

NATIONAL TRAGEDY

23 MILLION PEOPLE STILL EMPLOYED!

IT HAS recently been revealed that nearly half the population of Britain is still employed!

Despite the efforts of the present Government, led by the redoubtable Margaret Thatcher, to free people from the factories by closing them all down, it seems that industry in this country is thriving.

Even in the face of the Government's determined efforts to restructure the economy, the factory owners are resolving to keep going at almost any cost to the workers. They are using many devious means to survive and their propaganda is now turning in the direction of Eisenhower's famous phrase 'Buy, buy, buy. It doesn't matter what, but we must buy.' Hardly a minute goes by without some new commodity coming on to the market, assisted by reams of expensive advertising. All this is in a vain effort by the owners to keep their end of the economy thriving.

They are being thwarted by the Government, who insist on making changes to the economy which interfere with this smooth system of production and consumption, and the owners are forced to close the factories, thus freeing the slaves.

The Government expresses its solidarity with the slaves by doing its best to free those under its own employ, however they are tied to a large extent by their dependence on the capitalist economy and can't afford to free them all. Nevertheless, many in the steel industry have recently been freed and further shutdowns are to occur in other sectors, especially the non-productive areas such as hospitals and schools. All this makes for a very confusing situation and often the Government themselves have seemed confused as to the best course of action.

Still it seems that, despite the fact that 23 million are still employed, nearly 3 million have been unemployed, including about 2 million in the last two years. The

system of slavery is crumbling.

Of course this form of slavery has its supporters, and a large group of them are now holding a long protest march all through the country in support of their aims.

They are demanding that every person in this country should be enslaved in industry, without discrimination by race, sex, creed, colour or age. This despicable mob, posing under the populist catchphrase 'Peoples March for Jobs', has many supporters amongst 'the workers', their euphemism for slaves, in much the same way that many deluded black people insisted that slavery was the natural way of things in the slave days in America.

It is clearly an important task for those who are opposed to this despicable form of slavery to expose this false consciousness of these people who call themselves 'the left' or 'socialists', to those people who are still enslaved by this disgusting system of employment.

Imprisonment is violence

THOSE of us who believe that prisons should be abolished altogether, and thus should not waste our time trying to reform them, may be forgiven for claiming that we have revolutionary logic on our side. We shall probably not be forgiven by those on the inside, however, who, ironically enough, have the guts to rebel against inhuman conditions and, without revolutionary logic, fight against the State's cruel techniques in the here and now. To make them better in the here and now.

Until very recently, the establishment in Britain mouthed its claptrap about rehabilitation, but in fact practised throughout its prison system a simple doctrine of showing that violence doesn't pay by answering violence with greater violence. Thereby proving that greater violence pays.

The violent person in prison is on a hiding to nothing faced with the violence and the techniques available in the system. Crude beatings up. Isolation. Straitjackets. Sensory deprivation. Drugs. Starvation diets. Humiliation. A whole range of techniques for physical and psychological warfare against the individual who resists.

And yet there are those who do resist - continuously and determinedly. At a meeting in London last week organised by RAP (Radical Alternatives to Prison) a plea to recognise the worth of these determined few was made by an ex-prisoner, Geoff Coggan, who claimed that the 'troublemakers' are the watchdogs for the rest. If nobody rebelled, the screws would have a field day every day; there would be no brake upon the sadistic prison officer. The rebellious individual - and still more, the rebellious group - attracted attention to the plight of the many.

This point had been outlined, too, by Joe Sim, another ex-con, who recalled the string of prison rebellions throughout the 60s and 70s in England and Scotland which resulted in, first, the setting up of control units, and then, of the Special Unit in Barlinnie prison in Glasgow.

The various names of the control units outline their style: The Cage; The Strong Box; Segregation Units. These are modern torture chambers where the 'troublemakers' are incarcerated without any human contact for weeks on end. (Social Democrat Roy Jenkins, when Labour Home Secretary, extended the time limit from 28 days to 56.) The Strong Box is a cell, twice the size of a single mattress and a chamber pot, in which the isolated prisoner is subject to body searches three times a day - every orifice inspected - with no word of communication from the screws or anybody else.

Scotland, having more than its fair share of hard people on the streets, seems to have had more than its fair share of control units too. But, oddly enough, Barlinnie was chosen for an experiment in a totally different approach to coping with violent prisoners.

In the Barlinnie Special Unit, prisoners and staff share responsibility for the day-to-day running of the place. Both prisoners and staff wear their own clothes, so there is no outward distinction between them, there is no censorship, prisoners can use the telephone to speak to the outside world, can decide on their own activities - can, in a word, become human again - within, of course, the confines of the prison.

Is it surprising that, treated like human beings, these violent criminals - and we are talking about men sentenced to long terms for murder, grievous bodily harm and such like offences - begin to act, talk, think like human beings?

Robert Kilroy Silk, MP for Ormskirk, claimed the Special Unit was the most important single penal reform in this century. All parliamentary group visitors are very impressed when they go there - but in parliament itself there seems little impetus for extending the system, even in England. There was a small group of MPs interested and knowledgeable on prison affairs who were prepared to speak up for the Unit - especially against any governmental desire to close it down.

There is a large group of MPs who don't know and don't care about the 45,000 prisoners for whom they should feel responsibility - and there is a small group in parliament who are very hostile to the Unit and get a disproportionately large amount of exposure in the media (especially in Scotland) against it.

We all have a duty, said Mr Kilroy Silk (who is a barrister as well as an MP) to feel responsibility for those 45,000 prisoners and to push our MPs to support the Special Unit and push for its principles to be extended.

In fact the present government does support it. (It was started in 1973, under a Tory government, although the first moves for its establishment began under the previous Labour government). What is needed, however, is the extension of the practices, instead of the mindless cry for 'short, sharp shocks'.

David Markham said how unusual it was to be able to praise something in our society where, in different countries different systems offer different methods by which the powerful manipulate the powerless. In reality, it is friendship that transcends political systems, and the success of the Barlinnie Special Unit was due to the coincidence of there being there at the same time two extraordinary men: Prison officer Ken Murray and Criminal Jimmy Boyle. An unusual friendship and mutual respect grew up between these two and they made it work.

We must be careful now, however, went on David, to make sure that the success of the Unit is not used to whitewash over the cracks in the rest of the system - we must all work towards a different kind of system altogether.

The last speaker was Ken Murray - the prison officer who was most responsible for the setting up of the Special Unit. This listener was astonished to find himself warming to the man. A sense of humour, of course, always helps and he has that, together with a certain humility and an interpretation of his job that makes it almost a vocation. David had said that it was the growth of solidarity, hope, mutual trust and sense of achievement between Murray and Boyle that had made the Unit work and listening to Murray, it became clear that he had sensed the possibility of unravelling the hard knot of antisocial violence in the hard men in his charge - by methods the penal system had never tried before.

The hard people among our comrades - those who pin their faith to

revolutionary violence above all else - would do well to ask themselves a few questions arising out of the Barlinnie experiment.

Do we want to expurgate violence from the hard people of the streets? Can antisocial behaviour for personal gain - a form of downmarket capitalism - be adapted for the revolution? The anarchist revolution, that is? Or is this a problem that we might have to face up to, come the revolution, by methods strangely like those used by prison officer Murray in Barlinnie?

Biggest question of all: do we want prison reform to make prisoners adapt to the existing system - even 'for their own good'? Do we want any form of prison to be acceptable - bearing in mind the words of Joe Sims: 'The basic reason for violence in prison is imprisonment.' Are not our arguments against democracy and the welfare state making government acceptable just as valid against the softening of prison to make it acceptable?

Or do we want people to be tortured all their lives to prove our point?

PS

A Dummy Run

BETWEEN the 15th and the 17th of May, four members of the FREEDOM Collective attended the days of 'action' at Torness, where, you will be irritated to learn, the nuclear power site is still under construction. As you will now be aware, nothing happened during the days of 'action' to halt the building programme, but we have a lot to report and when we have regained consciousness after our journey and three days of awokeness, we will unwrap the writing paper and pens and get writing a detailed report of most that happened and a lot of that which didn't happen. Believe it or not, the latter is significant, although it may not appear to be so right now.

REPORTS

As a foretaste of reports to come, it is perhaps necessary to say that we were all agreed that it is about time the anti-nuclear 'movement' sharpened its ideas up on direct action, organisation and planning. Dressing up in parti-coloured pierrot suits and faces is fun, but it sure as hell don't stop no nuclear power construction programme. The time is present when direct action has to be seen as massive visible force or a small invisible one (or two, or seven).

However, there is a lot to be gained from sitting around camp fires as the sun begins to peep over the sea at dawn, talking, analysing, trying to find the spoons and getting up the nose of the camp secretary. And gain it we surely did. Our thanks to all the fine people that we met for their company and their ideas.

We shall meet again.

A nn

Leeds arrests

COMRADES, we would like to inform you of an incident which took place in Leeds last Saturday (9 May).

Whilst selling papers in the shopping precinct in the town centre, something we have done on a regular basis for a long time, the police attempted to move us on. Then, after a long argument (or rather monologue) with the pigs concerned, four comrades were arrested and charged with obstruction. This, despite the fact that larger numbers of both fascists and Trotskyists were selling their papers.

We regard this as a disturbing precedent and we do not intend to be frightened off by the arrests. If there is further harrassment we are prepared to mount a free speech fight.

As the four comrades are all unwaged a Defence Fund has been set up and donations should be sent to:

Dave Brown, 2a Seaforth Place, Leeds 9.

Solidarity

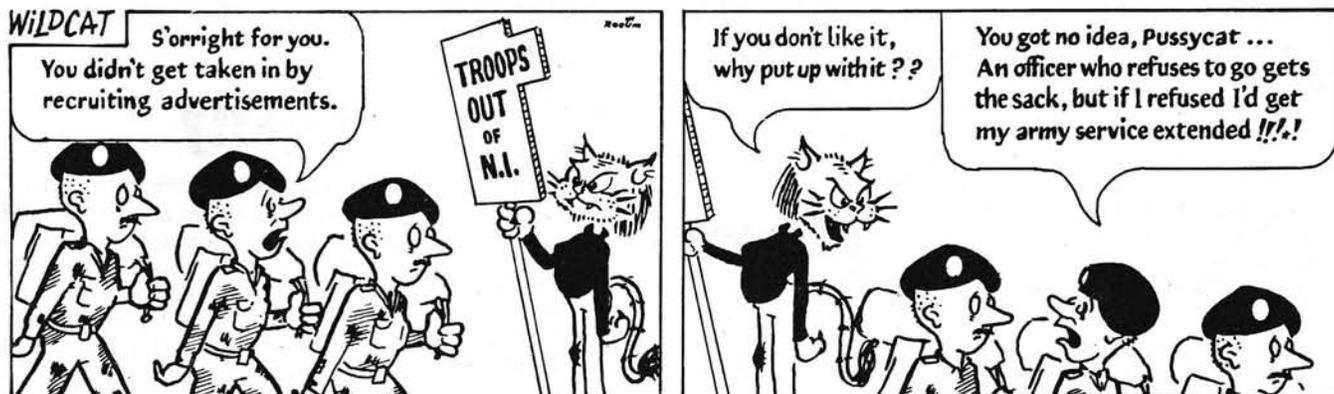
LEEDS ANARCHISTS

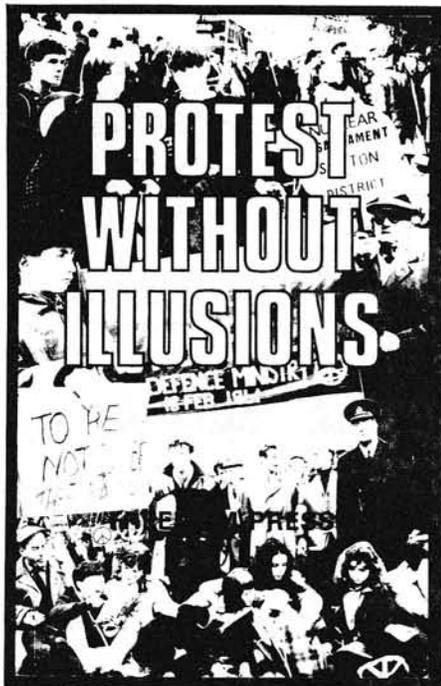
ALF Action

ALF activists liberated twelve animals from a farm at Haywood, near Doncaster, whilst the owner, Ellis Fox, faced charges of cruelty, breaches of slaughter-house regulations and having a pet shop without a licence. Magistrates at Doncaster heard from the prosecution: 'to refer to Fox's premises as a farm is something of a misnomer. It was more of an animal death camp. Animals were neglected, sick and dying.' Almost every type of domestic animal was subjected to appalling cruelty and neglect. Whilst Fox appeared in court, ALF members were accused by a police chief of being 'hooligans... who commit a robbery in the guise of being animal lovers.' The police chief further accused the ALF of threatening Fox's girl friend, but there was no threat - crowbars etc were carried to break into sheds and cages in which animals were imprisoned.

As well as selling animals for ritual slaughter, Fox is strongly suspected of being a member of a syndicate which is involved in stealing animals for vivisection in the South Yorks/East Midlands area. Fox has been banned from keeping dogs, but the animals taken by the ALF would probably have been sold to another vivisection supplier had they not been liberated.

Several other vivisection suppliers in the same area have had their vehicles damaged and houses daubed by ALF activists recently.





NEW FROM FREEDOM PRESS
(168pp. Illustrated. £1.95 +36 p & p)

A collection of reprinted articles concerning CND 1955-1964. This volume is not intended to be a history. It is relevant today as a new anti-nuclear movement expands and grows. Many of the same questions are being asked again and many of the same problems are being faced again. Because the editor still cannot isolate the anti-nuclear protest from the political, social and economic struggles, the selection made for this volume situates the protest movement in this wider context. After all, it's the same bomb...

IN BRIEF

Criminology

A BRITISH Police Foundation has been formed, to carry out 'independent research into policing methods and to bridge the communication gap between the police and the public.' The president is Prince Charles. Reservations have been expressed about Chief Constables dabbling in politics, which leads to 'endless and largely fruitless debate'. This is believed to be a reference not a million miles from James Anderton, plain-talking lawman of Greater Manchester. The same James Anderton is to be more closely watched now that the Labour Party controls the local council and police committee. Their leader, Bernard Clarke, who thinks that he is 'an excellent chief constable' and whose two sons are in the Greater Manchester Police Force, has said that Anderton's statements should have been more closely questioned. This produced an immediate response from Winston Churchill MP, who said that Clarke's views are an 'ugly and sinister development' and represented the 'lunatic left'.

The Home Office Research Unit on criminology may be cut. An internal report proposes staff cuts of almost 40% and a narrower role tied to short-term government policy. No doubt this is reassuring for the said government, as some of the findings of the Unit cannot have been welcome. Last month the Home Secretary refused to publish a report alleging

serious defects in the way complaints against the Metropolitan Police are investigated. Senior researchers published papers last year suggesting that recruitment of more police would have little effect on the level of crime, that detective work had minimal value in attempting to solve crimes, that regular uniformed patrols didn't help either and that prisons sentences don't rehabilitate offenders.

Perhaps in recognition of this last point, new proposals for parole have been published, apparently with strong backing from the Home Secretary. At the moment you are only eligible if your sentence is over 18 months. In practice, this means that someone with a three-year sentence would, with parole, get out on the same day as someone with an 18-month sentence. The new proposals do not suggest parole for these short stays, but that only the first third should be in prison, the second under close supervision and the final third eligible for remission. As almost half of sentences are less than 18 months, this could reduce the prison population (about 44,000) by up to 7,000. As British prisons are an 'affront to a civilised society' this can't be bad.

Affront

DENNIS Trevelyan, director general of the Prison Service, has called the conditions in British prisons 'an affront to civilized society'. Most of Britain's prisons were built in the

Victorian era and are coming to the end of their useful (to the State) life. The roofs of two Borstals have collapsed, a wing at Brixton has had to be closed due to structural defects and the chapel roof at Wandsworth has also collapsed. The prison population varies between 40 and 45 thousand. Whilst the cells were originally designed for one prisoner, overcrowding means two or three prisoners sharing a cell for up to 23 hours a day. Trevelyan's answer to the problem is a fall in the number of people sent to prison until the four new prisons planned are built. No doubt the courts can then carry on putting people away to their heart's content and we can sit back content in the knowledge that our prisons are a 'credit' to a 'civilised society'.

DdS

Wasted Blisters

TO CELEBRATE May Day this year 500 people will march from Liverpool to London under the banner of the 'Peoples March for Jobs'. It will take 30 days. Union organised, it has been suitably sanitised as a form of protest even drawing support from Liverpool's employers. One firm has donated £1000. Passing through over 40 towns and cities there will be civic receptions, rallies and church services to encourage the marchers. Not to be left out of the action, the State, in the guise of the DHSS, will be arranging for dole and benefits to be paid en route.

The Unions' desire to get people back to work is fuelled by the loss of over 500,000 members, together with their subscriptions, in recent years. This makes the payment of the officials' recent salary increase rather difficult. Len Murray's was a mere £80 a week.

It's bloody sad to see all those people trekking some 300 miles for the right to be wage slaves and to maintain Murray and his cronies in the style to which they aspire.

DdS

Majesty

Iranian authorities have renamed a street in Tehran after Bobby Sands. It was called 'Homayan' meaning 'majesty'. It is round the corner from the British Embassy, which is a pity. It would have been nice to have headed-note-paper 'Embassy of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Khiaban-e Bobby Sands.'

What wedding?

PANIC in the corridors of power and profit! It seems that not even the combined might of the British royal family and corporate capitalism can get it together to exploit the wedding (what wedding?). Mind you they are having a conference about it, specially organized so as not to offend the divine...er sorry... royal personages. British capitalism needs the boost to business that investment in the wedding (what wedding?) will certainly bring, but in the current climate they don't even seem prepared to invest in their own future. The palace (what palace?) has admitted that the fireworks display and festival of Britain type jingoistic revelries that have been suggested would be a good idea but 'it's a matter of money.' And the businessman organizing the conference on how to exploit the wedding (what wedding?) tastefully seems to be accepting defeat. He sadly mused that 'all the tourists will just have to pass the evening of the wedding (what wedding?) eating hamburgers in Leicester square'. Well here's an idea for you, obnoxious businessman. Why don't you sell hamburgers stamped with pictures of the divine...er sorry...royal personages all over the city (what city?) so that as we are being poisoned by your disgusting food looking at all the disgusting things you present for our entertainment, we can be so tastefully reminded of the wonderful wedding (what wedding?). That is of course assuming that we let you have a wedding (what wedding?).

And then you and your disgusting ilk will have to start thinking of ways to make profits out of revolution. You could of course start a nuclear war instead and profit from the entertainment value of that, but when you go running for your shelter you might just find that some bloody anarchist has blown it up.

DS

A grand anarchist festival entitled 'What Wedding?' will be held in London on July 29th. The place and events are yet to be decided.

Anyone who has any ideas eg bands etcetera please contact the Committee for the Enthronement of Prince Edward, c/o FREEDOM.

Notebook

A friend recently asked me what Bobby Sands had achieved other than starving himself to death. At FREEDOM one can get rather blasé about jaw-dropping questions, and the temptation to take the easy way out and make a flippant remark is great. Conversely, if one girds up some of one's tattered Deep Thoughts and assumes postures of seriousness one gets the piss extracted. Anarchists are such fun people....

My view of Bobby Sands' determination, courage and subsequent death is a personal one. I cannot assume any other view on behalf of any other individual or group. Also, I cannot assume any 'niceties' of motivation on the part of an Irishman prepared to commit his life to his vision of freedom from occupation and to the (seemingly) smaller advances needed in order to move determinedly in that direction. Many of us will think it enough to bemoan our lot in the modern world, to make token pricks against the stings and to write learned treatises on the varieties of awfulness that the great They exhibit and inflict. We think it enough to protest, but sometimes I think that we protesteth from positions of comparative luxury and from the confines of a life that is safe, with the walls of a carefully manufactured outward show of commitment to protect us. Few people acknowledge the need for the element of risk in order to make real in everyday life the vision of our desires and needs; the freedom from the infinite number of trivialities, boredoms, prisons, frustrations and horrors of the cold lights of each morning woken in bondage and in lies.

My personal view of what I know of the fight that Bobby Sands took into his own hands, is that he was honest unto himself, his comrades and his community. No mean feat to achieve any single one of those; to achieve all three is, in my view, remarkable. It teaches us more about what life lived as a social being is all about than most of the

long books with long words I have read. In addition to this personal achievement, Bobby Sands created a climate of propaganda and concern throughout the world - more than he or any of his active comrades had witnessed until then - despite all their determination. This is no end in itself, of course. Any tactician will know that. But it helps to gather a climate of questioning and debate that is taken out of the hands of those who assume sole rights, and gives it to everyone. If you meet anyone today who does not know who Bobby Sands is and what he did, then their surname is probably Van Winkle. I've never been able to understand why such academic scorn is heaped on the concept of 'martyr' by the anarchist movement, or why emotions are regarded with such suspicion. The day we turn into ideological automata is the day I opt out. The feminist movement has much to offer anyone wishing to learn more about instinct, emotion and sexuality and their relevance to our re-discovery. Armed with a little more understanding, it is easier to raise the word 'martyr' from a term of ridicule and to see it, in context, as a necessary part of some honest endeavour. Bobby Sands made a demand, committed his whole life, and was not driven from resolve. Who knows why or how. How many of us can say that we too demand and in a voice loud enough for the world to hear. How many of us wake in the morning and are clear as to 'why?' How many of us take the risks necessary to achieve, or even attempt to achieve, an honest confirmation of our desires? Bobby Sands did all this. He also died. His clinical death was at the hand of John Bull and let not one of us take any obscene satisfaction in that. Those who declare he died by his own hand should immediately apply for the job of Prime Minister. His dying, was a call to take that element of risk. Anyone who cannot see the significance of that should find a badge other than 'anarchist' to wear - and should brush up on their polite conversation.

Ann

Free?

Having been linked with anarchists when we were all excommunicated (see FREEDOM Vol 42 No 5), the Freemasons are also sharing police attention. After a raid on their Rome headquarters, S Licio Gelli has been warned that he could be charged with organising a 'criminal association'.

BAC have asked us to point out that the article entitled 'Political Status Now' on page 6 of FREEDOM Vol 42 No. 8 was not from BAC, nor was it written by any member of their collective. The source is unknown. Typist in question at FREEDOM is now on short rations (i.e. one carrot a week). Apologies to all.

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTI

Books and pamphlets

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

In especially American prisons the policy around specifically political literature is very liberal and we must take full advantage of this policy while it lasts to raise the consciousness of as many prisoners as we possibly can. Contrary to the opinion of many prisoners do and will read political literature. What they will not even try to read is the theoretical and intellectual masturbation put out by most of the Left - they are bored enough in here without that jazz. And again contrary to much outside opinion some of the most well read people in the world are prisoners, because reading is about all they do here with their time. Getting good literature in for them to read is hard and up to the outside to get in. Authors like Berkman, Goldman, Malatesta, Kropotkin, Orwell, Tolstoy, Maximoff, Serge, Avrich, Bakunin, Guerin, Parsons, Rocker, Voline, Arshinov, Traven and La Guin and books on the Spanish, Russian and Mexican Revolutions are needed, appreciated and read by prisoners. What is Anarchist Communism by Berkman, Malatesta (Life and Ideas) by Richards and Anarchism (From Theory to Practise) by Guerin alone to my personal knowledge have been read and discussed by over a dozen black, white, Chicano and Mexican

prisoners in this prison alone and in the last year. I could go on with book after book, pamphlet and newspaper after pamphlet and newspaper that has gotten in here because I keep track of them, but I think you all get the picture. I think you all also see that the authors and subjects I've mentioned give a prisoner the fundamentals, the basics at least of our history and Anarchism plus our side on many issues and subjects of importance to a lot of prisoners. Many of you out there after you've read something stick it on a shelf and forget it, or worse throw it away literally or otherwise, but in here that don't happen. I need literature in both Spanish and English from you all, and so this letter in FREEDOM which I hope you all will reprint in your publications is a call for literature so I and others in here can go on educating our brothers. Please remember that in all prisons in America, and especially this one I am in, all literature must come from a publisher or book store. Do not merely handwrite or type the return address. The envelope containing the literature must have for the return address the publishers or bookstore's label, stamp or seal. I'm sure you all can work this out and I would deeply appreciate your sending literature. My thanks to all of you who have and still are sending literature.

Love and Rage,
CARL HARP.

'What's next?'

Dear comrades

DS refers to FREEDOM vol.42 no.8 page 6 and asks if anyone can show one part of it that could not have come from any of the various republican groups in Ireland. He then asks "What next?" The second question is worth answering, so I'll make an attempt.

The British army have admitted, and do admit, that they are not winning in Northern Ireland. They know as we do (although they arrive at different applications of the knowledge) that they are a cosmetic force keeping the media and the rulers sucking on illusions of achievement and drooling over images of brave lads who are in reality too bored, stoned or shit-scared to know what the fuck they are doing or why. One Day, no-one knows exactly when, the British occupation of N. Ireland will cease and (as comrade Doyle says in FREEDOM vol.42 no.9) we have the IRA to thank for that. Anyone who verbals the IRA as 'murderous psychopaths' or 'murderously violent tribalists' is wearing political blinkers, and I didn't think that blinkers were standard anarchist issue.

FREEDOM is an anarchist paper, long established as a medium for the communication of anarchist theory. I've often longed for the day when I saw what was being theorised over there was practised in individual lives. What is singularly lacking in the august pages is a confirmation of direct action and total commitment. The ALF news is a welcome exception. 'What's next' to answer the question, is, following Republican (for example) effectiveness in tactical moves towards a clear objective of self-determination, to learn about and experience total commitment. 'What's next' is to elevate (in some minds) the word 'tribal' from a term of abuse to a living reality of self-management in harmony with 'tribes' (of sex, species, race, colour, awareness, creativity, etc.) and a rediscovery of our dependence on others and on the earth. 'What's next' is not (as DS suggests) slavery to ideology, but the achievement of a fundamental so that freedom has at last a chance of becoming real. Maybe it will not have as much of a chance in a united Ireland as some would wish, but it seems to be what the Irish people want as a start, and who are we (enslaved in confusion, apathy and passivity) to deny them their search or to heap abuse upon them if their struggle does not conform to our pre-conceived absolutes?

What are we doing to achieve our self-determination? What's next is that we begin to act on just that.

EIREEN

London

A list of magazines which are free to prisoners.

MADNESS NETWORK NEWS, 2150 Market, San Francisco CA 94140 USA (B)
MAGNUS, P.O. Box 4056, San Francisco CA 94140 USA (T)
MIDNIGHT SPECIAL, Prisoner News, National Prison Committee, National Lawyers Guild, 122 West 26th St., top floor, New York NY 10001 USA (B)
N.E. PRISONERS LABOR UNION NEWSLETTER, P.O. Box 2842, Durham NC 27705 USA (B)
NEWSLETTER, Lifes for Prison Reform, INC., P.O. Box 25, Lorton VA 22079 USA
NORTHWEST PRISONERS ASSOCIATION NEWS, c/o American Friends Service Committee, 48 Inman St., Cambridge MA 02139 USA
ON ICE, Chicago Connections, P.O. Box 469, Chicago ILL 60690 USA
OPEN ROAD, P.O. Box 6135, Vancouver B.C. Canada (Q)
THE OUTLAW, Prisoners Union, 1315 18th St., San Francisco CA 94107 USA (\$2 yr for prisoners)
PRISON SCENES, Illinois Prisoners Organization, c/o National Committee of Black Lawyers, 111 W. Washington, Suite 1915, Chicago ILL 60602 USA (B)
PRISON LAW MONITOR, 1316 Cona. Ave., N.W., Washington DC USA

PRISONERS' RIGHTS COMMITTEE NEWS, ACLU, 2104 Payne #825, Cleveland OH 44114 USA (B)
THE QUESTION MARK, Journal of Prison Opinion, P.O. Box 33, Norfolk, MA 02056 USA (M)
RADICAL AMERICA, 5 Upland Rd., Cambridge MA USA (MB)
RISING UP ANGRY & REVOLUTION, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago ILL 60654 USA (M)
SOLITARY CONFINEMENT ABOLITION PROJECT NEWS LETTER, P.O. Box 758, Vancouver B.C. Canada
SOIL OF LIBERTY, P.O. Box 3840, Loring Station, Minneapolis MN 55403 USA
SOUTHERN COALITION REPORT JAILS AND PRISONS, P.O. Box 12044, Nashville TN 37212 USA (BM)
THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS, P.O. Box 33702, Seattle WA 98133 USA (M)
ATTICA NEWS, 219 East 10th St., New York NY 10003 USA (MB)
ANARCHY MAGAZINE, 29 Grosvenor Ave., London N5, England
ANARCHIST BLACK DRAGON, c/o the Solidarity Committee, C.P., 2, Succ. La Cité, Montréal PQ Canada H2W 2H9
BLACK STAR, P.O. Box 176, Evanston ILL 60204 USA
BLACK FLAG, 287 Passaic Ave., Passaic NJ 07055 USA

THE CELLMATE, P.O. Box 5570, Los Angeles CA 90055 USA
COMMITTEE TO FREE THE MARION BROTHERS, 6199 Waterman, St. Louis MI 63112 USA (B)
DANDELION, 1985 Selby Ave., St. Paul MN 55104 USA
DON'T MOURN, ORGANIZATION, 1133 BROADWAY, Room 517, New York NY USA
FIFTH ESTATE, 4403 Second Ave., Detroit MI 48201 USA
FREEDOM, 84 b Whitechapel High St., London E1, England
FLORIDA CHAIRINGHOUSE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE NEWSLETTER, 222 West Pensacola St., Tallahassee FL 32301 USA (B) (Florida prisoners only)
FORTUNE NEWS, 29 East 22 St., New York NY 10010 USA (M)
GAY CON NEWSLETTER, 351 West 14th St., #22, New York NY 10011 USA
GAY PEOPLES UNION NEWS P.O. Box 90650, Milwaukee WI 53202 USA (MB)
THE GUARDIAN, 33 West 12th St., New York NY 10011 USA (\$1 yr to prisoners) (W)
HAPOTOC REBEL, P.O. Box 10638, Amsterdam, Holland
JAILBRAKE NEWSLETTER 3049 E. Genesee St., Syracuse NY 13224 USA
LABYRINTH, Committee for Prisoner Humanity and Justice, 1414 4th St., San Rafael CA 94901 USA (Q)

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET

Facile Reaction

Dear FREEDOM,

Once again I am enraged by your facile and reactionary stance on the Irish War, particularly the article entitled 'A Tribal Martyr' in the 8th May issue. On the basis of this position you would presumably view the national liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Vietnam and South Africa as tribal savages also.

Such blinkered criticism of the Provos puts you in the same camp as the bourgeois liars who continually seek to degrade their opponents in Ireland. As a revolutionary anarchist I judge the activities of 'murderously violent tribalists' in their political context as anti-imperialist struggles, which it is the duty of revolutionaries in the imperial heartland to support.

The republican movement has the potential to threaten the very integrity of the British state itself, as the six counties cannot be lost to Britain without causing a massive upheaval such as occurred in France after its defeat in Algeria. Your political appreciation of this is obviously less even than the NF whose 'theoretical journal' recognised that the IRA were in open insurrection against the state and a threat to the basis of the United Kingdom. Our enemies have no hesitation in choosing their side in the war, but it seems most British revolutionaries are frightened to give outright support to those fighting British imperialism in Ireland as opposed to Vietnamese or El Salvadorean rebels.

I recently visited Belfast and Derry and found that the Provos and the INLA are the direct expression of the republican people there. I did not find them to be the backward brutes you believe them to be, but committed rebels, one street full of whom are more dangerous to the British State than all the so-called revolutionaries of your ilk put together.

This issue reaffirms my belief that the anarchist movement here must give serious thought to our revolutionary politics if we are to develop as a strong revolutionary current in Britain, as I hope we will.

For revolutionary anarchism not sloppy introverted libertarianism!
Belfast-Brixton; Bring the War to Britain!

A suspected terrorist
March 25th movement
Canterbury

Pat writes: Anarchists opposed the American Occupation of southern Vietnam, without supporting the authoritarian Viet Cong. It was obvious that whoever won the war between those rivals, ordinary people would lose. There is no need to take sides in a war, when both sides are reprehensible. The advocates of one tyranny may threaten the stability of another tyranny, but that does not make them less tyrannical.

So the Provos and INLA are the direct expression of the republican people in the six counties. And doubtless too, the RUC and the UVF are the direct expression of the loyalist people. What have such expressions of tribalism to do with anarchist struggle for individual sovereignty?

A plague on both your houses, for they are making dog's meat of the ordinary, misguided individuals of northern Ireland.

Fucking is pleasant

Dear FREEDOM,

Here is a note in response to A. Meyer's letter in FREEDOM 43, No. 9.

The shallowness (from our point of view) of the content in 'Jupiter's Travels', is real. The same kind of lightweight 'analysis' can also be seen in 'Zen and the Art..', but this does not detract from the entertainment value of the read.

However, the point I would like to raise is the hidden sexism - rapaciousness - chauvinism in A. Meyer's own letter. Digging down a little does show how many Engine Drivers, and I think we can deduce, Motorbikers and car drivers are corrupted. A. Meyer says, 'Fuck other road users, fuck noise pollution, fuck safety etc.' Presumably meaning from what he says, 'I want my orgasm even though I've kidded myself I'm meek and mild.'

Now this is exactly how a near-rapist once spoke to me when telling of how he took one of his women. The continuing pejorative, thrusting, male-centred use of the word FUCK shows the contorted, twisted misuse of formerly good things that we should avoid aiding and abetting. To fuck is very pleasant indeed, it is anarchic and primordial. Gay, straight, male, female - to fuck is mutual aid, re-creational, and I for one am getting turned off completely seeing phallic bike front wheels shoved right up the bums of

roads I use as well. The metaphorical meaning is important, but the actual one of women, gays, blacks, kids ... all being oppressed in a rapacious way, is more so. I hasten to say this is not a personal attack on A. Meyer - it is just to say that inadvertently he seems to have fallen into this hangup.

Anarchists on the whole tend to be tough minded. But there is no loss of tough-mindedness to be concerned about the ecological unbalances capitalism perpetuates - or to oppose corrupt use of good words.

In ecology, it is the same with SHIT and PISS. What is wrong with poor old shit and piss? Materials and fluids from our own bodies - the piss coming down the same urethra that your chromosomes did. Alan Albon I'm sure, being a farmer, knows the great value of shit with its phosphorus, nitrogen, and organic fibrous matter. It is jolly good stuff. What is sickening is the destruction of these valuable raw materials by our 'system', only to cover the land with expensive oil-using artificials ... the rotten capitalism I've mentioned of course.

What we need to consider surely, is that we are continuing to do with fucking and shitting and so on, what we hate to see 'out there' doing with our word Anarchy.

Further to the hidden rapaciousness and slight oppressiveness to - especially - women, implied in the use of FUCK as an aggressive put-down word, it is also used to cover the real state of grimness in authoritarian society. The multinational exploiters can be called filthy - in what many do to indigenous peoples and their land. Many politicians can be identified as liars, corrupt, or even psychotic. There is rottenness around, to be sure. These are the words of stark reality - not 'They are a load of wankers' that a Labourite leftist yelled about his party's moderates at a meeting I attended. (I patiently explained from the floor that masturbation was jolly good - ought to be encouraged - and that it has nothing to do with his party members (sic) ... There was a small uproar, all very enjoyable.)

Perhaps Anarchists could use these words of biological action and experience in totally uninhibited ways?

Yours,
KEN.

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

Groups

ABERDEEN Libertarian Group
c/o 163 King Street, Aberdeen.

ABERYSTWYTH. David Fletcher,
59 Cambrian Street Aberystwyth.

BARRY. Terry Philips, 16 Robert Street, Barry, South Glamorgan.

BELFAST Anarchist Collective,
Just Books, 7 Winetavern Street,
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BRIGHTON Libertarian Socialist
group, c/o Students Union, Falmer
House, University of Sussex,
Falmer, Brighton.

BRISTOL Bedminster, 110 Grenville Road, Bristol 3.

CAMBRIDGE Anarchists, Box A,
41 Fitzroy Street, Cambridge.

CANTERBURY Alternative Research
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of Kent, Canterbury.

CARDIFF. Write c/o One-O-Eight
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COVENTRY. John England, Students
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CUMBRIA 12 Bath Terrace
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DUBLIN. Love v Power, Whelan's
Dance Studio, 51 South King Street
Dublin 2.

EAST ANGLIA DAM
Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens,
Saffron Walden, Essex.

ESSEX. Oral Abortions, The Cat-
skills, Maldon Road, Gay Bowers,
Danbury, Essex.

EXETER Anarchist Collective c/o
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GLASGOW Anarchist Group, John
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GLASGOW Books Collective, c/o
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LIVERPOOL Anarchist Group, c/o
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erpool University, Liverpool.

LEAMINGTON and Warwick, c/o
42 Bath Street, Leamington Spa.

LEICESTER. Blackthorn Books,

74 Highcross Street (tel 21896), and
Libertarian Education, 6 Beacons-
field Road (tel 552085).

LEEDS anarchist group and **DAM**
Dave Brown, 2A Seaforth Place,
Harehills, Leeds 9.

LONDON

Anarchist-Feminists, Box 33,
Rising Free, 182 Upper Street N1.
Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor
Avenue N5(01-359 4794 before 7pm)
Meets each Thursday at Little@
Press, C1 Metropolitan Wharf,
Wapping Wall, Wapping E1.(22a
bus or Wapping tube).

Anarcha United Mystics meet each
Thursday at 8pm, Halfway House
Pub, opposite Camden Town tube.
Freedom Collective, Angel Alley,
84b Whitechapel High Street E1.
(01- 247 9249). Aldgate East tube,
near Whitechapel Art Gallery.

Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh Street,
London WC1. Meet Thursdays 7pm.

Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark
Street, Kingston upon Thames,
(01-549 2564).

London Workers Group, Box W,
Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, N1.
meets Tuesdays 8pm at Metropolitan
Pub, 75 Farringdon Rd, EC1.

Middlesex Poly Anarchists, Students
Union, Trent Park Site, Cockfosters
Road, Barnet, Herts.

Black Bomber Anarchists, Hackney/
Lambeth/Barnet, Box 29 Rising Free
182 Upper Street N1.

121 BOOKSHOP and meeting place,
121 Railton Road, Herne Hill, SE24.
Five minutes walk from Brixton tube.
West London Anarchists, Box WLA
Freedom.

Xtra! Structureless Tyranny, 182
Upper Street N1.

MALVERN and Worcester area,
Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Str-
idge, Malvern, Worcestershire.

NORWICH Anarchists. Student
group and town group and Freewheel
Community Bookshop Collective, all
c/o Freewheel, 56 Saint Benedicts
Street, Norwich, Norfolk.

NOTTINGHAM, c/o Mushroom,
10 Heathcote Street (tel 582506)

OLDHAM. Nigel Broadbent, 14
Westminster Road, Failsworth.

OXFORD Anarchist Group and
Solidarity, c/o 34 Cowley Road,
Oxford.

PAISLEY Anarchist Group are un-
fortunately contactable through the
Students Union, Hunter Street,
Paisley, Renfrewshire.

PLYMOUTH Anarchists, 115 Saint
Pancras Avenue, Pennycross, Ply-
mouth.

PORTSMOUTH area anarchist
group, c/o Garry Richardson, 25

Beresford Close, Waterlooville,
Hants. or Duncan Lamb, Nirvana,
Chichester Yacht Basin, Birsham,
West Sussex.

RHONDDA and MidGlamorgan,
Henning Andersen, 'Smiths Arms'
Treherbert, MidGlamorgan.

SHEFFIELD Anarchists, c/o 4
Havelock Square, Sheffield S10 2FQ
Libertarian Society, Post Office
Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE.

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

SWANSEA - Black Dragon, Box 5
c/o Neges Bookshop, 31 Alexandra
Road, Swansea, SA1 5DQ. Meet
8pm Mondays at the Mountain Dew
Inn, Swansea. Baby-sitting can be
arranged.

SWINDON Area. Mike, Groundswell
Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon.

TAYSIDE Anarchist Group, 3L 188
Strathmartine Road, Dundee.

SUSSEX anarchist group, c/o
Students Union, Falmer House,
University of Sussex, Brighton.

SUNDERLAND anarchists/DAM
c/o 183 Durham Road, Sunderland,
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TORBAY Anarchist Federation,
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WAKEFIELD Anarchist and Peace
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NATIONAL

DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT,
c/o Box 20, 164-166 Corn Exchange
Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Man-
chester, M14 3BN.

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST GROUP,
1 Grove Gardens, Leeds, LS6 4EG.

MIDLANDS Federation. Secretariat
c/o Coventry group.

NORTH EAST Anarchist Federation,
Secretariat c/o Leeds group.

SOLIDARITY libertarian communist
organization (Publish Solidarity for
Social Revolution) c/o 123 Latham
Road, London E6. Groups and
members in many towns.

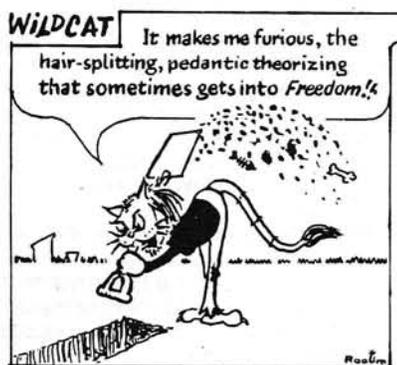
THAMES VALLEY Anarchist Fed-
eration - contact Oxford group.

LEEDS Black and Red, Leeds
University Union, Leeds.

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SPADE WORK



IT is not to be wondered at that the Wildcat (in FREEDOM No. 7, 10th April) will break his 'bloody shovel' with vexation at what he describes as the 'hair-splitting pedantic theorising that sometimes gets into FREEDOM.' It would appear that, with the emergence of anarchism, unacceptable and menacingly frightful, out of the dark depths of an unexplored chaos of mythical destruction, to take its place among the privileged seats of the enlightened and knowledgeable in the established halls of the all-wise, an academic problem of no mean dimension has now put down its claim to be resolved. Presumably, however, an answer will be sought in precisely those remote ivory temples comfortably removed from the scramble of daily struggle and a correct solution



will eventually be produced, signed sealed and delivered with the stamp of official approval; and weighty text-books will be printed and statues of Bakunin and Kropotkin will be raised on the campuses where future students will congregate and examinations will be passed and qualifications and degrees administered. Just exactly as we have witnessed in the same way has this been the lot of the former revolutionaries, Marx and Lenin, on the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc. Did you say God help us? If you did that is exactly what they are now saying in the Russian labour camps and in Poland. But there, they really mean it.

Just why does it all go awry? What happens to this theorising when it becomes the exclusive property of an established elite?

Is it because the academics take over and with that patronising air of authority so perfectly displayed by our omniscient Prime Minister, tell us how to solve our problems? After all, she has an Oxford degree, albeit second class, in chemistry; and science, of course, is very important in this material-worshipping age. She is able to converse with facile plausibility with the agents of the other academics among whom she must associate in her wanderings along the red carpets in the various governmental capitals where she receives the military homage of armed and saluting soldiers suitably decorated and polished for such occasions. And although some there may be among those august and learned potentates who may regard her as upstart and ostentatious and there for the performance only, she nevertheless serves to represent that kind of authority and power which dominates the empire of officially controlled and permitted methods of mental cogitation. Such, whether we like it or not, is the outward and unacceptable face of academia.

I must pick up some of the points raised by Geoffrey Ostergaard in his review of Allan Ritter's book on Anarchism: a theoretical analysis in the same issue of FREEDOM. But first let me consider the fact that it was Marx, well-known but not well read, who first made clear that the separation of the worker from the product of his labour produced 'alienated labour.' It also, very significantly, produced alienated man; and although Marx went to some trouble to explain the dehumanising effect of this alienation he might, had he lived long enough into our day to be able to use our modern language, have poss-

ibly cast a more critical eye on modern man and described him as a psychological case. It is most important to realise that it was not the existence of private property which caused alienation but precisely the reverse for Marx, who started it all and seems to have been sadly misinterpreted, explained that it was the concept of alienation in the mind of man that created private property. (1) A very un-Marxist statement according to the outlook of our present wooden Marxists - and the psychological problem takes on a mass formation.

So now to Geoffrey Ostergaard and the academics. He quotes Allan Ritter whose main purpose is 'to establish the right of anarchists to a leading voice in the debate among political theorists over how a good society should be created, organised and run.' I think this is marvellous. I am not aware that any record exists as to what group of theorists joined in a debate to discuss how a feudal society should be set up after the collapse of the Roman Empire or whether the Greeks who were certainly very capable intellectually really submitted for consideration a blue print on the creation of their slave society. There could not have been any anarchists in such a discussion because, apart from the fact that they could not have any trucking with slavery, they would have to have been very alienated creatures indeed to be capable of standing apart and discussing objectively how to organise and run and manage the lives of other people, good or otherwise. A problem for pure academics only.

It is only these psychologically alienated characters who presume to sit in the seats of government who can do that sort of thing; and, of course, they never seem to understand that they can never manage to do the job properly. Their particular brand of Utopia, which serves no more than their own satisfaction, never stays put. What they get out of it is the glamour of authority. Alienation is not to be understood only as separation from the fruits of labour, one must also consider its subjective effect which is much more significant in the human context and which reveals the separation of the divided mind, an acceptable and commonplace state of schizophrenia which sees the outside world but interprets its meanings into deviously irrational and disconnected perplexities. For instance, the popular conception of anarchy is a state of chaos, of total muddle where unorganised, non-co-operative, undisciplined, thoughtless, helpless and blind creatures

struggle confusedly against each other and destroy their environment in a selfish and bloodthirsty effort to grab and steal and murder until devil take the hindmost. As we are aware these words quite aptly describe the present capitalist jungle. It is interesting to refer in this connection to Freud's account of what he called the Pleasure Principle. Marcuse has described it as follows: 'The individual exists, as it were, in two different dimensions, characterised by two different mental processes and principles..... the unconscious, ruled by the pleasure principle, comprises the older primary processes, the residues of the phase of development in which they were the only kind of mental processes,' and 'The animal drives become human instincts under the influence of external reality.' (2)

I welcome Geoffrey Ostergaard's review in showing that Ritter's aim is 'communal individuality.' I think that Giovanni Baldelli's book on Social Anarchism admirably explains this position. It needs to be repeated that the anarchist drive is towards the full development of human consciousness and this can only be attained by means of a purposive and continuous effort and the use of determined self-discipline. No slapdash, inconsequential cringing and helpless dependence for the anarchist. No greedy, non-co-operative and disorganised planless muddle. The anarchist does not look to governments to manage his affairs. Nor to the gods. He does not reach this position without considerable effort and suffering. The power of the state is against him both deliberately and unconsciously - out of the simple force of habit; and his first task is to find himself. That is only the beginning.

The problem - and the cankerous effect of alienation - is revealed when this well-organised self-discipline is applied to the group. It then becomes a discipline applied from the outside. Nevertheless, by general agreement and voluntary co-operation human beings have survived in this way; the team spirit. This willing and helpful and often self-sacrificial quality makes certain of success when each individual plays his part to the full and ensures that he is fully developed to carry out his allotted task. One might compare Alexander's Macedonian phalanx with the Liverpool forward line and say that the skill and expertise of the McDermotts and Kenny Dalgleishs, whether with lances in their hands or footballs at their feet, are a necessary part of such victories. This comparison, however, also makes evident who steals the fruits of such victories and we must recognise that this apparently naive co-operation can be turned to a different use and even directed against the group; as we can see in the disciplined force of the police. It is very difficult in this mentally alienated society to identify honesty and wholehearted devotion in any form of co-operation and the factor which operates against it, the tool of alienation which destroys the human relationships is, of course, the obvious one of money.

I was grateful for the appearance of Geoffrey Ostergaard's review in FREEDOM and think that far too little emphasis has been given to the necessity to expose the lies about anarchism and its relation to authority. True enough, as he says (and also Allan Ritter) anarchists 'do not challenge the kind of authority based on expertise, exercised for example by a doctor or a ship's pilot.' It is however most important to understand the roots of the false authority based on expertise, exercised for example by a doctor or a ship's pilot.' It is however most important to understand the roots of the false authority which parades itself, pompously be-medalled, festooned with regalias, swords of state, crowns and cocked hats covering empty heads. Just think of the infamous General A min who did not omit to include in his sovereign insignia the qualification of some academic degree. This fake performance also illustrates the dangerous deception in the production of the academic mind and its knavish connection with false authority. Both of these monuments of fraudulent deception exist for their own sake. They are 'the title, knee and approbation' of unchanging exhibitionism and the sweets of hierarchical vainglory. They lack a purposeful end. It is a situation discussed by Erich Fromm in his book *To Have or to Be*. Knowledge in this purely academic sense becomes a marketable commodity which can be packaged and sold in chunks for further sale. Its value is not understood in terms of its meaning or its relation to life, but only as a

tool for reproduction in an examination or to create an impression or to be calculable in salary payment. Nobody expressed it better than poor old Marx whose wisdom is now suffering in the hands of power-hungry charlatans; this often repeated statement needs to be trotted out again; I'm certain it has never been understood! This is what he said: 'The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point, however, is to change it.', and also, '..... the object, reality, sensuousness is concerned only in the form of the object or contemplation, but not as human sensuous activity, practice, not subjectively.' (3) I must beware that the Wildcat will not be encouraged to break any more shovels by what might sound like pedantic theorizing because I am trying to bring the abstractions which have been petrified by the academics into practical and recognisable examples.

Similarly, therefore, (and I must say what a fabulous gift for the critic both Maggie Thatcher and Ronnie Reagan are) the functions of Prime Minister and President become not positions which competent specialists would undertake in order to do a proper job but rather what appeals to these eager aspirants is the stage performance, the act, and the attainable throne on which to sit and bask in glory. Truly a couple of really fascinating objects to contemplate, and no mistake. Whatever interpretation philosophers may put upon these representatives of our modern world, it is certain that the idea of change is quite inconceivable. Not only to them, but to the flag-waving, bunting-bearers who grovel in awe in pursuit of their perpetuation.

But to get back to the other factor, not to be forgotten and most important, the money. This it is that makes the separation complete and which in Shakespeare's immortal words will make 'black white, base noble, foul fair, wrong right, old young'. In the ordinary run of life in the capitalist world a job of work is not done for its real purpose but for the money it brings. We all know this of course, but the significance of its meaning is obscured by its customary normality. Men who work together in building a bridge, for instance, a very necessary and useful activity, will co-operate in a kind of a way, but it is not the co-operation in which they would engage if they were concerned in the building of a bridge for their own communal ends. (I must interject here that the thought that it is in this divided society that they propose to continue tampering with nuclear power.) It is the money they collect that matters and the function and purpose of the bridge vanishes into thin air as far as they are concerned. It becomes so much meaningless toil to put behind them because their real existence is only found when they can live their lives apart from their work and their only goal in life becomes concentrated on getting more and more money. It is no wonder that production for waste serves quite as adequate a purpose as necessary production for use; indeed, since reality has become unrecognisable and exists only as the unmentionable and nasty phantasy of a remote non-capitalist mentality, one could say that production for waste serves the continuation of our society admirably. It ensures that no progress is made.

So far, immovable on the road we remain, with the academic blockage of monetarism before us and guarded by the armed authority of the sterile mind, which, paralysed by dogma, has only one purpose - to remain put.

Maybe it will eventually dawn on Maggie (if she is still around and her academic and sycophantic co-partner, Sir Geoffrey Howe) that a religious creed should be set up and a temple erected in which to worship the god of litter as the saviour of our society. And if it should happen that there will still be enough space and enough light to shine through all the litter cluttering up the sky to make visible the discarded motor cars and concordes and washing machines and fridges, it might still be possible to promenade with still more pretentious pageantry because by that time the human being will have become an empty shell of outward exhibitionism in which the unconscious, ruled by the primitive pleasure principle, casts off what human potentialities it still might have, and decays into docile dependence and unfulfilled despair.

Into this fatuous vacuum we shall see the famous super-authoritarian White House / Westminster circus act, without the performing animals unless my eyes deceive me. But

The Christie File ...

THE CHRISTIE FILE - Stuart Christie, Partisan Press/
Cienfuegos Press, £6.00.

STUART Christie's book was originally to have been published by Michael Joseph, so it was presumably aimed at the general public and at times it does read as if it owes something to the style of Frederick Forsyth and has the bestseller lists in mind. The Editors, Partisan Press, are satisfied that Stuart Christie has the 'personal notoriety and literary ability to write a compelling personal history of modern anarchism'.

Obviously an autobiography is a very subjective work and the author is entitled to make his own selections and omissions, but a general reader, who does not know Stuart or have any knowledge of the anarchist movement of that period, might not realise what a very limited and personal view is given here. Stuart is basically a happy and sociable person, who enjoys telling a dramatic and entertaining story, as do most of us, but he does not bother to check facts and he certainly makes wildly inaccurate comments on events of which he has no first hand knowledge. He states that some of the supporters of the Christie/Carballo Defence Committee, who were extreme non-resisters insisted on running the campaign along the lines that he was completely innocent 'in defiance of the known facts'.

At that time, as far as the majority of the committee were concerned, there were no known facts. FREEDOM's headline in the issue of August 29th 1964 'Please believe in my innocence' was reported in good faith as the message sent by Stuart to his mother through the British Vice-Consul and it had to be assumed at that time that Stuart's plea was 'not guilty'. In any case, the final paragraph on the front page of that issue finished 'but if he is guilty? Then, in our opinion, the efforts of all men of goodwill must be redoubled, irrespective of whether they approve or disapprove of his methods. For what will count, what will remain in peoples' minds is the noble intention.'

In addition to this there was a long extract of the writing of Malatesta on Attentats, which gave rise to criticism of the Editors on the grounds that they were implying Stuart's possible 'guilt'. Those who most vehemently insisted on Stuart's 'innocence' were members of the Notting Hill Anarchist Group and The Syndicalist Workers' Federation, who were certainly not 'non-resisters'. It is odd that Stuart does not mention the SWF or 'Direct Action' in his book, since he was certainly in contact with them before he went to Spain and the group was certainly very sympathetic towards him.

It is difficult to give an overall view of the book as the tone and content varies so much. There are sections of anecdotal autobiography, descriptions of conditions in Spanish prisons, varying from the horrific to the farcical, interspersed with passages of potted historical commentary. Whole passages seem to be written in a stylised political jargon, but luckily there are also passages which show the warmth and humour of Stuart's personality.

M. S.



Stuart Christie in the Cienfuegos Press office in Sanday, Orkney, 1979.



Stuart Christie at the International Anarchist Congress in Carrara, 1968.

THIS book is interesting. Stuart Christie is probably Britain's most notorious anarchist ('durable' by one account). The media have made the most of the flamboyant aspects of his life. Once this reputation was fixed, they had a convenient hook for sensationalist reportage.

The Christie File gives his version of all this, starting with his youth and development of libertarian ideas. Then comes his infamous trip to Spain and subsequent imprisonment. The most detailed section is his account of the attempts to implicate him with the Angry Brigade. I found this and that concerning the Stoke Newington 8 Trial, the most interesting part of the book. Since then, Stuart has moved via Huddersfield to Orkney. Here he has done his most valuable work, the establishment and running of Cienfuegos Press.

The book was originally to have been published by Michael Joseph. However, they backed out and it now appears from Partisan Press. It has its faults. It is too long (370pp) and self-indulgent. It should have been more severely edited. Other people who were involved in some of these events have different versions. Perhaps most surprisingly it has not been up-dated since it was completed for Michael Joseph. It finishes at the beginning of the Persons Unknown campaign. All six had been arrested and the police were floundering around, hassling people, so it would be about Summer 1978. Surely an afterword could have dealt with the trial and acquittals.

Accepting its limitations as a personal account, not a history, the book is worth a read.

D. P.

Illustration taken from *Bicicleta*



Songs my mother never taught me

Anarchist Songbook. Compiled and published by South London Anarchist Group, 121 Railton Road, London SE24. 60pp. 80p Illustrated.

THE 64 songs contained in this songbook are divided up into 4 sections: 'Anarchism', 'Sexuality', 'Electro-fascism and Gaols' and 'No God, No War, No State etc.'

The first section, 'Anarchism', consists of songs which take a huge and amusing swipe at all the odd enemies - the State, government, the bourgeoisie, fake radicals, Lenin, Trotsky, Mao, Stalin etc. These targets are identified and dealt with in a refreshingly blunt, no-nonsense manner. Not a trace of liberalism or pacifism here. For example, the song 'Shoot 'em All' (Tune: 'Bless 'em All'):-

'Shoot them all, shoot them all
Shoot the long and the short and the tall
Shoot all the bosses and
Shoot all the cops
Shoot all the bourgeois
And burn down their shops.'

or 'When the State begins to fall' (Tune: 'When the Saints go Marching in'):-

'Oh when the state begins to fall
Oh when the state begins to fall
Oh lord I want to be in there looting
Oh when the state begins to fall.'

and again and even better still, 'There's no government like no government'. (Tune: 'There's no business like show business'):-

'There's no government like no government
Like no government I know
Everything about it is appealing
Everything about it is just great
Nothing like that fabulous feeling
When you are living without the state.'

The Left statists are dealt with equally well. Perhaps it is enough to cite 'If you knew Trotsky' (Tune: 'If you knew Suzy') to get the general flavour.

'If you knew Trotsky, like I knew Trotsky
Oh Oh Oh what a guy
He shoots pheasants or was it peasants
Oh Oh Oh what a guy.'

Simple, maybe, but as telling and more immediate than any critique of Trotskyism that I've read. (However, the song 'Trot Faction' to the tune of 'Ten Green Bottles' which deals with splintering and re-splintering of Trot groups and which has the instruction 'Repeat until sick', could be equally applied to Anarchists).

Two versions of the 'Black Flag' (Tune: 'Tannenbaum') and a Mexican song 'La Cucaracha' ('Grad a rifle everyone') round off this first section.

The Second section, 'Sexuality', opens with 'Menstruation Blues' (no tune given) which is dedicated to the New South Wales female Builder's Labourers who were in the process of getting menstruation allowances before the NSW Builder's Labourers were disbanded by the Maoist Victorian Builder's Labourers. A song about heavy periods, it contains lines such as

'I can't chuck - I can't even fuck
Honey this thing has put me out of luck'

and is in traditional blues form. (A pity Bessie Smith or Lucille Bogan are not around to sing it). The illustration is about toxic shock syndrome.

The rest of the section contains songs dealing with most manifestations of sexuality; the best lines coming in 'Gay sera sera' (Tune: 'Que sera sera'):-

'Now I have sisters of my own
We all discuss the choices we made
Hetro, homo, auto or bi
Seems that it's all the same

Gay sera sera
 Whatever will be, will be
 It's all sexuality
 Gay sera sera, what will be will be
 DORIS DAY FOR ME

There are also songs against misogynists - 'Tired of Fuckers'; against women's shit work - 'Sausages and Mash', 'The Bosses Darling' against gay reformism - 'Big Brother' (Tune: 'On Broadway'); for abortion - 'Time to take a stand' (Tune: 'Clementine'); for lesbianism - 'Joyce'; against lesbian separatism - 'Leso Nation Masturbation' and for women organising at work - 'Union Maid'. There is also another swipe at dogmatic Marxism, with some of the wittiest lines in the whole book. From 'Marxist-feminist Conference' (Tune: Chataouga Choo Choo):-

'Pardon me girls
 Is this the international conference .

'Pardon me girls
 Is this the international conference ?
 Be there at nine, to get the Marxist line
 You'll get the surplus value theory
 At a quarter past nine
 Objective reality will be redefined

Dialectics in the diner
 Nothing could be finer
 Than to discuss dogma
 With the correct liner.'

I'm not sure what 'Electro-Fascism' is, but we all know what 'Gaols' are, and the third section of the book has a fine opening song. 'If they come for you in the Night' (No tune given):-

'If they come for you in the night
 Then they will come for me in the morning
 So we must stand together and fight
 We don't need no other warning.'

The two other jail songs are 'Ballad of Hull Jail Riot' (Tune: 'Wild Rover') and 'Hard Times, Long Bay Boys' (Tune: 'Cotton Mill Girls').

Perhaps the rest of the section should have been called 'Nuclear Fascism' as most of the songs are against nuclear war and nuclear power - 'We will all go together when we go', 'Who's Next?', 'Who Cares about the human race' etc. There is also a squatting song 'We're the squatters' army' (Tune: 'My old man's a dustman') which takes the bourgeois media's stereotypes of squatters to their logical conclusion with amusing results. For example:

'We piss out of the windows
 We shit on the floor
 We shoot up in lavatories
 Ain't that what they're for.'

The final section, 'No God, No War, No State etc' consists, as you'd expect, of songs condemning militarism and religion. 'McCafferty' tells the tale of a young man who joins up and is so pissed off he shoots the Captain. There are a few anti-religious songs - 'Onward Christian Soldiers' (which is also anti-militarist), 'Hare Gumboot, Hare Gumboot', as well as songs about poverty and unemployment - 'Unemployment Blues', 'It's a long way down the soup line' (Tune: 'Tipperary') and the odd one about sabotage - 'Sit Down' and the refusal to work 'Hallelujah I'm a bum!'

All in all this is a comprehensive selection, with songs for most situations. It would have been better if there had been some about such things as commodities and wage labour. Presumably there weren't any such songs submitted to the compilers. The illustrations are, on the whole, good if somewhat familiar. Already these songs are being sung in New York's Central Park. Apparently one criticism voiced there was that the tunes are old. This is so, but again it is assumed that no songs to new tunes were submitted.

There are other criticisms that can be made. I would have preferred to have had the country of origin of each song listed (if known) and more songs from, say, Latin America, Eastern Europe etc. (Once more this no doubt depended on the compilers having contacts in such places.)

Another fault is the lack of coherency in places, no more so than in the 'Sexuality' section. In it there are songs for lesbianism, but also a song - 'Leso Nation Masturbation' which contains some ambiguous (to say the least) lines about lesbianism - 'And they got into serious stuff like love and sisterhood I'm beginning to see that sisterhood just ain't fair.' A more vigilant reading of original copy would have spotted such contradictions.

Also the song 'Gay sera, sera', which is predominantly about a woman coming out is illustrated with one of Beardsley's phallic line drawings. No illustration at all would have been better.

At times the bluntness of some of the songs (which generally is refreshing) spills over into crude abuse. For example, in 'Leso Nation Masturbation' the second chorus ends: 'Get fucked you tight arse turds!' I don't expect songs to offer an articulate total critique and I recognise they function to serve the emotions as much as (or more than) the head, but I find such lines off-putting and illustrative of empty-headedness.

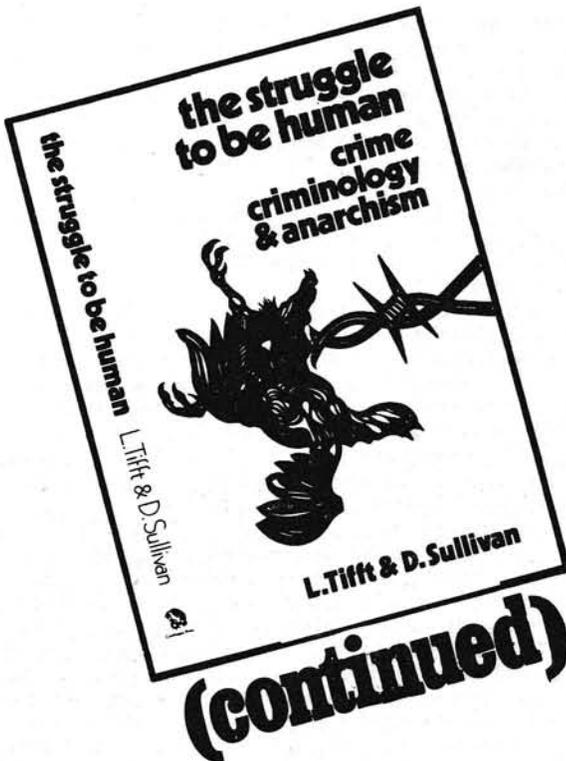
Finally, there are at least 2 songs which turn up in the 'Sexuality' section which shouldn't be in the book at all. 'Diahorrea' (about, you've guessed it, diahorrea) and 'Smoke Gets in your Lungs' (about lung cancer) are just bad space fillers. Also 'Nothing Song' (which consists mainly of the word 'nothing') defeats itself and ends up saying precisely you've guessed it again, nothing. Such nihilism isn't even pre-revolutionary. Just another space filler. (The Buzzcocks' Song, 'Boredom' would have been a better choice, perhaps.)

However, knowing that the book was got together by only a few people (who compiled it, type-set it, laid it out, proof read it, took it to Belfast to print it, collated it and distributed it) despite unfulfilled promises of contributions and other help, such faults are understandable. On the whole it's a book worth all their effort and gives us a chance to sing some witty and relevant songs instead of mouthing clichéd old slogans. And if you don't like 'em all, you can make your own up.

MAX BYGRAVES



Illustration taken from A Touch of the Times



WE would like to thank FREEDOM, Eric Hyde and Giovanni Baldelli for reviewing our book, *The Struggle to be Human: Crime, Criminology and Anarchism*. We do not feel that the book is garrulous - talking much and often about unimportant issues. Stuart Christie has made an excellent contribution to any reader's thinking about crime, direct action and violence. For our part, we tried to present an original anarchist analysis and synthesis of criminological thought.

In the book we addressed the unwhole nature of criminological thought. The statement that, 'modern criminology is on the brink of extinction' meant that conceptually and in action these criminologies do not address what we feel are critical questions. Baldelli seems to recognise this too when he says that we all must ask the questions: 'how a society can defend itself against the crimes of its own state or how, having got rid of it, it will prevent the emergence of another, prevent harm done to its members from being rewarding, and thus encouraging more harm to be done.' We tried to respond to these questions or issues in our sections on rape, social harms, hierarchy, social organisation and responsibility, the state and community. We have tried to suggest how mutual aid processes and experience might develop this society and at the same time dissolve the state. We have tried to address these questions in our further work (Sullivan, 1980; Tift, 1979) as have others (Holterman and Maarseveen, 1980). We regret the communication that there exists a dichotomous division of humanity between a power elite and a mass of oppressed persons. We tried numerous times to illustrate this dichotomy's invalidity. We honestly tried to indicate that we are the state - our hierarchical values and stratified relations - and that we, ourselves, must change.

If our criminology is an impassioned one, it is alone amongst criminology books. As for rationality of argument, we are familiar with the references Hyde provides and agree with their value in documenting specific and general historical argument. However, only Foucault's work contributes to an anarchist perspective. Furthermore, *The Struggle* was essentially written prior to the publication of most of these referenced books and had a long history of publication problems.

We are faulted in these and in other reviews as a farmer who grows a strain of lettuce suitable for his/her particular climate, taste, and nutritional needs, the fault being that

s/he did not grow a strain meeting the taste, style or nutritional needs of others elsewhere. At present there are literally thousands of persons studying criminal justice throughout the United States. Almost without exception, the criminology books used in these courses accept the current degree of social injustice and accept the state as both given and as the preferred agency of crime control and personal safety. The majority of faculty who teach these courses have not even heard of anarchism. In *The Struggle* we tried to reach out to these persons and to persons elsewhere with an anarchist vision of a society of whole persons. So we wrote a kind of ABCs of anarchist criminology, the basics for an audience who does not know what anarchism is, an audience who needs hope.

There is always a risk when trying to break ground and when trying to write for those who know little of a given set of ideas or principles. One risk is that those who consider themselves among the initiated will wince at an elementary reaching out. Another risk is that you won't have written the book so many had hoped for. We tried, and we hope for a better anarchist criminology to be written. But we hope for a just world order, wherein no criminology is needed.

DENNIS SULLIVAN AND LARRY TIFFT.

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Illustration taken from *Guangara Libertaria*

ANARCHISTS? THEY'RE SO RESPECTABLE

(Not one bomb among them)

It is disappointing, I know, but the excitement really has gone out of anarchism these days.

Scarcely a bomb's throw from Goodge Street Tube station, in an antiseptic public-house, I met the London Anarchist Group last night, and they were the politest people you could hope to meet.

Not a black cloak anywhere. A Mr. PHILIP SANSON carried a brown-paper parcel under his arm, but I couldn't hear it ticking. There were only four beards, and at least one clean shirt.

Anarchists are against any function based on the authoritarian system. This includes

IN LONDON LAST NIGHT
Edited by
JEREMY CAMPBELL

Parliament, marriage, employment, the monetary system and the police force.

The secretary, a pretty, perfumed girl called FRANCES SOKOLOV, was against the monetary system, too. But she allowed me to buy her a drink.

"Down with authoritarianism," she said. "Cheers." I said, and pocketed my change.

The Group meet every Sunday here for a bout of mild ale and discussion. Upstairs, 25 people sit on upright chairs. Portraits of the QUEEN and Prince PHILIP hang on the dingy cream wallpaper—they are pub fixtures and cannot be removed.

"Have a fruit drop," says a heavy-breathing man in pebble

lenses, prodding a roll of sweets at me. A woman with braided hair sits at the back, knitting.

I thought of anarchism's infamous foreign past—of President CARNOT'S assassination, of the man who fired at (and missed) the Prince of WALES in Brussels, 1900. Of VAILLANT, who hurled insults at the bourgeoisie and a bomb into the French Assembly.

I sipped my middle-class mild ale and I wondered if it could possibly be the English climate that governs the bridge-party passions of English extremists.

Why, that redoubtable writer on anarchism, Sir HERBERT READ, is now a knight, and the London Anarchist Group regard him coolly, to say the least.

"We're against privilege, you see," said Miss Sokolov, dipping into another of my whiskeys.

Abroad

Sir Herbert is out of the country, but I spoke to Lady Read last night. Her voice flutes as sweetly as any on the Tory benches of the London County Council.

"My husband is still an anarchist," she said. "But you should really speak to my son. He's a Liberal, and that's the next best thing."

I spoke to her son, PIERS. I found him in anarchy-free South Kensington, and very anxious to stick up for father.

I think he's a pretty good anarchist really," he said. "He let me leave school when I wanted to and everyone else was against it."

Meanwhile, the London



MISS FRANCES SOKOLOV
"Down with authoritarianism," she said over whisky.

Anarchists sat in a respectful, tentative snuggle, objecting to privilege and pressures on the individual in voices that no BBC announcer would be ashamed of.

A tweed cap was passed round for contributions. Emptied on to the table, it produced four half-crowns, several sixpences and a cigarette.

Next to me, with a smile that could close like a zip-fastener, was Mr. Philip Sansom. "I've been in every London prison except Holloway," he said in a voice that came dangerously near to boasting.

A bearded man who had only been in prison for four days banged on the table for silence. The meeting had begun.

Another bearded man with eyes like razor blades raised a few weals on the flesh of the Establishment but without raising his voice.

A Mr. MICHAELS started to ask a question, but forgot what he wanted to say and subsided into silence again.

And at 10 o'clock the anarchists, fighting their battle against authority, law, property and the monetary system, meekly finished their drinks at the landlord's order and left.

The Idiot

HERE is an interesting anarchist sideline of history that should be worthy of an idle moment's research. In January of 1869 a restaurant owner found a parcel in his well and it contained the lower part of a human leg. Gustave Mace a policeman took over and de da de da it was finally found to be part of the murdered body of an old miser Desire Bodasse.

This is the odd stuff ... the man arrested and executed for killing the old miser for his money was Pierre Voirbo, who was a police spy and this was during the period when there was a bomb outbreak in France (1869). It is 'said' that Voirbo 'posed' as a revolutionary and that he spoke on anarchist platforms and that he would then report back to the police. I have no knowledge of whether this be true or false, but that is the story ... What is odd is that Pierre Voirbo was living and dying out the story line of Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. Voirbo had already fingered another man (Rifer) for the killing to the police, but here you have Dostoevsky's story line. The amoral young revolutionary anarchist (as he claimed) killing an old and useless man for his money for the greater 'good' (his). Working as a police informer (it is claimed). All tragic stuff but it should be an interesting idle mayfly hour to work out dates and groups and people around Paris 1869 and then relate it to Dostoevsky's novel.

All sad stuff.

ARTHUR MOYSE

Metamorphosis

FOR your edification and amusement, here is something I culled recently from a book called *Conversations with Kafka*, by Gustav Janouch:-

' Franz Kafka laughed when he saw me with a little book of poems by Michael Mares.'

' "I know him", he said, "he is a fierce anarchist whom they endure as a curiosity in the Prager Tagblatt." '

' "You don't take the Czech anarchists seriously?" '

Kafka smiled apologetically.

' "That is very hard. These people, who call themselves anarchists, are so nice and friendly, that one has to believe every word they say. At the same time - and by reason of the same qualities - one cannot believe that they are really such world-destroyers as they claim." '

' "So you know them personally?" '

' "A little. They are very nice, jolly people." '

MAXWELL FINCH

P. S.

Apparently, Kafka had read quite a lot about various anarchists, including people like Bakunin, Kropotkin and Ravachol. He also was in contact at some point with anarchists in Prague.



SPADE WORK continued from Page 10

perhaps I am mistaken, it is difficult to see behind their official party masks.

Fortunately, before that ultimate Tory paradise is reached the unemployed will have worked that utterly incomprehensible miracle of change.

- (1) See Marx's Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts. Chapter on Estranged Labour and also Marcuse's essay on the Foundation of Historical Materialism (1932)
- (2) See Marcuse's Eros and Civilisation. Chapter 1.
- (3) See Marx's Theses on Feuerbach.

THEO YEATS.



(paper for the armchair terrorist)

has made a refreshing re-appearance this month

and is very welcome on the usually dusty (in more ways than one) periodicals table at FREEDOM Bookshop. Xtra's new issue (no. 8) is full of interest and good, strong, topical writing; its re-appearance is doubly welcome in that it marks the end of a fraught period of months for the paper's Simon Read, who was given a six months suspended sentence in April for his part in the plot to thwart the NF in Hackney.

For a modest 30p, Xtra! offers 12 pages of news, comment, letters and irony in an imaginative graphic style that is easy to read and sure to provoke lively reaction. Charles Forte and Maggie Thatcher rub cold shoulders on the centre spread and no-one should miss the Special Offer to Loyal Readers on page 10. (Buy a copy and find out...)

Their address is now BCM IT, London WC1N 3XX

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