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## anarchist fortnightly

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## editorial

The United Nations (sic) have recently released a report giving the number of people executed over the last 15 years. It totals nearly 2,000,000. The vagueness is due to the fact that it only covers some 39 countries and, furthermore, this figure only refers to those executions that took place without 'proper legal proceedings'.

Summary execution has always been a tactic of government when under threat, either real or imagined. In countries like Iran, Argentina, South Africa, Cambodia, to name but a few, opposition is dealt with by the bullet. All such executions, which usually follow torture sessions, offend against the laws of the State that perpetrates them but this minor technicality is brushed aside by the needs of 'national security' and 'maintaining law and order'. It is plain to see that the only 'security' in question is that of the ruling caste and all that they seek to 'maintain' is their position and privilege.

Such is the twilight world of dawn raids, death squads and the executed grave. But what of the executions that are carried out in the full glare of public knowledge? What of the thousands murdered by the State for 'offences' against the 'public good', where the definition of 'good' is made by that very State? What of the thousands murdered and maimed in factories and workplaces, forced to work in unsafe conditions with unsafe equipment, all to fill the coffers of the few? What of the thousands murdered by poverty and starvation whilst some can freely lay waste to acres of crops and tons of foodstuffs? What of the countless millions murdered in war by the senseless bloodlust of national honour and religious purity?

Capital Punishment is the price extracted from us all, from every man, woman and child. It is the price we pay for the domination of the many by the few. We are forced to sell our lives for the breadcrumbs from the banquet tables of the rulers and they demand complete control, down to the right to end our lives at their whim.

Until that final demand we are the walking wounded and our only cure is the complete and utter annihilation of all forms of domination and exploitation. The abolition of Capital Punishment, with or without 'legal' sanction, can only be attained with the abolition of Capital and the State.



## Beyond the Welfare State

As we have been saying for nearly a century, in practice there is little real distinction between the main political parties. All of them — whether Tory or Whig, then Conservative or Liberal, now Conservative or Labour, and perhaps soon Democrat — behave much the same as each other, both in and out of office. When they are the Government, they all do as much harm as they can and as little good as they must, and when they are the Opposition they all criticise the Government for doing what they have just done and will soon do again. For a century, all the main political parties have worked in their various ways to increase the power of the State over society, and for most of us in society it has made little difference which particular party is in power at any particular time.

Yet there are still real distinctions between some of the parties in theory. The Right generally favours the Warfare State but not the Welfare State, the Left generally favours the Welfare State but not the Warfare State, and the Centre is uncertain. The Conservative Party has done much for State Socialism, but actually believes in State Capitalism — sound money and balanced budgets, Government help for industry and commerce, and a minimum level of welfare for the poor and weak. The Labour Party has done much for State Capitalism, but actually believes in State Socialism — large bureaucracy and strong trade unions, Government help for nationalised industries and public corporations, and a maximum level of welfare for the poor and weak. The Liberal and Social Democratic Parties hold various

contradictory combinations of both beliefs.

From this perspective it has been illuminating to observe the controversy caused by the exposure of the recent work of the Conservative Family Policy Group, which was leaked by the *Guardian* last week. Some random private thoughts of a few Government ministers about family life along familiar right-wing lines are being interpreted by left-wing politicians and commentators, liberals as well as socialists, as if they represented a serious threat to the Welfare State. They forget that the Conservatives, though opposing almost every step in its construction, have never taken any step to destroy it, trying only to make it a bit weaker and cheaper. Whatever they say about monetarism or the market, they depend just as much on the State as their opponents do, and the Welfare State is now an integral part of modern mass society.

The most significant political fact is that all the various attempts either to increase or — paradoxically — to reduce the growth of either the Warfare or the Welfare State have had only one effect: to reinforce the strength of the State, in terms of size and wealth and power and danger. The present situation is that, whichever party is in office, more than half of the gross national product and more than half of national expenditure is in the hands of the State, nearly half of all income is taken by national and local government in various direct and indirect taxes, duties and rates, and about half of the total population is receiving some kind of State benefit; and this has not been changed by the present Conservative Government, for all its

public or private talk.

Perhaps the easiest way to grasp this situation is through the employment statistics. The total population of the so-called United Kingdom is about 56 million. The total working population — that is, the people who are able to do full-time work (not being too young or too old, or disabled or ill, or looking after someone at home) — is about 30 million. Of these, about 2 million are officially self-employed between 1 and 2 million are probably unofficially self-employed in the 'black economy' and between 3 and 4 million (depending on how they are counted) are officially unemployed and therefore dependent on the State.

So there are in this country about 23 million employed people. Of these, more than a third are employed by the State, as follows. There are about 1 million in the armed forces or various other defence occupations; about 1½ million in the national health service; about 1½ million in the public sector education system; about 2 million in other government departments and local authorities; and about 2 million in nationalised industries or public corporations: a total of about 8 million State employees — not counting all the other people whose employment depends on the State.

The same pattern is reflected elsewhere. In the health system, about 7 million people go into hospital every year, and about ½ million are in hospital at any one time (about a quarter being mental patients). (It now costs about £600 a week to keep one person in hospital.) In the education system, there are about 10 million pupils in about 35,000

public sector schools, and another ½ million full-time students in 800 higher and further education institutions, with about ½ million teachers altogether. In the housing system, there are about 18 million people (nearly a third of the population) living in public sector (local authority or new town) accommodation, and another ½ million (children and old people, physically and mentally handicapped) living in local authority care.

In the legal system, more than a million people work as policemen, prison officers, probation officers, court officials, lawyers, judges and so on. About 2½ million people are found guilty of criminal offences every year, about 200,000 are sent to prison every year (a third before being tried), and about 50,000 are in prison at any one time. (It now costs about £200 a week to keep one person in prison.)

The final link is that the British intelligentsia has become almost entirely absorbed by the State, and indeed has become the most important class in the State system. Apart from a few thousand who still survive in the independent media, the great majority of intellectuals now tend to be directly employed by or indirectly dependent on the State. The managerial revolution has affected not just industry and commerce, which are increasingly dominated by huge interlocked networks of corporations, but also the national and local bureaucracies, which are increasingly dominated by huge hierarchical layers of administrators. Such people may allow some low-paid workers to be made redundant, some local offices to be closed, some profitable sectors to be 'privatised' or sold off to commercial interests, but will not allow their own positions to be threatened. Indeed, every reform of the system leads to an increase in the numbers and the complexity of the administrative staff, and every empire tends to expand indefinitely. Symbolically, the vast array of statistics on every aspect of State activity is prepared by a vast array of bureaucrats acting as the bureaucracy of the bureaucracy.

While the Warfare State threatens to kill us by sudden destruction, the Welfare State threatens to kill us by slow degeneration. Just as Parkinson's Law states that work expands to fill the time available, so it expands to occupy the people available, and bureaucracy expands both ways; and in the Welfare State, as in the Warfare State, there is a continuous spiral in which growing needs lead to growing expense and growing staff, leading to growing needs and so on. So, just as the Warfare State should be contested by revolution, the Welfare State should be contested by devolution; and just as the dogmatic defence of the former of the Right should be challenged, the dogmatic defence of the latter by the Left should be challenged just as strongly.

In the context of the current controversy, we agree with the Conservatives that families should become more responsible, that parents should have more say in schools, that children should learn how to look after themselves, that many occupations are becoming excessively professionalised, that voluntary

On behalf of the anarcho-hyphens

Following the attack on hyphenated anarchists (15 January), here is the confession of a multi-hyphenated anarchist.

My overall social aim is anarchist-communism (libertarian socialism or anti-authoritarian collectivism), an aim which is basically that of Peter Kropotkin and William Morris and which owes much to William Godwin and Michael Bakunin, differing with the latter two in certain essential features, and obviously rejecting Kropotkin's post-1914 developments.

This is for me inextricably coupled with my fundamental system of ethics — a broadly pragmatic system, in so far as it is primarily a matter of what does and does not advance anarchist-communism and the belief that means ends in embryo. Whether the ethics stems from or was the reason for embracing — indeed whether the aim was — my anarchist interpretation of Catholicism (which I insist is rigidly theologically orthodox and consistent with the beliefs of the early Fathers of the Church) is hard to say, since I adopted both (in simple form) at the same (teenage) age and have thence developed both in parallel.

Among 'moderns' who have thought along broadly similar lines and whose work may be known to secular anarchists, I would list Stewart Headlam, Conrad Noel and Eric Gill (in England), Hegarty (the IWW founder) and Ammon Hennacy (in the United States), James Connolly (USA, Scotland and Ire-

land), Simone Weil and Emmanuel Mounier (France), and Nikolai Berdyaev (Russia).

Following from such objectives and such ethics, my overall strategy is anarcho-syndicalist — with conceptions derived in the main from the early French revolutionary syndicalists, particularly Hubert Lagardelle — which proceed from an anarcho-Marxist class analysis of society; and my analysis of subsequent class developments of society stems in large part from the Rosmer/Monatte/Weil tradition of syndicalism.

This — in terms of both class analysis and of revolutionary strategy — is enlarged rather than negated by insights I have derived from the criticisms made of syndicalism by some people in the tradition of anarcho-Marxism (notably Anton Pannekoek, Hermann Gorter, Karl Korsch, Paul Mattick, Robert Michels, Paul Cardan, Raya Dunayevskaya, Anton Ciliga, Victor Serge and Erich Fromm), and also by the non-hyphenated Marxist industrial unionist Daniel De Leon, by some writings of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and by some other anarcho-hyphens (such as Martin Buber).

While taking on board many of the criticisms all these have made of syndicalism (whether explicitly or merely by analogy), I find them valid only when they are criticisms merely of some syndicalist practice and do not (to me) answer syndicalist theory. I am less impressed by the criticisms made by some un-

hyphenated anarchists (particularly Errico Malatesta and the Platformists of the 1920s) which are at best superficial and ill-informed and at worst elitist.

This overall strategy is (in a nuclear age) modified by the fact that I have believed (since Hungary in 1956) that a Barcelona-type *levee en masse* is no longer a possibility. I had earlier (despite a teenage admiration for the Russian Nihilists) concluded that any other form of violent revolutionary activity likely to be effective is elitist and therefore un-anarchist.

I was therefore forced to adopt a pragmatic 'pacifism'. My non-violent anarchy owes nothing morally to traditional anarcho-pacifists (though I have learnt much else from them), since I cannot share the position from which they start — that all violence is necessarily morally *per se* wrong. I believe it to be *in*-expedient, counter-productive in terms of attaining the anarchist revolution, and therefore immoral only in that it postpones/destroys the hope of the advent of anarchism.

Nevertheless, although I am not a follower of Tolstoy, Thoreau etc, I can admire their actions in terms of what Hennacy calls Individual Revolution, and see this as a valid form of propaganda for attaining mass action, even though I reject the thesis that it can be substituted for such mass action. Moreover, provided it is not (as unfortunately it was in some of the founders) tainted by moral elitism, it may al-

so contribute to the attainment of solidarity, to freeing people of prejudices that damage cooperation.

But in all, as a pragmatist, I am more influenced by Danilo Dolci, Albert Luthuli, Martin Luther King, Cesar Chavez, and the more socialist Gandhians, by A J Muste and by J Allen Skinner than I am by those pacifist thinkers more directly associated with the 'anarcho-' label. Also as a pragmatist, purists do not consider me to be properly a pacifist, and so in deference to this I prefer to use the term 'non-violent anarchist'.

The class analysis — and the perception of how to achieve the solidarity of the exploited class, or how to combat those influences militating against it — is reinforced by insights drawn from numerous other anarcho-hyphens, as from some revisionist anarchists, some individualist anarchists, and from some non-anarchist radicals. This also applies to some issues that do not totally fall within this category — ecology, feminism, free schooling — and in some cases of revolutionary propagandist tactics.

I find it difficult to believe that any anarchist does not compound a similar diversity of influences, and I do not know what an unhyphenated anarchist can be, since I know of no strain of anarchism that is devoid of all traditions descended from such hyphenated strains.

Laurens Otter

Confused ideas and trivia

I know that FREEDOM is an anarchist periodical, but far too often the word anarchy/anarchist is used as a rallying cry for a series of contradictory, opposing, fragmented and confused ideas. Too often the emphasis is on theory and laying claim to personalities of the past, however 'inspiring' that might be.

I have never attended an anarchist meeting or the like; I've only read a few books and subscribed to FREEDOM, but I'm sure that I grasped the basic tenets of anarchy and understand roughly what it's all about (HO HC). The problem for me is how to put some of this into practice. The first priority is not to go around shouting open the jails or other such glib badge comments, but to try to get people to understand life in practical and economic terms rather than the hedonistic material viewpoint which predominates at present. OK, so that's as glib as some of the

anarchist pamphlets you can buy, but if you're striving for 'the revolution' people must realise that they are just as important as anyone else, and their views carry as much weight as Kropotkin, Maggie or Andropov. Self-respect and self-belief must be the order of the day.

ID

I think the 'debates' carried out in the letters page of FREEDOM are a reflection of the anarchist movement in this country, petty. Bickerings about hyphens, and such like, just go to show what we are about, trivia.

I am not saying these things should not be debated and discussed, but it is a case of first things first, and what should come first is organisation, communication and propaganda (with of course related action).

We can not organise locally, let alone nationally, until we have broken down barriers (political, personal etc) between ourselves, and this won't happen when comrades waste time and energy criticising comrades for revisionism, deviating or not being morally pure.

What individuals choose is up to them, if they wish to call themselves anarchists but remain inactive, so be it, if they clarify their anarchism (anarcho-communist, -pacifist, -syndicalist, etc) so be it, but if you as an anarchist refuse to work with, assist and support other anarchists in your area because you are more 'ideologically pure' etc then fuck off, because we are not strong enough for sectarianists and elitists.

There are too many things in the anarchist movement to be debated, discussed in order to help us to organise and unite in a common movement for a free society without dividing ourselves over trivial

matters.

If we are to use FREEDOM as a debating 'internal' journal (which is itself debatable) then let us discuss ourselves as the anarchist movement and not each other as individuals.

To this effect may I suggest some points.

1. Why is it that regional federations such as the NEAF (North East Anarchist Federation) fail to contact and keep informed all the anarchists in their regions?
2. Why are there very many comrades who 'hate' the Direct Action Movement (anarcho-syndicalist organisation)?
3. Should we use our only regular paper for internal debate etc, if not what should we use?
4. As a political force equal to, if not bigger than, the SWP, WRP etc, why do we have less influence?

Mak, Jacqui.

The new look FREEDOM

The redesigned FREEDOM is good for street-selling. The space used for articles is easier to read. (Perhaps a little more use of hollow style lettering for banner headline.) With a few more photographs (current) and illustrations to encourage newcomers to read the paper carefully, we can perhaps double the circulation — if readers out there take half a dozen extra to sell in their community.

This will reward all the voluntary effort of editors past and present. This will increase print run. Furthermore, if readers will also realize their role in writing, observing and distributing book-shop lists FREEDOM can go into the anniversary year as a vital anarchist contribution to the worldwide movement.

Designers, printers and street-sellers should be encouraged as I have been. (Even if they can't see the need for imaginative poet's work! Bloody 'Eil, even if Liverpool do win the Football League again, Tottenham Hotspur will win the cup again!)

Dennis Gould

The Lyon trials and letter bombs

Caroline Cahm (Letters, 11 February) questions my statement (29 January) about the Lyon trial of 1883 that, 'far from suppressing anarchism, it gave a sharp stimulus to the growing movement'; and she gives some evidence that 'the movement suffered an undoubted setback in France' as a result of the case. She may well be right, especially about southern France, but there is plenty of evidence for what I said.

As I mentioned, the trial was followed by a major workers' demonstration led by anarchists in Paris, and by a marked increase in the number of anarchist papers in France. Jean Grave, one of the main members of the movement, said in his autobiography that, in Lyon, 'if they had succeeded in silencing the papers, in checking the movement, they had not killed it. It recovered all the more under the leadership of Comrade Lemoine, a shoemaker, who, having formed a prisoner's aid group, had resumed the propaganda.' And he added that *Le Revolte*, the main French-

language anarchist paper which he edited from Geneva, doubled its circulation after the case, and that, when he moved back to Paris in 1885, 'the movement had spread. It was no longer a fraction. The anarchists had become numerous ... If you reread the revolutionary papers of the period 1882-1886 in particular, you get the impression that we might have been on the eve of a revolution. You can count in hundreds the sentences — some very heavy — for political offences. Individual and collective acts of revolt were breaking out almost everywhere.' (*Quarante ans de propagande anarchiste*, 1973 edition.) And Jean Maitron, the main historian of French anarchism, describes in detail this continuing activity inspired by anarchist agitation and propaganda throughout the mid-1880s. (*Le mouvement anarchiste en France*, 1975 edition.)

Incidentally, the anonymous article about the current wave of letter-bombs (11 February) rightly condemns them for endangering not those they are addressed to but

the workers who actually handle letters, and also for causing harassment of anarchists and other dissidents; but then it hints that we wouldn't mind such harassment if it were 'for a worthwhile reason, for a successful attack'. If this is a joke, fair enough; but if it is a serious recommendation for violent attacks on individuals, this is a controversial matter which should be properly discussed.

NW

We apologise to those readers whose letters we have not published but we have received so many over the last few weeks that we simply couldn't use them all — otherwise FREEDOM would have consisted entirely of letters!

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We reserve the right to cut letters unless otherwise specified by the author.

All signed articles reflect the opinion of the authors, not necessarily those of the editorial collective.

Those of us who were around at the time would never have expected to see a television programme that approached the Spanish Civil War with any objectivity, awareness of and sympathy with all its tragedy and complexity — as happened in the recent Channel 4 series. Most of the news sources at the time were either Communist-dominated or sympathetic to the Nationalist rebellion. Most of the national press were pro-Franco and the rest were fed up with Communist-tinged Republican propaganda. The anarchist dimension was mostly ignored, with the exception of the Independent Labour Party and their journal the *New Leader* and the small revived anarchist group at Freedom Press.

What was the political scene in 1936 in this country? The industrial fiasco of the 1926 General Strike and the political fiasco of the 1924 and 1929 Labour governments had led to a general disillusionment with the Labour Party. The extreme left was dominated by the Communist Party, and the Soviet Union was still regarded as some sort of a Utopia, in spite of the ugly rumours that had been filtering through. Mosley's Fascist Blackshirts were attracting large and violent meetings, supported by substantial funds from various

sources. The libertarian left was confined to the ILP, the anarchists, and the No More War Movement (soon to be swallowed up by the Peace Pledge Union, that was to be crippled by the Second World War). This was the scene when the Civil War broke out in Spain in July 1936. At least half, if not more, of the working class voted Tory, the others not caring a damn, some under the influence of the Communist Party.



ed up and the anti-Jewish campaign mounted. The reluctance of the so called democracies to receive the victims resulted no doubt in more killings. British business was actively supporting the German rearmament programme, and as usual making money where it could. A British pilot transported Franco to Morocco, and German planes transported his troops. Mussolini rapidly supplied 'volunteers' and Germany war materials. So the odds were pretty well stacked against the unfortunate workers of Spain.

As the revolutionary nature of the Spanish scene began to unfold, the establishment was no doubt aware of this, even if the working class was not; consequently what happened eventually had a certain grim logic to it. In Spain itself conditions were pretty feudal. There was a large peasant population; in some areas wage workers, living at an appalling standard of living, in other areas small landholders not much better off, but with slightly different attitudes to the landless peasants. There was also the large officer class of military men, absentee landlords, ranchers and others. Then there were Catalonia and the Basque country, which were vastly more developed industrially than the rest of the country. The middle class was small and largely confined to those areas. The

middle class was not in favour of a military takeover and was also very apprehensive of the power of the working class and peasants. Intellectual freedom was important, but without economic freedom this was meaningless to the peasants and workers, as they found when the Republic was first formed. The television series and the accompanying book gave the scenario for the struggle pretty well, and also the unusual anarchist dimension.

The war began in an atmosphere of violence and mayhem, with the military rebellion starting with an organised system of terror, with outbursts of anger killings on the Republican side, ultimately to give way to the Soviet imported police terror calculated to ensure the domination of the Communist influence.

The programmes brought back vivid memories of the period. Those of us who were interested followed the progress of the war avidly. In addition we raised funds and sent food. Many people we knew went, and often did not return, and later in the war children from the Basque country were housed in a hostel in a country house in Essex.

was murdered, Orwell just escaped with his life. A friend of mine went pro-Communist and came back anti-Communist, having travelled on a train back with a Communist agent who was armed, each waiting for the other to sleep. Bob Smillie, son of the old ILP trade unionist, died in Valencia Hospital under suspicious circumstances.

The Communists made great propaganda out of the International Brigade, and ultimately controlled the situation with Soviet arms bought with Spanish gold. The Communist Party's behaviour raised great suspicions. My father had been a foundation member, and left because he did not like the hierarchy and the completely unscrupulous behaviour to other people. This was not to say that many rank-and-file Communists were not sincere, if misguided, people. I had read Eugene Lyon's *Assignment in Utopia*, the tale of another Communist who went and was not gagged by the Russian state, and who told of the slow but steady realisation of the full horror of the Stalinist regime.

Following the recent Channel 4 TV series on 'the Spanish Civil War', Alan Albon comments on its accuracy and impact as well as describing his memories of that period.

# The Spanish Civil War



they destroyed the revolution and lost the war. To fight the war on Franco's terms was to invite defeat, with his ample supplies of arms from Germany and Italy, relying on Russian arms delivered at the price of political control and the needs of Soviet foreign policy. This foreign policy was completely nationalist and unrelated to any revolutionary objective. It was first directed at making an alliance with France and Britain. When this did not succeed, Stalin proceeded to seek an alliance with Hitler, whose armed forces had been secretly training and building up in the Soviet Union.

So the Spanish people became a pawn in the power politics game. What came out of the Civil War ultimately? For us, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-four*, since George Orwell's experience in Spain undoubtedly influenced him enormously. Many libertarian socialists became anarchists. Many Communist sympathisers became capitalist sympathisers. After nearly 40 years of Franco Spain has changed enormously, and 1983 is not 1936. It is more industrialised, it has a tourist industry, more international finance, a larger middle class. The change is reflected in the turmoil of the still (by any other standards) large anarchist movement.

Whatever one may say about the world in which we live, there have been some changes for the better — particularly in the field of individual relationships. There is a concern about this among young anarchists who regard many of the old anar-

chists as conservative; I found this division in the anarchist camps in France before the death of Franco. The success of the collectives during the revolution reveals the depth of penetration of anarchist thought, and in spite of Franco's attempts to stamp it out by the re-establishment of church education, it survives as a living force. The importance that the Spanish establishment placed upon education was reflected in the murder back in 1909 of Francisco Ferrer, whose successful attempts to build free schools were hated by the Church and the Army.

To many people — mostly those who were not there — it seems a romantic and heroic period, but to many who were there and survived it was a period of deprivation and horror, for human flesh is soft and bullets are hard. It must be recognised that a large part of the population supported Franco, just as a large part of our own population support the established order. We cannot write these people off; to them we have to address ourselves more effectively than before. Many of us who then faced the approaching world war and had a radical family history, thought we might also have had to take to the hills, as the Spanish refugees in France had ultimately to do.

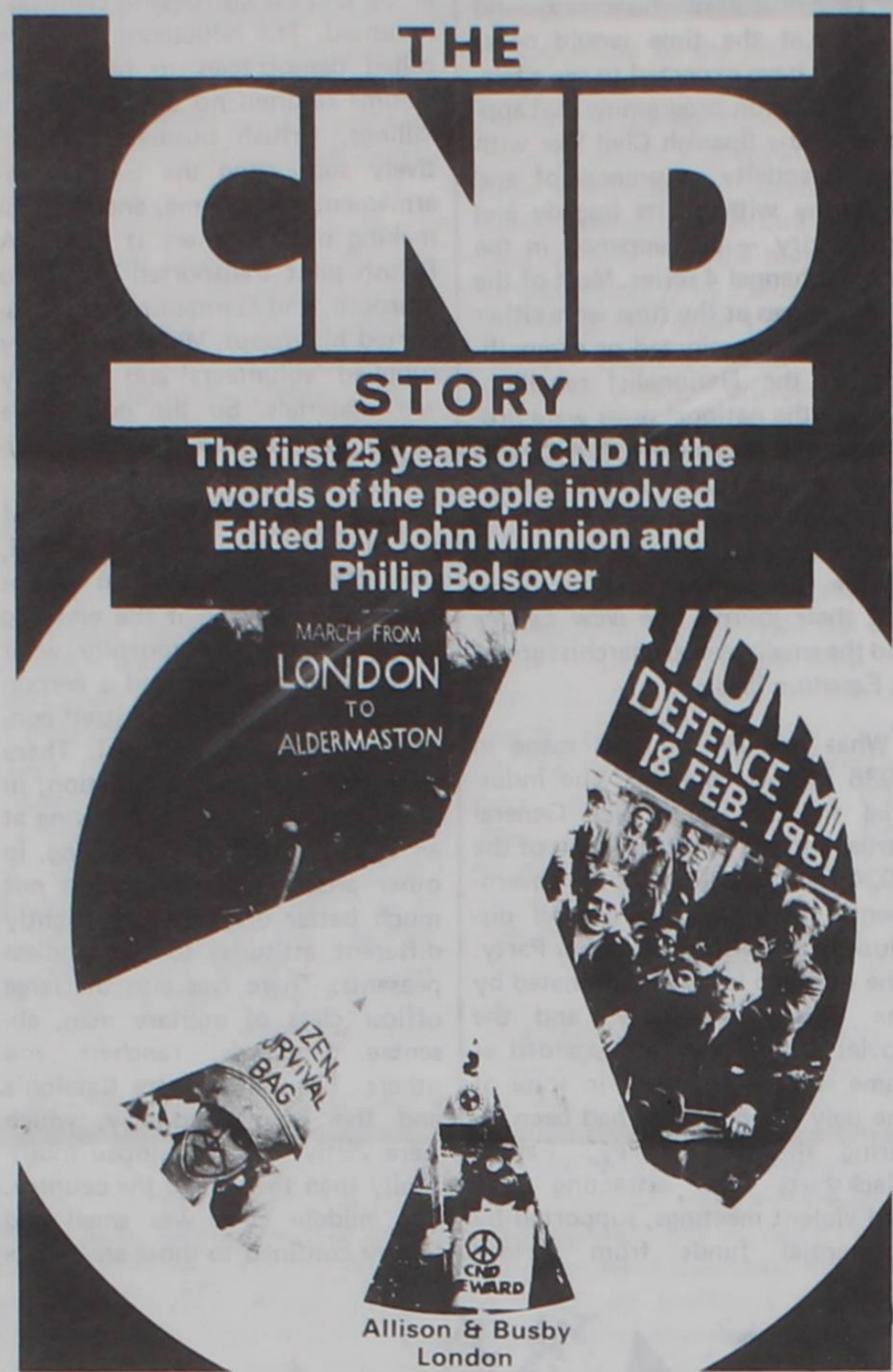
For those who wish to learn more about the history of the period

there is a formidable bibliography. In particular *The Collectives in the Spanish Revolution* can be recommended. It was a profound period of history, and this is a highly recommended series which I hope will be repeated, and its book read, to arouse a greater interest in anarchist ideas.

Books on Spain available from Freedom Bookshop, in Angel Alley 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1, at the prices — plus postage —

- David Mitchell: *The Spanish Civil War* (reviewed here) £9.95 (£1.57)
  - Ronald Fraser: *Blood of Spain: The Experience of Civil War, 1936 — 1939* £4.95 (66p)
  - Albert Meltzer (Ed.): *A New World in Our Hearts: The Faces of Spanish Anarchism* £2.00 (31p)
  - Burnett Bolloten: *The Spanish Revolution: The Left and the Struggle for Power during the Civil War* £10.00 (£1.84)
  - Murray Bookchin: *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years, 1868 — 1936* £4.95 (60p)
  - George Orwell: *Homage to Catalonia* £1.75 (36p)
  - Abel Paz: *Durruti: The People Armed* £5.00 (94p)
- Published by Freedom Press (we can give full trade terms on the following titles)
- Gaston Leval: *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution* ppr £4.00 (94p) cloth £6.00 (£1.20)
- Coming shortly from Freedom Press:-
- Vernon Richards: *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* £2.95 (94p)

# The **CND** story



*The CND Story*, edited by John Minnion and Philip Bolsover Allison and Busby, £5.95 and £1.95 (31p post). *From Protest to Resistance*, Peace News, £1.25 (25p post). *Keeping the Peace*, edited by Lynne Jones, Women's Press, £3.60 (60p post). *The New Hungarian Peace Movement*, by Ferenc Kozzegi and EP Thomson, END and Merlin Press, 90p (20p post). *Moscow Independent Peace Group*, by Jean Stead and Danielle Grunberg, 75p (20p post). *Comiso*, by Ben Thompson, 60p (20p post). *Serious Politics Begin with the Bomb*, by Laurens Otter, 30p (17p post). *How effective are Peace Movements?*, by Bob Overy, Housmans, *Protest without Illusions*, by Vernon Richards £1.95 (50p post)

The nuclear disarmament movement which is now worrying all the main political parties is 40 years old - older than the bomb itself, beginning in 1943 with a speech and a pamphlet by Bob Edwards (then an Independent Labour Party activist and still a Labour MP), warning that a new form of weapon based on atomic power would be nothing but 'war against the people'. But the main organization in the movement, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, is 25 years old, being privately formed on 15 January and publicly launched on 30 January and beginning its real career with a huge meeting in London on 17 February 1958. There have been several books on the movement in general and on CND in particular, and several more may be expected since the revival of both in 1980. *The CND Story*, published to mark the silver jubilee, is a collection of 40 short articles by past or present activists on various themes and episodes during the period from 1957 to 1982, with a short preface and a long historical introduction by the editors, and some illustrations and appendices. The preface says the book isn't an official history but a



collection of personal views, yet it may be assumed that the result is meant to express some kind of official view of the old movement and the new; and if so it seems to be a very short view.

There are some quite good articles on the first Aldermaston March (which wasn't organized by CND, and on which the nuclear disarmament symbol was first used) and on other early developments; there are some rather bad articles on the difficult period of the 1960s; there are some interesting articles on the unsuccessful and then the successful attempts to revive the movement in the 1970s; and there are some informative articles on various recent developments. April Carter (one of the leading pioneers of direct action) contributes a good article on the Direct Action Commit-

tee of 1957 - 1961, but there is nothing on the Committee of 100 of 1960 - 1968 except two inadequate pages in the introduction. Janey and Norman Buchan contribute a good article on the early movement in Scotland, which was less sectarian than in England, and Adrian Henri (the Liverpool poet) contributes a personal article on his own memories (including 'buying my first copy of FREEDOM'), but there is virtually nothing on the radical movement to the left of CND during the 1960s. Andrew Papworth (an active member of the London Committee of 100) contributes a tentative article on the non-party side of the old movement, and Peter Worsley (a leading member of the old New Left) contributes a superficial article on the multi-party side of the old movement, but there is virtually nothing on the libertarian movement which stimulated and was stimulated by the nuclear disarmament movement then. After all, the old movement failed in its political objectives, but it succeeded in transforming many of the people who passed through it and in influencing the radical developments of the late 1960s and



early 1970s, and this may turn out to be its main historical significance - though this of course could be changed by the revived movement since the 1980. The coverage of the new movement includes articles on direct action by Pat Arrowsmith (one of the leading pioneers in the old days, and the organiser of the first Aldermaston March), Bruce Kent (a past chairman and present general secretary of CND), and Tony Simpson (the chronicler of the successful action at Bridgend a year ago), but nothing on the difficulties and disputes about this issue.

So this book is interesting in its coverage of CND itself but irritating in its neglect of the wider movement, and it should be read alongside the *Peace News* pamphlet *From Protest to Resistance* (reviewed in FREEDOM on 7 Novem-

ber 1981) and Vernon Richards' book *Protest Without Illusions*.

There are some other recent publications in this area which should be mentioned. *Keeping the Peace* is edited by Lynne Jones, who was associated with FREEDOM in 1980 - 1981 and has been active in the nuclear disarmament movement not only in this country but in Europe and the United States. It is a collection of a dozen articles and other items on the new women's peace



movement in all these places (and in Japan). Unfortunately it is rather carelessly edited, and the British contributions are particularly weak, one of the worst being the editor's impressionistic account of the peace-camp at Greenham Common. But the book is an interesting document of an important development.

*The Anti-Nuclear Songbook* is the third in the new series of *Peace News* pamphlets, and contains about 40 songs for the new movement. Music was one of the essential features of the old movement (being discussed by several contributors to *The CND Story*), but the only songs to survive from those days are 'Do you hear the H - Bomb's thunder?' and 'The Worker's Bomb'. Older demonstrators will miss some of their favourites, but one of the best things about recent demonstrations has been the Fall - Out Marching Band, and five of their songs are included. It would be good to have a much fuller collection with music and notes, but this one will do for the time being.

The European Nuclear Disarmament movement, which is particularly significant because it is trying to link the movements in Western Europe with groups in Eastern Europe, has published several END Special Reports which are very useful and well produced pamphlets on *The New Hungarian Peace Movement*, the *Moscow Independent Peace Group* and *Comiso*. The lat-

ter describes the proposed Cruise missile site in Sicily, and gives some of the background information to the situation described in Jean Weir's article in FREEDOM (15 January 1983).

*Serious Politics Begin with the Bomb* is a duplicated pamphlet subtitled *Taking up the Socialist Challenge on the lessons of the First Wave*, which is a rather oblique reference to the Socialist Challenge pamphlet *CND 1958 - 65: Lessons of the First Wave* by Tony Southall and Julian Atkinson (which was reviewed in FREEDOM on 21 November 1981). Like previous pamphlets by Laurens Otter, this one is badly written and badly produced and is carelessly argued and frequently inaccurate, but it does contain some interesting information about the early days of the radical movement drawn from his experiences as a very active member, some esoteric polemic with various Marxist sects which will appeal to those who like that sort of thing, and some libertarian conclusions about the lessons of the first wave for the second wave of the movement.

*How Effective are Peace Movements?* by Bob Overy is the revised edition of one of the Peace Studies Papers published by the Bradford University School of Peace Studies



with Housemans. It is a very intelligent analysis of the practical success and failure of various kinds of peace movement, including the old nuclear disarmament movement, first published in 1980, with a postscript taking account of the new movement up to 1982. He argues that the most effective peace movements have been those with the narrowest focus, and his argument is notable among so much pacifist (and anarchist) thinking for being as realistic as it is idealistic. The new movement is becoming as unrealistic as the old one was, and much needs this kind of analysis. MH

# Education for liberation

Paulo Freire was professor of History and Philosophy of Education at the University of Recife in Brazil. At that time, he was also secretary of education and General Coordinator of the National Plan of Adult Illiteracy. Considerable progress was made with peasants and others, when a military coup in Brazil put a stop to this radical programme, imprisoned Freire, and exiled him in 1954. He continued in Chile for five years at the University there and as consultant to UNESCO's Institute of Research and Training in Agrarian Reform. Then, moving on to the USA, he became visiting Professor at the Harvard Centre for Studies in Education and Development. More recently, he works as a consultant to the office of Education of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. He attracted students from all over the Americas when he gave lectures in 1970 and 1971 at Ivan Illich's CIDOC, Cuernavaca, Mexico.



In considering the sources of Freire's work, Marx's conception of consciousness stands out. Marx said 'the separation of thought and action is overcome by linking learning to social action and the will'. This appears basically to be Freire's aim in his adult literacy programmes in Brazil. The fundamental concepts of this 'liberation by learning' were set out in Freire's Ph.D. thesis at Recife in 1959.

Freire's adoption and development of Marx's concern with the development of alienation in modern society is a further influence from that quarter.

This, with the idea of human potential and 'conscientization' further relates with and illustrates Max Stirner's important concept of 'ownership of self'. Stirner, who represents one school of 19th century libertarian ideas, was concerned at the way oppressive structures dominate people with alien thoughts and beliefs - 'wheels in the head' - as he called them; and how to subvert and get rid of them.

Gaining liberation in this way is called 'humanisation' by Freire. It is important to grasp his ideas about this clearly, as there is a danger of trivialising his work.

Social life has the aim of humanisation of the world, says Freire. Each person grows more and more conscious of the social forces working on him or her, goes on to consider these forces, and becomes capable of transforming the world. This is to be an actor - to be free and to know one's self. Without this awareness and the language to express it, says Freire, the world becomes dehumanised, without consciousness of the historical forces - persons become simply acted on by events. Freire calls this the 'culture of silence'. This culture is one of oppression - of blind obedience. It can be a result of simple ignorance - and especially superstition - or can be a product of oppressive 'Banking theory' type education. (It is interesting to compare Basil Bernstein's findings of the 'restricted vocabulary' and the 'elaborated vocabulary' - codes which strongly delineate the classes in our own society.)

Before considering briefly Freire's 'Banking Theory' of education, the question of 'appropriateness of time' is of interest. Is Freire an isolated example, or is there a discernible awareness as though the epoch is pregnant with the expected changes? We look for the emerging paradigm in which Freire might be positioned.

I have already mentioned his links with the libertarian phase of Marx's thinking. But I have in mind the more potent situation that I will call the 'principle of simultaneity of discovery'. This is a phenomenon often observed, especially in science, when independent workers

or small groups simultaneously approximate to a new vision or world view. A famous example is Newton's discovery of differential calculus, over the time Leibniz was inventing the same technique.

It is fashionable to talk of the 'normal' or stable period of a status quo situation. Thomas Kuhn has shown some substance for this view as applied to science. Thus by analogy, mass schooling - revolutionary when first advocated - became the stable paradigm. It is now under attack, the contradictions in the paradigm have become uncontrollable. In Kuhnian terms, a 'crisis' occurs. (It is interesting how Marxian Kuhn appears in all this, a parallel I have not seen drawn in any serious way.) During 'crisis' many voices are raised - the time is 'pregnant'. But how the 'paradigm shift' occurs is not obvious. I mention one or two points about this later.

Certainly Freire joins the revolution against state schooling and its effects, that seems to have occurred since the 2nd World War. Illich, Reimer, Paul Goodman and a number of others immediately link with this attack on the paradigm.

One other fascinating situation that I find nearly always exists, is the appearance of 'precursors'. In this context of Freire's work some very important 'voices from the past' can be discerned, speaking in the wilderness.

The vision of William Godwin is perhaps the most striking. Coming as it did as the modern state was in birth at the end of the 18th century Godwin's strong opposition to the state gaining control of compulsory schooling was advanced before it occurred and was completely out of time. But it was brilliantly vindicated by the events in, for example, in Nazi Germany. Faith in state schooling was virtually destroyed by the revolting vision of a fascist state exemplifying all the evils Godwin had seen. What occurred in this 'civilised European state' was:- glorification of leaders, ideology of gross nationalism, territorial expansion, compulsory training in racial biology from age 6 onwards...and so on.

Even in the US the same illiberal tendencies occur at intervals. One can cite the fever pitch of such nationalistic groups as the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution in the 1920s. I will not cite the USSR, the horrors there of what happens to 'dissidence' or 'revisionism' are obvious.

Thus Godwin wrote 'It is not true that our youth ought to be taught to venerate the constitution, however excellent; they should be lead to venerate truth; and the constitution only so far as it corresponds with their uninfluenced deductions of truth'. (Although he did not elaborate at this point on how 'truth' could be detected.)

Godwin went on further about the state:- 'The desire to gain a more extensive territory to conquer and hold, in awe of our neighbouring states, to surpass them in arts or arms, is a desire founded in prejudice and error....Security and peace are more to be desired than a name at which nations tremble.'

And he warned, 'Had the scheme of a national education been adopted when despotism was most triumphant, it is not to be believed that it could for ever have stifled the voice of truth. But it could have been the most formidable and profound contrivance for that purpose, that imagination can suggest.' He should have waited for Hitler, the corruption of Marx, Amin, or any number of military totalitarian states spawned this century....

Little was offered from the libertarian point of view during the 'normal' period of consolidation of schooling as capitalist states grew fat during the 19th century. Not only were schools employed by states to oppress populations by 'training to obedience and stability of class division, but began to function as back up to the new industrial economies. Peter Kropotkin raised a number of points about the barren nature of education and its class bias, together with its use to make ready the future workers for factory production. The major contribution at that time criticising this use of schooling came from Francisco Ferrer. So threatening were his liberatory ideas, taught in the 'Modern School' that he founded in Barcelona during 1901, that the State, conniving with the Church, managed to trump up charges against Ferrer and he was executed in 1909.

Ferrer's writings became quite significant - and are re-appearing as such ideas are being rediscovered. 'It is a well known fact that people's knowledge about the condition of their lives is limited to what the master class desire them to know. Very few are those who think about what they read....'

His great struggle was to break the government's power over education. After his death a wave of 'modern schools' were founded, a number in the USA and Ferrer societies were set up. In the USA the society published a journal called 'The Modern School', which sustained much radical criticism of the state and schooling. All these precursors link directly with Freire and are gaining new relevance as the crisis of the dialectic authoritarianism vs. libertarianism deepens in a worsening world situation in general.

Ferrer considered schools to carry out exactly what Godwin had warned about. He said 'children must be accustomed to obey, to be-

lieve, to think, according to the social dogmas which govern us. Hence, education cannot be other than such as it is today.'

Finally, before returning to Freire's main work in conclusion, a question concerning the likelihood of a libertarian break-through at last, might be asked. The fact that we will certainly all be dead if psychotic authoritarianism continues much longer is unfortunately, not sufficient for ensuring the paradigm shift.

Max Planck considered (well before Kuhn) that the old guard rarely accepts any new position (even in science). He wrote, 'a new scientific truth does not triumph by convincing its opponents and making them see the light, but rather because opponents eventually die, and a new generation grows up that is familiar with it.' Val D. Rust (in *Alternatives in Education*) states that this is even more true in terms of political and social mind sets. (Nearly all psychological theories - from Freud, Behaviourism etc. - hold that persons swing right and conservative as they age. Nearly all modern states are gerontocracies..) These observations have implications for Freire's project. Taking a quotation from Freire in connection with overcoming the culture of silence, 'Utilizing certain basic contradictions, we must pose this existential, concrete, present situation to the people as a problem which challenges them and requires a response not just at the intellectual level, but at the level of action' shows him to be optimistic. But there are other implications for Freire. Malatesta's famous parable of the chains is very apt. 'In the same way (as those "trained to oppression") someone whose legs had been bound from birth but had managed, nevertheless, to walk as best he could, might attribute his ability to move to those very bonds which in fact serve only to weaken and paralyze the muscular energy of his legs. Just imagine if a doctor were to expound to our fictional friend a theory, cleverly illustrated with a thousand invented cases to prove that if his legs were freed he would be unable to walk and would not live, then that man would ferociously defend his bonds and consider as his enemy anyone who tried to remove them.'

This theme has been greatly developed by Erich Fromm - author, neo-Marxist, philosopher and psychologist - in his *Fear of Freedom*. Fromm (and Reich) also shows how dependency incubates Fascism very effectively. Nevertheless, Freire assumes optimistically people will want to change!

Clearly we now see the efficacy of the 'Banking Theory' of education for the state and the oppressive ruling classes. The student

becomes the 'object' into which knowledge is injected. 'The teacher teaches and the students are taught.' 'The teacher thinks and the students are thought about.' 'The teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the actions of the teacher.' 'The teacher is the substance of the learning process while the pupils are mere objects.' Schooling in the third world and industrial societies like our own uses this 'banking Method' to instill obedience, the ruling class values, feelings of failure and so on. In this way, says Freire, oppression and alienation are instituted to keep docility and the 'culture of silence' firmly in the saddle.

As an aside, there is another theory of education. A child says 'I HAD English last period, I HAVE R.E. this afternoon...' This (says Neil Postman) is the inoculation theory of education - you have had certain injections. It certainly links with Freire's pattern but also, with subtlety, with Erich Fromm again. (See his book *To Have Or To Be*.)

However, not all appears pessimistic regarding Freire's 'conscientization' praxis. His whole emphasis on 'praxis' (theory united with practice to always form the project) appears to be working in many minority groups. The black people in America discovered - by 'conscientisation' - how much they aped the dominant white culture that enslaved them in the first instance. They had internalised the 'beauty' of fairer skin shades, caucasian features etc. In a great wave of consciousness 'black became beautiful' and white culture took a battering. It is the same in the women's movement. 'Conscientisation' is a direct Freirean technique, and seems to be working in some sections of the women's movement.

In conclusion, Freire discusses how 'conscientisation' progresses. There appears to be phases and (so it seems) especially in advanced industrial countries these might fix at a naive transitivity - or a popular consciousness that can still be manipulated by 'populist' leaders - for their own power gain, of course. Another danger appears in the form of the development of an 'irrational' consciousness in a mass society. The ideas of a mass society develop from Freire's concept and criticism of the banking method of education. The individuals in a mass society become objects, taught like Pavlov's dogs to use his or her tools 'properly' - no situation becomes a problem or calls for individual praxis. As Freire's own words say, 'They do not have to think about even the smallest things; there is always some manual which says what to do in situation 'a' or 'b'. The mass society is a well schooled society where people have given up independent thinking for mere learning based on expert advice....Rarely do men have to pause at a street corner to think which direction to follow. There's always an arrow to deproblematise the situation.' While street signs are not evil, 'they are among thousands of directional signs in a technological society which, introjected by men, hinder their capacity for critical thinking.'

For further references to that type of society, see B.F. Skinner's *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* and *Walden II*. But for a fine exposition of ideas and consciousness to combat such programming - see Richard Sennett's book *The Uses of Disorder*. Ken Smith

*On Terrorism and the State*, by Gianfranco Sanguinetti, B.M. Chronos, £3.00. (Available from Freedom Bookshop.)

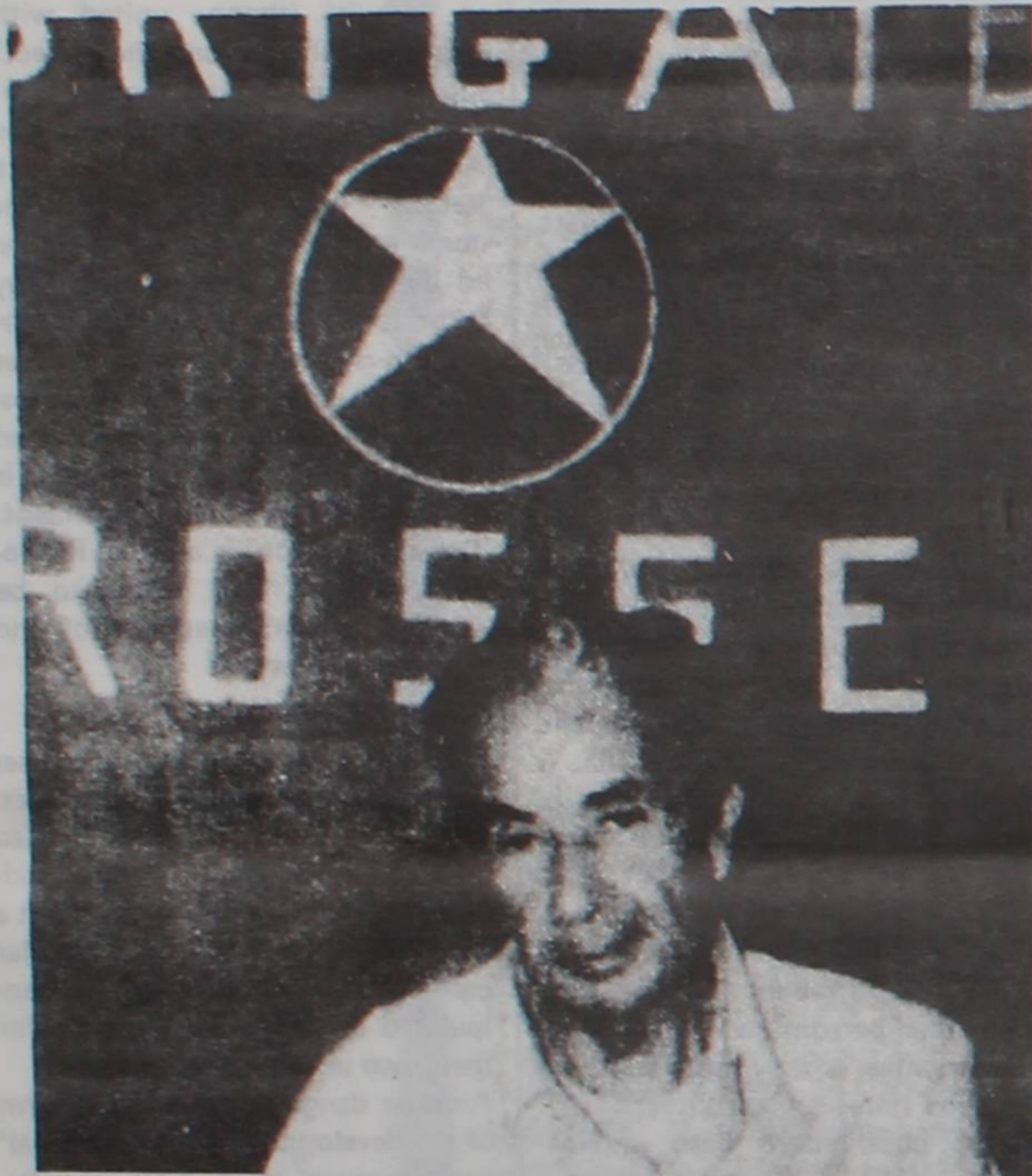
The first English edition of Gianfranco Sanguinetti's *On Terrorism and the State* is well-timed, coinciding as it does with the end of the massive Red Brigades show trial in Italy. Sanguinetti, a former member of the Situationist International and associate of Guy Debord, was once arrested himself as a Red Brigade suspect (and subsequently released when the absurdity of the charge became apparent).

## ON TERRORISM

The present book is a lengthy extract from his forthcoming book *Remedy To Everything*, and will be of interest to those who want some insights into the revolutionary situation in Italy as well as those who are committed conspiracy watchers - (Sanguinetti makes a good case, by showing who benefits and who loses, for laying the Piazza Fontana massacre and the Aldo Moro kidnapping at the door of the Italian state). The book should also be of interest to comrades who are haunted by the tedious cloak and bomb portrayal of anarchists.

ed to intimidate your opponent into changing his policy or leaving the territory - is a technique employed both by states and by political groups throughout the world. While the British state is happy to lump most acts of political violence together, there are some notable exceptions. The attacks on the homes of black people and Asians are terrorism in the most basic meaning of the word, but we never hear news items that start, 'NF terrorists struck again in Lewisham last night.'

The end result of acts of terrorism, within Sanguinetti's definition,



The term 'terrorism', as used in Britain, has a very wide meaning, covering nearly all acts of political violence. Such broad use was confirmed in the days of the Angry Brigade in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Without causing any casualties, the Angry Brigade bombed Conservative Party offices and Army Recruiting centres. In addition they bombed the BBC van at the Miss World contest, Biba's boutique, a police computer and the homes of the Commissioner of Police and the Minister of Employment. The Establishment was naturally worried, but even more concerned to find that most ordinary people couldn't give a toss or actually admired the cheek of these 'non-violent' bombers. The umbrella use of the term 'terrorist' enabled the media to link the activities of the Angry Brigade with the bombings of cafes, pubs and bus stations by the IRA.

Sanguinetti reserves the term for political kidnapping and murder and acts of random brutality such as leaving bombs in public places. Terrorism - acts of violence intend-

is that, directly or indirectly, ordinary people are the victims. Sanguinetti's thesis is that such terrorism is always counter-revolutionary. When acts of terrorism such as the Piazza Fontana incident kill and maim ordinary people, they reveal the authoritarian, statist ambitions of the perpetrators. Bosses and leaders have always been ready to sacrifice ordinary people for the party or country or god or sovereignty or whatever. All the terrorist groups that indulge in such actions - IRA, PLO, ETA, Red Brigades etc. - are just alternative governments fighting for control with the existing governments.

Legal fetishists will always try to draw a distinction between terrorist bombings and 'legitimate' warfare - the IRA, for instance, want to be seen as proper soldiers - but we, the potential victims, cannot be expected to savour this fine legal point. For us, be it by car bomb or Cruise missile, the result is the same. A line often quoted in this quest for legitimacy is that 'a terrorist is just a patriot without an airforce'. We can accept this if we are also aware

of the other side of the coin - that a patriot is just a terrorist with an airforce. When an Irish terrorist sets off a bomb, knowing it will kill a nearby child, he excuses murder by describing his victim as just another 'casualty of war'. Evoking the massacre at Kronstadt and the present decomposition of the Italian state, Sanguinetti writes, 'All states have always been terrorist but they have been so most violently at their birth and at the imminence of their death'.

In making his case for state complicity in terrorism, Sanguinetti points out the tremendous propaganda value to the state of acts of apparently mindless carnage. Such acts - like the Birmingham pub bombing - are so meaningless that even those sympathetic to the stated cause reel back in horror. These acts escalate because, if they do not, they appear to be subsiding and opponents and potential victims take heart believing that they are 'over the worst'. Neither states nor potential states can resist the spectacular, and in Hyde Park last year images collided and brought the war to bandmen, horses and chocolate box soldiers.

With these images before us, we are asked by the state to take sides. As Sanguinetti points out, 'if the workers declare themselves to be against this demented terrorism, then "they are with the state", if they are against the state then "they are terrorists", that is to say enemies of the common good, public enemies. And against a public enemy, everything is permitted, everything is authorised.'

When the state discovers the propaganda value of acts of terrorism it is a short step from using acts of terrorism to instigating them. It is, after all, easier to deal with a simulated enemy than a real one. When we consider that possibility the parallels between Sanguinetti's Italy and Britain become apparent. The Birmingham pub bombing was a meaningless outrage that allowed the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act to be rushed through Parliament on a wave of public opinion. But who was responsible? The IRA, never slow to own even their most gruesome exploits, have never admitted responsibility. Those convicted, far from demanding political status, continue to profess their innocence.

When the anarchists in the Persons Unknown case were arrested, the Anti-Terrorist Squad was about to be drastically cut in numbers because of the drop in incidents of terrorism in London. The trumped up charges didn't even convince the rigged jury - but the continuing need for the Anti-Terrorism Squad was established.

More recently there was the parcel bomb sent to the Prime Minister by the so-called Animal Liberation Militia. Over the past few years various animal rights direct action groups have caused millions of pounds worth of damage to laboratories, fur shops, factory farms etc. and such incidents are on the increase. Many of these groups organise themselves in a cell structure which is notoriously difficult to infiltrate or break without a presently unacceptable suspension of civil liberties. But if the police are looking for terrorists....

Sanguinetti quotes a conversation from George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty Four*. 'In some ways Julia was far more acute than Winston, and far less susceptible to Party propaganda. Once when he happened in some connection to mention the war....she startled him by saying casually that in her opinion the war was not happening. The rocket bombs which fell daily on London were probably fired by the government itself, "just to keep people frightened". This was an idea that had literally never occurred to him'.



The magazine *Kraksimo* is an anarchist, homosexual magazine. Different anti-authoritarian 'marginal' groups express themselves through this magazine. In Greece it is edited with much difficulty. At the moment it is being sued by the law. It is published by the transvestite and 'hooker' Paola, with the help of some anarchist 'faggots'. It is a magazine which aims at criticising society and casting doubt upon the whole of existing civilisation. We have a great need for written material. We would like to keep in contact in order to inform readers about social opposition abroad. We would like to point out that in 'socialist' Greece all of these magazines are being hunted and particularly *Kraksimo* which is also homosexual. We would also like your moral support for the magazine's court trial, which is based on a fascist law 'about obscenity'. Naturally 'about obscenity' is just a claim.

Paola

'KRAKSIMO',  
Inois 7, Amfiali,  
Aghios Antonios,  
Pireus,  
Greece.

## KRAKSIMO



## HOUSING

Welfare and Warfare

The return to the Victorian era seems imminent, the current netherland governing group are only matched by the ineptness and lack of vision of the opposition. I am not against the dismantling of the Welfare state as well as the Warfare state, except that people should take the means of providing for their own welfare from those whom the government represents. Is it possible? Of course it is; people did it in Spain for a short time when the government ceased to exist. The social democratic welfare state removed people's responsibilities and the urge to act for themselves, in their own interests. The Tories want welfare to be a profit making enterprise. Anarchists want people to organise their facilities for their own benefit.

Housing and the Young

The tragedies reported and highlighted by the recent case show how inadequately the present system meets people's needs. There are literally thousands of houses in London rotting away. There was a scheme known as Minihag which enabled cooperative groups to bring them into occupation. This scheme was recently brought to an end, it never really touched the housing that was privately owned, for private property is sacrosanct, not only with the Tories but the middle-class owner occupiers.

How many more young people are going to be made vulnerable to the psychopaths produced by this society and the psychopaths that rule us?

Alan



Radio Libértaire

The problem of free radio in France is far from resolved. Since July 1982, the socialist-communist government has not arrived at a position on free radio Day by day the free radio stations have disappeared to make way for the local private radio stations (commercial radio or radios controlled by associations dependent on political parties). Radio Libértaire, the voice of the French Anarchist Federation remained one of the only radios to defend freedom of expression and, resisting the government, continued to transmit. On February 1st, the

government published a list of radios which will have the right to transmit. In this list, Radio Libértaire is recognised. This was achieved by pressure from militants of the F.A.F. and listeners of Radio Libértaire (about 100,000 per day). But the government wants to force us to share our frequency with other radios. This move is aimed to reduce our possibilities of expression. If we refuse, the state will outlaw us and we will be repressed.

The situation is developing very quickly and if the govern-

ment imposes the sharing of a frequency, it will be with our conditions.

We will never yield in our fight against the state and we will always demand a frequency for Radio Libértaire. A big meeting of listeners is planned for February 12th in Paris. This will be an important moment in our confrontation with the state.

Given the firm determination of the French state to prohibit anarchist expression, maybe we will need once again a large display of international solidarity. F.A.F.

Elections

As there is most probably going to be a general election some time this year we feel now is the time when discussion should be going on as to what anarchists generally are going to be doing when it comes. Ideas which we in Liverpool have so far thought of, apart from abstention or spoiling your ballot paper, include graffiti on the likes of election posters, polling stations etc and a poster campaign; but we feel that there is so much more that not

just ourselves but anarchists in general could be doing.

We would like to hear from anyone with past experience of such things, but in particular the people who did the anti-by election thing at Hillhead last year. Most important of all we would like anarchists up and down the country to start thinking about what we all should be doing as a general election, boring farce that it is, should provide us all with an opportunity to

DO SOMETHING.

Hope this letter leads to more debate on the issue, both within the pages of FREEDOM and other anarchist papers and among anarchists generally.

Liverpool Anarchist Group

Box LAG, 31 Gothic St, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead, Merseyside.

Cardiff and the World

Two Cardiff anarchists were arrested by CID officers on suspicion of theft at about 4am on the morning of January 21st. They were held for about twelve hours without access to a lawyer. During the time of their custody they were questioned by CID officers in connection with a theft. They were also questioned by a Special Branch officer about other anarchists they knew and what anarchists were up to in Cardiff. The house they are living in was searched and diaries, letters and publications were taken away. Presumably they were photocopied. They have since been returned. Tomos

A Swedish government committee has recommended legalising incest between consenting adults, while bringing in tougher measures against rapists.

A third of Britain's workforce, more than six million people, earn below the official definition of low pay according to a report from the Low Pay Unit. Meanwhile, the government is reported to be very cross indeed with a number of Wages Councils, who have suggested that such people should get a bit more. Things are similar on the other side of the world. More than two million Australians are living

below the poverty line, according to welfare agencies. This is about one in seven.

Thieves have got away with an articulated lorry and trailer loaded with £13,000 worth of toilet paper in Surrey.

An interesting snippet, which, unfortunately we have no way of checking. A group of Chinese scientists are said to be examining a mysterious animal with the head of an ox and the feet and tail of a goat. She, for such it was, weighed more than 660 pounds and all on a diet of bamboo.

Table with financial data, including 'DEFICIT FUND', 'TOTAL TO DATE', and 'PREMISES/OVERHEADS FUND'.

The Soviet government has launched a campaign against 'shirkers' and 'hooligans'. As Alexander Rekunov said, 'Any indulgence towards malicious criminals cannot be tolerated.' Part of the problem is that services are so inefficient that people take time off to queue for luxuries, like food. The authorities are taking things in hand. Shop opening times are to be improved, so people can queue in their own time.

China has strict new laws to deal with obscene literature. According to Canton radio, people who persist in buying, reading or selling pornography face work camps and fines. This will apply 'even when someone is guilty but firm evidence is lacking'.

It is natural and human for a man to try to possess power. But if influential people are kept outside public control, we know from experience that they will inevitably fall into the trap of various temptations, regardless of their personal qualities or opinions.' Yojislav Djukic, Yugoslav journalist.

General Alfredo Stroessner has been returned for a seventh term as President of Paraguay. He got over 90% of the vote cast.

WAR SERVICES THE LONGER THIS SITUATION CONTINUES THE GREATER THE NEED TO HOPE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. Thousands of households are already without hope. An even greater number are having to boil hope. And the longer this situation continues, the more likely it is that these numbers could increase. So, if you're one of the majority who still has a normal hope please treat it as a precious commodity. Only use hope for necessities, not luxuries. Because the more you cut down on your hope consumption, the more the strain will be taken off the system. And the more likely it is that you'll keep your illusions. TAKE CARE Britain's finger stays on the nuclear button USE IT Issued by the National War Council on behalf of the war industry.

THE WELFARE STATE Continued from front page

and community care is preferable to State and municipal welfare, and so on - though of course not for the reasons they give; and we disagree with the State Socialists of the Centre and Left that the present situation needs only more money and personnel. We oppose the tax system which distorts the money economy and disguises the class structure; we oppose the national health system which concentrates on drastic and expensive cures rather than on prevention and education; we oppose the state education system which takes more time and money to teach people less and to turn their youth into an exam-

ination obstacle course; we oppose the housing system which puts more people into accommodation which is ugly and uncomfortable; we oppose the constant growth of laws and punishments to keep the whole system going; and so on.

Instead, we favour the black economy, in which people do the work they want to do in return for equivalent work or realistic pay; we favour alternative health based on healthy life rather than on medicine and surgery; we favour free schools and community colleges and self-education; we favour owner occupation and housing associations and informal squats and communes; we favour disobedience and evasion of the repressive apparatus of the State; above all, we favour decen-

tralisation and direct action and mutual aid. We don't want a Welfare State in which the most important people are those who tell other people what to do; we want a Welfare Society in which the most important people are those who do genuine work and have genuine needs.

Few people under 50 can remember life before the establishment of the Welfare State, and few people over 50 would want to go back to that kind of life. But the present system was designed for a class society with an expanding economy, and it is time to move forwards rather than backwards or just to stand still. We must accept or impose limits on growth, and not only destroy the class structure but also

dismantle the State bureaucracy. Otherwise we shall become another Roman Empire moving towards decline and fall, diverted by bread and circuses, divided into an administrative class living off taxes and a working class living off doles, and finally collapsing under the weight of a State whose only function is to preserve itself. And this time Barbarians are within the gates, armed with weapons of total and permanent destruction. But this time we have far more wealth, far more freedom, far more knowledge, and we should be able to save ourselves from the disaster represented by the Welfare and Welfare State; we must learn not to have things done for or against us but to do things ourselves.

INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRALASIA

**AUSTRALIA**  
AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY  
Research and Resources Centre for Lib-  
ertarian Politics and Alternative Life-  
styles, 7/355 Northmore Ave, Lyneham,  
ACT 2602.

**NEW SOUTH WALES**  
Freedom, K153 Haymarket, Sydney  
2000.

Redfern Black Rose Anarchist Book-  
shop, 36 Botany Rd, Redfern NSW 2015.

Jura Books — an anarchist bookshop,  
417 King St, Newtown, NSW 2042.  
Everything Collective — put out an  
anarcho-feminist magazine, Box 131,  
Holme Building, Sydney University,  
Sydney, NSW.

**QUEENSLAND**  
Black and Red Bookshop, 5A Browning  
St, West End, Queensland 4000, tel: 07  
(447984).

Libertarian Socialist Organisation, PO  
Box 268, Mount Gravatt, Central 4122.

Self-management Organisation, PO Box  
332, North Quay.

**SOUTH AUSTRALIA**  
PO Box 126 Norwood, SA 5067.

**TASMANIA**  
Bill Graham, PO Box 70, Mowbray  
Heights, Launceston 7250, Tasmania.

**VICTORIA**  
Journal of Libertarian Politics and Alter-  
native Life-styles, 51 Ormond Road,  
Moonee Ponds, Victoria, Australia 3039.

La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o  
La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria  
3083.

Libertarian Workers for a Self-managed  
Society, PO Box 20, Parkville 3052.

Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash  
University, Clayton, 3168, Melbourne.

Resource Centre, 215 Victoria Parade,  
Collingwood, Victoria.

Treason, Box 37, Brunswick East, Victo-  
ria 3057.

**WESTERN AUSTRALIA**  
Freedom Collective and Libertarian Reso-  
urce Centre can be reached through PO  
Box 203, Fremantle 6160.

**NEW ZEALAND**  
Blackmail, Box 13165, Christchurch.

Daybreak Bookshop, PO Box 5425,  
Dunedin.

Dunedin Anarchists, Box 6227, Dunedin  
New Zealand.

PO Box 876, Auckland.

PO Box 13165, Christchurch.

EUROPE

**AUSTRIA**  
Liberte, Postfach 86, 1033 Wien.

Monte Verita, Neustiftgasse 33, 1070  
Wien.

**BELGIUM**  
Revolutions anarchisties kollektif, c/o  
Zwart & Rood, PO Box 546, B-9000  
Gent, Belgium.

**DENMARK**  
Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe,  
Meiljgade 48, 8000 Aarhus.

**FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**  
Graswurzel (Grass Roots), c/o W Hertle,  
Grozerschippsee 28, 21 Hamburg 90.

Libertad Verlag Berlin, Jochen Schmuck,  
Postfach 440 227, D-1000 Berlin 44.

Schwarzer Faden (Black Thread), Obere  
Weibermarktstr 3, 7410 Reutlingen, tel:  
07121/370494.

Schwarzer Gockler (Black Cockerel), c/o  
A Muller, Postfach 4528, 7500 Karlsruhe.

FRANCE

Federation Anarchiste Francaise, 145 Rue  
Amelot, 75011, Paris.

Union Anarchiste, 9 Rue de l'Ange,  
63000 Clermont Feraand.

**GREECE**  
'A Gallery' (Documents Centre), PO Box  
1937, Thision, Athens.

**HOLLAND**  
De Vrije, Postbus 486, 2000AL Haarlem,  
Holland, tel: 023 273892.

**NORWAY**  
Anorg, Høxtvedtv, 31B, 1431 As. (Pub-  
lish Folkeblad 4 times a year.)

POLAND

Piotrek Betlejowski, age 22, Ulpolnana  
30/37, 09 402, Plock, Poland.

SPITSBERGEN

Stephen W Holland, age 27, 2 Glygar-  
dynza Creke, The Mining Community  
Huts, NY Alesund, Spitsbergen, Svalbard  
A Arctic Ocean Isle.

**SWEDEN**  
Magazine 'April', Box 15015, 104 65  
Stockholm, Sweden.

Nya Bokcafeet, Box 15015, 104 65  
Stockholm.

Syndikalist Forum, Tenstiernas Gata 51,  
11631 Stockholm.

Syndikalistiskt Forum (anarcho-syndical-  
ist bookshop), Husargatan 5, 41302 Goth-  
enburg, tel: 031-13 25 04.

NORTH AMERICA

**CANADA**  
Black Cat Press, PO Box 11261, Edmont-  
on, Alberta.

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G. Van-  
couver BC.

Wintergreen/AR, PO Box 1294, Kitchen-  
er, Ontario, N2G 4G8.

**MONTREAL**  
Chaos, c/o R Yves Breton, CP 95 S/N  
Place d'Armes, Montreal, Quebec, H2Y  
3E9.

USA

Non-violent Anarchist Network, P O Box  
1385, Austin, Texas 78767.

**ARIZONA**  
Malignous Hooligans (anti-nuclear), 1110  
W 2nd St, Tempe, AZ 85281.

**CALIFORNIA**  
Autonomia, PO Box 1751, San Francisco,  
CA 94101.

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

Libertarian Anarchist Coffeehouse, meets  
last Sunday each month at Cafe Com-  
mons, 3161 Mission St, San Francisco.

**CONNECTICUT**  
Wesleyan University Eco-Anarchists, Her-  
mes, Box HH, Wesleyan University, Midd-  
letown CT 08457.

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

**MISSOURI**  
Columbia Anarchist League, PO Box 380,  
Columbia, Missouri 65201.

**NEW YORK**  
Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, GPO  
New York, NY 10012.

**OREGON**  
Portland Anarchist Center, 313 East  
Burnside, Portland, Oregon 97205,  
USA.

**WASHINGTON**  
Left Bank Publishing Project, Box B, 92  
Pike Street, Seattle, WA 96101.

Social Revolutionary Anarchist Feder-  
ation, PO Box 21071, Washington DC  
20009.

MEETINGS

Next meeting of the NAWF will be at  
11 am on Saturday 26th February at  
the McAusland Lounge, Old Student  
Union, Liverpool University, Brown-  
low Hill, Liverpool 3. Best way to get  
there from Lime Street station is to turn  
left when you come out and carry on  
along Lime Street until you get to the  
Adelphi hotel. Brownlow Hill is first on

the left and the university is a quarter  
mile walk away.  
Items for the agenda should be sent to  
NAWF, 224 Garston Old Road,  
Liverpool 19.

Black Flag Readers Meeting, 11.00 am,  
Sunday March 13th at Urdd Centre,  
Conway Road, Pontcanna, Cardiff. Com-  
rades who will require accomodation  
should contact 108 Bookshop, Cardiff  
28908 before arriving.

Communal Living in Cities — a weekend  
of shared ideas and experiences. 18th —  
20th March. Creche, Basic food, £9.00,  
cheap rates for unwaged etc. SAE for  
details to 7 St Pauls Road, London N17.

Demonstration in Cardiff on Saturday  
12th March. Demanding bail for Daffydd  
Ladd. 3pm, Empire Pool, City Centre,  
Cardiff. Taff Ladd has been on remand  
now for 9 months.

DESIRES

American anarchist needs temporary  
accomodation in London. Late Spring/  
Summer 1983. Preferably a squat.  
Box B, 84b Whitechapel High St,  
London E1.

I would like to join a 'works cooperative'  
in the London area. I have some redun-  
dancy money. I could buy a share?  
J Manley, 49 Ripon Road, Plumstead,  
London SE18.

WANTED Back issues of Anarchism  
Lancasterium. Cliff, 38 Bradshaw St,  
Lancaster LA1 3BE.

Every year there are festivals composed  
of many people sympathetic to anarchist  
ideas.

We want to establish an anarchist pre-  
sence in bookshop — food, drink. We  
need certain basic equipment/money/  
ideas.

Contact Alan: Freedom Press, 84B  
Whitechapel High St, London E1.

LITERATURE

THE BOURGEOIS ROLE OF BOLSHE-  
VISM — An Autonomy Press reprint.  
40p incl p+p.

ART AND ANARCHISM — by Farquhar  
McLay. Also from Autonomy Press, Box  
3, 488 Gt Westc:n Road, Glasgow G12.  
40p incl p+p (more copies being reprint-  
ed now).

Insurrection  
Anarchist bimonthly 80p. Available  
from A Distribution or directly from  
Jean Weir, c/o Alfredo Bonanno, CP 61  
CATANIA, Italy.

BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

Please add postage as in brackets.  
Titles marked \* are published in N  
America. N American purchasers  
please convert £1.00 (+ postage) at  
\$1.60 (US) and \$1.90 (Canada) un-  
less a dollar price is indicated.

New from FREEDOM PRESS  
Cclin Ward: Housing: An Anarchist  
Approach. A New Edition with a  
postscript. (200pp ppr) £2.25 (40p)  
\$4.50 (75c)

Trade Terms are available on this  
title.

Other Titles on Housing  
Sarah Eno and Dave Treanor: The  
Collective Housing Handbook (142  
pp ppr) £3.50 (40p)  
John Turner: Housing by People:  
Towards Autonomy in Building En-  
vironments (\* ) ppr) £3.95 (40p)

A Miscellany  
Gianfranco Sanguineti: On Terror-  
ism and the State (101pp ppr)  
£3.00 (31p)

Placido La Torre: Malatesta: Nel 50  
Anniversario della sua Morte (in  
Italian) (28pp ppr) £0.75 (25p)  
Philip Agee and Louis Wolf (Eds.):  
Dirty Work: The CIA in Western  
Europe (318pp ppr) £1.95 (60p)  
\*Edward Hallett Carr: The Roman-

tic Exiles: A Nineteenth Century  
Portrait Gallery (Bakunin, Herzen  
and Ogarev) (391pp ppr)  
£8.50 (94p)

Albert Meltzer (Ed.): Miguel  
Garcia's Story (72pp ppr)  
£1.00 (25p)

\*Len Fulton and Ellen Ferber (Eds):  
The International Directory of  
Little Magazines and Small Presses  
(18th Edition 1982 — 83) (549pp  
ppr) £10.00 (£1.84)

\*Len Fulton and Ellen Ferber (Eds):  
The Directory of Small Press and  
Magazines Editors and Publishers  
(13th Edition 1982 — 83) (178pp  
ppr) £6.95 (50c)  
William Godwin: Caleb Williams or  
Things as they Are (351pp ppr)  
£2.50 (40p)

\*Scott French: The Big Brother  
Game: Bugging, Wiretapping,  
Optical and Electronic Surveillance,  
Surreptitious Entry etc. (237pp  
ppr) £9.00 (94p)

Henry D Thoreau  
\*The Selected Journals of Henry  
David Thoreau. (Ed Carl Bode)  
(336pp ppr) £1.50 (40p)

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(225pp ppr) £1.10 (36p)

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Thoreau (698pp ppr) £2.50 (94p)

On the Duty of Civil Disobedience  
(24pp ppr) £0.50 (19p)

\*Monty Sklar (Ed): The Spirit that  
Moves us Reader: A Seventh Anniver-  
sary Anthology. Poetry, Fiction,  
Essays, Artwork (208pp ppr)  
£3.50 (50p)

[we also have in stock individual  
issues of The Spirit that Moves Us  
Journal £1.00 (25p)]

Bargain Basement  
Marie Fleming: The Anarchist Way  
to Socialism (299p cloth) [origi-  
nally £10.95] £2.95 (94p)

\*Daniel R Brower: Training the  
Nihilists: Education and Radicalism  
in Tsarist Russia (248pp cloth)  
[originally \$30] £7.50 (94p)  
Gerald Brenan: Personal Record  
1920 — 1972 (381pp cloth) [origi-  
nally £6.00] £2.95 (£1.84)

NOW AVAILABLE AGAIN

Colin Ward: Housing: An Anarchist  
Approach — with a new postscript  
by the author. 200 pp ppr. £2.25  
(\$4.50), (+40p post). From FREE-  
DOM PRESS, (In Angel Alley), 84b  
Whitechapel High St, London E1.  
Trade terms available

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DEFICIT FUND

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Proceeds from Picnic of Italian  
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8/2/83 £125.00.

TOTAL = £150.25  
Previously acknowledged = £96.62  
TOTAL TO DATE = £246.87

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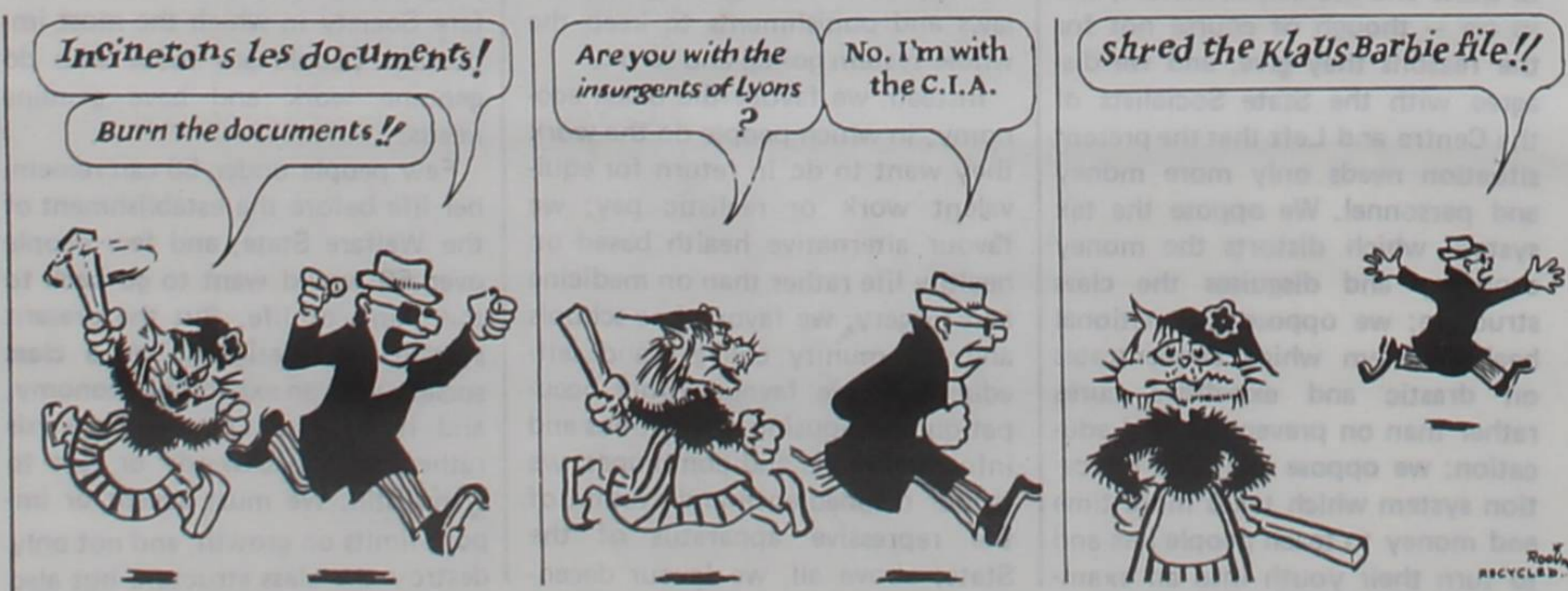
TOTAL = £75.60  
Previously acknowledged = £106.05  
TOTAL TO DATE = £181.65

DEADLINES

FREEDOM Collective would wel-  
come any readers who wish to help  
fold and despatch the paper. The  
next issue will be sent out on Thurs-  
day 10th March, starting at around  
6pm. This is also a good time to  
cor:se and meet the editors.

FREEDOM also needs your written  
contributions and any graphics or  
photographs readers feel would be  
useful to us. Copy deadline for  
short items for the next issue is  
first post, Monday 7th March.  
Longer articles in by first post,  
Thursday 3rd March.

WILDCAT



FREEDOM  
Editorial Collective  
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