

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom** 30p

4th April 1982 Vol 43 No 6.

LAW AND DISORDER

WHAT a time it is for Law and Order! In the past couple of weeks we have seen a full scale media deluge on the subject. Crime figures, hanging, Special Branch computers, processions of public figures spontaneously moved to make authoritative, even authoritarian statements. It, is all there. And they say we are paranoid.

There can be no doubt that this is orchestrated. Presumably to prepare the ground for a response on the streets this spring and summer. Those preparations are also taking more concrete forms. There are training runs in Brixton again, van loads of police being disgorged, deployed, then packed away again. Streets quietly prepared, so that they can easily be sealed off.

There is little point in analysing the full dismal catalogue. A listing will do. Calls for discipline, like the poor, are always with us. Could there be a connection? The current cascade really got going with the release of the crime figures for Metropolitan London. These showed a general increase, which the police did not understate. For example, 'serious crime' was up by 8 percent. It certainly sounds 'serious'. In fact, it covers just about everything except motoring offences.

According to James Crane, who is Chief Inspector of Constabulary and so presumably knows, 95 percent of serious offences are property offences and two thirds of these involve property worth less than £100. Much emphasis was laid on street crime generally called mugging, which makes up about 1/2 percent of serious crime! The opportunity to reinforce racial stereotypes and carry on the good work in the maturation of scapegoats was taken.

If the crime rate is rising, then it is apparent that more money will be spent on police, prisons and the like. Stress was not laid on the extent to which this has already been done. The police have their pay rise, rather better than the norm for public sector employees, recruitment is up, new prisons are to be built. Yet the success rate in crime detection has gone down. Odd, that.

While all this was simmering ('Black Crime. The Alarming Figures.' 'Police Focus On Blacks As Crime Rate Rises') the Police Federation launched a campaign for the restoration of hanging. Expensive half page advertisements in the press, total cost £30,000 (happily accepted by the liberal *Guardian*) with clip-out coupon to post off (Please rush me my Junior Executioner's Kit). But, surely, this would only be for capital murder. There's no possibility of an extension to black, homosexual Trotskyist muggers? Or to people out on the streets during riots (they get three months and a smashed knee).

Jim Jardine, chairman of the Police Federation, calls for the police to 'go to war' with criminals. Politicians must 'stop paying lip-service to the rule of law'. (That could be read several ways). 'We are giving this warning to the public and parliament that anarchy could be the order of the day before very long.' I thought that from their point of view it was disorder but we'll charitably gloss over such ideological inconsistency. Then six days later, he resigns.

Hammer McNee, Metropolitan Police Commissioner, chimes in. Some people are 'hell bent on criticising and destroying everyone who is on the side of law and

order and indeed of decency.... I say to such, get off our backs and allow police officers to get on with their job.' Then he resigns.

His replacement is Kenneth Newman (nice touch), one time head of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. During his three years there, they became armed with shot guns, M1 carbines, 38 revolvers and high velocity rifles. He has a lot of experience of policing street disorders. His new appointment has been criticised by Ken Livingstone, GLC chairman, for its neo-colonial aspects. Geoffry Dickens, MP, asked in parliament whether this might be 'just what we need to control London.'

James Anderton Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, is not one to be left out at a time like this. He released the text of a speech. 'A quiet revolution is taking place around us and the prize is political power to be wielded against the most cherished elements of the establishment including the monarchy. It is as much the duty of the police to guard against this as it is to guard against crime. I sense and see in our midst an enemy more dangerous, insidious and ruthless than any faced since the second world war.' When dissident voices find establishment conspiracies everywhere, this is labelled paranoid. Such a diagnosis is, apparently, inappropriate for a public servant such as Chief Constable Anderton. His call is for the police to be allowed to do as they wish, with no dabbling from political busybodies.

William Whitelaw, Home Secretary, was reported to be under pressure from hard line right wingers. The media spent a few days presenting him as 'liberal'. It worked out all right in the end. He had

FREEDOM RAIDED — Today the Anti-Terrorist Squad raided **FREEDOM/Aldgate Press** premises. Comrades involved in printing/typesetting this issue were detained all day. This accounts for the delay and lack of colour. Little A were also visited. Details next issue. EDS.—THURSDAY

only to point to his record since the Tories took office ('liberal', huh) and propose an extension of police powers of stop and search. Well, sus has gone, so there has to be some way of annoying young blacks.

Meanwhile, the riot theme was not far away. Super Scarman, writer of reports, said that if 'that thin blue line had been overwhelmed' during the Brixton riots then the army would have to be called. 'Only a few, unreinforced policemen, many of them young, stood between Inner London and a total collapse of law and order.' Whitelaw spelt it out explicitly. The government and the police are preparing to deal with riots on the anniversary of last years.

Rhodes Boyson, neo-Dickensian headmaster, blames it all on the 'permissive' 60s (I was always irritated by that phrase, if freedom was 'permitted', then it could be withdrawn. As, indeed, it has been). Margaret Thatcher has picked up this theme.

To emphasise the cliché about ideas whose time has come we have the example of the Volunteer Cadet Corps. On 26th March, John Lee, MP for Nelson and

Colne, suggested that a force of young community cadets could be recruited to patrol parks and housing estates, combat glue sniffing and 'after a limited period of training', mix with other youngsters and 'go into' schools and youth clubs. There would be a National Force, with its own uniform, presumably drawn from devotees of Junior Police 5. Lo and behold, not being above clichés myself, the Thames Valley police force, recent stars of the TV screen, are to enroll about 160 'boys and girls'. They will wear special uniforms with a badge saying Volunteer Cadet Corps. It is emphasised that there is no suggestion of Junior Vigilantes, this would be 'nothing more than a police version of the Scouts, Guides or the Army Cadet Force'.

Possible riots, the risk of being swamped by shrieking mobs of aliens goaded by agitators, provide a convenient handle. But, the underlying trend has been there all the time. I'm sure that few FREEDOM readers were startled by the speed at which the police were equipped with gas. The practice has been in Northern Ireland and it is not paranoid to note Kenneth

Newman's curriculum vitae. The increasingly strident public and political postures of the law enforcement industry are simply symptoms. To demand political accountability by the police, a call echoed from James Callaghan leftwards is not the point. I have had dealings with Revolutionary Militia and the only difference from the SPG is the possession of machine guns. This is an authoritarian trend. Mary Whitehouse is demanding legislation against pornography from Space. In affluent times, with resources flowing in from the Third World, the system can be permissive. When things are 'the most cherished elements of the establishment think that they can hold it. A small skilled 'technobureaucracy', completely brainwashed by their relative privilege, and a sullen army of expendables. At the final moment, they are prepared to wipe the lot out and take their bunkered chance of survival. The only cure is to dismantle the whole system. Soon, throwing bricks at the police may not be quite so sweeping. It might even quicken the clamp down. But there comes a time when you say to hell with it. DP

Getting Away With Murder

IN the middle of the cries of the hang'em and birch'em mob, it is as well to reflect that policemen and prison warders, apart from the armed forces, are responsible for more murders and violence to defenceless people than any other group. At the moment Jardine and his Police organisation are entering the political field more openly and demand the return of capital punishment with advertisements in the press. In the meantime these bastions of freedom, as they describe themselves in recruiting advertisements, get away with violence and murder of people in their power, and often after assaulting their victims then charge them with assault on themselves. The first qualification of a policeman is to be able to perjure himself in court, often ably assisted by the magistrates and the judiciary.

We have the Police Chiefs staunchly defending their powers like Anderton defending his expensive defence of private property at the Scott works. Even small reduction and control of police powers as suggested by Scarman are being resisted by the police establishment.

The Law is to Defend the Thieving of the Rich from the Thieving of the Poor (G B Shaw)

This is well illustrated by the fact that our prisons are filled by the poor disadvantaged and underprivileged, and that the people who riot on the streets are not those who hog most of the wealth of the country. The rich and powerful are busy

persuading people through their control of the media that this is how it is, as it has always been, and how it should continue to be. If they fail to do this in this way they manipulate the law, increase the police force, pay them more to ensure their loyalty and if all else fails fall back on the army, as they have done before when discontent has become more than a rumble.

PROPERTY IS THEFT

Taking the place of McNee as Chief of the Metropolitan Police is Sir Kenneth Newman, a man with considerable experience of civil disorder in Northern Ireland, and no doubt his choice, with an eye to future unrest in the metropolis, had this in mind. The cries of Anderton and his fellow police chiefs of political interference and in favour of police independence cannot be taken seriously. The police are an arm of the establishment, they defend a property based society against the illegal redistribution of wealth by what they describe as the criminal elements, which are not really looking for revolutionary change to a propertyless society, in addition they, through their secret police departments, protect the establishment from change. We have a divided society in which the owners of public resources are so entrenched, that they have a private army, ie the police, paid for by those who are the victims of the establishment. While the establishment was able to distribute some

of the largesse to the metropolitan country it was able to persuade people of the benefits of this private army but when the army of the dispossessed becomes large and self-evident, then the real role of the police is exposed.

A LAW UNTO THEMSELVES

In an attempt to pull the wool over peoples' eyes, there is a police complaints procedure. Its operation has become so obviously farcical that there are proposals to give it some sort of credibility. The police are a closed organisation and they speak no evil nor hear evil against each other, and providing there is no third party present can murder and beat people up with impunity. The difficulty of bringing police officers to justice, even in their terms is shown by the expensive farce of operation countryman who were confronted by police mouths as tight as a bear's arse in winter.

THE ANSWER TO 'CRIME'

A propertyless moneyless, classless society in which the boys and girls in blue can help in useful activity the bewigged old vandals in red retired to homes for geriatrics, probably in one of the empty prisons.

ALAN ALBON

PS Scarman said in the House of Lords that the army may have to be called in if the police fail. There we have it. A divided society ultimately propped up by force.

NEWS FROM SUSSEX

ORGANISATION!

'THEY GOT THE GUNS, BUT WE GOT THE NUMBERS.....'

(The Doors, *Five to One*)

WHAT is it that the government, the Establishment, the police and all those bodies which exist to maintain the status quo fear the most? The molotov-throwing revolutionary? The IRA bomber? The occasional riot in an inner-city ghetto?

NO - it is *ORGANISATION* they fear the most. The media around the time of the Brixton Festival last year was full of implications that the riots were being orchestrated and carefully organised, rather than the spontaneous expression of fury that they really were. Laws exist to prevent meetings of revolutionaries, should the powers-that-be wish to enforce them. Police permission is required before a march can go ahead. Mail can be opened, telephones tapped. These and many more methods are employed by the establishment to keep an eye on the opposition and prevent it from getting too strong.

Organisation is the only way to revolution. This is why we have formed the Sussex Anarchist Society.

When anarchists speak of organisation, we do not mean that which is imposed from above, by leaders who tell the minions what to do, which way to go, how to behave. When we speak of organisation we mean that which is based on mutual

agreement by all the parties involved, through argument, discussion and opinions put forward by *everyone* (it's called 'democracy' in case you'd forgotten what that word meant).

The main problem with anarchist groups in Britain at the moment is that they are too isolated and do not collaborate enough with other groups. It is for reason that anarchist groups in Hastings, Worthing, Brighton and Sussex University have come together in the S.@S. to exchange ideas, information and views so that we can stand as a united and powerful front.

The idea of alliance between anarchist groups is not very new, but it only seems to be recently that the movement as a whole is starting to unite and grow. The Direct Action Movement which is based in Manchester, now has branches in Hull, Cardiff and other areas, mainly around the north of the country. The increased amount of anarchic organisation and collaboration can only act to the good of the whole movement, as information and ideas are disseminated which, one would hope, will soon lead to a nationwide network of groups who were once isolated. That way we shall form a solid front of unity.

The Sussex Anarchist Society invites any isolated anarchists in the county to get in touch with us. We hope soon to be organising meetings around the county and also to produce a news-sheet covering Sussex in the very near future, for which any contributions are welcome. Worthing anarchists are just in the process of producing their own newspaper *Ludd and Swing*, which should appear on the streets soon, and will be available from Hastings @ Group, so this will no doubt be including more information about the S@S.

Contact the S@S at 14 Silchester Road, St Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.

As the 12th century Chinese philosopher Shio T'zu wrote: 'Alone we are but tiny ripples in the vast ocean of oppression, but together we are a mighty wave which will destroy the house of the tyrant, engulf the fortress of the emperor and drown those who would oppress the people.'

THE MAD-EYED SCREAMER

SaS

News from Brighton and Sussex University

THE upshot of the David Owen affair (see FREEDOM 6.2.82) is these sentences imposed by the University for activities at the meeting and at subsequent disciplinary efforts:-

One suspension (reduced from expulsion). Three let off on condition of 'good behaviour' (one reduced from expulsion, two from suspension). Ten fined or reprimanded. One found not guilty (ironically the only one actually accused of throwing something - a tomato - at Owen). The expulsions and suspensions were rescinded after an administrative building had been occupied for two weeks - for which the Students Union was charged over £10,000 of the money it gets from the University in the first place.

An ex-student was fined £65 by Brighton Magistrates Court for hitting University Admissions Officer Edward Nakhle with an egg during a visit to the University by Tory MPs and other local dignitaries.

Brighton Anarchist Group is producing issue 2 of *ANARCHIST EXPRESS*, which will be sent to all those who wrote requesting issue 1. Sorry, we ran out of copies of that one.

Sussex Anarchist Society (S@S) has been formed, presently consisting of Brighton, Hastings, Sussex University and Worthing groups.

ERRATUM

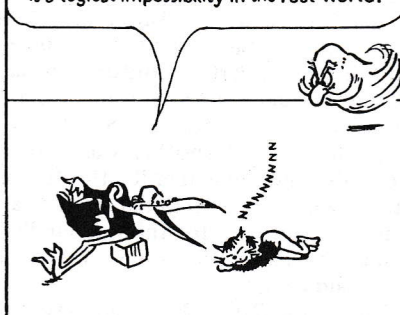
Re the editorial 'Breaking the Ice' (last issue) Francis Pym, ex-Minister of Defence is quoted as having said on TV 'Better red than dead!' Of course this *should* be 'Better dead than red!' EDS.

WILDCAT

If someone you love is suffering, and you know they're suffering, and you can stop their suffering, then you do. That's what the word love means.



Therefore a Being who loves everybody, who knows everything and can do anything, is a logical impossibility in the real world.



Fined a lot, imprisoned for three months, gobbled up and off to the everlasting fire for blasphemy!



In putting forward this idea of the way people use imagination to summon the strength to overcome the apparently insurmountable, I have to acknowledge a debt to the late Charles Parker, the creator of the BBC Radio ballads. In looking for an explanation of what had happened I remembered his ideas communicated to me when I was a student twelve years ago, and remembering what he had to say about the power of the ordinary human voice which really had something to say, I understood why the simple and truthful things so many of the women and men who came on the march found the courage to stand up and say were so extraordinarily moving and powerful when set beside the usual speechifying of traditional political organising. Ann Pettit

WAS it really the same Aldermaston pub that 50,000 people gathered at in 1963? Here were just twenty people, led by Nara, a Buddhist from Milton Keynes, and a banner declaring 'Pagans Against Nukes'. With drum beating we walked through country lanes and joined-up with the Women at USAF Greenham Common. (Although it is officially still called 'RAF' Greenham Common). American military patrol the fence in USAF trucks and most of the traffic in and out is of American personnel or vehicles.

This March was a symbolic one leaving Aldermaston AWRE (Atomic Weapons Research Establishment) for Greenham

Greenham Comm

where the next wave of missiles is expected. The Peace Camp women were preparing for the next day's 24 hour blockade of all the gates. Others were putting final arrangements together for the one-day festival. The Spring Equinox had been chosen as a positive force for life. Each gate had different ceremonies and celebrations planned.

Saturday night saw vans and buses arriving to camp on the heathland surrounded by silver birchwoods. One such was the *Tibetan-Ukrainian Mountain Troupe* — a bunch of fire-eating jugglers, mindbending bodybuilders and general entertainers; also possessing a large marquee for events undercover — music and such. *Uhuru Cafe & Wholefood Collective* were one of several mobile canteens serving nourishing soups and cheap snacks. They also seemed to be the core of the *Oxford Street Band*, who along with *Bristol Ambling Band* and the experienced swinging *Fall Out Marching Band* paraded around the campsite — Brass pounding-out rhythm and Percussion thumping out too. Their songs included ones from the 'First Wave' as well as rousing contemporary stuff!

Abakushi are the first all-women Reggae band I've heard. They were great! Powerful music backed up by strong lyrics, making the masculine-reggae bands sound pale and trivial by comparison.

Sunday morning was wet but still the Tent-Village grew. Stalls were put-up for everything from WRI — *War Resisters International* — to *Leeds Postcards*, *Acorn Bookshop* (Reading) to *Hunt Saboteurs*; *Fourth World Assembly* to *Fairford Peace Camp*, nr. Cirencester, Glos. Magazines were hawked around. I bought *Radiator* one of many local papers covering CND issues — this one devoted entirely to Greenham Common — available from 4 Chase Cres. Woodcutts, Salisbury Wilts. (30p + postage)

Radiator should be bought by everyone wishing to know the history of the Peace Camp; which has by its example created a wave of support and similar action in many other areas. Specifically it has spawned other peace camps at Molesworth, Cambridgeshire; Fairford, Glos; Welford, Berkshire; and sparked-off discussion and action which culminated here at Greenham on Sunday with a 24 hour blockade of the seven gates, plus a flying-squad of women who successfully blocked the opened-up fence to make an emergency gate.

This resulted in 39 women getting arrested and charged with obstruction; because their action was non-violent the unnecessary violence, particularly by one senior officer from Oxford who brutally kicked and handled Nara, a pacifist Buddhist Monk, mistaking her for a young,

THE Right Honourable Mr Norman Tebbit was to be heard a few weeks back on the radio saying that 'What the British system demands is a Government moderately right of centre and an Opposition moderately left of centre.' Mr Tebbit is one of our numerous Ministers for Unemployment, a dedicated TINA-man, and is absolutely sure that the British system is here to stay forever...and ever...and ever.

As such, he is no doubt welcoming the emergence of the Social Democratic Party and in particular Mr Woy Jenkins' victory at Hillhead last week — for you could hardly wish for anyone more moderately left of centre than Jenkins. He has, averred his buddy Dr David Owen, not used the word 'socialism' for years, not even in connection with the system by which an enormous amount of claret is blended and bottled through co-operatives in the Bordeaux area — a system by which many peasant producers make use communally of equipment they could not afford themselves. Isn't that socialistic? But probably Woy drinks only chateau-bottled claret.

This cosy concept, however of consensus politics going on and on forever, perpetually fobbing off the electorate with meaningless shufflings, must come to an

Entryism

end sometime. The initiative has come already, with the Trotskyist infiltration of the Labour Party and the consequent driving out of the moderates. The Trots' theory of 'entryism' is nothing new and stems from the four-way split in 1948 of the old Revolutionary Communist Party, one faction (or was it two?) of which decided that the Labour Party was where the working class was, and so that was where they should be. One of the other factions became the WRP... but we mustn't get involved in dusty history like 1948.

One of the fallacies of entryism was that the Labour Party would quietly stand still and be taken over. Another was that the media would not notice what was going on, and yet another was that the electorate (and remember it's the 'floating voters' who win elections) would also stand still and vote for the Labour Party no matter what it said or did, or what the media said or did.

The Labour Party's Parliamentary Party is basically a party of carpetbaggers, who have hung on as long as they could see no

other alternative for a comfortable ride. Some are sponsored by trade unions, the leaders of which have had their troubles with 'The Left' in the past and have seen them off. Some have swung from Left to Right themselves in the interests of not rocking the boat for a Labour Government and have no thought other than remaining as well-paid labour representatives in a capitalist world. Although the Conservative Party has to maintain its traditions of hostility to the unions, most of the largest capitalist companies have been more than happy to embrace the closed shop in exchange for a quiet life; it is noticeable that when a storm blows up over the issue of the closed shop, it is the union which is seen as being in the wrong, while the bosses sit back chuckling.

The unions, through their political levy, are the paymasters of the Labour Party, and they are quite capable of pulling the rug out from beneath anybody who looks like rocking the boat too violently from their entrenched position of moderate left of centre.

on Vigil

male, punk because she had a completely shaved head; could be clearly seen as the way in which the police would normally handle punks... social and racial prejudice alright?!

Meanwhile back at the Green Gate during the Festival I bought a copy of a pamphlet which should be published nationally by someone — soon! *Let's Face The Red Menace* is a simple handbook which asks questions about both Russia and America and shows our dependance and subservience to USA. (Apparently the Swedish government and more importantly the Swedish people laugh at the British — our role as an island military base — and our complete lack of neutrality. Our failure to influence anyone by our military power). But primarily this pamphlet explains why Russia is much more concerned about peace having experienced two world wars on her territory in the twentieth century. The Americans and British have not suffered invasion or occupation: it also details military power and political policy of USSR. Supported by cartoons which add a visual dimension easily understood.

Let's Face The Red Menace is important enough to be sent for in bulk-orders but begin by getting your own copy from Clifton CND, 7 The Polygon, Bristol-8. It has been written by Alice Gaskell; cartoons by Annie Scott. (40p + postage).

The battle has not yet been joined between the Labour Party proper and the Militants. What has happened is that the more frightened carpetbaggers have packed their bags and fled — and this must be something the Militants didn't bargain for: that any significant section of the party could just get up and walk away from them, taking the voters with them. Slowly but surely the Labour Party leadership is going to be forced into the position of taking action against the Trots — and the moment they do, the voters will come streaming back. And if they don't, and Labour fades away — what's the betting that the trades unions will look to the Social Democrats as their parliamentary friends?

And while all this political cleverness is going on, what is the State doing? Is it sitting back, like a hopeful virgin, (male or female) waiting to be taken over — with permission of course? Like hell it is.

The State is arming itself to crush the perpetual enemy within: the people. The State's first line of defence, the Police, are on the offensive, and getting more offensive every day. Following last year's relatively small outbursts on the streets, our lads in blue are collecting lethal plastic

However, what is the most important part of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp? Not the 24 hour blockade? Well, I don't think this is as important as the continuing presence of the 'village' at the main gate of USAF Greenham. Contrary to the correspondent in FREEDOM whose letter outlined why someone ought to have already walked on to the base, before the heavy security fence had been put up, I think it is easy to suggest what others *should* be doing. Apart from the political fact that even had a thousand done so, the bases would not have been closed-down; and the political decision to remove USAF bases would not have been supported; the actions of the women performed both witness and picket: they are there every day.

They make contact with a lot of local people through local newspapers and radio. They challenge the myth of the easy solution. They are constantly becoming more radical as they experience the ideas of different women. They are learning how society works in practice. Ann Pettit set this ball rolling from Cardiff to Greenham Common. She is now helping organise a peace-walk from Cardiff to Brawdy (Pembrokeshire).

She has set-off a human chain reaction: let her finish:-

'Looking back on the march it is clear as crystal that this kind of collective summoning of courage took place. This enabled each person in a small but significant way to enlarge the boundary of what was possible for them to do.'

DENNIS GOULD

bullets, water cannon, CS gas, new laws, new powers, a new ruthless use of the media and a new entry into politics. Ho, ho, comrades — a new twist on entryism emerges, as the police chiefs declare their determination to be a law unto themselves. Even in Lambeth, where they are trying to live down the damning effect of the Scarman Report and are promising to tell the local community leaders what they are going to do, they are putting qualifications to their promises, like 'If there's time...! etc

A word on yet one more fallacy in 'entryism'. Like all attempts to change THE SYSTEM from within, it depends on the system not only standing still while it is changed — but allowing itself to be used against itself. This supreme underestimation of your enemy could be fatal. Like the man said, 'If voting could change the system it would be illegal'.

One final point. In their desire to be identified with the under-dog and to be populist, the Trots are antagonising the police. Why don't they come out and tell the truth — that in a Leninist-Marxist State the police would really come into their own — in co-operation with the party, of course.

PS

IN BRIEF

THE autonomous youth centre in Zurich has closed. The issue of the centre has provoked months of street battles with the police. The decision to close the centre was taken because of concern about drugs. Which raises the question of how 'autonomous' it was to start with. Privileges can easily be revoked.

CHINA has ordered economic sanctions against people who have too many children. The government stresses that one child is the norm, although a second may be permitted in 'exceptional circumstances'. This is more likely in rural areas. A third child will not be permitted in any circumstances. The present population is about 1 billion. It is expected to reach at least 1.2 billion by the end of the century, even with the new measures.

A man has been jailed for three years for producing petrol bombs during last summer's riots in Battersea. The Judge said, 'It is an extremely serious offence and there has been far too much of it in recent years.'

THE Council of High Ulemmas (Moslem theologians) has labelled Colonel Gadafy of Libya as a 'heretic' and a 'devout servant of evil'. A statement read over the radio in Saudi Arabia said that he has 'dedicated himself to spreading anarchy and dissension.'

THE Emergency Planning Officer for Hampshire has upset his local councillors by saying that there would be 'chaos and panic' before either a conventional or nuclear attack on Britain. 'People will probably leave work, they will march, they will demonstrate, there will be sabotage and chaos will reign supreme'. However, Wing Commander Harle is an optimist, 'so long as an Adam and Eve survived in every little hamlet and so long as they liked each other, we shall have this nation going on again.'

THE Vatican has managed to wipe out its running deficit. This had reached a vast sum over the years, administrative costs and the like being what they are. It has succeeded, not by frivolously using capital resources (the Vatican is widely supposed to have a certain amount of these) but due to 'positive, generous' contributions from churches all over the world. It's nice to know that the Holy Father has got ahead with his housekeeping, so it won't prey on his mind and spoil his visit later this year. The only sad note is that next year's deficit will probably be a record, ?15 million...

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

TROTS AND POLAND

Dear FREEDOM,
Much as I am flattered by Nick Heath's remarks (letters 6 March), I'm afraid that I cannot agree with his defence of the Trotskyist left vis-a-vis Poland, at least in so far as he refers to the Trotskyist left. What do I mean by this? Well, it seems to me that his letter commits the cardinal sin of claiming the SWP to be Trotskyist: this it is not, for the SWP believes the Soviet Union and its satellites to be 'state capitalist' (and thus as much 'the enemy' as the Western social system), while every variety of Trotskyism takes the Eastern bloc to be composed of bureaucratically deformed (but still essentially socialist) workers' states. It follows that all Trotskyists — not just the Spartacists — are committed, at least in the last instance, to a 'defend the Soviet Union' position.

In this light it is difficult to consider the mass of 'news and information on Poland' contained in Socialist Challenge, Militant, Newline or Socialist Organiser as anything but undiluted hypocrisy: the Trotskyists (properly-so-called) have drawn a discreet veil over their pro-Sovietism, perhaps, but they have by no means abandoned it.

The SWP are slightly different, since they do not have to pretend their analysis of the Eastern bloc doesn't exist, to be able to condemn the Jaruzelski coup for what it is — bloody counter-revolution. All the same, their support for 'free trade unions in Poland is not without its hypocritical slant — since they stand wholeheartedly behind Lenin's suppression of independent trade unions in the early years of the Bolshevik regime. The SWP's 'consistent anti-Stalinism' should not, I agree, be confused with the Spartacist's apologetics for Jaruzelski — but at the same time their consistent blindness in their dealings with Lenin's viciously anti-working class practice cannot be ignored.

This is not, however, to excuse the stunning lack of libertarian news and comment on the Polish events, which is indeed pitiful. To lay the blame on the FREEDOM collective alone is, however, rather unfair: FREEDOM is, after all, an open paper, and the fact that it has not covered Poland adequately is as much a product of the apathy of its readership as anything else. It would not have taken much for a single reader to make it his or her task to produce a fortnightly article of Polish news gleaned from the daily press. The fact is that no-one did. So it's everyone's fault that FREEDOM has fallen short in its response, and the lesson to be learned should be clear: write, and write regularly.

Yours for self-managed socialism.

L ERIZO
Ipswich

GREENHAM WOMEN

Dear FREEDOM,
Our friend Cliff Poxon (letters FREEDOM 20 March) seems to have been singularly upset by the Greenham women. Firstly they don't follow his advice and invade the base and then — sin of all sins — they find they can do without Cliff and the rest of us men.

How dare they! Why, Cliff alone can smash a missile silo with his bare hands — he can sort them Yanks out. How can they cope without our leadership? Fear not, if we can't run the show let's take them down a peg or two. Let's say the women have 'a strange aversion to anything illegal' and say that 'the peace camp isn't an action at all'.

Let's piss on these stropky don't-know-their-place women. Let's do everything to avoid thinking why they don't want men there and why is it that most of the world's violence is made by us men?

No Cliff, we're not Haig and Brezhnev — but we too have got to change. Recognising women's autonomy of thought and action is part and parcel of anarchy.

Yours for peace and freedom,
ROSS BRADSHAW
Nottingham

Dear anarchs,
I think Cliff M poxon is barking up the wrong tree when he attacks the women from the Peace Camp at Greenham Common. (Letter 20 March)

So what if they don't want men at their camp? It doesn't harm him one bit ('cept maybe his ego) and he can always set up his own camp.

And is it libertarian to expect the women there to suffer the company of unwelcome visitors? Surely they can choose who they want to be with!

Instead of bleating about how crappy the women's action is, we should be organising our own actions.

The Conference in Manchester in February when 'Anarchist Action' network was set up, was a start (I think Cliff was there).

It's time we got out of the armchairs, comrades. Yes, I know. Me too.

LANTY
Cumbria

Dear FREEDOM,
A couple of things. Firstly, in reply to Cliff 'Yours For A Non-Sexist Society', M Poxon, I'd just like to say that although I understand and to a certain extent agree with his reservations about the actual effectiveness of the women's peace camp at Greenham Common, I find his inference that because it's 'women only' it's sexist, just not on.

OK, a few feminists are anti-men, but most aren't; how the fuck are women supposed to find the strength to combat what is a male dominated society if, every time they organise on their own, they're accused of 'blatant sexism'? Surely the whole point of anarchism is that each oppressed group (or individual) is best finding out for itself just how it is oppressed, and how to best go about changing things; I don't see why this has to lead to a narrow, sectarian attitude — maybe one or two women at Greenham Common are this way inclined, but can you blame them?

The fact is that we do live in a society where men are brought up to be 'big and strong' while women are brought up to be 'meek submissive'; a society in which most men see women as little more than something pretty in a skirt or as mothers and wives.

Women do need to do things on their own and without men because even among anarchists, who tends to do all the talking? Although the Greenham Common peace camp does have its faults, being 'sexist' isn't one of them (women do 'have a distinct contribution to make against the violence which is created mainly by men' because they, more than anyone, suffer from it).

Secondly, I feel that people who offhand equate nihilism with 'unprincipled intolerance and immature egoism' are guilty themselves of such intolerance; if just dismissing something offhand without giving reasons doesn't smack of authoritarianism, I don't know what does. So T Flinn (or anyone else for that matter who tries to mask their own intolerance by accusing others of it), although much of what you say in your letter is unfortunately true, you are as much a hypocrite as are those anarchists whose idea of anarchy is heckling at public meetings and doing fuck-all else.

Reading the pages of FREEDOM in recent weeks, I've become more and more aware just why anarchist ideas are failing to reach all but a small minority; I don't see this situation changing until we start to practice rather than just preach.

Armchair 'anarchists' may be right in finding much to criticise in the actions of others, but me personally, I'd rather do things than spend the rest of my life pointing fingers.

Anarchy, Peace but first of all LOVE,
19

EXCLUSIVE ANARCHISTS

Dear FREEDOM,
Readers of FREEDOM may be interested to learn of a proposed new so-called Anarchos Institute centered in Montreal and being organized as the brain child of Dimitri Roussopoulos, an editor of Our Generation. The intent of this

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET

'institute' is to bring together anarchist intellectuals in North America (ethnographically defined as the US and Canada) into some organized form. Roussopoulos has invited those he considers to be anarchist intellectuals to join him in this enterprise. Farmers, carpenters, house painters, ditch diggers and other ordinary mortals need not apply. For Roussopoulos they are clearly not capable of worthy contribution. Roussopoulos is an advocate of that old Leninist elitist notion of the intellectual vanguard. He wants an exclusive club of snobs who can congregate in that cultural center of the universe, Montreal, and while sitting around their cigars and brandy can discuss the elegant problems of the intelligentsia in statist society... all after paying a 50 dollar fee. In addition, apparently Roussopoulos has set himself up as the pontiff of this 'institute': it is up to him to admit or reject applicants.

Actually one should not be surprised that such elitism forms a significant part of Roussopoulos' alleged anarchism. After all he has already found a way to claim to be anarchist and a supporter of Quebec as an independent, Francophile

and Papist-dominated nation-state. As well he manages to convey a racist and elitist attitude towards all of us benighted souls who reside in the boondocks.

All those anarchists unfortunate enough not to be intellectuals and not to have 50 dollars for such foldrol should flood Roussopoulos with requests to join his elitist club.

Best wishes,
HAROLD BARCLAY
University of Alberta
Edmonton
Canada

CHRISTOPHER DAVIS APPRECIATION SOCIETY

Dear Comrades,
As you know, the CDAS was formed in the summer of 1981 to work toward the establishment of a permanent libertarian centre in the West Midlands.

Out of this initiative came the Anarchy Club, which has since presented a number of meetings and social events — with vary-

ing degrees of success.

Response to the meetings has been generally good. In particular, the screening of the two videos on the Angry Brigade and Persons Unknown, introduced by Iris Mills and Ronan Bennett, attracted a large audience; and a talk by Charlotte Baggins on the personal and sexual in a revolutionary perspective prompted a very lively and worthwhile discussion.

On the other hand, our 'social' events have elicited a very poor response, possibly because of poor publicity.

Many of us feel that it is now time to reassess our position, with particular reference to a number of problems which have arisen since last August.

The CDAS has so far raised nearly £900, but this apparently healthy financial position is belied by the fact that most of this money has been donated by comrades outside Birmingham. The CDAS can be a viable project only if it becomes capable of generating its own finances.

Our credit balance at the moment stands at over £400 — but we have plenty to do with it! CDAS c/o 18 Moor Street, Ringway Birmingham B4

REPORTS

EAST ANGLIAN CONFERENCE

SATURDAY 20th February saw the beginnings of what will hopefully prove to be an effective co-operation between anarchists in East Anglia, when thirty libertarians met in Cambridge for a day of discussion and practical planning. Individuals and groups from Cambridge, Colchester, Harlow, Norwich, Kings Lynn, Ipswich and Bedford were present, and debate ranged over a large number of questions, though particular attention was paid to the problems of the anti-war movement and the creation of a libertarian network in East Anglia. As far as the first of these is concerned, it was decided that we should start with a mass leafleting of the CND march from Woodbridge to Ipswich on April 10th, and make plans for direct action to take place later in the summer. We would like to see a large libertarian contingent on the CND march, incidentally, so get in touch with your local CND branches who should be organising coaches.

The matter of organisation and co-ordination of regional activities provoked much controversy: no agreement was reached on the immediate foundation of a federation, but a number of steps were taken to improve communications. In particular we decided to produce a reg-

ional newsletter and to have regular quarterly meetings. The next of the latter will take place during and after the intervention on April 10th — all East Anglian comrades are cordially invited to attend. If for any reason you can't make it then, write to Cambridge Anarchists (c/o 186 East Road, Cambridge) for further details of our activities.

L ERIZO

CIRA-GENEVE REOPENED

THE library of the International Center of Research on Anarchism (CIRA) has reopened after two years of closure due to reorganization and improvement of the filing system. It is open to readers and researchers as from 1st March, Tuesdays and Fridays from 5 to 8pm and by appointment.

The CIRA library has 15,000 books and pamphlets in 27 languages, as well as a great number of anarchist periodicals. It can respond to any request for bibliographical information and lend books by mail.

It is financed by its readers (25 Swiss francs per year, to be paid to postal checking account 12-17750 in Geneva) and by some donations, and it is administered by a committee of Geneva residents. Its stock comes mostly from gifts and bequests.

The CIRA is a member of the International Federation of Libertarian Study and Documentation Centers (FICEDL) and of the International Association of Labour History Institutions (IALHI). CIRA, Rue des Cedres 14, PO Box 51, CH-1211 Geneva 13, Switzerland.

DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT CONFERENCE

THE latest DAM conference was held on the weekend of 28 February at the Leeds Trades Council Club. A number of things were discussed including shop-floor organisation, unemployment and Northern Ireland, none of which needs any explanation as to their importance for the Anarchist Movement. Stemming from this a commission was set up to look at the situation in Northern Ireland, not only to attempt to formulate a DAM attitude on the subject, but also to spread reliable information after wading through the propaganda produced by all and sundry (a daunting task!)

DAM's Policy Committee has already looked at unemployment, recommending the establishment of Unemployed Workers Groups and Redundancy Action Groups, and is at present looking at shop-floor organisation and the trade unions.

Other matters discussed included the establishment of an international commission (which is to publish an International Bulletin to complement DAM's paper *Direct Action* and DAM's *Action Briefing*) and the rather pleasing news that an anarchist anti-bomb group, Anarchist Action, was set up by the recent anti-bomb conference in Manchester.

DT

Subscribe

FREEDOM CONTACTS

INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRALIA

AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY
Research and Resources Centre for Libertarian Politics and Alternative Life-Styles, 7/355 Northmore Ave, Lyneham, ACT 2602.
Tel: 02-516 4416.

NEW SOUTH WALES

Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jura Books Collective, 417 King Street, Newtown, N S W 2042
Tel: 02-516 4416.

QUEENSLAND

Libertarian Socialist Organisation, PO Box 268, Mount Gravatt, Central 4122.
Self-Management Organisation, PO Box 332, North Quay.

VICTORIA

La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRG, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083.
Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash University, Clayton, 3168 Melbourne.
Libertarian Workers for a Self Managed Society, PO Box 20, Parkville 3052.
Treason, Box 37, Brunswick East, Victoria, 3057.
Chummy Fleming Bookshop, 26 Regent Arcade, 210 Toorak Rd, South Yarra (Libertarian Workers shop)

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Freedom Collective and Libertarian Research Centre can be reached through PO Box 203, Fremantle.

TASMANIA

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PO Box 2042, Auckland.
PO Box 22, 607 Christchurch.
Daybreak Bookshop, PO Box 5424 Dunedin

CANADA

Open Road, Box 6135, Station C, Vancouver BC.
Wintergreen/AR, PO Box 1294, Kitchener, Ontario, N2G 4G8
Black Cat Press, PO Box 11261 Edmonton, Alberta.

MONTREAL

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Montreal Que H2Y 3E9

USA

ARIZONA
Malicious Hooligans (anti-nuclear)
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Libertarian Anarchist Coffeehouse, meets last Sunday each month at Cafe Commons, 3161 Mission St, San Francisco.

Bound Together: Book Collective
1901 Hayes St
San Francisco, CA 94117
(415) 668-2785

Connecticut

Wesleyan University Eco-Anarchists, Hermes, Box HH, Wesleyan University, Middletown CT 08457

MISSOURI

Columbia Anarchist League, PO Box 380, Columbia, Missouri 65201

NEW YORK

Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, GPO New York, NY 10012
SRAAF/Freespace Alternative U, 339 Lafayette St, New York City, NY 10012.

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SEATTLE

Left Bank Publishing Project
Box B
92 Pike Street
Seattle, WA 98101

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Soil of Liberty, Box 7056 Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, Minn 55407.

OREGON

Portland Anarchist Centre, 313 East Burnside, Portland, Oregon 97205, USA.

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Graswurzel (Grass roots) c/o W
Hertle, Grozerschippsee 28, 21
Hamburg 90.
Schwarzer Faden (Black Thread)
Obere Wiebermarktstr 3, 741
Reutlinge Libertad Verlag, 6br
Schmuck, Postfach 153, 1000
Berlin 44.

AUSTRIA

Liberte, Postfach 86, 1033 Wien.
Monte Verita, Neustiftgasse 33,
1070 Wien.

FRANCE

Federation anarchiste francaise,
3 Ternaux, 75011, Paris (Groups
throughout France).
Union Anarchiste, 9 rue de l'
Age, 63000 Clermont Ferrand.

FRANCE

Federation Anarchist Francaise
145 Rue Amelot, 75011, Paris

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etto, Casella Postale 647, 35500
Padova
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39, 23100 Sondrio

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lektief (RAK), Oudborg 47, 9000
Gent.

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273892

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zicht (Anarchist Bookshop), Folk-
ingestraat 10, Groningen

DENMARK

Aarhus Regnbuen Anarkist Bog-
cafe, Mejlgaade 48, 8000 Aarhus.
Rainbow Anarchists of the Free
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Anarchos, Tinghuset, Fristaden
Christiana, 1407 Copenhagen.
Anarkistisk Boggace, Rosenborg-
gade 12, 1130 Kobenhavn K
Tel (01) 12 26 82

SWEDEN

Syndikalist Forum, Tenstiernas
Gata 51, 11631 Stockholm
Syndikalistiskt Forum (anarcho-
synd bookshop), Husagatans 5,
41302 Gothenburg (tel 031
132504)

FINLAND

Anarkistiryhma, c/o Terttu Pes-
onen, Neljas Linja 14 D 83, 00530
Helsinki 53.

NORWAY

ANORG, Hovtvedtv, 31B, 1431
As (Publish 'Folkeblad' 4 times
a year)

IF you wish to contact other
Anarcho-Pacifists in Canada and
elsewhere, we are forming a
section of the URI — our publica-
tion — **DESOBEISSANCE
CIVILE**, c/o GROUPE THOR-
EAU, CP95 S/N PLACE
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H2Y 3E9
First issue in French and English

PUBLICATIONS

RICHMOND + TWICKENHAM's
other scurrilous rag 'Fly on the
Wall' is building up a radical/
labour movement/working class
history of the area.

If you can help the project or
wish to take part in this work,

contact:-

Fly on the Wall,
PO Box 41,

Richmond,
Surrey

Collective meetings at the Albany,
Station Yard, Twickenham, 7pm
Sunday, 2nd May.

DESIRES

'Cardiff LFOEM will be there.'

Any detailed info on Scottish An-
archism mid 19th century to mid
20th century, please send to:-
Box V2,
488 Gt Western Road,
Glasgow G12

EVENTS

A Scottish Conference is scheduled
for 1st May, more info from:-
Cowan 3r,
17 Cheviot Crescent,
Finty,
Dundee.

DATELINES..URGENT... PLEASE TAKE NOTICE

Comrades are asked to remember that we are a fortnightly paper,
and we go to press on the **MONDAY** before publication.

Please work it out for yourselves (you ARE anarchists aren't
you?) that our press deadlines are the **MONDAY AFTER** the last
issue.

Thank you:- Eds

NEAF

THE North East Anarchist Federation has just entered its second year since
being restarted. Its third conference was held in Sunderland, on the 13th March.

The NEAF have groups in Newcastle, Middlesbrough, Sunderland, Leeds,
Hull, Huddersfield, Askern (Doncaster) and Keighley. We are also in contact
with comrades in Bradford and Sheffield where it is proposed to hold our next
conference in September.

We are involved in many activities in the north east and several of our
groups publish local papers: Angry (Hull), Seditious Whispers (Doncaster),
Kaos (Middlesbrough), and Treason (Tyne and Wear).

We would be pleased to hear from any isolated comrades or groups in the
area who would like to maintain contact with the NEAF and attend future
meetings. We would also like to hear from any other regional federation in
Britain with a mind to exchanging information and contacts.

All those interested please write to the secretariat c/o 1 Chapel Hill, Askern,
South Yorkshire.
Salud,
Col

PS 'If I were an anarchist, which I'm not,
I'd see this as a confirmation of my beliefs.'
— Tony Benn at Greenham Common Peace
Festival, City Limits

Printed and typeset by Aldgate Distributed in Britain by A Dis-
Press, in Angel Alley, 84b White. tribution,
chapel High St, London E1
Tel: 247 3015

Freedom Press

IN ANGEL ALLEY

84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.

LONDON E1

PHONE 01 247 9249



AS Anarchists we claim to be concerned for the oppressed and imprisoned. Thus society's attitude to, and provision of residential care for the mentally-handicapped raise crucial problems for those of us who have contact with the handicapped. The following is a brief look at some of these problems and the potential ways in which these issues can be resolved.

Roughly one child in every hundred is born with some degree of mental-handicap. There are at present some 47,000 people living in mental-handicap hospitals in England and Wales alone. This figure is greater than that of people imprisoned in the UK. In many respects the lives of the mentally-handicapped in hospital are just as dehumanised.

Of these 47,000 some 3,000 are children. The greater majority of such hospitals are well away from urban centres and the easily shocked eyes of the public. Harpenden in Hertfordshire for example, has many residents from London yet is miles from their families, home and society. Brockall and Calderstones in the Ribble valley Lancashire serve Manchester and the conurbations of Lancashire yet are quite remote. This is partly a reflection that many hospitals were built in the last century and first decades of this century as 'Asylums' and 'colonies', protected environments where the handicapped could live, learn and work at their own pace. Yet this is not what they remained. They became, and are still, institutions where people whom society chose to label as inadequate were put away.

In 1913 the mental deficiency act introduced compulsory certification for people admitted to institutions for the mentally handicapped. There are people still in hospitals today who were first admitted under this act and under the immorality acts. This was part of the process by which the public were encouraged to see the handicapped as less than fully-human. This 'stigma' is real. The reaction of people who see a mentally-handicapped person in the street is often one of fear and loathing, rather than of sympathy and understanding. The use as insults of such words as 'moron' 'imbecile' 'cretin' 'feeble-minded' illustrate the poor image which attaches to the mentally-handicapped. Further damage is done by the current inclusion of the mentally handicapped within the Mental Health Act 1959, blurring the distinction in the public mind between 'mental illness' and 'mental handicap'.

In 1948, the hospitals and institutions for the mentally-handicapped were brought within the NHS. Today one third of NHS hospital beds are filled by the mentally-handicapped yet only 13% of the total NHS budget is spent on them. In short, for historical reasons the mentally-handicapped in this country have been dehumanized and incarcerated in hospitals where they suffer greatly. Life on the ward is often bereft of dignity – shared clothing – lack of privacy – few personal belongings – little choice of food – single sex wards with little chance of contact with the opposite sex, little chance of sexual activity other than masturbation. Even this is often frowned upon. There are too few staff, and many of these become hardened, unsympathetic, institutionalized and even brutal. Those staff who do attempt to maintain the dignity of the mentally-handicapped are undermined in their efforts. They become disheartened and leave or find themselves forced into a *controlling* rather than *caring* role. Surveys of hospitals have revealed that the example of a child receiving only 50 minutes personal attention during a 10 hour period are not uncommon. This is not surprising when on wards of 30+ people there are only 2/3/4 nursing staff. Whatever their personal wishes the staff tend to neglect the social needs of the handicapped: conversation, love, affection, physical contact, stimulation, play tend to take second place to the physical needs of washing, clothing, toileting and feeding. Those who do try to put consideration and care first often get criticised by their fellow staff for disturbing the all important routine. The 'professionalism' of some nurses – their desire to do 'real nursing' ie. medical care leads some to see 'caring' ie. talking to, loving and treat-

ing the mentally-handicapped as human beings in their own right as not being part of their role as nurses.

The mentally-handicapped cannot either vote or riot their way out of these situations so it has been necessary for various pressure groups of parents and concerned people to press the government into making concessions. In recent years the 'theory' of care for the mentally-handicapped has reaffirmed their humanity and has stressed the value of small, home-like units with decentralization of many functions. Care in the community being recognized as being superior to care in hospitals. Various reports and government committees have reflected this change. Documents such as 'Towards Better Services for the Mentally-Handicapped' and the report of the Jay committee have paid some attention to these ideas. But, the actual process of phasing hospital care for the handicapped down to their *medical* and recreational needs in non-hospital forms of care ie. fostering, hostels, supported housing and so on has had only limited effect so far. Local authorities have been slow to provide money for such schemes.

Actual reduction in hospital population have been due mainly to the reduction of the number of children admitted. In many cases these live at home with their parents though many supportive services deemed necessary to support this move have yet to be provided. The death of present residents in the hospitals is also a factor in the reduction of numbers in hospital. There has yet to be a concrete NHS plan to empty these hospitals and return the handicapped to the community. The often stated aim of these hospitals to provide a protected environment in which handicapped people learn social and living skills, which the rest of society learns 'naturally', at their own speed ignores the reality of hospital life. The only environments in which this can be really achieved are the small, loving and homely units which groups like 'Mind' campaign for. Decentralization and personal motivation, not centralized and isolated hospital care, are the real basis for care of the handicapped.

This, if it is to be achieved, will constitute a minor revolution. In the current state of the country such a possibility seems bleak.

PAUL SAMUELS

Bibliography

The Politics of Mental Handicap, J Ryan, F Thomas: Pelican
Mind, Evidence to the Royal Commission on the NHS with regard to services for Mentally-Handicapped People.

prison art

AFTER deducting the price of framing and a 15% commission the Burnbake Trust either sends the proceeds of the sale of prisoners art to the artist, the artist's family or keeps the money in Trust until the prisoner's release. Art materials are sometimes provided for prisoners when no other outside contact is available.

During the year an average of 15 exhibitions are held at Galleries and other centres to display and sell the pictures and other items which are selected by the Trust's Art Director. She is Rose Murray of 56 Welbeck Av, Highfield, Southampton.

A recent exhibition at King's College, London from March 1st-5th included the wide spread of talent and style which the Trust caters for. Considering the lack of formal training, most of the artists on display had produced creative work of a high standard. In particular I was struck by R Wolfe-Emery's haunting compositions of sad destroyed hope contained in court extracts and letters of a fictitious

but plausible nature. This montage, conveying an acerbic wit and bitter despair, was perhaps the most relevant as regards the subject of prison. B Turner's 'Cell', however with exaggerated hands over-poweringly present also followed the same pattern of the grimness of gaol.

Outside the confines of prison as subject matter this long-term worshipper of Bardot found R Lewis's 'Bardot' satisfying but not sufficiently alive. S Cummings's Fuseli-like 'Vision', J Kerr's finely finished birds, S Dunn's 'Winter', F Morey's 'Boy' with B Orman's 'Little Girl' were all worthy of note. Alexander Aaronovitch with his postage stamp quotations from Tolkein somehow captured the presence of prison in his tiny writing.

If you missed the exhibition, Burnbake paintings can be seen at Stirabout Theatre Gallery, 27 Chalk Farm Road, London NW1. (opposite Camden Lock).

FRANCIS DRAKE

The myth of Labour's 'Golden Age'

AS time goes by and memories fade, the 1945-51 Labour government becomes more and more an object of adulation for the British left. Hardly a single left Labour politician speaking in recent months has omitted from his or her ramblings a glowing reference to the heady idealism which supposedly characterised its every move: Tony Benn in particular has made much of what he sees as the contrast between the radical socialist 'spirit of 45' and the conservatism of the subsequent Labour administrations of Wilson and Callaghan. The historical reality of the Attlee government, which is far from attractive for any thinking socialist, is in danger of being buried by the Labour left's yearnings for a legitimising 'golden age' myth. And like all such myths (including those of certain anarchists who continually idolise the heroic past of Kronstadt, Barcelona or even Paris 1968), it deserves nothing more than systematic destruction.

This is not simply a matter of being retrospectively critical of the limitations of the Attlee administration's welfare and nationalisation programmes. Although there can be little doubt that the benefits of the welfare apparatus have, from the start, been severely curtailed by bureaucracy and the use of the welfare state as a tool of social control, and that state ownership of certain industries has not in anyway undermined the exploitation of workers in those industries, no more follows from such lines of argument than that the 1945-51 Labour government did not fully anticipate the consequences of its policies. It could still be said that the Attlee government, whatever shortcomings can now be seen in its actions, at least made mistakes in good faith — and indeed it is precisely such a line that many of today's Labour left will take when pressed.

A closer look at is record will, however, quickly dispel all such illusions. Not only was Labour's 1945-51 foreign policy as reactionary as that of any Tory government before or since — the development of the nuclear bomb, Britain's membership of NATO, the intervention in Korea and much more were the responsibility of a government calling itself 'socialist' — but the responses of the Labour administration to working class militancy (at a time when the Labour Party is supposed to have been paradigmatically in tune with the workers' desires) can be unfavourably compared with the worst of the Wilson and Callaghan era. Below we reprint an extract from an old Syndicalist Workers Federation pamphlet 'How Labour Governed 1945-51' which succinctly outlines the antipathy of Labour in office to the self-activity of the workers (a fuller treatment can be found in the 'Solidarity'



CLEMENT ATLEE

pamphlet 'Labour Government vs. The Dockers 1945-51' available for 10p plus postage from 123 Lathom Rd, London E6): readers tempted by the recent outpourings of Tatchell and Benn on 'Labour's great tradition of support for extra-parliamentary action' are urged to allow the facts speak for themselves.

L ERIZO

The Attlee Government and Working Class Militancy

'No conscript should be required to take duty in aid of the civil power in connection with a trade dispute, or to perform, in consequence of a trade dispute, any civil or industrial duty customarily performed by a citizen.'

Labour amendment to the Military Training Bill, Hansard, May 12, 1939.

WITHIN six days of the Labour Government taking office in 1945, it sent conscript troops into the Surrey Docks, London, to break a ten-week old strike against a wage-cut that J Donovan, National Secretary of the Dockers Group, Transport and General Workers' Union, admitted had placed them 'in a worse position financially than the workers in industry generally... the dockers' basic wage of 16s per day represents a rise of only 23 per cent during the war... the lowest of any industry.'

Three months later, at the beginning of October, an unofficial national dock dispute swiftly brought more than 43,000 militant portworkers out on the stones. The Labour Government's reply was to use 21,000 conscript troops to break the strike, which lasted until November 5. The portworkers demanded an increase of 9s on their basic daily wage of 16s. The final settlement was for 19s a day.

'The action of the strikers cannot be defended,' raged Minister of Labour George Isaacs. His reply came from a docker's wife:

'Eight kids and a husband are a lot to feed. In a full week at the present rates my husband earns just under £5. If there is no work, he gets £3 2s 4d for signing-on money.'

News Chronicle, Oct 11, 1945.

In the House of Commons, Isaac's refusal to meet the strikers' leaders provoked an indignant outburst from Labour backbencher David Kirkwood (Dumbarton). 'Why,' he asked, 'should not Ministers come down off their pedestals when it is a question of dealing with the working class? This has been the lot of the workers right down the ages.'

The only port not to support this strike (on the ground that it would 'bring into discredit the Government they helped to elect') was Southampton. Nine months later, in July, 1946, the Labour Government expressed its gratitude by using troops to break a strike of Southampton dockers.

The portworkers, with their strong traditions of working-class solidarity, were to be the main – though not the only – target of the Labour military force.

'I take the opportunity of making it quite clear that this Government, like any government as an employer, would feel itself perfectly free to take any disciplinary action that any strike situation that might develop demanded.'

Sir Hartley Shawcross, Hansard, Feb 2, 1946.

The next round came in June, 1948, when London portworkers claimed the usual special payment for handling zinc oxide. Eleven men were suspended for a week and their guaranteed week suspended for thirteen weeks – a possible loss of wages for fourteen weeks.

In reply to a spontaneous protest strike, the Labour Government drafted freshly-conscripted troops into the docks and brought out the old Tory Emergency Powers Act – the nearest to martial law ever reached by the Tories. Merseyside joined the strike against the harsh tyranny of the National Dock Labour Board and more than 31,000 men took part in a sixteen-day fight.

There were many other disputes in dockland during those years, but we must pass on to May, 1949. The Canadian Seamen's Union was leading a strike against wage-cuts, when the Montreal City arrived in Avonmouth. Dockers refused to unload the black ship and a second attempt to discharge cargo brought out all Avonmouth dockers. When the employers declared a lock-out, tug and lock-gate men joined the struggle. The Labour Government sent in troops to break the strike, causing crane drivers to down tools. The crews of some British ships refused to sail because of the military strike-breaking.

The fight spread to Merseyside, when a Canadian cargo was smuggled to Liverpool. By early June, 11,000 dockers were on strike there. Two Canadian ships, the Argomont and Beaverbrae, were switched to London, where 14,000 portworkers struck. Once again the Labour Government invoked the Tory Emergency Powers Act and on July 11 the number of Thames-side strikers increased to 15,500. The strike ended when the CSU obtained certain concessions and asked the English dockers to end their action.

The Army having failed to break the dockers, judges, jailers and all the intimidation of the capitalist machine were brought into play and the battle shifted to the Old Bailey, site of the old Newgate Jail. In February, 1951, portworkers were offered a rise of 2s, bringing the minimum to 21s a day. Discontent with this offer and the dubious manner of its acceptance by the T & GWU led to a strike on Merseyside and at Manchester. Few men in London came out. On February 9, seven London and Merseyside members of their respective Port Workers' Committees were ar-

rested. Their homes were searched by the police without warrant, and they were charged with conspiracy to contravene Order 1305, a wartime measure forbidding strikes, framed by Churchill's Government.

The accused were committed to the Central Criminal Court, where the Attorney-General, Sir Hartley Shawcross, tried his brilliant best to get them heavy prison sentences. While a demonstration of dockers massed about the Old Bailey, the jury gave a verdict of Not Guilty on one major count and mortified Shawcross dropped the remaining charges.

In August, 1951, the beaten Government withdrew the hated Order 1305 and introduced a much milder Industrial Disputes and Compulsory Arbitration Order.

But portworkers were far from being the only victims. Smithfield Market lorry drivers, electric power station men and gasworkers were also subjected to strike-breaking by conscript military labour.

London gasworks maintenance engineers, after demanding a wage increase of 4½d an hour, received a rise of 1½d in September, 1950. Dissatisfied workers at Beckton struck and, within a few days, 1,500 men at fourteen gasworks were out. Ten members of the Strike Committee were arrested and charged under Order 1305 and the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875 – a relic of the days of Mr Gradgrind and the Hard Times of Dickens. On October 5, while naval blackleg labour was sent into Beckton and Bromley gasworks, the ten men were each sentenced to one month's imprisonment at Bow Street Magistrates' Court. On appeal, the sentences were varied to a fine of £50 each.

Similar action was taken on a number of occasions by the Labour Government's National Coal Board against striking miners. Following a big Yorkshire coalfield strike in August, 1947, which started at Grimethorpe Colliery in protest against an increased working stint, forty Grimethorpe miners appeared in Barnsley Magistrates' Court on December 19, 1947. The NCB claimed – and was awarded – damages of £304 against them under another 1875 relic, the Employers and Workers Act. The Court announced that this money would be deducted from their wage packets, at the rate of 10s a week, from January 16, 1948. On that very day, Seaham Harbour (Durham) magistrates granted summonses against 191 miners at Vane Tempest Colliery for having taken part in a strike during the previous August. At Neath County Court, on March 18, 1948, two miners were each fined £39 for taking part in a stay-down strike. On May 26, in the same year, the Daily Mail reported: 'Nearly 600 min-

EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE?



VOTE LABOUR

DON'T BE D



VOTE LABOUR
THE PARTY WITH

cuddled or cooked

EVERY one of us who has been shepherded into Trafalgar Square to throw our crumpled leaflet into the face of absent authority or to cheer the magnificent emotional phrases mangled into meaningless sounds by height, distant or coughing farting loudspeakers is aware of the work of Edwin Landseer. In 1858 Landseer pulled the short straw and won the contract to sculpture four lions standing erect around the base of Nelson's column in Trafalgar Square. The art Establishment of the day were not too happy with the deal arguing that it was a matter of demarcation and a painter should not be hired to sculpture and there was much waving of pale paint stained hands, pursed lips and angry glances out of corners of eyes when it became known that Landseer was going to model his lions in clay and that his friend Baron Marochetti would then cast the cats in bronze, for, cried the art world the only reason that Edwin is having the lions modelled in clay and cast in bronze is because he is simply incapable of using a hammer and chisel against stone because musclewise the man is pure painter. But Landseer had banked the first cheque and the Square was now his.

In December of 1858, he was given an old lion from the London Zoo, to study, but the poor old moggy died five days before Christmas Day to join his friends in that great celestial National Park in the sky but in Landseer's absence his studio assistant Fred propped up the sagging body of the dead lion as his publicly declared contribution 'towards the national work'.

With all that dead meat literally hanging around in the studio one can only hope that it snowed that Christmas of 1858. Pedants please check. Landseer's intention was to have the four lions at the base of Nelson's column in a standing prowling position but the government of the day argued that there was a great need for stringent economies owing to the irresponsible behaviour of the British working class demanding more pay for less work and Landseer was told that standing lions were definitely out and that the four metal moggies would have to be couchant, squatting on all fours with tummy flat on the bases, for this would save the cost of internal metal reinforcements.

On 31 January 1867 the lions were unveiled without any ceremony and a minor public work of art, much of which had been erected by scab labour due to strike action by the workers employed on the job, moved into the social and political conscience of the British people. Generation by generation the museums of the mind have to be purged of much good work to offer space to the day's hawking genius but there is always that minority of work that, valueless as works of art, keeps its place by becoming a cheap mirror reflecting a popular and universal emotion. A poster, a book, a painting, a poem, a crude broadsheet become human documents so with Landseer's lions in Trafalgar Square never the cause but always part of the action.

All of Landseer's work, now on display at the Tate Gallery and with a magnificent catalogue, is pure academic hack work yet he mined a seam of pure gold from his studio to his bank. His forte, and I have waited many years to be able to use that word, was the sentimentalised emotional relationship between humans and animals. Is it wrong? I do not know except that I know this that the bird or the animal has no choice in the matter and is used as an emotional vehicle for another's need. The sophisticates are amused by the production and the sale of this outpouring of Victorian

spurious soul baring. But, almost without exception I would hold, every art critic writing of the Landseer exhibition did an E = MC² style of discovery in pointing out the obsession with cruelty within Landseer's Disney orientated subject matter. It is there among the dreaming, dancing, sorrowing lovable dogs in the hunted animals being hunted and torn to pieces by men and other animals. Yet every critic that came to that conclusion offered a superficial and facile interpretation of an attitude to life and death that was not peculiar to the Victorians.

In this year of Our Lord 1982, literally, millions of greetings cards fill the shopping shelves of The Free World offering the same sentimental heart burn animal subject matter and almost eighty per cent of the western world's evening televiewing be it hard news or popular or minority entertainment will be based on the theme and the visual performance of physical violence or just good old plain bloody murder. In this year of 1982 when the living can still bear witness to the fact that tens of thousands of men, women and children were murdered by the legal authority of the State by being herded into gas chambers that same Authority provided an orchestra of prisoners to stand in the dirt and play Mozart to the legally condemned so accept, my national critics, that jejune sentimentality and the vicarious enjoyment was not a delightful emotion peculiar to Landseer's Victorian customers for you to like a good giggle in the dark of our night.

On the world's scale Landseer can only be rated as no more than a popular and fashionable English artist, and you



should be so lucky, but the Philadelphia Museum of Art have done well by our boy with this large and worthy catalogue which must be the definitive regarding the artist and what is rewarding within the catalogue is Joseph Rishel's long essay, not on Velazquez that it is claimed influenced Landseer's style but the extraordinary magpie pickings of other painters' subject matters that Landseer appeared to have lifted for the range is catholic in that it swept in Rubens, Snyders, Delacroix and Rosa Bonheur with Courbet among others yet in the end it is not important, for subject matter is secondary and time eliminates the second rate artist.

Within the Tate Gallery is the retrospective exhibition of the work of the 88 year old Meredith Frampton and he was there tall and slim moving among a group of elderly women who in that yesteryear acted as his models. In the field of portrait painting Frampton is a master craftsman and his style is of muted colours and soft blurred outlines. The exhibition has the feel of tomb paintings, yea even for me for I was conscious of seeing the painting of Sir Frederick Hopkins forty four years ago a world war away and here it was.

I asked the old man if he had had any wish during his long painting life to paint a painting with a social content and he replied 'No', and seemed rather amused at the thought and suggestion so here is a master craftsman who has played out his pleasant life in his own quiet backwater and I wrong him not in that I can do no more than quote the beginning of the Tate Gallery handout: 'To many people Meredith Frampton's name may be completely unknown.' But no man or woman should worry over that definition of their life's work for they said the same about Christ.

I wandered into an empty gallery within the Tate and was joined by Edward Heath one time Leader of the Conservative Party and one time Prime Minister of Great Britain, while a step away trailed his body guard. We talked of minor things and he mentioned the paintings of Francis Bacon and I pointed out the paintings of David Hockney and in particular the art world shattering painting 'The Splash' but Ted was uninformed of Hockney, the painter or his work, and I explained the role of this latter day Landseer. There will be those who will claim that I am name dropping and was arse-hole crawling and it is true it is true so.

We are in a moment in time when the great State galleries

are frantically dredging up any mini master to fill their walls and the Bond Street dealers are breathing on their street windows frantically seeking customers as an alternative to going back to hod carrying for McAlpine. The great revolutionary cause of the hour is to keep down the public transport fares and the fashionable avant garde has so far failed to spew up a fresh money making wheeler dealer Great Art Breakthrough so the Town and his SDP frau enjoy themselves playing musical chairs in and out of the galleries. But it has to be done, for any breakthrough in the creative world by its very nature cannot be announced the day before. Like the 'beautiful people' and punk rock or the first shot or the first brick one has to be wandering within the scene of the action.

And the action? There is wine at Kasmin's and Leon Vilaincour's good polemic paintings, wine at Gimpel Fils and Susan Hiller's gentle geometrical abstracts. Wine at the Mayor Gallery that exciting and underrated gallery offering Lucas Samaras' Old Testament haunted bronze sculptures. There is champagne and Serge Jamet's monumental 1920 period abstracts but still powerful at Gallery 10 (W1), wine at the Whitechapel and David Redfern's good solid workmanship. No wine at the Tate, for sadly, sadly Lionel Constable's echo of his brother's oily landscapes. Sherry at the British Museum for more paring and parsing of the Egyptian sands and no wine at the Royal Academy for Harold Gilman's very English despairing world of the pre and First World War but all in all a muted echo of Sickert but wine at the R A as we view Carel Weight's naive scenes of London lower middle class living with his echo of the haunting sombre style of the Norwegian painter Edvard Munch.

So much mini minor genius so much sacrificial wine rotting kidneys in the cause of culture. And across the waters at the Orchard Gallery in Londonderry in Northern Ireland are the collages of Willie Doherty and Tony Rickaby's acrylic paintings. With his 'Alexander Berkman & Emma Goldman...' he has taken the themes that the fashionable painter R B Kitaj chose to use and reject, but I repeat that with a work of art the subject matter is always secondary, and my black bitch Vicki is dead so paint me a painting Edwin Landseer. For the greater the love the greater the sorrow.

ARTHUR MOYSE

Purveyors of Quality Information

Cassette tape list

Produced by GREAT ATLANTIC RADIO CONSPIRACY

What is THE GREAT ATLANTIC RADIO CONSPIRACY? G A R C is a loosely organized collective of highly disciplined people living in Baltimore, Maryland, USA - the present group includes a biologist, students, professors, drop-outs and office workers. They have no leader, they are all workers in their anti-hierarchical society. In addition to the home collective they have correspondents across America - New York, Cincinnati, Ithaca, Los Angeles and Honolulu - who share their radical perspective and contribute tapes and news. All of them are united in rejecting a system based on profits - a system that overworks workers, makes a killing off medicine, and limits the lives of most people.

Each week GARC produces a radio program in Baltimore and broadcasts it over WJBC-FM. The Monkey and The Dragon is distributing some of the radio programs, on cassette tape. Every one is a combination of scripts, interviews and music. They try to communicate not only criticism of this society, but also their tentative proposals for a new society and their thoughts on how revolutionary change may occur. GARC is almost alone among audio production groups in presenting radical critiques of society and some vision of ultimate justice for every individual.

The Monkey and The Dragon has chosen a number of tapes which we think are sufficiently general and timeless to have relevance to any capitalist society, although many of the references are American. The accents, we might add, are also American. Each tape is about 25 minutes long. We have added dates to each one, as some were done a few years

the monkey — and the dragon

ago. Some of the tapes are unique historical material, oral history which, in some sense, needs to be remembered. We imagine the tapes could be used in a number of ways: as discussion starters in small groups who can't afford to fly over Marge Piercy or Murray Bookchin, as teaching aids in a wide variety of situations, for personal learning or amusement, as propaganda for political campaigns..... if you find another use, tell us we'd like to know.

The list below describes each pair of programs that we are distributing. The description includes the date when GARC produced the tape. The recordings are made on TDK D tape, and cost £3.00 each. The price includes postage, VAT and a library box for each tape. If you find the price

too high, write us and perhaps we can come to an agreement.

TAPE ONE

MARGE PIERCY. In one of her rare interviews, Marge Piercy speaks about her fiction and her poetry, about the connections between art and politics, and about the tensions that occur in being both artistic and political. Piercy also reads several of her poems. (1977).

ADRIENNE RICH. Many radical feminists are attempting to develop a feminist culture. Adrienne Rich, poetess and author of *Of Woman Born*, talks about her work and reads her poetry. (1978).

TAPE TWO

WHAT IS CAPITALISM? We all know that this is a capitalist economy. But what exactly does that mean? It means continuous growth and maximizing profits; unemployment; sexism and racism; control of the workplace; waste and obsolescence. It also means a way of life: the culture of capitalism makes capitalists of us all. How do all these elements fit together? How does the capitalist system work? (1978)

THE ANARCHIST QUIZ TAPE. Has there ever been a successful anarchist organization? How are decisions made? How would an anarchist revolution come about? Do anarchists reject technology and industrial development? Who will do the dirty work? What about crime? What do anarchists think about sex and the family? And more. (1978)

TAPE THREE

ANARCHO-FEMINISM. GARC Interviews several anarcho-

feminists who discuss their philosophy, their criticisms of the present order and what an anarcho-feminist society would be like. (1974)

WITCHES, MIDWIVES AND NURSES. As unlicensed doctors, often the only healers for women and the poor, women were called witches or charlatans by the authorities. Female healers often represented a more humane, empirical approach to healing than did male professionals. In this program Barbara Ehrenreich discusses the deep-rooted institutional sexism found in the health care system. (1975)

TAPE FOUR

WHO WAS GUSTAV LANDAUER? Called a mystical anarchist and a romantic socialist, Landauer (1870-1919) took part in the Bavarian revolt of 1918-1919. He tried to link mysticism, communal settlements, and socialism in a manner not unlike a political counter-culture. The Group for Anarchist Studies discusses the thought of this neglected German who called himself an anarcho-socialist. (1979)

BAKUNIN'S CENTENNIAL. The anarchist Michael Bakunin had many strengths and weaknesses – all of which have lessons for us today. Bakunin is compared with Marx, and his modern relevance considered in comments by Murray Bookchin, author of *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, *Bakunin on Anarchy*. (1976)

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Lancaster LA2 7HW
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