

QUEBEC: A GENERAL STRIKE?

AFTER six years of being lulled and bullied by the promises of a nationalist government (the Parti Quebecois) the workers of Quebec are planning a 'general unlimited strike until (they) get what (they) want'. In reply to the possibility that they will be legislated against, as they were on November 10th when 200,000 workers struck for 24 hours, an official of the industrial (bureaucratic) syndicalist union — the CSN (Confederation of National Trade Unions) said that the government '... was illegal ...' and 'we make no distinction between illegal and legal. We have a battle to do.'

These words and actions are the strongest since the mobilisations of 1971 — 72 when strikes and local group pressures led to occupations of towns, radio-stations and factories. The present reasons for militancy are common: the loss of earning power, jobs, health services; government legislations and the slack, deflated, production industry. Some examples would include:

1. Unilateral Parti Quebecois (PQ) legislation reducing all public and para-public

employees' salaries by 18.5% for the first three months of 1983.

2. Regular legislation against strikes.

3. No work: 2 months of work a year for some construction workers; when 400 jobs became available at a General Electric plant, 8,000 applications were received; real unemployment reaching 20%.

4. While 22,000 wait on Montreal's hospital lists, beds and sections of health care are cut.

5. Reduction of dole rights and buying power.

While Quebec's Prime Minister, Rene Levesque states that the 'problem is incurable' unions continue active organisation with community and pressure groups ('Le Summit Populaire') as well as strike actions. The 'Common Front', an intersyndicalist body which coordinates the major unions of Quebec, has been reactivated. This includes the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ) which has 275,000 members, the Teachers' Central (CEQ) with 80,000 members and the CSM with 200,000 members; together comprising about 80% of unionised la-

bour. All three had been known for militant and wildcat strike activity before the carrot of the PQ's corporatist strategy entrapped the union officials as well as many good, active, militant workers.

Although the idea of the unlimited strike first included only the public-parapublic sector, now transport, communications and industrial sectors are considering joining. Montreal's 2,200 transport workers have already joined and other sectors votes are being planned before and after the 30th November general strike starting date. To date the highly favourable pro-strike votes clearly indicate that Quebecois who considered the PQ 'their government' and a reason to hold back on their own demands are no longer enchanted with these myths. Now, hopefully, the Quebec labourers can return to a mobilisation and organisation based on the intersyndical theory of 'we have only ourselves to depend on', as was the case before the PQ, and can continue to directly regain ground inside and outside the work place.

NIEMAN STERCUS



NEWS FROM ANGEL ALLEY

OVER the past few years changing the format of FREEDOM has often been a topic of discussion amongst the editorial collective. At the end of last year we somewhat rashly promised an imminent change. This year we promise yet again that, starting with the first issue of the new year (January 15th), FREEDOM will be looking different. It will be produced as an eight page A3 size (twice the current size) newspaper. The banner, typeface and layout will all be changing. The amount of material it contains will be exactly the same as at present. This brings us to the question of contributions from our readers. FREEDOM relies very heavily on unsolicited articles. As the paper has no paid workers, no 'reporters' as such, and can only produce just so much, we need outsiders to contribute. We often find ourselves criticised for not writing about, or reporting on, various issues, but again we feel that it is up to those involved in various struggles or interested in certain aspects of anarchism that the collective may not write about to inform us as to what is happening.

FREEDOM is very much a product of its readers, even if the editorial collective does try to provide some sort of a lead; it is also a forum for anarchist ideas. Hopefully the new year, and new format, will also bring out some new ideas. FREEDOM always welcomes comment and criticism so please inform us as to your reactions to the new look paper and, again, please send in your contributions.

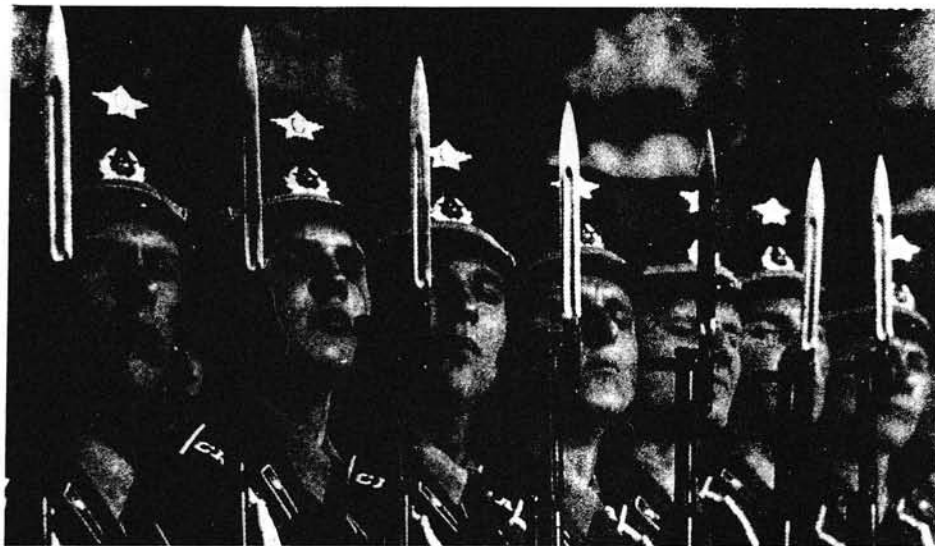
EDS

FREEDOM party — Saturday 18th December, in the bookshop from 1pm onwards. Everybody invited!

PS One thing that remains as before is the cover price which we hope to hold down to 30p for 1983. Subscriptions, however, have gone up due to the increased postage costs that we have incurred. (See contacts page for rates.)

RUSSIAN REPORTS

VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL



THE release of Vladimir Bukovsky came suddenly at the end of 1976. Just conceivably, it could have indicated a more relaxed approach to its non-conforming citizens. Actually, the habitual repression of the USSR has increased in brutality and widened in scope: at the same time Western support for Soviet dissenters has steadily decreased, at all levels.

The final crushing of the Helsinki Monitoring Group has seemingly failed to elicit a single protest at British ministerial level; the hounding down and psychiatric detention of members of the SMOT movement has failed to gain the slightest interest from trade-unionists in Britain — even in the case of the physicist (and SMOT member), Valery Senderov, recently dismissed from the school where he taught and now arrested by the KGB, the mugging of Andrei Sakharov by the Soviet secret police has passed unnoticed in the British Press — usually so alert in the matter of 'street muggings by thugs', etc.

Victims of the notorious Article 70, for example, Vyacheslav Chornovil, having survived his eight years of labour camp and Siberian exile, now find themselves charged not, with anti-Soviet agitation, but with — rape! Or, as a variation, 'attempted rape'.

The discreet silence of British officialdom, Press and media, is a reminder of a similar silence during the six years' campaign for Bukovsky's freedom. And this silence remains unbroken in such cases as that of Dr Semyon Gluzman, the Jewish doctor, now doing forced labour (as an unpaid ganger) on the Siberian pipeline. Further examples are available from Amnesty International, or from *News Brief*, printed in Munich.

There are already signs that President Reagan is withdrawing his objections to European participation in the pipeline, thus removing the only constraint on full

Anglo-Soviet trade co-operation. What could MPs do about this? To begin with, they could check up and confirm the extent to which innocent people have been sacrificed to the behests of East-West trading deals. Then, if they are interested in supporting a genuine peace movement that is in danger of being eliminated by the politbureau, they could make contact with the *Independent Peace Group* in Moscow — whose programme of action is 'aimed at improving trust between the peoples of the USA and the USSR' and who cite nine practical ways of doing so. To make contact with this Group, as urged by Vladimir Bukovsky himself * might set in motion an entirely new and promising initiative for a lasting peace, not a temporary pact pending trade manoeuvres.

Finally, here is part of a statement by Valery Senderov, (mentioned above) which he issued, in anticipation of his arrest:

I made no attempt to emigrate because I did not want to abandon my motherland to the excesses of these Soviet aggressors. But I am not bound in any way to their State, to their empire of lies and violence ... even less do I intend to take part in their political investigations ... Whether they pin something on me which is false, or whether I break through the blinkered Soviet justice, is not the question — neither for me, nor for the prosecution. The instructions of the prosecution are not to find out the truth but to punish. Then let them punish me. I am not the first and will not be the last.

* Newsletter No 23, published by Help and Action Committee, Hericy, France.

DM
on behalf of Chornovil Committee

SOMETIMES, a quirk of circumstance leads to a personal contact being formed between two people on opposite sides of what used to be called the iron curtain. The present writer has never actually met his friend from Lvov, but has an intimate knowledge of the facts of the case through Chornovil's friends and close relatives, and by correspondence.

Vyacheslav Chornovil finished his education at Kiev University, passing out with honours in the Philological Faculty. From 1960 to May 1963 he was working at the Lvov television studios, attaining the rank of Senior Director of the Youth programme. Later, he became Editor of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee's newspaper. But by 1967 his book, known in English as the Chornovil Papers, had been published in France and America. This book was critical of the conduct of the trials of various Ukrainian writers, against whom Chornovil had refused to testify. It earned him a three year sentence in a labour camp for 'anti-Soviet propaganda' and was the beginning of KGB persecution that continues to this day.

The next sentence he received was in 1972. This time it was six years in a strict regime labour camp, followed by three years exile. From the Siberian Yakutsk labour camp, he formally renounced his (compulsory) Soviet citizenship, declaring that at the end of his nine years sentence, 'there is no guarantee that the KGB will not fabricate another "case"'. That is precisely what they did: in March 1980 he was arrested. He duly received, on June 6th of the same year, a sentence of five years in a strict labour camp. He then began a hunger-strike; and it was during this time that he wrote the article (printed in the *Sunday Times*) 'Why I envy Bobby Sands'.

His wife and many of his friends succeeded in persuading him to abandon his hunger-strike but his health, never robust, now deteriorated rapidly. He was transferred from the Yakutsk labour camp, not in order to save his life, but for 're-education' in Kiev. In reality, this was done deliberately, part of the KGB's tactic to obtain a recantation — by using his wife's presence in Kiev as a kind of bribe — a false promise to shorten his sentence. This cruel game did not succeed and Chornovil was sent back to the terrible conditions in the Yakutsk camp, where he is presumably still surviving.

There are undoubtedly many other cases as horrible as Chornovil's. It is very difficult to imagine any worse.

DM
on behalf of Chornovil Committee

[Thanks are due to the Index Briefing Paper, Amnesty International Briefing and to the Committee to Protect Journalists (USA)]

Reports

NUCLEAR FOLLIES

WE are assured that nuclear power is subjected to extensive safety checks. Suggestions of risk from human error are merely alarmism. Similarly, a nuclear war cannot start accidentally. We were encouraged to report last issue that a Pershing II missile had achieved a flight of 60 miles. Now, from the press since; a B52 bomber, which forms part of the US nuclear force, exploded shortly after landing in California. A spokesman would neither confirm nor deny whether nuclear arms were aboard. A flatbed rig loaded with 18 Navy missiles ran off a highway, also in California, hit a pole and overturned. The engine of a new MX intercontinental missile exploded under test in Texas. The test bed is 'out of action for some time'. Meanwhile, back with the Pershing II; it has now emerged that the 60 mile flight wasn't quite as triumphant as first thought. It missed. Apparently, there was a loss of hydraulic pressure. Nice homely

touch that, could happen to anybody's car. What is slightly disturbing is the official quote, 'we know a lot more about hydraulics than we do about high technology electronics'. Most of the inside of the missile is microchips. In addition, the radar system has shown itself to be vulnerable to rain and snow. Should help with targetting in the USSR. Still, its not to be deployed in Europe until 1983. Plenty of time to iron out a few bugs.

A SILENCE

LAST month a small item appeared in some British newspapers describing the death of a young 'punk'. He had blown himself up whilst attempting to plant a bomb outside a New Zealand courthouse. We now have more information about this incident. On November 18th Neil Ian Roberts, 22, had taken a device consisting of 40 sticks of gelnite to the main law-enforcement computer centre at Wanganui with the intention, as he told a friend, of making the Prime Minister 'think a little bit for an afternoon'. As he approached the main doors to the building the bomb exploded. He was killed instantly and could only be identified by a fingerprint. A state officer announced

that even if the centre, which holds all police, justice dept and ministry of transport records, had been destroyed, there were back-up systems to take over in a matter of days. Near to the site of Neil's death was found some freshly applied graffiti. It read 'We have maintained a silence closely resembling stupidity'. Neil raised a voice against that silence. For further info contact:
Blackmail
P O Box 13165
Christchurch
New Zealand.

NOEL FREE

ROGER NOEL is free. His case was separated from those of the other six Polish comrades and he was sentenced to three years in prison. Under a Polish law this sentence was transferred to a fine of \$ 10,000. A comrade in Belgium borrowed the money from a bank and Roger was deported. A press campaign was able to reimburse the money. On his release Roger said, 'We must still await the trial for the six other comrades arrested with me for the radio programme, and the other 5,000 trade unionists still in gaol.'

In brief

WE finally took over the *Guardian* last Tuesday. Anarchy was discussed constructively all over the paper. Two letters countered the usual journalistic misuse of the word and presented good arguments. Half the centre page was taken by the 'unemployed anarchy show', a sympathetic account of a self managing centre in Sunderland.

A YOUNG man has been arrested in Nice after threatening to hand out 30,000 leaflets announcing the impending destruction of the town and the end of the world by divine will.

THE United Nations has just paid off its mortgage. It was based on an interest free \$ 65 million loan made by the USA 34 years ago.

A FRENCH court has upheld the firing of an accounts clerk for not wearing a bra. 'Modern trends allow women to bare their breasts on the beach but this tolerance does not extend to the workplace except in the case of cabaret artists.'

MORE encouraging trends; the police want to get over their image as being, well sometimes showing some lack of understanding with racial/ethnic minorities. We shall draw a veil over the unfortunate events at Hendon. Now the Home Office has published a report based on a survey of West Yorkshire police. This contains all sorts of optimistic stuff. 'Another young constable described how a young West Indian had simply come up to him and said he was unemployed and what could he do. The officer could do nothing practical but he did have a long conversation and they parted on friendly terms.'

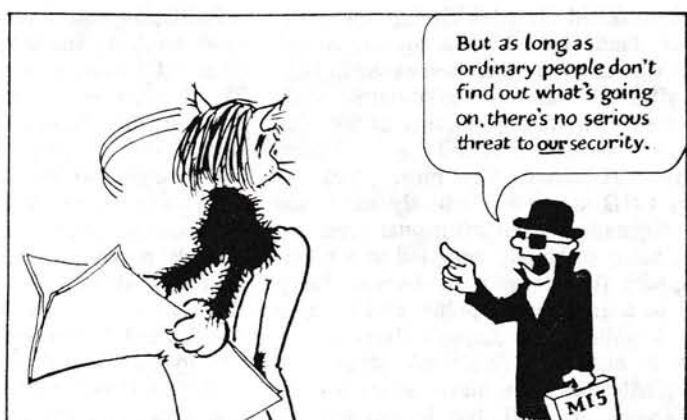
THE main Christian denominations are expected to decline by 400,000 members by 1985. They lost 1,000,000 between 1970 and 1980. This new fall would leave them with 16% of the population. Some smaller groups have expanded. Non-christian groups make up 2.6% of the adult population.

THE Maltese government has approved a law banning the dismissal of employees without the consent of the Director of Labour.

GRAND sounding charges in Turkey. 28 members of the textile workers union 'attempting to establish a Marxist-Leninist working class dictatorship'. A reporter and editor 'printing unsubstantiated reports which excited and alarmed the population'.

'INACCURACY is a way of life in this place', Speaker of the House of Commons.

WILDCAT



CND: A CRITICAL STAGE



THE nuclear disarmament movement has reached a critical stage in its short new life. Its current revival derives mainly from the NATO decision at the end of 1979 to install new American intermediate range nuclear missiles in Western Europe, starting in Britain in 1983. It has been revived not just in this country but in much of Western Europe and North America, and it is probably stronger than at any time, but it is in a difficult position.

In this country support for unilateral nuclear disarmament is now at least as high as it was 20 years ago — between one-quarter and one-third of the population. Support for the cancellation of the agreement to install American Cruise missiles and to fit the British nuclear submarines with Trident in place of Polaris missiles is higher than any such policy before — 58 and 56 per cent respectively, according to the Gallup Poll published in the December issue of *Sanity*. Opinion about American nuclear bases in Britain is almost evenly divided — 46 per cent for and 43 per cent against, according to the same survey. The difficulty is in giving this mass feeling effective political expression.

During the past three years there has been the emergence of such new organisations as the World Disarmament Campaign and the European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign, both significant attempts to coordinate international developments, but above all there has been the re-emergence of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. CND was formed back in 1958, reached its peak during the early 1960s, being best known for organising the Aldermaston Marches each Easter, but after a decade fell into obscurity with the rise of the student movement, and for another decade survived as a minor Communist front. For more than 20 years CND was a consistently moderate and dogmatically constitutional organisation, being originally designed as a quick campaign first to win the Labour Party over to a unilateralist policy and then to help a unilateralist Labour Party win a general election. The first stage was apparently quickly achieved at the annual conference in 1960, but it was equally

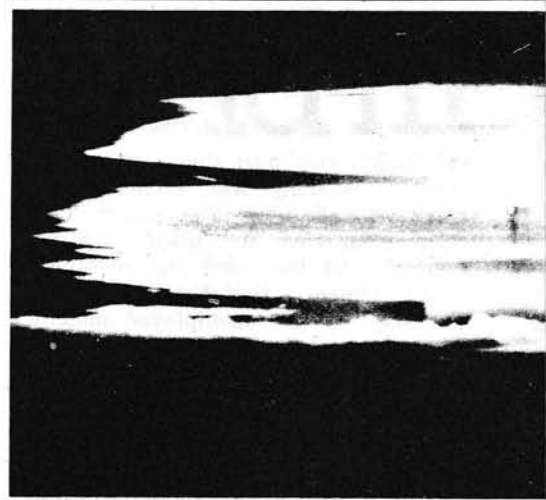
quickly reversed a year later, and the second stage went similarly wrong with the election in 1964 of the Wilson Government, which followed the Attlee-Gaitskell tradition of keeping both American nuclear bases in Britain and independent nuclear weapons for Britain. So CND seemed to have failed.

Meanwhile, direct action of any serious kind had been left to more radical and even revolutionary organisations — the Direct Action Committee and the Committee of 100 from 1957 to 1968, and various smaller bodies since then. Although many members of the CND rank and file joined illegal demonstrations during the first decade, there was always disapproval and even opposition at the top and therefore a running division throughout the movement. But during the 1960s direct action spread far beyond the nuclear disarmament movement, and became the normal political technique it had originally been. At the same time, and partly through the influence of the radical wing of the nuclear disarmament movement, a general libertarian tendency spread across society. Britain is much less deferent and obedient today than it was only 20 years ago. One relevant example is the area of information about the plans of the authorities if there is a nuclear war. In 1963 the Spies for Peace managed to publish some information about the emergency government system only by producing a small underground pamphlet and concealing their identities; in 1982 Duncan Campbell has just published far more information about the system in a large open book on the subject — *War Plan UK* (Burnett/Hutchinson, £6.95 paperback). The Official Secrets law hasn't changed at all, and the information and the authorities haven't changed much, but society has changed so much that what would once have earned hundreds of years' imprisonment now earns hundreds of pounds' royalties.

In this atmosphere, reinforced by the multilateral nuclear armament of both the United States and the Soviet Union and by the unequivocal militarism of the Thatcher Government, CND has become the broad umbrella organisation of the

movement. Its big demonstrations in central London became larger and larger, until that of June 1982 was the largest demonstration for nuclear disarmament ever seen in this country. But it was in itself a fruitless event. Apart from huge numbers, nothing was put into it — hence the attempt of some anarchists to hold an alternative meeting (see FREEDOM, 12 June) — and nothing came out of it. The national administration of CND is determined not to have any more such demonstrations, and is reluctant to have any national demonstrations at all. The energy accumulated during three years is in danger of being dispersed. Hence the increasing appeal of direct action in general, as the time for the arrival of the first Cruise missiles approaches, and the increasing attraction of the peace camps, which began at Greenham Common in September 1981 and have spread to many other bases.

This is the background to significant developments both in the Labour Party and in CND itself. In autumn 1981 the Labour Party annual conference once more accepted a resolution supporting



unilateral nuclear disarmament for Britain, and the CND annual conference for the first time accepted a resolution supporting 'considered non-violent direct action'. A year later this trend has continued. The Labour Party annual conference in October 1982 accepted a similar resolution for the first time with a two-thirds majority, which theoretically makes it official policy for the next general election. And the CND annual conference in November 1982 overwhelmingly accepted a confused resolution on non-violent direct action which theoretically commits it to organising such action for the first time:

Non-violent direct action and civil disobedience tactics should be seriously considered with respect to Cruise and Trident missile sites. Conference applauds the extent of the commitment of the peace camps in their

efforts to stop United States Cruise missiles coming to the United Kingdom. Conference notes CND's current policy on non-violent direct action. Conference believes that non-violent direct action is only one, but an important, tactic in our campaigning work, and that it must go alongside other tactics which involve everyone in our movement. Conference believes that non-violent direct action must always be peaceful. Conference believes that National CND should respond to the requirements of its members and that National CND should suggest and coordinate such non-violent direct action as and when required. Conference believes that non-violent direct action may result in legal action against CND members and supporters, and instructs CND Council to investigate ways of setting up a legal aid fund (separate from CND national accounts) which can be used to help activists with legal fees as Council should decide. Conference affirms that Conference and CND groups will support appropriate non-violent direct action in pursuance of the movement's aims.

The point, of course, is what happens in practice, and this remains to be seen. It is hard to imagine the Labour Party, even under Michael Foot, going into a general

much more complex than before; in the absence of any other national organisation planning large-scale direct action, there are in local CND groups all over the country many radical pacifists and socialists and indeed anarchists who are already committed to and indeed involved in various forms of direct action.

Take the case of the Bridgend action earlier this year, which is conveniently described in Tony Simpson's new pamphlet *No Bunkers Here* (Mid Glamorgan CND/Peace News, £1). Bridgend (Penybont) is the county town of Mid Glamorgan, halfway between Cardiff and Swansea. During summer 1981 there were large demonstrations against the American naval radio base at Brawdy and the South Wales sub-regional control at Brackla. In September 1981 it was some of the Welsh women who had marched to Greenham Common who established the peace camp there. In December the Labour-controlled County Council decided to join nearly all the rest of Wales in a nuclear-free zone; but at the same time a Council committee decided to rebuild the county civil defence headquarters at the Waterton industrial estate as a nuclear shelter. In January 1982 the site was the object of a demonstration which became a picket which became a peace camp. In March the climax of the action was a non-violent obstruction by several dozen people of a crucial stage in the building work — the first major demonstration of direct action against nuclear war in Wales for more than 20 years. The action did not itself prevent the work, but it did persuade the Council to suspend the work within two days; since then the bunker has been demolished and not rebuilt. The other result was a considerable increase in the support for and the activity of the movement in Wales. And the whole action was organised by Mid Glamorgan CND.

This is the probable and preferable pattern for the future. Action is initiated locally, coordinated regionally, and supported centrally, following the essential libertarian reversal of the traditional authoritarian procedure. This is what has already been happening during the past year in the peace camps, of which there are now ten in various parts of England and Scotland, and so far National CND seems to have been able to give them ad-

vice and assistance without interference. This is at the moment the cutting-edge of the radical wing of the movement, and the fortnight's imprisonment of 23 women from the Greenham Common camp in November brought much needed publicity in the media and support from the public.

Now an international demonstration at Greenham Common has been organised for this weekend. Women are invited to join an attempt to 'embrace' the base on Sunday, 12 December, by forming a continuous circle round the nine-mile perimeter, and to 'close' the base on Monday, 13 December, by blocking the seven gates. (Information may be obtained by telephoning 0635 - 34284, 01 - 226 1474 or 01 - 722 4180.) We accept the arguments for restricting the peace camp to women, as has been done since last January, though we regret them, but we don't accept the arguments for also restricting this demonstration to women, with men allowed only a support role, though we wish the occasion every success. Living together in a camp in difficult conditions is one thing, but joining together in a demonstration of non-violent direct action is another. Women's demonstrations make sense for women's issues, but this is not just a women's issue, and the ban on men in a demonstration for the universal issue of nuclear disarmament introduces an unfamiliar and unpleasant element of sexism into a movement which has always been relatively free from such things. We hope that there isn't any question of a feminist monopoly on demonstrations at Greenham Common, or anywhere else, and we hope that in the critical campaign of the coming year we shall all be working together without distinction of sex, or anything else.

There is a better opportunity for anarchist involvement in this work than there has been for 15 or 20 years — not in order to infiltrate or manipulate any organisation or activity, as the authorities and the media suppose and as the traditional left does, but in order to increase the libertarian content of an expanding campaign and to present our ideas and actions to new people. Within a year this country will probably have a new nuclear missile and a new general election; let us make sure we have some impact on both events.

election during the coming year with a policy of unilateralism, let alone a Labour Government, even under Michael Foot, actually putting such a policy into effect, ordering the American nuclear bases to be withdrawn and the British nuclear weapons to be dismantled. Such developments seem more likely in the traditionally non-militarist countries of Scandinavia or the Netherlands than this traditionally militarist country, and we should need to see a great deal of evidence during the coming months before we could take its likelihood at all seriously.

It is also hard to imagine National CND, which is run by a loose coalition of radical Christians (Catholic and Protestant) and traditional leftists (Labour, Communist and Trotskyist), adopting a policy of non-violent direct action, let alone actually planning illegal demonstrations. But the present condition of CND is



LEEDS RAIDS

SHORTLY before 8am on Thursday November 25th (the day before the Queen's visit to Leeds) there were simultaneous raids on anarchist households in Leeds and Hull. The police involved said they were investigating a bombing in Wakefield (claimed by the Angry Brigade). Houses were searched and various items taken away: address books, internal bulletins, odd pieces of literature (ranging from 'Searchlight' to Nechaev's 'Catechism of the Revolutionary') and — significantly — typewriters and domestic objects like pliers.

Unfortunately the raids resulted in two comrades from the DAM being arrested for theft — of library books. This allowed the police to hold them in the cells from around 11am to 7pm and to take their fingerprints and photographs.

Two other comrades whose houses were searched (one a DAM member, the other an IWW) were the subject of raids in Leeds last year. On that occasion the Anti-Terrorist Squad claimed to have received information that these particular comrades were plotting to blow up the royal wedding; after being held all one weekend, however, they were released without being charged with anything.

There will undoubtedly be more raids and comrades should be on the alert.
STATEMENT OF THE LEEDS BRANCH DAM.

MOD DEMO

ON the 16th Oct 1982 a group of peace groups organised an occupation of 30 acres of good farm land, to call an end to the arms race — the 30 acres of land is earmarked for yet another extension of the United States air base USAF, Upper Heyford, Oxon, to house a wing of New American EF1 IIs. We have gathered over half the local population to sign a petition showing their objection to the extension.

On the 30th November 1982, we will be handing in the petition to the MOD, London asking for a public enquiry into the extension, then on the 6th December if a sufficient answer is not received a picket will be set up outside the MOD office in London.

Depending on the amount of support we hope to keep the picket up until they agree to a public enquiry.
Please help.

ARGYLE STREET

YOUNG and single people face a terrible accommodation problem. Now Central Government seems determined to thwart plans undertaken by young people in the city to help themselves.

In November 1979, a squat was established in Argyle Street, a cul de sac, which had been partially empty for two years. The City Council planned to sell it to UEA* as student accommodation, but UEA couldn't afford to buy it, and the City Council couldn't afford to do it up, as Central Government spending cuts had diminished their allocation.

We formed a Street Housing Co-op which entitled us to apply for grants from a Central Government funded body called the Housing Corporation. The City Council agreed to give us a four year licence agreement to stay on the street if we applied for funds to repair and modernise the houses from Central Government. We did so through a secondary housing co-op in London called The Society for Co-operative Dwellings. (SDC) and in the summer of 1981 we were allocated £215,000 to undertake the first phase of purchasing and doing up the houses. We were told that the Housing Corporation envisaged an ongoing programme of purchase and repair over four years, during which time we would possibly receive a total grant of around £1,000,000.

We have had many internal political and personal differences, which have made administration of the street difficult at times, but these differences were gradually being resolved, and we gained from learning how to resolve these differences and live together peacefully.

Now, just as our internal political and personal differences are starting to be resolved, and the Housing Corporation has confirmed the grant allocation, we hear — via the newspapers — that Central Government, in the form of the Department of the Environment, has refused to allow Norwich City Council to lease the properties to us. We had arranged a 45 year lease with the Council who were keen to back our scheme until the DOE decision. No real reason was given for this decision, they simply stated that it was 'against their policy' to allow Councils to dispose of their property to housing Co-ops. This is not true since our secondary housing Co-op had supplied us, and the Council, with a list of Council properties which have recently received DOE permission to be disposed of to other housing Co-ops.
SO WHY NOT OURS?

Local residents have complained to the council — particularly about noise, but when we conducted a survey recently, we

found only 10 out of 56 households interviewed had complaints about us. Our local ward councillors have been unsympathetic to us delivering leaflets to all our near neighbours asking for complaints, and failing to pass on complaints to us as they occurred, despite a formal arrangement to do so.

We, the young people in this country, are taking the brunt of the recession and the economic measures considered necessary to combat it. We have no jobs, no hope of jobs, we are forced to live on Unemployment Benefit, we have a constant housing problem. In Argyle Street we have homes; we have worked on them negotiated a potential £1,000,000 grant; worked out our own self-help scheme; solved our internal differences. We have created our own self-help scheme, just as Michael Heseltine said at Toxteth we should do. Yet his department is trying to destroy us. WHY?

The Council now say they will redevelop the street as sheltered housing for the elderly and have served a three months eviction notice on the Co-operative. But this site is quite unsuited for elderly people. It is at the bottom of a steep hill, which even young people find difficult to climb. It is damp. There is a poor bus service to the city. It is totally unsuitable for old people. We ask the City Council to reconsider. We shall ask the Department of the Environment to reconsider. We shall ask YOU to consider the facts.

1. HOMELESS — 175 People.
2. LOST — A possible £1,000,000 Central Government Grant for Housing in Norwich.
3. LOST — Housing for the most needy group in the City, young, single people.
4. WASTED — Ratepayers money on the cost of evictions.
WRITTEN OFF — The £120,000 still owed on these houses by the Council.
5. INADEQUATE — Old peoples' houses on a difficult damp site with poor access to shops and buses.
6. BULLDOZED — Our homes. 80 habitable houses. We have bathrooms, Hot Water. Indoor toilets. Gas fires. Our homes are good ones. We like them. Help us keep them.

* University of East Anglia.

If you agree with us that the houses should be saved there are several things you can do to help us.

1. Write to Councillor Fullman, Chairperson of Norwich Housing Committee, expressing your support.
2. Write to the papers and your MP.
3. Send a donation to the campaign, Argyle St Fighting Fund, c/o 147 Argyle St, Norwich.
4. Sign our petition in town on Saturdays outside C&A's.

Any other offers of assistance are gratefully received.

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

SYNDICALISTS SIN AGAIN?

Dear Friends,

There was an interesting letter written by Leeds DAM (FREEDOM 27th November), part of which is a response to a letter I wrote (FREEDOM 16th October) criticising Anarcho-Syndicalism. I feel I should write a reply as what Leeds DAM say, and more significantly what they don't say, helps to validate my criticism of Anarcho-Syndicalism.

Leeds DAM say that it is false to argue that the factory environment itself is authoritarian. This is unfortunately not true. As my previous letter said the whole development of factories in a capitalist society is to do with hierarchy and coercion. They are so structured that a bureaucracy would spring up even if Anarcho-Syndicalists did take over the factories.

Another point I would like to make is that from an ecological point of view much damage is done by pollutants being released in large quantities from factories which Anarcho-Syndicalists feel are necessary to keep.

Leeds DAM feel that the examples of the Russian and Spanish revolutions, France May 68 and to some extent Poland 1980 show that their opinion is right. Again I disagree, most of these movements at their most libertarian lasted for a very short time before being suppressed and it is difficult to guess what would have happened if they had lasted longer.

The next point Leeds DAM make is that technology can be a means of liberation of humanity. This is a too simple notion and is a legacy from nineteenth century anarchist/socialist ideas. An idea that follows is that technology is OK provided it is used in the right type of society. (I hope Anarcho-Syndicalists are not going to say nuclear power would be alright if in the hands of a federation of workers' syndicates!) Unfortunately, as I said in the earlier letter, much of modern technology can mould and even repress people in various ways to conform with it. Two examples would be the motor car and nuclear power.

My proposal that people should understand the technology they use is considered by Leeds DAM to be 'too much like primitive individualism'. They do not seem to see the danger of people dominating other people by their superior knowledge of a particular process. Obviously where and when cases which require expertise arise it is only if the 'experts' are accountable to the community that they will not form elite groups. I believe communities of face to face direct democracy would be a suitable place for this.

The simplistic notion of fighting the profit system to fight pollution convinces me that Anarcho-Syndicalists still see

things in economic terms rather than looking at the deeper problems of human beings dominating other human beings and the environment.

The syndicalist system has a strong tendency to become hierarchical. As it goes from factory to region and to national congresses it tends to acquire a pyramidal-like form however confederal its anarchist devotees would like to believe it. If this is so it seems likely that forms of the state's administrative organs would be kept to keep things under control if the structure advanced by anarcho-syndicalist theory was achieved. From this it follows that a mass syndicalist organisation would lead to further domination, probably by a syndicalist dictatorship, despite the good intentions of the DAM!

Best wishes

D DANE

London

— AND COUNTING

Dear FREEDOM,

The letter (27 November) from the Leeds DAM points out that they have 15 members, 'not three as N W seems to think'. The reference to 'the three members' in my letter (2 October) derived from my careless misreading of the signature to their original letter (11 September), which I thought said 'three members' rather than 'the members' of Leeds DAM. I apologise. (I have only one member.)

N W

FREE SPIRIT

Dear FREEDOM,

The Siberian Gas Pipeline deal is one of the most cynical examples of Vodka Cola trade and yet it seems to have produced very little opposition or even discussion among those who claim to stand for human liberation.

It is ironic, but not surprising, that those political leaders who support the nuclear deterrent 'reluctantly' are so keen on trade which actually props up the Soviet military machine thus giving them the excuse to increase Western military spending.

It is unfortunate that the movement which claims to stand for peace and disarmament should be run by people who insist that East-West trade promotes peace when in fact it promotes the status quo, it is even more unfortunate that those trade unionists who are so militant in their opposition to the new employment law have completely ignored the fact that this pipeline is being constructed by slave labour working under conditions

that will result in many deaths (a report giving details is available price £1.00 from the Association For A Free Russia, 29 Love Walk, London SE5 8AD).

I believe it is absolutely essential to publicise this issue and would urge all libertarians to take up the issue through trade unions, human rights groups and other organisations and also through letters to the press, especially the Guardian.

An article on the pipeline is one item which will be included in the first issue of Free Spirit, a new journal to be published early in 1983.

I am seeking further articles for issue one concerning the situation in Nicaragua, Cuba, Paraguay (with particular reference to the position of the Indians), plus news about Britain, Western Europe and the United States, details of meetings, campaigns and publications.

Please send material to:

Free Spirit,
c/o Ed McArthur,
13 Wellington Rd,
London W5 4UJ.
England.

A stamped addressed envelope (or reply coupon) for acknowledgement or return of material would be a great help.

Best wishes and thanks

ED MCARTHUR

London

ANGRY RESPONSE

FREEDOM,

As your paper has seen fit to issue a statement on behalf of a group styling itself 'Angry Brigades (sic) Resistance Movement', we the RESISTANCE CONFEDERATION OF ANTI-MILITARISTS would like to point out that there is no connection what so ever between ourselves and those persons who from lack of imagination choose to use not only the name of a now long defunct situationist group but also a name very similar to our own organisation.

This similarity has not gone unnoticed by the Secret Police (maybe ABRM wished this) and since the Wakefield bombing, which was on our very doorstep (our postal address being in Leeds), several homes of members and supporters of Resistance Confederation of Anti-Militarists have been raided in the past week. While our members are well used to police harassment (for some this would have been the third or fourth police raid this year) and are therefore not likely to be caught up in any police conspiracy (yet), we would respectfully ask the Angry Brigade's Resistance Movement to think up another fucking name.

ALAN BLACK

Leeds

FREEDOM CONTACTS

national

ABERDEEN

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

BASILDON

Are there any anarchists out there in Basildon, Essex area? Contact—Mark, 27 Little Lullaway, Basildon Essex.

BEDFORDSHIRE

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

BELFAST

Anarchist Collective, Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast

BIRMINGHAM

Birmingham 'Angry', c/o Peace Centre, 18 Moor St
DAM, c/o Peace Centre, 18 Moor St, Ringway.

BRISTOL

Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 197 Cheittham Road, Bristol 6

BURNLEY

BAG, c/o 2 Quarrybank.

CAMBRIDGE

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

CANTERBURY

Alternative Research Group, Students Union, University of Kent, Canterbury
Canterbury Anarchist Group, Contact Address: Andrew Savage, 177 Old Dover Rd.

CARDIFF

c/o 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Rd, Cardiff 2
Whistle Blowers, Box 999, 108 Salisbury Rd.

CLEVELAND

25 Liverton Crescent, Thornby, Also produces 'Common Cause' local anarchist paper.

Box A, c/o 120 Victoria Road, Middlesbrough

COVENTRY

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

CRAWLEY

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

CUMBRIA

2 Forestry Cottages, Millfield, Hutton Roof, Penrith

DERBY

Black Ram, c/o Forum Books, 86 Abbey St, Tel. Derby 368039

DONCASTER

Doncaster Anarchist Centre, 49a Doncaster Market Place

DUBLIN

Love v Power, Whelan's Dance Studio, 51 South King St, Dublin 2

ESSEX

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

EXETER

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

FORMBY

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

GLASGOW

'Practical Anarchy' (monthly free broadsheet, send large sae) c/o Box 3 Calderwood 15/GPP pamphlets c/o Box V2

At Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Gt Western Rd, G12. (Kelvinbridge Subway)

HUDDERSFIELD

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

HULL

Hull @ Group, 23 Nott St, (moving in Sept to 24 Albany St)
Libertarian Collective, 70 Perth HU5 3NZ

KEELE

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

KEIGHLEY

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

LANCASTER

Tadeusz Szczepanski, 38 Bradshaw St, LA1 3BE.

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

LEEDS

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

LEICESTER

Blackthorn Books, 70 High St, Libertarian Education, 6 Beaconsfield Rd, (tel 552085)

The Anarchist Society, Societies' Room, Student's Union Building, University of Leicester, University Rd, LE1 7RH

LIVERPOOL

Box LAG, 37 Bagot Street, Wavertree, Merseyside L15 2HA.
NWAFF, c/o 224 Garston Old Rd, Liverpool 19, Merseyside.

LONDON

Anarchy Magazine, Box A 84b Whitechapel High St London E1
FREEDOM Collective, Angel Alley 84b Whitechapel High St, E1 (01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube, nr Whitechapel Art Gallery.
Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1, Meet Thursdays 7pm
London Workers Group, 11 Leyden St, E1.

121 Books/Anarchist Centre, 121 Railton Rd, London SE24 Tel: 274 6655

Anarchist-Feminist Newsletter, c/o 121 Railton Rd, SE24
Pigs for Slaughter + Anarchist Youth Federation, c/o 121 Railton Rd
South London Anarchist Group (SLAG) c/o 121 Railton Rd
South London DAM, c/o Railton Rd SE24
South London Stress, c/o 121 Railton Rd SE24
Squatters Defence Network, c/o 121 Railton Rd SE24.

Toxic Graffiti, c/o 121 Railton Rd, SE24.

Martin Nicholas, 186 Mount Pleasant Road, London N17

MAI.VERN

and Worcester area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storridge, Worcestershire.

MANCHESTER

'Wildcat' or 'Solidarity' at: Box 25, 164/5 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, M4 3BN

DAM, Box 20, 164/166 Corn Exchange Bldgs, Hanging Ditch, M4.

MORECAMBE & LANCASTER

North Lancs Libertarians, c/o Cliff M Poxon, 13 Carleton St, Morecambe, Lancs LA4 4NX

NORTH STAFFS

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

NORWICH

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

NOTTINGHAM

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

OLDHAM

Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Fallsworth.

ORPINGTON

Rik Fuller, 60 Ramsden Rd, Orpington, Kent

OXFORD

Oxford Anarchists, 34 Cowley Rd

PLYMOUTH

Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Ave, Pennycross

PORTSMOUTH

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

READING

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

RHONDDA

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

SHEFFIELD

Anarchists, c/o 4 Havelock Square S10 2FQ

SOUTHAMPTON

c/o 78 Northumberland Road, St Mary's.

SOUTH WALES

DAM, c/o Smiths Arms, Baglan Rd, Treherbert. Write for anarchist-synicalist contacts in Treherbert. Rhondda, Pontypridd, Penarth, Barry and Cardiff areas

SOUTHAMPTON

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

SURREY

Damp Squid Anarchists (North Surrey) Tel: 01-399 3197

SUSSEX

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

SWANSEA

Billy, 63 Clynymaes Place, Blaenymaes, Swansea.

SWINDON

area, Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon

TAYSIDE

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

TYNE & WEAR

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

WAKEFIELD

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

literature

'THE PAGAN CAROLS RESTORED' restored the life and love to 18 traditional Carols. £3.50 from Norman Iles, 381 Marine Rd, Morecambe, Lancs.

'THE END OF MUSIC', a critique of the music business and 'punk' rebellion. Available for 65p including postage from Box V2, 488 Gt Western Rd, Glasgow G12. Also just out, 'The Bourgeois Role of Bolshevism', a GPP reprint of a 1930s Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation pamphlet, 50p inc p+p. Bulk orders for both pamphlets from @ Distribution, 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1. For orders from Box V2 cheques/postal orders to be made out to Glasgow Peoples Press.

'CARELESS TALK'. New North Staffs newsheet. For a copy send 15½p large SAE to R Knight, c/o Students Union, The University, Keele, Staffs.

'SOUTHERN STRESS'

AFTER years of dormancy anarchist activity is emerging in the Hampshire area. So far a magazine, 'Southern Stress', has been produced which, hopefully, 'will reflect a growing initiative in the region. We have not firmly established ourselves yet and we need all the ideas, inspiration and support of people in the area. Contact us c/o 'October Books', 4 Onslow Rd, Southampton, Hants. Copies of 'Southern Stress' are available for 15p + 15p p+p.

TARGET CIA, Poems by Larry Schul, \$ 6.95 incl postage. Please use International m/o, to Larry Schul, POB 15238 San Diego, Calif 92115 USA.

A BARGAIN from Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications, c/o Box KLP, Freedom Press:-
Tony Parker: Lighthouse (288pp cloth) £1.50 (94p post)

A major study of lighthouse keepers and lighthouse keeping around these shores.
[Full trade terms are available]

THERE is a Gay Anarchist Group being formed. If you're interested please contact Box 666, 121 Bookshop, 121 Railton Rd, London SE24.

SUBSCRIBE!

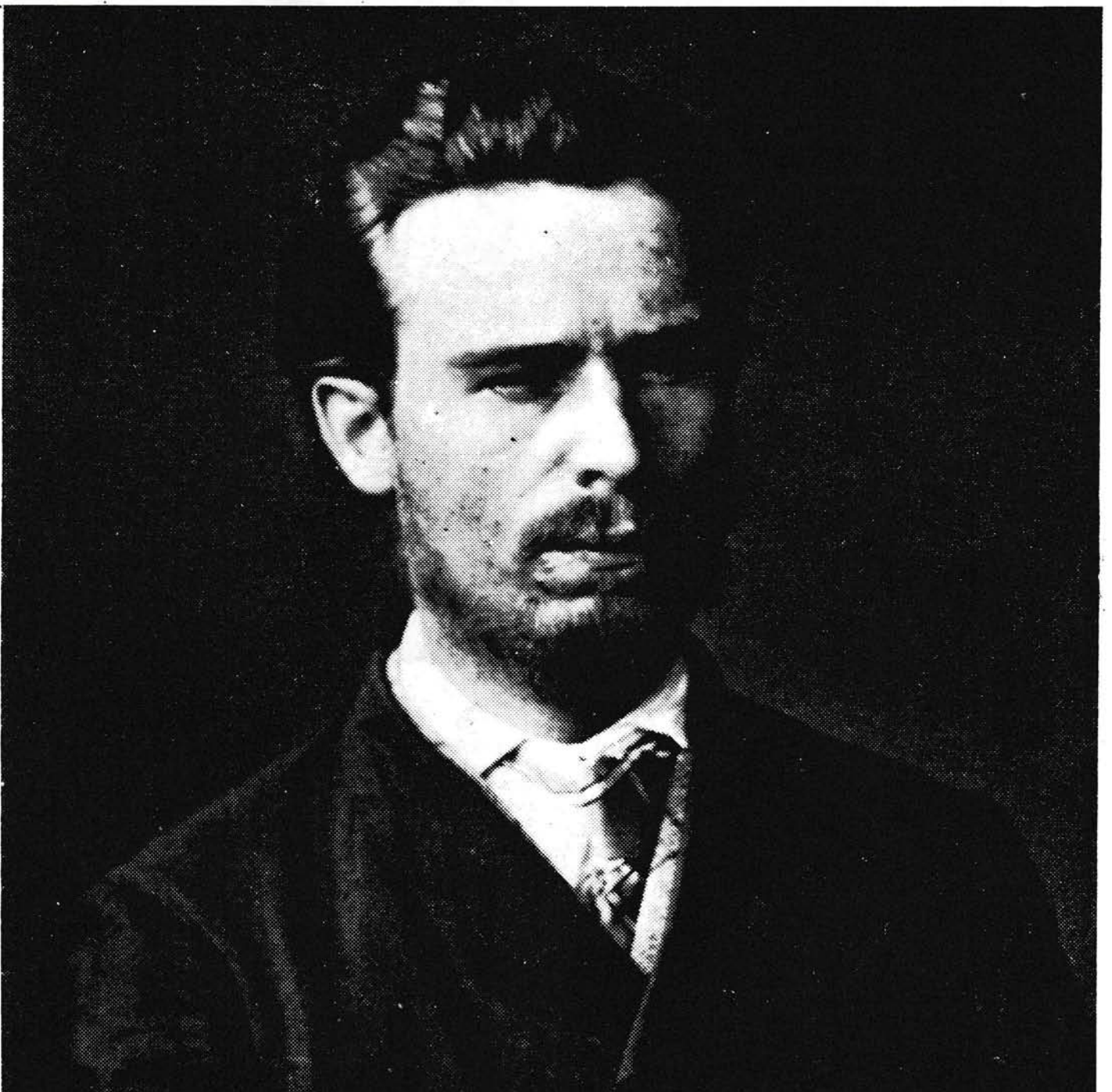
Inland	£9.00
Surface	£10.00
Europe All-up	£11.00
Zone A	£11.50
Zone B	25 dollars US
	28 dollars Canada
Zone C	£14.00

Printed and Typeset by
Aldgate Press
84b Whitechapel High St,
01-247 3015

Distributed to Bookshops by
A Distribution
c/o 84b Whitechapel High St
London E1

Freedom Press

IN ANGEL ALLEY
84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.
LONDON E.1
PHONE: 01-247 9249



THE DOOMED MAN:

SERGEI NECHAYEV
(1847–1882)

ONE centenary which won't be much celebrated this year is that of the death of Nechayev, a hundred years ago this month. He is one of the great symbolic figures of revolutionary history, as first a supreme villain and then a supreme hero, and always a supreme mystery. He isn't very well known in this country, because there hasn't been much reliable material about him in English until recently. Apart from various superficial and sensational accounts, there have been sections in E H Carr's biography *Michael Bakunin* (1937), Max Nomad's study *Apostles of Revolution* (1939), Albert Camus's study *The Rebel* (1953), and Franco Venturi's history *Roots of Revolution* (1960); but there are now Paul Avrich's Freedom Press pamphlet *Bakunin and Nechaev* (1974) and Michael Confino's anthology *Daughter of a Revolutionary* (1974); and in place of Michael Praxin's superficial biography *The Unmentionable Nechaev* (1961) there is now Philip Pomper's scholarly biography *Sergei Nechaev* (1979). It is therefore possible to get hold of all the facts, even if it isn't certain what to make of them.

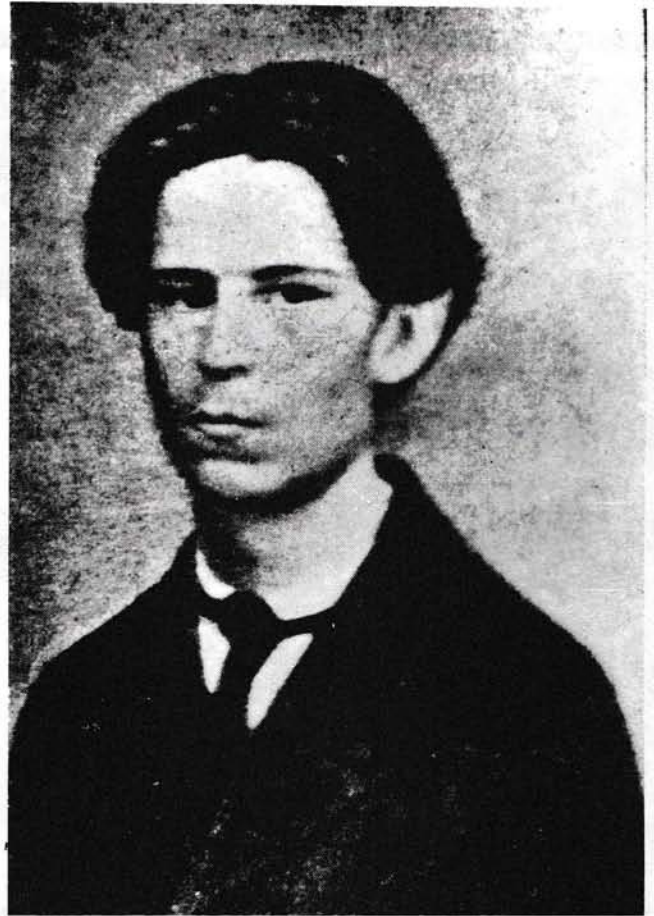
Sergei Gennadievich Nechayev was born on 20 September (2 October in the Western calendar) 1847 at Ivanovo, an industrial town 200 miles north-east of Moscow. He was one of the first Russian revolutionary leaders to come from the ordinary people. His grandparents had been serfs, and his parents were on the frontier between working-class craftsmen and middle-class tradesmen. His mother died when he was a child, and he was mainly brought up by her parents. His father was intellectually and politically aware, but Nechayev's career began at the age of 14 when he refused to work for his father and grandfather and started to work as a full-time student.

In search of higher education, he went first to Moscow in 1865 and then to St Petersburg in 1866, and he worked as a teacher to support his studies. He settled in the capital just after Dmitri Karakozov's attempted assassination of the Tsar, which had precipitated a strong reaction from the authorities, and there was a growing revolutionary movement among students. By 1868, after an obscure period, Nechayev was an external student at the university and also an active member of the student movement.

He immediately identified himself with the authoritarian tradition in the Russian movement. This had been founded by Pavel Pestel, one of the leaders of the Decembrist uprising of 1825, and continued in the 1840s by Nikolai Speshnev, who described himself as a Communist and demanded a revolutionary conspiracy. In the 1860s it was represented by young student leaders like Pyotr Zaichnevski, Nikolai Ishutin, and Pyotr Tkachov. They agreed that Russia had always had an authoritarian government and argued that it would still need to have one after a revolution. They consciously followed the French tradition of Jacobinism – represented by the succession of Robespierre and Saint-Just, Babeuf and Buonarroti, and in their day by Blanqui – and wanted a revolutionary elite to make an elitist revolution.

Nechayev soon went beyond the other authoritarians, both in theory and in practice. He advocated an extreme dictatorship to impose communism in the future, and employed extreme mystification to impose himself on his associates in the meantime. His technique was to initiate potential recruits by any means and then to implicate them by any means, to prevent more than the minimum of discussion and to pursue the maximum of action. At the beginning of 1869 he got into trouble with the authorities, and used the opportunity to strengthen his position.

At the end of January he was investigated by the school where he was teaching and was interrogated by the police. He suddenly disappeared from St Petersburg, pretending to have been arrested and to have escaped from the Peter-Paul fortress, though he hadn't actually escaped or even been arrested. This was certainly part of a deliberate policy of deception and disinformation, and was possibly part of a



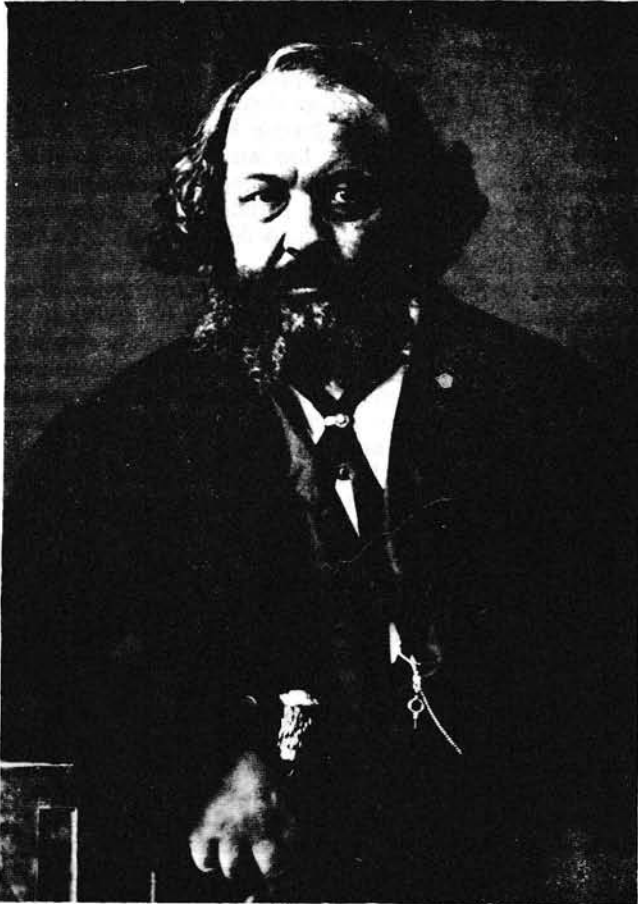
Sergei Nechayev in his schooldays.

trick to disguise his betrayal of some comrades, who were arrested suspiciously soon. Whatever the exact truth, Nechayev's public career now began.

In March 1869, at a time of rising student unrest, he left Russia and travelled to Switzerland. This was partly a matter of flight, but was partly a matter of making contact between the growing movement in Russia and the international movement in Western Europe. Nechayev and his closest associates had decided that what was needed was a rising on 19 February 1870, the ninth anniversary of the emancipation of the serfs and the end of the programme of official reform, as well as the approximate centenary of the Razin and Pugachov risings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; for this outside help was needed.

Nechayev went to Geneva, and immediately made contact with Nikolai Ogaryov and Mikhail Bakunin, the main associates of Alexander Herzen in sending revolutionary propaganda from Western Europe into Russia. Their work had declined as Herzen became ill, Ogaryov became alcoholic, and Bakunin became involved in the League for Peace and Freedom and then the International Working Men's Association, but Nechayev soon revived it. He repelled Herzen, but he exerted considerable power over Ogaryov and Bakunin as the representative of the new youth in the Russian movement. Ogaryov was soon completely in his hands, and Bakunin expressed both admiration for the man whom he called 'one of these fanatics who have no doubt and know no fear ... believers without God, heroes without phrases' and affection for the man whom he called 'Boy' (in English, being a pun on the Russian word for battle).

Bakunin and Nechayev recruited one another into their respective organisations, which were partly but not entirely imaginary, since Bakunin did have many contacts in his Alliance of Socialist Democracy and in the IWMA, as well as among other Slavs in Switzerland, and Nechayev did have many contacts in the Russian student movement. Nechayev



Mikhail Bakunin

soon established himself as the middleman between the aging emigres in the West and the young activists in Russia, becoming the main contact between the two sides. He was only 21 years old, he was full of energy and courage, and he had plenty of good stories to tell and good ideas of what to do.

During summer 1869 the three of them sent a stream of material back into Russia, some being posted and some being smuggled, much being seized by the police but much reaching its destination. (One item was the first Russian translation of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, written by Marx and Engels back in 1847, which was arranged by Nechayev who much admired it.) There was some tension between Nechayev and Bakunin, because of the contradictions between the authoritarian obsessions of the former and the libertarian tendencies of the latter, whose activity in the IWMA was one of the main factors in the formation of the modern anarchist movement. They managed to agree on their common revolutionism, but the seeds of future conflict were sown when Nechayev began to describe all talk about future society as 'mental onanism' and also began to practise his policy of deception on his new comrades.

In July 1869 Nechayev persuaded Ogaryov to give him half the Bakhmetev fund, a sum of 20,000 francs given to Herzen and Ogaryov in 1857 for revolutionary activity, and in August he began to use the name *Narodnaya Rasprava* (the People's Retribution – sometimes translated as Justice, but *rasprava* has the pejorative sense of rough justice or mob law). He produced the first issue of a magazine with the same name, which advocated deliberate terrorism against enemies of the people and betrayers of the revolution (though not against innocent people, as in later terrorist movements), 'We must see Karakozov's act as a prologue,' he wrote. 'Let us make every effort, friends, to hasten the beginning of the drama itself.'

To this end, Nechayev returned to Russia in August 1869. It is possible that while he travelled through Ukraine he was briefly involved with a conspiracy in Yelizavetgrad to blow up the Tsar's train. It is certain that he arrived in Moscow in September and quickly resumed his activity. Using several names and living in hiding, he soon built up a large revolutionary organisation with cells of five or six people, using his old methods of mystification and also his new literature of revolution.

Amongst the material he brought from Switzerland was a coded book of rules for his organisation, containing 'General Rules of the Organisation', 'General Rules of the Network for the Sections', and 'Rules which must guide the Revolutionary'. The latter part later became famous as the *Catechism of the Revolutionary*, though this was not its original title. It is a revolting rather than revolutionary document, being the expression of pure, total, fanatical, destructive, nihilistic, self-defeating revolutionism. 'The revolutionary is a doomed man,' it begins. 'He has neither his own interests, nor affairs, nor feelings, nor attachments, nor property, nor even a name. Everything in him is absorbed by a single exclusive interest, by a total concept, a total passion – revolution.' And so on for 26 sections.

This work has often been attributed partly or wholly to Bakunin, especially by liberal or socialist opponents of anarchism, whereas anarchists have tended to attribute it wholly to Nechayev. Although Bakunin may well have had a hand in the final draft, the general tone is much closer to other writings of Nechayev and his authoritarian associates in the student movement. One piece of evidence which is suggestive if not conclusive is that Bakunin's long letter breaking off relations with Nechayev in June 1870 emphasises his opposition to what he calls 'your catechism'. Anyway Bakunin didn't follow its principles. Nor did Nechayev himself, for he kept in touch with his own family at great personal risk, and he adored his sister Anna.

Whatever may be thought of Nechayev's theory, and most anarchists think little of it, what mattered was his practice, and this destroyed him. An agricultural student in one of the Moscow cells called Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov (the English equivalent would be John Johnson Johns), was one of the very few members of the organisation who questioned the orders of Nechayev and even questioned the existence of the mysterious 'Committee' he referred to for decisions. Early in November 1869 he left the cell, and the other members feared he might betray them, so Nechayev decided to impose his authority in the most drastic way. On 21 November 1869 he and four other men lured Ivanov into the park of the Agricultural Academy, clumsily strangled and shot him, and left his body in a pond. Nechayev immediately went to St Petersburg and quickly continued his activity. He began building up a new revolutionary organisation which was later led by Aleksandr Dolgu-shin and became one of the leading organisations in the great movement 'To the People' in 1873.

But on 25 November Ivanov's body was discovered and coincidentally incriminating documents were discovered in police raids. More than 150 members of Nechayev's organisation were soon arrested in Moscow, and some of them began to break under interrogation in December. Nechayev again left Russia by the end of 1869.

As the story began to appear in the Russian press, Fyodor Dostoyevski made use of it for the 'tendentious' novel he was already writing against westernising intellectuals and revolutionary students. This was *Besy* (*The Devils*, often translated as *The Possessed*, the point being Dostoyevski's belief that such people were possessed by devils), of which the first version was serialised in a Moscow magazine during 1870 and the final version was published in 1873. The villain of the book, Pyotr Verkhovenski, is not so much a documentary portrait of Nechayev as a prejudiced caricature of what Dostoyevski imagined him to be (similar treatments of revolutionary characters may be found in Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima* and Joseph

Conrad's *The Secret Agent*, and indeed in Emile Zola's *Germinal*).

The Russian authorities eventually decided to get the best publicity from the case, concentrating on Ivanov's murder and releasing more than half of the detainees. During July and August 1871 only 64 of Nechayev's comrades were tried in St Petersburg for complicity in the murder or activity in the organisation. The proceedings were published in full in the government newspaper, together with the relevant documents (the *Catechism of the Revolutionary* first appeared in the *Pravitelstvenny Vestnik* on 11 July 1871). The publicity was considerable but not entirely favourable to the authorities, polarising opinion between the two extremes rather than mobilising it behind the Tsarist regime. Many of those condemned suffered tragic ends, but many continued revolutionary activity; one, Varlaam Cherkezov, later became a leading anarchist. The *Nechayevshchina*, as it was called, immediately aroused the ambiguous reactions it has received ever since, detestation of Nechayev's aims and methods being balanced by admiration for his courage and energy.

Meanwhile Nechayev himself was still active. He arrived in Switzerland in January 1870, and immediately resumed contact with Ogaryov and Bakunin. But the situation was more difficult than in the previous year. Using several names and living in hiding, Nechayev continued the work of sending literature into Russia, including the second issue of the *Narodnaya Rasprava* magazine. After Herzen's death in January he persuaded Ogaryov to give him the other half of the Bakhmetev fund, and from February to May he put intolerable pressure on Herzen's daughter Natalie to obtain her inheritance or her involvement in his movement. In February the Russian authorities traced him to Switzerland and requested the Federal Council to extradite him as a common criminal; in March Bakunin wrote a pamphlet defending him against both the Swiss and the Russian authorities – *The Bears of Berne and the Bear of St Petersburg*. Nechayev persuaded Ogaryov and Bakunin to revive Herzen's old paper *Kolokol* (The Bell), and six issues appeared in April and May. In May a young Russian revolutionary called German Lopatin, who had known Nechayev in Russia, began telling the truth about his activities to the emigres in the West – including Marx and Engels in England and Ogaryov and Bakunin in Switzerland.

None of this might have mattered if Nechayev hadn't alienated his friends as well as his enemies. In February he wrote to Nikolai Lyubavin, who had paid Bakunin to translate Marx's *Capital* into Russian, threatening him if he dared to ask Bakunin to do the work; the letter was passed on to Marx for future use. In March Nechayev wrote to Herzen's widow, threatening her if she published Herzen's unfavourable writings about Ogaryov and Bakunin; the letter was passed on to Herzen's son, who published the writings. More seriously, Nechayev turned against Ogaryov and Bakunin and other comrades the techniques he had

used in Russia – lies, threats, theft, blackmail, violence, seduction. In June 1870 Bakunin at last began to break off relations with Nechayev, starting with a very long letter (an English translation appeared in *Encounter* in July-August 1972 and in Michael Confino's *Daughter of a Revolutionary* in 1974); after further letters and meetings the two parted in July. It was too late for Bakunin – his entanglement with Nechayev discredited him in the European socialist movement, and in particular gave Marx and Engels the weapons they needed to drive him out of the IWMA two years later.

Those two years are the most mysterious of Nechayev's career. In July 1870 he went to London, where in September he published a single issue of his last magazine, *Obshchina* (The Commune), considerably moderating his communist programme and his authoritarian sectarianism. He was in Lyon from September to October, at the time of the rising in which Bakunin took part. He seems to have been in Paris during the Franco-Prussian War and siege at the end of 1870 and to have returned to Switzerland early in 1871. During 1871 he organised revolutionary groups among the Russian and other Slav students in Zurich, many of whom later joined Tkachov's *Nabat* (Alarm) organisation which continued the Jacobin-Blanquist line in the Russian movement. He was in Paris again at the end of 1871 and the beginning of 1872, and then back in Switzerland in June 1872.

Meanwhile the Russian authorities had been making unprecedented efforts to capture him. At last, after dozens of agents and detectives had failed, a Polish associate of Nechayev called Adolf Stempkowski was bribed to betray him, and he was arrested in Zurich on 14 August 1872. After complex legal and diplomatic negotiations, he was extradited to Russia, on condition that he was tried only for a criminal offence and in strict accordance with law. Some students tried to rescue him at his departure on 27 October, but his luck had finally run out.

On 2 November Bakunin sent to Ogaryov his final verdict:

No one has done and intentionally done me as much harm as he did, yet all the same I am sorry for him. He was a man of rare energy, and when you and I met him there burnt in him a bright flame of love for our poor oppressed people, there was in him a genuine suffering for our historic national misfortune. Then he was still only dirty on the outside, but inside he was not yet soiled. The authoritarianism and wilfulness, which in him were combined in the most unfortunate way and thanks to his ignorance with the method known as Machiavellianism and Jesuitism, finally precipitated him into the mire. Towards the end he became a complete fool.

He added a remarkable prophecy:

Yet some internal voice tells me that Nechayev, who has irrevocably perished and without doubt knows he has perished, will this time summon from the depths of his

Le Numéro : 1 fr.

N^o 1.

Genève le 2 Avril 1870.

(LA CLOCHE)

КОЛОКОЛЬ

(DIE GLOCKE)

VIVOS VOVO!

ОРГАНЪ РУССКАГО ОСВОБОЖДЕНІЯ, ОСНОВАННЫЙ А. И. ГЕРЦЕВНОМЪ (ИСКАНДЕРОМЪ).

(ПОЛЪ РЕДАКЦІИ АГЕНТОВЪ РУССКАГО ДѢЛА).

Абоненты ежемѣсячнаго изданія : 40 франковъ в годъ; 20 фр. за 6 мѣсяцевъ; 10 фр. за 3 мѣца. Редакція обращаетъ во вниманіе честныхъ людей,

Le prix de ce journal : 40 fr. pour un an ; 20 fr. pour 6 mois ; 10 fr. pour 3 mois. La Rédaction s'adresse à tous les hommes sérieux qui veulent franchement la transformation de

Das abonnement ist : 40 fr. jährlich ; 20 fr. für 6 monate ; 10 fr. für 3 monate. Die Redaktion wendet sich an alle die ernstesten Männer Russlands, die aufrichtig eine Veränderung

Left: 'Kolokol' newspaper, Bakunin and others in Geneva, 1870.

Right: 'Obshchina' newspaper, published in September 1870.

being, fouled and soiled but far from vulgar, all his original energy and courage. He will perish as a hero, and this time he will betray nothing and nobody. Such is my belief. We shall soon see whether I am right.

Bakunin was right. Nechayev, apparently facing the end of his political career, actually entered its longest and finest phase. The last ten years of his life became an epic of heroism which to some extent redeemed the villainy of the previous four.

Back in Russia he was taken to St Petersburg in October and then to Moscow in December. When he was interrogated, he refused to answer any questions, insisted that he was a political prisoner, ignored the documents listing the charges, and rejected the offer of a lawyer. When his trial was held in Moscow on 8 January 1873, he refused to recognise the court, to answer the charges, or even to give his name. Over and over again for five hours he interrupted the proceedings, was removed from the room, and struggled with the guards escorting him. In his defence he said only that he was a political prisoner and that, while they could take his life, they could not take away his honour. He was inevitably found guilty of Ivanov's murder, and was sentenced to 20 years forced labour in Siberia followed by perpetual forced exile in Siberia. When he was subjected to the ceremony of public degradation on 25 January, he remained as defiant as ever.

As he said, his extradition and trial were a farce, since the authorities had no intention of sending him to Siberia, where he would probably have escaped, and Tsar Alexander II personally ordered that he was to be imprisoned 'for ever'. On 28 January 1873 he was secretly taken to the Peter-Paul fortress in St Petersburg from which he had once pretended to escape. As 'Prisoner Number 5' he was locked up in solitary confinement, and buried alive.

But Nechayev was still alive. He got permission to read and write, though it was withdrawn when he made trouble, as he often did. In 1873 he threw a chair at a warder; in 1875 when he was asked by the head of the political police to give information about the revolutionary movement, he struck the general in the face, drawing blood; in 1876 he wrote a dignified appeal (nothing like Bakunin's abject confession) to the Tsar, and when it was rejected he smashed up his cell, for which his feet were chained for three months and his hands for nearly two years. From 1878 he was treated relatively well.

This was a critical period in the Russian revolutionary movement, when the leaders turned to terrorism and formed Narodnaya Volya (The People's Will) to seize power by force. Despite their fear of Nechayevism, they were at last following his policy, and at the height of their campaign they were actually contacted by him. For about two years he had been gradually converting his guards first to sympathy with and then to support for the revolutionary cause. Some prisoners in the Peter-Paul fortress seem to have learnt about his presence there during the 1870s, but

in 1880 he managed to communicate with some of the recently arrested revolutionaries, and in January 1881 he was at last able to smuggle messages to the Executive Committee of Narodnaya Volya. He sent a series of instructions about revolutionary activity, repeating his old insistence on a combination of dictatorship and deception. These were ignored, but those outside agreed that he should be rescued. However, this was the time when they were making the final plans to assassinate the Tsar, and Nechayev agreed that they should do the important job first.

Alexander II was assassinated in St Petersburg on 1 March 1881. When those responsible were arrested, some of Nechayev's messages were found, but the authorities failed to understand them. He continued to communicate with the survivors, but they took even less notice of his instructions, and there was even less chance of rescuing him. In November 1881 his organisation was discovered, and 69 people were arrested, including 34 guards. They were tried during 1882, and meanwhile Nechayev was placed under much stricter supervision. At last he was defeated, and his health collapsed. He developed scurvy and dropsy in the appalling conditions of solitary confinement and poor diet, and he died on 21 November (3 December in the Western calendar) 1882. It was exactly thirteen years after the murder of Ivanov. Nechayev was 35 years old.

Despite several claims to the contrary, Nechayev had virtually nothing to do with anarchism. The nearest he came was during his first phase of cooperation with Bakunin in summer 1869, but before and after that he pursued a consistently authoritarian path. He was in fact the greatest practical representative of the Jacobin tradition in the nineteenth century Russian revolutionary movement. Nechayevism was opposed in theory by almost every other section of the movement, including the Marxists, but in the early twentieth century it became the practice of the extreme Marxists in the Bolshevik fraction of the Social-Democratic Party, and after 1917 it became the policy of the new Communist government. Nechayev's main contribution to the Russian authoritarian tradition was his justification of deception and violence not only against enemies but also against comrades, and under Stalin this became the dominant theme of political life. Nechayev is above all a symbolic figure of, as Kropotkin put it in 1917, 'how not to make a revolution'. So, while saluting the courage of his struggle which came to an end exactly a hundred years ago, let us take his example as one not to follow but to avoid. When the revolutionary is a doomed man, the revolution is doomed.

NW

Serge Netchajeff

242

ОБЩИНА.

(LA COMMUNE. DIE COMMUNE.)

ОРГАНЪ РУССКИХЪ СОЦІАЛИСТОВЪ, ПОДЪ РЕДАКЦІЕЙ С. НЕЧАЕВА И В. СЕРЕБРЕННИКОВА,

къ которому адресуются съ письмами, посылками и проч. и проч.

въ LONDON, HUNTLEY STREET, No. 7, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD. W.C.—Mr. SEREBRENICOFF.

NB.—Номера нѣмютъ прибавленія на Французскомъ и Нѣмецкомъ языкъ.

№. 1.

СЕНТЯБРЬ 1го., 1870 Года.

Цена Six Pence.

col' the re-
edited by
Nechayev
April/May

china' Ne-
st paper,
London,
870

The quest for Reich

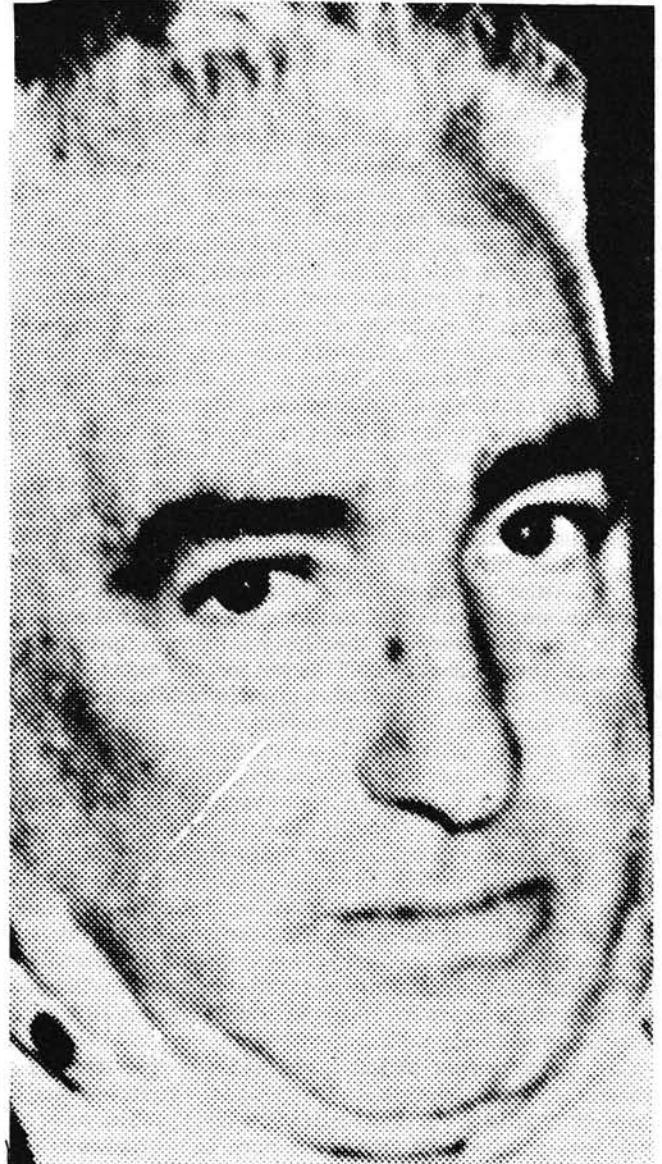
The Quest for Wilhelm Reich by Colin Wilson. Panther Granada, London 1981, ISBN 0 586 04852 9 Paperback, £1.95.

WHENEVER I read books by Colin Wilson I am left with a feeling that the author is much more interesting than the subject. This book however has double merit. He makes Wilhelm Reich, the Austrian psychoanalyst and colleague of Freud, into a really meaningful figure as a man of our times. He also indicates how Reich's writing relates to his, Wilson's intellectual development and despite the fact he indicates he is not over-fond of Reich his account is, if anything, much more dispassionate than the versions of many of Reich's critics and enemies and more honestly critical than Reich's followers and disciples.

I first read Reich almost coincidentally with reading *FREEDOM* for the first time. This was at a time before I had begun any serious academic study. I read Reich really before I had read Freud and psychology. Yet, on the other hand, although I found him interesting I always felt something was missing. Part of Reich appeared correct but as a whole system Reich was unconvincing. He was merely a clever, perceptive charlatan who went wrong somewhere. I simply was not convinced. Neither is Wilson and what is more neither are most of Reich's critics. Reich however demanded not only you examine his work but you accept the whole of his system relatively uncritically. He was the master, you the disciple.

Another facet of Reich I always found disturbing was his notion that sex is the basis of everything. Any deficiency in you, any illness, your whole character structure, is related to sexuality – an idea derived from Freud but taken to extremes. And anyway Freud dropped this idea in 1939. What I most dislike about it is hardly Reich's fault and that is the notion that any form of sexual promiscuity is totally valid. Promises can be broken, marital relationships destroyed, by the curious password 'Well, sex is a function anyway, I am doing what is natural.' Sex is not a function of anything but procreation. If one has sexual relations outside procreation it is a matter of mutual choice. One has no right to duck behind pseudo-scientific mumbo jumbo. This is not to say one should or should not have sexual relations outside marriage, but let us not play games. It is a matter of individual decision on the part of each partner. Sex is not merely like eating and drinking and the 'stomach pains' one partner might get as a result of a rash act lead to real happenings: birth; and in this situation the relationship is unequal, not merely functional.

Wilson's treatment of Reich is critically biographical. One thing I like about Wilson's style, he never had the fortune or misfortune of a university education. Consequently he is relatively insensitive to academic demands of balance and academic forms of writing, which make so much of academic writing so totally boring to the layman. It is often mistakenly assumed to be middle class writing. He writes 'a good tale' well but he does so largely in relation to a current Wilson theme. One can see this in his *New Pathways in Psychology: Maslow and the Post-Freudian Revolution* – the notion of higher development, of better use of ourselves, the theme taken up again in *The War Against Sleep: The Philosophy of Gurdjieff* and *Frankenstein's Castle: The Right Brain – The Door to Wisdom*, constantly asking how can humanity strive to be more than we are? His move into mysticism and books on the Occult, often seen as a digression by many, still fulfills that theme, asking, is there anything in it? And can we salvage anything from it? Did the ancients have any wisdom to impart? What was this modern seer's real accomplishment?



The Reich book then looks critically at Reich, his origins and family, his educational development and his early psychoanalytical work. His relations with Freud are examined in some detail. Freud comes over as a less than nice person. I had not been previously aware that Freud hounded two of his former associates to commit suicide. Reich's communism is detailed, not often mentioned by later writers. His time in Scandinavia and developments in the USA are treated at length. Was he really hounded by the US Food and Drugs Administration? Did he bring this on himself? Wilson suggests 'Yes'. Reich had become so paranoid and such a megalomaniac he refused to treat his accusers seriously. The FDA saw their job as exposing charlatans and protecting the public. Reich's total rejection of court procedure, total refusal to take any real notice of what the forces against him were really attacking him for and complete refusal to take elementary precautions, like registering as a doctor, brought about, Wilson thinks, Reich's downfall, imprisonment and later death.

Frankly, Reich was an uneasy person to know, following his own ideas, at the end, well outside his area of professional and academic qualification, taking rejection by individuals as a reason for making a total rejection, on his part, of a scientific community which might have ultimately rushed to his support. He made himself appear a crank and dan-

gerous too. He put himself outside the pale. His own egocentric actions destroyed his credibility.

All this was rather a pity because he was a medical scientist exploring 'where no man had gone before', new frontiers of knowledge, and it is only twenty years later that scientists are beginning to explore those frontiers. Maybe there is something in his orgone accumulators? Maybe his weather machine does work. Perhaps he did, partially, find a cure for cancer. Too many perhaps and maybes. As Wilson concludes; for all his faults, and they were legion, Reich did have 'the courage of a visionary and the intuition of genius.'

The book is a good read, particularly for those who know little or nothing of Reich. No doubt it will seriously annoy Reich's devotees. It brings the man down to correct proportion — about the level of a spiteful schoolboy. Brilliant,

yes. Genius, perhaps. But a curiously dangerous figure in that he influences many whose basic academic psychological and medical knowledge is nil. One can imagine the zealot saying: 'I have read Reich. I know he is right. Why read more.' Unfortunately Reich was not just the writer, he was a healer, a psychotherapist, playing around in people's minds. But at least he was medically trained. Many of his followers were not. One needs to see Reich's life in perspective, his weaknesses as well as his strengths, to immunise oneself against falling into traps. For some Reich's ideas are a too easy way into Nirvana. Life is not as simple as that. Read as contributions to basic knowledge Reich is very refreshing. Read as the book of the way (unfortunately Reich's view) leads only to paranoia.

P N

Community, Anarchy

Community, Anarchy and Liberty by Michael Taylor, Cambridge University Press, £4.95 (ppr) + 50p post. Available at Freedom Bookshop.

WHAT I would call the political anarchists have always considered the idea of community beyond their consideration, yet, as Taylor points out, the period in which society was at its most anarchic, during which humanity survived for many years, many millions of years, society was organised in small communities. Whatever sort of society we live in some organisation is necessary to provide us with the basic necessities of life.

In his sub-section on the birth of the state (page 129) he says: 'The argument of Chapter 2 is that "anarchy requires community". The argument of the last section is that "community requires a rough equality and the maintenance of this equality in anarchy requires community". Community is what makes egalitarian anarchy possible. But it does not suffice to guarantee its survival'. The Spanish Civil War showed this clearly — areas of anarchist collectives in a hostile world were in the end overwhelmed. Anarchist thought since then has been more wide spread, but not so well organised as in the earlier Spanish movement, which was less intellectual and more associated with the organisation of human needs.

The growth of authoritarian society, the development of inequality and property, appear to be closely related. Disorder in society is based on division and authoritarian society is essentially a divided society.

What sort of society? What sort of mechanism is necessary to retain the egalitarianism necessary for an anarchist society to exist? The author discusses these matters in some detail. The development of groups that are wedded to the free market idea is a development of capitalist society and the free market and the ownership of the means of production have led directly to the growth of the state and the coercive forces that are embedded in it. Once capital and the needs that capital supplies had moved from their intrinsic realities to a symbol that is money, then a whole mystification took place which has grown and grown so we have an economics of money instead of an economics of need. Earlier societies fought against the principle of interest on money which led to the growth of access to unearned wealth, not, let us realise, to growth of wealth itself.

The whole edifice of the state and the financial corporations that menacingly encompass the earth have become agents of insecurity and destruction. As the author observes on page 130: 'The formation of states in most societies has

been the direct or indirect result, at least in part, of the presence nearby of already existing states.'

The marxist contention that technological advance and surplus production led to the development of the state, is contradicted by the proposition that it was the stratification into political classes that stimulated surplus production. Unless production is closely geared to needs and not to the development of non productive coercive forces then it is this sort of production that leads ultimately to the real capital upon which all production is based. This is a factor that is seen throughout written history, the mediterranean civilisations, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Rome and continues today — the centralisation of agriculture in Russia and the capitalisation of agriculture in the USA.

The other community development which is dealt with in some detail by Colin Ward in *Anarchy in Action* (Freedom Press £1.50 + postage) is what the author calls 'partial community', covering a great variety of community activities that could be developed.

The author also says that it is not only important how one produces, but also what one produces, in a world that is very small and the consequences of what one does are far reaching.

ALAN ALBON

Miguel Garcia

MIGUEL Garcia died in London on December 3rd 1981. His book, *Miguel Garcia's Story* will appear in December 1982. It is a memorial booklet containing scenes of his early life (as written for *Franco's Prisoner* but omitted on the request of the publisher, who felt it irrelevant) which, illustrated with photographs of scenes and people in Catalonia through the years, should be of fascinating interest to his many friends in and outside the anarchist movement.

Miguel Garcia's Story, edited by Albert Meltzer, will cost £1 plus post and will be available from A Distribution from next week. Copies can be ordered from Freedom Bookshop.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

IN ANGEL ALLEY, 84B, WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET,
LONDON, E1 7AX 01-247-9249

ANARCHISTS – of course – don't believe in Christmas, but even so, around this time of year people drop in or write asking if we have any cards suitable for the 'Winter Solstice', Kropotkin's Birthday or the New Year or whatever rationalisation one can dream up – or if we have any books that might particularly make good presents; the answer to both questions is yes we do, and so I thought it worth the while this week to list the kind of cards we have and some more 'presenty' tomes.

First Cards:–

South Atlantic Souvenirs have produced some cards and postcards – some particularly suitable for Christmas – others more general. They are in full colour and relate to the more obscene aspects of the 'festive season'. The cards (+ envelopes) are 20p each; the postcards (minus envelopes of course) are 15p. We have two different cards and eight different postcards. £1.75 (post paid) the set – or ask for a sample or two (please add 15p for postage per order up to a complete set).

From the same source we have some Xmas cards in black and white at 15p (all incl envelopes) – we have seven different ones in this series at present. £1.20 (post paid) per set – or again available individually or in smaller quantities (+ 15p postage per order up to a complete set).

We have some rather attractive repros of a scene depicting the Peterloo Massacre (The Massacre of the Innocents?), £1.50 per pack of 10 (+ 20p postage). Again they are available individually @ 15p each (+ 15p postage up to 10).

The indefatigable Denis Gould has produced considerable quantities of Poem Postcards of which we have a fair selection quite suitable for the turning of the year. Currently we have 14 of these in stock @ 15p each or £1.50 for 12 assorted (plus 20p postage per dozen or 15p postage on smaller orders).

From Spain we have a limited supply of anti-clerical postcards all entirely visual – so there is no language barrier. There are 8 different ones in stock @ 10p each (£1.00 per set post paid). Please add 15p postage per orders up to a set.

From Mushroom in Nottingham we have:–

'Heip the Police – beat yourself up'
'You're nothing until you're a Nihilist'
and 'There's no government like no government'
each 10p plus 15p postage (50p post free for the three).

We also have an Anti-Thatcher card;

'White Woman Speak with Forked Hand' (V-sign) – 15p (+ 15p post)

and an anti-monarchist card;

'Crypto-Commissar of the British Poiitburo' – 15p (+ 15p post).

Diaries and Calendars

Pluto Big Red Diary and Directory. 1983 £2.50 (25p)

William Morris and Walter Crane: An Earthly Paradise Calendar (large format 25 plates) Any Year £1.20 (40p)

I'm a bit wary of listing too many books as presents, because if stocks run out we may not be able to replenish our shelves before the end of the year even on UK published titles, let alone imports, but there will be no problems of supply regarding the two titles that we have published in the last year:–

Marie-Louise Berneri: Journey through Utopia £1.95 (60p)

Colin Ward: Anarchy in Action £1.50 (40p)

nor about:–

Max Stirner: The Ego and its Own £4.50 (94p)

Abel Paz: Durruti: The People Armed £5.00 (94p)

Murray Bookchin: The Ecology of Freedom £6.95 (94p)

If you are feeling more extravagant, we do have limited

supplies of:–

Kingsley Widner's new study of Paul Goodman

£10.95 (94p)

For something slightly more unusual you could try:–

Bill Millett: A Nucleonic Narrative about Love and War: Things of Iron and Things of Green. A beautifully produced indictment of the War Machine from New Zealand.

£7.50 (94p)

or Peter and Shirley Adams: Knockback. £7.95 (60p)

Peter Adams was released last year after spending seventeen years in various British jails. The book is a searing attack upon the Parole Board and the prison system from one who has good cause to know them both all too well; as well as being an affirmation of two people's will to survive and triumph over the forces of the state.

Figures in brackets indicate postage costs. North American purchasers please convert £1.00 – plus postages – at \$1.70 (US) and \$2.00 Canada.

J H

Deficit Fund

Contributions Received November 11th – 24th Incl

Newton-le-Willows J R L £2.00; Malta C M £2.50; Sheffield C B B £2.00; London NW3 D R £2.00; London W3 £1.00; Wolverhampton J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; London N19 J H J £9.00; London SW4 P N £1.00; Watford Heath K S £2.00; Penarth T B £3.00; Morayshire B L £1.00; London SW2 M D £3.00; Cardiff L E £1.00; Castle Douglas M A £6.00; Blackburn D C £0.50; Glastonbury D A P £2.00; Wolverhampton J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; London SW20 R A £1.00; London E1 J R £3.00; N Miami USA M C £2.20; St Petersburg USA J K £6.25; New York USA N M £3.15; Sudbury Canada P P £18.75; Grupo Libertad Windsor Canada £5.50; St Cloud USA M G A £24.00; N Y USA G T £3.15; London NW6 T M £1.00; Douglas I of Man P C £1.00; Cambridge K W £0.25; Peterborough A £0.30; Greece V R £3.00.

TOTAL = £115.55

Previously acknowledged = £1945.29

TOTAL TO DATE = £2060.84

Many Thanks. This means that the Deficit Fund has actually reached its £2000 target for the year! The Premises Fund – however – is still short and as both of these targets are minimal – your help is still – always – required.

Premises Fund

Contributions Received November 11th – 24th Incl

Malta C M £2.50; Sheffield A M £1.00; Wolverhampton J L £2.00; London N19 J H J £9.00; Watford Heath K S £2.00; Penarth T B £3.00; London SW2 £3.00; Cardiff L E £1.00; Wolverhampton J L £2.00; London SW20 R A £5.00; London NW8 D S £6.00; Windsor Ontario Grupo Libertad £5.50.

TOTAL = £42.00

Previously acknowledged = £884.22

TOTAL TO DATE = £926.22

TARGET FOR 1982 = £1000!