

FREEDOM

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LANCASTER Cargo Cult, 38 Bradshaw Street, Lancaster

LEEDS Box DAM, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds LS2 3AW

LEAMINGTON Box 7, The Other Branch 12 Gloucester Street, Leamington

LIVERPOOL Direct Action Group and DAM (confusing isn't it?) c/o 82 Lark Lane, Liverpool 17, Merseyside

LONDON FREEDOM BOOKSHOP In Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7AX. Tel 01 - 247 9249

FREEDOM Box Number Users: A Distribution, Class War, East London DAM, Libertarian Communist Discussion Group, Rebel Press, South Atlantic Souvenirs, Spectacular Times, Socialist Opportunist, Virus, Workers' Playtime, etc

Greenpeace (London) 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1 - meet Thursdays 7pm

North London Polytechnic c/o Students' Union, Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, London N5

Solidarity (London and editorial groups), c/o 123 Lathom Road, London E6

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MANCHESTER Manchester University Libertarian Socialist Group, c/o General Office, Students Union, Oxford Road, Manchester

DAM c/o Raven Press, 8-10 Great

Thank you ==

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NORTH STAFFS Careless Talk Collective, c/o 14 Eliot Street, Newcastle, Staffs (correspondence only)

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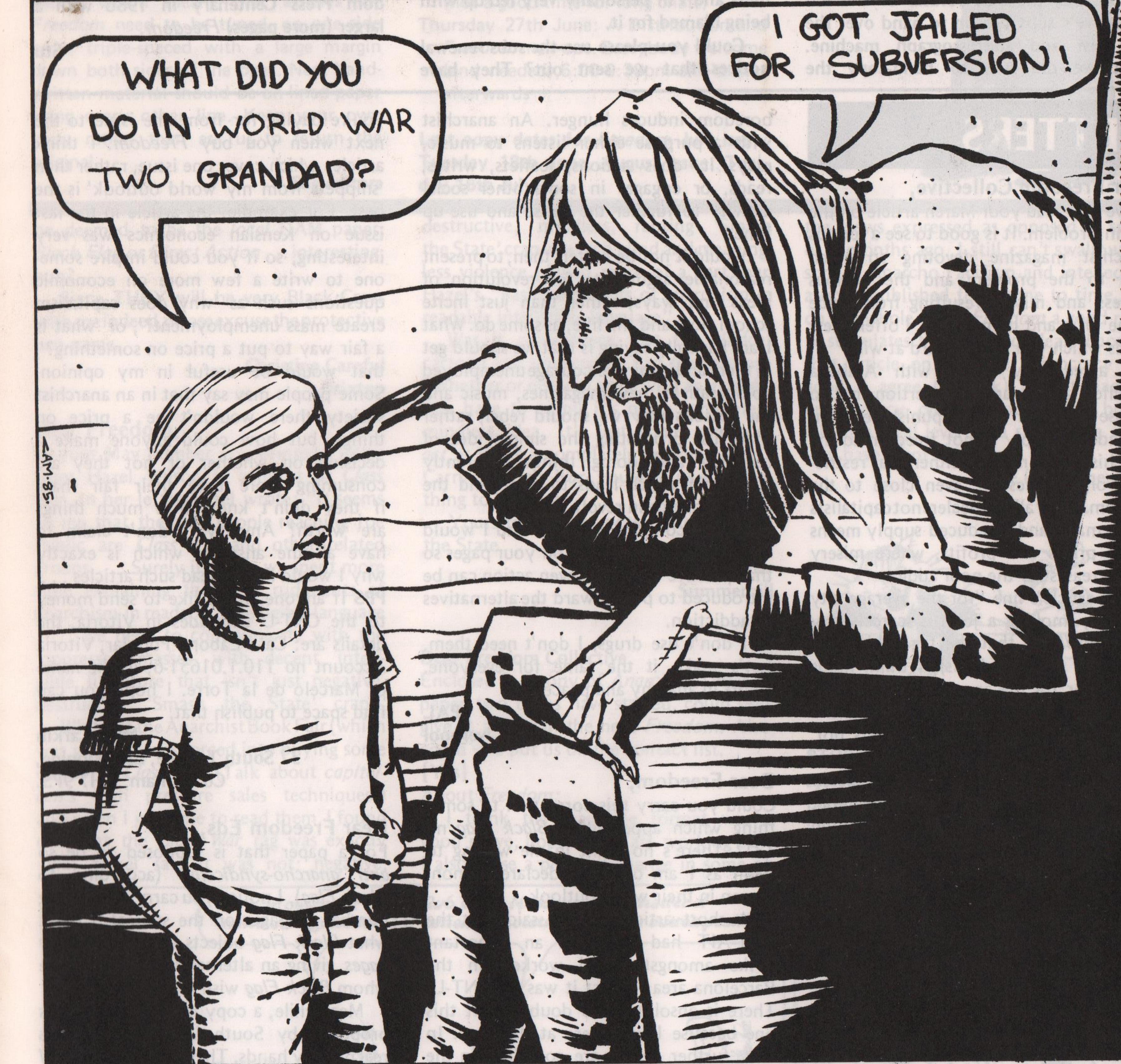
FREEDOM



ANARCHIST MONTHLY

VOL 46 No 6 JUNE 1985 45p

AT THE REST HOME FOR RETIRED FREEDOM EDITORS...



**FASCISM 1945~1985 CARRARA DAM
SOCIOLOGY ? REFORMA AGRARIA**

First, thanks for all the money, and no, I haven't used it to buy the small yacht I mentioned in the December '84 issue. Secondly, as sole subs person I admit to being a little behind with changes of address, and re-sub requests. This is because there were only two editors for a while. Thus no acknowledgements of subs received have been sent out. Please take the continued arrival of *Freedom* as a sign that your money is safe in our hands.

It should be said that one of the problems the new *Freedom* editors had in '84 was the flat refusal of the old collective's subs person to hand over the subs list and addressograph machine. What we did was to hand-copy the

addresses from a set of wrappers and put that list on to Colin and Arabella's word-processor to print new labels. Many a name (and probably an address) got mangled in the process.

This undesirable event has probably lost a few subscribers, who may or may not read this. If a friend of yours complains, explain matters to him/her and get them to write in so we can put matters right.

The new editors have done their level best to honour commitments on both editorial and subs fronts given by the old collective. Frankly, they left a god-awful mess and I'm personally very fed up with being blamed for it.

Could you please use the subs renewal notices that we sent out? They have

'hidden' aspects which help us process renewals at this end. Also could you please, please, please write your names and addresses more clearly, especially if you're one of our many non-UK subscribers. I'm afraid Finnish, Turkish, etc, addresses are not obvious to us.

UK subscribers, please note. The Post Office now admits that letters without postcodes are subject to long delays. 90% of our UK labels don't have postcodes on them, so send it in if this applies to you. You might remember a small extra donation to help us celebrate the Freedom Press Centenary in 1986 with a larger (more pages) *Freedom*.

Stu

LETTERS

Dear Freedom Collective,

I have just read your March article on the heroin problem. It is good to see a serious anarchist magazine devoting so much time to the problem and the obvious distress and misery resulting from trade in the drug and its partners. What we did was to hand-copy the

boredom induces hunger. An anarchist with a purpose either listens to music, plays it, does actions, leaflets, writes, reads, or engages in some other social activity to further the cause and use up time.

Would it not be better, then, to present reasonable arguments for revolution of ideas and ways, rather than just incite school riots and the like, as some do. What I am basically saying is that we should get in there and inspire, encourage unemployed co-operatives, new magazines, music and the reasons why we should rebel, rather than just promoting the simple idea of rebelling and doing things differently (fashion?) which leads to drugs and the use of violence in revolt.

It is a complex problem and I would welcome further debate on your pages so that positive ideas and even action can be introduced to put forward the alternatives to addiction.

I don't use drugs, I don't need them. Let's make it the same for everyone. Yours in anarchy and peace.

PAL
Liverpool

Dear Freedom,

Could you carry this correction to something which appeared in *Black Flag* no 131? There's no point in me writing to them as I am officially declared a non-person in their world outlook.

A short article by MT said that the CNT-AIT had organised an important strike amongst postal workers in the Barcelona area, in fact it was the CNT-U. There is absolutely no doubt about this one because I was there at the time. In fact, further details are contained in the latest issue of *Sinews*, which is now twice as big but only costs 50p including p&p from the address below.

Mick Larkin

PS Some thoughts on having an 'editorial policy'... I think it's good that you have one now, otherwise you don't know what

you're paying for from one issue to the next when you buy *Freedom*. I think articles which cover one issue, rather than 'snippets from my world outlook' is the best. For example, the article in the last issue on Kensiian economics was very interesting, so if you could inspire someone to write a few more on economic questions such as 'why does capitalism create mass unemployment?', or 'what is a fair way to put a price on something?', that would be useful in my opinion. Some people may say that in an anarchist society there wouldn't be a price on things, but how could anyone make a decision on whether or not they are consuming more than their fair share if they didn't know how much things are worth? Anyway, I don't claim to have all the answers, which is exactly why I would like to read such articles... PPS If anyone would like to send money to the CNT-U comrades in Vitoria, the details are: Casa Laboral Popular, Vitoria Account no 110.1.01651-6, in the name of Marcelo de la Torre. I hope you can find space to publish that.

Mick Larkin
37 South Terrace, Esh Winning,
Co Durham, DH7 9PS.

Dear Freedom Eds,

For a paper that is supposed to be so anti-anarcho-syndicalist (according to *Black Flag*), I notice you carry a surprising number of pages on the subject. I think what *Black Flag* objects to are your open pages giving an alternative voice to those whom *Black Flag* wish to suppress!

Meanwhile, a copy of the rule changes proposed by South London DAM has reached my hands. They include a Central Committee with the power to expel individual members and to ORDER local DAM papers to print 'corrections'.

DAM people would get better 'faction-rights' in the Socialist Worker's Party! Ah, well! It should keep us all amused for the rest of the year. I wonder which will

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Contributing editors: Colin Johnstone and Arabella Melville.

CONTRIBUTORS PLEASE NOTE

Freedom is a professionally typeset paper, which means that articles for *Freedom* need to be typed, on one side only, triple-spaced with a large margin down both sides of the page. Neat handwritten material should be on lined paper using every other line. Keep your own copy rather than ask us to return the original.

The editors

be deemed to be the local DAM paper, *Black Flag* or *Direct Action*... interesting, huh?

Since THEY will be very Black Cross with meindeed, please excuse the protective pen-name.

Christine Careful
Brixton

Dear Freedom,

In your May number you printed a letter from Hazel Wilson in support of *Class War*. In her letter Hazel wrote: "It seems to me that the only people reaching Joe Public are *Class War* and other related groups... Surely it's time we spent more time explaining the basic rudiments of anarchism in readable, intelligible language... we need to communicate with the 'oppressed masses' with decent, intelligible literature that isn't just negative, destructive 'Smash the State' crap."

Whilst at the Anarchist Book Fair (which was great), I was forced into buying some copies of *Class War* (Talk about capitalism's high pressure sales techniques!) and when I got time to read them, I found out that the *Class War* rag was exactly what Hazel said it was not: negative,

destructive, mindless, ranting 'Smash the State' crap in which blind and meaningless violence played more of a part than Hazel's "basic rudiments of anarchism in readable intelligible language".

Was it coincidence that the Wildcat cartoon just underneath had the caption:

"Whether or not you agree with anarchism,

you have to admit it's not a completely

mindless idea. It's just some comrades

act as if it's a completely mindless idea".

Carry on *Class War*, you give us all something to laugh at.

Yours for a constructive alternative to the State,

David Teacher
Summerhill

Dear Freedom Collective,

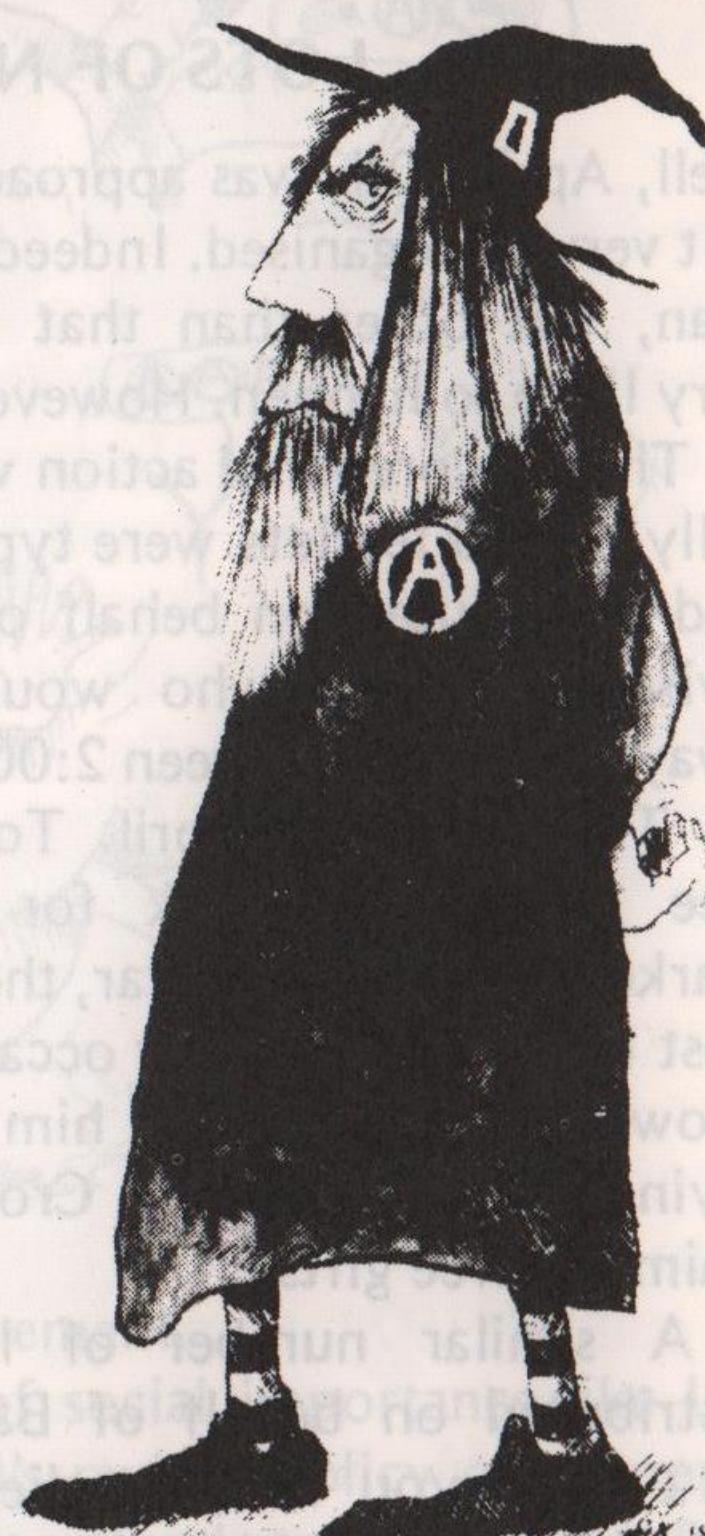
Enclosed is a copy of *Anarchist Times*, a paper two of us have started, could you give it a plug in the next *Freedom*. Also could you put us on the contact list.

[Yes]

About *Freedom*:

I think the magazine format was a good move, hope things are working out. I also sense a political change in some of

LETTERS
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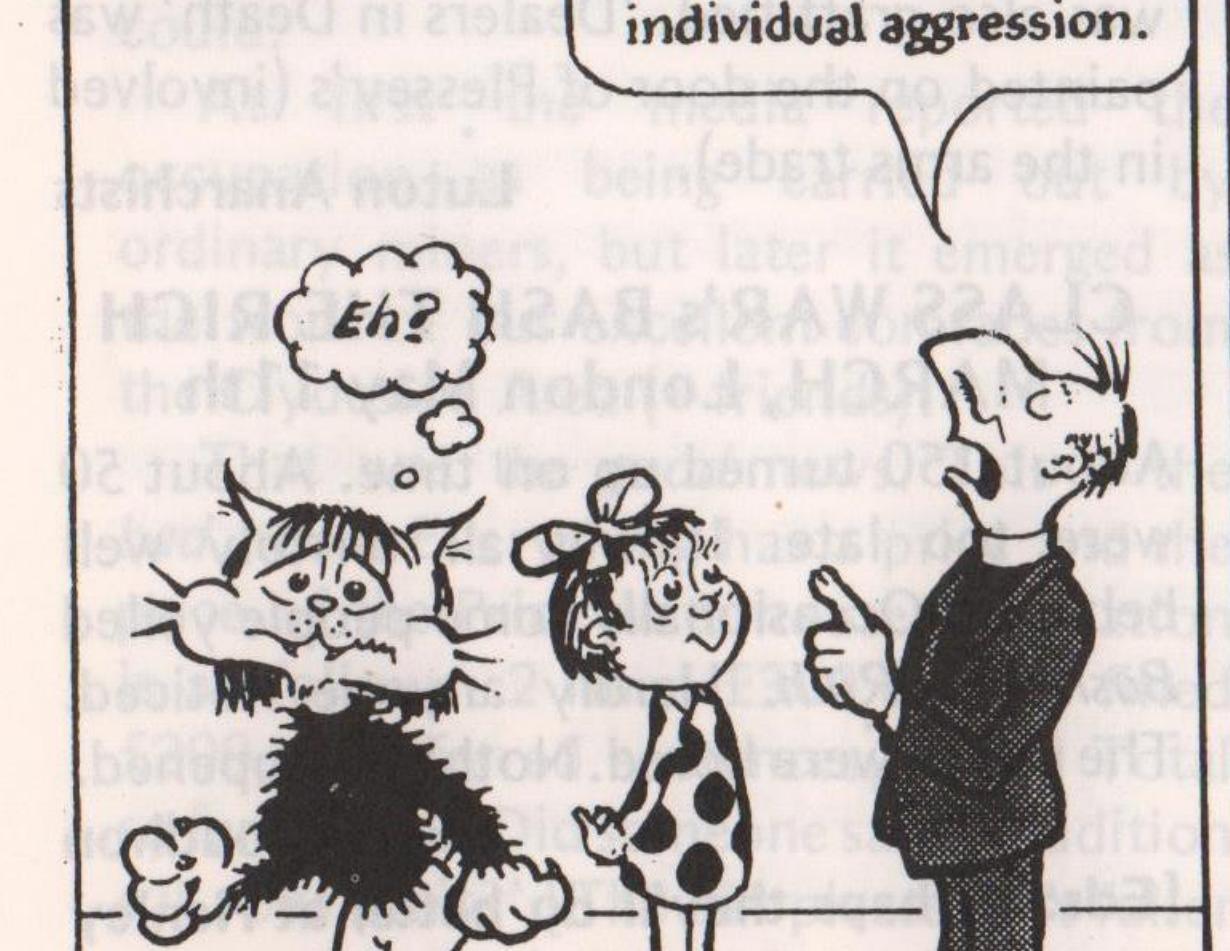


the views expressed as opposed to say 6 or 7 months ago. I still can't swallow the sort of Anarcho Pacifism and intellectual articles published from time to time, but on the whole I find *Freedom* a good read. It stimulates thought and ideas. Thought that article on delegate democracy was good, I agree (I think) that it leads to bureaucracy on a national level, but is OK at a local level on a small scale. Anyways have a hot summer.

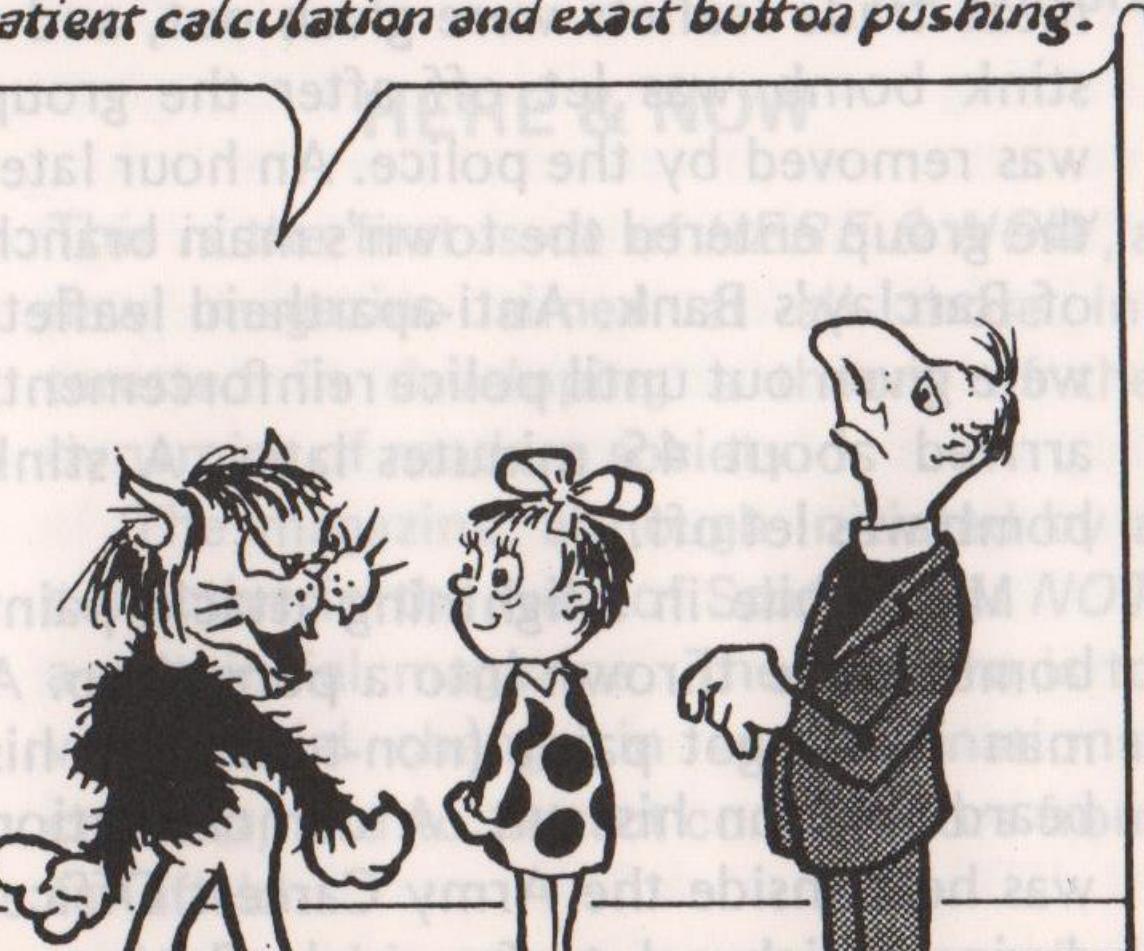
Joe (DAM member)



Wildcat
War is an outlet for individual aggression.



Rob, bish! Modern war is a matter of patient calculation and exact button pushing.



STOP PRESS: Freedom burgled and subsystem churned into massive mess! Is there no end to this saga. See next issue...

ANARCHIST NEWS

LOTS OF NOTTINGHAM BUSINESS STOPPED

Well, April 30th was approaching and we felt very disorganised. Indeed, we had one plan, but other than that we expected very little to happen. However...

The one prepared action went wonderfully. 1,500 leaflets were typeset, printed and distributed on behalf of Boots (the vivisectionists), who would be giving away free items between 2:00 and 3:00pm on Tuesday 30th April. To claim your free goods, just look for those items marked with a black star, then find 'your host on this spectacular occasion - Leslie Crowther' and show him the items, saying 'You are Leslie Crowther and I claim my free gifts'.

A similar number of leaflets were distributed on behalf of Barclays, who, as a thank-you to their clients for their loyal support of Barclay's continuing investment in South Africa, would give away a krugerrand to anyone depositing at least £10 between 1:00 and 2:00pm.

It's amazing how much chaos a few bits of paper can cause. The first victims of the hoax were Nottingham's Anti-Apartheid group, who saw one of the Barclays leaflets, believed it, and started ringing each other up frantically trying to organise an emergency picket. Although the local press claimed that shoppers were not fooled, I am told that among the general crush of CID, security guards and store detectives in Boots at the time in question, there were also several customers looking for black stars - and one who thought he'd found one on

the bottom of some Granose and was put out when he couldn't find Leslie Crowther.

Barclays response was a heavy police presence outside the branch in question.

Other actions - phone lines to a local Royal Ordnance (gun) factory were mysteriously cut the night before. A newspaper-and-plaster arm (made one night when we thought it was time for us to be armed) was hung from the top of the recruiting office, with a sign - 'Disarm Now'. The council house was thrown into darkness when the fuses got pulled out. Quite a lot of damage occurred the night before - spraypaint, superglue and glass etching fluid. Fur stocks were disrupted in Debenhams. Home-made money embellished with slogans was handed out in the streets. Someone danced on the Lord Mayor's Rolls. Bomb hoaxes and fake police calls. And the smelliest action of all - a four-week-old lentil soup bomb splattered in MacDonalds in the middle of the floor. And probably more which I've forgotten or not heard about.

Unfortunately, six people got nicked and treated quite roughly after they came out of Debenhams. Of these, four were later released without charge, one was told he'd be summonsed for a bind over later, and one who came out of custody covered in bruises as a result of being severely beaten is charged with assault of two police officers. She is considering taking legal action against the filth. Any

support/defence donations will reach her if sent to Nottingham Anarchists box number.

We're pleased with the variety of methods of actions used and with the variety of targets hit - which included a church, a gun factory, an apartheid investor, a porn shop, a fur dealer, a vivisectionist, a dole office, the army, and MacDonalds.

The media were enthralled by it all. The local paper on Tuesday warned shopper to beware of hoax leaflets, and on Wednesday told of how police are trying to trace the culprits and even contacted Nottingham-born Leslie Crowther for a quote. A local radio station pounced on the mysterious stranger delivering the press release and interviewed him at great length - it was the longest item on the midnight news.

A lot of punks and known ALF sympathisers have been subjected to severe police harrassment since April 30th, but so far the filth haven't got very far in their quest to work out the connections between animal rights and anarchists in Nottingham. Are there any?

Hope you all had fun in your parts of the country too. April 30th will probably be reported in issue 2 of *Nottingham Anarchist News*, hopefully due out in early June.

Victory to the four-week old lentil soup mob!

Nottingham Anarchists

[Eds: It should be said that there are those amongst us here who think Bakunin was an anarchist; Boot's is a chemists and hamburgers are something to eat! Then again there are those of us who think you're doing a fine job!]

manner. Otherwise the event was organised by A Distribution, Housmans, Freedom Bookshop and the ABS. The talk is now all of much bigger halls, and a more organised social/gig type thing afterwards for those who've come a long way. Watch the A press for details. See you all again soon.

Stu

Stop Business As Usual, April 30th Luton

Thirty-odd people demonstrated inside and outside Matthew's Butchers. Anti-meat trade leaflets were given out, and a stink bomb was let off after the group was removed by the police. An hour later the group entered the town's main branch of Barclay's Bank. Anti-apartheid leaflets were given out until police reinforcements arrived about 45 minutes later. A stink bomb was let off.

The London anarchist scene can be a peculiarly unfriendly and isolated affair at the best of times, so it is doubly welcome to report that not only have we found something that we are good at, but that the atmosphere was friendly and helpful... if a trifle shy on the part of most of the young punks, whatever.

The excellent food and booze was provided by Crass and friends who probably did more work than the rest of us put together in their usual modest

CLASS WAR'S BASH THE RICH MARCH, London May 11th

About 150 turned up on time. About 50 were too late. It was all terribly well behaved. Occasionally some people yelled *Bash the Rich*. Hardly anyone noticed. The police were bored. Nothing happened.

Polly Proudhon

[Eds: Perhaps they'll do better at Henley Regatta?]

DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT

The Masses Awake ?

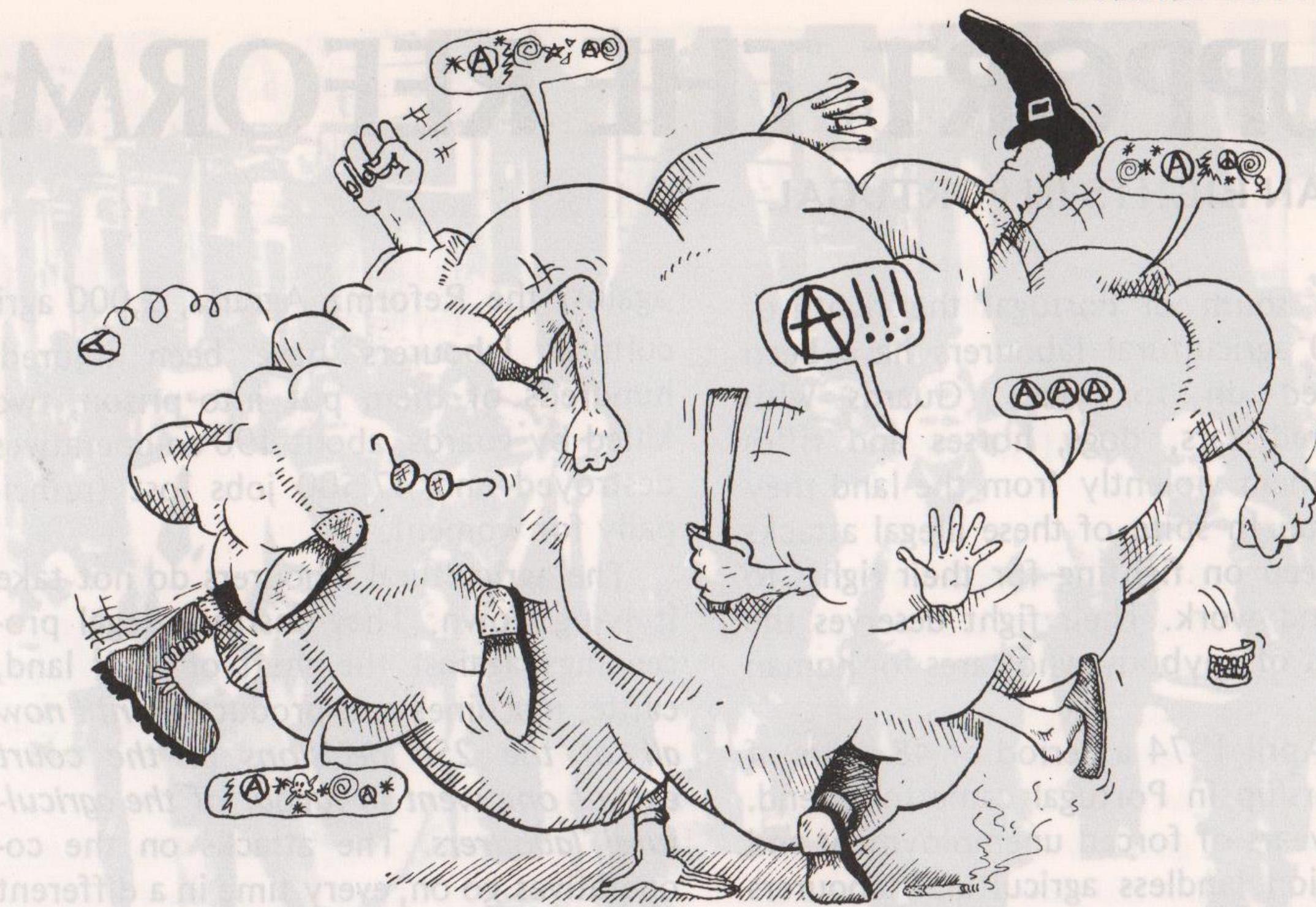
DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT NATIONAL CONFERENCE

'Regimentation Rejected' was the clear message of the May National DAM Delegate Conference in Bolton.

Although the Conference accepted the idea of forming a National Committee in principle, none of the 'Draconian measures' put up by the South London branch were passed. The National Committee envisaged by South London was a horrid rag-bag with power to rule on instant policies; instant justice; suspension of publications and members; the badgering of publications; debt collecting for members' dues.

This would have produced a delegated dictatorship of the DAM, and it was rightly rebuffed by the vast majority of the members. Feeling at the Conference preferred a looser co-ordinating body, though details have yet to be formulated.

The Conference was concerned about the lack of any consideration, in the proposals, both on how to co-ordinate



the activities of the Movement more efficiently, and about how our policies may best be presented to the general public.

DAM has policies on industry, labour organisation, unemployment and redundancy (with policies on textiles and part-time workers in the pipeline). These policies could appeal to a wider public if only they were presented properly. One would have thought that a committed direct actionist organisation would concentrate on putting over these policies and organising around them, rather than wading into a sea of administrative adventures and constitutional niceties.

This Conference quagmire of legislation and rules revision easily obscured the social realities. Somehow we forgot the people shopping in the Bolton streets; queueing at bus stops; standing in dole queues; sweating in offices and factories. What mattered most was the mechanics

Brian Bamford

FULL TO OVERFLOWING THIRD LONDON ANARCHIST BOOK FAIR: May 4th

Saturday 4th May saw yet another highly successful Anarchist Book Fair at the Cromer Club. It was squeeze-past-room only throughout the day from the moment the doors opened. Over 200 people stayed till 10:00pm for the informal social afterwards. Sales were slightly higher in spite of the fact that we didn't have the 'help' of the Socialist Bookfair nearby as last time.

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Clydeside

THE PRICE OF SUCCESS

The high spot of the recent miners' strike for most UK anarchists was the stirring occupation of the Price Waterhouse offices. This firm of accountants were acting as the government's agent to seize NUM Funds where ever they could.

At first the media reported the occupation as being carried out by ordinary miners, but later it emerged as the work of our excellent comrades from the Clydeside Area (+ friends).

That was the *bad* news. Everything has a price and the price of the Price Waterhouse Occupation is as follows: 2 fined £300 each, 7 fined £200, 2 deferred sentences, Grand Total so far £2,000. Did someone say 'L'addition s'il vous plait?' [The bill please?] A fuller account is on its way from Scotland to

Freedom for the next issue.

Meanwhile several Scottish Organisations are setting up a *Clydeside Anarchists Appeal Fund* c/o Clydeside Press, 53, Cochrane St, Glasgow G1. (Cheques made out to Autonomy Books).

WE KNOW THERE'S ALWAYS SOMEONE BEGGING FOR MONEY BUT FREEDOM FEELS THIS IS VERY MUCH A SPECIAL CASE - DIG DEEP FOLKS.

the editors

HERE & NOW

This is the first issue of *HERE & NOW*, a new magazine aimed at all those interested in developing a theory of the dynamics of modern society.

The magazine, although initiated by a collective in the west of Scotland, is *NOT* a provincial magazine. The concern is to view social change in an inter-national context, and to attract contributors from far afield.

In launching the magazine, our princi-

pal motive isn't to simply add variety to the multitude of publications available for consumption. The creation of a medium for dialogue, controversy and subjecting doctrines to scrutiny, with a view to advancing theory beyond generalised statements is at the centre of our approach.

The collective welcome comments and contributions.

Our address is: Box 2, 340 West Princes St., Glasgow G4 9HF. Subscriptions/Donations to GPP, not *Here & Now* please. £2 for 3 issues.

Another new magazine, encompassing the radical arts and its arm of criticism, is *VARIANT*, available for 65p + 17p post from: 2 up r, 45 Cecil St, Glasgow G12.

Yours in solidarity,

Jim McFarlane

[Eds: Yes indeed. Why should London be the only centre for UK anarchist publications. A good paper (*and Here & Now* is a very good paper) should sell everywhere regardless of where it's produced!]

SUPPORT THE REFORMA AGRARIA!

HUMAN RIGHTS IN PORTUGAL

In the south of Portugal the rights of 70,000 agricultural labourers have been trampled on for years. Guards with armoured cars, dogs, horses and rifles expel them violently from the land they cultivate. In spite of these illegal attacks they keep on fighting for their rights to land and work. Their fight deserves the support of anybody who cares for human rights.

In April 1974 a period of 48 years of dictatorship in Portugal came to an end. After years of forced unemployment and repression landless agricultural labourers in the Alentejo in the south decided at the end of 1974 to occupy large farm-lands in order to put an end to a life of hunger. In July 1975 the dispossession of big estates was legalized. And in April 1976 land reform, the REFORMA AGRARIA, formed an important part of the democratic constitution. At that time about 70,000 agricultural labourers were working in 550 UCPs (Collective Production Units) and agricultural co-operatives, which covered about 2.5 million acres. Thanks to the Reforma Agraria they got higher wages and regular work. The UCPs/co-operatives invested more than £250 million. Production and productivity went up. The labourers themselves established welfare facilities. Since 1976, however, attacks on the still young Reforma Agraria began. Especially since the new land reform law of 1977 the (former) large landowners got the opportunity to regain large landownership, with the help of members of the guard and vigilantes.

As the result of the eight year offensive

against the Reforma Agraria, 2,000 agricultural labourers have been injured, hundreds of them put into prison, two killed by guards, about 190 co-operatives destroyed and 47,500 jobs lost (principally for women).

The agricultural labourers do not take it lying down. They institute legal proceedings against the theft of their land, cattle, machines and products. Until now all of the 250 decisions of the court except one went in favour of the agricultural labourers. The attacks on the co-operatives go on, every time in a different way, even now under the rule of Mario Soares. You may wonder how this is possible in a democratic state with a socialist prime minister.

During the offensive by the former right wing governments against the Reforma Agraria, the agricultural labourers' organizations approached Mario Soares, in the opposition at that time. Soares' answer was short and simple: 'We live in a democratic state. If you think that you have been done an injustice you must take the matter into court'. The agricultural labourers had already done this and they went on with this procedure.

When the ministry of agriculture was accused, the case came to the High Administrative Court. And until now almost all cases have been decided in favour of the agricultural labourers. It is remarkable that the only sentence of the High Administrative Court which has been carried out is one where judgement was given against the agricultural labourers. Then the republican guards (GNR) were immediately sent to work to expel the agri-

cultural labourers from the land that the ministry of agriculture had allotted to a large landowner.

Unlike ordinary courts, the High Administrative Court is not competent to see its decisions implemented by means of power (police, bailiffs, etc). That competence is a power reserved by the government. The decree that orders this was promulgated by the first Mario Soares government in 1977. He did that in order to 'protect the right of the accusers' (!). Now Mario Soares is prime minister again ...

You will understand that it is highly necessary to support the Portuguese agricultural labourers. International protests against the offensive against the Reforma Agraria mean a lot of moral support to the Portuguese agricultural workers.

We call upon everybody in your country who supports the human rights in Portugal to take part in this campaign. Let us appeal to the Portuguese government. By advertisements in the Portuguese press and with petitions demanding that justice be done to the agricultural labourers.

Tulipa Vermelha
Postbus 12039
1100 AA Amsterdam Z.O.
Holland

In the 8th Conference on Land Reform, which took place in Evora in July 1984, the following figures were made public: at that time still 355 co-operatives existed, with 470,000 hectares of land, offering jobs to 20,300 agricultural labourers.

IWW ANNOUNCES INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MEETING

The Industrial Workers of the World announced today its plans to hold an international labour conference in Chicago next year.

"We are inviting workers from all over the world to discuss our common problems; such as unemployment, dangerous working conditions, austerity, and the current wave of anti-labour repression" said John Bekken, General Secretary-Treasurer of the IWW.

The conference is being planned to coincide with the Haymarket Centennial. In May 1886, eight radical labour leaders were arrested in the aftermath of a violent confrontation between workers striking for the eight-hour working day and Chicago police. On May 4th a large force of police attempted to disperse a peaceful rally of strikers and supporters in Haymarket Square. When an unknown

person threw a bomb which killed one policeman, the police panicked, firing their revolvers wildly into the crowd and killing several workers as well as six policemen.

The incident was used as an excuse to destroy the radical labour movement in Chicago. Labour leaders were charged with inciting workers to violence. Although no evidence was presented at the trial linking them to the bomb, four of the eight organisers were hung and another allegedly committed suicide in his cell. The remaining three received long prison terms, but were pardoned several years later.

The Haymarket tragedy has long been recognised internationally as a symbol of government and employer collusion to deprive workers of basic human rights. There is a definite parallel between the Haymarket incident and what is going

on today", Bekken said. "The living standards of workers are under attack by giant corporations and national governments, who use investment strategies and austerity schemes to pit workers in different countries against each other. Wherever workers attempt to resist, tremendous forces are mobilised against them. The repression of Solidarnosc in Poland, the defeat of the British miners, and the destruction of PATCO in the US all have something in common".

Conference organisers say that the occasion will be used to promote a shorter working week, worker management of industry, and global solidarity of labour as solutions to the world's economic problems.

For Further Information contact:
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CARRARA

THE BARCELONA OF ITALY

Carrara, in Italy, has a long and rich anarchist tradition and although the anarchist movement there declined after the war and is no longer a mass movement as it once was, it remains one of the most important centres of anarchism in the world today. *Rivista A* went so far as to nominate it the 'capital' of anarchism and it has been described as the 'Barcelona of Italy'. Interestingly, over the last ten years many anarchists have moved there.

Both *Rivista A* and *Umanita Nova*, which was founded by Malatesta, are printed there together with a good many other anarchist publications. The Italian Anarchist Federation was founded at the congress held there in 1945. Today the FAI has its offices in the main square in the centre of the city. There is even a monument in the city dedicated to the anarchist Alberto Meschi — unfortunately a rather ugly example of 'socialist realism'.

In recent weeks Carrara has been in the news because the local council has agreed to put up a monument to Gaetano Bresci, the anarchist who assassinated Umberto I in Monza at the beginning of the century. Journalists have been pouring into Carrara asking questions and looking for explanations; no doubt expecting to find bands of armed anarchists.

A journalist from the Italian weekly *L'Espresso* seemed to be looking for a secret anarchist conspiracy. He seemed quite unwilling to accept that there is a strong libertarian tradition, not only in Carrara, but in other cities such as Ancona, Canoa, Genoa, Piombino and Leghorn. In fact, it is to be found all over



Italy. The apparent invisibility of anarchism which leads journalists to speculate about 'secret conspiracies' exists only because the press choose to ignore it.

Numerous gravestones in Carrara mark the many battles anarchists have fought against bosses, politicians and the police. In 1894 they struggled in solidarity with Sicilian workers who were the victims of repressive measures. In 1911 anarchists helped win a 6½ hour day for workers digging marble. Ironically, they now work over 8 hours a day, thanks to the present unions.

During the First World War, there was a strong anti-war movement in Carrara and many examples of self-management among workers. With the rise of fascism, Carrara and the surrounding areas became one of the most important centres of resistance to Fascism. In 1921, anarchists played a decisive role in defeating fascist forces at Sarzano, near Carrara. The first

Theodor Tsouvalakis Greece

Theodor Tsouvalakis has written to tell of continuing harassment by the Greek authorities. He last wrote in 1982, when he was released from prison. He and his brother, Nick, had been arrested after a bank robbery. Nick still has 21 years of his sentence to run.

Theodor denounces the Greek state and gives examples of harassment. For example, there have been attempts to blame him for a number of armed robberies, his parents have been hassled and the army draft office has charged him with default, although he is already rated as 'unfit for military service'.

'A difficult situation is being created in order to put me back in prison, I will be very glad to receive your support and practical solidarity.'

16 Maragaki 102 AP 5th Floor
Drapetsona, Piraeus

NEWS-BITS

A woman-only nudist beach in Soviet Lithuania has become the centre of a thriving black market. The predominantly male police force is too embarrassed to carry out raids and the few women police won't be seen without their uniforms.

Great things are being promised for a new plastic 'health card' in the USA. The device is being promoted by an insurance company. It can store up to 800 pages of medical history. Amongst this information could be a photograph, a signature facsimile, the extent of their insurance and a range of medical information (after the insurance, you'll note). Seems useful, perhaps police forces might like to investigate the possibilities.

The Oxford University Press has said that it regrets allowing publishers in the USSR to change the definitions of political words in the Russian edition of their *Students' Dictionary*. Words which have become more acceptable to the Central Committee include socialism, capitalism, communism, imperialism, marxism and fascism. The stance of the Press is, of course, that their careful value-free definitions should be sacrosanct. Depends on your point of view. Adding 'exploitation of man by man' to 'capitalism' seems reasonable, if sexist, but 'socialism' as 'a system which is replacing capitalism' seems more sinister. Perhaps a similar addition would help.

Four prisoners at Lerida in Spain have sewn their mouths shut with needles and thread in protest about jail conditions. Others are refusing to eat.

1945~ THE VICTORY AGAINST FASCISM

And FREEDOM Goes To Jail

VE DAY – THE VIEW FROM THE NICK

For a handful of anarchists in Britain, May 8th 1945 came and went with no great difference from the day before or the day after. No bang, no whimper, and as far as I can recall, no extra helping of plum duff or porridge.

Ha, you've guessed it: we were in the nick. In the very last few days of the war for freedom and democracy, Freedom Press, then the only anarchist publishing house in England (there was Strickland Press, run by Guy Aldred, in Glasgow) was attacked by the State and four of its members were arrested and prosecuted on charges of conspiring to disaffect His Majesty's Forces.

Disaffection is a funny word. As Marie Louise Berneri said at the time, "They ought to make to prove *affection* in the first place!", and to think that the few hundreds of anarchists throughout the country could make any kind of dent on the millions in the army, navy or air forces — professional, volunteer or conscript — or the many millions in the back-up industries, was to credit us with magical powers we just did not have. Except that Marie Louise Berneri was right in the sense that outside of the professional militarists, everybody hated the war. The general public might have thought it had to be fought — and the Nazis certainly gave them plenty of reasons for that — but the millions who had been forced into the Forces did their duty with no affection, just a kind of resigned hope that they would live through it. Rather like most of us go through life, I suppose.

Well, we didn't have any magical powers, but we were striking a chord among some of the armed forces. The reason for this is that, in 1942, the group who had been producing *War Commentary*, the paper the anarchists started in opposition to the war in 1939, had been joined by a charismatic character who had escaped from Germany just before the outbreak of war, whom we knew as John Olday.

Known as John Oldag, in Germany, he had been on the surface a musician, artist and cabaret singer, but underneath that an underground anti-Nazi. Legally British, he was able to come to England, where he joined the army and was put into the Pioneer Corps — a regiment of slightly older men whose job was doing the manual work of digging latrines, building

roads, etc.

Olday had been an anarcho-syndicalist in Germany, right through the days of the Weimar Republic and into the Nazi era, and had been involved in the Munich Bomb plot against Hitler's life. By 1942 he had made contact with the British anarchists — by which I mean the Freedom Press Group — and had decided to desert from the British army. Needless to say, he had never been under any illusions about British democracy, or that the war was in any way truly anti-fascist. In this he was unlike some of our Spanish comrades, who had come here in 1939, and were convinced that after the Allies had beaten Hitler they would go on to clear out Franco from Spain. How wrong can some revolutionaries be?

When John deserted, he needed a place to hide, and the place where I was living at that time was ideal. It was a ramshackle studio behind a church in Camden Town, London, where he set up a small hand-operated litho printing press and as well as producing dozens of brilliant cartoons and a booklet called *March to Death*, he started (anonymously) sending out a regular newsletter to all members of the forces who betrayed any interest in anarchism by writing into Freedom Press for copies of *War Commentary*, pamphlets or books.

In a short time he had a mailing list of around 200. Every month he would send out his inflammatory newsletter, encouraging the setting up of soldiers' councils and the development of solidarity among the ranks against the officers.

Of course, it did not take long for the officers to get wind of this — and this provided ammunition for action against Freedom Press.

Another cause, I believe, was nervousness within the government about the coming end of the war. The First World War had ended in revolutions and mutinies among the armed forces, and after five years of war, the forces were getting weary. As we discovered once we got into prison, there were massive desertions, mainly from the army, but also from the navy and air force — all of which had been kept secret from the population at home, including us 'conspirators'!

So, in November 1944, the Freedom Press office and the homes of two comrades, were raided and searched for incriminating

Philip Sansom
PS We were convicted on April 26th,
1945. The European War ended May 8th!

documents. John Olday had already been arrested because he had carelessly been caught when carrying home a typewriter someone had given him, home being my studio, but he never let on about that. I was caught separately, after the studio had been raided because my ration book had been found in the Freedom Press office when that had been searched.

So four of us were charged: Vernon Richards and Marie Louise Berneri (his wife, a significant point later), John Hewetson, and myself. Under Wartime Regulation 39b, disaffection of the forces carried a maximum penalty of 14 years.

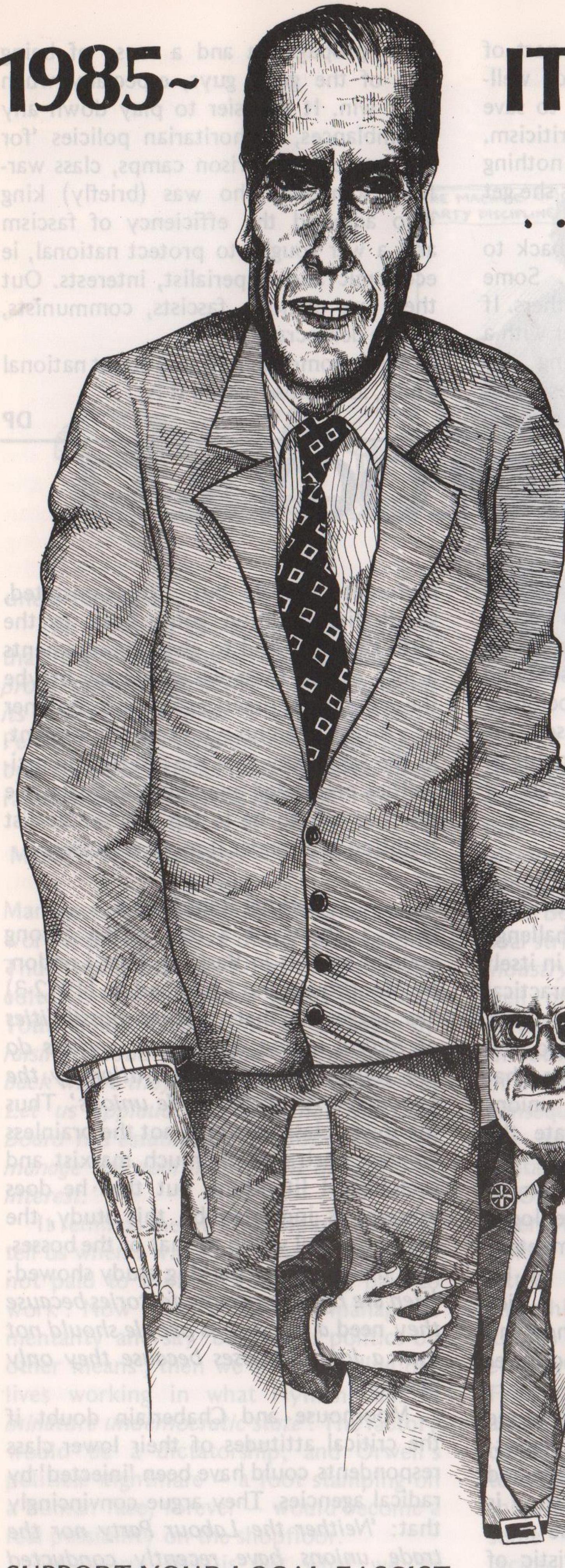
After a trial lasting four days, three of us were found guilty and awarded the extremely light penalty of nine months imprisonment. There is a story behind this which I shall tell another time; suffice it now to say that, much to her disgust, Marie Louise (Berneri) Richards was dismissed from the case because one of the smart lawyers we were able to hire — because of the great success of our appeal fund — had dug up the legal point that a wife cannot be convicted of conspiracy with her husband! The fact that the marriage itself could have been thought of as a conspiracy, since it had been entered into in order to give her British nationality before the war, was, happily, not brought up. Not, I hasten to add, that it was simply a marriage of convenience. Quite the opposite, it was a marriage of true minds and hearts.

In prison, Vernon Richards and John Hewetson joined up with a comrade, T E Brown (not to be confused with another Tom Brown) in Wormwood Scrubs. John Olday was somewhere else in the prison system, and I was in Wandsworth, having collected a previous conviction on the way to the Old Bailey, where the main charge was processed.

I remember, on VE Day, putting a chair under the window of my cell, climbing up and looking out on reflections of street bonfires and hearing the fireworks. Only later did I hear about the dancing and the screwing in the streets. Wish I had been there . . . but our war wasn't over by any means.

Philip Sansom

1985~



SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL FASCIST

Fascism and Nazism have been much in the news lately. The core seems to be the celebrations of the anniversary of Victory in Europe Day, that harkening back to a spurious spirit of national unity. The emotive power of the two words has been invoked to display an incredible mix of confusion and hypocrisy.

The hypocrisy comes, as might be expected, from prominent political figures. They don't come much more prominent than Ronald Reagan and his manouevres sum up the whole thing. Here we have someone who gets to be president of a world superpower, supposedly on the

IT'S ALRIGHT CHAPS...

... It's One Of Ours !

residents would probably have endorsed.

Lesser figures also find the power of the words useful. Neil Kinnock has upset Conservative MPs by likening the effects of the Thatcher government to conditions for the rise of fascism. He did insist that he doesn't believe that Mrs Thatcher or her government are actually fascists themselves. At the opposite end of the conventional political spectrum, Norman Tebbit also finds that emotive power useful, 'I find the views of extremist socialists, whether National Socialist or other, extremely displeasing'. This has upset Labour MPs. David Smith, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, says that basic freedoms in Britain are as much in danger as they were in Germany under the Nazis. His main concern is to stop the undermining of the Christian culture and heritage of Britain. The 'opponents of Christianity', we are well organised and exert power in high places (but presumably not the Highest) include the forces of the extreme right and left and the spread of foreign religions, especially Islam. He must be very upset about the current moves towards legislation of shops' opening on Sundays.

The confusion comes over the old question of tolerating the intolerant and free speech for fascists. This has helped to split the National Council for Civil Liberties over whether they should give help to members of the National Front. The 'tolerant' faction has gone off to compound other confusion by forming another Libertarian Alliance, making three on the go at the moment. It is understandable that an organisation such as the NCCL should be very concerned about definitions of civil liberties, it is their reason for existence. Those with a more cynical turn of mind are not so impressed by legalism, 'civil liberty' is not an absolute, it is the boundary between the convenience of those who grant privileges and the pressure put on them. Shouting 'not fair' is not very useful, it's not supposed to be.

With such attention to the events of forty years ago, fascists have been popping up all over the place. Norman Tebbit's contribution was in defence of Denis Pirie, a higher executive officer in the Department of Trade and Industry with a dubious past and friends. More spectacular names are also around. The Israeli government has weighed in with a reward of

continued over

\$1 million for Josef Mengele, bringing the total current offer to nearly \$3.5 million. The British government is refusing to release the contents of its file on him 'for security reasons', provoking speculation that there might have been some deal. Such things are not unknown.

The silliest nazi story is the fuss about whether a member of the Royal family's father was an SS officer and, if so, was he sincere. We can find plenty of reasons for disapproving of Princess Michael of Kent and her relatives, past and present, with-

DIRECT ACTION SOCIOLOGY ?

POWER – LOCATING THE BOSS

What worries most Marxist academics is that their idea of the enemy – the capitalist class as such – is not what the British worker himself sees as his chief tormentor in his own life. Shopfloor workers are often disgruntled with their bosses, but the boss figure for them is usually a real person, not an ideological abstraction; someone who gives them orders, who hires them and fires them. The boss at work, on this scale of reference, may be a foreman, a progress chaser, a supervisor, a personnel officer, or even a general manager. In social terms it may be the rent collector, the landlord, the welfare agent, the DHSS snoop, the policeman, the bailiff, etc.

Thus the average Marxist moans about the inability of the workers to think for themselves of new or alternative ways of living to the way we live now. They insist on the need for outsiders, in a party, to teach the shopfloor what's what.

As I see it the task of direct actionism, as the latest development in British anarcho-syndicalism, is to ground its analysis within the everyday actions of ordinary people. This is what lies behind the calls in the Direct Action Movement for a new rank and file movement dedicated to militant direct action.

Cultural Dopes

Professional social scientists, whether marxist or otherwise, tend to produce theoretical models which treat the worker or the person-in-society as a 'cultural dope'. Man, as studied, is often seen as a social sleepwalker.

Some sociologists, like Parkin, have argued that the lower class, while disgruntled, are primarily passive and that only the 'radical agencies' – the Labour Party and the trade unions – help the underclass '... to make sense of their situation in radical terms'. Hence the lower class person needs the guide dog of the social scientist or the political party to assist their negotiation of life.

This view of the passive person-in-society is being challenged. John Heritage

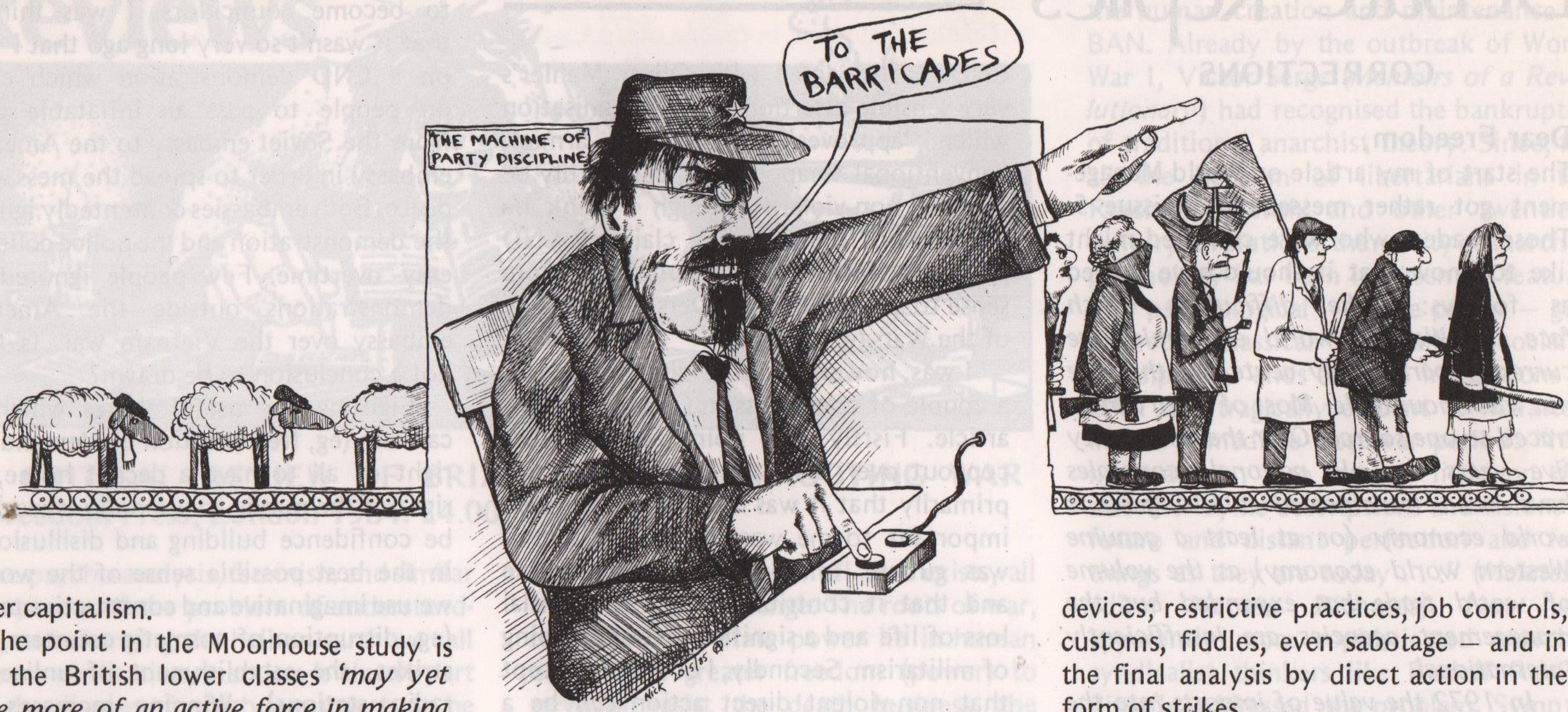
out this one. The only amusing part of the whole thing is the flurry of well-meaning humanitarians, anxious to save the poor (!) woman from unfair criticism. If the doings of her ancestors are nothing to do with her, how the hell does she get to be a Princess?

The point of all this comes back to that confusion and hypocrisy. Some people find it useful to confuse others. If you are running a third rate power with a crumbling economy and growing discontent it is useful to draw on its resources of nostalgia, forty years of film and comic

book propaganda and a sense of being one of the good guys, especially when they win. It is easier to play down any resemblances, authoritarian policies 'for the war effort', prison camps, class warfare, someone who was (briefly) king who admired the efficiency of fascism and a war fought to protect national, ie economic and imperialist, interests. Out there are demons, fascists, communists, we are democrats.

When someone tells you about national unity, ask whose nation it is.

DP



under capitalism.

The point in the Moorhouse study is that the British lower classes 'may yet prove more of an active force in making its own future than is often allowed'. Perhaps for too long the role of the party boss and the intellectuals has been overrated as agents of social change.

Management Attitudes – Where Workers Belong

Managers must manage, and workers must work is the parrot cry of the press barons. Thus it will come as no surprise that the editorial in *The Sunday Times* on March 10th should declare: 'So let us begin by raising a loud cheer that the miners are back where they belong, which is, at work. Let us applaud the fact that the Coal Board has established its proper claim to manage the coal industry in the national interest.'

It reminds me of what the boss used to tell us when I was an apprentice: 'You are not paid to think – you're only paid to work'. Now if we accept this managerial mentality and say 'business is politics by other means', then we'd be spending our lives working in what Hyman calls 'a miniature undemocratic state'. The factory would be a dictatorship, and Orwell's political nightmare – a foot stamping on a human face, forever – would become a real possibility on the shopfloor.

Of course this is not what we, as workers, experience as a 'reality' on the shopfloor. A regime in which the workers just work and management manage them is probably a management 'ideal', dependent more on the wishful thinking of the boss than any known shopfloor situation.

Anyone who has worked on the shopfloor knows that the managerial formal controls on production can be subverted, bypassed and 'fiddled' by workers. This may even be necessary, not just for workers to keep some control of their work, but often in order to overcome management inadequacy.

Donald Roy, who worked as a radical-drill operator in the machine shop of a

steel processing plant in the USA, has suggested that management directives may not be '... the guides to efficient action that they are claimed to be'. The dangerous *Sunday Times* idea that the Coal Board may, in the aftermath of the coal strike, be induced 'to manage the coal industry in the national interest', could well prove to be the most disruptive concept. Every worker knows that the smooth running of the firm and continuity of production, is often only achieved as a consequence of shopfloor workers bending the rules and overcoming management obstacles to production.

One only has to consider what happens when in a 'work-to-rule' the workers follow the directives of the boss to the letter, and the chaos which ensues. Anarchists and direct actionists have long known this, and have developed it as an effective form of industrial action. Fortunately most British managers are aware of the dangers of imposing rigid controls, and they often turn a blind eye to short circuiting of the rules by the shopfloor.

Of course this is not what we, as workers, experience as a 'reality' on the shopfloor. A regime in which the workers just work and management manage them is probably a management 'ideal', dependent more on the wishful thinking of the boss than any known shopfloor situation.

Clearly the modern industrial enterprise is not a kind of bossdom in which the shopfloor workers are kicked-into-line. Nor is it, using the analogy of Fox (1966), 'a miniature democratic state'; for workers do not elect their managers and cannot vote them out of office. At least formally the employer alone is vested with the right to govern the firm. What we would say is that this 'divine right to manage' is radically limited by many shopfloor

devices; restrictive practices, job controls, customs, fiddles, even sabotage – and in the final analysis by direct action in the form of strikes.

But if direct action is so deeply rooted in the lives of ordinary workers, why has it not yet been followed to its logical conclusion – workers' control? Hyman (1972) seems to be arguing that for this to happen, some kind of 'openly political movement' would be needed to lift the workers from their day to day industrial struggles into the social and political arena.

However, if Moorhouse and Chamberlain are right in their study of 'lower class attitudes', it may be that the workers are not as sheep-like about politics as some would have us believe. Although many of their respondents did vote, few thought it made any difference who governed, to people like themselves. Many of their respondents 'spontaneously referred to direct action' when asked about the most effective means of influencing the government'. These writers thought that insofar as the interests of the lower classes was not met through the 'existing political mechanisms' they are likely to be pursued in 'other, more inventive ways'.

Since the Moorhouse and Chamberlain study in 1974, there has been the 'Winter of Discontent', the urban riots of 1981, and now the coal strike – which involved a thinly disguised challenge to the Coal Board's 'right to manage'. Clearly direct action has taken on important and mass significance, but what should be of more vital concern to anarchists is the accompanying disenchantment of many people with the 'normal' political system.

Curiously, despite the anarchistic findings of the Moorhouse study, neither the British anarchist movement generally nor the Direct Action Movement in particular have yet had any perceptible influence upon the lower classes. In other words, organised anarchism is failing to voice the instinctive apoliticism of many ordinary workers.

Brian Bamford

Debate Replies

CORRECTIONS

Dear Freedom,

The start of my article on World Management got rather messed up in issue 5. Those readers who were confused might like to know that it should have started as follows: "The difficulties which face the Western world economies are currently particularly acute but they are not insurmountable. Most of them can be traced to one source. Over the last twenty five years the old national economies have been transformed into a genuine world economy (or at least a genuine Western world economy) as the volume of world trade has expanded but the management agencies are insufficiently international.

In 1972 the value of imports into the UK was £11,072,800,000. By 1982 it had risen to £56,940,300,000..."

I hope these errors didn't make an already complicated article inaccessible.

Good to have people criticise my article on CND for the right reasons. I absolutely agree with Donald Roodum that the completeness of the old CND's illusions in the Labour Party was important in its later collapse. The same illusions persist and are prevalent in the new wave of

DELEGATION OF UTOPIA

In his article 'Life without Leaders' (Freedom, May 1985) Paul-Francois Guillotin states that "anarchy (is) total co-operation between individuals". I would like to know what this could possibly mean. It is asserted that "People would use each others' various skills and abilities . . ." How is it decided which skills and abilities are to be used, and by whom? Given finite resources how exactly would a community structure its activities "to ensure that everyone had enough to live comfortably", always assuming that everyone shared the same criteria for assessing this? The only way this utopianism could be relevant to real people would be if everyone was totally rational and objective, as well as "trusting, responsible and willing to co-operate at all times". Also everyone

they should join the Labour Party and try to become councillors. I was thinking that it wasn't so very long ago that I went on a CND demonstration which called on people to pass an inflatable globe from the Soviet embassy to the American embassy in order to spread the message of peace. Both embassies contentedly ignored the demonstration and the police collected easy overtime. Few people ignored the demonstrations outside the American embassy over the Vietnam war. Is there not a conclusion to be drawn?

I was, however, a little disappointed by a couple of comments in Colin Johnson's article. Firstly, my point about CND's cop out over the Falklands war was not primarily that it was illogical. Much more important to me was the feeling that it was gutless, immoral and contemptible and that it contributed to a substantial loss of life and a significant strengthening of militarism. Secondly, I obviously accept that non-violent direct action can be a useful tactic in some circumstances. I simply don't see it as a strong enough tactic to rid the world of nuclear weapons and am not at all impressed by the way it is being used by CND as if it were the only tactic possible.

This means that when I advocate 'useful political activity' I don't have in mind the idea that people should always be violent, whilst on the other hand I certainly don't have in mind the idea that

CND. I also agree with Oliver Mahler's very sensible assertion that an organisation which 'approves' of standing armies, conventional weapons, etc, can hardly be seen as non-violent (though I think he rather ruins the point by claiming CND approves of NATO - it would make more sense to accuse some CNDers of approving of the Warsaw Pact).

Fighting for useful things which we can win (eg, free abortion on demand, the right of all to have a decent home, the right of the public to use radio waves) can be confidence building and disillusioning in the best possible sense of the word if we use imaginative and constructive tactics (eg, disruption of cosmetic counters, rent strikes, the establishment of unlicensed radio stations). Winning increases our strength and reforms extracted from the system by popular pressure are revolutionary. Marching for hours and listening to tedious speeches and then being ignored is soporific and depressing.

Andy Brown

PS I liked the article on Gandhi a lot. Readers might like to recall that another religious figure who used to sleep with young girls in order to test himself was Gregorii Rasputin.

would have to be fully conscious all the time of their own and everyone else's needs, feelings and desires. It is impossible to live with others without inadvertently impinging on them through ignorance, lack of consideration, etc.

Even with the best will in the world people who are not identical to each other will always have difficulty appreciating what others want and need. This applies to communities as well as individuals. Trade and provide cannot simultaneously be used to describe inter-communal processes. How do we (in one community) discuss with others how our interaction should be organised? Do all of us have to go and see all of them each time (!)? Efficiency per se may not be our primary aim but wouldn't delegation be more realistic? Besides, if everyone is as "trusting . . . (etc)" as suggested, why would delegation pose any problem? In practice the only

alternative to delegation would be to pre-ordain what involvement with others would be. That would be a far cry from "total co-operation". The latter concept is in fact the basic assumption and the product of the rather circular argument against delegates.

To encourage "people to see anarchism as a viable social theory" we will have to do just what Paul-Francois fails to do, that is to produce a theory that relates to people and communities actually dealing with the complexities and frustrations attendant on life (personal, social, economic and political). Utopian generalisations and simplistic tautologies such as those expressed in the article are themselves exactly what will convince people of the irrelevance and pointlessness of anarchism.

Tom Jennings
Newcastle-Upon-Tyne

degree to Sun Myung Moon of the Unification Church. The vice-principal of the school says that this has no connection with the \$30,000 the Church recently gave them.

Six young people have set off on a hike across the most arid part of Australia without food or water in a 'test to see if God exists'. The group, ranging in age from 6 to 22, will carry bibles, bandages and a Swiss army knife.

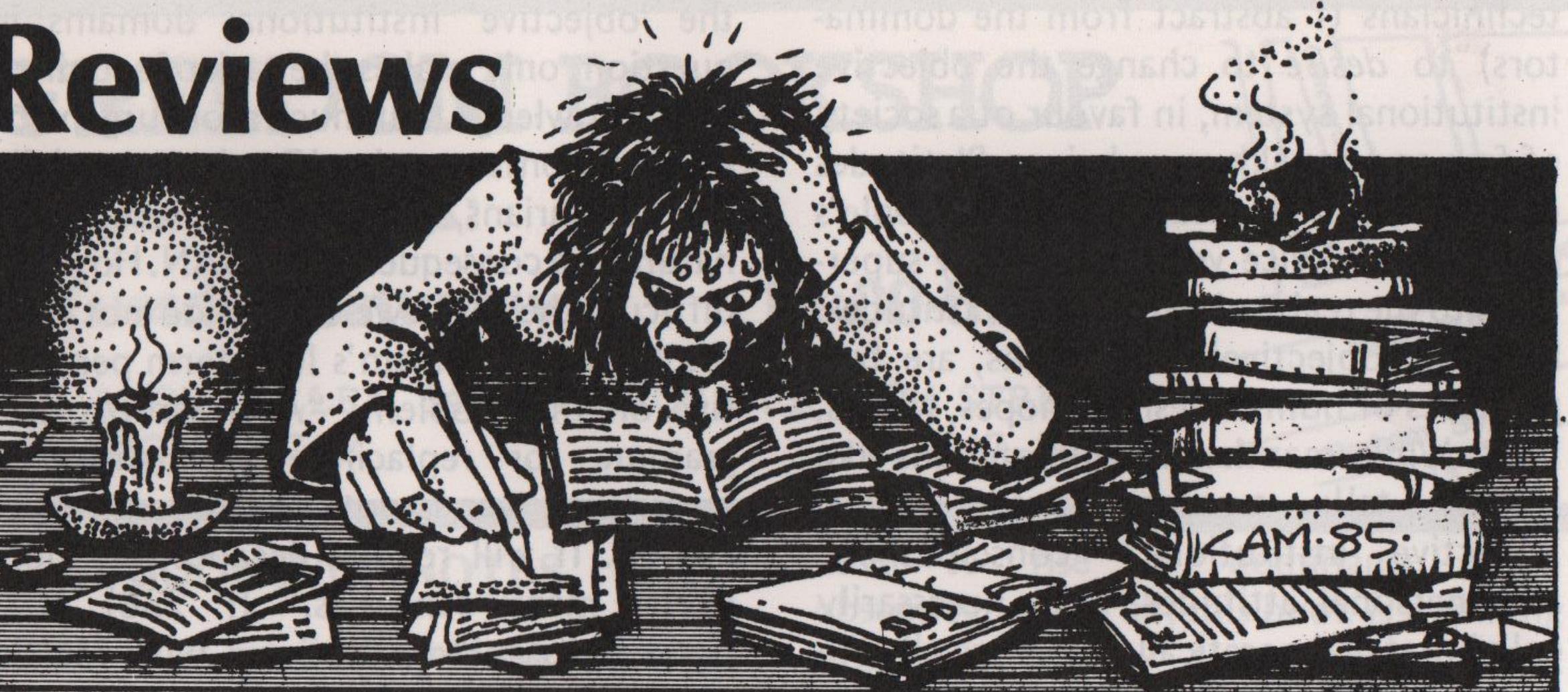
GOD~BITS

A few religious/mystical events. The Church of Scotland has advised that devils and demons are best defeated without the use of exorcism. It prefers the use of prayer, blessing and the ministry of healing.

A Baptist divinity school in Raleigh, North Carolina, has awarded an honorary

The Pope briefly lost his gold ring when he waved a bit too energetically to a crowd in Rome. This is more serious than you might think, as it is an official papal seal. Fortunately it was recovered by security agents. The Holy Father must have found his faith a great comfort, with all the distressing things happening lately. There's all the unpleasantness during his tour of Holland, the sight of Roman Catholics throwing bottles at the Pope was spared us when he was over here.

Reviews



A CRITICAL REVIEW OF BRIAN MARTIN'S UPROOTING WAR

(Freedom Press, London 1984. £4.00, 298 pages)

Like psycho-analysis, feminism and similar symptoms of the problem of understanding and changing the hell-on-earth we call human civilisation, marxism is clearly part of the disease of which it purports to be the cure. If the aim of the exercise is a society or set of societies of free and equal human beings, the elite conquest and exercise of economic and State power under whatever ideological cover story, can only perpetuate human domination, suffering and death. If marxism is inadequate to address and redress the modern global system of private property/production for profit and nation States, it is a *fortiori* incapable of addressing war, the institutional symptoms *par excellence* of this system. (I confine myself to contemporary civilisation. Compare Lewis Mumford: "The cycle of conquest, extermination and revenge is the chronic conditions of all 'civilised' states, and, as Plato observes, war is their natural condition".)

True, the modern 'slaughter-bench of history', two World Wars, the 30 million or so dead, the 40 or so post-1945 wars, the arms race, the permanent threat of nuclear wars with their unknowable consequences, together with the moronising effects of the rest of the institutions of the modern 'civilising sheep-dip' - the intellectual/moral degeneration process - serve only to reinforce individual passive or active acceptance of business as normal. The fact remains that humans make and maintain the institutions in question. Why? Blaming the 'species' a la Freud and other biological determinists simply avoids the basic characteristic of human mind/nature: precisely owing to our (contingent) biological inheritance, powers of free thought and action. Within the limits of natural law, however limiting the social conditions, within these limits each individual freely contributes to the creation of the social world around him/her. What then is it about modern human individuals which dispose them to collaborate as elite dominators and means-technicians or victims in the modern war business, with all its diseased features and consequences?

Historically, marxism and anarchism or libertarian socialism (I ignore authoritarian and extreme-individualist caricatures) have represented the 19-20th century left's efforts to grapple with and act to change business as normal. If marxism has failed because it is a psychology (hence ideology) of business as normal, anarchism has hitherto failed because it has lacked

any adequate (libertarian) psychology of the human creation and maintenance of BAN. Already by the outbreak of World War I, Victor Serge (*Memoirs of a Revolutionary*) had recognised the bankruptcy of traditional anarchist theory. Since, for all the heroism of libertarians in the Russian, Spanish and other twentieth century revolutions, the naivety of anarchist psychology has been its essential feature. The psychological - hence power - gulf between classical libertarian socialist principles or ends and the institutions of BAN was tragically evident to Malatesta in the immediate post-war period: "It is necessary . . . to leave a little on one side the idyllic descriptions and visions of future and distant perfection and face things as they are today . . ." (Malatesta editor Vernon Richards). Not have apparently more sophisticated anarcho-syndicalist thinkers like Rudolf Rocker directly addressed the problem. Symptomatic of the psychological crisis of contemporary libertarian theory is the fact that Noam Chomsky's writings, presented by his editor C P Otero (*Radical Priorities*) as "arguably the highest point in the libertarian socialist tradition", either avoid the problem or treat it schematically in classical, bankrupt terms. And this, despite the fact that in his non-political work, Chomsky rightly regards himself as a theoretical psychologist.

It was with some interest, then, that I read Brian Martin's recently published book on the roots of modern war and what's to be done about it from an explicit libertarian socialist standpoint.* Alas, the book, while valuable in many ways, stops where libertarian theory needs to start. For all his concern with individual and group based strategies for 'uprooting war', Martin is concerned only to address the 'objective symptoms' of the problem: "The roots of war are the institutions which maintain centralised political and economic power, inequality and privilege, and monopolies over organised violence to protect power and privilege. Some of the key roots of war are the state system, bureaucracy, the military and patriarchy." (vii). We have heard this from marxists and non-marxists (Einstein, C W Mills, Russell . . . well-meaning people of every political hue) before. Few libertarians will disagree with Martin's opposition to (influencing) the elites who run the nation state system, his insistence that war cannot be eliminated without radical replacement of the institutions of BAN, or his emphasis on ideas for involving people in grassroots activism. But it is precisely the most heightened symptom of the continuing psychological bankruptcy of libertarian theory that Martin's diagnosis and prescriptions concerning war completely fail to address the 'subjective' conditions without which 'objective' institutional change is impossible. "Social continued over

institutions shape people's attitudes, and people's attitudes shape the creation of institutions. I take it for granted than an antiwar strategy must involve changing people's attitudes".

While for Martin "The ideal is simultaneous institutional and personal change", "I think it is much more important that strategies be based on promoting institutional transformation. Participatory campaigns with this goal will promote changes in attitude as they proceed." (ibid.)

Like Marx in *The German Ideology*, Martin substitutes naive wishful thinking concerning "changing consciousness through praxis" for the real task: the provision of a systematic libertarian theory, empirically grounded in the deepest understanding of human natural psychology, of a) that the psychological conditions of 'normal' participation of individuals in groups in each nation state (as dominators, means-technical functionaries and victims) in corporate and state BAN; and b) the psychological conditions for the majority of victims and means-

technicians (I abstract from the dominators) to *desire* to change the objective institutional system, in favour of a society of free and equal human beings. Platitudes on the level of 'institutions shape people's attitudes and vice versa' are simply superficial to the real problem: human 'attitudes' like the 'objective' institutions, are free products of human desire – hopes, wishes, fears. While marxists and libertarians like Martin talk a-psychologically about 'objective institutions', 'consciousness' and 'personal attitudes', they necessarily collaborate theoretically-ideologically in mystifying the *real* roots of the causes of war.

Thus it is that we have a book of nearly 300 pages by an intelligent, sophisticated libertarian activist (Martin summarises his own 'sheepdip' for us on pages 104-7) whose 'strategies' for grassroots action to change the institutions of BAN remain completely 'idealistic', lacking precisely the grounding in a depth-psychology adequate to the task. To argue that we lack even the beginnings of an adequate understanding, let alone systematic libertarian theory, of the psychology of free human thought and action, above all in

the 'objective' institutional domains in question, only makes the task of acquiring such knowledge that much more urgent.** Explanation is never justification, especially for libertarians, given the unprecedented nature and consequences of BAN. However difficult the task, we simply do not have the luxury of Martin's long-term perspective on the problem: "A grassroots programme for replacing the institutions underlying war is not a short term proposition. It will require decades, or, more likely, many centuries." (P 238). It is not necessary to take issue with Martin concerning the real-world possibilities of continuing his grassroots action-campaigns after nuclear war(s) (chapters 5-6) in order to appreciate the book's essential psychological naivety, its radical lack of psychological realism. If this is a brave book, a good attempt to grapple with complexities of unprecedented importance which most people, libertarians included, don't want to know about, its chief value lies in stimulating us to ask and try in adequate libertarian theory and practice, to answer why.

Patrick Flanagan
Barcelona

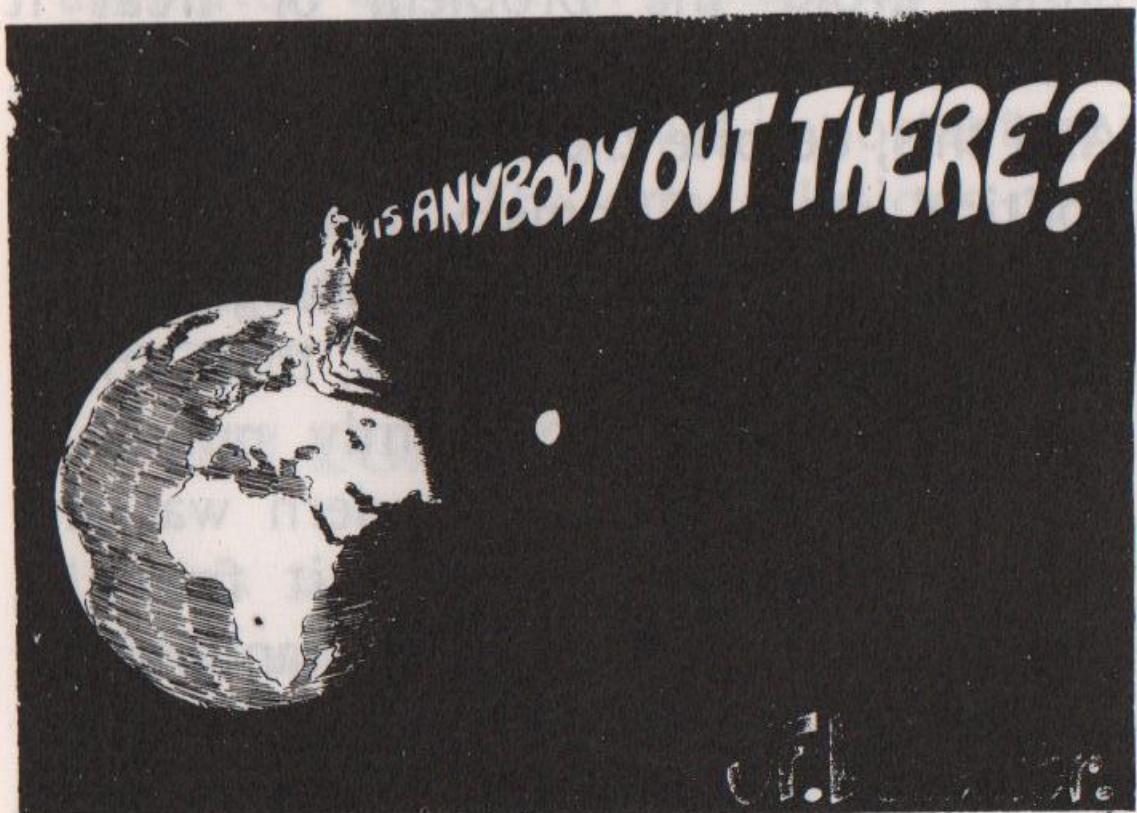
Having paid due homage to Picasso's Guernica, I feel that it is well nigh impossible to think of any major work of visual art that earned the hatred of those it was aimed at, for in the end the best now decorate the walls of the wealthy and the worst are forgotten. All those pretty posters spawned in the Paris riots of 1968 are now nicely framed as prints for prices beyond your pockets, my comrades. While out of the miners year long strike not one valid visual work of art came, for it was of no interest to Britain's Bond Street contracted painters. One single photographic poster of a woman being clubbed by a mounted policeman is all, to our art establishment's shame, we shall be left with to honour those involved in that long struggle. And it is instant art of the fleeting moment from the pencil of the cartoonists. And it is they who reflect our anger, shepherd our emotions and simplify the news beneath the gravestone of the day's headline. Crane lost his way in a fairy-world of working class whimsy, Low in the dead thirties treated the shadow of the concentration camps as an amusing funny story, Cliff Harper of the superb line is too intellectual, Constantini turns it all into two-dimensional decoration, while 'Brick', working under the pressure of a deadline, has to fall back too often onto the harmless giggle, but he is my best for working to that deadline. Only Scarfe and Cummings surface because they hurt, they hurt and that is what it is about, for if the cartoon does not hurt then it has failed.

And always the artist with the brush and the crayon painting the gentle worker, the devout peasant or the toe-touching ballerina. Though I was never a devout peasant or a toe-touching ballerina, I can stand in judgement on the visual interpretations of the gentle worker as one who has done more than my fair whack in the world of industrialised mass production, and one knows that it is impossible to reproduce in line or paint the boredom and the mind-draining awfulness of those long hours of repetition

and, with his wife Marie-France, he is part of that 'scene' peculiar to Paris and its open cafe society. His style is a combination of Harper's meticulous drawing and a free-hand, fluid style and his subject matter anti-establishment but with no particular cause on offer. His books of reproductions have a print-run of thousands and he is used, and I type used deliberately, by almost every anti-establishment grouping of the libertarian or political left, or just sucks-boo to the government of the hour, trade unions of newspaper or periodical and 'abroad' from Bulgaria to Finland. And if you are so well loved by editors then one must ask oneself why? I would hold that in Batellier's vast output of brilliant and witty drawings no-one is held responsible for any act of inhumanity – it is always the great amoral *them*, and *them ain't us*.

I hold that my point regarding Batellier's work is justified in his witty 'pornographic' drawings, for, as I bear witness, it is these that have the in-crowd, 'we are with it' people moving away feeling that they are offended. When individuals move away in feigned disgust at his anti-establishment works and groups and papers refuse to use them because of their savage bite, then Batellier will have won, but at this moment in time he is like unto one of the fabulous primitive punk rockers who were cleaned up, physically and artistically, for the in-crowd mass sales. But, Jean-Francois, I think you're marvellous working outwards from the witty pornographic to the amoral anti-establishment protests for the soft centred.

Arthur Moyse



Is Anybody Out There?
A book of cartoons by J F Batelli
Free Association Books, 26 Freegrove Road,
London N7 9RQ.

HOLD THAT POSE, COMRADE

It is a universally known fact, so I am told, that the entire French and Italian middle classes are card carrying members of their respective Communist Parties. The climate is warm, the wine is cheap, laughter and tears are on public display long after the tourist season, and the mass demonstrations are the theatre of the streets offering the romantic audience participation denied to the cinema

And always the artist with the brush and the crayon painting the gentle worker, the devout peasant or the toe-touching ballerina. Though I was never a devout peasant or a toe-touching ballerina, I can stand in judgement on the visual interpretations of the gentle worker as one who has done more than my fair whack in the world of industrialised mass production, and one knows that it is impossible to reproduce in line or paint the boredom and the mind-draining awfulness of those long hours of repetition

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The Spanish Revolution: The Left and the Struggle for Power during the Civil War.

Burnett Bolloten (University of North Carolina Press, 1979) 664 pages, £10.

This volume is a vast revision and expansion of Bolloten's *The Grand Camouflage*, first published in 1961. As such, it ranks as the definitive book on the subject and worth every penny of its £10 price (which is cheap, coming from the USA). Apart from being the first academic historian to establish the depth and extent of the 'spontaneous revolution' that swept over much of Spain as a proletarian response to the military rising, Bolloten also clearly reveals the methods which the communist party

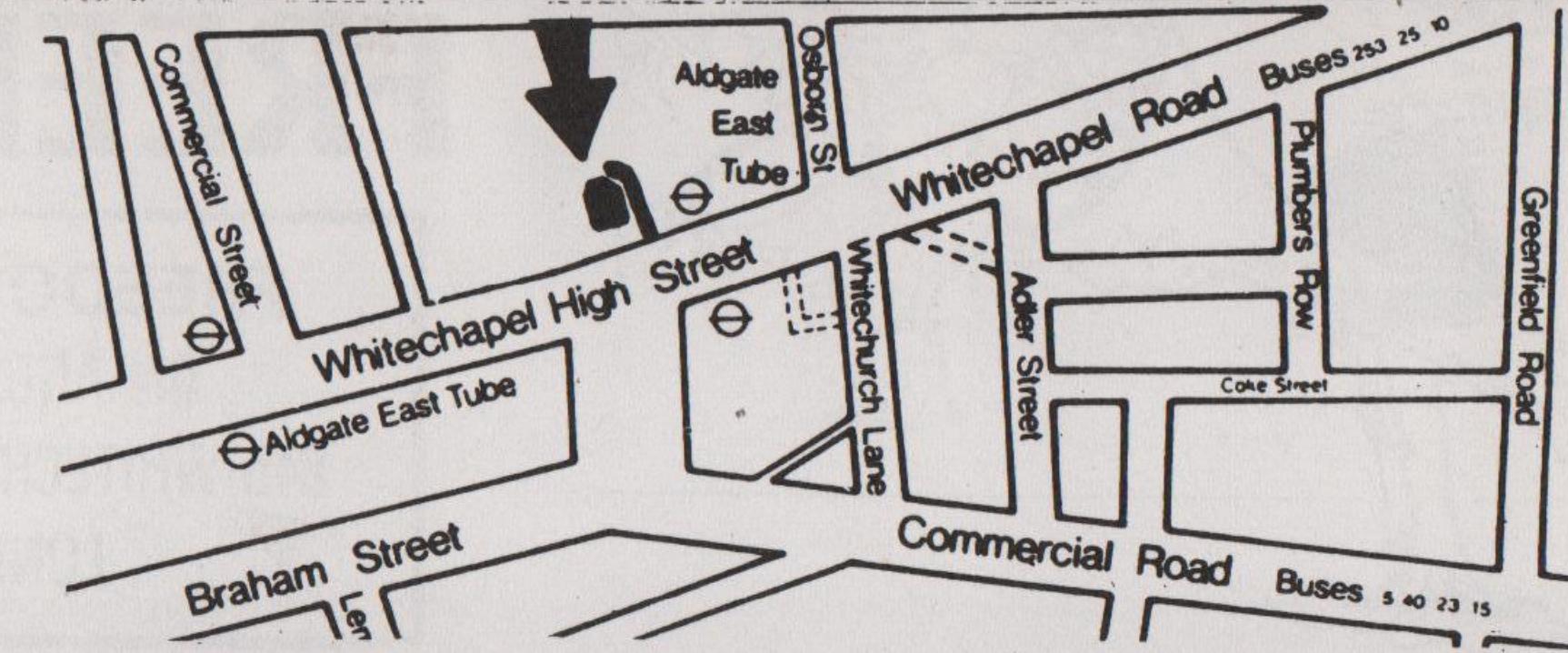
used to rise to dominance from obscurity. All in all, this book is a shining example of how to combine truth, passion and scholarship in a grippingly readable package. Buy now before the price goes up.

(*Stu-note to all anarcho-journalists: Anyone lecturing the world about anarchism, especially DAM members, who hasn't read this book is simply bullshitting.*)

A bit less pricy are the new pamphlets: *The Bolshevik Myth* by Alexander Berkman, 64pp, 90p. This a reprint by Virus of Berkman's diary extracts 1920-1922, when he was travelling/working with Emma Goldman. When they first came to Russia they adored the Bolsheviks, but as time went on and they saw the peasants' everyday life they changed their minds. Though, as usual, in this pamphlet Berkman hardly mentions Goldman's name.

Anarchy – by an Anarchist. Elisee Reclus. Republished by 'Practical Parasite' 12 A4 pages, 40p. Originally published 1884 in the USA. As far as I know, this is the author's only work in print right now.

Another pamphlet just out is *The Chinese Anarchist Movement*, published



by Drowned Rat, 20 A4 pages, 75p. It's a presentation of the origins, the links with the national revolution, the work-study movement and of the rising communist tide.

Medway DAM-IWA just published *Pornography and State Control*, by Liz Verran, 12 A4 pages, 50p. It contains a definition, a debate and ways of action.

The last pamphlet this month is an excellent bibliography of *Anarchist and Related Pamphlets 1970-1985*, compiled by R Alexander. It is published by Practical Parasite, 25 A4 pages, 80p. A few of the around 460 listed pamphlets are out of print, though the editor is willing to do photocopies of the ones you want, at cost + postage.

Mo handed over the bookshop to me in mid-April and I am now in the process of ordering a few books that have not been on the shelves before. More details in the next *Freedom*.

Mia

By the way, do you know why anarchists drink rhubarb tea? Because property is theft.

