

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom** 30p

28 August 1982 Vol 43 No 17

AUTUMN AGENDA

**GENERAL STRIKE IN
SUPPORT OF NHS
WORKERS**

**AGAINST THE UNACCEPTABLE
FACE OF
CAPITALISM**

**AGAINST THE UNACCEPTABLE
FACE OF SOCIALISM:
TEAR GAS & BULLETS IN THE
STREET—THE WORLD CUP
SERIES IN THE HOME**

**THREE KILLED
1000s ARRESTED**

'HARD WORK NEVER HARMED ANYONE' IT'S A LIE!

SOME industries are renowned for their dangers to those who work in them. Until relatively recent times, coal-mining was the most notorious because of the sensational, large-scale disasters which hit the headlines—like the Gresford Colliery disaster in which 265 miners (and rescue men) were killed in 1934, showing that little had been done to improve safety measures since the Blantyre explosion of 1877 (also killing over 200).

We may say what we like about nationalisation, but one of the motivations for the take-over of the mines in 1947 was the appalling accident rate chalked up by the careless and callous owners for whom safety regulations meant cuts in profit, and the promise that, once the pits 'belonged to the people', safety standards would be improved.

Well, the pits never have belonged to the people, nor was the profit motivation ever relaxed, nor have the miners ever had any more say in the running of the mines

and they have had to fight every government (now their employers) since nationalisation for every improvement in their standards of living.

But at least, with apparently limitless public funds at its disposal, the National Coal Board has been able to improve safety measures and also to do much control the dust which is the cause of pneumoconiosis, the lung disease which is the quiet, unsensational killer of the pitmen—destroying, one by one, many more than were blasted or buried in well-publicised disasters.

Other industries, too, take their toll of workers singly, or a few at a time. On land or sea, railwaymen, fishermen, construction workers, oil riggers and divers, transport drivers—all those who produce and distribute the wealth the rest of us enjoy, and the services we take for granted at the flick of a switch or the turn of a tap.

Another thing we take for granted has been known for a long time to be a killer

of amazing tenacity. Hands up all those who have not got something in their home containing asbestos—known to be a menace since 1898, but oh so useful that we really can't do without it.

Asbestos is a unique mineral fibre, cheap and easy to produce and considered essential to modern industry. Blended with cement it provides a rigid, fire proof, easily handled, light and—above all—cheap building material, moulded into pipes, or corrugated roofing sheets or flat wall coverings. In the home it will be found in ironing boards and in the irons themselves, in lining for cookers and oven gloves and even in carpets. Fireproof walls and doors are almost sure to contain it.

When we ask where it comes from we are back to mining again—but not in this country. Far away in Canada, Cyprus and—you've guessed it—South Africa, it is pulverised down to its basic fibres, packed into sacks or other containers and shipped, maybe loose in ships' holds, around the world.

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IT'S A LIE!

Continued from page 1

Everybody exposed to asbestos runs the risk of developing one of four diseases now undeniably known to be associated with it, and all of them can rightly be described as time bombs, planted in the bodies of asbestos workers, or their families.

In the South African mines, little African boys of 12 years of age stamp the dusty material down into sacks. Their life expectancy is between 20 and 30.

British factory workers are so much luckier. They may work among the dust for a relatively short time feeling nothing—but 10, 15, 20 years later the asbestos fibres (invisible to any but the strongest microscopes) will be causing fibrosis in the soft tissues of their lung, the scarring of which results in shortage of breath, strain on the heart and the wasting of a normally strong person to a walking skeleton.

That is Asbestosis, which can develop into cancer, either of the lung or the gastrointestinal tract.

Oddly enough, such attempts as have been made to introduce safety measures for those who work in the asbestos industry have led, indirectly, to the diagnosing of another disease based exclusively on contact with asbestos. This is Mesothelioma, a tumour of the lung or the lining of the abdomen, for which there is no known cause except contact with asbestos—and that contact can be merely living near an asbestos factory—or even washing the clothes of an asbestos worker!

Because mesothelioma takes longer to develop, in the past most sufferers died from asbestosis or cancer before mesothelioma had made itself known. In reducing the incidence of the diseases which develop more quickly, more time is allowed for the slower disease to develop.

The plain fact is that asbestos is a killer, but the companies which trade in this material—like multi-national Turner & Newell, with interests in South African mines and factories in the North of England, have steadfastly refused to accept responsibility for what working for them can do to their workers—much as the coal owners for years refused to accept that a pneumoconiosis which developed years after a miner had left the coal face could possibly be anything to do with them.

It is said that there is no alternative material to asbestos. This is not true. What is true is that there may not be *one single material* which can be used for *all* the purposes for which asbestos is usable—but there are now many materials which can be used in all its different applications. And these are known (at present!) to be safe.

Asbestos is not safe. It is a killer, difficult to control in enclosed, highly governable inside areas—impossible to control in mining conditions.

Let Turner & Newell—and all other manufacturers of asbestos goods—be shut down. Let our scientists come off nerve gas and neutron bombs and get down to providing economic alternatives, if they are so necessary. Alternatively, let's start blowing asbestos fibres into the boardrooms and directors' dining rooms of the companies that live by the misery of others. Then let's see how smartly they can act!

PS

This article was sparked off by the Yorkshire Television programme 'Alice—a Fight for Life', worth your TV license on its own, assuming you've got one. Also from information gained from SPAID (Society for the Prevention of Asbestosis and Industrial Diseases) which deserves your support. Contact The Secretary, 38 Drapers Road, Enfield, Middx EN2 8LU.

ANARCHOS INSTITUTE LAUNCHED

DURING the spring of 1981 work was undertaken to establish the ANARCHOS Institute in Montreal, the latest in a number of similar institutes now in existence in Europe. The ANARCHOS Institute is an association of writers, teachers and researchers with the common concern of advancing the knowledge of anarchism in Quebec, Canada, the United States and Mexico. The founding conference was held in June 1982.

In recent years there has been a flourishing in the amount and quality of anarchist and libertarian socialist research and literature, both published and unpublished. In the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, history, political economy, social work, linguistics, mathematics, as well as others, dedicated individuals have produced works that approach these fields of knowledge from an anarchist perspective. What has been missing up until now is a sense of intellectual community. Many of these individuals do not know of each other's existence, let alone their respective work. A network between such persons became an imperative necessity.

The ANARCHOS Institute was founded to bring together people in various fields of knowledge in order to evaluate their work and gather further insights. Through the ANARCHOS Institute the fruits of these collective reflections on anarchist theory and practice will also be made available to the growing anarchist and libertarian socialist constituency on this continent. The Institute is based on membership and will be sited in Montreal.

The first public conference of the ANARCHOS Institute took place on June 5 and 6, 1982 at the University du Quebec a Montreal. The theme of the conference was 'The Intellectuals and the State' and featured as speakers: Noam Chomsky,

Nicole Laurin-Frenette, Alain Leguyader, Jacques Mascotto and Frank Harrison. Some 600 persons attended the conference.

During the organisational part of the members' conference, the purpose of the Institute was confirmed, financial reports were received, and future plans were discussed. It was agreed that next year's conference will probably be held somewhere in the Northeastern USA, and that the probable theme for the public conference would be 'Anarchism and the Nuclear Disarmament Movement'. A report was also heard about the growth of similar institutes and documentation centres in Europe, especially about the activities of the Centro Studi Libertari 'G Pinelli' in Milan, Italy.

The membership of the ANARCHOS Institute stood at 65 persons from Quebec, Canada, the USA and Mexico at the end of these conferences.

DIMITRI ROUSSOPOULOS,

Secretary,
ANARCHOS Institute,
Suite 444,
3981 Boulevard St-Laurent,
Montreal, Quebec H2W 1Y5 Canada
Tel: (514) 844-4076

Ian King

WE are very sorry to report the death of our old friend Ian King.

Ian worked with many groups in the early 1970's, most especially BIT. After a traffic accident, which left him severely disabled, he used his compensation money to buy a small house in Margate and a printing press. He taught himself to print and began to operate as 'Magic Ink', a part of the Underground Press Syndicate.

Ian also launched 'Disabilities Unlimited' to campaign for people who are so labelled. He took a number of people to live with him and to teach them useful skills. He was especially interested in the idea of 'complementary disabilities', in getting together people whose abilities would reinforce each others.

He attempted many other projects, for example a travel guide to Asia. Sometimes he overstretched his resources. Ian suffered constant pain from his back and was sometimes incapacitated. He had been warned that his spine would eventually collapse completely. At times he felt isolated and relied heavily on telephone links to survive the long nights.

Ian printed FREEDOM from 1976 until 1981. He felt part of the paper and enlivened many issues with his marginal notes from 'Ian the Printer'. Eventually, he had too much work. Fortunately, soon afterwards we obtained our own equipment. Ian found much of it for us and helped us to learn to operate efficiently.

Last week, Ian was killed in another road accident. A car, travelling on the wrong side of the road, hit him on his motor bike.

Ian is a great loss to us all.

ANTI-MILITARIST ACTIVITIES

Dear friends,

You have probably heard of recent MoD plans to extend Upper Heyford airbase for the purposes of installing a new wing of EF1-11's by taking over agricultural land to the north east of the present perimeter.

Upper Heyford Peace Camp, in conjunction with Oxfordshire peace groups already involved in this issue, invite your group to actively participate in our campaign to stop this happening. We plan to get the ball rolling with a march and mass rally on September 25th (Saturday) and we are looking for a big turn out, especially from local peace groups.

Most details are supplied on a leaflet advertising the event. Supplies of the leaflet are available at the rate of £1 per 100 from Campaign ATOM at 37 Cowley Road, Oxford. Posters are also available.

The main details are as follows:

MAIN MARCH —

Meeting 10.30 for 11.00am Car park, Mannersfield Road, Bicester. The route from Bicester to Upper Heyford is about 8 miles.

ANTI-STATE DOCUMENTATION AND NEWS NETWORK

SOME comrades in South London are investigating setting up the above. Using existing and developing resources and contacts primarily via the anarchist network, the plan would be to set up a fully cross-referenced data-base, which would in turn facilitate information-gathering and investigations/monitoring. The network would be self-generating and would provide additional input to the anarchist press and to anarchists around the country and thus aid better communication. Furthermore, a system would be devised to enable the immediate dissemination of urgent news: in other words a viable decentralised alternative to State media. Anyone interested in participating (to be successful, the project would require involvement from anarchists throughout the country)—either as contributors or in the documentation—write to ASDNN c/o SLAG (South London Anarchist Group), 121 Raiton Road, London SE24.

SUBSIDIARY MARCH —

For people coming by car or coach, meet by 2.00pm at the road at furthest extremity of the base (by the heath on OS map). It will be signposted on the day.

From there, we will be marching up the bridleway on the western side of the base to the proposed site of the extension. Once at the site, there will be a rally with a variety of entertainments and short speeches.

US REFUSALS

THE US government is trying to intimidate young people who have refused to register for the draft. Five persons have so far been indicted. More are expected.

On Monday, August 16, Ben Sasway, the first person to be indicted for draft resistance since the Vietnam War, is scheduled to have a hearing for motions. Ben's trial is scheduled for August 24. Tuesday, August 17, is scheduled for the trial of Enten Eller in Roanoke, Virginia. Enten was the second man to be indicted, but if his trial is not delayed, he will be the first draft resister tried in the post-Vietnam era. David Wayte of Los Angeles and Mark Schmucker of Cleveland were indicted on July 22. Wayte was arraigned on August 2. Russell Ford, Chevy Chase, MD, was indicted on August 4.

At the same time, an attack on non-registrants has been mounted in Congress. Representative Gerald Solomon (R-NY) is expected to introduce an amendment to the defense Authorization Bill which would deny student loans to non-registrants. A similar measure has already passed the Senate, and if the house follow suit, as expected, it will become law on October 1, 1982.

The prosecution of non-registrants and Congressional measures against them come at a time when new moves are being made to return to the draft, and the US government is dangerously escalating its intervention in Central America and the Middle East.

Dear FREEDOM,

After the recent outburst of militarist hysteria it is hardly surprising that the government should seek to grant favours to weapons manufacturers and encourage the development of the technology of destruction. It is also not surprising that in pursuing these aims the government would have no concern for anyone adversely affected by increased war production.

A case in point are plans to use fifteen acres of land at Brambles Farm, Waterloo ville as a Heavyweight Torpedo Factory. Without regard for local opinion Havant Borough Council are selling the land to GEC-Marconi to develop the 7525 (Spearfish) Torpedo, which can be fitted with nuclear warheads. The circumstances under which the negotiations for sale of the land are being carried out are highly suspicious. Planning permission for the factory has been granted in a ridiculously short time; the company has already received a generous grant from the government to build the factory and has succeeded in negotiating a drastic decrease in the price of the land.

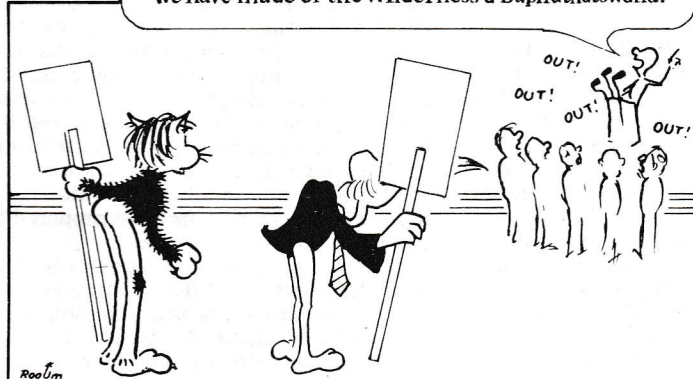
In view of such dubious manoeuvres and the misuse of people's land for military production, a Peace Camp was established at Brambles Farm just over five weeks ago. The camp has already brought into question the ownership of the land—local people or the council to do what they like with it? The High Court has already granted Havant Council a 'repossession' order on the land and the bailiffs are expected to evict us at any time.

For the Peace Camp to continue and remain effective we urgently need support of all kinds—visitors, campers, donations of food, camping supplies and money.

Brambles Farm Peace Camp can be contacted through
Mr Andy Smith
3 Shelley Gardens
Cowplain
Hants
Tel: Waterloo ville 66355
Peace and Anarchy,
SIMON COOK

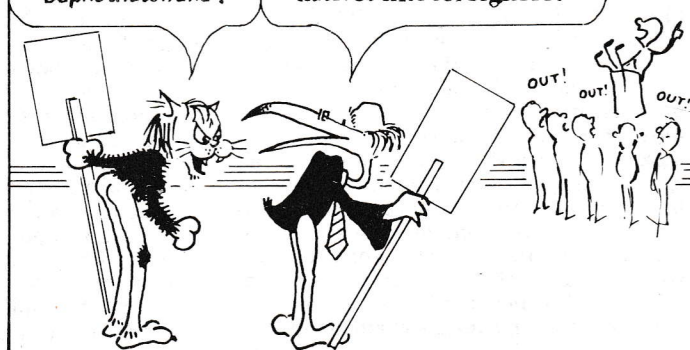
WILPCAT

We have made of the wilderness a Baphuthatswana.



What on earth is a Baphuthatswana?

A daft device for turning natives into foreigners.



1900-1965...

INDUSTRIAL Unionism was the driving force behind militant trade unionism in the early nineteen hundreds. The IWW first established a group in Christchurch in 1908. Such personalities as Tom Barker and J B King were active in a group in Auckland in 1912-1913, through the Waihi and General Strikes. They were selling thousands of copies of Industrial Unionist during this period. After the defeat of the 1913 General Strike, Tom Barker was deported and ended up back in England. King returned to Sydney. He spoke at a May Day meeting in Wellington in 1932 in defence of Sacco-Vanzetti.

There was a small Anarcho-Communist group in Wellington in 1912. Street fights with police frequently occurred after meetings. A Polish baker called Josephs was involved in this group.

During the 30's there seems to be indi-

Anarchism in New

viduals who were very active. The Webb family in Auckland and another individual in Wellington. All I know of him was that he was well-dressed and carried a copy of Bakunin's writings around with him.

Jock Barnes was thinking along syndicalist lines after Savage conveniently forgot to get him a job after the 1935 Labour win. (Jock Barnes was later a leader of the 1951 waterfront strike). There was a Libertarian Socialist Group in Auckland during the late fifties and the sixties. Of course, there were the exiles from Spain — however, few remained active. One person, Werner Droscher, died a few years ago. He left Germany with the rise of Hitler and fought in Spain. Werner was active right up until he died but described himself as a 'retired' anarchist.

and on PEP (relief) jobs, punch-ups with the cops, support for pub-bands (eg the punk-style Desperate Measures — 1984 song). Currently in Christchurch, a business group offers \$ 800 reward for a graffiti conviction and a PEP job has been created removing graffiti. In Auckland most recent graffiti is of Black Unity origin. It could be said that the youth movement this reflects knows what it is against — the state, work, police — but only has a limited conception of what it is for, let alone any contact with local anarchist tradition for what it is worth. Interestingly enough, the 'a' in the circle (@) is quite common as a symbol of resistance on blackboards in the skools.

2 Communal groups arising from the early 70's hippy philosophies. Rural communities still functioning in many places on a combination of small farming, crafts, contracting and dope-growing. In the cities, some co-operatives exist eg Te Whanau Trust in Christchurch that runs two stores, gardens, workshops, community activities.

3 Protest Movements eg Anti-Springbok Tour, anti-Nuclear warship,

..AND TODAY..

THERE are four main areas worth describing: 1 Lumpen street culture; 2 Non-ideological communal groups; 3 Protest movements; 4 @ politicos.

1 Street culture groups are characterised by the proliferation of graffiti (ranging from 'Fuck the State' to the 'racist KKK@). appearances at the Labour Dept

I'D like to disagree with 'A Friend of Durruti' (24.7.82) when he says, 'it is only when life becomes materially intolerable that workers will revolt.'

I'd argue that it is patronising and insulting to argue that people can only oppose an exploitative class society when their stomachs are empty. Poverty and oppression lead to apathy and passivity more often than to militancy and rebellion. The implication that people will only listen to radical ideas as a result of economic misery seems to me profoundly pessimistic. Fundamental social change (ie, an anarchist/self-managed society) requires mass understanding and mass participation. Anarchism isn't some minor redistribution of wealth or job sharing scheme. It is an assertion that ordinary people can control their own lives without bosses, politicians, priests or police. It's basically about who makes the decisions.

I'd also like to challenge the ideas put forward in recent FREEDOMS by Pat Riot (12.6.82) and Ian Kogel (26.6.82) about whether what we mean by anarchism is a continuation of the 60's counter culture or the birth pangs of a new 80's utopianism. Is it a life style we can live now or a type of society with which we want to replace the present one? I desire a self-managed society, which abolishes hierarchy at work, in the community, environment. This entails discarding all forms of myth and false consciousness (religion/patriarchal attitudes/materialism/belief in the inevitability of hierarchy). To achieve all this means challenging class

YOU CAN'T IGNORE INDUSTRY!

society not rushing off to rural Wales (or elsewhere) to start a commune which the state will tolerate if it doesn't threaten the *Status quo*. The trouble with communal living as an end in itself is that it can sometimes lead to an abdication from the struggle to transform society as a whole. As a further contribution to this debate I'd like to quote a passage from an article by A O in 'Solidarity' vol 7 no 2:

'The values which dominate society at large will gradually assert themselves over the values of any 'sub society' within it. This process may take a few years or one or more generations but the outcome is almost certain. The 'example effect' of such a sub society is no substitute for revolutionary politics aimed at transforming society as a whole.

A do-your-own-thing type of sub society is not a threat to the values which dominate society. The likelihood of the values of such a sub society ever becoming mass values is negligible. Modern society will tolerate such 'monasteries' in the knowledge that it will be able to cope with or assimilate their dissent at a later stage. Those who get off the bus are less of a problem than those who want to drive it themselves. Dedication to a social ideal and attempts to implement it in one's personal life are insufficient to transform

the values which dominate society. While revolutionaries must strive for a lifestyle and for organisational forms that prefigure those of a free society, they must also be aware of the fact that in a class dominated society, complete emancipation is impossible.

Communal living may help to alleviate some individual problems in bourgeois society. But is is often inward-looking and the cost is usually the renunciation of any attempt to tackle the problems of society at large. Social change demands mass understanding and mass participation. Islands of freedom in a sea of non-freedom will sooner or later be swamped.'

Remember, no ruling class in history has relinquished its power without a struggle. I don't think many politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen, police chiefs, etc, will be quaking in their boots at the thought of people going to live in a commune/mass squat. But, what will frighten them is the conscious, autonomous action of the vast majority of people knowing what they want (abolition of hierarchy, self managed society etc) and prepared to struggle for it.

The US counter culture of the 60's could be tolerated. It didn't threaten class society. A mass movement like Solidarity potentially challenged the Polish ruling class, their control of the means of pro-

v Zealand

Bastion Point/Waitangi Day Maori land rights groups. Anti-authoritarian ideas are articulated but overshadowed by leadership and Leninist ideas and separatist trends in many actions. White patriarchal communist control of Wellington anti-tour demonstrations contrasted with the militant autonomous black- and women-lead actions in Auckland. Black nationalist women are currently at the forefront of the anti-racist movement in Auckland. There are women's bookshops in all four major cities and Brickburners Anarchism and Feminism pamphlet sells well.

4 People who label themselves as anarchist.

A small number in Auckland mostly oriented towards musical activity. Lancaster Publishing produces poetry and cassettes. Wayne Innes, author of *Don't Pay Taxes* and *How to survive in Suburbia* lives up that way. Considering the amount of black and women's activity in NZ's largest metropolitan centre we would expect a flourishing anarchist movement — alas this is not so. Auckland Anarchy from its heyday in the mid 70's has largely evaporated (most individuals

duction and their power to make decisions. Which brings me back to 'A Friend of Durruti'. He/she is quite right to emphasize the importance of an industrial base. We can't just ignore the means of production and concentrate on looting or squatting or whatever is this year's fashionable libertarian thing. To say that class struggle is important and vital is not to downgrade other areas of struggle. I'm not positing some WRP/Militant type 'workerism' which concentrates on the factory and labels all other political activity diversionary. Obviously that's garbage. Class struggle is necessary but not sufficient.

The trouble with most British anarchists is that they've tried to ignore industry altogether. Obviously, a revolution must be a total thing. For example, a social revolution which isn't also a sexual revolution hasn't gone much below the surface of things—sexual emancipation won't necessarily come later or 'follow automatically'.

To argue that anarchists should be interested in industry/class struggle is not to say 'class struggle' is everything, all else is a waste of time, but to recognise that control of the means of production is fundamental.

I welcome discussion in FREEDOM and other anarchist papers on all aspects of life: education, sexuality, ecology, town planning, psychology, etc, but don't ignore industry, as many anarchists seem to want to do.

MARK NELSON

ending up in Australia or London). But we are ever hopeful of a revival.

In Wellington a young group with 'punk' connections. Involved with street culture activities, screen printing, anti-Truxton (US nuclear warship) actions. The magazines *Fascism & Boredom* and *Black-out* come from there. The individuals however have been subject to much recent police harassment. Political individuals of older ages tend to be heavily influenced by vanguardist and Lemmingist tendencies that proliferate in the bad vibes emanating from parliament and the downtown office complexes.

Christchurch, or more affectionately known as smogland. A new print shop has been established — offset A3 size printing. Also premises for lay-out, screenprinting, darkroom and workshop. A library, one issue of *Blackmail*, posters, and two issues of *South-East News* (for local letter boxing) printed. Irregular meetings but a continuity of commitment. The individuals

have experience of subversive activities ranging from over a decade to a few months. This diversity of ages and backgrounds brings in new ideas and energies — all largely within the anarcho-communist ideological spectrum. We are playing on exposing local work, corruption housing, LPG issues as well as general anti-commentaries and ideas on how to survive. Contact with overseas groups is good and a literature importation and distribution service well-organised.

While the number of self-proclaimed @'s in NZ is small and almost exclusively male and pakeha the potential for future activity is good. Long-standing dissatisfaction with the Govt and business is widespread and the various protest and industrial actions over the past decade have created a tradition of struggle that has many anti-authoritarian aspects.

Tu Kana te manu kia rere,
PO Box 13-165
Christchurch, New Zealand

IN BRIEF

MAGISTRATES have important things on their minds. As have everybody involved in courts. After all, they must make decisions which affect people. It is assumed that we are grateful that they take the trouble. The courts in Coventry are making sure that they get the highest advice available. Members of the bench (that is amateurs who feel that they have something to contribute), solicitors, police and probation officers will be invited to pause for thought before each day's business. We had always assumed that they would pause for the occasional fleeting thought before they made these important decisions but now they have official recognition. And, to ensure the best thought available, prayer sessions are to begin. These will be on one day per week, rotated so that all the JP's have an opportunity to attend. Many Christian denominations will be represented and they even have a Jew. It is not thought that defendants will be invited. 'We could not possibly pray for them while we are in there' (D Yates, chairman of the Bench). Asians are to be neglected, 'We have only one' No mention is made of non-believers.

THE Ministry of Defence has been criticised by a Common's Select Committee for its 'abysmal handling' of news during the South Atlantic Non-War. Newspapers produced submissions. The *Observer* claims 'We were intentionally misinformed on at least three separate occasions'. The *News of the World* plaintively asks 'Did the Ministry of Defence really want this war covered?' We must state our misquoting.

If a free press cannot rise above this level of naivety we must have serious doubts about the validity of any of their product.

THE management of the National Trust is annoyed by criticism of its decision to lease 12 acres of land to the RAF for an underground bunker. It says that the opposition is motivated by politics. Apparently, the RAF isn't.

A part time policeman has resigned because he says his colleagues are 'prima donnas' who spend their time admiring themselves in shop windows while old people are getting mugged. He cites cases where special constables tried to impress neighbours by wearing their uniforms while off duty. He says that he knows one who wore his police cap while making love 'because it made him look more authoritative'.

HOW'S this for elitism. 1,398 textbooks worth £14,00 have disappeared from the library at the John Radcliffe Hospital in Oxford. The explanation? Doctors are 'forgetful'.

A Federal judge has ruled that Texas' law against homosexual sodomy is unconstitutional as it violates the fundamental right of privacy.

THE Afghan government has banned the import, ownership and use of filming and recording equipment in order to protect the 'morality, religion and traditions of the nation'.

A report on risks prepared by the Royal Society has estimated that a human life is worth between £100,000 and £1 million. It does not specify who is which.

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

DON'T ABUSE LANGUAGE!

Dear FREEDOM,
I write to commend John Roberts' article 'Anarchy Class and Language'. I personally feel that the greatest obstacle to the furtherance of anarchist thought and ideals, is the manner in which they are expressed or 'communicated.'

I consider myself to have a fair level of literacy, yet many of the articles I have read in FREEDOM, have had me constantly referring to a dictionary, or restructuring sentences in order to grasp often very simple concepts.

One of the reasons why I subscribe to FREEDOM is to gain an understanding and appreciation of world events as expressed by fellow anarchists. I am not impressed by 'political jargon', or the use of obscene language—the latter seemingly a universal code of late. Neither add to the meaning, and both most certainly detract from whatever statement is being made.

I hope others have found John Roberts' article of equal value, and that perhaps some of those who write for FREEDOM have benefitted from his comments.

What greater gift have we than that of communication, and subsequently that of understanding and identifying; and what greater defence in the face of oppression and inhumanity? Let us not abuse it.

Yours,
GIOVANNA BALDELLI
Southampton

Dear FREEDOM,
There is so much good sense in the two articles about language (Review, 21 August) that it is worth pointing out the small amount of nonsense in them.

John Roberts' identification of bad language used to intimidate and impress only with 'middle-class' language is surely false. Middle-class language can be good as well as bad, and bad language can be working-class as well as middle-class. His excellent critique of bad middle-class language could just as well be directed to bad working-class language—such as what he calls 'yobspak'—which is also used to intimidate and impress through swear-words and slang, catch-phrases and abuse. I suggest that the real enemy is not so much middle-class language in particular as bad language in general.

In fact the language which he calls 'middle-class' could be better described as 'academese'—a pretentious dialect used by academics, rather as journalese, officialese, medicalese, legalese, translationese and so on are pretentious dialects used by other in-groups. There is quite separate from all these a good middle-class language, based on the everyday speech of educated people from all classes, and used as a highly effective means of communication in several media. There is a long tradition of excellent political writers in this dialect, from Swift and Defoe, Paine and Cobbett,

Leigh Hunt and Hazlitt, Morris and Blatchford, Shaw and Wells, Chesterton and Belloc, Russell and Orwell, down to the best journalists and propagandists today. It is significant that many of such people don't go to university and that most earn their living in some kind of journalism.

In the same way, Pat Flanagan's identification of reference books about language in general and Roget's Thesaurus in particular only with a mechanical approach is surely false. It would certainly be dangerous to accept such books as prescriptive authorities, but it is frequently useful to consult them as descriptive guides. The fact that they are regularly updated shows that they don't treat language as a fixed body of usage, and the fact that they have clear personal characters shows that they are not mere mechanical aids. Many writers do find them valuable, though the older, fuller editions tend to be more helpful than the newer, shorter ones. Of course the best way to learn how to use a language is to read and to listen to it, but there is still a place for reference books, and a lot can be learnt from the more imaginative and stimulating ones like Fowler's Modern English Usage or Roget's Thesaurus about how to make language more flexible and precise. A great or creative writer won't need them, but most working writers are neither great nor creative, and I suggest that such a book is as good (and bad) as an atlas or encyclopaedia.

NW

Friends,
John Roberts' on Anarchy, Class and Language bit deep. My youth included an episode of being 'middle class' amongst a 'working class' group and being totally ostracised, learning by bitter experience the inhumanity of the English class system. Language, and above all dialect, is chiefly a symptom of cultural distinction but also a tool in cultural conflict.

Thus the Swiss Germans constantly lampoon their own language as it relates to High German and the Basques and many other peoples use their language as defense against imperialism. No other country developed industrial classes as cultural entities as did England with its inbuilt and self-reproducing sado-masochistic dynamic.

As John points out, language is the guard at the gate who kills, no questions asked, whoever would come on an errand of love, from either direction, unsuspecting and unprepared. John writes: 'There is something about the style of some of the contributions to FREEDOM that seems sneering and supercilious.' The answer: 'to translate it into the simplest and briefest terms possible.'

It is ironic that bourgeois 'philosophy' this century was dominated by a fetish

for severely manhandling language ('logical positivism') for the very purposes of nipping social criticism in the bud. The snag is this: we all naturally treasure our culture and feel that to jettison it is like an act of suicide. Much of the time the intuition is sound, but not all culture is benign.

Western industrial culture is probably suicidal in itself but in England we have the additional problem of antagonistic cultural and not merely economic classes: a road twice as long and stony to tread. Love and anarchy are the principles that will overcome, but in detail there is a lot more to it than just principle and working it out will need a common language, used creatively.

Fraternally,

@

London

OH, KAY!

Dear Friends,
I was so depressed and saddened by Kay's letter (Action Without Thought). Feeling of course is very important—particularly for anarchists but it is not a substitute for thought. The position of anarchists in a society so deeply influenced by centuries of authoritarian conditioning is a difficult one—ordinary people often do not have an immediate instinctive sympathy for anarchism. I do not honestly believe you can act effectively if you do not act thoughtfully.

Those who have fought for anarchist ideals in the past have left us a rich store of experience and ideas and we can build on that.

I am one of those academics Kay condemns so bitterly but I can assure her that I spend a good deal of time on action and that my research work—a study of Kropotkin and Revolutionary Action is totally relevant to that action.

You do not have to read the works of Kropotkin and Bakunin to be an anarchist but it helps—truly it does!

CAROLINE CAHN
Southsea

Dear Editors,
Re 'Action without Thought', FREEDOM 21/8/82, Kay has a very wordy and theoretical way of saying you shouldn't theorize: looks like she's trying to make a name for herself.

There seems to be this fear amongst some anarchists that 'power' and 'ideas' necessarily come bound up in one package. If that is so then the true anarchist should fear getting out of bed in the morning and particularly getting dressed and eating breakfast. But the real traumas come when she opens her mouth to communicate with a fellow human being. If words aren't ideas hanging together into a theory then what are they?

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

Sure the world is full of bullshit and the problem for the anarchist is to sort out the violence from the ideas. Action is all-important but being human means that it is underlain by ideas willy-nilly. The trick is to be sure the ideas undermine rather than reinforce power structures. That takes mental work; there are no easy solutions (like stop thinking) particularly where the world is so insistently constructed in terms of power structures. Keep trying.
JAY

Dear Editors,
Still reeling from the buffets of Kay (FREEDOM 21 August) I shall, never the less, pick myself up off the canvas—or out of my armchair—and attempt to fight back... with the pen you understand.

The academic anarchist is an anarchist in only one place—the armchair, for in all other places it is a capitalist: ... writes Kay—and she may well be right. The true blue (sic) revolutionaries are not those who sit patiently weighing up methods to gain mass credibility and

intellectual respectability but the sufferers: the suicides and those who end up behind bars for practising what they preach: the people whose lives are cut short because there are not enough like them ... Right again.

I agree with so much of what Kay writes but, with respect for her or his views, I am confused by some of them. Are all anarchist academics 'a noxious breed of worm'? Are all armchair anarchists necessarily 'individual thinkers' or 'academics'? Surely all anarchists aspire to being 'individual thinkers'—surely the academics who are 'noxious worms' are those John Roberts describes so well in the same issue of FREEDOM in his article 'Anarchy Class and Language'? IE, those who seek power for themselves through language.

Speaking as one who wants 'to survive', who is terrified of the thought of prison, of torture, of being in a war—who has no heroic qualities and no (unconscious?) urge to martyrdom I have to accept that I am that despised figure—the armchair anarchist. Like all of my kind I take hat small risks I feel able to take and

hold forth when I think it's safe to do so. Where I join in Kay's criticism is when armchair anarchists do go into print telling the rest of us what to do while being safely bolstered by 'some capitalist institution'. And even here, having at one time been employed by the DES and also having occasionally written bits for FREEDOM, I'm no doubt guilty of that too.

BUT, I don't believe anarchists should die to save the world—we are fallible humans not Christs. We are also individual thinkers and individual doers. Some are braver or bolder than others—some sit in armchairs, some mount soapboxes, some man the barricades. Some can and will sacrifice themselves for the revolution, others cannot and will not. The way to inspire timid theorists to get out of the armchair is not to label them 'noxious worms', perhaps, but to inspire them by example. It's an old anarchist principle—so I read in an academic article somewhere—called 'Propaganda by Deed'.

JEFF CLOVES

St Albans

FOR THE FRIENDS OF DOUG WAKEFIELD

Hello People,
I am writing to ask if you know anyone who would like to take over Breakout as it's a shame to let the paper fold and I am also worried about my friends inside, some of whom are very isolated and need the contact Breakout gives them. Would any of your readers like to take on the task of collating material from a list of cons and turning it into what passes as a paper? Bob Green suggested I ask you.

The reason why I am considering dumping my responsibilities is, I am getting married to Doug Wakefield this Autumn and we think it wise to disassociate myself from the prison movement and activists especially, with a view to cleaning up my file (Hendon Computer) in case one day (anytime after the next four years) Doug will be considered for parole.

I expect you watched the Brass Tacks Report 'Solitary' recently, highlighting Doug's case and 'Blue' Mawdsley's. This was a bloody disaster from our point of view. The actor Robert Longden worked so hard to get inside the part of Dougie but the gullible TV producers gave in to Home Office bribes of a 'live' interview with Blue, and threw out Doug's story, which is far more interesting, and wasted all the hard work Longden had done on getting inside the fascinating and complex character of Doug Wakefield. The result was so apathetic that the public had forgotten it all by next morning.

One major result was that at long last, after five years of living in a bathroomed (council house size) bare-walled cell, buried alive, with no furniture but a card-

board table and a chair, no curtains, mat or picture to relieve the bare walls, Doug has just been informed that he may have a battery driven RECORD PLAYER. You know, cause you published it a year ago, that he is really into classical music, so if I can only get my hands on a battery driven record player then his life will be a lot less dreary. I have already got my hands on some records he likes but can't even FIND a battery driven record player and I've been to lots of shops selling hi-fi and stuff. Anybody you know who could help here?

Also, the eight years Doug has already done in prison has affected his eyesight and he needs dark glasses. I have heard many prisoners complain of the poor lighting and shiny walls affecting their sight after even a few years. I went to an optician to order them and they cost £40! What with me still on the social and him being the lowest paid prisoner in the country, along with trotting off to the Island to see him regular, and the trousers and jumper he needs for the wedding, record player and so on, we ain't half skint. So if any kind soul would like to send 50p or so towards his glasses, please can you send cheque or postal order either to me or direct to;

7825 Wakefield,
H M Prison Albany,
Newport,
Isle of Wight,
PO30 5RS

Don't listen to them jerks who say you can't send him money direct coz he can't pop out to the bank. A cheque is still the

best way to get money to any prisoner in British jails. Takes a few days longer to cash than a postal order is all, but they got plenty of time!

For nearly five years now Doug has been in solitary. He is allowed no contact whatever, at any time, with other prisoners. When I visit I am metal-detected and felt all over for contraband, weapons etc. I am not allowed to take my handbag on the visit or sweets or tobacco, as on ordinary visits. I am escorted by a police-woman and several male screws to the heart of the nick to the 'protected area' where we pick up a few more screws and guard dogs. The visit takes place in a small shed in the garden which is so busting with officers there's little room for us! However, strolling across the grounds towards this hut Doug does get a chance to see the sky, and breathe fresh air without the smell of prison disinfectant etc.

Yesterday as he came towards me a prisoner yelled from a distant window: 'DOUG WAKEFIELD'!! I hope he never got punished. If you get to read this mate, thanks a lot, it really perked Dougie up to know that he is not totally forgotten just coz he is buried alive.

Love and rage,
ANNIE CLIFTON

PS Any old glasses won't do. Gotta conform to prison regulations. Any opticians out there would offer their services?

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literature

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'Alaska: Anarchy and Solidarity' is a newsletter and correspondence group for our northwest corner of North America's Northwest — it includes northern British Colum- bia and the Yukon Territory, too. We just started putting out the newsletter this year to link-up with other anarchists, Wobblies and the libertarian left in our neck of the woods.

'Archipelago' is a populist, multi-media journal based on Southeast Alaska, although not limited to this region. We began producing this journal in 1977 with newspapers, cassette tapes, books and records.

Contact: Box -748, Douglas Alaska, USA 99824

'I am starting work on a publica- tion called 'Anarchist Artists'. If there are any anarchist groups, singers, poets etc, please contact me at the address below'

Gaz of Black Ram
c/o Forum Books
86 Abbey Street
Derby

BICICLETA, Travessera de Gracia 100, Barcelona 12.
Tel: Barcelona 218 40 40, Tues/ Thurs afternoon.

desires

North East Anarchist Federation is holding its 4th conference in Doncaster on September 25th. All comrades in the NEAF region — Yorkshire, Humberside, Cleveland, Tyne & Wear and Northumberland are invited to attend, especially those who are not in contact with the NEAF. Also anyone from any regional federation or region who wishes to come in order to discuss co-operation etc would be very welcome.

Anyone requiring further de- tails, write to: Box A, c/o Project 35, 49A Market Place, Doncaster S. Yorks

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We have an idea how to make non profit community radio but we have no FM-transmitter of about 3 watt or more.

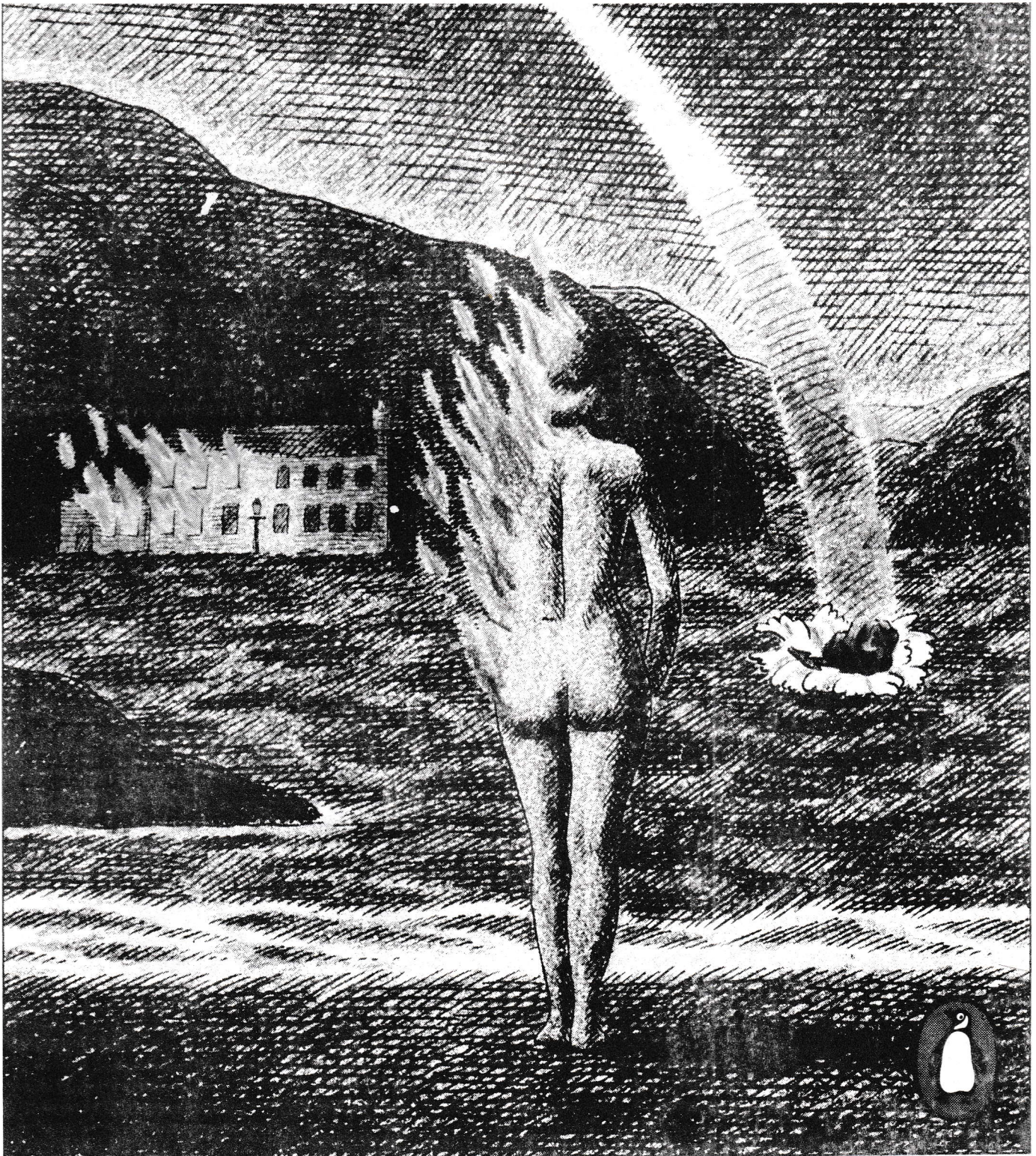
FM-transmitter drawings, des- criptions and useful informations could be sent to this address: Box No CRS, c/o FREEDOM

We are also very interested to come in contact with other pro- gressive community radios (not pop-pirates) in London and UK.

Freedom Press

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Don Thomas in the Land of Freud



D M Thomas, *The White Hotel*. Victor Gollanz, 1981. £6.95. 240 pp.

FREUD argued that civilization – human society – is possible only at the expense of more or less profound instinctual repression. The uncontrolled expression of the life and the death instincts, Eros and Thanatos, would result in a Hobbesian war of each against all, in which life would be bloody, brutal and short. The resulting problem for Freud was two-fold. The first is that instinctual repression causes neurosis. Repression only strengthens our erotic and aggressive desires, which necessarily seek and gain more or less illusory or alienated satisfaction anyway. The whole of modern civilization is neurotic.

The second contradiction in Freud's conception of human nature and society is not just that it's impossible to gain or maintain repressive control over the immutable, immortal instincts. It's that the very institutions of modern civilization necessary to maintain – per impossible – repressive control of Eros and Thanatos, themselves radically exacerbate human suffering, alienation, dissatisfaction and violent conduct. Institutions like the family, guilt/conscience, marriage, religion needed to defend civilization only intensify the problem: 'What a potent obstacle to civilization aggressiveness must be, if the defence against it can cause as much unhappiness as aggressiveness itself!', Freud writes in *Civilization and Its Discontents*. Fortunately, Freud died in England in refugee-exile from the Nazis in 1939, just before WW2 began. He was thus spared those effects of modern civilisation's principal institutional means (war) of resolving human conflicts, not to speak of any of its post-1945 horrors.

Four of Freud's five sisters perished in Nazi concentration camps. Their gold teeth make a brief appearance in Don Thomas' imaginative re-creation of the Nazi slaughter of perhaps one quarter of a million souls at Babi Yar (Kiev) at the end of September, 1941. Ostensibly, Lisa Erdman, an 'hysterical' Jewish opera singer analysed by and neurotically attached to Freud, also dies at Babi Yar:

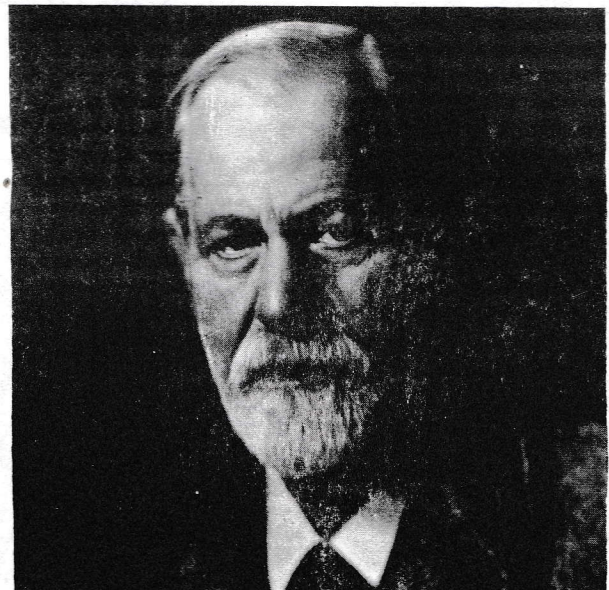
'The thirty thousand become a quarter of a million. A quarter of a million white hotels in Babi Yar, (Each of them had a Vogel, a Madame Cottin, a priest, a soldier poet, a baker, a chief, a gypsy band). The bottom layers became compressed into a solid mass . . . The Jews were at the bottom, then came Ukrainians, gypsies, Russians, etc . . .

The soul of a man is a far country, which cannot be approached or explored. Most of the dead were poor and illiterate. But every single one of them had dreamed dreams, seen visions and had amazing experiences, even the babes in arms (perhaps especially the babes in arms). Though most of them had never lived outside the Podol slum, their lives and histories were as rich and complex as Lisa Erdman-Berenstein's. If a Sigmund Freud had been listening and taking notes from the time of Adam, he would still not fully have explored even a single group, even a single person.' (221,220)

I say ostensibly, because, instead of ending *The White Hotel* realistically with Lisa's death at Babi Yar – as Freud would have – Thomas' surreal imagination causes Lisa to reappear 'alive' in some sense in post-war Israel. According to Thomas in a recent interview, Lisa 'refused to die at Babi Yar. She made me write a final section in which she has survived and ended up in Israel, adding some kind of eternal dimension to her character. It's the biggest risk I took with the book, yielding to her demand, but I think it works.'

I'm not so sure. Both the undoubted strengths and weakness of this highly ambitious and original third novel (just pipped at the post by Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* for the 1981 Booker Prize) derive from Thomas' surrealistic fast and loose playings with Lisa – and Freud.

On the surface, the raw material for Thomas' imaginative free creation of Lisa's 'real' and phantasy erotic relationships with Freud and his son Martin, from the Autumn of 1919 until the 1930's, derives from Freud's case studies of so-called 'hysterical' women just before and after the turn of the century, such as the famous 'Dora' study, published in 1905. (Freud also turns up again – or does he – in eternity-Israel at the end of the novel.) However, just as Thomas freely plays with the facts and events of the Russian revolution in *The Flute Player* to suit his artistic purposes, *The White Hotel* mixes fact, Freudian theory and Thomas' imaginings to create a work which often works well in its six constituent parts, yet fails radically to cohere and work as a novelistic whole.



Freud

I don't in the least object to Thomas' using invented 'facts', writings and episodes from Freud's life in telling the story of his heroine's sufferings and vicissitudes in love, work and political life. The question is: does it work? For me, it doesn't. Freud's is a world of fact and logic, illusion-free reason and reality. The world of Thomas' surreal imagination is akin to Freud's unconscious id, knowing neither time, logic nor 'external reality'. Freud's world – the world of war, concentration and death camps and real neurotic suffering and instinctual repression – obeys the Reality Principle: Art is at best a relatively harmless illusion. Thomas' world is one in which the erotic and aggressive instincts and their more or less warped expressions, reign unfettered. The governing law is the Pleasure Principle: whatever is desirable is real. Thus Lisa does not 'really' die at Babi Yar. Freud's four sisters really did die – though not at Babi Yar.

The radical vitiating flaw of *The White Hotel* then, is the impossibility of transforming the facts of Freud's life, character and concepts into a surrealist phantasy in any fashion which works. The proof of this is the way the six parts of the novel – so widely different in place, time, style and subject matter – refuse to fuse and cohere. Thomas instead confuses throughout the logic and facts of Freud's and the real world on the one hand, and his world of free artistic play on the other.

I have already given several examples of this. Here is another — perhaps the most basic incompatibility of all. Freud in personality and theory is often incorrectly described as a resigned amoralist. In truth, while this description well fits the moral attitude of Thomas' characters to human suffering, alienation, violation and their social-institutional causes, this is most assuredly false of Freud in both person and theory. The real world must be understood and changed as far as possible. Far greater sexual and political freedom are possible and desirable, if but only if illusion-free reason is exercised and developed to create more rational (less irrationally repressive) institutions. The vision of a rational, relatively non-repressive society is the revolutionary motivating cause and aim of Freudian theory and therapy. In this project, the resigned amoral conduct of Thomas' world and characters is childish — idiotic — in the precise sense. Freud is the committed,

illusion-free moralist, Thomas the wishful thinker: "Anyway", continued Lisa, "I think wherever there is love, of any kind, there is hope of salvation. She had an image of a bayonet flashing over spread thighs, and corrected herself hastily: 'Wherever there is love in the heart'. 'Tenderness?'. 'Yes, exactly!'"

So I think *The White Hotel* is a radical failure, as a novel. Yet the writing in the book's several parts is often very fine indeed. Thomas is to be admired for the boldness and courage of his endeavour. But frankly, *pace* Thomas, Freud took us further and deeper into each person's white hotel than this. I look forward to Thomas' next novel with great respect and interest.

PAT FLANAGAN

THE EGO AND ITS OWN

The Ego and Its Own by Max Stirner. Rebel Press £4.50.

THIS is one of the great books of the modern age. Sidney Parker in his Introduction writes: '*The Ego and Its Own* is not the easiest of books to read'. The translator, Steven Byington, aware of the reader's task, writes: 'I have simply tried to reproduce the author's own mixture of colloquialisms and technicalities, and his preference for the precise expression of his thought rather than the word conventionally expected'.

Translation is an art rather than a science, not only when the author himself is struggling to express difficult concepts such as 'the ego', 'the spirit', 'spiritual' in relation to historical and religious movements, but more especially when an interval of one hundred and twenty years lies between its first publication and the translation. More importantly when, in that interval, our imagery has been revolutionised by Darwin and Freud.

The style is difficult not only because the translation adheres too closely for the comfort of a modern reader to the idiom of the original, but also because, in order to escape the scrutiny of the political censor during this counter-revolutionary period in Europe, many of the references are left somewhat obscure.

The theme of the book is: 'My concern is neither the divine nor the human, not the true, good, just, free, etc but is — unique — as I am unique. Nothing is more to me than myself!'. So the title of the book could equally well have been *The Ego and Its Uniqueness* or *The Ego and Its Own Territory*. Stirner systematically examines the falsity of religious and political doctrines that have come to be taken as almost axiomatic — that God is good but that Man is evil: that the good of Society is of more importance than the satisfaction of the individual . . .

He takes each concept in turn — 'spirit', 'God', 'State', 'Society' — dissects it and exposes it for what it is: the expression of a new power group masquerading under the guise of a 'higher' form. So the old 'absolute monarch' is overthrown and is replaced by the 'absolute state'. The old monarch had to compromise with certain powerful interests — barons, guilds — but the new state more and more takes over all the organs through which men express themselves and gains a position from which it is able to strangle dissent almost at birth. The Totalitarian State — capitalistic or communistic — has assumed a power that has a Kafkaesque and nightmarish quality suffocating to individuality.

Stirner sees all creeds, whether religious or political, as means to subordinate the individual to some form of ruling power. He anticipates Freud in seeing how fear is used to inculcate belief so that the control of the individual's behaviour becomes 'internalised'. Those who have been frightened into a belief in God or Devil now have the 'internalised parent' or 'conscience' to wag the finger whenever they are tempted to follow their real inclinations.

He is indeed a liberated reader who does not have a frisson of anxiety or a glow of approval when he sees 'noble sentiments' such as 'the public good' or 'freedom' or 'morality' in print or hears them mouthed by politicians whose personal lives may not exemplify their platitudes. Again, Stirner anticipated Freud's formulation of aggression as in the nature of human beings (Darwin's 'drive to survive') and with some conflict, therefore, unavoidable.

The first half of the book traces the development of the forces used to subdue natural man in religion and politics. The second half opens with an analysis of 'eigenheit' or 'ownness' from the title *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* and is, in effect, a discussion of the differences that distinguish 'freedom to' from 'freedom from': 'if you become free from everything, you would no longer have anything; for freedom

is empty of substance. Whoso knows not how to make use of it, for him it has no value . . . but how I make use of it depends on my personality'. Now we might define 'personality' as a complex of knowledge, skills, energy and imagination. Part of this discussion anticipates Sartre (see p 150) but is refreshingly down to earth.

'How one acts only from himself, and asks after nothing further, the Christians have realised in the notion 'God'. He acts 'as it pleases *him*!'

(my italics MD)

'You long for freedom? You fools! If you took might, freedom would come of itself.'

The bulk of the second half of the book minutely considers the nature of the individual, steadily teasing out the elements of 'collectivism' that invade our consciousness as a result of unremitting pressures on us to be other than ourselves; to model ourselves on some abstract 'ego'. Stirner's concern is with the individual man rather than with 'Man'; with me as I really am here and now at every moment rather than with the 'me' that I have been persuaded, conditioned or bullied into thinking I ought to be:

'Man is the last evil *spirit* or spook, the most deceptive or most intimate, the craftiest liar with honest mien, the father of lies . . . It would be foolish to assert that there is no power above mine. Only the attitude I take toward it will be quite another than that of the religious age: I shall be the *enemy* of every higher power, while religion teaches us to make it our friend and be humble toward it.'

It is commonly assumed that the purpose of the therapist in psychotherapy or psychoanalysis is to help the 'patient' to conform with the demands being made on him by society (in whatever form) more easily. This was certainly no part of Freud's intention nor can it be part of the purpose of any therapist who respects his client. People develop 'neuroses' predominantly because they have been made to feel guilty about their own perfectly natural impulses such as sex and aggression. The therapist has to help the client to accept his impulses as natural and healthy; only then can he begin to understand why he developed a sense of guilt associated with them and begin to break free of the 'inter-

nalised controls' which also impede his rational self. Part of the process of therapy is a dialogue through which the client not only accepts himself fully and freely, but learns realistically to understand his own powers and the powers of those who hitherto have controlled him. It is Stirner's great insight that he equates freedom with power. Marx intuitively saw such an insight on the part of all people to render it impossible for the Communist or any other party to exert control over the masses.

Stirner's Ego is nearer to Freud's Id — that harmoniously integrated bundle of impulses, appetites and emotions, constantly fluctuating according to natural internal pulses in the organism or according to changes in the external environment. His Society to Freud's Superego — that pattern of prohibitions, inhibitions and ideals imposed by society and its agents, of whom the first and most influential are the parents, on the helpless child.

In relation to the tension between individual and society not only Liberals and the SDP but especially the Labour Party should read with particular care pages 197 to 200, part of Stirner's expose of the illusions of 'liberal' politics.

One is tempted simply to go on quoting from the pungent aphorisms that compel the reader to continue even when the style is difficult. The time has come, perhaps, for someone to rewrite the book in a modern idiom, leaving the more obscure contemporary political references to fully annotated but separate ends of chapters and keeping the central arguments close to the direct and concrete style that is so powerful. There are few books or even essays that so deeply and intimately explore the true nature of anarchism because so few explore the true nature of the individual.

MICHAEL DUANE

Anarchism in Austria

AFTER nearly a half century of deepest unconsciousness Austrian anarchism has turned over a new leaf in the middle of the 20th and has won back its vitality in such a way, that now it is able to appear as a self-confident and powerful organism. It follows very closely the worker's-anarchism of Pierre Ramus (Rudolf Grossman) which he propagated in the first third of this century. He strived for intellectual knowledge as well as for social liberation and the building

of models and examples of anarchist organization. All his life long Pierre Ramus dedicated his private activities to THE RECREATION OF SOCIETY BY COMMUNIST ANARCHISM and founded a complete planned social design, which included all areas of human living and working. The advent of fascism abruptly destroyed all anarchist beginnings and the base of all libertarian thinking and acting in Austria for a long time. In Graz, since 1976, the journal BEFREIUNG has been coming out every three months. It stands in a tradition close to Pierre Ramus' communist anarchism. It is a 'social-critical periodical for libertarian socialism', a 'fanal for socialistic humanism'. It represents consequently the ideas of communist anarchism and propagates its history, principles and goals. So far there have been published 25 issues of BEFREIUNG and every number is sent free from an edition of 500 copies.

In Vienna, since 1980, a group of 30 anarchists publish the 'anarchist magazine' *LIBERTE* which also stands close to the pragmatic worker's-anarchism in Austria. The Viennese comrades understand anarchism as standing up for definite principles like the absence of domination, decentralization, self-government, mutual aid, direct action, free love and similar freedom for every human being. They are convinced that for real anarchists it is crucial to live in an anarchist way and to fight against the dominant political consciousness and against state domination. They understand the state as the manifestation of dominion over everyday life so they must direct themselves to a criticism of the dominant structures of thinking and living. In the same way, a change in human consciousness will take place, human beings will recognize their oppression as voluntarily chosen and they will offer resistance, then the power of the state will fall to the ground. Therefore it is not adequate for an anarchist movement only to stay in motion in order to obtain a change of the dominant social arrangement. There is a much stronger need to define its principles and goals for both those inside and outside.

The Viennese comrades (in a lot of articles in *LIBERTE*) fight against the state about social consciousness and about everyday life and show their meaning of an 'alternate consciousness and life' which they understand as a 'self-dependent thinking and acting'. This must be directed towards intellectual and material separation from the dominant structures of society and towards the building of an alternative life, an alternative culture and an alternative production with all one's might. So the anarchist movement has to fight in the first place against the destruction of the individual capacity for decision-making by the actual political system so that the people can recognize that today their lives are reduced to a tiny item in the cost-profit calculation of the state and economic monopolists. The people have to take cognizance of the need to tear away their lives from the clutches of the different bureaucrats and despots. But resistance is not an individual problem and must be set into the relationship of social changes. For that reason the Viennese anarchists founded the Co-operative of Self-Managing Operations.

All members will have a maximum of individual realization along with social and economic independence in the projects, which are owned and managed by all the people who are living and working there. So all domination of people over people will be eliminated, so that there is a positive practice against all dominant tyrannies. 'We can not fight against an enemy whose bread we eat!'. Therefore this project of a counter-economy has to be established without any state support and state dependence in the milieu of a real, constructive counter-movement which insists on political demands like federalism, self-managing, co-operation and individualism. The main point is not only survival but also the wish for a different way of life. So they strive for the mutual earning of their livings, for the production of useful things, for the union of work and spare time and for overcoming the division of labour.

There is an important question to ask of all of these projects of a counter-economy — all of these attempts to establish non-capitalist forms of property and production without the previous total elimination of the capitalist system of state and economy: what about the danger that 'pragmatic anarchism' wipes away the goal of the SOCIAL REVOLUTION and in this way holds off from the far-reaching recreation of social life? The Viennese comrades answer that these projects can be used as the base for the further indispensable fight against all forms of dominion, power and violence. There is a great danger to all counter-economy projects that their members mistake the early stage of individual satisfaction for the more socially

extensive goal. But anarchism always demands the establishment of new forms of living and working which are needed for the striving towards anarchist society. They must give examples and make attempts in this situation of a dominated society. This dilemma can only be solved by our propaganda, which has to build up a common anarchist consciousness. So the Viennese comrades continue discussing the principles of anarchist theory and practice and start a lot of activities by various initiatives, mainly against militarism. In *LIBERTE* they write about trade unions, anarcho-education, anti-militarism, etc. They publish *LIBERTE* in an edition of 1,500 copies nearly every second month and sell most in the youth-clubs and pubs.

After the arrangement of two book-/tea-shops MONTE VERITA in Vienna and planning for the co-operation of self-managing operations, reports can now be made about the first market bookstalls. On the weekly markets in the towns near Vienna they sell books, teas and useful products, which are made by friendly workmen. The market is useful for getting into contact with the country dwellers and for building a solid economic foundation for the next projects. From this summer they are looking forward to renting three (!) farms and to selling the agricultural products in the market. Each unit of production (bookshop, farm, etc) keeps its total autonomy and the members who want to live and/or work together, organize their way of living and working themselves. But there is the possibility that every member is able to change across the projects following individual talents from time to time. The full assembly of the co-operative only has co-ordinating duties.

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ANARCHISTS, PRINTERS AND
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Journey through Utopia

Marie Louise Berneri, *Journey through Utopia*, Freedom Press 1982. £1.95 + 62p postage.

Colin Ward, *Anarchy in Action*, Freedom Press 1982. £1.50 + 32p postage.

BOTH of these books made their first appearances, in 1950 and in 1973 respectively, under the imprints of commercial publishers. The generosity of a comrade, A Bartell, has now made possible their republication by Freedom Press at prices which all but the most indigent can afford. If the 'give-away' prices are not temptation enough, book collectors should also note that the two volumes are the first to bear the imprint as printers of Aldgate Press – the new venture made possible by another Friend of Freedom Press: Hans Deichmann. Here, then, are two books which henceforth should be found on every anarchist's shelves.

The new edition of Berneri's work is a poignant reminder of how much her untimely death in 1949 at the age of 31 was a grievous loss to the cause of anarchism. As the companion of Vernon Richards, she was joint editor of the journals which marked the revival of anarchist thought and activity in the late 1930's, the war and immediate post-war years. In *Spain and the World* (1937 – 39), in *War Commentary* (1939 – 45), and in the new *FREEDOM* from 1945 until just before her death, she made significant and incisive contributions to anarchist journalism. As might be expected of the daughter of Camillo Berneri, the Italian anarchist murdered by Communist agents in Barcelona, she wrote extensively on the Spanish Revolution. Had her life not been cut short, she would undoubtedly have written an important book on that heroic but also tragic struggle. In the event, among the less ephemeral of her contributions to anarchist literature, she left us her *Workers in Stalin's Russia* (1944) and the present book which was published posthumously.

Coming from a person so actively involved in the struggle for social revolution, a book on the subject matter of *Journey through Utopia* may seem surprisingly 'academic'. If she had accepted the publisher's original idea of the project – a compilation of extracts from the best-known Utopian writings – the book would have been probably no more than a useful academic exercise. But Berneri rejected the publisher's plan as both otiose and inadequate. Instead of presenting a mere compilation of extracts, she insisted on taking the reader on an intellectual journey that was spiced with her own extended and perceptive commentary. It is, of course, the perspective from which this commentary was offered which makes the book such an original presentation of the subject and which led reviewers in 1950 to praise it highly, among them Lewis Mumford (himself the author of a notable work on Utopias) who pronounced Berneri to be 'the best of guides to this super-world'.

Her anarchist perspective made Berneri at one and the same time both appreciative and critical of the impulse which has led a certain type of thinker from Plato onwards to indulge their fancies in depicting ideal commonwealths. Appreciative because, in contrast with 'practical' men who are easily satisfied with compromises and half-measures, they had the imagination to envisage really radical solutions to the problems that plagued the societies in which they wrote. And critical because, as she had frequent occasion to emphasise, utopian visionaries have displayed all too often a decidedly authoritarian streak in their thinking. The majority of utopias, she pointed out, have been both revolutionary and progressive, but few have been entirely revolutionary. In depicting imaginary societies in which certain forms of slavery are absent, utopian writers have also often depicted societies in which the people have 'become the slaves of the Nation and the State'. The contradictions inherent in most utopias are due to their authors' authoritarian approach. As she wisely observed, 'The builders of utopias claimed to give freedom to the people, but freedom which is given often ceases to be freedom'.

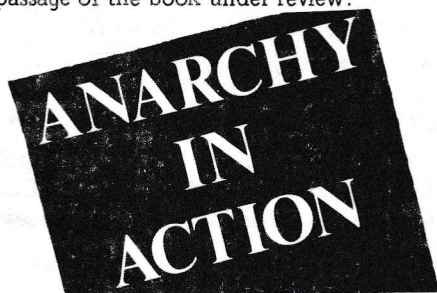


Marie Louise Berneri

Berneri's anarchist perspective explains why her journey makes excursions into some relatively unfamiliar and sometimes marginal territory, such as Winstanley's *Law of Freedom*, de Foigny's *Terra Incognita Australis* and Diderot's *Bougainville* – since the visions of these writers were essentially libertarian. The journey includes also, of course, a visit to the most celebrated of all libertarian utopias, Morris' *News from Nowhere*. 'After the stifling atmosphere of Cabet's and Bellamy's utopias, with their complicated bureaucratic machines run by an all-wise, all-pervading state, William Morris' utopian England', she observes, 'appears like an oasis . . . Here we can live, because we have not been catalogued and directed, but left to arrange our lives as we think fit'.

At the end of her conducted tour, Berneri noted that the fashion for utopian schemes seemed to be dying out. In fact, the writing of utopias was giving way to the writing of dystopias, the most powerful of which is Orwell's 1984 which was published only shortly after Berneri's book was written. Since the message of 1984 underlined her own critical evaluation of the authoritarian aspects of the utopian tradition of thought, it is a matter of further regret that we do not have her comments on Orwell's terrible vision of a world totally corrupted by power.

In introducing the first of her extracts – that from Plato's *Republic* – Berneri points out that Plato's essentially totalitarian ideas were directed mainly against the Sophists. The Sophists believed that it was with the coming of political institutions that people had lost the natural freedom and equality which they had enjoyed in the past Golden Age. The ideas of the Sophists were taken up by the Cynics and the Stoics who regarded the State as a conventional ie man-made institution in which there were no class or other social distinctions between human beings. This idea of a 'natural order', contrasted with an imposed political order, provides an intellectual link between these ancient Greeks and modern anarchists. In anarchist thought, it is expressed in the form of a belief in a 'natural society' on which has been superimposed, to the detriment of the majority of mankind, a 'political society', or State. This belief is combined with the conviction that, by overthrowing or dispensing with political institutions, it is possible to restore in its integrity 'natural society', thus achieving a new Golden Age in the future. In the writings of more sophisticated anarchist theorists, such as Kropotkin, 'natural society' is conceived not merely (if at all) as a past historical fact or as a description of an ideal future but also, and mainly, as an existential truth of the present, in the here and now. The basic anarchist idea is vividly restated by Colin Ward in the opening passage of the book under review:



'How would you feel if you discovered that the society in which you would really like to live was already here, apart from a few little local difficulties like exploitation, war, dictatorship and starvation? The argument of this book is that an anarchist society, a society which organises itself without authority, is always in existence, like a seed beneath the snow, buried under the weight of the state and its bureaucracy, capitalism and its waste, privilege and its injustices, nationalism and its suicidal loyalties, religious

differences and their superstitious separatism . . . Far from being a speculative vision of a future society, it is a description of a mode of organisation, rooted in the experience of everyday life which operates side by side with, and in spite of, the dominant authoritarian trends of our society.'

Since its first appearance, *Anarchy in Action* has deservedly won for itself the reputation of being a contemporary anarchist classic, a brilliant exposition of anarchism today; or, more circumspectly, an exposition of one of several possible interpretations of anarchism, in my view the one that is sanest. From the perspective implied in the last sentence of the passage quoted above, Ward presented anarchism as a living doctrine, closely related to current activities, even if those who were engaged in those activities were not always or usually aware of the relation. For the new edition, Ward has written a ten-page introduction in which he takes note of critical comments on the first edition, adds other comments, and provides references to several relevant publications that have appeared in the intervening years (including, naturally, a few of his own). This introduction enhances the value of the book and makes possession of the new edition desirable even for those who own a copy of the original edition.

In the new introduction Ward describes his book as, in a sense, 'simply an extended, updating footnote to Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*'. This reviewer has to say that that description is overly modest. Some footnote! And would that all footnotes were so readable! But one can see the point. Ward has studied Kropotkin deeply and his own writings are happily endowed with the same 'inventive and pragmatic outlook' which Orwell noted as characterising Kropotkin's work. Certainly, it is easy to imagine the shade of the old 'anarchist prince' smiling fondly on Ward's book.

Ward also tells us in the introduction that his original preference as a title was 'Anarchism as a theory of organisation'. I trust that I betray no great confidence when I add the information – communicated to me by Ward in a letter about my review of the first edition in *Peace News* – that it was the publisher who objected to the proposed title on the ground that the inclusion of the word 'organisation' (not 'anarchism'!) would be the kiss of death to the book. More interesting, perhaps, is the point, also made in the same letter, that, in his view, the trouble with almost all books about anarchism is that 'they are all 'Chapter One' – a general introduction to the subject, while mine was meant to be 'Chapter Five or maybe Six'; about this particular aspect of anarchism (as organisation), which is the one that appeals to me'. Ward added, in reference to my discussion of the viability of the strategy implied in his approach, that 'I was not specifically concerned with matters of 'realisation' at all, which may seem silly, but in fact most people's objection to anarchism is not at all on this level, but an earlier one: that it is based on a mistaken view of human nature'.

As a teacher myself, I now recognise the profound insight contained in those remarks: the best and most persuasive introductions to a subject are not the usual clod-hopping 'Chapter Ones' but the 'Chapter Fives' written by a master of the subject. Ward's book, aptly titled or not, is a good illustration of this truth, and the new Freedom Press edition of it will surely not be the last.

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My original preference as a title was the more cumbersome but more accurate 'Anarchism as a theory of Organisation' because as I urge in my preface that is what the book is about. It is not about strategies for revolution and it is not involved in speculation on the way an anarchist society would function. It is about the ways in which people organise themselves in any kind of human society, whether we care to categorise those societies as primitive, traditional, capitalist or communist...

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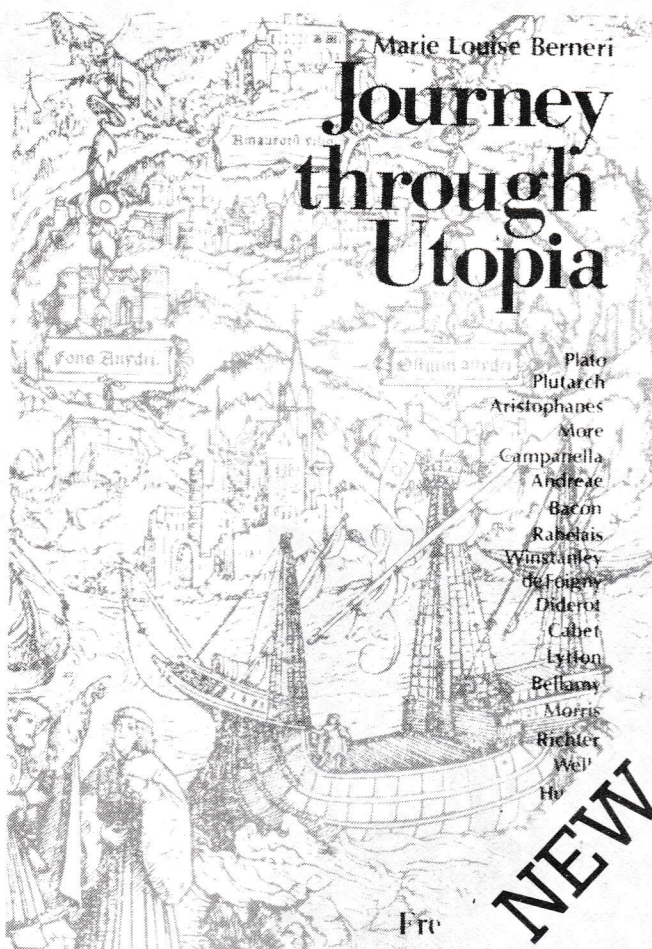
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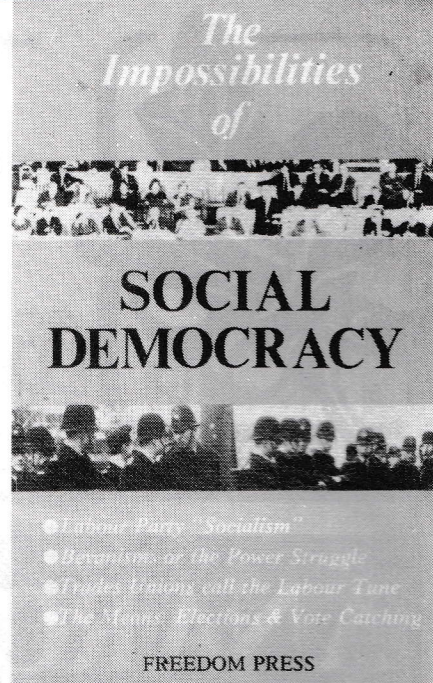
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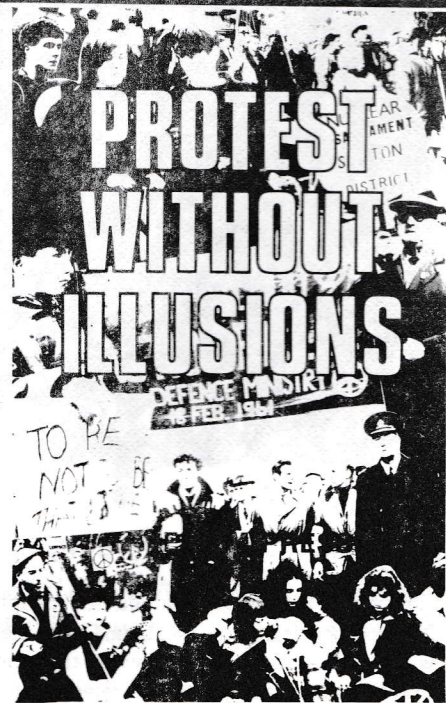
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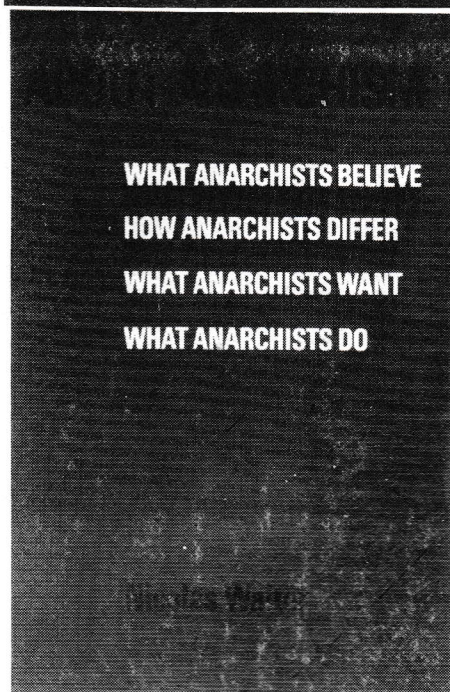
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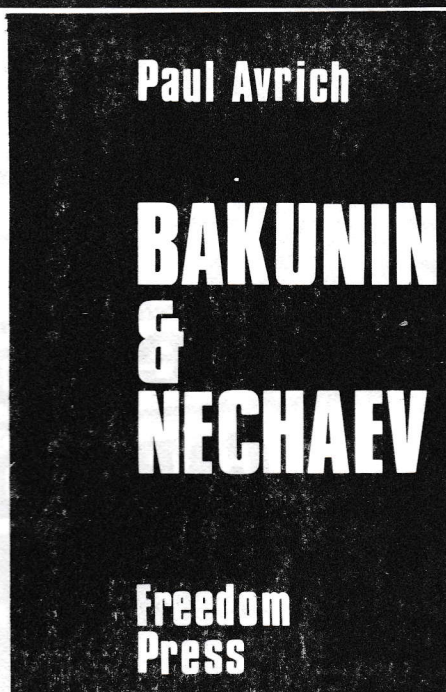
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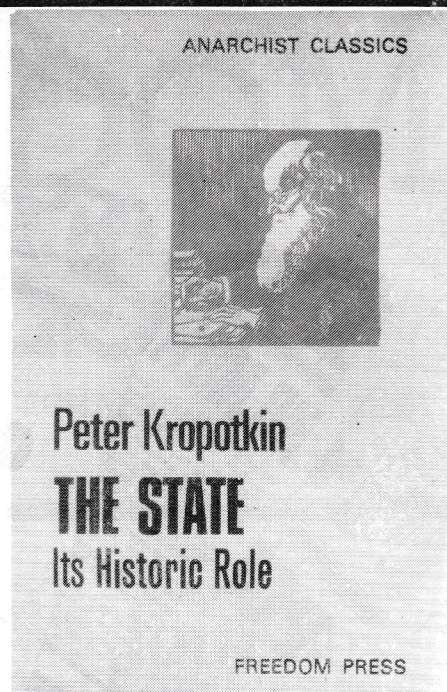
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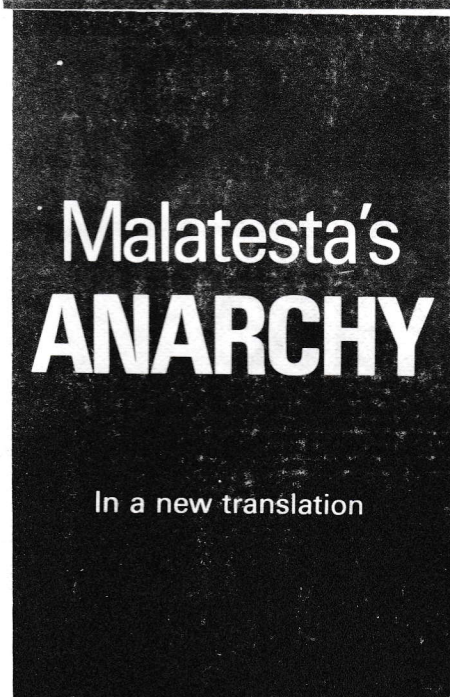
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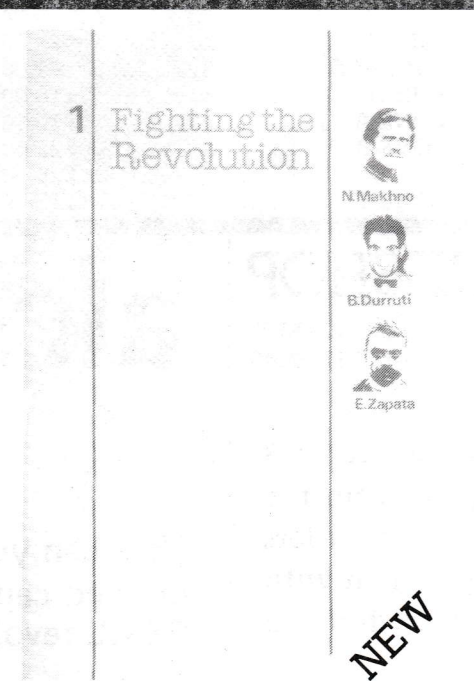
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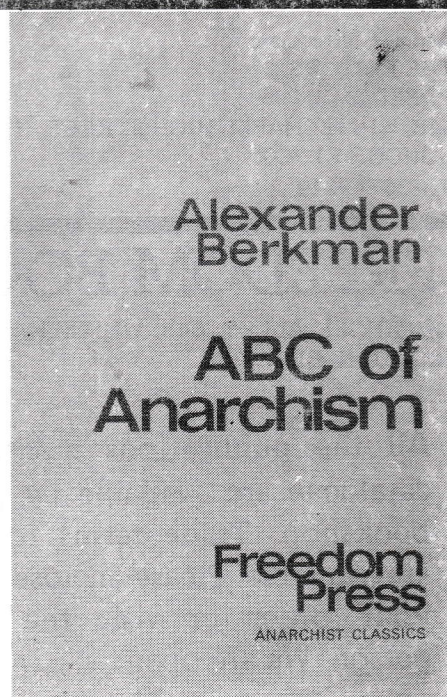
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