



# FREEDOM

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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

## Donations

### FREEDOM MAGAZINE FUND

Contributions Received May/June  
 J L Wolves £10.50; J K W Wolves £3.50;  
 R M £3.50; J de G £2.00; M K G B Merseyside £1.00; A T M London £3.50;  
 Anon £2.00.  
 May/June Total = £26.00  
 1985 Total = £786.79

### FREEDOM PRESS FUND

J L Wolves £21; P F H £2.00; J de G £1.50; M K B G Merseyside £1.00.

May/June Total = £25.50  
 1985 Total = £305.81

[The May/June figures are low because we haven't sent out subs-renewals for 2 months. Please be generous when they arrive, this and next month. We are well short of what we need!]

## Thank you

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**WARWICK** c/o Students' Union, Warwick University, Coventry  
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**YORK** Shelf 22, 73 Walmgate, York

# FREEDOM



## WELL FARES THE STATE WEIGHING UP OUR PAST

# FREEDOM

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**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

Production editors: David Peers, Stu Stuart, John Anderson, Nick and Cam.  
Contributing editors: Colin Johnstone and Arabella Melville.

## MEET THE EDITORS

Every Thursday at Angel Alley.  
Thursday 4th July: Discussion about Freedom Press Centenary, 7:00-9:30pm  
Thursday 11th July: A Distribution, 6:00-8:30pm  
Thursday 18th July: Freedom Layout (not a good time for long chats)  
Thursday 25th July: A Distribution and Freedom mail-out. Everybody welcome (and needed), 6:00-9:30pm and drinks afterwards

Last copy days for Freedom August issue: Tuesday 16th July. September issue: Tuesday 19th August.



## The Great Subs Saga Part III

Well, thanks to the visiting petty thief, I spent two very boring weeks, eight-hours-a-day, reprocessing the subs system. I can now report that we have processed every bit of paper you have sent to us up to 16th June '85. If we still have the wrong address or something you will have to write in (again?). Otherwise, it is NOW TOTALLY SAFE TO SUBSCRIBE TO FREEDOM. Regrettably this was not so under the *ancien regime* for a while ago, and it will probably take years of 100% efficiency to undo that reputation! I would like to take this opportunity to thank those (too) many people who didn't get the *Freedom*s for which they paid, for their almost 100% comradely and forgiving attitude when I eventually managed to salvage their sub from the wreck of the past.

One point however, a public apology to *Careless Talk Collective* and about 10 others, whose new subscriptions were in an envelope that fell down behind the radiator during the chaos with the miners here. These things happen, I suppose . . . but why to good groups like *Careless Talk* instead of someone I don't like . . .?

## The Future of Freedom

With the aid of an interest-free loan of £4,000 from Freedom Press (again) Aldgate Press have bought a photo-setting machine (not yet installed). Aldgate have taken the opportunity of "improved service" to add £30 to our bill. (We pay at the same "cheap-rate" as *Black Flag*, *Solidarity*, etc.) Thus it's back to cheaper paper again. Actually, I prefer it. This, plus our change to magazine format, means the print bill has risen from £244 each issue to about

£320. To this please add a staggering £135 per issue STAMP BILL! Add bits and pieces, and we're looking at £500 a month or £6,000 a year, which is slightly scary if you're on the dole. The 20 page 45p *Freedom* is I'm afraid simply not on, now, unless Freedom Press decided to subsidise a serious loss rather than cash-in on our 100th Birthday next year, Oct 1986 (as we had all cynically hoped).

## More Help Needed

A general shift rational shift round in the Freedom building has actually produced one office devoted to *Freedom* magazine and Freedom Press. (Us new-folk on *Freedom* are still wondering how an organisation that owns a building with eight offices could wind up without one itself . . . the tale is too silly to tell!) Now that a certain confusion has been cleared up, we again feel free to ask about for some new people willing to help produce *Freedom*. We've even bought some (cheap) comfortable typist's chairs for you to sit on!

I know that according to our mast-head we have seven people involved, but . . . Colin and Bella commute in from Norfolk, David from Kent, Cam from Welling Garden City, Nick hitches from Leicestershire, John K A comes in from the Western Wilds beyond Baron's Court while, unfortunately, I live only a 40p bus ride away. Since I'm unemployed, the must-be-done, regular production/subs jobs all wind up on my plate. That's the only reason you keep seeing my name on the editorial.

If you have any useful skills, writing, sub-editing or most especially layout, and you're a reasonable, rational human being you'd be surprised how quickly your name appears as an editor! Thursday

nights are our "official" open night but serious folk can find us here Tuesdays too, although these are officially "internal only" meetings. We would stress that our collective line is STRICTLY non-terrorist and non-pacifist, and that *Freedom* is an anarchist magazine, not a single-issue fanzine!

## Writing for Freedom

This past year has seen a serious increase in both the quality and quantity of contributions from outside the collective. Perhaps we are still receiving too many overlong and verbose academic confusions, but there has been an improvement. One serious failing has emerged, however. *Freedom* is an international magazine . . . in fact as well as intention. We have well over 250 non-UK subscribers, and something like 35% of all sales are ex-UK. May we suggest that you remember who you're writing for rather than assume a UK background knowledge that many of our readers simply don't have.

Speaking personally, I am beginning to reach saturation point with articles which stress the need for new ideas in economics, sociology, psychology etc WITHOUT actually providing any such ideas or even hinting at what they might be. Don't be such pussy-footing cowards!

## Money

Usual thing . . . we need it . . . you got it . . . give us some . . . preferably in large amounts . . . checks made out to Freedom Press . . . after all, it is our 100th Birthday next year! You can ear-mark your contribution to the *Freedom* magazine or to Freedom Press or both. To mark the occasion there will be lots of new/old books printed . . . Stu Stuart

Dear Comrades,  
Appalling scandal in the June *Freedom* – porn shops in Nottingham and Luton attacked, not by the police or the National Front or the Festival of Light, but by self-styled 'anarchists' who actually had the gall to write to *Freedom* boasting of their militant censoriousness. No argument, porn is ugly, but censorship is equally ugly, also authoritarian and dangerous.

As you say in an editorial note, there are those in the *Freedom* collective who think Boots is a chemists shop and hamburgers are food. There are also those among *Freedom* readers and contributors who think anarchism means advocating that everything should be allowed except coercion of other people.

By extending the meaning of *people* to 'include non-human individuals one can, awkwardly, stretch *anarchism* to include opposition to butchery and vivisection. But there is no way whatever of making *anarchism* include attacks on freedom to publish.

Let *Freedom* be a forum for all shades of anarchist opinion, however dotty. But please don't allow it to be used as a platform by proponents of the repressive society.

Donald Room

## Dear Freedom Collective,

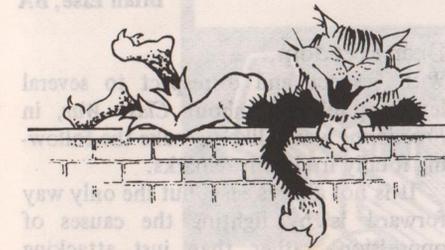
Mick Larkin suggests that more articles could be written on economic questions and that they would be useful, on that point people would agree. Especially as it would help people, both readers and writers, to understand a bit more clearly the relationship between the state, big business and the exploited.

Added to articles on economics there could also be some bits on science and mathematics as well as biology. If that happened then people like the verbose Flanagan would think twice about presenting written rubbish which has been dressed up in verbal baggage, eg the first 700 words in his critical review, etc, in the June edition of *Freedom*. 1) War is not a theory; 2) civil wars are not micro-scale, eg English, American, Irish, Russian,

to use a truism all wars are civil wars; 3) the aim of war is conquest, not peace; 4) death as we know it is part of a natural process or universal cycle; 5) nation states are things of the past; 6) prisoners do not construct prisons, the exploited do not create exploitation; 7) politicians, capitalist, producers and proletariat (ie property-less in the absolute sense) are *not variables* they are *constants*.

In the long run people are free to write and think and also to use as much space as they need, but surely the people to whom they are presenting their thoughts are as important as the ego. When people incorrectly use hundreds of words to cover up a certain proposition then it must only be because what they have to say is a load of old bullshit.

Oskar Rossin  
Liverpool



## Dear Comrades,

I sometimes get *Black Flag* and *Freedom* from the local community bookshop but I must object to the use of vulgar words. I sometimes use vulgar words myself, but I don't put them into print. These vulgar words are mostly in Readers Letters. Now before somebody calls me a prude or a philistine they might reflect on the words of that famous anarchist Herbert Read. "Freedom isn't licence".

Brian P Scales  
York

[Eds: Golly Gosh!]

## Dear Freedom,

On behalf of the 'Cambridge Libertarian' I would like to express admiration for the line you took over the miners' strike, in particular Stu Stuart's highly original and well developed thesis on delegate

democracy.

For too long now has the radical tradition in British politics been dominated by the 'knee-jerk' totalitarian left. Recently I believe that *Freedom* has helped to forge a new and better understanding of libertarian economics – something sadly lacking in other libertarian publications and providing a useful focus for debate for those of us in the libertarian movement who so much despise the collectivist and obvious statist tendencies of the 'brotherhood' (ie trade unions). We wish you all well.

Andrew Fox  
Cambridge

[Eds: Actually Stu is a 'collectivist-anarchist', like Proudhon and Bakunin . . . well something like, anyway]

## Dear Freedom,

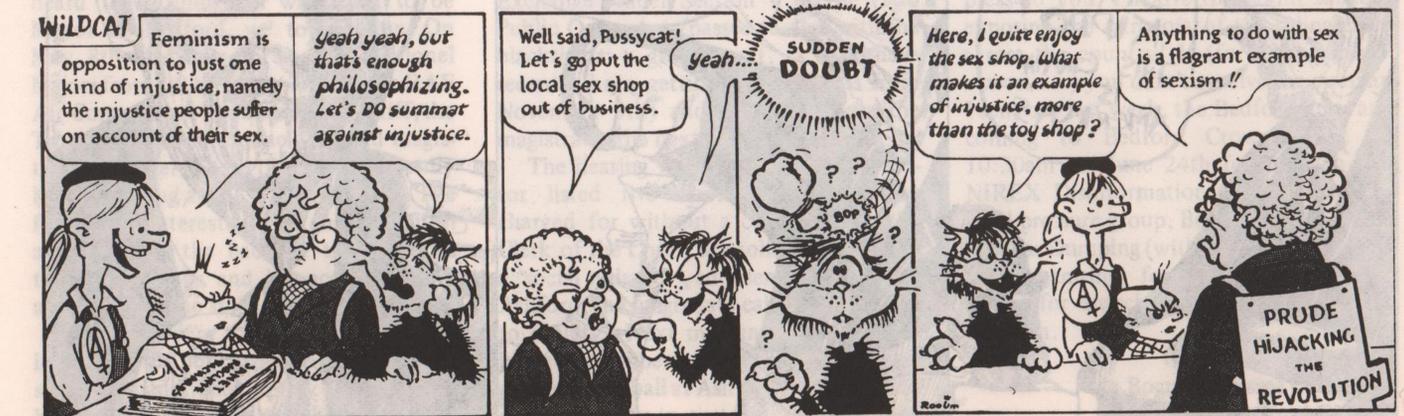
I'm sure glad there's some paper putting out good anarchist thought these days. Well, there are several, on each side of the Atlantic, but I really like the balance in *Freedom*, current events, anarchist history, good cartooning, reviews, etc.

I've been contributing to a fanzine put together in Boston, *Frefanzine*, composed mostly of 'libertarians', that is 'anarchist' individualists, free marketists. You well know the trip and the tune here. Some members have roasted me for injecting a dose of anarchist-communism into their laissez-fairist zine. One called me a fascist for supporting anarchist-communism. I'm the only member who does, with a possible exception being 'imagine', of Circle A in Atlanta. I stay to argue my case, not to convert. They are not convertible anyway.

Actually, many Frefers are intelligent, even though on the greedy, ambitious side. No one but me ever *talks about* the homeless problem, for instance.

One of the goals of my life is to drop in on Angel Alley someday. See the folks and place where such people as Marie Louise Berneri did their work for freedom. Your comrade and a supporter of *Freedom*.

Paul Reynolds  
USA



## LETTERS

**Comrades,**  
Greetings. We recently received the April issue of *Freedom* and were pleased to see the plug for *Strike!* from you and our good friend Martin Toews. It was appreciated very much.

It is with great pleasure that we would like to inform you that our fund raising drive was a success and our goal of \$3000 was realized. We have also overcome our problems with typesetting and, for the time being at least, have suitable production facilities in Toronto. Our June/July issue has also been sent out for a week as of this writing and we anticipate no problem in continuing to publish for the foreseeable future.

In October we will enter our sixth year of publication. Thanks again for your interest and concern. Libertarian solidarity.

**The Strike! Collective**  
PO Box 284, Main Station,  
St Catherines, Ontario,  
Canada, L2R 6T7

**Dear Friends,**  
On Tuesday 14th May this year, Doug Fazackerley, the local Anarchist and Peace Group contact for the Wakefield area, was killed in an accident on the A1 near Darrington, Pontefract, where he lived.

I am acting as executor of his will, which will be acted upon should sufficient funds be found. At the moment his funeral expenses have to be met, and any outstanding debts have to be paid off.

Doug served as a local distributor of *Freedom* and contributed his small commissions back to the Freedom Deficit Fund and the Premises/Overheads Fund. He helped to keep anarchy alive in this area — as when he stood as a 'Peaceful Democratic Anarchist' candidate in the county elections in 1977.

In order to establish some memorial to Doug I have arranged with the local archivist to deposit Doug's letters in a 'Fazackerley File' at Library Headquarters, Wakefield, and have called upon his friends and colleagues to contribute any letters, photos or memoranda they may have to the 'File'.

If any of your readers whom I have not already contacted are also able to contribute material to the 'File', could they write to me c/o **Library Headquarters, Balne Lane, Wakefield, West Yorks.**

**Brian Else, BA**

**Dear Freedom,**

With respect and disrespect to several letters published, about *Class War*, in *Freedom* I would like to make the following totally irrelevant remarks.

It is not always easy, but the only way forward is by fighting the causes of oppression, rather than just attacking the symptoms. It is obvious that men must be freed from their 'manly' images before real liberation is achieved for women and, in the case of racism, the racial minority can only be liberated when the racists are freed from their racial beliefs and stereotypes.

It therefore seems that the 'bash the rich' attitude adopted by *Class War* etc will never relieve the workers from oppression. Shouldn't we aim for libera-

tion of the individual rather than just one class, and try not to follow capitalism and marxism (is there any difference) by basing a society on economic ideology instead of people. At present people are split: Christian, Moslem, Hindu; Negro and Caucasian; rich and poor; Labour, Liberal and Conservative. Any small difference is exploited by power seeking maniacs whose motto is 'divide and rule', so we must not allow ourselves to do the same because the only way forward is if we unite and fight.

There is no point in class war, for setting class against class is as futile as setting sex against sex, race against race or football supporter against football supporter, since it only distracts from the true fight — individual against the state. Yours individually,

**Eric TGC**

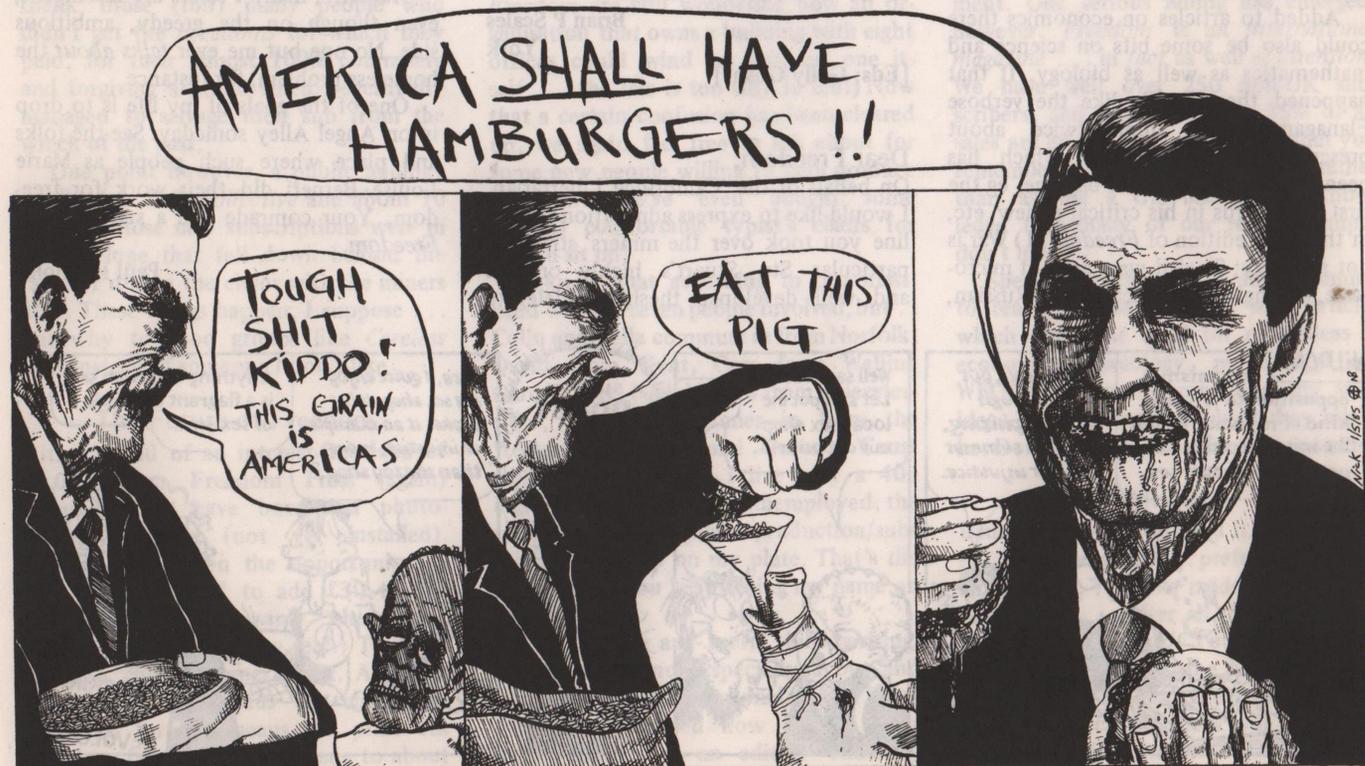


**Hello,**

Just to show you *Titanic* is still going — 7th issue now. Not much happening up here. I buy *Freedom* regularly, up here we feel it's one of the only lifelines with sanity. One personal criticism, I think Stu's approach is often sickly and often condescending. I hate it when I see 'Stu note' — a wee bit twee. However, that's my view and you can ignore it if you like (you probably will!).

**Unreadable signature**  
**Aberdeen Anarchists**

[Stu Note: Yes. you're probably right.]



## ANARCHIST NEWS

## REPORT ON THE 3rd SOUTH-EAST ANARCHIST FEDERATION CONFERENCE

Held at the University of Kent at Canterbury, May 18th. Between 40 and 50 people attended from Kent and East Sussex. It was agreed that the Canterbury Anarchist Group function as SEAF Secretariat for this year, so that communication between contacts and groups becomes more efficient. Hereafter the SEAF secretariat will issue a regular bulletin of news and forthcoming events etc, and all communication with the national anarchist press and broader movement will be co-ordinated through the secretariat.

Local groups reported increasing anarchist activity in the region, but also a heavy toll of arrests in relation to Stop Business As Usual. Six comrades are on an 8:00pm to 8:00am curfew as condition of bail. They are facing costs originally estimated at £1,300 on top of probable fines for criminal damage and have set up a bust fund (cheques payable to Mark Davy, c/o 29 Somerset Road, Ashford, Kent). Also reported was an alarming amount of fascist activity in the Dartford area and the imminent possibility of forming anti-fascist fronts was discussed.

During the afternoon Phil Kane from

## Toy Assassin

**Dear Freedom,**

I am writing this letter under house arrest. To send it I had to ask a friend to take it over the road to the Post Office or face internment in Ashford DC for three weeks. Undoubtedly the spying buggers will have read this letter; they have been ransacking my mail for the last year and now even rip open letters from mail order companies and parents, resealing them with 'apologies from the Post Office'. Incidentally, this is a letter from small-town Bedford, not the USSR!

So how did this situation arise? After the December 1st Day of Action, the Tory Vice-Mayor called Bedford Anarchist Collective 'student pranksters'. When we heard that Dillingham was going to be Mayor of Bedford, we took action. On May 8th all of Bedford's VIPs (Colonel Majors from USAF Chicksands, an ex-RAF Air Commodore and the local Sherriff, the Tory Association, councillors and magistrates) gathered at the invitation-only Mayor Making at the Corn Exchange. The few public interested were made to sit in a balcony at the back of the hall, and there were cops and bouncers up there and guarding the stairs outside.

Despite orders to search 'people with long hair', the cops failed to spot the little surprise I had hidden up my jacket. In the hushed moment when the old Mayor passed

Medway DAM gave a talk on anarcho-syndicalism and the history and theory of revolutionary class-struggle anarchism. This was followed by workshops on the relevance of animal liberation moralism to anarchist theory; on the failure of anarchist groups which are devoted almost entirely to 'action' to confront questions on sexual politics; on organising



the chain of office on to Dillingham, I pulled my balaclava down over my face and my toy Uzi SMG from under my jacket and 'fired a few single shots' at the Mayor of Bedford's upper crust down below.

Not unsurprisingly, they freaked out and I was jumped on by a bouncer and a cop. Whilst struggling to 'disarm' me, the cops helmet fell off and he was still in shock searching me in the rooms under the Corn Exchange minutes later (he even asked me if my alarm clock was a bomb). I was then driven to the pig sty and charged with 'occasioning a breach of the peace by using threatening behaviour in a certain public place called the Corn Exchange' under Section V of the 1936 Public Order Act (passed to deal with the blackshirts; a gross insult, as BAC have recently been getting death threats from November 9th) and brought before the magistrates the next morning.

The hearing was a sham. The Prosecutor listed five arrests I hadn't been charged for without a caution from the Clerk of the Court. My solicitor called me a 'social nuisance', and, sending me off to Ashford, the magistrate called me 'a threat to society'. Next morning I went to see judge-in-chambers rather than becoming a warder's football at Ashford. I was released after 51 hours in custody. However, bail

against fascism, and on the role of anarchists in the class struggle after the miners' strike. The anarchist movement in the south is growing considerably and it is hoped that the SEAF can develop into an effective organisation with a sense of direction rather than a loose federation of libertarian pen-friends.

**Canterbury Anarchist Group/SEAF secretariat**

Please note new address: **Canterbury Anarchist Group, c/o 20 Uplands, St Stephen's Hill, Canterbury.**

conditions mean I am imprisoned on my campus for three weeks. Like Soviet dissidents, I am under house arrest.

As I am already on bail for bricking the NIREX Disinformation Office, fighting the charge would have meant remand. Whilst waiting for the coming show trial, I can only fight the state with words. But God, it was worth it! Apart from proving Dillingham and Bedford's ruling class can't take a joke, the local press blackout of BAC has collapsed and everyone is laughing at them (even the Tory *Bedfordshire Times* carried the front-page story 'Machine-gun scare on future mayor').

Print this story if you want to. I will see if others can get articles from the local press to you. I'd love to see 'hit squads' exposing the paranoia of the ruling class across the country! If (for some strange reason . . .) you didn't receive the circular I sent out last week, the Bedford Four are coming to Bedford Crown Court at 10:30am on June 24th for bricking the NIREX Disinformation Office. Now the local pressure group, Bedfordshire Against Nuclear Dumping (with 98% local support) are organising for civil disobedience. Yours for anarchy, peace and especially freedom.

**P N Rogers**

**Bogus Assassins Collective**  
**Bedford College**

# NEW CALEDONIA

FRENCH LIBERTARIANS SUPPORT STRUGGLE OF KANAK PEOPLE

France is one of the last states in the world to possess colonies. One of these, New Caledonia, where a system of apartheid exists, is one example of this colonialism. Robbed of their lands, massacred after several great insurrections, pushed into reservations, not obtaining the right to vote until 1956, when they found themselves a minority in their own country, the Kanak people are struggling today against a genocide, as much cultural as physical, and for independence and the construction of socialism 'in the Kanak country'.

They have developed a struggle organisation, the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FNLKS) which is rooted in the traditional organisations of Kanak society. On 18th November 1984, they showed how much support they had among the Kanaks by obtaining 80% abstentions among the Kanak electorate in the elections.

70% of the Kanaks live in tribes, not integrated into the market economy. Knowing little of wage slavery and urban life, they see the idea of a 'socialist society in the Kanak country' as combining the elements of a rural and communal society with modern technology and ways of life, without referring to an imported brand of socialism. They want to create a new and original economy based on their egalitarian and decentralised social organisation, uniting all the exploited in a multi-ethnic mass movement and self-managing the modern means of production with the workers of other communities.

The French libertarian movement has recognised the importance of the Kanak struggle. The libertarian communist organisations, the Union des Travailleurs Communistes Libertaires (UTCL) and the Organisation Communiste Libertaire (OCL) immediately expressed their solidarity with the Kanak people as did the journals *L'Entraide* and *Agora*, the Co-ordination Libertaire Etudiante (CLE - Libertarian Students Co-ordination), Contre-Pouvoirs (ex-Tribune Anarchiste Communiste). The Federation Anarchiste printed a number of diverging opinions in its paper *Le Monde Libertaire* before coming out unequivocally for solidarity with the Kanaks (there had been a lively debate in the FA where the anarcho-syndicalists within it, some of them ex-members of the Alliance Syndicaliste which dissolved into the Federation some years ago, argued in favour of solidarity). All these libertarian groups and organisations supported the two big demonstrations in Paris on 20th April and 13th May.

In Paris the Co-ordination Libertaire contre les Imperialismes (Libertarian

Co-ordination against the Imperialisms) has been created, solidating with the Kanak struggle. It comprises the CLE, the anti-authoritarian collective COJRA, members of the editorial board of *L'Entraide*, groups of the FA, the UTCL, and unaffiliated comrades, some of them close to the OCL monthly *Courant Alternatif*. On an international level, the CNT-Unificado (Spain) and the Organisation Socialiste Libertaire (OSL - Switzerland) have signed a joint statement with the UTCL in solidarity with the Kanak struggle.

**Excerpt from *Le Monde Libertaire* (weekly from the FAOW):** "Anarchists are conscious that the struggle for emancipation will not cease with the gaining of independence. Today we solidarise with the Kanak people in the phase of struggle against French colonialism, refusing, as always, all forms of domination of one people against another. Once colonialism is destroyed, the struggle will continue for the emancipation of the workers and against any new masters, Kanak or otherwise!"

**Statement by Daniel Guerin, author of *Anarchism*, compiler of libertarian anthology *Ni Dieu, Ni Maître, life-long libertarian*:** "Now over 80 and incapable of getting around, but an old anti-colonialist, I again express my entire solidarity with the Kanak people in its struggle for independence. A people I got to know in Paris and Nouma, I denounce the obvious collusion between the extreme right at home and the most extreme Caldoches (white settlers in New Caledonia). I question the neo-colonialist plan which seeks to maintain the French army on a territory promised its independence. Finally, I underline the recent ambiguity or duplicity of Paris and its representative in New Caledonia, who, under the cover of re-establishing order, allows, in the Bolivian manner, the cold blooded murder of one of the most popular militants in the FNLKS, and then tolerates and fraternises with the extreme right rioters."

**Appeal by Daniel Guerrier, longtime member of the Association Information et Soutien aux Droits du Peuple Kanak (Association of Information and Support for the Kanak People's Rights), member of national committee of Convergence (which organised series of anti-racist marches), libertarian communist militant:** "The solidarity of all revolutionaries, including all libertarians and anti-authoritarians, must not be lacking in support of the Kanak people and its struggle organisation, the FNLKS. I would like to recall how, at the time of

the great insurrection of 1878, most of the Communard deportees demanded arms from their guards to smash the rebellion of those they regarded as cannibals and savages, and that only a small group of Communards around the anarchist militant Louise Michel and de Rochefort firmly took the side of the Kanak insurrection. Following this, Louise Michel carried out a literacy campaign among the tribes. At her departure from New Caledonia, 20,000 Kanaks saluted her on the quay at Noumea. Even today, Louise Michel is a heroine of Kanak history and of the struggle of our Kanak friends who have participated in the creation of the Louise Michel Museum at Noumea.

"The Kanak society is from the beginning a classless society, the relations of production and those between people are linked to a philosophy which excludes all forms of domination and oppression.

"If semi-feudal aspects exist today, it is because they have been introduced by colonialism, the market economy and the missionaries. If our Kanak friends call themselves socialist, it is not imported socialism or social-democracy. The traditional Kanak society contains in itself the values of socialism, and I would dare to add, of libertarian socialism, as regards direct democracy, ideas of self-management, communal ownership of the land, the mode of sharing the riches according to needs."

**Jimmy Ounei (*Bulletin 1 of Association Information et Soutien aux Droits du Peuple Kanak*):** "The Kanak society is classless and profoundly democratic and it will know how to respond to all bureaucratic, neo-colonial or feudal temptation."

**Lutter, monthly of the UTCL:** "A new socialism is possible in a liberated Kanakia. The uniqueness of the independentists' struggle is to build on an authentically communal civilisation and on an existing Kanak counter-society founded on the collectivisation of the land.

"These living roots could inspire the constitution of a socialism of a specific type, radically different from statist and centralist derivations which have marred most of the movements for decolonialisation.

"Are we saying that it is desirable that the customary laws, structures and traditional way of living should become those of all an independent New Caledonia? That is neither possible nor desirable. We think that a collision can take place between Kanak values based on rural production and modern technology and ways of living.

Libertarian Communist Discussion Group

# WELL FARES THE STATE

WHAT THE STATE GIVETH, THE STATE TAKETH AWAY

While we all have a gut reaction against cuts in the welfare state, particularly when carried out by the arch-capitalist Tory government, is this the way anarchists should respond?

We are against the State, but are we in favour of welfare? The glib superficiality of the question conceals many questions and tangled knots of belief that we would apparently rather avoid. Most anarchists prefer to seek the security of political history or bland slogans than confront the reality of where a lot of us get our bread from. The attitude seems to be, let's pretend the fairies bring it, and get on with the reality of political change.

There is the view, or justification, that we should all take as much from the state as we can get, every little helping to weaken the system and bring the current social order to its knees. I am all in favour of taking as much from the state as we can; but I reject the philosophical cosiness of the reason. If you wanted social chaos on the road to anarchy, you would be better off leaving every tap running or switching off London's Victorian sewage pumps.

Today most people have no inherent resources for survival. They are born landless and dependent on economic activity to produce wealth. Increasingly they are born workless, superfluous to the requirements of social institutions which have left them behind.

The conventional view of why Beveridge's model of a welfare state is failing to deliver the goods is that he made a major faulty assumption - that of continuing full employment. The wealth produced would finance welfare provisions and contentment into a golden sunset of the future. I find it hard to believe that the man was so stupid. Whether consciously or unconsciously, I believe he realised that he was buying time for the status quo. His view obviously covered the postwar period, with millions of trained fighters returning home, but it must also have taken into account the technical and production changes that were winning the war, and would change the peace beyond recognition.

Today the reality of welfare is that it has changed from a way of buying time into a fixed barrier. Those most in need are excluded from the provisions notionally set up to cater for them: the homeless, the addicts, the incompetents for whom care is the only answer.

On our side of the barrier, welfare has become institutional patronage: articulate pressure group politics controls the aim and flow of money. And welfare as a

'right' brings duty to the state. We do whatever is necessary to keep on the welfare side of the barrier, and thus help to maintain it.

The reality of life and welfare has changed little in the last few centuries. Without access to the resources that prov-

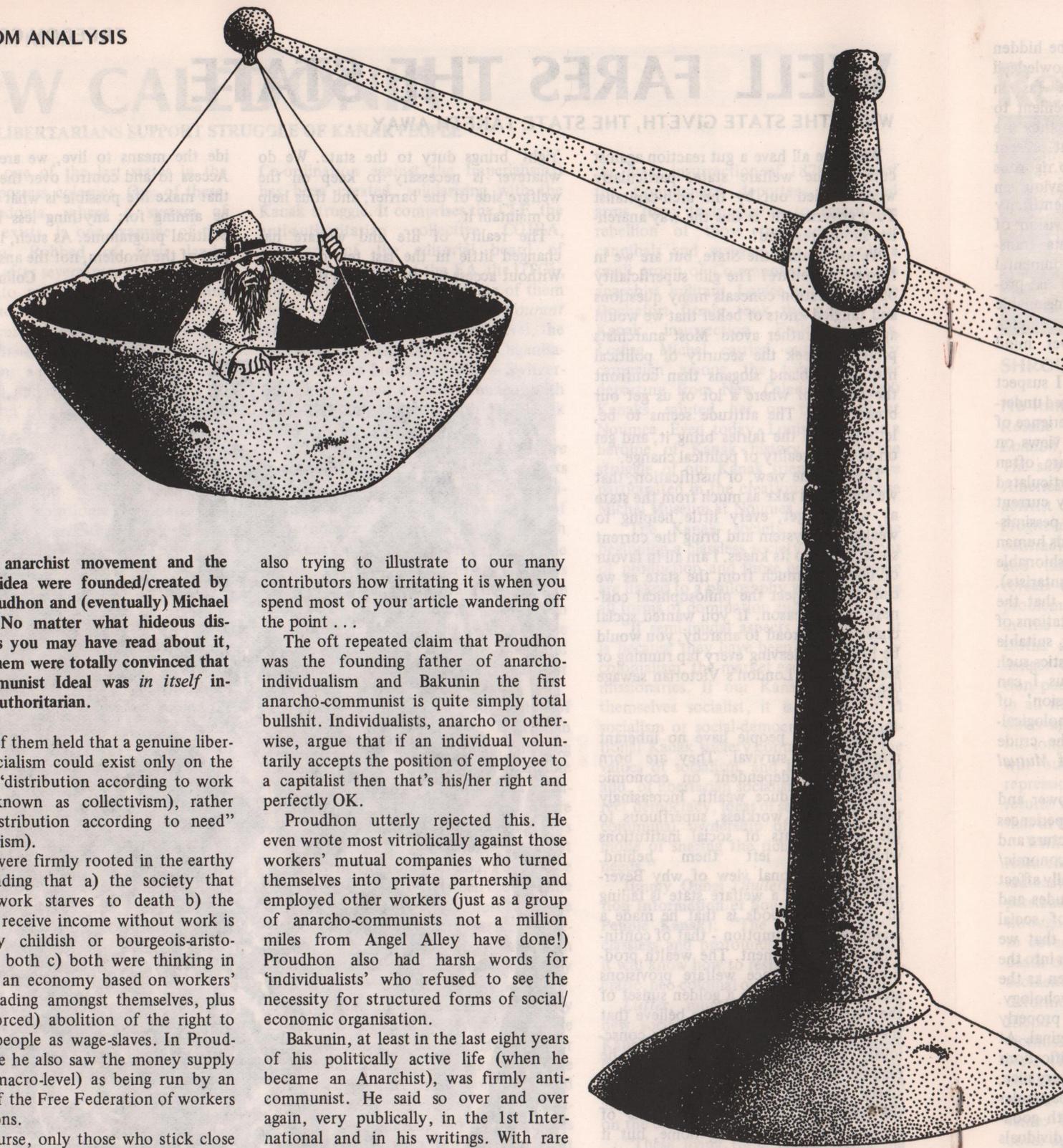
ide the means to live, we are not free. Access to and control over the resources that make life possible is what we should be aiming for; anything less is a party political programme. As such, it becomes part of the problem, not the answer.

Colin Johnson.



Having emerged victorious from a long hard struggle against the forces of darkness in the Freedom Subscriptions Department, our Stuart (not to be confused with *their* Stuart) takes them on again at the mega-theoretical level, with a hard look at truth, reality and the Anarchist Idea. Well, it's one way of filling the letters page.

# WEIGHING UP OUR PAST



Both the anarchist movement and the anarchist idea were founded/created by Pierre Proudhon and (eventually) Michael Bakunin. No matter what hideous distorted lies you may have read about it, both of them were totally convinced that the Communist Ideal was in itself inherently authoritarian.

Both of them held that a genuine libertarian socialism could exist only on the basis of "distribution according to work done" (known as collectivism), rather than "distribution according to need" (communism).

Both were firmly rooted in the earthy understanding that a) the society that doesn't work starves to death b) the desire to receive income without work is essentially childish or bourgeois-aristocratic or both c) both were thinking in terms of an economy based on workers' co-ops trading amongst themselves, plus the (enforced) abolition of the right to employ people as wage-slaves. In Proudhon's case he also saw the money supply (at the macro-level) as being run by an agency of the Free Federation of workers associations.

Of course, only those who stick close to the anti-bourgeois-individualist, anti-communist ideas of Proudhon and Bakunin, have any logical historical right to call themselves Anarchists. As this would probably leave me as the only real Anarchist in the UK, it is only fair that I declare my vested interest in such a pure-ist approach. As I enjoy company, I won't pursue it.

However, the purpose of this article is to point out that the near total impotence of Anarchism since 1939 must be at least partially Anarchism's own fault . . . and to make a suggestion about where the fault lies and offer some solutions. I am

also trying to illustrate to our many contributors how irritating it is when you spend most of your article wandering off the point . . .

The oft repeated claim that Proudhon was the founding father of anarcho-individualism and Bakunin the first anarcho-communist is quite simply total bullshit. Individualists, anarcho or otherwise, argue that if an individual voluntarily accepts the position of employee to a capitalist then that's his/her right and perfectly OK.

Proudhon utterly rejected this. He even wrote most vitriolically against those workers' mutual companies who turned themselves into private partnership and employed other workers (just as a group of anarcho-communists not a million miles from Angel Alley have done!) Proudhon also had harsh words for 'individualists' who refused to see the necessity for structured forms of social/economic organisation.

Bakunin, at least in the last eight years of his politically active life (when he became an Anarchist), was firmly anti-communist. He said so over and over again, very publically, in the 1st International and in his writings. With rare care and precision he defined his position as *Collectivist*. He stressed he supported workers co-ops, not merely as a useful tactic before the Social Revolution, but as the basis for an egalitarian, libertarian socialist economy afterwards. *Proudhon is the master of us all*, Bakunin once said, hardly the remark of someone who saw himself as deeply opposed to Proudhon's ideas!

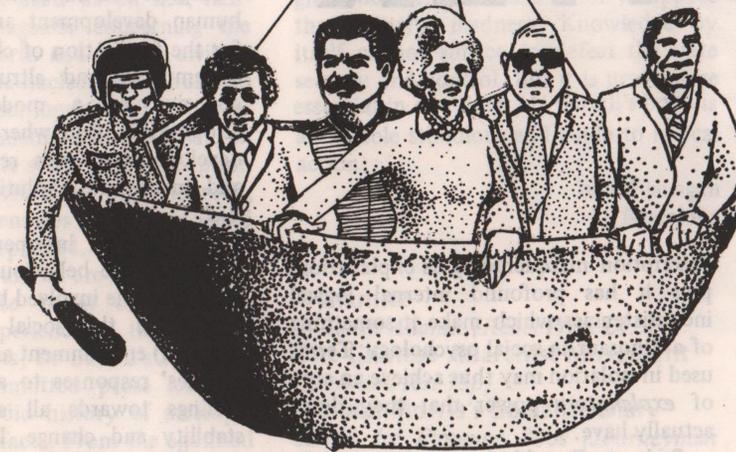
*Bakunin is the master of us all*. So wrote the 'most practical' anarcho-communist, Errico Malatesta, and a firm believer in *The Insurrectionary Road to Anarchism*. *Bakunin was an anarchist*,

*and he was a collectivist, an outspoken enemy of communism because he saw in it the negation of freedom and, therefore, of human dignity. And with Bakunin, and for a long time after him, almost all the Spanish anarchists were collectivists, and yet were amongst the most conscious and consistent anarchists.* Why should honest, anarcho-communist Errico write that if there was any doubt about it?

More mysteriously, why should Sam Dolgoff, Guy Aldred, and others too numerous to name, claim Bakunin as the

"Founder of the World Anarcho-Communist Movement" since it clearly isn't true? Equally why does the same sort of thing happen to Proudhon from people on the 'individualist' libertarian right? Why can't people leave Proudhon and Bakunin standing on the political ground they actually occupied?

The answer, I believe, is that people usually only come to libertarian politics via previous authoritarian political beliefs or involvement. On the 'way in' there are nearly always certain 'key' beliefs, that



they cannot bring themselves to let go . . . if for no better reason than human inability to admit to themselves that they were *that* wrong for so long!

Coming in from the right-wing, people generally cannot let go of "the right to employ wage-slaves" for instance. However people coming in from the authoritarian left find it equally impossible to let go of the notion of the communist ideal, the planned economy and the abolition of money, none of which are to be found in Proudhon or Bakunin (as an Anarchist). The notion of the "self-managed collectivist economy" for want of a better description) was virtually buried along with their bodies . . . everywhere in Europe except Spain . . . and everywhere except Spain, Anarchism with a big A lost its mass popular base and became the bitchy, largely middle-class correspondence network it is today.

By the time Freedom Press was

born in 1886, the original anarchist idea had been almost totally submerged beneath the "dialogue of the deaf" between anarcho-individualists and anarcho-communists. The level (if that isn't too pretentious a word for it) of this 'debate' may be illustrated by a headline in the very first *Freedom* Oct 1886 . . . *Anarchism Kills Individualism* it reads. Comradely stuff, huh? See, we're no worse than the 'Greats' after all!

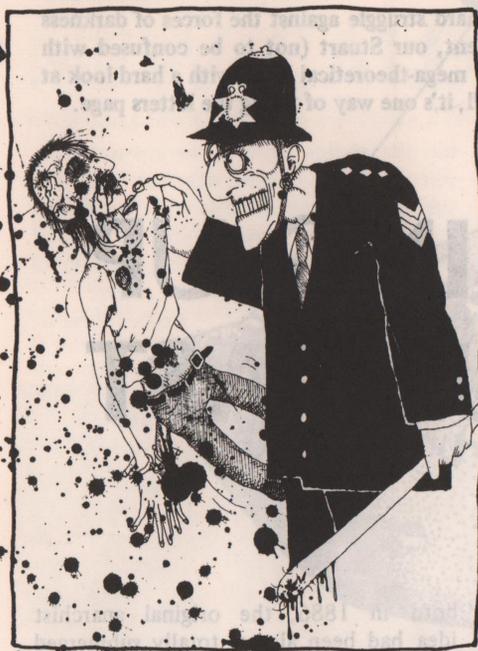
To add to the confusion, when European anarcho-communism met the strong collectivist tradition in Spain the *Grande Pretence* arose that anarcho-communism and collectivist anarchism were 'really' the same thing . . . libertarian communism . . . thus the political need to rewrite history with Bakunin as the founder of World Anarcho-Communism! It is impossible to 'bend' Proudhon's work that way so Proudhon was 'bent' into a cranky individualist. (At least for all those who couldn't read French.)

Everybody neatly forgot that Proudhon and Bakunin developed their anarchism in opposition to and as a rejection of the communist idea (which pre-dated anarchism/libertarian socialism). Both our founding fathers argued that 'Libertarian Communism' was a contradiction in terms, no more than a "Marxism without a State", which would at best only be capable of replacing a centralized tyranny with lots of local tyrannies.

If you abolish money and the direct relationship between work and income, you are left with the necessity of endless committees to decide what shall (or not) be produced and who's going to get it!

In short 'libertarian communism' means in practice the complete 'politicisation' of *all* economic decisions. It means 'rule by committee'. That isn't anarchy. Somewhere in the common ground between Proudhon and Bakunin there lies a real practical anarchy waiting for us to take it seriously.

Stu Stuart



# POWER

meal borrowing of terms and concepts divorced from their proper contexts. Acknowledging that I may be distorting his meaning and/or intent may I respectfully cite the example of 'cognitive dissonance' in Donald Rooum's article (*Freedom* Vol 46, no 5). Cognitive dissonance means the simultaneous existence in consciousness of logically contradictory thoughts. I assume Donald must have meant to say 'dissonance reduction', but anyway the so-called 'theory' of cognitive dissonance has for a fair while been recognised as an inadequate formulation for many reasons, although it does highlight a fascinating phenomenon. On examination the theory turns put to be

Marx and Freud) or they may be hidden and underplayed, or even unacknowledged and pretended not to exist (as in behaviourism). It is often convenient to ignore these questions because they are the most difficult of all, and at present certainly the least susceptible to rigorous scientific research. But as behaviourism has shown us, pure empiricist scientificity is an illusion. The ridiculous vision of individuals as passive hedonists transforming objectively real environmental forces directly into behaviour is profoundly reactionary as well as being unable to account for much of the complex social behaviour or rats, never mind humans.

To get back to anarchism, I suspect that we may tend to assume shared understanding and beliefs. In my experience of my own and others' ideas our views on what people are *really* like are often incredibly simplistic, badly articulated and defensively maintained. My current predilections lead me to a rather pessimistic, deterministic attitude towards human nature compared to the fashionable 'humanists' (= existential voluntarists). However, it does appear to me that the biological and maturational limitations of human development are highly suitable for the facilitation of characteristics such as empathy and altruism. Thus I can conceive of a modern 'version' of Kropotkin's ideas where a psychological-developmental basis replaces the crude and inadequate evolutionism of *Mutual Aid*.

In terms of interpersonal power and influence, the behaviour and experiences of the people involved both structure and perpetuate the social (and economic/political) environment and crucially affect peoples' responses to and attitudes and feelings towards all aspects of social stability and change. I believe that we cannot avoid carrying our analysis into the heartlands of what is usually seen as the preserve of philosophy and psychology. Without addressing these areas properly our anarchism may remain marginal. At present there are very many justifications for people to say "Yes, that's all very nice, but how do you explain...?" In particular such questions from sceptics with goodwill often revolve around how individuals would need to behave and interact given anarchistic structures so that the various negative outcomes possible would be avoided. We must therefore have some idea of what it is about people that leads us to feel optimistic in this area.

My point is really that a satisfactory anarchism would already imply answers to questions of motivation, experience and personal life with the regard to detail, clarity and respect for the complexity of the subject matter that is presently more true for socio-economic considerations.

**Tom Jennings**  
Newcastle upon Tyne

description masquerading as explanation, plus it has profound internal logical inconsistencies which make it something of a dinosaur in social psychology. Terms used in isolation may thus achieve an aura of *explanatory* power that they don't actually have.

Perhaps Donald intended a purely descriptive sense, in which case his use of such a concept leads us to my next point. It can be proposed that processes operating inside peoples' minds have a significant bearing on all levels of analysis, especially when it comes to applying, say, economic principles to the social interactions of individuals. A treatment of individual psychology seems to me as necessary for anarchism (seen as a theory of power relations) as the more traditional concerns with economic and sociology (and now perhaps an interest in interpersonal and small group processes).

Related to this I would like to see questions of human nature receive as much attention as, for example, Proudhon, Kropotkin and Chomsky devote to them. Whether it be admitted or not, *all* theories about people and societies, and all the practices derived from the theories, involve assumptions about basic human motivations, capacities and potentials. These assumptions may be overt (as in

## POWER AND PERSONAL LIFE

I would like to introduce a subject which seems to me to underlie some of the current discussions in *Freedom* of power relations and the issue of exactly how societies can be structured to achieve the functions we envisage.

Modern anarchism has *no* coherent theory of power relations which even approaches the comprehensiveness and specificity of marxist methods of politico-economic analysis. We may argue that many of the predictions and explanations deriving from marxism amount to little more than banal, circular arguments resembling sociobiological 'just-so stories' of evolution or the self-fulfilling prophecies of some schools of psychoanalysis. Implicit assumptions are treated as facts and the selective nature of evidence used obscures the actual distance between theoretical model and reality. But arguments from an anarchist point of view would surely carry much more weight if we had a clear 'paradigm' to work within. There seems a consensus that the description, interpretation and explanation of power relations between individuals and between groups of individuals might constitute such a framework.

However, we should avoid the piece-

Class Violence in America", and the author explained that it was "an effort to trace the evolution of violence in the class struggle in the United States from the unorganised, spasmodic riots in the 1830s on the part of the ill-treated laborers to the highly organised criminal terrorism, or 'racketeering', of today". Ratcliffe commented that Adamic was "the first writer to make an historical study of violence in the relations between Capital and Labour, and to explain it as an element inherent in the class conflict of North America". Although Adamic wasn't involved in the labour movement or in any left-wing organisation, and was personally opposed to the use of violence, he was sympathetic to the working class and to the phenomena he described.

The result is a lively journalistic survey concentrating on various key episodes — the Molly Maguires of the 1860s and 1870s, the Great Upheaval of 1877, the Haymarket affair of 1886-1887, the Homestead strike of 1892, Coxe's Army of 1893-1894, the Pullman strike of 1894, the miners' strikes of the late 1890s, the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905, the Lawrence textile strike of 1912, the free speech struggles from 1911 to 1916, the terrorism of the American Federation of Labor, culminating in the Los Angeles bomb and the McNamara affair of 1910-1911, the Mooney-Billings case of 1916-1918, the national steel strike of 1919, the Centralia affair of 1919, the Sacco-Vanzetti case of 1920-1927, and the racketeering of the 1920s. During the subsequent half-century there have been several other journalistic books on the subject, especially at the time of the disturbances of the 1960s, and there have also been scholarly studies of several of the individual episodes. As a result *Dynamite* is now seriously out of date in many ways. Nevertheless it has been republished in a new paperback edition which is even more unsatisfactory than it need have been.

Instead of reproducing the text of the revised edition, with a new introduction or epilogue to bring the story up to date, the publishers have reset the whole book, while claiming to have "further revised" it; but the process has been one of mutilation rather than revision. The factual errors which inevitably crept into the original text or have been eventually revealed by later research have not been corrected. Instead all sorts of arbitrary alterations have been made without permission or indication. The subtitle has been changed to "A Century of Class Violence in America, 1830-1930" (though the book begins in 1826 and ends in 1934); the dedication (to the author's wife), the author's introductory note, the nineteen illustrations, and the bibliography have all been omitted; so have part of the postscript on "Violence

## Reviews



### SHROUDED IN SECRECY

#### No Immediate Danger

Rosalie Bertell, *The Women's Press*, London, 1985. £5.95, 435pp.

The sub-title of this important book by American radiation expert and peace activist Rosalie Bertell speaks for itself: *Prognosis for a Radioactive Earth*. The contradiction between official ideology and the facts marshalled by Bertell reveals the nature of the problem. The problem is the state's power to keep us in the dark and feed us on lies, half-truths and propaganda concerning the danger to the earth and human civilisation posed by the nuclear death business in all its manifestations. Part Three, *The Cover-ups*, documents the fact that, in the long run, state secrecy and deception will out. With truth as with neurosis, repression only ensures the strengthened return of the repressed. The trouble is that in the long run, we are all dead.

With expertise based on years of research and experience in the field of radioactive effects, Dr Bertell's easy, but passionately committed prose leads us through the sordid history of attempts to cover-up the facts. From the agonised death of Harry Dahlian ("the first nuclear accident") at Los Alamos in 1945 to the deformed children of his photographer friend Ted Lombard, the Microesian victims of the Pacific A and H bomb tests (France) which continue, to the civilian and military deaths in and near nuclear power plants, the story is the same: sickness, deaths, deformities and cover-ups.

As well as the nuclear threat, Bertell's study covers the range of forms of toxic assault: "Under the pressure of militarism the quantity and toxicity of materials being produced and tested in the developed world has steadily increased since 1945. These new materials include pesticides, herbicides, plastics, uranium derivatives... other radioactive chemicals, and chemical and biological warfare agents. They are for the most part non-biodegradable."

In Vietnam during the American War, for example, Bertell estimates that the number of Vietnamese poisoned between 1966 and 1969 from Agent Orange alone

was 300,000 *per year*. This was and remains, of course, just the iceberg tip of the legacy of destruction and death visited on the lands and peoples of Indochina.

Ms Bertell's focus is understandably on the criminal role of the United States-led capitalist democracies in this unprecedented assault on human life and nature — all in the name of defending the Free World from Communism. The product of a decade's intensive research and writing, *No Immediate Danger* ends with a call for grass-roots, citizen-based action to oppose the military madness. Knowledge by itself cannot suffice to defeat the state secrecy and control. But it is never-more essential in our time. Ms Bertell's book is a valuable stimulous and guide to radical action.

**Julie Flanagan**  
Barcelona

#### Dynamite

by Louis Adamic (*Rebel Press* £4.50)

*The Chinese Anarchist Movement*

(*Drowned Rat* 75p)

*William Morris's Socialist Diary*  
edited by Florence Boos (*Journeyman* £3.25)

The British libertarian movement isn't publishing much new material nowadays, but it is republishing a great deal of old material. Such reprints are generally welcome for making available texts which are too inaccessible or expensive for most people, but they are sometimes so unsatisfactory that potential readers and purchasers need to be warned against them. Here are three examples.

*Dynamite* is a book written more than 50 years ago during the Great Depression by Louis Adamic, an American journalist of Slovenian origin. It was first published in the United States in 1931 and again in a revised edition in 1934. It was also published in Great Britain in 1931, with a foreword by the liberal journalist S K Ratcliffe (my grandfather). The revised edition was reprinted in the United States in 1960 but it has never appeared in Britain.

The book's subtitle is "The Story of

as Publicity" and the whole of the postscript on the Pittsburgh steel strike of 1934, and above all a crucial final chapter called "What Next - More Dynamite?": altogether more than 100 pages have been lost. In addition in some places the original narrative has been rewritten and the original style has been sub-edited. These changes would not have been approved by the author, if he were alive (he died in mysterious circumstances in 1951), or by his readers, if they were aware of them. So if you want to read what he actually wrote, you must still get his book from a library or second-hand bookshop; meanwhile this edition is unreliable, though still readable.

reproduced as a large-format 20-page pamphlet. Minor omissions are the prefaces and the Chinese glossary; major omissions are the original publishing details and (believe it or not) the author's names! The publication thus masquerades as a new study rather than a pirated version of an old one. It is the first in a series of Drowned Rat Publications, a revealing and rather unfortunate title for such a project. The second and third items in the series are reprints of Cienfuegos Press pamphlets first published in 1979, which give no indication of previous publication, though they do at least give the authors' names - *A Woman Without a Country* (40p), an essay by



**The Chinese Anarchist Movement** is a short work written 25 years ago by Robert A Scalapino and George T Yu, American academics specialising in East Asian communism. It was first published by the University of California in 1961 and reprinted in 1965. It is a sober scholarly study of the beginnings of anarchism among the Chinese communities in France and Japan from 1907 and the brief period of success in China itself from the Revolution of 1911 to the rise of Marxist Communism after 1920. It has to some extent been superseded by later research, especially by Olga Lang and Martin Bernal, so it is now rather out of date in some ways. Nevertheless it too has been republished in a new edition which is also highly unsatisfactory.

The text and notes of the original small-format 80-page booklet have been

Emma Goldman together with other material, published by Joseph Ishill half a century ago; and *Three Essays on Anarchism* (80p) by Charlotte Wilson, written a century ago and edited by myself (I wasn't told about the new edition, so the opportunity was missed to correct the misprints and update the introduction).

An amusing sidelight on *The Chinese Anarchist Movement* is provided by the review in *Black Flag* (20 May 1985), which says that "it should not be confused with the (often-reprinted) pamphlet *The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China* by A Meltzer, though most of the sources are similar". The original edition of Albert Meltzer's pamphlet, published by the Coptic Press in 1968, gave as one of its main sources - *The Chinese Anarchist Movement* by Scalapino and Yu!

William Morris's **Socialist Diary** is a political journal written for three months in 1887 by the great British socialist. The manuscript has been in the British Museum since 1929, and was first published in full by Florence Boos in the *History Workshop Journal* 13 in Spring 1982. I wrote a long review in *Freedom* (10 July 1982) pointing out the serious errors both in the transcript of the diary itself and in the editorial material which takes up three-quarters of the space. Nevertheless the whole edition has been reprinted as a 75-page booklet without any corrections at all, though with the addition of a little more editorial material.

It is a pity to see good stuff treated so badly, and libertarian publishers expressing what our opponents like to think of as anarchy.

NW

**The Great Strike**

Alex Callinicas and Mike Simons, *Socialist Worker*, PO Box 82, London E2. £3.95, 253pp.

I decided to write this review after seeing that this book had been dismissed by the authors of the *Anarchist Review* as being a 'party line' on the miners' strike, and therefore not worthy of attention. Indeed, the book does, as it says in the foreword, "follow the general analysis of the strike developed by the Socialist Workers Party", but to dismiss everything a marxist says simply because he is a marxist is hopelessly sectarian, and something we anarchists often do.

On the contrary, the book contains much material which will be of great interest to anarchists, especially those such as DAM members, who are interested in and involved in union politics and workplace struggles. The central proposition of the book is that the strike was lost because of the behaviour of union officials and bureaucrats who failed, at a number of times during the strike, to take up the opportunities which arose.

The first time was in the opening stages of the strike. Union officials in Yorkshire, frightened by the media's 'imaginative' reporting of picket-line violence, continually held back their members, when a ferocious campaign of picketing could have pulled the Notts field out. [Eds: **Simply not true!**] Similarly, the supposedly left-wing Notts area leaders took the opportunity presented by the media to denounce the Yorkshire pickets - they didn't call on their own members to join the strike until six weeks into the dispute, by which time the damage had been done. Another occasion was the failure of the dockers' leaders to take advantage of the opportunities present when they struck. They could have gone on the offensive - declared a strike for the extension of the dock labour scheme, for example, but they let the opportunity slip through their fingers.

Again, the NACODS leadership enabled themselves to be conned into the notorious settlement in November, when they could have closed down all the pits.

This view is in refreshing contrast to the labour and communist party view which held that aggressive picketing was a mistake, and the union should have undertaken a GLC-style campaign for public opinion - how this would stop a determined government is never explained.

Surprisingly, the authors do not call for the election of 'sound' leaders, as you would expect from marxists, but correctly diagnose the fact that full-time officials will always act in this manner. The answer lies in grass-roots rank-and-file organisation, capable of acting independently from the official union hierarchy. (Obviously they would want this to be firmly under the control of the SWP, but never mind.)

In the '70s miners' strikes, there was, in Yorkshire, a backsliding right-wing leadership and a militant rank-and-file organisation which organised the mass pickets at Saltley, etc, which won those strikes. However, many of the people involved then set their sights on the full-time positions (Scargill's rise to fame started here), and their vanguardism showed as, once they had entered the union hierarchy, they allowed the rank-and-file organisation to wither, thinking it was no longer needed.

A similar process happened in the docks, and in other areas, as the '74 labour government came in and their 'social contract' lulled unions in all

industries. So, by the time capitalism went on the offensive again, under Thatcher, rank-and-file organisation in many industries had withered.

The task now is, of course, to rebuild the rank-and-file organisations (for anarchists this can only mean stop nit-picking and join DAM, it seems to me). The final conclusion, as well as stating the truth, also goes on to discuss Scargill's politics, and those of the labour left, rejecting them and saying that "Socialism cannot come through parliament, but only as a result of organising to overthrow the existing state machine", something we don't need to be told. Then, of course, you get the predictable 'revolutionary party' bullshit, happily restricted to the last couple of pages.

As I said, then, I would recommend people to read this book - it has much useful information as long as you ignore the vanguardism which inevitably creeps in. It can be obtained from any member of the SWP, but run away once you've got it before the buggers try and recruit you.

Andy (the lone DAMer)

**Reading**

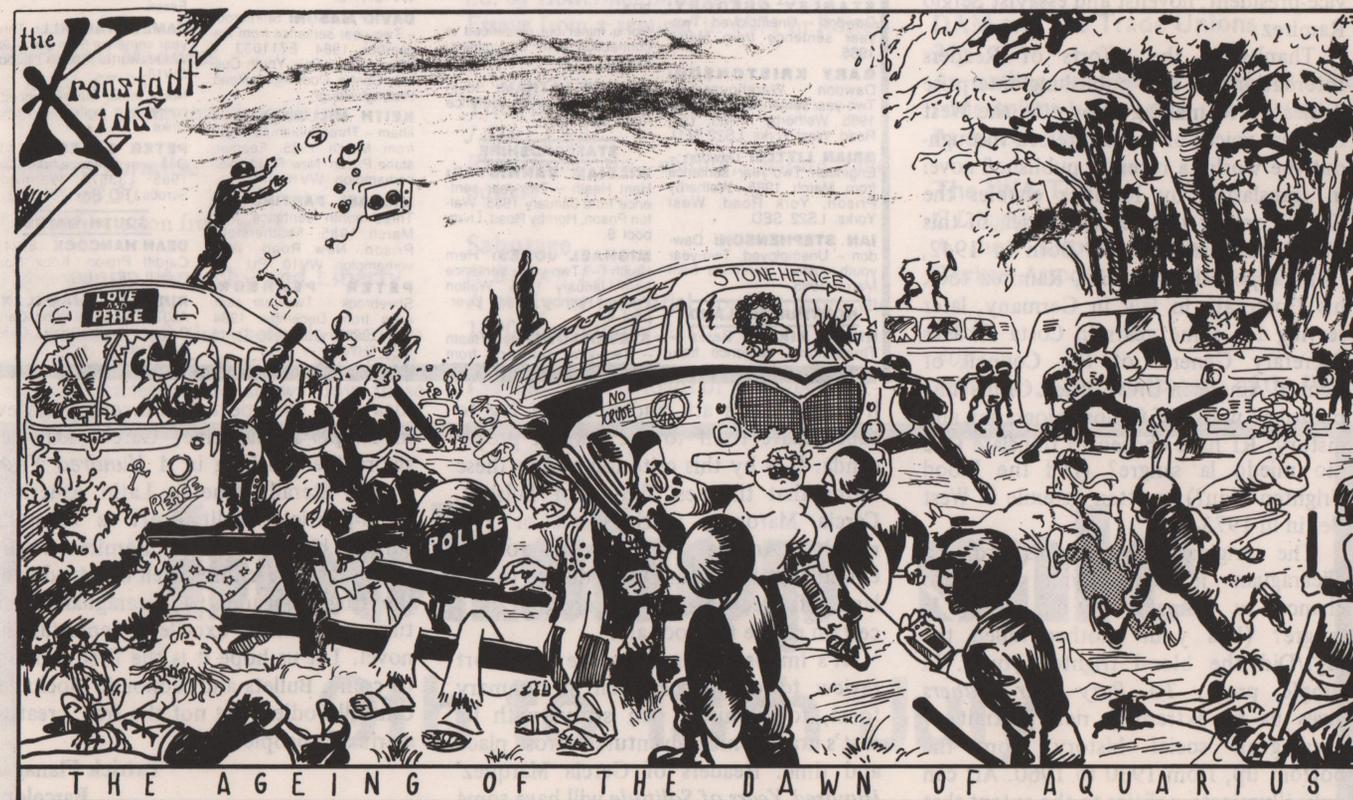
[Eds: As for joining DAM . . . let us not forget that under the 'leadership' of S London DAM/Black Flag, DAM engaged in a very nit-picking witch-hunt in the MIDDLE OF THE MINERS' STRIKE! It should be said that *Freedom's* Spanish CNT-AIT friends maintain that DAM has no business taking sides in Spanish troubles, PS Stu favours the CNT-AIT.....

**To Bury Our Fathers: A Novel of Nicaragua.**

by Sergio Ramirez. London & New York. *Readers International*, 1984. £9.95. 253pp.

No struggle for national independence since Spain and Vietnam has provided a clearer image of imperial ruthlessness in the face of popular resistance than that of Nicaragua since 1979, when the Sandinist National Liberation Front overthrew the corrupt 40-year old Somoza dictatorship. (The tragedies of the East Timorese and West Papuans by contrast are lost to Western consciousness.) By means short of direct invasion or internal coup (a la Indonesia or Chile), the strongest power in world history has used economic, military, diplomatic and ideological coercion to strangle the Sandinista revolution (named after the "father" of Nicaragua's independence struggles, guerilla leader Cesar Augusto Sandino, murdered by Somoza in February 1934).

In the midst of the tenth anniversary of the American partial defeat in Vietnam - partial because of the US's unchecked ability to inflict massive suffering and deprivation on its enemy - Nicaragua demonstrates the lengths to which the leadership of the Free World is prepared to go to crush this "threat to United States national security" (Reagan, Kirkpatrick). As in the case of Cuba or Vietnam, it is the "demonstration effect" of an independent Nicaragua which indeed threatens US national security. For the



## FREEDOM REVIEWS

fundamental premiss of American foreign policy since the Monroe Doctrine (1823) is the United States' right and duty to police and control the earth in the interests of its corporate and State power. Since the Russian Revolution, this has been presented to the world as the defence of Freedom against totalitarian Communism. Thus the reactionary/counterrevolutionary "Contras" in Nicaragua are described as "freedom fighters" (like George Washington's men and the French *Maqui*). The Sandinista leadership, which despite all its difficulties and coercive measures still enjoys clear support, is attacked in terms more applicable to its United States enemy. (The real nature of the Contra "freedom fighters" is graphically symbolised by the photos of their murderous activities in *Newsweek*, April 29, or *Interviú* here in Spain, May 1 1985.)

In the West, portraits of Nicaragua in books and newspapers tend to concentrate on political, economic and ideological matters. This is natural enough in the context of her struggle for survival. In fact, however, this tiny nation of three million people, has one of the richest literary-cultural traditions in all of Spanish letters. It is no accident that Daniel Ortega and his wife Rosario Murillo (great-niece of Sandino) are poets. In the words of Interior Minister Borge, Himself a poet, theoretician and essayist, Nicaragua doesn't export revolutions, only poetry and cassocks. (A significant number of top Sandinistas are priests.) In addition to the Ortegas and Borge, virtually the entire leadership are gifted authors. One of them is the current vice-president, novelist and essayist Sergio Ramirez.

Thanks to the efforts of Readers International, a new publishing enterprise dedicated to making known in the West the best voices of the oppressed throughout the world, a recently published novel in translation by Ramirez enables the English reader to gain some idea of this rich Nicaraguan culture. Born in 1942, from a poor background, Ramirez took his Doctorate in law in Germany, later serving for some years in Costa Rica as Secretary General of the Council of Central American Universities. Of his nine published works of fiction, biography and history, RI have chosen to translate *Te dio miedo la sangre?* (Did the Blood Frighten You?), written in exile in West Berlin in 1973-75.

The original title derives from a Nicaraguan nursery rhyme: *i Mato chanco tu mama?/i Te dio miedo la sangre?* (Has your mother killed the pig?/Did the blood frighten you?). In simple prose, *To Bury Our Fathers* gives us an extremely rich portrait of Nicaraguan social history from the bottom up, from 1930 to 1960. Art can only illuminate politics to the extent that

## Miners in prison

Some 60 miners are still behind bars as a result of offences arising from the strike. These men need and deserve all the support we can give them. Addresses for messages and gifts are given in the list of the jailed men below. This list was first published in the *Durham Striker* and was compiled with the assistance of *News Line*.

### DURHAM

**GLEN BLACK:** Dawdon - Two-year sentence from March 1985.

**PETER GILES:** Easington - Nine-month sentence from April 1985. Temporarily held in Durham Jail.

**KEVIN HUGHES:** Dawdon - Two-year youth custody sentence from March 1985. Durham Prison, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HU.

**BARRY KENNEY:** Easington - Nine-month sentence from April 1985. Temporarily held in Durham jail.

**JOHN LITTLE:** Dawdon - Two-year sentence from March 1985. Wetherby Prison, York Road, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

**JOHN ANTHONY PARKIN:** Easington - Nine-month sentence from April 1985. Temporarily held in Durham jail.

**RAYMOND PATTERSON:** Dawdon - Two-year sentence from March 1985. Wetherby Prison, York Road, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

**MARK ROBSON:** Easington - Nine-month sentence from April 1985. Temporarily held in Durham jail.

**MARK ROCHESTER:** Dawdon - Two-year sentence from March 1985. Wetherby Prison, York Road, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

**D. SCOTT:** Easington - Nine-month sentence from April 1985. Temporarily held in Durham jail.

Not miners but sentenced in connection with the miners' strike:

**STANLEY GREGORY:** Dawdon - Unemployed. Two-year sentence from March 1985.

**GARY KRISTONSON:** Dawdon - Warehouseman. Two-year sentence from March 1985. Wetherby Prison, York Road, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

**BRIAN LITTLE:** Dawdon - Engineer. Two-year sentence from March 1985. Wetherby Prison, York Road, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

**IAN STEPHENSON:** Dawdon - Unemployed. Two-year youth custody sentence from March 1985.

**NORTHUMBERLAND**  
**NIGEL BIRCH:** Bates - Three-month sentence from

April 1985. Durham Prison, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HU

**WILLIAM SMITH:** Whittle - 2½-year sentence from February 1985. Durham Prison Old Elvet, DH1 3HU

**SCOTLAND**  
**BRIAN MILLAR:** Solsgrith - Four-month sentence from March 1985. Saughton jail, Calder Road, Edinburgh.

**LANCASHIRE**  
**STEVEN HARDMAN:** Parkside - Six-month sentence from April 1985. Wymott Prison, Moss Lane, Leyland, Lancs PR5 3LW

**YORKSHIRE**  
**ALAN BRIDGICK:** Armthorpe - Six-month sentence from March 1985. Wymott Prison, Moss Lane, Leyland, Lancs PR5 3LW.

**MICHAEL BRIDGICK:** Armthorpe - Six-month sentence from March 1985. Wymott Prison, Moss Lane, Leyland, Lancs PR5 3LW.

**TERRY CAPSTICK:** Upton village - Nine-month sentence from April 1985.

**DAVE SCHOFIELD:** Prince of Wales - Three-month sentence from March 1985. Armley Prison, Leeds LS12 2TJ.

**CLIVE THOMPSON:** Frickley - Three-year sentence Ackington Prison.

**RAYMOND VARLEY:** Armthorpe - Six-month sentence from March 1985. Wymott Prison, Moss Lane, Leyland, Lancs PR5 3LW.

**PAUL WRIGHT:** Saville - 18-month sentence Kirkham Prison, Preston, Lancs PR4 2RA.

Not a miner but sentenced in connection with the miners' strike:

**ROBERT LATHAM:** South Kirby - Nine-month sentence from April 1985.

**STAFFORDSHIRE**  
**WILLIAM BANNISTER:** Hem Heath - Two-year sentence from January 1985. Walton Prison, Hornby Road, Liverpool 9.

**MICHAEL JONES:** Hem Heath - Two-year sentence from January 1985. Walton Prison, Hornby Road, Liverpool 9.

**STEVEN LOWE:** Hem Heath - Two-year sentence from

January 1985. Walton Prison, Hornby Road, Liverpool 9.

**GARY MOULD:** Hem Heath - Two-year youth custody sentence from January 1985.

**RAYMOND PATTON:** Hem Heath - Two-year sentence from January 1985. Walton Prison, Hornby Road, Liverpool 9.

**NORTH DERBYSHIRE**  
**KEVIN BEAL:** Shirebrook - Two-year sentence from December 1984. 031 Sudbury Prison, Derby, DE6 5HW.

**SIMON BROOKES:** 18-month sentence. Young Offenders Centre, Glen Parva, Wigston, Leicester.

**PAUL BROTHWELL:** 12-month sentence.

**GRAHAM COOPER:** Ireland - Six-month sentence from March 1985. Sudbury open Prison, Derby DE6 5HW.

**PETER COOPER:** Expected release in April, Ranby Prison, Retford, Notts DN22 8EU.

**DAVID GAUNT:** Shirebrook - 2½-year sentence from December 1984. E71037, A Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Duddington Road, Wellingborough.

**STEPHEN GREGORY:** Warsop - 18-month sentence. Due for release September 1985.

**VICTOR GREGORY:** Markham - 18-month sentence. Due for release September 1985.

**ALAN HAWKINS:** Four-month sentence at a detention centre from March 1985.

**DAVID JAMES:** Shirebrook - Two-year sentence from December 1984. 034 Sudbury Prison, Derby DE6 5HW.

**PAUL JONES:** Shirebrook - Two-year sentence from December 1984. E71036, D Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Northamptonshire NN 8NH.

**IAN KESTLE:** Shirebrook - Two-year sentence from December 1984. E71032, Leicester Prison, Welford Road, Leicester LE2 7AJ.

**BRIAN MARTIN:** Three-month sentence from March 1985. Featherstone Prison, New Road, Wolverhampton, WV10 7PU.

**DAVID MASON:** Shirebrook - Two-year sentence from December 1984. E711033, F Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Duddington Road, Wellingborough.

**KEITH MILLWARD:** Markham - Three-month sentence from March 1985. Featherstone Prison, New Road, Wolverhampton, WV10 7PU.

**MICHAEL PARTINGTON:** Three-month sentence from March 1985. Featherstone Prison, New Road, Wolverhampton WV10 7PU.

**PETER PEARSON:** Shirebrook - Two-year sentence from December 1984. 038 Sudbury Prison Derby DE6 5HW.

**SOUTH WALES**  
**DEAN HANCOCK:** 899410 Cardiff Prison, Knox Road, Cardiff CF2 1UG.

**RUSSELL SHANKLAND:** A83752 Hospital Wing, Cardiff Prison, Knox Road, Cardiff CF2 1UG.

**MICHAEL SOUTHWELL:** Shirebrook - Two-year sentence from December 1984. 030 Sudbury Prison Derby DE6 5HW.

**RON STANILAND:** Expected release next month Ranby Prison, Retford, Notts DN22 8EU.

**PHILIP STIRLAND:** Shirebrook - 2½-year sentence from December 1984. E71035 B Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Duddington Road, Wellingborough.

**GLEN WRIGHT:** Ireland - Six-month sentence from March 1985. Sudbury open Prison, Derby DE6 5HW.

Not a miner but sentenced in connection with the miners' strike:

**STEVEN GOODALL:** Shirebrook - Two-year sentence from December 1984. 039 Sudbury Prison, Derby DE6 5HW.

**WEST MIDLANDS**  
**LES WARD:** Coventry - Unemployed ex-miner. Six month sentence. Expected release May 29, 1985. C54232, A Wing, Ranby Prison, nr Retford.

**KENT**  
**MARK BEST:** Three-year sentence from April 1985. B74749, Wandsworth Prison, London SW18.

**EMLYN DAVIES:** Three-year sentence from April 1985. B74746, Wandsworth Prison, London SW18.

**BRIAN DAY:** Three-year sentence from April 1985. B74748, Wandsworth Prison, London SW18.

**TERRY FRENCH:** Betteshanger - Five-year sentence from January 1985. B73383, Wandsworth Prison, London SW18.

**GARRY NEWELL:** Three-year sentence from April 1985. B74745, Wandsworth Prison, London SW18.

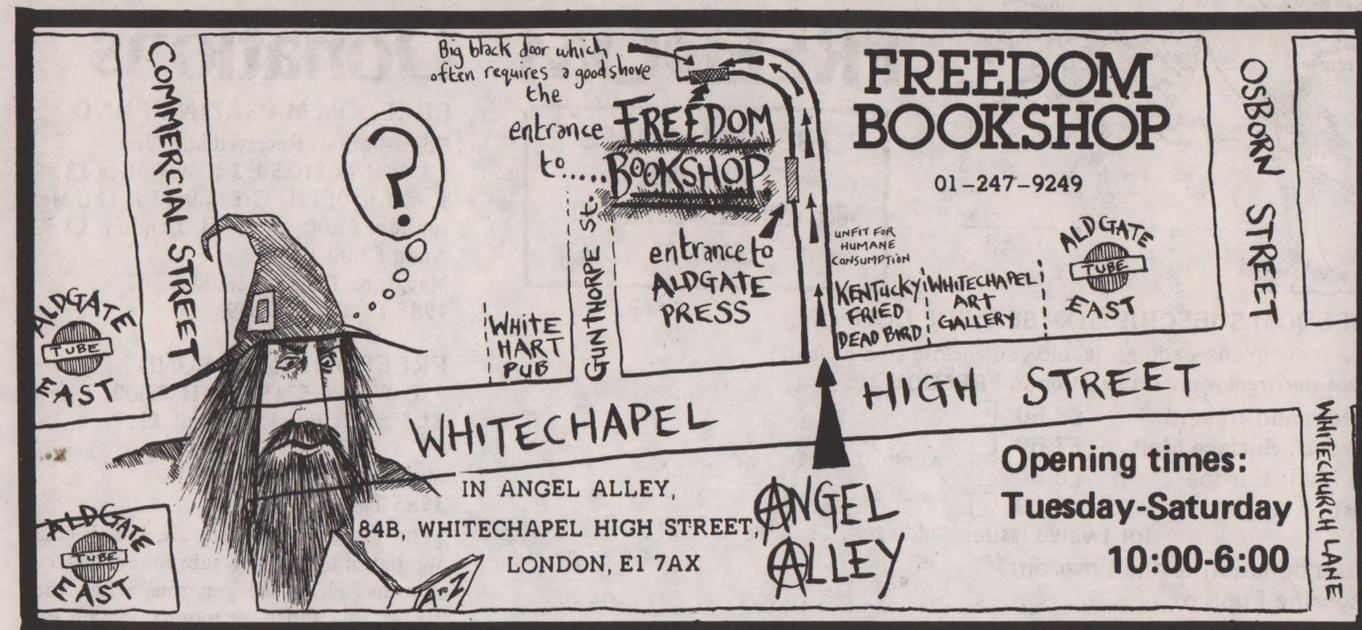
**JOHN O'CONNOR:** Betteshanger - Two-month sentence from April 1985. Canterbury Prison.

**CHRIS TAZEY:** Betteshanger - Three-year sentence from January 1985. A29398 Youth Detention Centre, Springfield Road, Chelmsford, Essex.

**JAMES WADDELL:** Three-year sentence from April 1985. Wandsworth Prison, London SW18.

Not a miner but sentenced in connection with the miners' strike:

**PETER GATES:** UCATT One-year sentence from March 1985. L33574, Wormwood Scrubs, PO Box 757.



### Mia's Bookshop Notes

No new books out this month, but I've taken in a few expensive ones from America, not previously sold in this shop. Sorry for the nos-so-informative blurbs, but I'm in the middle of preparing a new book-catalogue, which will carry 220 titles and be printed the last week in June. Also, I'm preparing for the bookshop sale which will be 9th to 13th of July. Lots of titles to go, I've been going through the stock-room and found loads of rubbish/goodies.

*p.s. How do you make a pig bark?  
Pour petrol over him and he goes 'woof'!*

### Work and Madness

*D Ralph £7.95*

The rise of community psychiatry.

### Paths to Paradise

*A Gorz £3.50*

On the liberation from work.

### Community, Anarchy and Liberty

*M Taylor £6.50*

Examination of the methods used to maintain order in anarchic and quasi-anarchic societies and shows how these

methods can be effective only in a small and stable community.

### Strike Breaking in Essex

*M Abdel-Rahim £2.50*

A report on the policing of the miners' picket lines at the Essex ports from the beginning of April to the end of September 1984. Based on interviews and first hand experience.

### The Modern State

*F Harrison £7.95*

An anarchist analysis.

### Law and Anarchism

*Ed. by Holtermar/Maarseveen £7.95*

Essays from a seminar in 1971 in Rotterdam.

### The Anarchist Moment

*J Clark £7.95*

Reflections on culture, nature and power.

### Sabotage

*G Brown £2.50*

A study in industrial conflict from the 1890's until today.

I've also taken in loads of pamphlets eg:

Birth Control by observing natural cycles

*60p*

Temperature charts, mucous and the position of the cervix are explained. It's a good pamphlet.

Information sheets on the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

*95p*

"What is illegal under the PTA", "Arrest, Question and Search" etc.

### Know your Rights

*95p*

"Arrest", "Legal Aid", "Bail", "Homosexuality and the Law" etc.

### DAM and the Trade Unions

*25p*

An outline on what is wrong with the trade unions today and a presentation of its own alternative.

### The IWA Today

*C Longmore 50p*

A short account of the International Workers Association and its sections.

### IWA

*40p*

Principles, Aims and Statutes of the IWA.

it functions as art, and does not try to subordinate itself to the laws of propaganda. It is by this criterion and in these terms that the best fiction of Tolstoy, Garcia Marquez, Solzhenitsyn or Pramoedya Ananta Toer succeed to the extent that they do. Disobedience to the laws of free imaginative creation is a certain recipe for poor art.

It's impossible in the space of a short review to do justice, even in summary form, to Ramirez' rich story, with its cast's tragi-comic adventures across place and time. Readers of Garcia Marquez' *Hundred Years of Solitude* will have some

idea what to expect. In a recent interview in *Harper's* magazine, Garcia Marquez swore that nothing in *A Hundred Years* wasn't literally true to Latin American socio-political reality. Art is naturally surreal because life is. Ramirez would agree. RI have chosen well in introducing the English reader to Nicaraguan literature with this excellent, entertaining novel. Let us hope it is the first of more to come. Bullets and economic blockades can kill bodies, but not the free, creative spirit of a people.

Patrick Flanagan  
Barcelona

# bookshop sale

## 9th to 13th July