far more harm than good and should not be supported by free, unblinkered anarchists (as Christian claims to be).

The analogies he draws are unhelpful and obfuscating. We all realise that the Right Wing advocacy of the 'freedom of the individual' is pure rhetoric and a sham — in reality it means only freedom for capital — but their support for christian fundamentalism is genuine enough, for unlike Christian the Right realises, if only unconsciously, its political usefulness. The gospel has long been the precursor of capitalist penetration and exploitation: christianity and capitalism are twins. To see religion simply as a 'peripheral' issue is parochial for it ignores the conditions under which the majority of the world's people live; to see it simply as some kind of 'tool' to be used for good or ill is to be devoid of any socio-historical consciousness.

I prefer to take my stand with Bakunin and Kropotkin, *social* anarchists who wrote much more sense than some of their present followers, and who clearly saw that we need to break three kinds of fetters — private property, the state and religion — the 'sombre trinity' of Magon — for they are intrinsically linked and mutually support each other.

Brian Morris

## Vegetables

IN THE garden many vegetables grow. But now, we have also the field on the other side of the garden hedge. For forty years it was sprayed with chemicals. Now, exhausted, soil blows like sand; whilst the vegetables I planted are less than half the size of those I planted in the garden. Yet I had to pay the farmer a large sum for the 'residual value' of the chemicals, which have all soaked away into the local water supply.

In time of oppression, follow Voltaire's advice and cultivate your garden. Could we show how oppressed we are by putting 'Land Notes' on the front page sometimes?

J. Myhill

## Anarchists

I HAVE not read Ryan's *Russell*, but NW's comment (July *Freedom*) that the Committee of 100 wasn't anarchist needs some qualification. The chairman, Michael Randle was, though he believed that the rest of the anarchist programme ought to wait until after an emergency operation. (The committee was initially called the Emergency Committee.) Some supporters, Arlo Tatum, Dave Goodway, Ian Dixon, were anarchists. April Carter was an ex-anarchist, later reverted, Frances Edwardes who joined the committee in 1959 grew up in the anarchist movement and had by then returned to anarchism. Will Warren, joined in 58, was anarchist by then. The main intellectual stimuli were Allen Skinner and Gene Sharp; Allen's theories were largely dissident

De Leonist and he believed anarchists to be vanguardists, so he had what might be considered an anarchist critique of anarchists but he was certainly an anti-state direct actionist socialist; Gene called himself an anarchist, though one might question that. At that time Chris, Terry (Chivers) & Alan (Lovell) at *Peace News* (that is a majority of the editorial staff) all regarded themselves as anarchist; and the link between *PN* and the DAC was close. These with PYAG (which was overwhelmingly anarchist) formed a significant anarchist wing of the committee — even supporters; even though we were the minority.

LO

## Bakunin

IT IS not normally our practice to comment on hostile reviews of our publications. However, since the reviewer of *Basic Bakunin* asks a direct question of the text, we feel justified in making a few comments.

DR suggests that the outline of Bakunin's thought as presented in our

pamphlet bears little relation to what he actually wrote. We find this idea strange since the text of the pamphlet is largely made up of paraphrases of extracts from well-known Bakunin anthologies. We had expected that a reviewer familiar with Bakunin's works would have criticised the pamphlet as a 'scissors and paste job'.

DR misquotes a section from the pamphlet (by chopping up sentences and joining them together with . . .) and asks where Bakunin argues that there exists in class societies a number of social strata between the ruling and the ruled classes. He also wants to know where Bakunin argued that the differences between classes are not always clear cut. We shall tell him, see G. P. Maximoff's book *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, 1953, pages 352 and 362.

Finally, we did not clutter up the text with references so that the pamphlet would be easy to read and would be cheaper to produce. If DR or anyone else desperately wants sources for every argument attributed in the pamphlet, we will gladly supply them.

Secretary London ACF

## Blasphemy

SOME reviewers of James Kirkup's, new autobiographical book *I, Of All People* have suggested that his poem 'The Love That Dares To Speak Its Name', which was first published in *Gay News* in 1976, is unobtainable as a result of Mary Whitehouse's successful private prosecution for blasphemous libel.

In fact that case, like all such cases in the past, resulted in a much wider circulation of the offending item. The poem was reprinted in a dozen left-wing papers, and thousands of single copies were distributed by various individuals and organisations, one edition in 1978 being signed by more than a hundred prominent people.

The commercial publishers may not yet be prepared to take the risk, but anyone who still wants to read the poem may obtain a copy by sending a stamped addressed envelope to the Free Speech Movement, 84B Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

Arthur Freeman



## LARRY LAW

## OBITUARY

LARRY Law, writer, publisher and anarchist, died in the early hours of Friday 22nd of July 1988. He had gone to the doctor's on Monday with a lump in his chest and was taken straight into hospital. On Thursday he underwent an exploratory operation and died in his sleep a few hours later. He had cancer of the lower bowel.

Larry published the *Spectacular Times* series of pamphlets. The contents were an assembly of cleverly juxtaposed newspaper clippings (the more bizarre the better), quotations, and text written by Larry. As

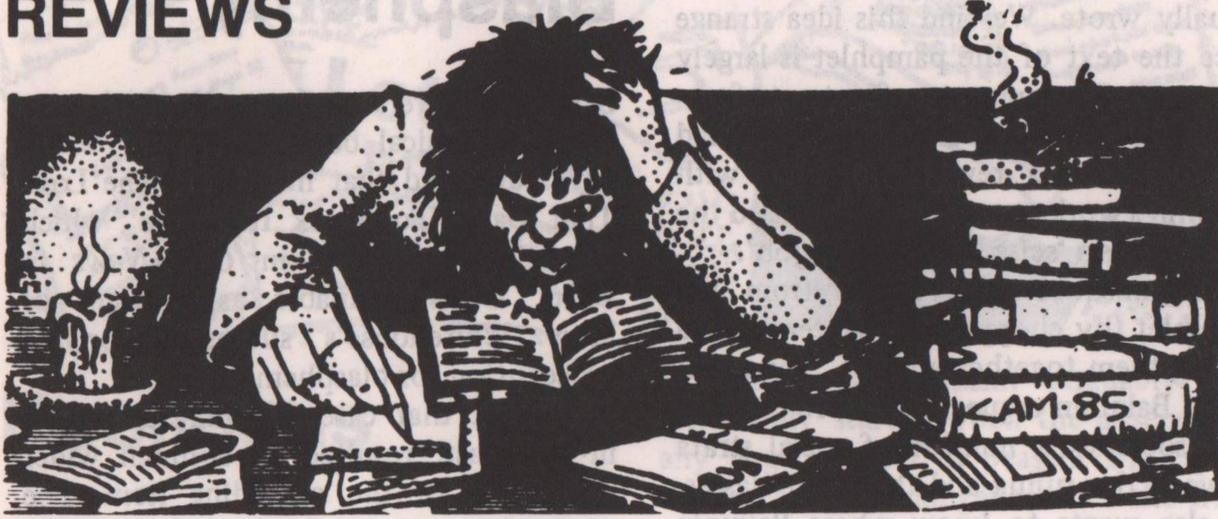
the title of the series suggests, Larry was writing in the situationist tradition, an attempt to bring revolutionary ideas up to date with changes in society. But whereas Debord and Vaneigem read as if their writings were still in the original French and hadn't been translated into English, Larry wrote simply and clearly. Even the format of the *Spectacular Times* Pocketbooks, the small size and the way the clippings and quotations broke up the text, helped to make the ideas acceptable. As did Larry's strong sense of humour.

Production of the Pocketbooks (and other *Spectacular Times* titles) was by Liz Swain, Larry's wife. She organised his funeral service. Liz says that you can get a Rent-a-Vicar, who never knew the dead person and of whose religion the dead person probably (and in Larry's case certainly) didn't believe a word, for just under twenty pounds. Instead of that farce Larry's funeral had Liz and some of Larry's friends talk about him. One person read some of his writings. In between a tape recorder played some of Larry's favourite music and so the funeral was a celebration of who Larry was and what he did. It was an anarchist's funeral, which is what he had wanted.

Most people reading this won't have known Larry (but look at the photograph — perhaps you saw Larry and Liz selling *Spectacular Times* at one of the Anarchist Bookfairs). I only knew Larry for the last four or five years of his life (he was born in 1945) and I shall remember him in many ways, but chiefly as one of the nicest people I knew. For those of you who didn't know him here is a short scene from his life. Liz says she only saw Larry do graffiti once (he was too much of a perfectionist to rush something off in a couple of minutes). At the Abiezer Coppe Free Festival in Reading, on a wall inside the building that had been squatted, he took two days to draw an enormous sunrise and across it he wrote: 'Paradise Now. If Not You Then Who? If Not Here Then Where? If Not Now Then When?'

Mo

## REVIEWS



### Immunity Plus: how to be healthy in an age of new infections

Arabella Melville and Colin Johnson

Penguin £3.95

THIS is not an orthodox work, but it has none of the blanket condemnation of orthodox medicine which appears in many 'alternative' health publications; in fact, nothing which an orthodox physician would find offensive.

The human immune system is presented figuratively as an army defending a territory, with 'training centres', 'base camps', and 'commandos'; a metaphor which depends on a popular misapprehension of armies, but allows the complexity of the immune system to be explained, without getting bogged down in the details of cytology and biochemistry. Then there is a careful account of how to maintain and enhance one's immunity, summarised as: eating enough good food; avoiding pollutants — particularly tobacco smoke; getting regular strenuous physical activity; resting adequately; and feeling positive about yourself.

All these are orthodox ideas. The unorthodoxy comes in the authors' attitude to society, described under the heading of 'human needs'. 'Our culture encourages us to believe that individuals are actually paramount. It is a belief that bears little weight when the rights of the individual are tested against other interests . . . We remain subjects with duties, rather than citizens with rights. As such we have very low self-esteem; we allow ourselves to become potential victims of a variety of self-generated hazards because we do not believe we have the right to resist or object.'

A little later there is a sentence beginning, 'If we accept individual sovereignty . . .' and thereafter it is assumed that we do. A refreshing approach to health. I hope this book becomes a best-seller.

DR



### Tents: architecture of the nomads

Torvald Faegre

John Murray (out of print, remaindered at £2 at Scarthin Books of Cromford)

TO THOSE of us who look on in wonder each summer as millions of our fellows jet off for their fortnight in the sun, or desert the suburbs with tent or caravan as they head for what is left of the countryside, this interesting book gives an insight into the appeal the true, original nomadic life possessed.

The book is mainly concerned with the tent as architecture, as the title indicates, but does give a fascinating introduction into the ways of nomads. Fundamental to their dwellings was the need for mobility. The need to move in search of pasture for livestock, or animals to hunt dictated this. This resulted in the evolution of a wide variety of shelters pared to the minimum. These were the ultimate in, to coin a more recent phrase, 'self-build'. These used whatever materials were to be found in the environments the nomads encountered. Thus the tents could be made to cope with hot and cold, dry and wet conditions in environments ranging from Alaska, Siberia, Northern Canada and Greenland to Saharan Africa.

Faegre lists the variety of shelters region by region giving details of the materials used, method of construction, the domestic use of the shelter, and the particular local conditions which governed the lives of the nomad group he describes. Thus he covers: 'The Black Tent' as described in the old testament and still to be found in Iran and surrounding areas, the Mongolian 'Yurt' which he claims the origin of all domed architecture, the North American plains Indians 'Tipi'. The conical tent of which the 'Tipi' is but one example is to be found among all the tribes of people surrounding the Arctic Circle. Residents of the peace camps at Greenham Common would have recognised their 'benders' in the domed tents of Africa, which like the 'bender' use a support structure of branches bent into a semi-circle and interlinked to form a dome over which is draped the fabric of the tent.

The majority of the cultures Faegre describes are now vastly changed. Colonialism, governments and population pressures have everywhere interfered with their lifestyles, loss of traditional hunting and grazing grounds, enforced settlement whether in the name of 'progress' or 'the modern workers state' have conspired to destroy the nomadic way of life. Yet as Faegre points out, subject to certain reservations, it was a way of life with many freedoms lost to the settled human. It was a way of life in harmony with the environment, which could use the marginal lands unsuitable for agriculture and yet not destroy them. The biggest irony is the fact that in many of the areas where the nomads have been robbed of their pastures, the farming activities or the overgrazing which often follows threatens to destroy the very soil itself rendering even a return to nomadism impossible.

Jonathan Simcock



A woodcut of St. Ambrosius. German School, Fifteenth Century. Artist unknown

### The Encroachment

Leo Baxendale

Reaper Books, 11 Brockley Acres, Stroud GL6 7DU. £5 (+ postage)

YES, this is the same Leo Baxendale who created the Bash Street Kids; it says so in the preface. But this is not a cartoon book. It is a serious essay, in words, about the historical development of power relations.

Supporting his thesis with abundant contemporary quotes (mostly from recent historical works) and anecdotes about his family, Baxendale argues that the class of people who buy the products of labour and sell them on at a profit have successively taken over markets, states, and finally the means of forming opinion. 'The Encroachment' refers to the takeover process, and Baxendale also uses it as a collective name for those who have taken over.

It is fortunate that Baxendale chooses to sell his pamphlet by direct mail (apart

from those in Freedom Bookshop), because the front cover is calculated to deter impulse buyers. It reproduces one of the text pages, which would be a good idea if this gave an indication of the cogent argument inside. But the prominent paragraph on the page reproduced reads: 'The Encroachment controls by dividing. It divides *the mind from the body*'. In twentieth-century parlance this sounds like dividing a game of tennis from the players on court; not only impossible but unimaginable. In fact Baxendale is here using the parlance of a thirteenth century schoolman he quotes, but this is not mentioned on the cover where the paragraph reads like bollocks. The title on the cover is also misleading: 'The Encroachment Part 1'. This is NOT, in fact, the first bit of a part work, but stands on its own.

Apart from the cover, the essay is controversial but convincing. Readers who dispute details are liable to discover that, as a basis for the dispute, they have accepted the gist of the main argument. The essay is worth reading, and the pamphlet worth keeping for its collection of useful quotes and references.

DR

### Mother London

Michael Moorcock

Secker and Warburg £9.95

*MOTHER LONDON* is a portrait of what was once the greatest city in the world. In some ways it is also a hymn of praise and a cry of anguish. Over five decades, through the lives and shared experiences of a small group of Londoners, a convincing map of the extraordinary and vital nature of London and her people emerges.

Each of the central characters, moulded in the inferno of the Blitz, is as sensitively tuned as a cat's whisker to the bewildering transformations of the ancient city. They live through the fashions and trends, the demolitions and the rebuildings of the sense of and gain control of their lives. Each treads the keen edge of sanity, occasionally stumbling when their emotions can no longer control the flood of voices which is the spirit of the city.

In this book Moorcock's characters struggle to remain human, in the true sense of the word, in the face of the continual erosion and brutalisation of human values that is the mark of a cold, soulless society, a society whose main weapon is the isolation of the individual. Their defence is their faith and love for each other. This is what gives *Mother London* its depth and strength. The warmth of the relationships within the novel is perhaps one of its strongest features. I quickly grew to like the characters and wanted to know more about them.

Moorcock has done his best to oblige. It is the stories of characters like flamboyant Joseph Kiss, the introverted David Mummery and the miraculous Mary Grasalee that really make this book. Moorcock has always taken his characters seriously but they have never been better rounded or felt so real.

When, for instance, David Mummery writes of his adventures and explorations through the sewers and catacombs of London his is a fantastic and mysterious vision. As readers we have more than an inkling of the true course of events, but we are disinclined to laugh at David or his tenuous grasp on reality. He is sensitive to other currents. The shadows of a more sinister London flit through this book.

David, Joseph, Mary, Old Nonny and others have a transformational power about them. The mundane is made marvellous, but everything has a sound and solid feel of reality. This is a Londoner's London. Occasionally Moorcock's fierce pride and love for the city and its inhabitants is overwhelming, along with a sense of betrayal at the decay and decadence that is bringing them down.

The folklore of London, the mythologizing of common experience into something life-affirming and magical, is what this book celebrates and explores.

I think that this is Michael Moorcock's best novel to date. When I received the review copy of the book I wondered what I would say if I did not like it. However, put simply, I think it is excellent. It is rare to find a book that I look forward to reading again. I will be interested to see if readers of the book use it to visit the mentioned pubs, parks and sites of London as Joyce's readers have used Ulysses to find Dublin.

Paul Morrison

### Proudhon and his 'Bank of the People'

Charles A. Dana

Charles H. Kerr, 80 pages, £3.50

PIERRE-JOSEPH Proudhon was a major anarchist of the 19th century but he is very much neglected by the English language movement. There are several reasons for this. Anarchism as a movement rather than as an idea stems from Michael Bakunin, a contemporary of Proudhon rather than from Proudhon himself. Bakunin's insistence on revolution rather than reform won the argument within anarchism, defeating Proudhon's advocacy of gradual change. (Proudhon's rejection of revolution came from his experience of the 1848 events in France.) And the success of the idea of communism (with a small c) within anarchism was the defeat of Proudhon's idea of mutual banking. Finally, Proudhon's dense writing style, plus his use of paradox, make his meaning unnecessarily

obscure. He was once acquitted on some charge or other because the jury said they couldn't understand what he meant.

This short work by Charles A. Dana is, as Paul Avruch says in his introduction, 'a useful sketch of Proudhon's life and ideas'. The book has a strange history. Dana wrote it in 1849 and the edition reviewed here is a reprint of the one brought out in 1896 by Benjamin Tucker. By this time Dana had long since abandoned his youthful radicalism and Tucker's edition served two purposes; firstly to promote Proudhon's ideas and secondly to twit Dana whose now reactionary ideas contradicted his earlier idealism. Charles Kerr have reprinted Tucker's edition along with his preface, plus an introduction from Paul Avruch. It's also one of the few things available in English by or about Proudhon.

Dana give a quick biography of Proudhon up to 1849 (he lived until 1865) and summarises his idea of mutual banking as follows. All loans are based on labour (as the sole source of wealth) and therefore labour should control credit, not the plutocrats who currently do so. Proudhon advocates a Bank of the People to lend money at zero interest (apart from administrative costs) to destroy the plutocrats' control of credit. His plan to establish such a bank was under way when he abandoned it (repaying all the loans made to it) because of his imprisonment for libelling the President of France. So his idea has never been tried, though it attracted support in both France and the US.

The (English language) neglect of Proudhon is a pity since he had some interesting and perhaps useful ideas. The continuing failure of the revolutionary project (whether anarchist or not) demands a rethink of current anarchist ideas and Proudhon, as an anarchist but not a revolutionary, is obviously worth a look at. True, Proudhon, like Marx and most anarchists, accepted the labour theory of value and the falsity of this theory undermines Proudhon's central assertion of the non-productivity of capital. But this may only require an adjustment of Proudhon's ideas, not a wholesale rejection. At the very least he is superior in his understanding of economics to the anarchist-communists who confuse symbol with reality and call for the abolition of money. And Proudhon also scores by suggesting a reconstruction of society which is to start now rather than after some mythical revolution. What is the function of money and interest in our society? Both are controlled by the rich and it is therefore obvious that they operate to the benefit of the ruling class and to our disadvantage. But how exactly? I have to admit I don't know. Did someone mention Keynes?

Mo

# IN BRIEF

Black people who are convicted are twice as likely to go to prison, even if they have no previous convictions. The National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders has collated figures showing that 14% of prisoners in England and Wales are from ethnic minorities, more than twice the percentage in the general population. NACRO are careful to point out that this should not be interpreted as black people being more prone to crime. The suggested solution includes a predictable call for more black magistrates.

Important omens for the future of Western Democracy and Civilisation As We Know It. The forthcoming US election is all tied up. George Bush is four inches taller. In the nine elections since television became important the shorter candidate has only won twice, both times by using an unfair advantage such as the Watergate scandal or a particularly wet opponent. And there is more. Bush is Royal! He is 13th cousin twice removed to the Queen.

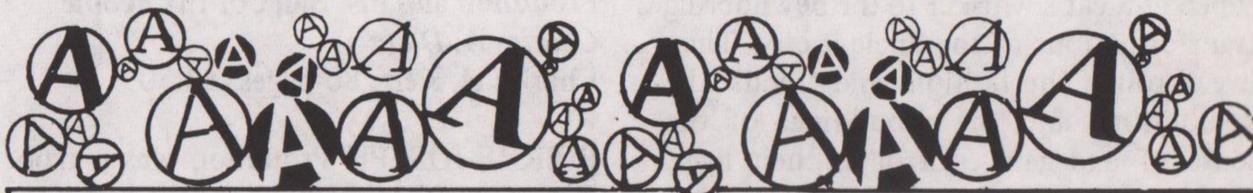
*Police Review*: a couple of items on a theme that used to be a regular feature. Assaults on police in London rose by about a third last year, resulting in an average of 63 officers being off work each month because of their injuries. Peter Imbert, Metropolitan Commissioner, in his annual report comment, 'I wonder what sort of commentary that is on our society when we acknowledge that these offenders did not confine their brutality to the male of the species . . . What price chivalry in our modern society?' Mr Imbert is worried about the effects of stress, more than 300 officers have transferred to other forces. General crime is down 4% but violent crime is up 11%. The West Midlands Police have ordered a crackdown on drunken driving within the force. 27 officers, including a Chief Inspector, have been convicted in the past 18 months. Officers convicted of drinking while on duty 'will usually be required to resign', there will be a 'greater degree of tolerance' for those off-duty. The local branch of the Police Federation points out the stress involved in the job and thinks is 'unfair' that an officer should automatically lose his (sic) job for drunken driving on duty.

Attacks on police officers last year averaged one every hour, according to *Police Review*. It was the worst (sic) year since 1981. The record is held by Strathclyde, and with one attack for every 2.57 officers.

# Freedom Contacts Column

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**BANGOR A Collective**, c/o UNCW SU, Deiniol Road, Bangor, Gwynedd  
**BRACKNELL A's**, Box 21, 17 Chatham St, Reading RG1 7JF  
**BRIGHTON** Brighton Bomber, c/o Priory House, 6 Tilbury Place, Brighton  
**BRISTOL** Drowned Rat, Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 37 Stokes Croft, Bristol  
**BURNLEY A's**, 2 Quarrybank, Burnley  
**CAMBRIDGE** Box A, c/o Cambridge Free Press, 25 Gwydir Street, Cambridge  
**CHRISTIAN A's**, Pinch of Salt, c/o Peter Lumsden, 23d South Villas, London NW1 9BT  
**CLASS WAR**, PO Box 467, London E5 8BE  
**COVENTRY** Group, PO Box 125, CV3 5QT (don't mention anarchist on envelope)  
**DAM** National Sec, (temporary address) 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX  
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**DURHAM A's**, c/o DSU, Dunelm House, New Elvet, Durham  
**EDINBURGH** Counter-Information, 11 Forth St  
**ESSEX** Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex  
**FAP** Federation of Anarcho-Pacifists, c/o John Hill 28b Clifton Road, Ilford, Essex  
**GLASGOW A's**, Box PH30, c/o Changes, 340 West Princes Street, Glasgow G4 9HE  
**HASTINGS A's**, c/o Hastings Free Press, 14 Lower Park Road, Hastings, E. Sussex  
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**KEELE** Resist Group, Students Union, University of Keele, ST5 5BG  
**LEAMINGTON A Group**, 21 Tachbrook Road, Leamington Spa, Warks.  
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**LEICESTER A Group**, c/o Blackthorn Books, 70 High Street, Leicester  
**LOS** Libertarian Organisation & Structure, c/o 85a New Elvet, Durham

**LIB ED** Libertarian Education Collective, The Cottage, The Green, Leire LE17 5HL  
**LIVERPOOL A's**, PO Box 110, Liverpool L69  
 Liverpool University Anarchist Group, c/o SU, 2 Bedford St North, Liverpool L7 7BD  
**LONDON**  
 Freedom Box Number Users: A Distribution, ACF, Rebel Press, Spectacular Times, Virus. 121 Books, 121 Railton Road, London SE24  
 Greenpeace (London), 5 Caledonian Rd, N1  
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 Solidarity, c/o 123 Lathom Road, London E6  
 Polytechnic of North London Anarchists, c/o PNL SU, Prince of Wales Road, London NW5  
 NE London Poly A's and G's, c/o NELPSU, Maryland House, Manbey Park Road, E15  
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**SPANISH** Information Network, (sub £1), 37 South Terrace, Esh Winning, DH7 9PS  
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**TONBRIDGE** Black Adder, c/o WKAR, PO Box 75, Tonbridge, Kent  
**WORCESTER** College of HE Anarchists, c/o SU, WCHE, Henwick Grove, Worcester



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