

inside

anarchist fortnightly

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editorial

The games people play are many and varied. Today we are swamped with news and pictures of the World Athletics Championships from Helsinki, next year it will be the Olympics in Los Angeles, two years ago it was the World Cup. All this on top of a weekly diet of 'Sport' that the public are regularly force fed. From high-tech professionals rushing round (and round and round . . .) a race track at 180mph to so-called amateurs sprinting 100 metres in under 10 seconds. The cricket season draws on through the commentary of radio reporters and the football season is about to start on the terraces.

The Greeks started it all, as with many other things, with the original Olympic Games. As part of the celebrations in honour of their gods, races were run javelins were thrown fights were fought. Not only were the first contestants handsomely paid for success but the games themselves were more obviously related to the battlefields and the wars that they imitated.

The Romans moved up a step and introduced mass audiences for their atrocities in the Coliseum and similar venues. It was they who coined the phrase 'panem et circenses', already the practice of social control was well understood.

The barbarities of bear-baiting and cock-fighting as mass events are in the not so distant past and Spaniards still seem to get some sort of vicarious pleasure out of seeing helpless bulls massacred. Let alone the ever popular sport of trying to beat the living daylight out of someone, called Boxing.

The actual sportsmen and women themselves are beginning to fall physically to pieces as they overtrain and overstrain in pursuit of fame and/or money. Egged on by the hungry public behind them, in almost every event you care to watch someone ends up needing medical treatment and a stretcher.

And where does all this leave those of us who would kick a football around on a Sunday afternoon or play cricket in an alley. As with every other field of human activity the authoritarian nature of our society can leave nothing unsullied and the fine pleasure of competition and sport becomes twisted and warped in our hands so as to better serve the needs of our masters. Just as with freedom itself where we are forced back into a corner and have to compromise everyday in order to survive so we let ourselves listen to the cricket, but hold to no side, see the athletics, admire their grace and stamina, watch the football and not care who wins, or do we?

THE SPORT OF TIGER SHOOTING



The rising tensions in Central America and the South Atlantic are already beginning to push Sri Lanka into the shade. So small is the modern world, so quickly do we learn its news, so inured have we become to the fresh horrors of each day, that by the time this issue goes to press the bloodshed in Sri Lanka will already be forgotten by most people in this country. Yet it's worth dwelling upon a little longer.

Reports from Sri Lanka are unreliable because of the government monopoly on the dissemination of news. But it's now generally accepted that about 300 people (almost all Tamils) were murdered, and that hundreds of houses, shops and factories were destroyed. Tourists were able to watch Tamils being burned to death at the main railway station. Sinhalese prisoners massacred Tamils on two separate occasions in the same prison. Troops raged about killing any Tamils they lighted upon. And they presided over the pillage. Camps in Colombo and elsewhere have filled with over 40 000 Tamil refugees.

The government line is that of the classic conspiracy theory. It didn't really know what was going on, but it does know that foreign 'Marxist-Leninists' were responsible and that three of the banned political parties in Sri Lanka were 'directly involved'. Meanwhile President JR Jayewardene has received sympathetic treatment in the British press. He's been portrayed as a man who, confronted with extremist separatist demands for a Tamil state in the north, and sporadic acts of violence by Tamil separatists (notably the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), has done his level best to protect them from themselves.

Michael Hamlyn of *The Times* (8 August), discussing the recent banning of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) says this: *The amendment (to the constitution) is tantamount to proscribing the TULF and it remains to be seen how the party will react. It would be pleasant to think that the TULF would adapt to the new situation, and*

continue to work within the democratic system, but experience has shown that whenever moderates come forward within the Tamil community the terrorists drive them back.

The Observer says: *Sri Lanka has had a relatively peaceful history, being associated in the public mind with upmarket package holidays rather than intercommunal violence.*

Well, let's have a look at this democracy of a relatively peaceful island.

It consists of a majority Sinhalese population, by religion Theravada Buddhist, and a minority Tamil population, by religion Hindu. The Tamils themselves are divided between those who came to Sri Lanka 2 000 years ago, and the 'plantation Tamils', brought over in appalling conditions from South India by the British during the last century as cheap labour for the tea plantations. Under the British, however, Tamils also became a favoured elite; it was largely they who ran the colony's administration.

After Sri Lankan independence the Sinhalese took power, leaving the Tamils to struggle with increasing impatience and anger for the survival of their culture. The emergence of the 'Young Boys' Movement, or Tamil Tigers, with their dreams of the re-establishment in modern form of the ancient Tamil kingdom of Eelam in the north, can be seen as a response to government inflexibility in regard to the Tamil population as a whole, at least as much as it can be seen, from the other side, as a sign of unreasonable intransigence.

But Sri Lanka has not only been divided on racial and nationalist grounds. In 1971, in the days of the Bandaranaike residency, *Janata Vimukhti Peramuna*, was involved in an attempt at insurrection. The government declared an emergency which lasted from March 1971 to February 1977. During this time around 14 000 men and women were detained without trial and civil liberties drastically curtailed.

In 1977 the United National Party, which is still in power, took office. A new constitution

was promulgated, prisoners were released, lip service was paid to human rights and both Tamil and Sinhala were proclaimed national languages (with Sinhala remaining the official language). But the government didn't feel any more secure in power than did its predecessors. During 1978 and 1979 special emergency legislation was introduced (permitting, for example, prolonged detention in police custody without charge or trial). Torture became widespread under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and police officers found guilty of torture have actually been promoted by the government. People have 'disappeared' and bodies, often seriously mutilated, have turned up under bridges and other places where mutilated bodies are likely to be found. After the presidential election of October 1982 emergency rule was established to avert post-election violence. Many people, including members of the country's main opposition parties, were arrested and imprisoned. In July 1983, before the most recent events, fresh emergency legislation was introduced. It allowed police to bury or cremate the bodies of dead people without anyone being present or without inquest procedures.

This is the democratic system referred to by *The Times*, and it's been around for a long time.

Anarchists are familiar with the argument, constantly advanced to them, that if states and their armies were abolished chaos would result.

From this it follows that what has happened in Sri Lanka, for instance, is not chaos but an unfortunate aberration.

'The Tamils were the victims', says Jayewardene, explaining his tough measures against separatism, 'I had to protect them' He also says, 'Before there can be any progress, terrorism must be eliminated.' He also says that he is forestalling dictatorship.

He can get away with such crap precisely because states are still largely seen in this way, as protectors of a morally fragile population, as arbiters between warring sides, as eliminators of terrorism, and not as themselves

perpetrators of a kind of systematic chaos, and generators of terrorism. Yet only a short time before the escalation of violence in Sri Lanka we saw a demonstration of the pure fallacy of this view when a group of Armenians assaulted the Turkish embassy in Lisbon and diplomats and their families were killed. The Armenians were automatically labelled terrorists. But their act had been provoked by a government's calculated elimination of an entire civilisation, the killing of at least 2 million Armenians during a massive deportation in the first part of this century. This was not labelled terrorist. Nor was it described as chaos.

The recent events in Sri Lanka, following hard upon the events in Lisbon, have acted as a powerful reminder that dictatorships and democracies differ only in the degree of terrorism, not in the quality of it. Terrorism must be eliminated, says the President. The terrorist role of the Sri Lankan army, who refused to discuss substantial evidence of the shooting and beating to death of Tamils by the security forces have before the present massacres took place, killed when and where they chose, and egged on Sinhalese civilians, is by now well-established. There is a well-grounded belief, too, that the slaughter of prisoners, supposed to be held under the protection of the state, was itself orchestrated by the state. The killers in Welikada prison didn't kill indiscriminately, as was reported, and as enraged mobs do, but according to plan, and the killings took place on two separate days in the same place; the second time was only a day after a government inquiry had published its findings with extraordinary, and suspicious rapidity. Behind the horror of the last weeks stands a whole apparatus of legislation which, while claiming to protect, breeds only frustration and despair. And finally, behind this, lies the old protective shadow of whiskered imperialism. The British bowed out of Sri Lanka in a gentlemanly fashion many years ago, but they left it, like so much of the world, to lick over wounds that refuse to heal.

■ Populist Authoritarianism

As a long time reader of FREEDOM I was dismayed that you would print the article *Anti-Porn March* by SCB (FREEDOM, 4 June 1983). Are we to infer from the fact that you printed such a piece that the FREEDOM collective approves of both the activities described therein and the supportive sentiments expressed by the author? Since no editorial comment was appended, such an inference would appear to be justified. If such is the case, then I am puzzled as to the nature of the 'anarchism' you endorse. The ideology of anarchism surely requires the condemnation of all attempts at censorship, whether carried out by governments or by private individuals or groups, for at the heart of this ideology is respect for the autonomy of individuals. Sadly, the article in

question revealed not the slightest acquaintance with this fact. Instead, the article described with approval a series of vigilante actions designed to harrass the frequenters of bookstores that sell sexually explicit materials. One of the actions was the ritualistic mutilation of a copy of *Playboy*. (If *Playboy* is to be mutilated, can the mutilation of the works of Rabelais, de Sade, Lawrence, Henry Miller, and Alex Comfort be far behind?)

I think it is clear that if the same actions had been carried out by the police or by some right-wing vigilante group (led by, say, Mary Whitehouse or Lord Longford), FREEDOM's condemnation would have been immediate and unequivocal. Apparently the FREEDOM collective is of the opinion that censorship

is not really censorship if it is imposed by a group that knows how to use trendy radical rhetoric. Nor is coercion really an assault on individual autonomy if it is practised by those who profess to speak in the name of that monstrous abstraction, 'the people'. This 1984ish corruption of language, so clearly implicit in your publication of the article, will hardly attract newcomers to anarchism, nor will it encourage the continued support of FREEDOM by those whose anarchism has not been corrupted by the incoherent fantasies of Marcuse and the impenetrable jargon of other continental radical gurus.

The *Anti-Porn March* article is but one in a long sequence of disappointing articles that have appeared in FREEDOM. Coming after the notorious *Anti-Ecology*

article, innumerable articles praising with faint damns the lunatic-terrorist ultra-left, scores of articles that view capitalism and *not* Marxism-Leninism as the principal enemy of freedom, and articles that imply that Noam Chomsky (an apologist for Pol Pot) is some kind of anarchist, the June 4 article played for me the role of 'penultimate straw'. If anarchism cannot be sharply distinguished from populist authoritarianism, it does not deserve to continue. For if such were to be the case, then anarchism would have to be classified as just another 19th Century 'dream of reason' which, like all such dreams, has produced an ample supply of monsters.

MG Anderson

■ The Nature of Porn

I feel I must write a few words in reply to Joe Peacott's letter (2nd July). So Joe you think that women — and men — taking action against pornography 'seems to be a clear interference with free speech and expression, and should be opposed and condemned by anarchists'. Such a statement reveals a very naive understanding of the nature of pornography and is unfortunately typical of modern day Alex Comforts — a sexual reactionary if ever there was one — and self-styled 'free-thinkers'.

Porn degrades and exploits women. If it doesn't then how do you explain the actual con-

tent of pornographic magazines, films, etc? Women are clearly shown as objects to be used and abused as *men* see fit. Sex is seen as competition between men for women *they* consider 'attractive' — ie physically — and for those men who 'lose out', pornography serves to satisfy their 'fantasies'. As a man who during my teenage years consumed such shit I talk from some experience.

Porn reinforces a society based on sexual competition and the sexual exploitation of women by men. Taking action against porn does not constitute censorship because porn — unlike most literature — is not just about ideas,

but it is ideas *put into practice*. It is the difference between a porn mag and a book written by a fascist — the latter *talks* about exploitation, the former *does* it.

If mutilating porn mags interferes with freedom I'm damned if I can see why. Unless by 'free speech' you mean freedom to verbally abuse people, or by 'free expression' you mean paedophilia and child abuse. Because pornographic magazines and films come into very much the same category — just because some of the women who are being abused and degraded in this way consent to it does not mean such exploitation is right. After all, many of the

slaves in the southern USA round about the time of the civil war were opposed to slavery being abolished — as they are today in African countries such as Mauritania — but that does not justify slavery.

Of course it is true that many people opposed to pornography are also opposed to *any* free expression of sexuality and should rightly be condemned for being so. But just because you share one opinion with people whose every other opinion you disagree with need not mean your holding of that opinion is wrong. It is a question of *why*.

Gjon

■ Arthur the Ideologist

Arthur Askey (FREEDOM July 16) offers us theoretical youngsters the benefits of nearly 40 years of libertarian contemplation. Obviously wisdom such as his is eternal where facts are mere shadows, but it's still a pity that in his claims about the London Workers' Group, Askey once again doesn't have a leg to stand on. The LWG is not 'most(ly) . . . pure marxists', or indeed mostly anything. As an open discussion group without a formal membership, a variety of opinions are expressed at meetings, ranging from the odd marxist right through to the (occasionally very) odd libertarian like Arthur himself. What is true is that a majority of those attending meetings, while not agreeing about much else, do disagree with him.

Arthur's brand of libertarianism rests on two basic contentions. First, that various features of capitalist society such as the production of commodities, and their exchange through a market, are eternal economic categories and part of any future society.

Anyone who disagrees with Arthur about this is a 'marxist'. Secondly, that the only thing wrong with society is authority relations, and the only thing to be done away with is the principle of hierarchy.

From this it follows that for Arthur work isn't alienating, only the discipline imposed by bosses. Class struggle is irrelevant. Class violence is anti-social. Revolution is a matter of spreading correct libertarian ideas. And once they are accepted by everyone, and commodity production and exchange are conducted by co-operatives — organised on the correct libertarian principles — then capitalism will have ceased to exist. Anyone who disagrees with Arthur about this is not only a 'marxist' but an 'authoritarian'.

For libertarians like Arthur the most important thing is the formal structure of libertarian organisation. In practice this means having a strong written constitution so that each libertarian can see that his

freedom to act as he likes is protected at all times, and that the rule book can be appealed to when his freedom conflicts with somebody else's. Since the limits of necessary co-existence are defined in the constitution, there's no need to build new mutual social relations, or indeed for any display of tolerance towards other people or their ideas. Arthur not unjustly castigates pacifists who are 'often rather aggressive and intolerant people' and 'anti-theory activists' who 'are in fact stuffed full of theory'. He might have added libertarians, who are often remarkably unconcerned about the liberty of others.

In contrast to this sort of libertarianism the London Workers' Group was started in the belief that the different ideas people had, and the different labels they applied to themselves, were relatively unimportant beside the common problems they faced. As isolated militants in work or unemployed, wanting class struggle today, and also a revolution over-

throwing capitalism and state. The breaking of that isolation through discussion and practical solidarity was more important than peddling one of the 57 varieties of correct line. The open, often unstructured, nature of meetings, and our refusal to write a political platform or call ourselves a communist/anarchist/libertarian group, has meant that we have been rubbished from the start by organisation fetishists and purveyors of the one true ideology. Sadly it means they are still free to try their luck at converting us to their views at often tedious length — which is more than we would be if they held their own meetings. But that's the price you pay for trying to maintain an open forum for people to learn from one another's ideas and experiences. Happily we seldom have to wait long before they get bored with us and move on, like Arthur Askey, in search of another Bandwagon.

Tommy Handley

■ More on Commonweal

The best way to make up your mind about the first issue of the new *Commonweal* is obviously to read it, rather than either my review (July 2) or the replies by *Commonweal* or B. Tillet (July 16); but I shall reply to their letters for the sake of people who haven't seen the magazine, and also for the sake of the truth.

The main problem about the ambitious articles on the police, the peace movement, and the present political situation is simply that they say a great deal in terms of emotion, rhetoric and hysteria, but very little in terms of facts, arguments and conclusions. The main problem with the poem is that, however good its intentions, it is very bad as a poem. I did actually give brief reasons for my comments, but I thought it would be kinder not to go into further detail. Constructive criticism needs a basis on which construction is possible; encouragement of a new publication needs items worth encouraging; frankly I find such

things lacking in the *Commonweal*. But I still wished it good luck.

Finally, and typically, the matter of David Nicoll's mental condition is far more complex than is suggested. It is true that he has suffered a serious breakdown during his short time in prison (from April 1892 to September 1893) but it is significant that, although he lived for another 25 years, he never recovered, and it is also significant that he was already obviously unbalanced long before his imprisonment. Briefly, he was born in 1859, inherited a small fortune in 1881, spent it within a couple of years, was sent to a workhouse in 1883 for threatening a printer with a knife for refusing to print a poem, and was sent to a lunatic asylum in 1888. Meanwhile he had joined the Socialist League in 1885, later to become one of the leaders of its anarchist fraction, and with Frank Kitz was one of the main advocates of revolution through robbery and violence, editing the *Commonweal* from 1890 to 1892. He was a good

writer and a brave man, but to call him (and Kitz, who decamped with the Socialist League funds in 1891) 'more than a little crazy' is, in the circumstances, a pretty mild description.

MH

With regard to Ross Bradshaw's letter (July 16). What we wrote in *Commonweal* was taken a little more seriously than context would allow, nevertheless we will take up the point. We are quoted as saying "we hope . . . someone will have the good sense to place a brown paper bag over the head of Monseigneur Bruce Kent — and tie it tightly". We are then accused of 'sloppy thinking and elitism' because we also say that "anarchism can be relied upon as the only political force that will consistently oppose militarism". This could only be called sloppy thinking if you equate *all* violence with militarism, in which case the sloppy thinking would be on Ross's side. Militarism

is a social relationship which entails the breaking of a persons individuality, all the better for them to obey, machine-like, the commands of others, obviously we would recommend no such thing. Nor is it elitist unless you can't lay your hands on a brown plastic bag.

He further suggests that what we say would provide "valuable ammunition (sic) to those who see anarchism as the expression of mindless violence and infantile posing", but this would be so only if these people couldn't read what was written.

For our own purposes here we can distinguish two sorts of mindless violence, 1. Sadistic — the sort of generalised violence perpetrated by capitalism daily. 2. Masochistic — the sort that lets the police (and now the army) drag people through the mud, kick and punch the same, and deprive them of their liberty without offering any resistance. This too has its sadistic side — witness the co-operation between CND officials and the police.

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At Shelter's national conference, held at Nottingham University the week-end 15/17 July, the success of the Tory bargain sale of houses policy had quite an impact. It has at least brought into the open the serious disadvantages of municipal landlordism. In fact the relationship between residents and their local authority landlords has been as bad if not worse than those that are obtained in the era of private landlords.

The Nationalisation of Landlordism

Sheffield Councillor David Blunkett spoke on the theme 'Housing: a roof over our heads?' a plea for housing as a social need rather than an investment. This to be provided through constituted local authorities as before only with which does not resolve the problems of large local authorities left with their recent track record of older houses in need of renovation and newly built estates undesirable and full of costly remedy defects. Coupled with the undiminished waiting lists, going into the worst of the housing while the best is sold off at prices at which the public authority cannot replace. Those at the bottom of the pile are as usual going to be housed in the worst of the housing stock, and those fortunate enough to be owner-occupiers, are going to resist through rates and taxes subsidising their less fortunate fellows. Yet if it had been possible to create community housing in which the residents were able to control their housing I doubt whether there would have been such a large demand to hang a mortgage round their necks, yet rising municipal rents and inadequate maintenance has pushed people into this position.

'Do our cities have a future?' was the theme on which Ed Berman of *Interaction* spoke. This was a very challenging speech, he asked the audience how many of them were owner-occupiers (the majority), yet most were opposed to council house sales. I think that Berman's answer was yes, cities do have a future, if housing as a physical necessity is also taken as an integral part of the rest of the infrastructure needed to supply the people with all the other requirements that are needed to make life a pleasant and full experience. There is no doubt that many post-war housing schemes look like a Pasolini landscape and those politicians, planners, architects and building magnates are not to be seen living in them, yet they were deemed suitable for other people. Berman's thesis was that an education system should be developed to aim at enabling people to initiate their own schemes. He likened the present system to a many headed serpent which, if you chop off one of its heads, it grows another in its place. One of the biggest difficulties is the ownership and speculation in land which makes the starting price of housing in cities so high. No political party or individual since Henry George has touched this political hot potato. The most important initiative that bypassed the housing authority shambles has, of course, been the squatters movement, which in a way was a challenge to the whole concept of investment housing.

The anarchist approach

The conference divided up into small group sessions and one of them was addressed by Colin Ward on 'When we build again; alternatives to local authority provision'. This session was very popular and followed the general line in the Freedom Press book by Colin, *Housing: An Anarchist Disagree*. However there was some disagreement over the principle that residents of older council property should pay higher rents to subsidise the newer, more expensively built property. Some felt that this was a good principle that was more in accordance with anarchist principles of mutual aid. The growing housing association movement is an alternative to local authority housing and providing they remain within the control of residents will provide a solution to the demand for reasonable housing.

Rural poverty; the hidden backwater

The next session I chose was on the above subject and the area of Strathclyde was where, as the speaker Quinton Oliver, Welfare Rights Adviser to the Strathclyde Council said, there are enormous differences. You have the heavily populated Glasgow area with some of the worst housing in the country with the remote rural areas with ageing populations and many rural slums. Then there are the islands, one owned by the Earl of Strathcona, who owns the land, the housing and is practically the sole employer. The relationship is feudal but his lordship has taken very full advantage of the housing subsidies available to upgrade his housing to make it suitable for his flourishing tourist business. Electricity and water have been laid on to this particular island at enormous expense to the public purse where alternative technology could have been installed at a much lower capital cost. The social security and housing subsidies rules applicable to urban areas are quite inapplicable to those working crofts with very low income and irregular receipts. With poor communications, high cost of fuel (petrol has been £2 a gallon for a long time), the difficulties of rural areas elsewhere are here much more extreme.

Housing in London

This was a boring session led by a GLC councillor, there was a discussion on responsibilities between the representatives of other local authorities. I did raise the question that defects were still being built into public housing and that perhaps some re-education of the architectural profession was necessary, but the matter was dismissed as being of no importance. The remedying of defects is going to cost millions which could have been spent on increasing the housing stock. This meeting made me feel that the paternalistic attitude and the grey hand of bureaucracy is by no means dead, among our bright young radicals of the left of the Labour party. In spite of David Blunkett's eloquent defence of public sector housing, Colin Ward's contention that the nature of the beast made it unable to change its spots is nearer the truth.

Building with our own hands

This talk by an ex-miner was an example of self help in the provision of housing for the old people in the community to which they were attached. The project up in Sunderland cost £75,000, none of which came from the state funds, the largest sum came from a housing charity, £25,000, the rest was raised by the usual fund raising activities and private donations that organisations go in for. Most of the work was done by people not in the building trade, but one of their number, a plumber, organised the planning of the work schedule, and various people within the community were able to give various skills



so the work was entirely voluntary. Those involved were a group of chapel people who carried out an exercise in mutual aid and self-management, that we see so little of in anarchy, that we see so little of at least. I am sure that if we were more concerned with clothing the body of our opinions with some

practical mutual aid those opinions may seem to have some relevance.

Peoples Aspirations

The final session of the conference was on 'A future for the Welfare State and Shelters campaign priorities'; addressed by Malcolm Wicks, Family Policy Studies Centre, and

Neil McIntosh, Director of Shelter. McIntosh's tenure as Chairman of Camden housing I hear was not a happy one, he is now a member of the SDP. The general approach was that Labour housing policy, which has a great influence in Shelter, has not been in touch with general feeling. People generally, quite rightly, want to have much greater control of their own living space, the public housing sector had failed to provide this, and has been something of a disaster since the war. Many prefabs put up after the war had been more successful and in fact had outlasted some of the permanent housing built since.

The Housing situation now

The housing situation for those on low incomes, the unemployed and young people, the unemployed and young people, the unemployed and young people is bleak, there are organisations trying to house these groups, but while we have a monetarist policy the resources allocated for housing are going to be small. The houses allocated to short life groups are likely to diminish, not because there is a shortage of empty houses, but that most of those houses are privately owned. While there is a shortage of housing it is encouraged and if he/she can benefit by leaving the houses empty then that is the easiest option. Buying houses reminds me of a poor cow which every time it goes back to market the auctioneer gains, everytime a house goes on the market a hoard of vultures descend, Estate agents, surveyors and solicitors. So the owner-occupier, in the uncertain economic may never own the house, even if they are allowed to remain in it. Communal ownership with shared expenses seems to be a much more attractive proposition.

Alan Albon

The last week in July saw the *Green Gathering* take place near Shepton Mallet in Somerset. Alan Albon, who ran a Freedom Press Bookstall there, reports back on the festival and Brian Moseley writes about the *Peace Convoy* who were present.

The Greens Gather

Several features of the *Green Gathering* should be of interest to anarchists. While thousands of people were getting rid of their clothes and basking in the sunshine a group of peculiar men and women in blue uniforms and funny pointed hats spent their time lurking by the roadside interfering with persons coming and onto the festival site. Paying particular attention to those whose skin colour was black and those who were young.

Police harassment was not tolerated in reply. Some black groups who were providing Caribbean food were escorted when going out for supplies. On Thursday a demonstration surrounded police posts. On Friday another group went out, half of us naked and beating drums. A police transit van was pursued towards Shepton Mallet, when they realised this crowd of naked people might actually appear in town they beat a hasty retreat. On the way back another police van was surrounded and banded upon, they drove off rapidly. The demonstration changed direction only to find another road block made up of three transit vans. They too retreated slowly finally disappearing up the main road. Flushed with success we returned to the cross-roads and danced the hokey-cokey.

There is no doubt that nudity freaks authority, encased, as Reich put it, in its 'character armour'. The Doukoubours used nudity to combat conscription in Canada. Many more of us should have actually gone down into Shepton

Mallet totally naked to press our point home.

On the Sunday the police were out again in force harassing the people going home. They had a few words which they did not seem to appreciate.

Meanwhile within the boundaries of the festival...

The only political party present was the Ecology Party which helped organise the event. Many anarchistic ideas were expressed in the seminars that they held throughout the week. There is no doubt that the point that all exploitation is closely connected is taken very seriously by a large section of the Green Movement. A large part of the Ecology Party are into decentralisation while another part believe that legis-

lation is required. As Eugene Debs once said, 'If you can lead the people into the kingdom of Heaven you can also lead them out again.' You can also lead them out again. There also can be no doubt that the pollution and general destruction of the environment provides direct evidence of the arid nature of our authoritarian and exploitative society. There are those in the party who take a more anarchic view and realise that if the majority of people accept a lot of the points the Ecology Party advocates then society will already have changed radically.

As in most movements there are those who think that a particular program and course of

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GOOD CLEAN FILTH

It is old comrades week in the London fashionable galleries, for to the cheers of the art dealers and the flutterings of multicoloured cheque books the young men who manned the canteen counter within the Royal College of Art in those hard and bitter days of the early London sixties watched, come here come there, their pretty pastels of glowing greens, vibrant scarlets, baby blues and shimmering yellows became living legends in the art dealers tax return forms. In those days of Twiggy, OZ, IT and black and white television those young revolutionaries of the wide paint brush had to fight and fight again for their place in the sun. For there were times when a State grant may have been a week overdue and with the Action Painters throwing paint over everything that was static and

every other gallery from Kasmin's to the Tate ruining building foundations and the office building industry by cornering the market in iron girders, all hand coloured, genius in the visual art field was pouring, and I mean literally T shirtwise pouring, into the arms of the dealer of the week, and that was anyone who could convert an empty fruit and veg. shop into an art gallery. Apart from an angry and bitter envy of those who made it I am indifferent. It is with a catch in the throat and that uncontrollable desire to weep that one had the first time one saw and heard Al Jolsen sing "Sonny Boy" that one enters the Barbican, the Waddington and Kasmin's gallery to view the works of Peter Phillips, Allen Jones and David Hockney, for these, along with men such as Patrick Caulfield and Derek

Boshier, ex graduates of London Royal College of Art in those swingable sixties, are painting's answer to the Chelsea Pensioners.

One feels that David Hockney's limited talent is drawing to a close, yet the records show that the sale room prices for his work go up and up. I admire him as an individual and I like and respect him as a person, yet for me I can do no more than quote what was written of Raoul Dufy (1877-1953) that "he painted light hearted scenes of recreation, applying large areas of bright colour with superimposed flowing outlines. His decorative and idiosyncratic work made him a popular but unimportant artist." Hockney's latest works are collages on view and on sale at Kasmin's gallery in Cork street and I wish them both well.

But a few laggard feet from Kasmin's gallery is the Waddington Gallery, of whom many seek to be called but few are chosen for the wine, like Michael Foot's list of Peers, is strictly for service to the cause, and on display are the sculptures of Allen Jones late, very late, of the R.C. of A. His work has always been slightly erotic and poster style commercial, and while it never raised an eyebrow, it raised a giggle, for it always seemed to concentrate on the female leg, silk stockinged and smooth man, smooth. Within the Waddington we have two dimensional figures cut out of plywood and/or fibreglass and roughly painted in brash, bright colours and, like his poster for this year's Royal Academy Summer exhibition, a nostalgic peek-a-boo back via the Tatler magazine to the Dancing Twenties and the Flaming Thirties and Eddie, the Prince of Wales bringing the whole of London to a halt by walking into the Cafe Royal wearing a white dinner jacket, but as paintings or sculptures, sorry Allen, we'll 'phone you. Let us accept that various works of Allen Jones can be, and have been, held to be erotic. The mild erotica that the galleries at times display is for ever justified by the label Art and Oscar was right when he stated that there is no good or bad morality in art, only good or bad art, and as always, with or without a white dinner jacket, Oscar Wilde was right. But standing in sombre silence before one of Allen Jones' wineless in the Waddington paintings, I question the thinking and the intentions of those who claim to be libertarians yet join in public demonstration with any vocal group of unknown political, public or social opinions with the single intention, by a display of mass public hostility, of stopping others buying, reading or viewing. It is claimed that the matter on sale within certain shops is obscene, therefore by sheer physical pressure and ultimately, one assumes, the Law one area of human knowledge or pleasure shall be censored and as always in this matter one asks who is to be the judge.

One knows that those people who demonstrate outside a shop selling pornographic material would never even consider demonstrating outside the National Gallery against the display of Rubens' plump female nudes or Botticelli's 'Birth of Venus' for they would hold that the soft porn magazine is filth while Rubens and Botticelli works are art. George Orwell, who with Mugggeridge and Socrates formed history's trinity of honourable back seat drivers, spelt out the case for the demonstrators in his review of Salvador Dali's 'Autobiography' when he wrote, and I quote from memory, that while Dali's book was a disgusting ego trip unfit for children or decent types to read or view because of its well worded implied obscenities he, Orwell, would not ban it because it was a work of art but wrote Orwell *the only things that he would ban would be the dirty postcards*

coming out of Port Said. And this is what every mealy mouthed Puritan, resting from smashing stained glass windows, every tight lipped authoritarian censoring children's reading in the name of liberty and social harmony, every unfortunate sexually obsessed neurotic intend, for like the great liberal Orwell they wish to be honourable judges reviewing, passing or rejecting what I shall read or view, for like the Catholic church, the Stalins, the Hitlers, the small town Watch committees or the authoritarians, posing as libertarians or like the noble George Orwell, they wish to take me by the hand, chained if needed, to a better, cleaner clinic, yet at the same time they talk dirty. Lesser minds than mine from Lord Chief Justices to saloon bar philosophers and amateur psychologists have delved deep into text books and beer glasses to define pornography and I would hold that it is no more than that sexual matter that produces a sense of shame in the viewer or the reader and it is the society of the day that orchestrates that sense of shame. The Gods, nymphs and lovers carvings of the Khandariya Mahadadeva temple are magnificent erotic religious art in Khajuraho, and pornography if used as a centre fold in a soft porn magazine. Joyce's 'Ulysses' on publication was deemed a work of great literature in Paris and filth in London, for in this judgement it became a matter of geography. The little girl smiling as she sits on a pot to have a pee is a charming type of Victorian sepia photograph that can be used as a decorative front for any 1983 greeting card on sale in any supermarket, but reproduce it in a paedophile magazine and it could become a criminal offence.

Use any single one of the four anglo saxon words relating to the physical functions of the human body and, as with the use of the name Yahveh among the better types of the roaming Old Testament tribes, one can be frowned out of decent society. Yet without knowing it, those demonstrators who march back and forth before some small shop demanding that the Law shall close it down rather than, for commercial profit, it should cater to a human need, have one major victory to their hysterical credit, for while oral sex, sodomy and/or bestiality can be the theme or the background subject matter for the film producer, the poet, the novelist or the playwright, no art gallery would dare exhibit a painting using these subject matters. Should they? I care not, for I agree with Oscar that there is only good or bad art. The stone carvers less than a thousand years ago used that subject matter for their temple carvings. The Greeks for decorative motifs for a plate or vase, but 1983 and in Bond street fear is the order of the day for we may not be able to ban the bomb but by God, we can frighten the artist and the gallery owner involved in High Art. Within the British Museum is another magnificent exhibition that never gets the praise it deserves. On exhibition is the 'Cycladic Art' from the collection of N.P. Goulandris. Five thousand years ago a group of small islands in the Aegean sea produced a prosperous but insular civilisation and their gift to us was to produce sculpture of a beautiful purity and a wonderful simplicity. That it is ritualised and stylised one must accept, but the twentieth century has little better to offer. Nineteenth century travellers described these female figures as 'rude', 'grotesque' and 'barbaric' and one does not doubt that in 1983 they would be willing to carry a banner outside a small pornographic bookshop, but the travellers are forgotten and we are left with the beauty of these lovely female figures in marble.

Arthur Moyses

The direct, natural, necessary relationship of man to man is the relationship of man to woman ... from the character of this relation it follows to what degree man as a species has become human...

A discourse on the recently (1972) published Ethnological Notebooks of Marx, written a few months before he died, which "show the chasm between Marx and Engels". The Notebooks "contain a pre-history of humanity" and show that the oppression of women arose "from within" primitive communist society "long before the dissolution of the primitive commune". In his *Origin of the Family*, Engels had misrepresented Marx's view, arguing that the oppression followed the overthrow of the matriarchy.

The socialist pioneers who evolved theories about 'primitive com-

munist society' were doing no more than re-write earlier religious myths that explained the existence of 'evil' in terms of a lost Paradise. Today only Jehovah's Witnesses take the fables seriously. To base her argument (for Marx, against Engels) on these mythological tales, Dunayevskaya may remain true to traditional Marxism, but it is difficult to see how it brings Marx's thoughts closer to Women's Lib. Indeed she admits a few pages later, "it's very doubtful what Marx was going to expound" when he got around to 'writing up' his notebooks.

That Engels was 'unacquainted' with much of Marx's work, that he 'edited' much of his friends posthumous material and bequeathed it to the German party that either repressed or themselves severely 'edited' it, is all unchallengeable. But more evidence is needed than Duna-

evskaya provides if we are to make Marx the founder of Women's Lib. Indeed a disturbing illustration of Dunayevskaya's 'logic' is her argument that Engels must have got Marx wrong, for how else explain the irrelevance of 'Marxism' to the Women's movement?

Engels 'The Origin of the Family', as his first major work after the death of Marx, proves the fact most glaringly today, because Women's Liberation is an Idea whose time has come, and for that the 'Origin of the Family' provides little direction.

Dunayevskaya's greatest faults are her omissions. She devotes plenty of space to quotations from Marx, where he extols the virtues of freedom and equality. But as Engels once said, 'the proof of the pudding is in the eating'. What we are not

told about is how Marx himself behaved. We are told nothing of his attitude to the women in his life - his relationship with Helene Demuth and the hiding away of his bastard son from that relationship. We are not told of the letter written to Lafargue in 1866 telling him that if he wanted to marry his daughter Laura permission would not be granted until he (Lafargue) had a secure income. Lafargue was to cease in 'unconstrained passion and manifestations of premature familiarity'. (The engagement was announced the following month, when Lafargue's parents promised their son £4,000 on his marriage!) So much for the opposition to bourgeois marriage!

Marxists frequently insist that theory and practice must go together. Again, it is all very well for

Dunayevskaya to give us lengthy quotations from Marx about the 'higher morality'; but it was Marx who organized the expulsion of Bakunin from the international on the basis that he was a 'swindler' and manipulated the organization transferring it to New York. This is how Dunayevskaya describes these events:

And when at its height the International was disintegrating, he did not consider that its end. On the contrary, he sent it away to make sure, however, that it would not 'suddenly' get a totally new philosophy - in this case, anarchism - which was waiting in the wings.

One cannot but feel that if Dunayevskaya had removed her 'coloured glasses' while she wrote, her book could have been a masterpiece.

Bob Potter



Still from Bunuel's *L'Age d'Or*.

Luis Bunuel

continued from page 3

action is a solution to all human problems. The mixing of exploitation with symbiotic relationships is a misunderstanding of the real world. The rigidity of ideologies, religions and anti-religions are the cause of a lot of human suffering. The anarchist tries to replace ideology with understanding, which is why a lot of anarchist thinkers from Kropotkin to Murray Book-

chin have concerned themselves with the whole human environment.

Many people were pleased to see the FREEDOM presence at this most anarchic of festivals. An anarchist presence for next year should be investigated now to enable forward planning.

AA



'Bunuel is dead.' The news went round the film fanatics. It followed on the death of the actor David Niven, without getting Niven's mass media coverage in Britain. Niven was both a British and American ideal of the modest, courteous, charming English gentleman. With no apparent complexes, and a sunny disposition, Niven had no rapier in his umbrella, and could not be cast as a vicious crusty Tory imperialist. He was too nice. I like that.

Bunuel did not display English virtues. In his dotage, Sir Alfred Hitchcock secretly admitted that he admired Bunuel's films. They treated in a consistent and critical way the sinister aspects of human nature which Hitchcock's later films contained, but that Hitchcock could not openly proclaim. He never had Bunuel's principles. Since Hitchcock did not reject what the Jesuits had instilled in his young soul, we can sometimes see in his films a perfect expression of Original Sin as repression and voyeurism. (But I'd rather have Bunuel's *El* even than Hitchcock's *Real Window*.)

Bunuel was the last and greatest of the Surrealists. Andre Breton summarised their aims: 'to undo the knots which bind the Unconscious and prevent it violently bursting out'. Aragon wrote some lovely poetry, Man Ray made some curious photographs, Max Ernst some interesting paintings, but their impact cannot be as strong and lasting and as lacking in elitism as all but a very few films of Bunuel.

It would be a blast of fresh air to print an anthology of Bunuel's film criticism of the twenties,

plus his later statements about film. Of a Buster Keaton comedy called *College*, Bunuel wrote: 'It is as beautiful as a bathroom, as vital as a Hispano Suiza...No-one ever talks of the technique of films like *College*...If you live in a house, you do not notice the calculated resistance of the materials which compose it.' Of a popular Hollywood movie called *The Way of All Flesh*, Bunuel thought it should be examined under a microscope - close inspection would reveal that it was 'saturated with melodrama germs, infected with sentimental typhus, mixed with romantic and naturalistic bacilli.' Surrounded as we are by multi-million dollar spectacles which make Outer Space seem like Utter Tosh, it is healthy to read: 'Super-films give lessons to technicians.' When in Bunuel's early days a post was suggested to him as assistant director on Abel Gance's massive silent film *Napoleon* - which has recently been wowing the middle classes again - Bunuel is reported to have replied: 'Shit.'

Many films of Bunuel can also serve as manifestoes of his aims. Since he is not thought of as a documentarist (I'd love to see his news film compilation *Espana 1936*), it is worth emphasizing that his documentary of 1932, *Las Hurdes, Land Without Bread*, is - just as much as any of his fictional films - a model of unselfish practical example. There is no Christian pity, no callow reformism, no morbidity, no voyeurism, in this picture of the hideous deprivations of the people in a small area of Spain. These are not the conditions of civili-

sation, Bunuel implies: they must be changed. Along with child prostitution and other horrors, these were the *inadmissible* Grapes of Wrath. Spanish Revolution looms.

Behind the small number of recent-ish films in the BBC's forthcoming Bunuel season, is Bunuel's unremitting determination:

If it were possible for me, I would make films which, apart from entertaining the audience, would convey to them the absolute certainty that they DO NOT LIVE IN THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS. In doing this, I believe that my intentions would be highly constructive. Movies today, including the so-called neo-realist, are dedicated to tasks contrary to this. How is it possible to hope for an improvement in the audience - and consequently in the producers - when every day we are told in these films, even in our most insipid comedies, that our social institutions, our concepts of Country, Religion, Love, etc etc, are, while perhaps imperfect, UNIQUE AND NECESSARY? The true opium of the audience is conformity; and the entire, gigantic film world is dedicated to the propagation of this comfortable feeling, wrapped though it is at times in the insidious disguise of art.

Julius

A very good book: *Luis Bunuel, a critical biography*, by Francisco Aranda. Nearly all film criticism should be instantly recycled - paper is valuable.

Some readers may remember articles last summer on how a hippy convoy, dozens of trucks strong, rampaged across southern England smoking dope, outraging respectable citizens and beating up innocent defenceless policemen. Well, the *Peace Convoy* as they call themselves are back. They were at the *Green Gathering* and are now no doubt heading for more trouble with the forces of law and disorder. The *Convoy* is an attempt to live freely in an unfree society. They spend the summer travelling from festival to festival. Their vehicles are mostly all illegal (no MOT etc) and they live by trading, mostly in drugs. In winter they hole up in various places. Rather than just talk about freedom the *Convoy* are trying to live it, this is why they meet with repression from the state. Wherever they go on to from the *Green Gathering* the *Convoy* need our help. If they visit your area or if they're at a festival you attend then please help them defend themselves against the police. There will be a better organised, anarchist contingent at next year's festival and we want to see our friends from the *Peace Convoy* there

BM



Sheffield

Things are not as bad as they could be, here at the Anarchist Centre in Sheffield. We are now 'in possession' of our third building; the first being the old juvenile court and morgue, followed by an empty central heating show room. We, of course, host the court cases for possession of the previous places. In the first case, we lost because we did not attend the hearing (we are persons unknown) and in the second case we lost because the (High Court) judge hadn't the slightest interest in what our (mandated) representatives had to say. No surprise. We were only asking for time to find somewhere else to live (officially we are all homeless) but the judge didn't want to know. It is worth noting that all the recent possession order hearings have been heard in chambers (private) and all been heard by a High Court judge.

The place that we now occupy used until recently to belong to the church, being adjacent

to the cathedral, but it is now owned by the local council, against whom we are presently waging a war of attrition. The centre is right in the centre of Sheffield. We have got electricity and water but have very little in the way of cooking facilities. We have several working toilets but no bath.

Most of us here are young (16-20) and have had little or nothing to do with anarchist groups or political activity before. The response of many of the local anarchists has been very poor, looking on the place as a 'doss-house' for young punks rather than a resource, eg a meeting place, newspaper office, etc.

The local media have shown some interest in our centre and have written some (genuinely) sympathetic articles, as well as the usual sort of shit.

As yet, we have not been served a summons or even had a visit from the council since we moved

into our latest home. This may only be due to the summer holidays.

We are hoping to open a cafe here soon in one of the ground floor rooms in the hope that local office workers, shoppers as well as our friends and chat in for a coffee and a chat. At the last place we had a couple of bands come to play to a (rather small) audience. The rooms here are a bit small for loud bands but we have got an acoustic entertainer coming here on Saturday.

The police have not been as much trouble as they could have been and now, generally, leave us alone. We have decided, though, to fight to hold onto this place. A long siege or a big battle right in the centre of town would be a considerable embarrassment to the council. It is possible that we may have to call on comrades from outside the town to help us in the event.

Sheffield Anarchists

Merseyside London Spain: CNT

We are a group of anarchists and anti-militarists in Merseyside with a common interest in getting the message of peace across to people it might not normally reach, ie those in outlying and suburban city areas, council estates, etc. To this end we are working towards buying and running a secondhand single-decker bus which we hope would prove a venue for exhibitions and the like, apart from distributing literature on such things as nuclear weapons and nuclear power, women's and black people's issues, animal rights and the environment, as well as on anarchism.

We are currently busy raising money through a variety of activities but if we are to reach our target of £500 plus just for the bus, we badly require donations, no matter how big or small. If you would like to help, the address to send donations to is: Merseyside Peace Bus Fund, Flat 1, 113 Aegburth Road, Liverpool L17 4JU. Cheques or postal orders should be made payable to Merseyside Peace Bus Fund. Any contribution whatever size will be warmly appreciated. Advice or help in any other form is also welcome.

Liverpool Anarchist Group

▲ It has come to our attention from an unknown source that on September 29 - the day of Reckoning - the USA troops, marines, etc will be acting as though a nuclear bomb had dropped on London. This will release British Embassy police (the only British police allowed to carry arms all the time) onto the streets.

There are a large number of US servicemen based in London in various buildings. These buildings and the surrounding area will be put under martial law for that day.

Could this be associated with 'Stop the City'? Well although the US buildings are not near the city, it is plausible that there is a connection. If supportive anti-militarist activity takes place at Greenham or at Upper Heyford there is little doubt that these establishments will also be under special protection.

The last time this exercise was practised was during the anti-US Vietnam demos of the sixties. What information we have will be passed on to STC co-ordinating committee, and any more news will be printed if and when available.

Burgis and Maclain (Poison Pen)

Spain - 'The CNT isn't playing'

A recent national plenary session of the regional branches of the CNT (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo) has appointed Fernando Montero as its new general secretary. His appointment is likely to mean a reversal of the policy of its last two secretaries, Jose Bondia and Antonio Perez Canales, who support a reformist line of co-operation with other trade unions.

Montero's election would seem to reflect the more radical spirit of the extraordinary congress of the CNT at Torrejon in April. At Torrejon the 'participatory' line, which had won by a narrow margin at last year's national congress in Barcelona, was rejected in favour of return to a line of direct action and abstention from the political game. One of the best known exponents of the 'radicals', the Catalan Francisco Garcia Cano, received only five votes less than Montero. This is seen as a powerful fillip for the purists in the CNT, or, as the Spanish news magazine *Cambio-16* would disapprovingly have it, for the policies of 'the most recalcitrant apoliticism' (!).

Workers Playtime

The editorial in FREEDOM for the 2nd of July last made a very basic and essential point about the nature of capitalism (east and west), namely that (commodity) production and the extraction of surplus value at the point of production is the 'life blood' of the system. Its subversion and eventual destruction was correctly stated to be the 'key' to the destruction of the whole system.

It identified the 'acomodating' role of the trade unions and the peripheral nature of much anarchist activity in relation to all this.

It did not write off all activity outside the field of production. There was of course a great deal it didn't say. But all in all it was one of the better editorials to appear over recent times.

Despite this it seems to have rubbed some of our contributors up the wrong way. I suspect they are the same anarchists who have been so irritated by that excellent new publication *Workers Playtime*, which concentrates (though not exclusively) on the economy and workplace struggles. I would suggest that many contributions to FREEDOM have a long way to go

before they reach the high standard of analysis and clarity of the contributions to *Workers Playtime* that have appeared so far.

The *Wildcat* group in Manchester for one, has agreed to distribute this publication on a regular basis, something we have never been able to consider in the case of FREEDOM or any of the other British anarchist journals.

Workers Playtime is available through the London Workers Group. I would recommend anyone who hasn't seen it to get a copy.

MB

In Brief

President Pinochet has said that his government would soon start drafting an election law. 'Some' opposition politicians are to be asked for their views. The target date for a return to civilian rule is 1989.

The case of Dun te Ringa Mangu Mihaka, who bared his arse at the Prince and Princess of Wales continued. He refused to plead to a trivialisation of the offence. He has been fined the equivalent of £180.

A judge in Washington has dismissed a lawsuit accusing the US Air Force of holding creatures from outer space as prisoners.

Ishrat Arein hanged herself after her arranged marriage failed and she was beaten by her husband and his relatives. He did not attend the inquest. The coroner commented, 'I hope he may think some of this was his fault'.

There is controversy about the government's attempts to avoid the displeasure of the European Court by allowing parents to exempt children from corporal punishment in schools. The Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment estimates that 238 688 beatings are carried out each year. If 'informal' slaps and spankings are taken into account the total could be ten times this.

The government continues to draw up plans to tuck up young people who fail to take up places under the Youth Training Scheme. They already reduce benefit by 40% for those who 'unreasonably' refuse job offers. This is to be extended to the YTS.

The new draft circular on allowing house building in the protected 'green belts' around towns is to be avoided as necessary to avoid 'devaluation of the concept of the green belt'. This should

deal with those cynics who think that the Conservative Party has links with building developers.

Latest figures for the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Since 1974 there have been 5 600 detentions. This led to 104 terrorist charges and 86 convictions. In addition, there were 226 'other' convictions. Legislation is underway to make the PTA redundant.

The Pershing missile, due to be deployed in Europe by the end of this year, continues development. Last week, one was destroyed after it started to break up during test flight. The fault was traced to a one inch piece of cast iron which had worked loose. That makes five failures in sixteen launches.

Viscount Mountgarrett has had his gun licence withdrawn after taking pot shots at a hot air balloon carrying people flying over his moors in Yorkshire.

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

BASILDON
Contact:- Mark, 27 Little Lullaway, Basildon Essex.

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

BELFAST
Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast

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

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

BURNLEY
BAG, c/o 2 Quarrybank

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

CARDIFF
c/o 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Rd, Cardiff 2
C.O.I., Box 999, 108 Salisbury Rd

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

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

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

CUMBRIA
2 Forestry Cottages, Millfield, Hutton Roof, Penrith

DONCASTER
Doncaster Anarchist Centre, 49a Doncaster Market Place

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

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

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

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

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

GRAVESEND
Please contact Adrian, Lodge House, By Valley Lodge, Ifield Way, Gravesend, Kent

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

HULL
Hull @ Group, 23 Nott St, (moving in Sept to 24 Albany St)

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

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

LANCASTER
Tadeusz Szczepanski, 38 Bradshaw St, LA1 3BE

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

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

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

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

LONDON
Anarchy Magazine, Box A 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1; FREEDOM Collective, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1 (01-247-9249). Aldgate East tube, nr Whitechapel Art Gallery.
Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1. Meet Thursdays 7pm
London Workers Group, c/o Little A C1 Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall E1. 121 Books/Anarchist Centre, 121 Ralinton Rd, London SE24 Tel: 274 6655 - Contact Address for:- Anarchist-Feminist Magazine; Pigs for Slaughter; South London Anarchist Group (SLAG); South London DAM; London Anarchist Youth Group meet every Friday at 121, 7.30pm. Martin Nicholas, 186 Mount Pleasant Rd, London N17

NW LONDON
K Potkin, Student Mail, Polytech of Central London, 32-38 Wells St, WC1

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

MANCHESTER
Wildcat, Box 25, 434 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, M4 3BN
DAM, Box 20, 164/44 Corn Exchange Bldgs, Hanging Ditch, M4
Black & Red Society (Anarchist Group), c/o The Students' Union, University of Manchester, Oxford Rd, Manchester

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

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

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

NOTTINGHAM
Jackie Veevers, 7 Irene Tce, Basford
Individuals Anonymous 12p sae, above address

OLDHAM
Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Fallsworth

ORPINGTON
Rik Fuller, 60 Ramsden Rd, Orpington, Kent

OXFORD
Oxford Anarchists, 34 Cowley Rd

PLYMOUTH
Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Ave, Penny-cross

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

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

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

SHEFFIELD
Libertarian Society, PO Box 168, Sheffield 1
Black Rat, c/o Students Union, Sheffield University
Anarchists, c/o 4 Havelock Square S10 2FQ
Sheffield Peace Action, 69 Rustlings Rd, Sheffield 11
NEAF Secretariat: Box 168, Sheffield 11

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

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

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

SWANSEA
Anarchist Group, Box 5, Neges, 31 Alexandra Rd, Swansea
Billy, 63 Clynymaes Place, Blynymaes, Swansea

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

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

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

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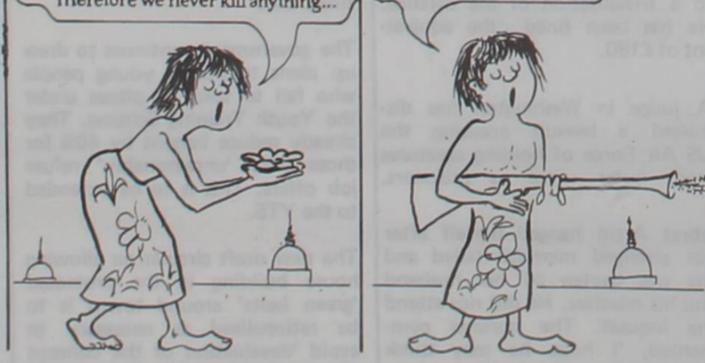
■ DEADLINES

FREEDOM Collective would welcome any readers who wish to help fold and despatch the paper. The next issue will be sent out on Thursday 25 August, starting at around 6pm. This is also a good time to come in and meet the editors.

FREEDOM also needs your written contributions and any graphics or photographs readers feel would be useful to us. Copy deadline for short items for the next issue is first post, Monday 22 Aug, longer articles in by first post Thursday 18 August.

■ WILDCAT

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