

CREEPING FASCISM BREAKS INTO A TROT

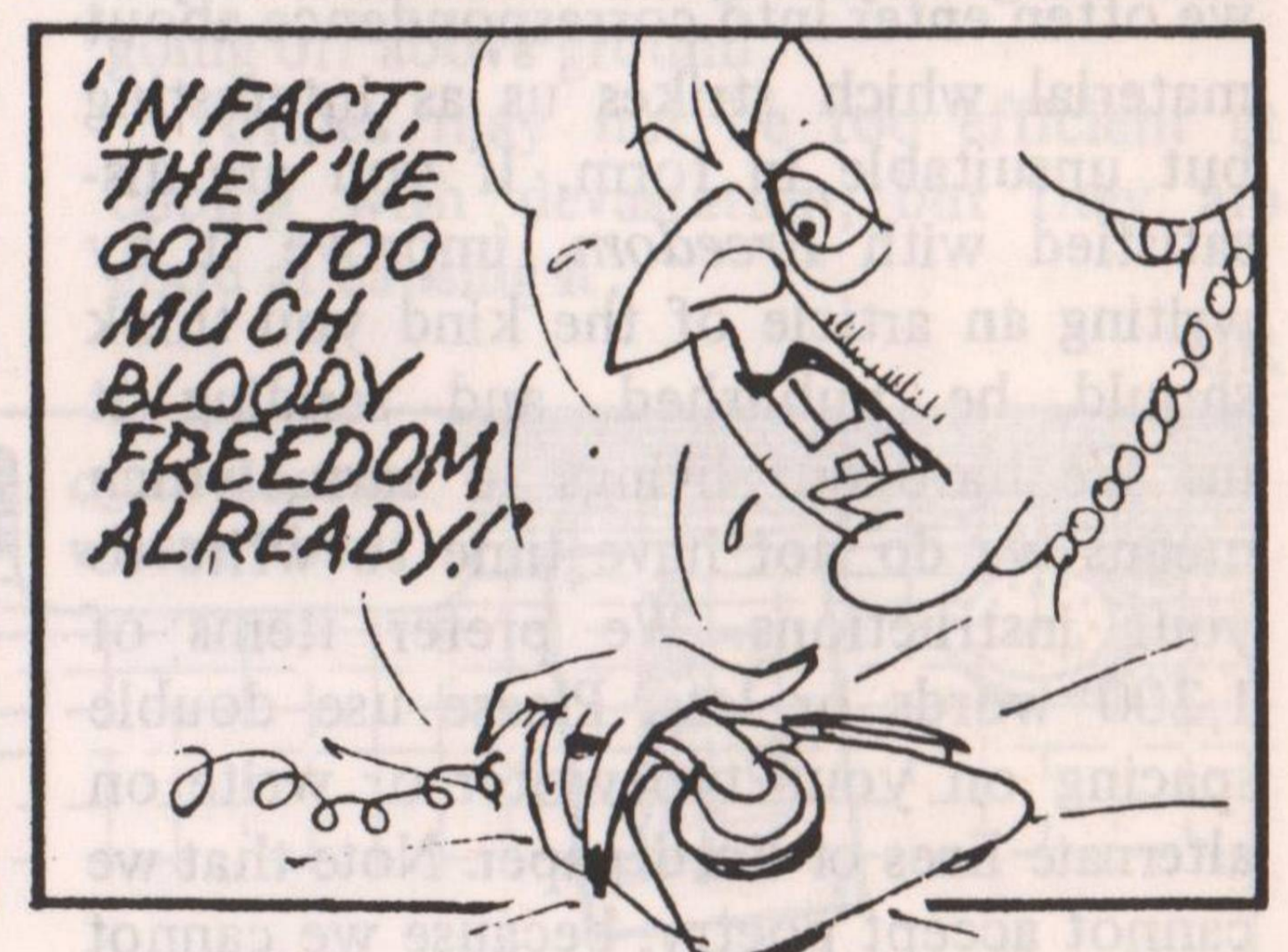
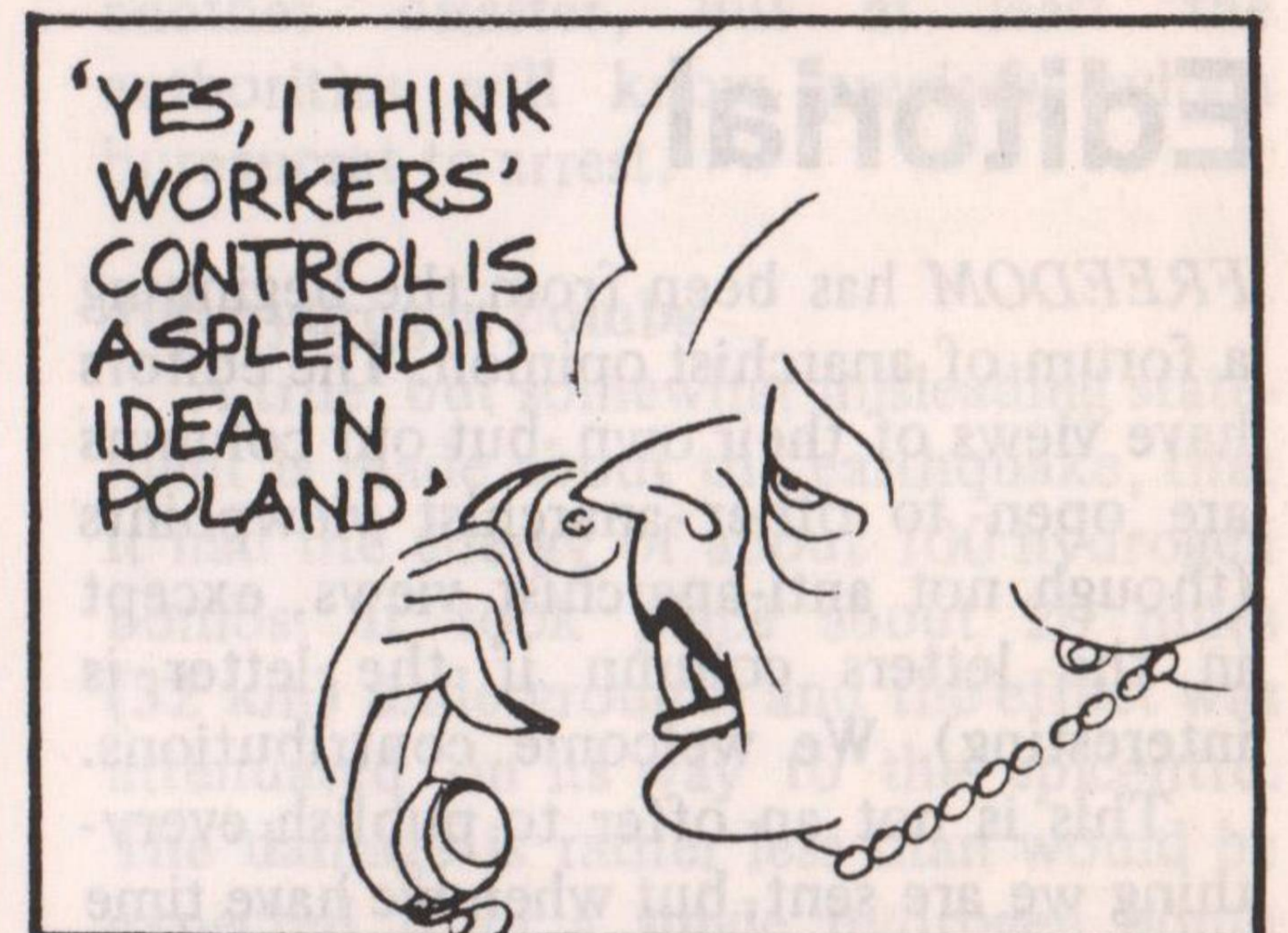
LAST January a dear friend of mine came back from a Christmas visit to her father, who apparently, out of the blue, had said 'twelve years ago, Philip said "between ten and fifteen years, this country would be a police state". He was damn right, wasn't he?'

I cast my mind back 12 years and remembered that one phrase we were coining in our discussions was 'creeping fascism'. I recalled that somewhere I had written an article asserting that fascism would never come to Britain in the form of a dramatic 'March on Rome', like Mussolini laid on the Italian people, or a burning of the Reichstag, which Hitler pulled on the Germans. (Hitler, of course, was voted into the job as Chancellor, and the rest followed. Sounds familiar?)

In Spain, Franco found it more difficult to take over — thanks to a three-year struggle mounted by the Spanish workers and peasants — a struggle, let's face it, difficult to imagine sustained by the British working class today.

For the British are a law-abiding people, which is why the concept of 'creeping fascism' carried some weight. Our arguments then were that a political and economic system akin to fascism (though not called that) would be imposed in Britain like the regular drip of water in the so-called Chinese torture — except that it would be the continuous drip of buff envelopes through our letter boxes, directing us to do this, that or the other. And step by step, the British democratic state would have its freedom-loving subjects by the short and curlies. In East European countries, this technique is sneered at as the 'salami' technique.

The Nazis, of course, were crude and blatant from the start, using jackboots and rubber truncheons on the streets from the earliest days. Their real triumphs, however, came from the masterly use of propaganda, the sinister Minister for which was Dr Goebbels. He was the very opposite of the Aryan superman (tall, blonde and handsome) since he was short, dark (as was Hitler, of course) and



From FREEDOM, 23 January 1982

club-footed. But he was a genius at his chosen sphere of influence. In fact it's not too much to say that Goebbels was the Saatchi & Saatchi of 1933.

No doubt he had stumbled on one of the principles of divide and rule going back centuries: that if you make your lie big enough and tell it often enough and loud enough, it will come to be believed.

More, he realised the value of mass hysteria and the magic of theatre. The Nuremburg rallies were great theatrical presentations of their time — indeed, ahead of their time, for they developed the idea of audience participation. After the warm-up man, Hitler, had whipped them into a frenzy and the enthusiasm rose with every salute and 'Sieg Heil', the Nazi actor-audiences were let loose on their scapegoat-targets in an orgy of hate and destruction. Have we not, only this autumn, been remembering the great pogrom known as 'Krystallnacht'?

But, as we have already said, the

British are a law-abiding people, and like their hatreds to grow out of resentments and jealousies rather than extravagant exhortation. We are quite content to have our pageants arranged for us — like the Changing of the Guard, the Lord Mayor's Show, an occasional Coronation (not too often, that one) and of course, Royal Weddings — they really turn on the taps. The Opening of Parliament wouldn't be too bad if it weren't for the politicians ...

It should not be forgotten — and our young, vigorous, clear-eyed youth should use their shitless heads to try to imagine (a word, after all, good enough for John Lennon — oops, that gives our age away!) that there are still people bowling around in wheelchairs who can remember what they thought was a war against fascism. Silly old sods.

We, of course, know that it was no such thing, but even a politician as insensitive as Margaret Thatcher knows

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Editorial

FREEDOM has been from the beginning a forum of anarchist opinion. The editors have views of their own, but our columns are open to other anarchist viewpoints (though not anti-anarchist views, except in the letters column if the letter is interesting). We welcome contributions.

This is not an offer to publish everything we are sent, but when we have time we often enter into correspondence about material which strikes us as interesting but unsuitable in form. If you are dissatisfied with *Freedom*, improve it by writing an article of the kind you think should be published, and sending it in. We have our livings to earn, which means we do not have time to write to your instructions. We prefer items of 1,200 words or less. Please use double spacing on your typewriter or write on alternate lines of lined paper. Note that we cannot accept poetry, because we cannot guarantee to publish without editorial amendments, which would just destroy poetry. We would like to publish more news of activities (we know they go on unreported), and comments on current affairs. Arguments for particular anarchist schools of thought against others are acceptable, but less welcome.

We are keeping the subscription rates the same in 1989, as in 1988 and 1987, in spite of the increase in postage since last year. This means our income from sales falls even further short of our production costs at present circulation. We rely more than ever on donations to the Freedom Magazine Fund. This reliance would decrease as the circulation is increased, so we would welcome, in addition to donations, the names and addresses of potential subscribers to whom we can send specimen copies, with or without saying who suggested we send them. And please renew subscriptions promptly.

Charles Crute
Donald Room
Francis Wright

Donations

MID-NOVEMBER – MID-DECEMBER
1988

Freedom Magazine Fund

Nottingham AH £2; Heidelberg RS £4.25;
Wolverhampton JL £6; Cardiff VM £1.

Total = £13.25

1988 TOTAL TO DATE = £676.10

Freedom Premises Fund

Brighton anon £1.50; Sheffield ID £2;
Wolverhampton JL £9; Nottingham AH
£1.25; Heidelberg RS £4.

Total = £17.75

1988 TOTAL TO DATE = £741.30

London Anarchist Forum

The Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square,
London WC1 (behind Southampton Row,
opposite Russell Square). Meetings start
at 8.00pm, forum people usually in
ground floor cafe beforehand.

Jan 6 S. E. Parker (Editor of *The
Egoist*), **Equality: Fact or Fiction**

Jan 13 Open discussion

Jan 20 The Anarcho-Communist Federa-
tion – subject to be announced.

Jan 27 Open discussion

Feb 3 Ruan Bowden – subject to be
announced.

Feb 10 Lib Ed Collective, **Education for
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London ACF

Anarchist Communist Federation

First Thursday of every month 8.30pm
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2 February: **Art and Anarchism** (slides)

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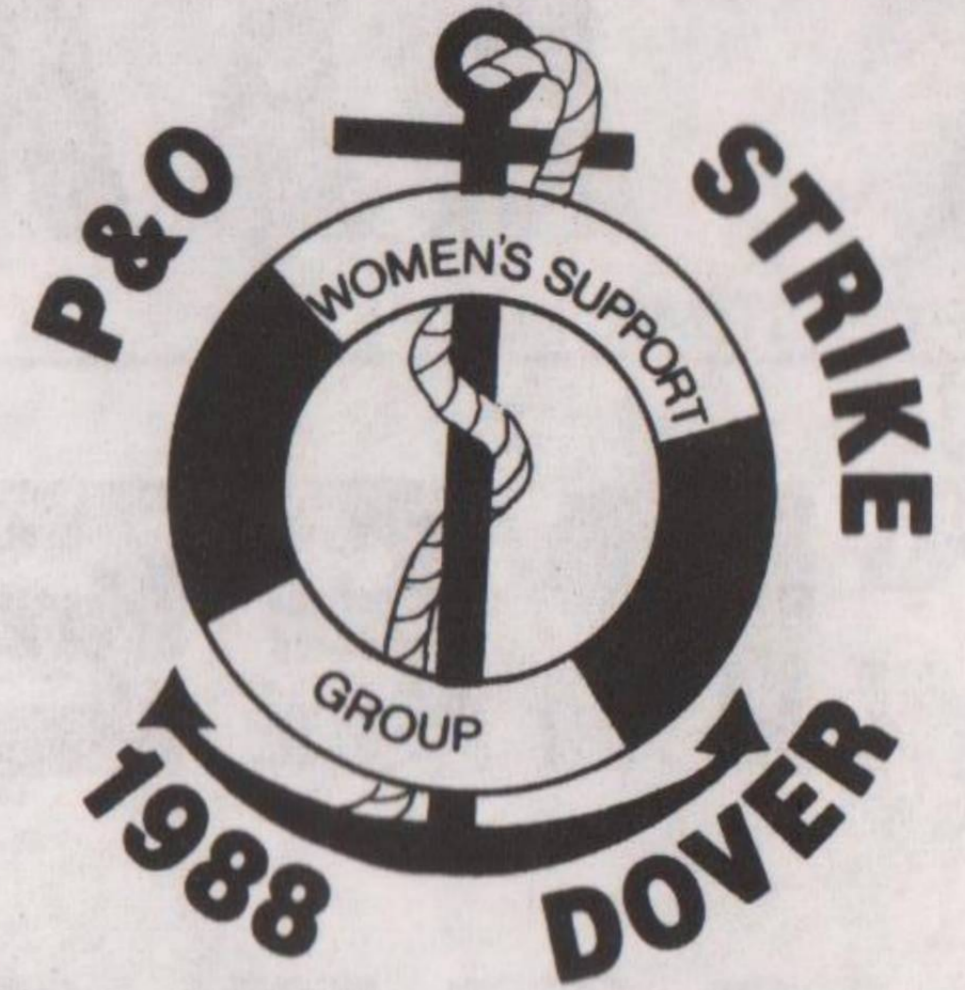
1.00pm to 4.00pm.

Correction

THERE is a factual error in my article in the December *Freedom*. I should have named the Minister of Health as Kenneth Clarke, not Kenneth Baker who is the Minister of Education. Few would notice if they exchanged jobs, but one should be accurate. Apologies for the error.

Philip Sansom

DON'T GO P&O



Nuclear Navies

MANY thanks for your November front page cover on the Australian dockers' response to the Ark Royal and nuclear force. A few words of correction, however.

The Ark Royal is not a missile ship, at least not a nuclear missile ship. Her nukes are tactical, depth charges for delivery by helicopter or bombs for delivery by Sea Harrier. This apparently obscure point has a bearing on the sense of the rest of the article in that these weapons are likely to be the first sparks in an escalation to full blown war.

The decision to use naval tactical nuclear weapons isn't as closely tied to the political decision making, as it is for the strategic and battlefield weapons. This decision is delegated at an early stage in a crisis to the fleet commanders to help keep communications silence. The new NATO/USA maritime strategy is aggressive and aims to keep the Soviet fleet bottled up in its harbours. The combination of these factors, and the declared belief of some (US) naval strategists that a nuclear war could be both contained and more acceptable at sea, make the naval tactical nuke a major threat to life on the planet. As with many of these first use/nuclear war winning/wish fulfilment games, the Soviets are not consulted, and their reaction to such a situation – inevitably involving the loss of strategic nuclear assets – is likely to be both more pragmatic and bloody than the warplanners allow for.

The Maltese dockers denied this task force entrance to the Grand Harbour in Valletta, Oz gave them a really mixed reception, the Pacific Campaign and local groups acting with SCANN marked their departure from Portsmouth with protest and we will be here in this war city on 15 December to finish this voyage of shame with more protest, including the first appearance of the Sea Action boat. More details on this and further actions on the disarm the seas campaign, etc., from South Coast Against Nuclear Navies, c/o 119 Orchard Road, Southsea PO4 0AD.

Graham Allen

Disorganised Bureaucracy

IN THE village of Nalband, Armenia, as the Soviet Prime Minister Mr Ryzhkov explained, "All the leaders, party and government activists were wiped out in the earthquake. So there was no one left to co-ordinate relief."

In the cities of Leninakan and Spitak the surviving party and government activists must have been in profound shock, and it would not have been fair to expect them to co-ordinate relief on their own. Very quickly, however, there was a huge influx of soldiers, presumably accompanied by officers trained to organise for emergencies. It might be considered an advantage of armies in peacetime, that they can immediately mobilise hordes of fit young men, in cases of catastrophe.

The international teams of specialists who went to the area were amazed at the organisation. According to their reports, relatives of those trapped in the rubble that had once been apartment blocks frantically pulled it apart with their bare hands, while the hordes of fit young men in army uniform stood and watched. This went on for two days, then on the third day a jewellery shop was looted and the army found a role. The fit young men were set to patrolling the streets with guns, deterring looting and violations of the curfew (presumably the curfew im-

posed to prevent ethnic conflict between Armenians and Azerbaijanis), and setting up road blocks to check the bona fides of rescue workers.

Five and a half days after the earthquake the work of the foreign specialists in Leninakan began to be co-ordinated — by French engineers who despaired of their Soviet hosts, and began drawing a map of the city. Presumably there were maps in existence, but evidently they were confidential to the authorities. Until that time the rescue parties — British foremen with heat-seeking equipment, German mountain rescuers with sniffer dogs, and the rest — were working independently. It turned out that some piles of rubble had been searched five or six times by different teams, and others not at all. By this time there was little hope for anyone buried under the houses which had not been searched.

There was a severe shortage of heavy lifting equipment for the rescue work. Some was sent in from outside, but the earthquake struck a mountainous region with steep roads, over which heavy equipment took many days to travel. The Red Army has a lot of heavy duty helicopters capable of carrying cranes or acting as cranes themselves. Many were recently evacuated from Afghanistan and are probably stationed in Azerbaijan. Not

one appeared in Armenia.

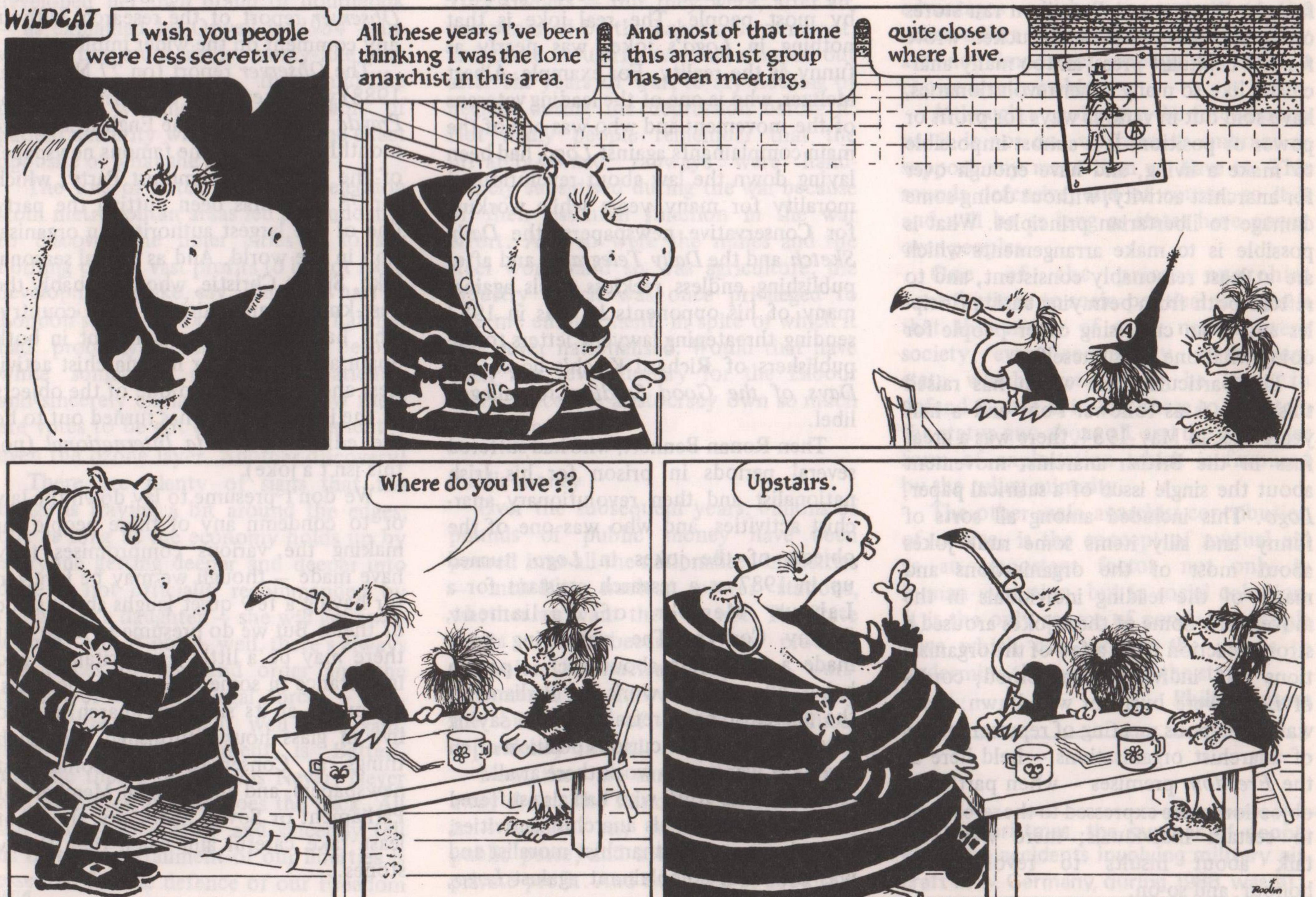
There is no complacency in the central government. Mr Gorbachev cut short an international tour, nominally "to take charge of the relief operation", and while he is not accepting blame for the shambles, has expressed utter fury that his underlings have not produced an efficient operation, for which he can take the credit. In view of the complete failure of Soviet civil defence this time, two or three Regional Directors of Relief are to be appointed and supplied with staff. There is no guarantee this will make the effort more efficient in the event of another disaster, but at least the authorities will know precisely which bureaucrat to arrest.

100 hydrogen bombs

A true, but somewhat misleading statement is made about the earthquake, that it had the energy of about 100 hydrogen bombs. It took place about 20 miles (32 km) underground, and the effect was attenuated on its way to the epicentre. The damage is rather less than would be expected from a single hydrogen bomb going off above ground.

Armies may not be too efficient at coping with devastation, but they are good at causing it.

DR



Anarchists in Glass Houses

HISTORY, said Hegel, repeats itself — first as tragedy, added Marx, and then as farce. We would say that it actually repeats itself over and over again in all sorts of ways, not only as tragedy and farce, but usually as just one damned thing after another, too frequently as terrible melodrama, but occasionally — to keep our spirits up — as ludicrous absurdity.

These rather heavy thoughts for what looks like being a heavy new year are prompted by some recent adventures among our contemporaries in the anarchist movement. First, to set the scene. We all have problems with the accommodation we make in an authoritarian society. Only a few face it head on and become full-time revolutionaries, and only a few more drop out of it and join communes or become tramps. Most of us make some sort of compromise — doing paid work for a living, buying (or renting) property to live in, paying state taxes, accepting state benefits, raising families, and so on.

Even the most radical revolutionaries follow this path. This is a well-known fact about Marxists, who either make money in business (like Engels) or sponge off those who make money (like Marx), but it is also true of anarchists. Godwin and Bakunin cadged from their rich friends; Warren and Proudhon ran stores or banks; Kropotkin and Tucker wrote for the capitalist press; all too many anarchists, like so many other revolutionaries, have sold out in various ways for profit or power or position. It is almost impossible to make a living, and have enough over for anarchist activity, without doing some damage to libertarian principles. What is possible is to make arrangements which are at least reasonably consistent, and to refrain both from betraying basic principles and from criticising other people for doing what one does oneself.

The particular case which has raised this issue is as follows. Four and a half years ago, in May 1984, there was a great fuss in the British anarchist movement about the single issue of a satirical paper, *Logo*. This included among all sorts of funny and silly items some rude jokes about most of the organisations and many of the leading individuals in the movement. Some of these jokes aroused a strong reaction from a few of the organisations and individuals concerned; copies of *Logo* were burnt or withdrawn; there was a pompous meeting of representatives of anarchist organisations — held here at the *Freedom* premises — when particular objections were expressed to the references to certain individuals; there was wild talk about insults to revolutionary honour; and so on.



This was all pretty trivial, since no one else took *Logo* all that seriously and the insults weren't really so awful, and the whole business was soon forgotten by most people. The real joke is that nothing in *Logo's* jokes was nearly as funny as the reality. For example, Albert Meltzer, who is one of the leading veterans of the movement and who was one of the main complainants against *Logo*, had been laying down the law about revolutionary morality for many years while working for Conservative newspapers, the *Daily Sketch* and the *Daily Telegraph*, and after publishing endless reckless libels against many of his opponents he was in 1987 sending threatening lawyers' letters to the publishers of Richard Kisch's book *The Days of the Good Soldiers* for alleged libel.

Then Ronan Bennett, who had suffered several periods in prison for his Irish nationalist and then revolutionary anarchist activities, and who was one of the objects of the jokes in *Logo*, turned up in 1987 as a research assistant for a Labour Member of Parliament, Jeremy Corbyn. The right-wing press made a great fuss about such a person being allowed to work in Parliament; the anarchist press refrained from saying anything about the curious position of an anarchist wanting to work there at all.

Now Philip Ruff, who had also suffered time in prison for his anarchist activities, and who is a stern anarchist moralist and was the main complainant against *Logo*,

has turned up doing research on the Russian political police with a Soviet (i.e. Communist) historian; *Black Flag* has confined itself to taking issue with an *Observer* report of the research, without any comment on the wider implications.

The *Observer* report (on 27 November 1988) was taken from the current issue of *Pravda International*, the English-language monthly version of the famous newspaper of the Russian Communist Party, which for 75 years has been putting the party line of the largest authoritarian organisation in the world. And as a final seasonal joke, Stuart Christie, who is probably the best-known anarchist in this country, who has suffered imprisonment in both Spain and Britain for his anarchist activities, and who was also one of the objects of the jokes in *Logo*, has turned out to be the editor of *Pravda International* (no, this isn't a joke).

We don't presume to lay down the law or to condemn any of these people for making the various compromises they have made — though we may be forgiven for having a few quiet laughs about some of them. But we do presume to hope that there may be a little less puritanism and intolerance in some anarchist periodicals. To put it at its simplest, anarchists who live in glass houses furnished with such things as Conservative or Communist newspapers, and shared with Members of Parliament or Soviet historians, should at least take careful aim when they throw stones.

NW

CREEPING FASCISM

continued from front page

perfectly well that if she wants to introduce into Britain a system akin to fascism she must not call it that. Call it anything else, but not that. 'Thatcherism' will do nicely.

Now, another thing that we should not forget is that right-thinking people can read just as well as (perhaps even better than) left-thinking people. Could it be that every member of Thatcher's Cabinet is given, along with his identity card and luncheon vouchers, a copy of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984*? They would seem, together with Machiavelli's *The Prince* to be required reading for the rulers of the rabble.

Upright Pigs

Remember *Animal Farm*? In it was demonstrated how easily the pigs changed the slogans on the barn wall from 'Four legs good, two legs bad' to 'Four legs good, two legs better' — after they had learned to walk upright. And *1984*, wherein Big Brother bamboozled the proles with 'War is Peace' and 'Freedom is Slavery' — backed up by the Thought Police and torture, always a convincing argument?

Margaret Thatcher knows well that in order to enslave the British people as thoroughly as she wishes to, she must practice cynical manipulation just like the pigs in *Animal Farm*. To this end she has developed her own brand of doubletalk — as explained by Orwell in *1984* — involving the most sickly nanny-like way of talking down to the child-like populace, wearing an expression of patient sincerity while she does the exact opposite of what she says.

The loss of votes in the last election from metropolitan areas led her suddenly to discover the inner cities — to say nothing of the vast profits to be got from developments, like, say, Canary Wharf in London's Isle of Dogs, which Thatcher had probably never heard of before, while somebody must have patiently and sincerely explained to her how there are votes to be got out of environment — even the ozone layer. Another discovery!

There are plenty of signs that the image is fraying a bit around the edges, but as long as the economy holds up by everyone getting deeper and deeper into debt — not officially recommended by the grocer's daughter — she will get away with it. And if not — well, there's always the forces of law and order and the practice of necessary, legal, force.

As the pigs might well have said, however, 'Bamboozlement is Better', and the theme of 'Britons Never, Never will be Slaves' usually does the trick. All she has to do is truly and sincerely tell us that the curtailment of our liberties is essential for the defence of our Freedom

— an argument used over the centuries to disguise the erosion of liberty, usually in wartime. Thatcher clearly sees herself as engaged in a war. Who is it against?

Mainly, of course, it is a crusade against world-wide socialism, and here at home she has concentrated on the money-bags of the Labour Party, the Trades Unions. This has two useful ends: reducing Labour Party funds, but, better, reducing the fighting strength of the working class. Unemployment helps a lot there, too.

In view of all that has happened on that front, could there be anything more sickening than her recent visit to Poland and her meeting with Lech Walesa and the Solidarity leaders? Incidentally, with another bit of foresight, we fantasised on that six years ago, as the front page cartoon shows.

It is usually overlooked by the innocent populace that the State always has the means — and can take the time — to plan its strategies and to lay its plots. Historians like to try to explain history by two opposing theories: the cock-up theory and the conspiracy theory. Paranoid, perhaps, I favour the latter. The consistent way in which everything is falling into the lap of our capitalist class cannot all be by accident. And don't be fooled into thinking that this has all started to happen since 1979. The nationalisation of the country's major industries was, on the surface, opposed bitterly by the Tory owners — but they were, after all, compensated by the Labour Government, and those industries were all clapped out after six years of war, to say nothing of neglect during the depression before it. Not many people remember that the privately-owned railways were handsomely subsidised during the war because of their essential function in the war effort. And so were the mines and the steel works and so was agriculture, the industry which was once privileged to give me employment, in spite of which it was never nationalised. Would that have been *too* revolutionary for the Labour Party, since the aristocracy own so much of the land?

Public money

Over the subsequent years, billions of pounds of public money have been poured into all the nationalised industries — including nuclear power stations, whether we want them or not. The State wants them because they produce plutonium for nuclear weapons — 'ours' or America's — and we, the suckers, pay the bill. Also, of course, it reduces dependency on coal.

Now, they are simply being snatched away from 'the nation' — whatever that is — without any compensation to the public purse, and sold to speculators for private profit. And don't tell us about Sid

and the small investors. They will all simply sell out for a tiny profit (after the brokers have taken their discount) and the shares will end up in the portfolios of the professional wheelers and dealers as intended by the government.

As far as the working class is concerned, the differences in practice between state systems on the Left and Right are academic. We are shortly going to be treated to a whole series of disclosures about the horrors of Stalinist-type communism — as if we didn't know.

The sort of truths which anarchists like Voline, Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Makhno, tried to warn the world about over 60 years ago — and which Bakunin foresaw 50 years before that — are soon to be admitted officially, which of course makes all the difference. Between communism of that type and fascism, the difference lies in the fact that the latter tolerates private ownership of wealth instead of state ownership, but both use that wealth to exploit the people. Britain under the Labour Party was never like Russia under Stalin, that's for sure; and Britain under Thatcher will (let's hope) not be like Germany under Hitler. But in essence, if the state dictates the lives of all those who do not have the *wealth* to defend themselves, they are reduced to a form of serfdom not far removed from slavery.

All states exist through a combination of violence and deceit. The superficial advantages which one system or the other offers different sections of society are not important enough to make a choice worth making.

Although a choice may be forced upon us, it is not one we have to embrace or support any more than we have to. This sounds defensive, and of course, so it is and will be as long as states have power over peoples.

One of the prime anarchist contributions to socio-political thought is that the enemy of every nation, every society, every community, is the very state which pretends to be there to defend it, but is in fact there to maintain the status quo above all, and the particular form of exploitation which is favoured by the ruling minority.

The other main anarchist contribution of course, is the concept of mutual aid as an important factor, not only in human evolution, but in social cohesion. It is the only source of power the people have which can provide the means to undermine the tyranny of the state.

Philip Sansom

Up to Christmas, the number of people killed by accidents involving military aircraft in W. Germany, during 1988, was 91.

Education in class society

'The project of a national education ought uniformly to be discouraged on account of its obvious alliance with national government . . . Government will not fail to employ it to strengthen its hand and perpetuate its institutions . . . Their view as instigator of a system of education will not fail to be analogous to their views in their political capacity.'

William Godwin

Enquiry Concerning Political Justice

Societies are never static. All historical periods are eras of social transition, although for the overwhelming majority of people who lived before the Industrial Revolution the social changes that impinged on their lives were small.

In 'Western' societies the Industrial Revolution initiated immense changes which made it increasingly necessary for the 'hands' to acquire elementary skills in literacy and numeracy. Machine production demanded it — but the same machine production, by 'organising' the workers, threatened the stability of the system. Before the advent of capitalism, there had been two dimensions to 'education' — the process whereby the sons of the elite learned how to 'behave' in 'their' world, and the passing on of skills whereby journeymen, for example, learned their trades.

In the nineteenth century the more far-seeing representatives of the ruling class appreciated that education might serve another valuable purpose — to 'gentle the masses' and turn them away from revolutionary activities. As early as 1840, after the first peak of Chartist agitation an Anglican vicar told the Committee of Council: 'Before the working classes . . . can be proof against the delusive deduction of socialism . . . far more extended and energetic efforts must be made to improve them. They must not merely be schooled but educated.' In the same year, the Home and Colonial Infant School Society defined the 'primary object of education' as being 'to cultivate religious principles and moral sentiments'. There seems to have been little progress in the thought of our rulers during these 150 years!

The extension of the franchise to the working class and the Elementary Education Act of 1870 were two sides of a single coin. W. E. Forster introducing his Act, told Parliament: 'Now we have given them political power, we must not wait any longer to give them education.' Today it is only the so-called 'communist' half of the world that education is so openly declared to be a political tool

(albeit in the construction of 'communism'). The Soviet Union's Basic Law on Education, introduced in 1974, says: 'The goal of public education in the USSR is the preparation of highly educated, well-rounded, physically healthy and active builders of communist society, brought up on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and in the spirit of respect for Soviet laws.'

From the days of King Solomon, 'wise' rulers have recognised the function of 'education' as a means of conditioning succeeding generations to conform to the norms of society — the spokesmen of the 'all-embracing' 'total' society ('bureaucratic', 'state-capitalist', whatever term you like) appreciate the value of a 'schooled' society. Capitalist society rests upon a disciplined workforce — what better means to this end than the manipulation of the 'school system'? Children are born 'free' citizens (so they are told!) and live in a 'free' country which is part of a 'free' world. At the age of five years or thereabouts they learn otherwise — entering school, they become subject to a state decree that takes over the central point of their daily lives, which is inescapable and unchallengeable. It is a traumatic experience which conditions pupils to the concept of obedience on which the authoritarian state system depends.

The same system forces teachers to adopt an authoritarian role. Dissent cannot be tolerated — the pupil must not be allowed to withdraw from the system. Opposition must either be repressed or expressed as rebellion, and the latter must be ruthlessly crushed for the sake of the continuance of the establishment. Of course it is much more convenient for the ruling class if pupils can be persuaded to submit to authority (in the case of the younger student, by the threat of physical punishment, in the case of the older student by the use of economic measures).

The close relationship between education and the perpetuation of the social system in the eyes of the managers of society has become more apparent than ever since the Second World War. When the first Russian Sputnik was launched into space in 1957, it was seen by the more 'intelligent' representatives of British capitalism (Conservative and Labour) as evidence that the West was 'falling behind' the Russians and that it was largely the 'fault of education'. The two decades that followed saw ever-increasing attention of British governments to education — 'technical' or 'work-orientated' education in particular.

The 1960 Crowther Report deplored the 'wastage of talent' among 15-18 year olds. It recommended advancing the school leaving age to 16 years (implemented 1972) and an expansion of practical further education. The White Paper that followed (in 1961) consisted of pious hopes for technical training. This was the period when the call of the Robbins Report (1963) for *all* to have the opportunity of higher education found expression in the expansion of the 'redbrick' universities; and the creation of polytechnics from colleges already involved in higher education. Ironically, in the Soviet Union the emphasis was now moving in the opposite direction! Polytechnical education had made a 'come-back' in the decisions of the Nineteenth Party Congress in 1952 but by 1964, following frequent complaints about labour training and production practice, the programme was slowed down. In 1966 it was reduced still further — although it was still publicly proclaimed that the polytechnical principle remained central to the Soviet school. (The latest news is that work training, based on school workshops, is now reduced to four hours a week.)

More directly pertinent to the endeavours of the British rulers to keep abreast of the challenges of the world market, the Heaton Report (1964) recommended the implementation of Crowther's day-release scheme for young employees by 1969-70. Concurrently, the Industrial Training Act (1964) imposed a levy on employers — money that was refunded to them provided they gave adequate training. For the first time in British history, employers were legally 'compelled' to provide training!

Confronted with mass unemployment, especially among young people (some 40 per cent of 'officially recognised' claimants were under 25 years) and under constant attack for mismanagement of the economy, the Government always sought to explain its failure to maintain full employment by accusing the youth of being 'workshy' and the educational system as being inappropriate — too much preoccupation with 'sociology', not enough orientation towards industry. Today, there is a genuine fear of unemployed adolescents — following a period of flag-waving towards Argentina, and overt gangster 'gun-law' in Gibraltar, it is hardly surprising that the idle and alienated younger members of society find release for their frustrations in vandalism and football violence. Tory 'fears' of 'delinquency' are quite justi-



fied; adolescents can indeed be wasteful and destructive in their spare time, especially when they are not only freed from the compulsory work ethic that once served to 'discipline' them, but when the same process serves to smash their self-esteem. They are exhibiting symptoms of an uneducated and uninterested society, which has rightfully failed to engage their attention or respect.

Long-term idleness is not a natural way of life, except for a few dedicated characters who would pursue it anyway. The majority of young people badly want occupation of a constructive sort — their destructiveness is a protest against what they feel to be an irrelevant, uncaring environment that they are powerless to change. The government spokesmen understood (correctly) the need to involve these potentially troublesome adolescents in some sort of activity; but they do not appreciate the need for *meaningful* activity — or rather, capitalism is unable to provide it.

A typical statement (if chronologically out of place) was that of the former Employment Secretary Tom King, who told Oxford Conservative students in May 1985 that teenagers preferred to hang around discos rather than join the Youth Training Scheme. He added: 'There are probably 20,000 teenagers for whom a place is available on a training scheme, with good employment prospects to follow, who choose to stay at home.'

Government 'solutions' to youth unemployment have consisted of various 'schemes' such as YTS, to 'increase youngsters enthusiasm and self-confidence'. The watershed of the government measures was the setting up of the Manpower Services Commission as a consequence of the 1973 Industrial Training and Employment Act. It is significant that the MSC functions as part

of the Department of Employment, not the Department of Education and Science, and is responsible for all industrial training in the country.

The pattern of government 'crisis management' had been set, and eight years later, with even higher levels of unemployment, the New Training Initiative vocalised objectives, through the MSC, for extending and developing 'skills' training, especially for *all* young people who had attained 16 years.

Contrary to the claims of government propaganda, the NTI consisted of a great number of schemes hobbled together without adequate research and a minimum of consultation — even the MSC itself first learnt of the establishment of the TVEI scheme by reading the press of 12 November 1982! Most effort was aimed at young people — YTS, TVEI and CPVE. The common theme of these projects was 'vocational' — namely, training related to particular 'opportunities' that *might* exist in industry.

The Youth Training Scheme began on April Fool's Day 1983 and differed from its predecessors in two important respects: 1. It was recognised as a *permanent* establishment — thus indirectly making it quite clear that the MSC, under the Department of Employment (as opposed to the Department of Education) was to remain an essential feature of British education;

2. It was seen as but the first stage of a development. Launched as a twelve-month course (twice that of the earlier YOPS), it was, two years later, extended to *two* years, the second year to be more occupationally specific.

Offered initially to all 16 and 17 year olds who have left full-time education, whether employed or not, it was claimed it was to 'bridge the gap' between school and work, offering all participants 'basic

skills' and 'work experience'.

Built into the scheme was a recognition that unemployment must now be considered a permanent feature of the capitalist economy. The more forward-looking planners who have recognised this fact have insisted that schemes of this kind could only be of practical use if they were more closely related to *non-'work' objectives*; but, of course, this is a perspective that can only be developed in a post-capitalist society. Under the present system the scheme can never progress beyond being a means of 'removing' people from the official unemployment registers and providing employers with a source of cheap labour.

Increasingly the Government is determined to spend vast sums of money (and time) exclusively on vocational education — in spite of the contraction of job opportunities. Other courses are dismissed as mere 'frills'.

Libertarians need to appreciate that this is not a 'party' issue. *All* political parties endorse this approach — as does the 'left arm' of the system, the trade union movement. The Trades Union Congress has supported the scheme from the outset, although some individual members have rightly seen the scheme as a means of depressing wages, not only of young people but also of adult workers.

Launched as a 'voluntary' scheme, the government has increasingly brought pressure to bear on claimants. In 1985 Unemployment Benefit offices were instructed to liaise with the DHSS (locally) to impose a 40 per cent reduction in the Supplementary Benefit rate paid to young people refusing (or leaving) a YTS place. In the final quarter of 1988, no benefit will be payable to unemployed youngsters not on YTS. The law will ensure that the unemployed 16 and 17 year olds will disappear from the register — they will *all* be being 'educated', one way or another.

Bob Potter



First International Seminar for World Peace, Seoul, October 1988

THE First International Seminar for World Peace, organised by the Federation of Anarchists of Korea, was held on 28-31 October in Seoul, South Korea. The following text is the address by Ha Ki-Rak, the Secretary of the FAK. Activists, scientists, delegates and individuals were gathered from Australia, Canada, France, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Korea, Poland, USA, USSR, and West Germany. Participants from Britain were Peter Fordham (London Greenpeace), Ineke Frencken (International Workers' Association), Steve Gallagher (Counter Information) and Charles Crute (Freedom Press) — who will be giving his impressions of Korea in a subsequent issue of *Freedom*.

Korea

THE problem of war and peace depends essentially on the viewpoint of interpreting history. In other words, it depends on whether we regard the changes of history as the process of our spiritual development or as class struggles caused by the development of material production. But can all the struggles be fully explained by such a simple formula? I think rather a complex socio-ecological approach is required here, in which the actions and reactions of bottom-up material factors and top-down spiritual factors are combined.

Wars have been breaking out continuously since states appeared on the earth. There are many kinds of war; actually hot shooting wars and diplomatic or trade wars with a background of military forces. The latter cases are the so-called cold war. Class struggles are also a kind of interior war.

It is not a secret that the First World War and the Second World War were battles for the possession of the colonies between the powers, that is to say, the battles between the countries which had more colonies and the countries which had fewer colonies. Periodically there has been a cold war just before and after a hot war, during which tens of millions of people were killed and wounded and immense cultural inheritances were destroyed.

In how many years did the Korean war break out after the ceasefire of the Second World War? There is no one to deny the fact that it was not a war caused by class struggle, but induced by the cold war between the USA and the USSR. And in how many years did the Vietnamese

War break out after the truce of the Korean War? This war was caused by the clash between the intervention policies of the power and the autonomy of a minor country.

Nowadays the world is divided into military blocs, NATO and WARSAW. They stand face to face, which are obstacles to the democratisation (or liberation) in each bloc.

The Soviet Union has been repressing the waves of liberation in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the three Baltic nations by military force, and the United States has been intervening in Central and South America. There is a similarity between the above two countries transcending ideologies and political systems.

We can find a similar fact in history. During the turbulent period of ancient China (5th-3rd Century BC) the feudal states with the purpose of 'wealthy nation and strong army' were the same. 'Wealthy nation' meant the wealth of rulers, whereas people became poorer. 'Strong army' meant the strengthening of the rulers, whereas people were reduced to misery. So Lao-tzu (604-531 BC) said 'the more taxes the rulers impose on people, the greater distress people are in'. Therefore, a wealthy state means poor people; a strong army means weak people. On the other hand, the minimum power of the state means the maximum freedom of the people; a scanty army, a mighty people.

At that time Mencius met with King 'Hye' of Ryand country. The King welcomed him and said 'You have come a long distance, and will bring my country much profit.' Mencius answered him 'why do you mention about profits. There exist also benevolence and justice'. Nowadays man on the earth has made the so-called 'earth village' due to the development of transportation and communication. Now the countries should not be absorbed in pursuing the profit of each. It is desirable that people all over the world help each other on the basis of benevolence and justice.

Then what is it really like? While there are regions where millions of people are starving to death, there are powers which are competing with each other to produce high yield hydrogen bombs to kill millions of people at once.

To what purpose are they busy manufacturing nuclear weapons? Will they appreciate them as a work of art? Or will they exhibit them at the museum as a

curio? Surely not. There should be uses in making such a thing. Once Lao-tzu said 'the weapon is not a good instrument . . . those who like it enjoy killing people'. Now a weapon has become a mass-killing one which can destroy the whole of mankind at one time. Can a devil be more cruel than that? Could anyone be permitted to use cultural developments such as science and technology in this way without punishment?

The human conscience will not allow this. The problem lies in how we can root out the seeds of evil from the earth. Therefore our seminar is not a meeting in which to discuss timeworn theories, but a meeting of active and practical intellectuals. 'So far people have been absorbed in interpreting the world, but what is important is how to reform the world.' The problem raised before us now is how we can change the world from a history of war to that of peace. It's our urgent solemn task.

To perform this task is required the change of a value system above all. In other words, the nation-centred standard of value should be transformed into that of man-centred. Man is destined to live in harmony with each other in a society, but not to live alone. But the society is at best a necessary condition for human existence. Man cannot be called really human unless he has sound physical and mental operations. The so-called total person, for instance, nation or mankind, is only an abstract conception without any basis of physical and mental operation.

Is there anything which is more valuable than one's life? No one will barter his life for the whole world. Kant once said 'we should treat man as a purpose, but not as a means'. Su-un (1824-1864), the founder of the Oriental School in the late Lee Dynasty taught 'Man is Heaven. Therefore we must esteem man like heaven'. The saying that 'Man is Heaven' means that man is the entity of the highest value. So the feudalistic differentiation of social position such as the rich and the poor, the noble and the mean, the man and the woman, should be removed. This doctrine was so dangerous that it might destroy the foundation of the feudalistic social status. Thus the national authorities executed him in March 1864 on charges of confusing the social order and seducing people.

But a man-centred value system has nothing to do with the narrow egoism. For if 'I' am important as a man, then 'you' are so. If 'I' am of the highest value,

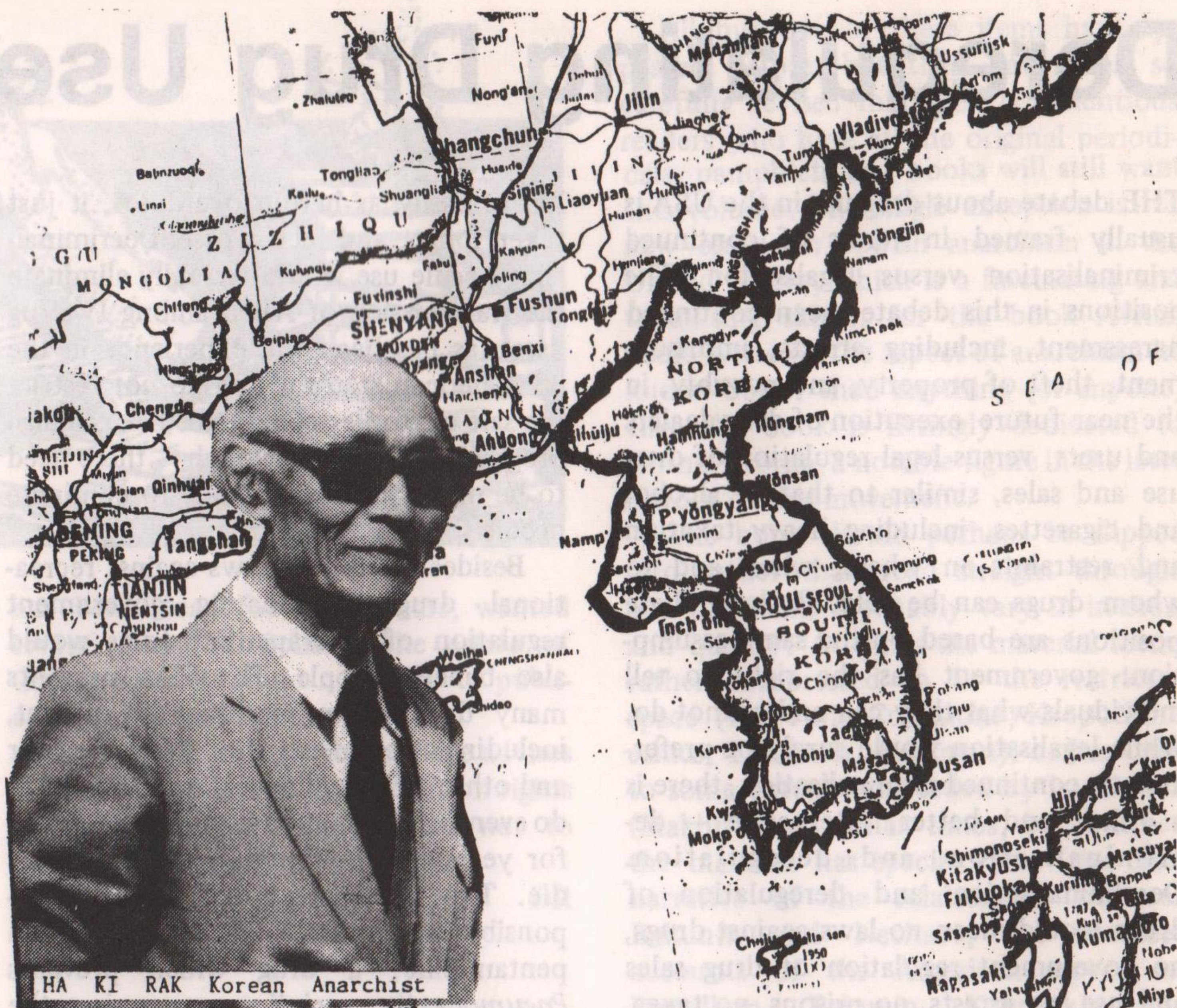
then 'you' are so. So Su-un couldn't accept any human differentiation. On this basis, an anarchistic society will come true where men respect each other and guarantee the freedom of each other. In this respect, a man-centred way of thinking leads to socialism.

Centralised nationalism disregards inherent human values and thinks of them as only a means of national authority, whether they are in a guise of socialism or liberalism. In this way people always become an object for deprivation by the ruling class under a hierarchical bureaucracy. And when the national authorities try to expand their territory, people always become a victim of war.

Our next problem is what kind of economic system can prevent war. The necessities of life are the production of clothes, food and shelter. In the Orient it has been said that one must be well fed before one can be well bred. Thus on the basis of this, we should correct social irrationalities. And the economy should be changed from capitalistic pursuit of profits to economy for people's welfare.

In the capitalistic production system, the plutocracy has close correlation with the governmental authorities. The closer their relation, the deeper the social contradiction. How can we eliminate social disorder? During the early Lee Dynasty of Korea there was an energy-theory against the logos-theory. Seo Hwa-Dam (1489-1546) set up the energy-theory and competed with Neo-Confucianism. The latter emphasised logos-theory, the sovereignty of logos over energy. The former advocated the autonomy of energy. The logos does not come from outside the energy and control it, but the energy includes in itself the logos as its law of movement. This is the source of movement and production. The energy-autonomy theory can be applied to social theory, then it will be a theory of 'autogestion' of industry by the workers.

Jeong Da-san, the founder of positivism in the late Lee Dynasty, inherited Hwa-dam's energy-theory and introduced it into the 'Village-Land-System'. He advocated that people in a village should jointly possess the land and cultivate and harvest it in common. The gap between a rich village and a poor village can be naturally bridged by free transfers, which governmental authorities need not intervene in. One can choose his job according to his free will. But no one can snatch another's share, but should earn his living by his own efforts. Everyone should work and consume according to his own ability and need. His 'Village-Land-System' was a typical anarcho-syndicalism. The time he advocated this was when William Godwin published *Political Justice* and the French Revolution broke out. His idea



revealed the characteristics of anarcho-communism more clearly than the book by Godwin and claimed a general freedom of the workers in addition to civil freedom.

His idea of the 'Village-Land-System' didn't end merely as an idea. The Farmers Revolution of Honam Province in 1894 was a combination of Su-un's man-centred concept and Da-san's anarcho-communism. The revolution had completely liberated the rich grain district where half of the rice production in Korea was cultivated. I won't go into the process of that revolution in detail here. Comrades from Europe can imagine the circumstances of the farming area in the light of the Spanish Revolution of 1936.

The similarity between the two revolutions is that as the Spanish Revolution was demolished by the fascist armies of Hitler and Mussolini, so the farmers revolution of Korea was destroyed by the fascist army of Japan. The dissimilarity is that the latter preceded the former by about forty years. The actual process of history passes at the same pace anywhere, but an idea can precede or follow the actual process, which is the subtle charm and the freedom of an idea. Due to this, I think, Korea which was behind in its economy can precede the European countries which went in advance in their economy. In the proposition 'the self-control of the industries by labourers', the conception of labourer contains not only blue-collar workers but also white-collar workers of any kind. Therefore the labourers' general consumption of daily necessities should be guaranteed above a fixed level, and a real demand for the quality and quantity of business should

be met individually. In other words it is 'consumption according to need'.

What is capital? I think it is the accumulated value of labour and it should be the power of reproduction in the industry. Therefore it should be restricted to the reproduction of value. The private possession of surplus value should be ruled out. In such circumstances, the tariff barriers of the countries all over the world will be demolished, and the labour force, products, and capital will freely interact.

Under this principle, luxuries and military supplies must not be manufactured. For they are not daily necessities, but a poison that corrupts lives. When workers don't co-operate in manufacturing and transporting military supplies, we can fundamentally prevent war.

Who can prevent war? It is labourers. And their united power all over the world is necessary to prevent war. It is difficult for a separated country to accomplish this task.

Organisations of the combined labourers all over the world must be internationally reunited. Due to this, the First International declared 'Workers of the world! Be closely banded together!'

Now we are organising the International Peace Movement Association (IPA) in Korea. We ask the countries of the world to act in concert with us. At a turning point when we change the world from the history of war to that of peace, the heart is the IPA and the brain is the IFA (International Federation of Anarchists).

Ha Ki-Rak
Secretary of FAK

Deregulating Drug Use

THE debate about drug use in the USA is usually framed in terms of continued criminalisation versus legalisation. The positions in this debate mean continued harassment, including arrests, imprisonment, theft of property, and possibly, in the near future, execution of drug dealers and users, versus legal regulation of drug use and sales, similar to that of alcohol and cigarettes, including heavy taxation and restraints on where, when and to whom drugs can be sold. Both of these positions are based on the same assumption: government has the right to tell individuals what they can and cannot do. While legalisation would surely be preferable to continued criminalisation, there is a third, and better, alternative — decriminalisation and deregulation. Decriminalisation and deregulation of drugs would mean no laws against drugs, no government regulation of drug sales and use, no arrests, no prisons, no taxes. Eliminating drug laws, instead of simply replacing them with different laws, would produce a free market in drugs where people would be free to sell, ingest or inject whatever they wished, without government interference.

Drug use is a voluntary, non-violent activity and should be an individual decision, the business of no one but the user. Government has taken it upon itself to regulate drug use, just as it regulates alcohol use, restricts abortion, and registers and drafts people, in order to better control people. Criminalisation of drugs has produced, just as prohibition of alcohol did, an enormous amount of violent crime. Most of this crime is motivated by the need to obtain money to pay the artificially inflated price of illegal drugs. This drug-associated crime is then used as an excuse for police to indiscriminately harass young black men, stopping and searching, and frequently arresting them on the street, for no reason other than that they live in a 'high crime' area. Doing away with drug laws would dramatically lower the cost of drugs and thereby eliminate most street crime, as well as remove the excuse police use to terrorise black people.

Decriminalisation and deregulation and the resultant competitive market in drugs would produce purer and safer drugs, eliminating much of the death and illness associated with drug use, most of which is caused by contamination of drugs or needles, and unreliable drug strength, not by the nature of the drug itself. Heroin is no more dangerous than aspirin if it is carefully prepared without dangerous additives and injected with a sterile needle. And aspirin overdoses can

kill as easily as heroin overdoses, it just taken longer and feels worse. Decriminalising needle use would virtually eliminate the transmission of AIDS among IV drug users, as has been the experience in the 38 American states which do not restrict the sale of sterile needles. Needle exchange programmes are not enough — there need to be more needles available to eliminate needle sharing.

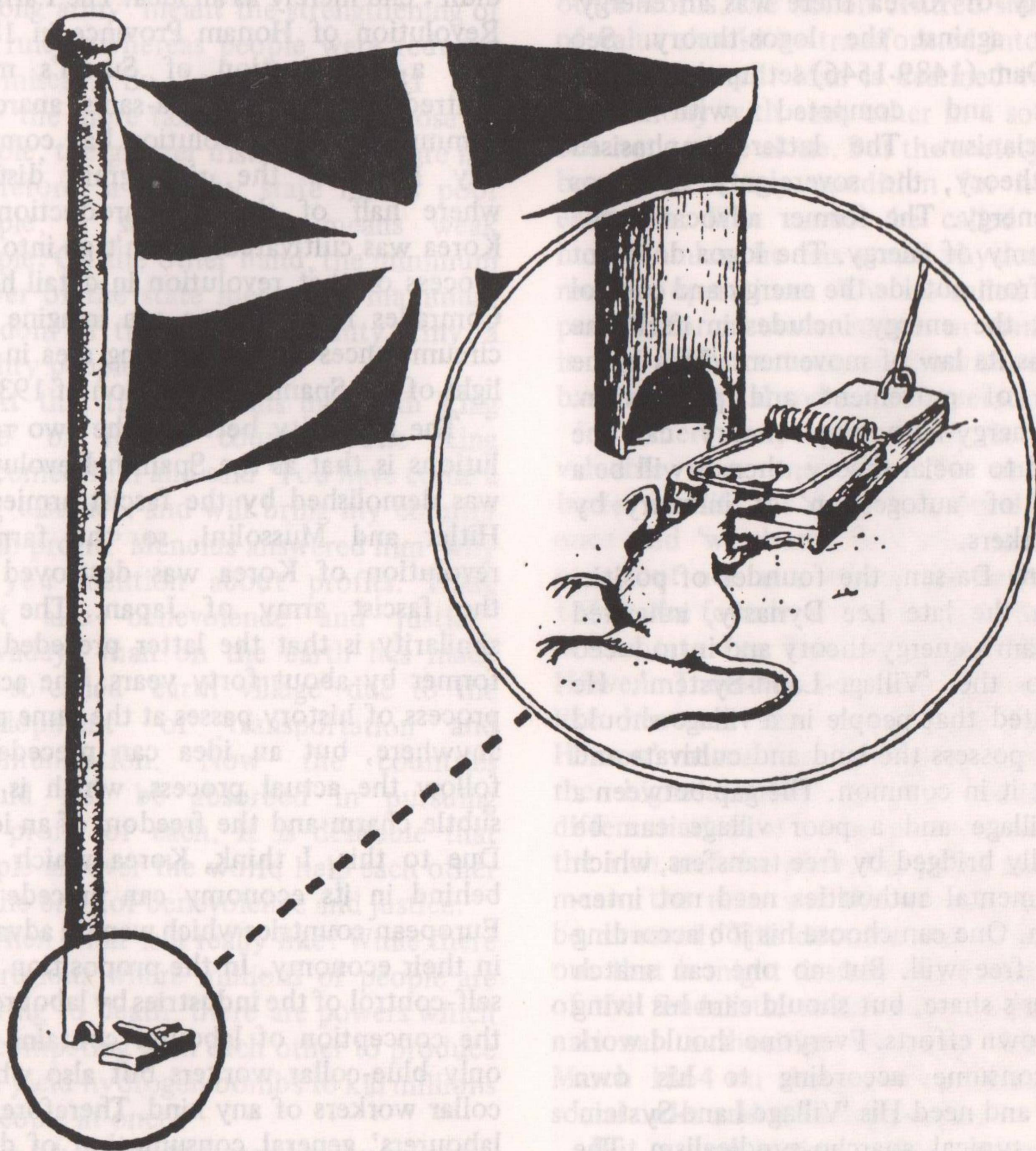
Besides abolishing laws against recreational drugs, eliminating government regulation of 'therapeutic' drugs would also benefit people. The FDA prevents many drugs from reaching the market, including treatments for AIDS, cancer and other serious illnesses. And those that do eventually become available are delayed for years by FDA rules, while thousands die. The government is currently responsible for restrictions on aerosolised pentamidine, a drug which prevents *Pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia, the most frequent cause of death in people who have AIDS. Just as drug laws lead to deaths associated with street drugs and keep people from obtaining sterile

needles to prevent transmission of AIDS, drug laws are killing people with AIDS by denying them effective treatment. Drug laws in this country are also preventing marketing of newly developed abortifacients — drugs which induce abortion early in pregnancy — freeing women from their current reliance on the medical establishment for abortion services. These drugs would put the decision about abortion where it belongs: with the individual.

Eliminating drug laws would greatly increase people's options in the areas of pleasure and health. It would also reduce crime, reduce death and illness associated with illegal drug use, and reduce death from AIDS and other serious illnesses. Individuals should be free to make their own decisions about drug use, and all other aspects of their lives, without the interference of government or 'the community'.

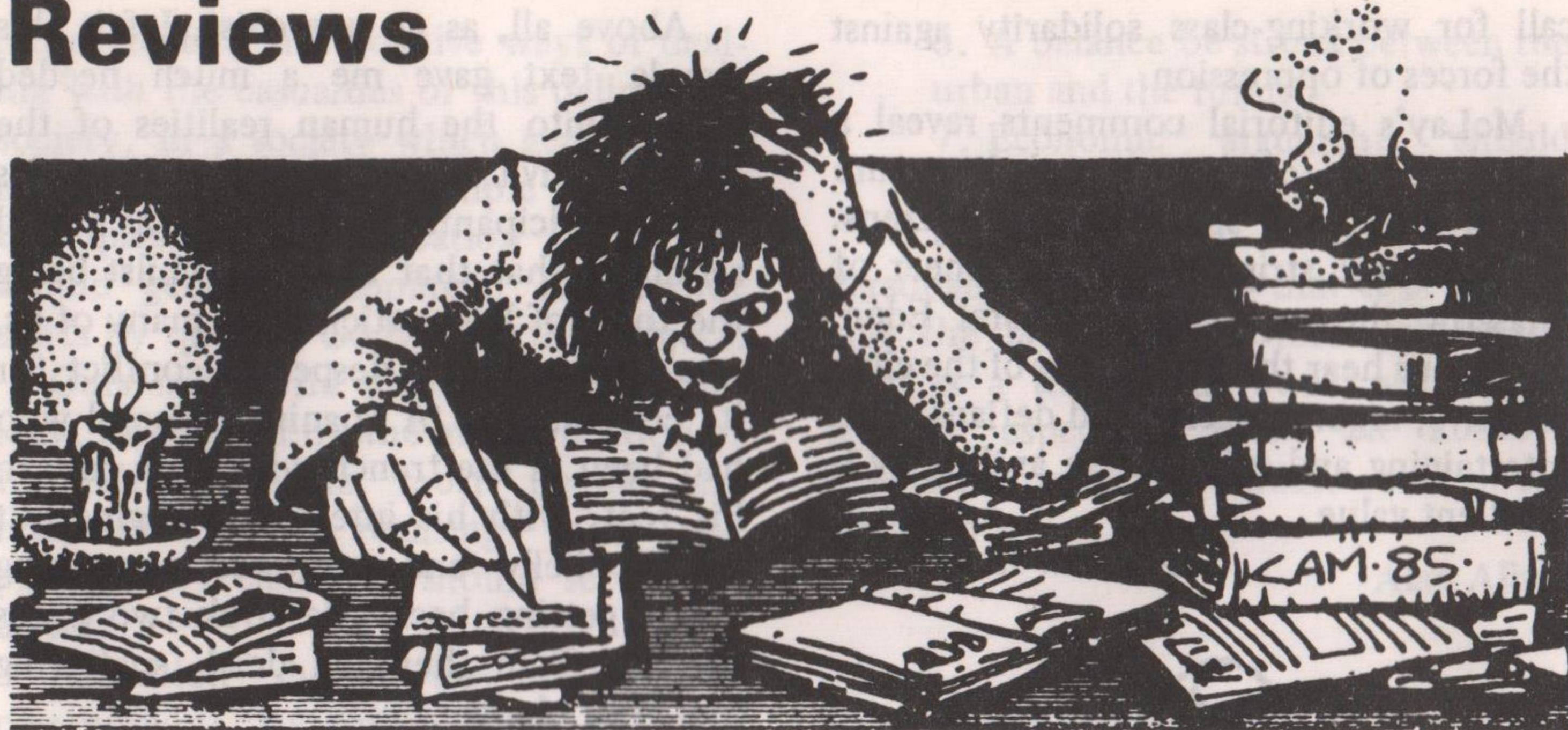
Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade (BAD)
PO Box 1323, Cambridge,
NA 02238, USA

TONY EARNSHAW'S VIEW FROM THE BACK OF TOWN



The trap is sprung

Reviews



The Heretic's Handbook of Quotations

edited by Charles Bufo

See Sharp Press £7.95

CHARLES BUFO, an anarchist working in his 'spare' time like the rest of us, has wisely not attempted to compete with the professional compilers of standard reference works. This book consists of several thousand quotes from some four hundred authors plus 'anonymous and multi-author', selected and arranged for continuous reading and dipping into, rather than for tracking down the source of quotations. 'The book for freelance readers and writers', the blurb calls it. It is full of delights for anarchists and atheists.

Who wrote 'Our whole life today is like a hothouse of sexual ideas and stimulations. Just look at the bill of fare served up in our movies ... this must cause great damage to our youth'? Obvious when you come to think of it: Hitler in *Mein Kampf*.

What fictitious character said 'As for those enemies of mine who did not want me for their king, bring them here and slaughter them in my presence'? The chap in Jesus's parable of the talents, who gave each of his servants a pound each to trade with while he was away. After settling business matters by taking from the poor and giving to the rich, he turned to pleasure and called for a massacre by way of cabaret. They never told me that at Sunday School.

There are some interesting quotes from obscure places, such as San Francisco free sheets and shop window signs. But many of the expected quotes are missing. 'War is the health of the state', for instance, is not in the body of the book, though it is mentioned in the short, readable introduction. That quotation is from *The State* by Randolph Bourne, who died in the 1920s, and the present holder of the copyright wanted a hundred dollars to reprint a few excerpts (Note to anyone thinking of reprinting it here: in British law, copyright lapses automatically, fifty years after the author's death). The copyright-owner of an out-of-print translation of Bakunin, whose translator

has been dead for forty years, wanted several hundred dollars. The estate of George Orwell would not agree to publication of extracts at any price.

In the light of experience, Bufo advises authors to leave their reproduction rights to sympathetic comrades, and not to relatives or commercial publishers.

DR

Anarchist Portraits

Paul Avrich

Princeton University Press, \$27.50

(about £18)

PAUL AVRICH is one of the very few contemporary scholars of anarchism who have published a large amount of readable and reliable material on the subject. He has produced not only several historical and biographical books on various aspects of the Russian and American movements which have appeared over the past 20 years, but also many articles, reviews, introductions and pamphlets in the same areas which have appeared during the same period. *Anarchist Portraits* contains a score of these shorter items (some of which were first published in *Freedom* or by the Freedom Press), collected with a score of good illustrations in a large and handsome (and expensive) volume.

After a short preface the book is divided into three parts. 'Russia' includes eight items — three on Bakunin ('The Legacy of Bakunin', 'Bakunin and the United States', 'Bakunin and Nechaev'), two on Kropotkin ('Kropotkin's Ethical Anarchism', 'Kropotkin in America'), and single items on Zheleznyakov (the man who led the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in 1918), Makhno, and Voline. 'America' also includes eight items — on Proudhon in America, Benjamin Tucker, C W Mowbray (the British anarchist) in America, the background of Sacco and Vanzetti, Jewish anarchism in the United States, Berkman, Ricardo Flores Magon in prison, and Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin. 'Europe and the World' includes five items — the Paris Commune, Paul Brousse, Gustav Landauer, Brazilian anarchism, and J W Fleming.

All but one of these items have appeared before, but they have been so carefully revised that even conscientious readers who have all the original periodicals, pamphlets and books will still want this volume. The single exception is the new essay on Jewish anarchism in the United States, which is a fascinating and tantalising sketch for the book Avrich could write on the aspect of anarchism he knows better than anything (or anyone) else; the book is fittingly dedicated to Ahrne Thorne, a notable figure in the later history of this movement.

The book should perhaps be dipped into rather than read straight through, and the items inevitably vary in interest and quality. At times the material seems rather compressed to fit the restricted space (the Paris Commune, Kropotkin's ethics, Landauer, Berkman), or has been to some extent superseded by later work (Makhno). At other times, by contrast, the material has special value (the clear narrative of the relationship between Bakunin and Nechaev, the focussed accounts of the American aspects of Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Mowbray, the interview with Tucker's daughter, the picture of the movement Sacco and Vanzetti belonged to, the tribute to Steimer and Fleshin).

At all times, it is scarcely necessary to say, the level of research and presentation is consistently high. Avrich is an American academic, but his touch is always light and his style is always limpid; and it is a pleasant experience to read a book about anarchism which is not only well-informed, well-written and well-produced, but is good-natured from beginning to end. His next book will be a new account of Sacco and Vanzetti; but let us hope there are more on the way, and that more of his shorter writings will be rescued from oblivion.

NW

Workers City — The Real Glasgow Stands Up!

Edited by Farquhar McLay

Clydeside Press, 37 High Street, Glasgow £2.95 inc. p&p.

THE Florence of the Clyde? Home of the razor wielding hard-man? A theme park of working-class history? This anthology dismantles the myths and gives us the real picture of Glasgow, presented in dispatches from the front-line by a cultural citizen's militia.

Farquhar McLay's selection of more than thirty items consists of essays, stories, poems and drama by contributors with a variety of political perspectives. While most of the material is contemporary, some dates from as far back as the early 1800s. The collection is unified by a number of recurring themes: the

betrayal of the working-class by corrupt elected leaders, the horrors of a city environment created by incompetent and insensitive planning professionals, direct action by the people of Glasgow and the development of art and culture independent from the demands of capitalism and the state.

Any book concerned with such themes should be of some interest to an anarchist readership. There are however two items which may be of particular relevance to the study of recent anarchist history: A fascinating account of Guy Aldred's role in the battle for free speech on Glasgow Green, by John Taylor Caldwell, provides an object lesson on the hijacking of popular movements by career politicians (Communist and ILP in this case) for their own advancement. Robert Lynn charts his personal development to anarchism via communism during his years as an apprentice engineer at Yarrow's shipyard. Glaswegian anarchism in the 1940s was a synthesis of egoist and syndicalist tendencies, and gave vigorous support to the editors of *War Commentary* (Vernon Richards et al) when they faced charges of incitement to disaffection.

The housing problem is given a great deal of attention. Janette McGuinn's 'Gizza Hoose' recounts the struggle of three families to force the Housing Department to rehouse them in decent conditions, while Phil McPhee contributes an indictment of council 'stupidity and greed' in the building of the nightmarish 'Hutchie E' complex.

Other notable essays include Lewis Grassie Gibbon's admonition against the distractions of nationalism and Jeff Torrington's cautionary piece on the effects of the entrepreneurial spirit.

The themes of the essays are developed with great impact in the stories. McLay's ironic fable concerning the picaresque exploits of a globe-trotting Labour Lord Provost demonstrates his mistrust of political leaders 'acting for the people'. Alex Cathcart's tale of yuppie folk at play (enjoying a glimpse of designer poverty in a theme pub) illustrates the argument that for tradition to be of value it must speak to us of the struggle for liberation experienced by working-class people. A sanitised past presented by marketing experts is merely another force for repression.

The selection of poetry provides some of the clearest insights into the city's conditions and its citizen's concerns. Some of it is funny, most of it is angry and all of it is engaging (the dialect poems make it difficult reading for a Sassenach but are well worth the effort!). 'Glasgow Winter' by Jack Withers is a chilling vision of the city as a post-industrial fall-out zone — a place totally without refuge or hope, while Hamish Henderson's 'Jimmy Tyrie' is a clarion

call for working-class solidarity against the forces of oppression.

McLay's editorial comments reveal a belief that a city's art and literature should serve, and speak for, its citizens. *Workers City* strips away the veneer of 'Glasgow the capitalist's cultural Eden' and lets us hear the true voices of the city: plaintive, argumentative and defiant. This entertaining and informative anthology is excellent value.

Andrew Hedgecock



GWASG CARREG GWALCH

A Most Expensive Prisoner

Jane Pugh

Gwasg Carreg Gwalch £3.00

A MOST EXPENSIVE PRISONER — a slim volume published in North Wales — is, in potted form, the biography of one remarkable man, 'Tom Spain'.

It is not an academic book, being written in simple form for an obviously local readership, but it will be of interest to anarchists for it traces the life of a man who, in April 1937, felt obliged to make his way to Spain to join the International Brigades in their campaign against Franco.

The recounting of the events that followed his arrival, leading to his arrest and imprisonment at Saragossa and the Burgos jail, and the description of conditions there, give the reader a vivid and oft-times gruesome account of the reality of the Spanish Civil War, as seen through the eyes of a volunteer.

Furthermore it provides the reader with a rare insight into the type of domestic background and circumstances which led so many volunteers to enlist.

Unhindered by too great a familiarity with party politics and social history, the author graphically recounts the reality of life in a Welsh mining village during the 1920's and 30's — and in particular the hardships of the General Strike of 1926 — 'The return to work in 1926 at the end of the strike was a very sad time for the miners. They had to work for an hour longer on each shift as well as taking a cut in pay. Everyone was angry and Tom is not ashamed of saying that he remembers crying as he went back to work; crying with futile anger and frustration as did many others.'

This was not the kind of book I expected. And if I was, in the first instance, annoyed by Romantic glimpses of clogs and whinberries, I soon became fascinated by the web of experiences that drew Tom Jones to Barcelona and the ranks of the International Brigades.

Above all, as an anarchist, I felt this simple text gave me a much needed insight into the human realities of the Spanish Civil War, and the motivations of its participants. It served too as a vivid reminder that that struggle, whilst being the topic of Romanticism for many of us, was a bloody and desperate conflict for its combatants. 'A Spanish corporal who had been in the trench with Tom rose to his feet, with his intestines hanging out of his belly and muttered something about getting back. He took two paces towards Tom then fell dead, spattering him with blood ...'

But perhaps the most remarkable thing about this book is its simplicity, and the sheer ordinariness of its subject. Tom Jones Spain was only one inhabitant of one Welsh village, and lives now a quiet life of retirement, tending his garden and visiting his grandchildren.

But between these conventional extremities lies the story of a miner, union leader, volunteer in Spain; a man who was sentenced to death, then thirty years imprisonment, whose family were given his death certificate, who sat alone in a Spanish jail until the British government paid a £2 million ransom for his release, who was awarded the OBE and the CBE, and the ORDER OF LOYALTY by the Spanish Government.

This book shows above all that the great moments in history are made, not by generals and politicians, but by ordinary people who become extraordinary through a commitment to an ideal.

'I indict Generalissimo Franco for his diabolical heartlessness to his fellow men. Even more, I indict him for having the gall to describe himself as a 'Christian Democrat'. The blood of those volunteers who died for democratic Spain will cry out a similar indictment to mine, throughout the coming centuries.'

If you are interested in the human side of the Spanish Civil War — grab yourself a copy! **Joe Kelly**

Making for Peace: patterns in education

Anthony Weaver

Bentham Press, St Albans £4.95

IT IS difficult for most people to influence the education their children receive from the state, but as the author remarks in his introduction:

'No doubt the best parents, at any rate of young children, are to be found among those in good health who start families in a spirit of adventure, content to let the future look after itself. Too much reading of psychology may diminish spontaneity as well as induce feelings of guilt or inadequacy.'

This book is an account of ventures in

more creative and positive ways of dealing with the casualties of this delinquent society. In a society which generates so much unhappiness, a simple answer to the question of education is that it should generate happiness. The author starts by quoting Godwin on this subject.

Ours is a world shrunken by technology, threatened by the misapplication of technology, where most people are restricted from realising their real potential. Technology should serve, not direct.

Education should be directed to communion, fraternity and creativity, and not towards competition and obedience. Indoctrination from which ever quarter it comes should be replaced by shared responsibility and creative activity.

Weaver acknowledges that his thought has gained a lot from the ideas of Herbert Read, and quotes him:

'Morality is essentially mutuality — the sharing of a common ideal. And in the process by which we are induced to share a common ideal is . . . by the creation of an empathic relationship with our fellows, by means of common rituals, by means of the imitation of the same patterns — by meeting as it were the common form or quality of the universally valid work of art.'

From the psychological point of view, the social function of art takes on an additional importance; it saves us from identification with a leader — it excludes the tyranny of the person; it unites us in the impersonal beauty of art.'

It seems to me that after the influence of the innovators of education there is now a regression. In fact the tendency is for people to be educated for non jobs, and some for no jobs. Work has no intrinsic value if it does not, in the provision of need, become a stimulating and joyful experience for the individual. The author points out, though, that the myriad movements now becoming more concerned with our planet as a decent place to live have originated from thought in anarchist writings.

He quotes Stapleton the plant breeder and advocate of the ley system of agriculture:

1. Industrial production should be based as far as possible on renewable resources.
2. Productive industries should be designed on a biological model so that residues and wastes are recycled.
3. The soil must be managed as a living material, prone to sickness and easy to destroy.
4. A high percentage of mixed farming should be legally enforced.
5. Nutrition to be treated as the foundation of health.

6. A balance be struck between the urban and the rural.

7. Economic arguments should never have priority over ecological arguments.

Personally I would say that it is legality and the law that enforces imbalances. This is a thoughtful book well worth reading, especially when the author's experience tends to validate some of the arguments.

Alan Albon

Come Dungeons Dark

John Taylor Caldwell

Luath Press, Barr, Ayrshire £6.95

GUY ALDRED was an idiosyncratic figure on the revolutionary left for more than half a century, based in Glasgow for the last 40 years of his life. He died in 1963 and has long deserved a proper biography — Nicolas Walter's account in *The Raven* 1 is convenient but cursory. John Taylor Caldwell, who was associated with him for nearly 30 years, wrote a three-volume study of his life and work — *The Red Evangel* (1976) *The Essential Aldred* (1983), *Come Dungeons Dark* (1986) — which was not published but has had a restricted circulation in typescript; now an abridged and revised version has appeared with some

good illustrations in a single paperback volume as *Come Dungeons Dark: The Life and Times of Guy Aldred, Glasgow Anarchist*.

The first two-thirds of the book is inevitably based on Aldred's own fascinating but infuriating autobiography, which he produced in four increasingly detailed versions over his entire adult life. Most of the best bits in this part come from Aldred himself, but Caldwell has both put the material into order and cut it to reasonable length. The last third of the book is based on Caldwell's own direct knowledge, and this part is particularly valuable for its first-hand account of Aldred's indefatigable activity in Glasgow before, during and after the Second World War.

Inevitably, perhaps, the treatment both of Aldred himself and of his writings is virtually uncritical, and there are several places where the narrative would have been improved by some correction or comment. At the same time the book is rather clumsily written and, apart from the drastic abridgement of the original text, rather clumsily edited. But it provides such a vivid and valuable account of such a remarkable person, who is already being forgotten only 25 years after his death, that it deserves a warm welcome and a wide readership.

MH



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Surrealist Manifesto

AT LAST! After a year of embryonic activities, the Agamaexpedition has overcome the various obstructions that have hindered our collective activity and steps out into the open.

The Agama expedition (Agamexpeditionen) is a rather heterogeneous group; united in hope, interest in surrealism and revolutionary action, but disappointment with the surrealist group in Sweden.* Hitherto our group activity has been limited to scattered experiments and internal debate concerning our personal projects and our collective aims; now these activities will intensify and move closer to the public activities we're planning, both on our own as well as in collaboration with the anarchist movement, which seems to be the only really active group in terms of political action. Many of us are interested in what can be seized from the academics, and to analyse surrealism with a critical eye whilst practicing it in order to further develop surrealist theory and striking power and also to participate in the university anarchist association FAS. Some of us are very active in the plastic arts with future exhibitions planned. The production of poetical as well as theoretical texts is to be expected — among the theoretical projects important to the group is surrealist scientific theory, musical theories, Frankfurtian critical theory, pataphysics and the tracing of our precursors here in Sweden; we belong to the tradition of pre-surrealism in Sweden which hasn't been properly explored before yet.

From the rune carrying and violently anti-Christian vikings, through the peasant revolts, hermetic philosophy, baroque poetry, the origins of 'science', the radical pre-romantics, the romantic movement, the early socialists, the early modernists and various parasurrealists, etc. Collective experimentation remains basic to all surrealist activity, and we do engage in carrying on the old surrealist games and inventing new ones, including picture texts and music. Excursions / field trips develop our understanding and relationship to nature. We intend to make contact with numerous researchers, writers and artists outside surrealism to widen the debate. Although publishing activity in itself is not one of our more urgent tasks it is something we will be developing in the future.

The forming of a new surrealist group where there already exists at least one (who are basically serious and in many ways functioning) might seem suspicious at first glance but it might seem important not just to other surrealists but to the public at large, to situate us in relation to the 'surrealist' group in Sweden,* and declare our dissatisfaction with their

activity. There are differences in theory and approach between us, but these are not stated by all in the Agamaexpedition and probably not by all in the surrealist groups either. The main difference is that their approach has assumed totalitarian qualities; it has to them become the only surrealist approach, which of course strengthens the frontiers between their own surrealism and everything else (which in their eyes is non-surrealism); they fail to recognise most of the interesting artists/writers/musicians/theorists in Sweden and no longer communicate with the public, other than through their publications, referring to the stock phrases of *absolute divergence* and *keeping the public outside*. They try to monopolise surrealism entirely and thus obstruct all surrealist initiatives outside their group.

This manifesto is not an attempt to split the movement further, but to emphasise that genuine differences exist and that an attempt at collaboration failed, hence the appearance of this new group. Nevertheless, we definitely long for an organised united surrealist movement and hope collaboration with them to be possible in the future. We can't believe that our basic aims could be different from theirs, and as the strengthening of the surrealist movement can be counted as one of these, our separate activities constitute only temporary solutions.

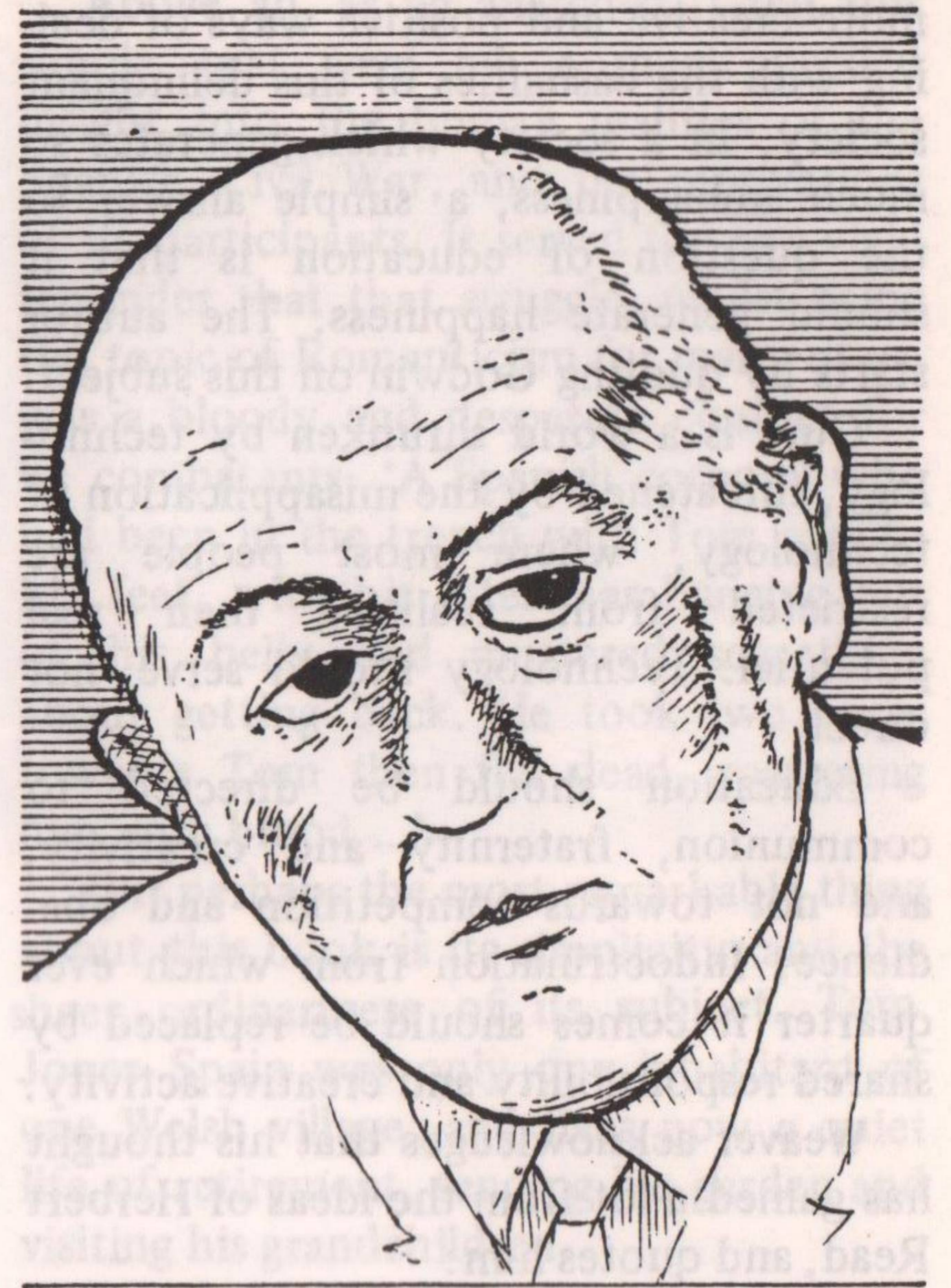
Even though polemics often favour clarifications and development it would be totally beside the point to spend energy quarrelling with the surrealist group and even stupid to do it publicly; we aim to complement their activity rather than competing with it, and the point is — so far — to manifest an active surrealist presence and to attract those people that may contribute to it.

We hereby announce our existence and declare our interest in taking part in the international communication and collaboration that exists — which by its very nature will become more fruitful and organised — between contemporary surrealist groups.

M. Forshage
Peter Green
Fredrik Hertzberg
Henrik Hirseland

Thomas Hvitfeldt
Patrik Swanstrom
Lena Werner
Anna Westman

*The surrealist group referred to in the above text is the group gathered around the magazine *Nakna Lappar* (Bare Lips) including Bruno Jacobs and Petra Mandal. This is yet another grouping 'led' by Tony Pusey around the Dungannon publications which in terms of productivity and quality is the best of the lot.



Peret drawing by DR

Remove Your Hat and other works

Benjamin Peret

translated by David Gascoyne and
Humphrey Jennings

Atlas £4.50

ORIGINALLY produced to coincide with the 1936 International Surrealist Exhibition in London, this selection was censored and withdrawn. Here printed in full, with three extra short stories, including the celebrated 'At 125 Boulevard St Germain'.

Messalina: a novel of Imperial Rome

Alfred Jarry

Atlas £4.50

PROBABLY the most curious historical novel ever written, for despite its being based on accurate historical facts (as the notes to this edition illustrate), its aims are not an exegesis of history but an elaboration of Jarry's personal preoccupations via a private symbolism.

The First Book of Grabinoular

Pierre Albert-Biro

Atlas £4.50

GRABINOULAR being described as 'the happiest man in the world', very Parisian, all-powerful, child-like, satyric, eternally optimistic; his picaresque adventures happen to him at all times and in all places; he is rather forgetful.

This translation by Barbara Wright won the Scott-Moncrieff Prize for the best translation from French in 1980, overcoming problems usually associated with remarkable automatic writing.

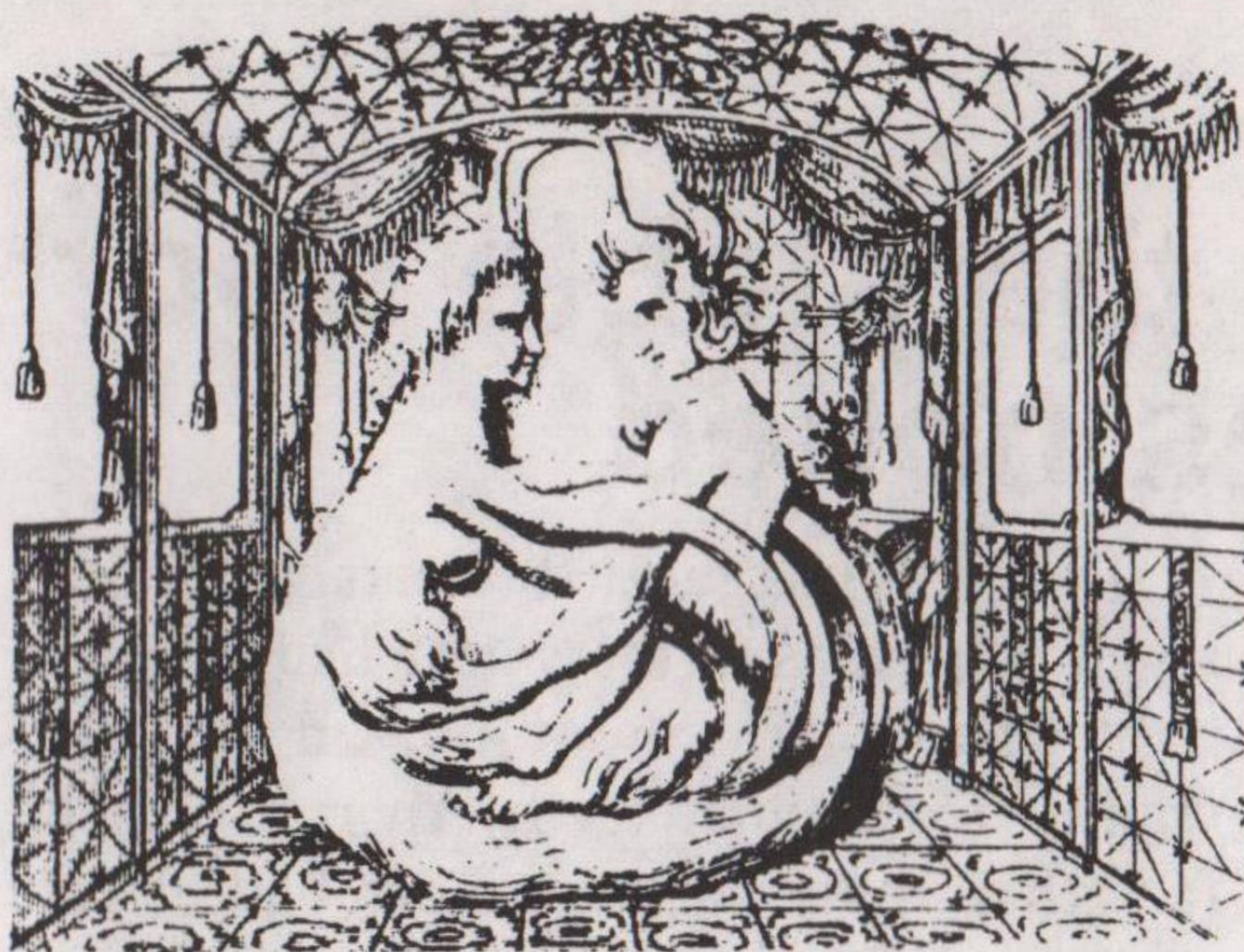
The Skin of Dreams
Raymond Queneau
Atlas £5.50

JAQUES l'Aumone, the hero of *The Skin of Dreams*, encounters within its pages: the horrors of existential ontalgia (a form of asthma but more 'posh'), the delights of lice breeding, low life and states of grace on the outskirts of Paris, and pugilism in malodorous South American ports. Later, he incarcerates the illusions of his former compatriots on the silver screen, the 'skin' of the title. Behind the slang and comedy lies a richness of meaning which, as usual, makes Queneau's novel impossible to summarise.

Pierrot mon ami
Raymond Queneau
Atlas £5.50

THE Uni-Park fairground on the edge of Paris, the mausoleum of a Poldevian prince and its mysterious guardian, 'The Palace of Fun', a fire which destroys the fairground, a fake fakir, a bizarre journey with two beings who turn out not to be human, humans who suddenly become deceased.

In the midst of it all is the innocent Pierrot, who drifts philosophically through the narrative which might be a detective novel. He never quite strings these events together — that is the reader's pleasurable task.



Down Below
Leonora Carrington
Black Swan Press, Surrealist Editions
£3.35

BORN in England, Carrington joined the Surrealist Movement in 1937 and is best known for her paintings and tales of black humour.

Down Below was first published in the New York journal *VVV* in 1944. In 1940 Max Ernst was interested in France and Carrington headed for Spain where she was pronounced insane and sent to a sanatorium at Santander. In the book Carrington describes her desires and actions in a journey through mysticism and symbolism (largely astrological), no doubt enhanced by the forced drugging during her incarceration.

As Carrington says, 'I must live through that experience all over again, because by doing so, I believe that I may be of use to you, just as I believe that you will be of help in my journey beyond

that frontier [of knowledge] by keeping me lucid and by enabling me to put on and take off at will the mask which will be my shield against the hostility of Conformism.'

Black Swan's edition includes Carrington's map of the sanatorium, together with nine excellent new collages by the Chicago female surrealist Debra Taub. **JM**

Square bogs for round arses

THERE was an interesting article in the review section of the *Guardian* of 2nd December 1988 about design unrelated to use or function, and the indications are that design moves more towards marketing and away from function. There was the actual case of a square bog that bore a design centre label and was completely inadequate functionally.

Fashion and design are, of course, inseparable and we now have the spectacle of people buying and wearing jeans with holes at the knees, not an old and well-worn pair of jeans that one has achieved by some interesting activity. As the article suggests, the motive for design is money and not function.

The article ends with: **DO NOT ACCEPT THE SET UP.** It is a hard and enjoyable life not accepting the set up, and at least one does not live in a world where you do not know where it is at.

Alan Albon



NHS

PETER Neville's article in the November issue of *Freedom* is a complete disgrace. Whilst we can understand that his egoism has ended him up in the same ranks as the Thatcherite Tories, we are appalled that *Freedom* deemed it fit for publication. By giving space to such selfish drivel dressed up in fine words, you lay the whole anarchist movement open to ridicule and charges of liberalism, counter-revolution and worse.

You even had the nerve to associate the London group of the Anarchist Communist Federation in the exercise by publishing, against our wishes, an article against private medicine culled from our magazine *The Enemy Within*.

The Neville article combines some serious and sensible comment (e.g. 'the

NHS has never been a national health service, but a national sickness service under the dominance of the medical profession') with confusion and distortion (e.g. that the St John's Ambulance Brigade, self-diagnosis and private medical treatment are of a like nature). The point surely must be that medical care, like housing and education should be universally available on the basis of fairness rather than ability to pay. Peter Neville may be able to afford private health schemes which allow him to queue jump to allow him treatment for his hand (which *amazingly* he needs for his work — who doesn't?). Many other people can't and have to wait until the likes of Neville have been seen first. Perhaps, drawing a parallel, Neville won't mind people pushing in in a bus queue and him being left behind when he ages

a few more years and can't compete.

Yes, capitalism is unfair. Yes, the NHS is in a mess. Yes, there is inequality. But do we, as Neville advises, say fuck you, I'm alright *or* do we in the short term fight to hold on to and extend the islands of equality that do exist (however distorted) whilst at the same time fight for the destruction of the system which creates the problem in the first place?

Neville supports private medical care, he also approves of himself being treated advantageously even though he knows that others will suffer as a result. He is beyond hope . . . and as for the editors of *Freedom*, we despair.

Secretary, London ACF

[We regret the misunderstanding, which was due to a conversation at cross-purposes between one of us and a member of London ACF. He objected strongly to Peter Neville's article, and when he said he objected to our publishing 'it', we honestly thought he meant the Neville article. Our reason for reproducing the *Enemy Within* article, under the misapprehension that we had permission, was of course to distance *Freedom* from Peter Neville's opinions.]

LAND NOTES

The art of bolting the stable door after the horse has bolted

THIS art has reached the peak of its development and its consequences are all around us. A small example of this happened recently when a very large farmer drained his field above a neighbour's spring. In view of the problem of water pollution one would think that the Ministry of Chemical Pollution and Over Production (i.e. MAFF) would take some interest. No, it cannot take sides in disputes between neighbours and recommends going to law. Apart from the fact that you get as much law as you can pay for, by the time it is resolved by this process the water may be well and truly polluted, as is the case of over 200 supplies of water in the country. (As in the case of eye and teeth tests one would have thought that prophylactic measures are better, and in the long run even from a crude financial point of view, cheaper.) Large farmers still ride roughshod over their neighbours with huge machines damaging roadsides and surfaces and the polluting effects of their activities remain uncorrected in spite of the urgency of the problems. The fact that the ownership of land takes precedence over land as a communal resource at the moment prevents the community from taking charge. The so-called rule of law protects this anomaly.

The land has recently been covered by a yellow rash as farmers have had financial inducements to sow rape, an oil seed mainly for animal feed. Apart from the fact that some varieties have bad effects on animal's thyroids, it appears these vast fields have been a fertile breeding ground for a pollen consuming beetle. No doubt our chemical company boffins will discover an insecticide that will destroy the beetle and further pollute our water supply. Like the practice of attaching the milk quota to the farmer instead of the farm, the introduction of rape as a break crop is a completely unscientific way of solving the immediate financial problem and will contribute to the pollution problems. Instead of looking into the possibility of having smaller land holdings and proper systems of ley and mixed rotational farming, the move is to larger and more intensive farms which increase the problems rather than solve them. With the worldwide problems of erosion and desertification and the consequences of crop failures (as with the maize crop in America) the gimcrack way of dealing with difficulties of agriculture and the land can only take place where vested interests take precedence over the interests of the community as a whole.

Alan Albon

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