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editorial

Karl Marx's body lies a-mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on. He died in London a century ago, after spending most of his life and doing most of his work here, and his spectre still haunts the world. Not only was he a leading maker of modern theory, on the same level as Einstein and Darwin and Freud, but he is a leading prophet of modern practice, since about half of humanity is ruled by governments calling themselves Marxist. Marx might comment now, as he did then, that he is not a Marxist, but he still has much to answer for. He may have been right about many things, but he was wrong about the most important things. Our consciousness is not determined by our social conditions, social developments are not determined by the mode of production, the history of society is not just the history of class struggles, the class struggle in capitalist society does not lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist revolution does not lead to the withering away of the state, and so on. The activity of Marxist parties before the revolution makes real change difficult, the dictatorship of Marxist parties after the revolution makes real change impossible.

The anarchist criticism of Marxism is as old as Marxism itself. Max Stirner's individualist critique of communism provoked Marx's enormous polemic in *The German Ideology* (1845 - 1846, published 1932). Proudhon's libertarian critique of dogmatic socialism provoked Marx's vicious polemic in *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847). Bakunin's anarchist critique of authoritarian socialism provoked a series of furious polemics and the split in the International in 1872. These theoretical battles were later put into practice in the Russian Revolution (1917 - 1921) and the Spanish Revolution (1936 - 1939), and are fought again whenever anarchists meet Marxists. Proudhon called Marx 'the tapeworm of socialism', and Marxists are still parasites on the socialist movement. Bakunin said that 'socialism without liberty is slavery', and the various Marxist regimes established around the world have proved this for 65 years.

Marxism has won battle after battle, but its victories have been defeats for the working class, for the left, and for the world. After a century it really is time to bury Marx.

EASTER RISING: sit together, stand together

At Easter the British nuclear disarmament movement faces its greatest test since its revival began three years ago. During 1982, there were more people than ever before on its demonstrations - about 250,000 at the CND meeting in London in June, and about 20,000 embracing Greenham Common and about 1,000 blockading Greenham Common in December - and there were also larger votes than ever before for unilateral nuclear disarmament at the Labour Party annual conference and for non-violent direct action at the CND annual conference. During 1983, the problem is how the growing dynamic can be kept up and, more important, how it can be made effective; and the immediate test will be the size and impact of the various demonstrations at Easter. There will have to be even larger numbers than before and there will have to be a much greater effect than before, if the movement is to become something more than an outlet for emotional protest about war or a pretext for arguments in political organisations.

The demonstrations cover four days, as follows.

Thursday, 31 March There will be mass blockades at two military bases in Berkshire - Greenham Common and Burghfield - directed against the Cruise missiles and the nuclear weapons industry.

Greenham Common is the American air-base which is to be the main site for the new medium-range Cruise nuclear missiles, the first of which are due to be installed later this year. It is also the site of the peace-camp which was started in September 1981, became a women-only action in January 1982, and has been the focus of much activity and publicity ever since. In December 1982 it was the centre of the largest symbolic and direct action demonstrations ever held at a nuclear base in this country, and since January 1983 there has been a campaign called Snakes and Ladders in which demonstrators crawl under or climb over the fence to invade the base. In accordance with the tradition established there for more than a year, the blockade of Greenham Common will be another women-only demonstration. The intention is to block all the seven gates on the nine-mile perimeter from dawn to dusk.

Burghfield Royal Ordnance Factory is a British military base for the production of weapons, including nuclear warheads. It was also the site of a peace-camp a year ago, formed by people who left Greenham Common after the decision to exclude men. The blockade at Burghfield will accordingly be for women and men together. The intention is to block both ends of the private road leading to the main entrance of



New Year's Day at Greenham Common - women dancing on the Cruise missile silos after climbing into the base at dawn on 1 January 1983 (Naissa Page, 'Women's Peace Camp', Housmans, 50p).

the factory and also the back entrance from dawn to dusk. (The coordination centre will be at Pitchkettle Wood, about a mile south of Burghfield.)

These blockades will be highly illegal and strictly non-violent. Demonstrators have been asked so far as possible to come in organised groups and to have some previous training. It is hoped that most people will arrive on Wednesday evening for registration and briefing, but facilities will be available for those who arrive later; it is also hoped that many people will stay on during Thursday night. But the main action will be during the day on Thursday, and it is expected that there will be arrests and may be violence from the authorities. Even people who don't like dogmatic non-violence or disciplined demonstrations should participate only if they are prepared to accept the agreed form of these blockades.

Friday, 1 April There will be a human chain from Burghfield to Greenham Common via Aldermaston. At least 30,000 people are needed to cover the total distance of about fourteen miles, and far more are expected. Demonstrators are asked to arrive on Friday morning, start either at Greenham Common (if coming from the West of the country) or at Burghfield (if coming from the East of the country), and to walk towards Aldermaston in the centre. There will be stations at one-mile intervals for coordination, and the human chain will be formed at about 1 pm, its completion being signalled by flares and celebrated by balloons.

In the afternoon there will be a mass meeting at Aldermaston - the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment where Easter marches used to end or start in the old move-

ment - with music, theatre, puppets, floats, games, and so on. This is being linked with All Fools' Day, a traditional time for light-hearted festivals; it is also being rather ironically linked with Good Friday, and Christian CND will be holding religious services at Burghfield.

These demonstrations will be entirely legal, and it is hoped that very large numbers will take part. Coaches are being organised by CND branches and other organisations all over the country, so people making their own way are warned to expect huge crowds and long delays.

Saturday, 2 April There will be mass demonstrations in Glasgow, specifically directed against the new Trident missiles planned for the British nuclear submarines based on the Clyde. There will be a 'die-in' at Cochrane Street in the morning, a march to Kelvingrove Park and a mass meeting there in the afternoon, with speakers, music, theatre, stalls, and so on.

Sunday, 3 April There will be a human chain round the Faslane nuclear submarine base 25 miles north-west of Glasgow. Demonstrators from northern England are being asked to join the Scottish demonstrations as well as or rather than those in Berkshire to make sure that the numbers are as large as possible.

It will be seen that the Easter demonstrations involve conventional, symbolic, and direct action. We welcome the combination of various forms of action, although we are increasingly dubious about the value of conventional action and particularly interested in the spread of direct action. It seems rather rash to plan a very large demonstration on the first day of the Easter holiday which falls immediately after

the last day of term for many schools and colleges; many parents and students will find it hard to take part. It seems even more rash to plan the illegal demonstrations first, without any build-up from the legal demonstrations, and on a day when many people will be at work or at school or college; it might have been better to have them on Monday and Tuesday rather than on Friday and Thursday. But there should still be more people taking part in one demonstration or another than ever before. Those who like symbolic and conventional action have a whole day in the countryside for it; those who prefer new-fangled women's demonstrations or old-fashioned mixed demonstrations have a choice of direct action: there should be something for everyone.

One of the most remarkable features of the Easter demonstrations is that all of them are supported and sponsored by CND, though most of the detailed planning of the blockades has been done locally. Direct action demonstrations have been organised before by CND branches - as at Foulness in 1960 and at Bridgend in 1982 - but never before by the National Office. As it happens, this is situated right next to the old Committee of 100 office, in Goodwin Street, London N4, and it will be interesting to see whether there are police raids as there were 22 years ago. Meanwhile the very considerable resources of CND, which now claims well over 50,000 individual members as well as scores of branches, should significantly increase the numbers on the illegal demonstrations. The March issue of *Campaign*, the internal CND paper, has a large four-page

Letters in FREEDOM — Further thoughts

I'd like to make a few points arising from letters in recent issues of FREEDOM.

In No 3 (Vol 44), there was a letter from Joanne Smith bemoaning the current state of the British anarchist 'movement'. I agree with most of the points she makes. Basically she says anarchism is about class struggle and has nothing to do with all the deviations from the revolutionary struggle at present adopted by certain 'anarchists' who are in reality militant liberals who don't want to call themselves such because it's not fashionable (ban-the-bombers, separatist feminists, pacifists, animal lovers etc. etc.). They've chosen the anarchist movement to settle in because it's easiest to enter: all you have to do is call yourself 'anarchist', beyond that anything goes it seems.

But she also says she sees another threat to the anarchist movement from 'groups like Direct Action who seem unable to progress beyond the '36 Spanish experience and in their determination to be more proletarian than thou, run the risk of becoming narrow and dogmatic.' These are all charges against the Direct Action Movement (the largest,

functioning grouping in the *organised* British movement) which all DAM members have heard before (usually as excuses for not supporting the DAM).

As someone said, anarchism is nothing if it doesn't address itself to the class struggle, and in her letter Joanne Smith subscribes to class struggle anarchism. So what's this about being 'more proletarian than thou'? The DAM's first principle is that 'the DAM is a working class organisation'. Its politics are working class. Its members are working class. So what would you like it to call itself? A-classist maybe? Talking about class doesn't frighten off the few class conscious workers about at the moment, but it scares the shit out of some 'anarchists'. No, class is definitely out of fashion. Maybe they're scared of frightening off trendy middle class supporters? They're not the people we want to talk to anyhow...

The DAM hasn't progressed beyond the '36 Spanish experience? What a red herring. DAM members live and work in Britain 1983, their ideas reflect that. It's not a matter of spending your time reminiscing about the Spanish Revolution. It's

just one important part of our propaganda. One of the concrete examples of anarchism in action. Workers controlling industry and the land is important. The people armed is important. Aren't they? Then the Spanish experience and its lessons has to be publicised among British workers and learnt from. It's symptomatic of the British 'anarchist' movement that some of it thinks that anyone who was literate and lived before 1968 is a 'nineteenth-century wanker', while others spend their time in a time-warp around 1921 or 1936, and yet others are pedantic pseudo-theorists. What a circus.

Then there's the charge about becoming 'narrow and dogmatic'. I suppose if you follow a certain tradition, if you believe in a certain body of thought you're being narrow and dogmatic? How dare people actually attempt to define what anarchism is and what it isn't, and how we're going to get there. It's so much easier to live in some cloud-cuckoo land where you don't have to think too much. God, one day we might have the anarchist movement producing an actual program and policies!

This leads onto another point. In the next issue (No 4 Vol 44) there's another letter from Mak & Jacqui who ask 'why are there very many comrades who "hate" the DAM?' Mak and Jacqui might have their own reasons, but I suggest that a disorganised, woolly-minded, irrelevant anarchist movement is not going to like an anarcho-syndicalist organisation too much precisely because that organisation is about what anarchism really is and not the parody some would like it to be.

That the anarchist movement in this country is about 'trivia' is not (for the most part) due to some comrades not being willing to work with others (as is said in the letter), but to the fact that it's a miniscule movement, with little influence. Everyone knows each other and personal differences get exploded out of all proportion in frustration. And the reason it's miniscule and for the most part irrelevant is that half the movement isn't fighting on anarchist terrain at all, thereby confusing the efforts of the rest of the movement that does.

Dino

Selling out black people

So many black people in this country, especially members of the working class section, believed that the Trade Unions were their only road to some form of rough equality, in the white dominated society. They put their faith in the trade union bureaucracy believing that it would solve the problem of racism. Most of them have, however, woken up and realised that it is a sell out and the unions, like all other structures of control, operate to oppress them and deny liberty.

The trade union movement is frequently used against the interest of black workers and this leads to the sell out of all workers. Union leadership frequently connives with the bosses in dividing the workers into well defined opposite camps — black and white. There are numerous examples of this — in 1973 there was the case of the black work force at Mansfield Hosiery in Loughborough who went on strike because of bad pay and conditions where only white workers were

given higher grade jobs. Following their militant stand their union was forced into a position where it had to make the strike official. Faced with this terrible situation they proceeded to call out the black workers, but at the same time carefully instructed the white workers to cross the picket lines; such is the nature of sell out.

Another good illustration of this kind of bureaucratic sell out is Imperial Typewriters in Leicester. In 1974 Asian workers went on strike against discrimination and they were not supported by the white employees and once more it was the trade union leadership who aided the successful division of the workers. Several months after the strike Litton Industries, who owned the factory, rationalised its UK business — the need for working class unity was apparent for in the Hull factory the workers occupied the plant against closure, in Leicester the divided work force was unable to put up any effective resis-

tance. The Grunwick strike was of great importance and a very good indicator of union thinking. Here the workers did unite, but the TUC, despite its so called support at the 1977 TUC Congress, played the part of the hatchet man for the bosses against the black workers.

The unions must take up the race struggle, not with just words, but with some kind of positive action. Words are two a penny in union literature and where words are two a penny they generally spell out sell out.

Unions frequently stress the importance of using the state to fight racism — the state is racist — look at the immigration laws. In cases of racial disputes they say use the Advisory Employment Service — set up by, guess who — the department of employment. The TUC has taken steps, we are informed by its literature, against the ideology of racism and its purveyors. In that case it means they must take appropriate steps

against the government, yet we find them working hand in hand with the CRC, another government agency.

Trade union leaders seem to believe that unemployment and deprivation are the only causes of the present unrest among the black community but naked racism is the largest single factor. The deliberate policy over the years of the police not investigating racist attacks has left the community with no option but to respond with workers' defence, for how can racist police protect blacks against fellow racists. The union bureaucracy along with other liberal apologists wants just enough racism to keep blacks in their place but not too much to cause a popular uprising of the oppressed.

Black people must not put their faith in state structures of any kind for in doing so they only ensure that they are sold out.

Pat Isiorho

What is wrong with anarchism

Lotter's letter in the latest FREEDOM, seems to me to sum up so much of what is wrong with the current anarchist movement. Surely, if, our movement is to succeed, that is if we are to achieve a mass anarchist society, it is imperative that we formulate, through dialogue between each other, a concise, simple, yet effective form of Anarchism, based on a cohesive and direct system of thought and action.

This rubbish has nothing to do with Anarchism. It results in a chaotic many-headed mish-mash of diffuse ideas, incapable of formulating anything of practical value. It further acts to portray Anarchism as a lunatic, wet fringe.

Otter's letter, on the other hand, tries to portray Anarchism as some kind of ultra-liberalism, even worse, he tries to lump into the 'Anarcho' category every author from Pannekoek and Cardan to Tolstoy, Godwin of Gandhi, who may have, at some time, made some comment that could possibly be interpreted as 'Anarcho'.

Marx or Christ, or for that matter Lenin, Mussolini or Pol-Pot all made comments, at some point, which could be described as libertarian or 'Anarcho' (however falsely they may have meant it), but so what? Is that Anarchism?

If Anarchism is to achieve credibility with people outside the nar-

row anarchist circle, it is vital that we present a practical and systematic anarchist formula.

M V Diboll

Hull, news and views

Hull Anarchist/DAM group continues to fight the good fight in the cold and windy north. At present we have about ten activists. We meet regularly and activities include producing leaflets, paper-selling and public meetings of varying degrees of success.

Latest public meeting was with Dick Pooley (of PROP, the prisoners' rights movement) speaking on 'The exploding prisons'. It was moderately successful, attracting about 25 people, despite the coppers having taken a dislike to posters publicising the meeting and having gone round ripping them down. (Incidentally, if any anarchist groups in the north of England want to put on a public meeting with Dick Pooley he can be contacted at: 50 Westborne Avenue, Hull)

The general response to the change of format of FREEDOM amongst anarchists up here has been positive. FREEDOM looks much more attractive. (Many however think the value of the content hasn't changed much, though we realise the FREEDOM Collective will reply that the content is only as good as what is sent in).

Whose right to choose

Our group has been involved in animal liberation both as propagandists and militants for more than eighteen months. During our weekly meetings we discuss many aspects of animal liberation, and we are constantly turning over new stones in this area.

One very recent conclusion we have come to may disturb many of those who are involved in other struggles which overlap with ours, and indeed, part of a struggle many of our members are deeply committed to, both locally and nationally ie The Womens Movement.

The conclusion we have reached — dare I mention it — is one which concerns the 'woman's right to choose'. We have discussed this issue within the context of animal liberation, and have come to the conclusion that a human foetus is also an animal which deserves the right to live whether it is still dependant on the mother's womb or not. Life and liberty cannot be disassociated from one another, and a foetus is *alive* in the same way that any other living creature is alive.

As libertarians we find that we have nothing in common with anti-abortionists who wish to legislate against abortion. On the contrary, legislation will not prevent abortion, it will only serve once again to drive it to the back streets. Instead we realise that the beginnings of

our ideas will be in the hands of our sisters, who have a passionate concern for life and survival on earth. Because women are child bearers we have a more responsible respect for life than men, as the recent women's peace actions verify.

On that basis we think that women should and will concern themselves on this issue by (a) sexual gratification from each other, (b) celibacy, and (c) a more concerted effort in the use of contraception. As far as abortion on demand, request or the right to choose goes, it is a campaign which has denigrated the female gender who *love* life. Women will decide if and when they wish to bear children (in that it will still be our right to choose), but the use of induced abortions must be abandoned. Of course, natural abortions will still occur, although the emphasis on the word natural must be stated. Induced abortions are a travesty of life, against nature and ecology — who are we to tamper with matters of life and death? We are quite clear that abortion has been conditioned into women by life hating patriarchy, we are only now beginning to realise this.

The men in our group have been gently guided by the women into reaching a clear understanding of this matter, and now they have come to agree with us whole-heartedly.

Fiona Lowencroft

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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.

The following is an eye-witness account of actions which took place at a USAF base on the island of Crete during the recent Lebanon conflict. The lessons for the anti-militarist movement are inescapable.

USAF in Crete



The information

As became known, from information from within (which was confirmed by all-night observation of the Base and the hotel), American bombers were taking off at the time of the fighting for Beirut. On the days of the truce 130 were transferring to Haifa. American pilots wore uniforms with Israeli markings in case

they were shot down. And in fact many of these did not return.

At the Hotel Crete around 75 pilots and technicians were staying, split into 3 shifts. (The American assistant commander admitted in court that 35 pilots stayed at the hotel because there was no room for them at the base. After the trouble the pages with the names of the pilots were torn out of the hotel register) At around 3.00 every morning a military bus took 25 of these men to the airport. The planes left immediately and returned only in the evening. At around 11.00 or midnight the men returned to the hotel exhausted. At 3.00 again another shift took off.

Also at the base two troop-carriers of marines (the so-called 'rapid deployment force'), are in readiness for the Lebanon.

The telecommunications base at Gournes in Heraklion is where the operations are co-ordinated. Also due to the sophistication and good position of the US equipment they can deliberately confuse the Palestinian and Syrian radar and weapons systems.

The demonstrations

The small group who collected the information individually contacted another 80 comrades and they met at the port on the evening of the 28th July. As soon as the pilots settled in at the Hotel Crete, people were informed by loudspeaker of what was going on and they set off shouting slogans towards the hotel. Another 200 from the port were following so the demonstration added up to 300 people. The majority were unaffiliated, but others were supporters from all parties and organisations, as individuals though, because the large parties had only one day to inform members and they refused to take sides. The informers at the port had informed their bosses and the pilots had gotten into their bus to escape back to the base.

However the front ranks at the demonstration, about 50 people, managed to spot the bus and making a run for it they got there before it left and started stoning it. In the meantime, the rest of the demonstrators wrecked two other empty military buses outside the hotel. On returning to the town they smashed another American vehicle.

During all this stoning the police lined up with their guns out of their holsters.

The court cases

In spite of the heavy charges the demonstrators were almost cleared,

thanks to the people who supported them. Let's not laugh about it. If it weren't for the support the sentences would have been heavy.

This proves that the outcome of a case depends not on the sentencing codes but on the strengths of the movement compared to the state. An energetic defence with rallies, posters, meetings, demos, petitions etc can inflict its influence on the state.

About the government

We have not complained about PASOK for not removing the bases. We knew and we know that they can't and don't want to remove them. The only ones who want to, and who will be able to as soon as they realise they can, are the people. And then if the government tries to stop them, they will be swept away along with the bases.

For the future

After the demonstration the bombers stopped taking off. Only a few transport planes left, fewer than before. Also the pilots and their buses were consigned to base, they aren't allowed to go to the town.

It is up to each of us to make it clear they are on enemy territory.

Of course if American attacks on Palestinians stop from here then the Americans have other bases. They prefer to take off from places that don't give them difficulties. But we will do our job here and others, in other towns, can attempt to do the same.

These events show that with concrete actions and not just words will you be able to concretely help those who are in danger.

The fact that the Americans backed down from their complaints and claims for damages for the wrecked buses shows that they are frightened to prolong the episode.

300 demonstrators were able to stop the flights.

3000 citizens of the town of Chanea have the strength to wreck the bases.

If they don't do it themselves no one else will do it for them.

And something else

It is not enough for us for the bases to go. Whoever tells us it is enough for the bases to go to solve our problems, is a swindler who attempts to hide the fact that Greece is a capitalist country. Bosses will still exist, what difference is it if the boss is native or foreign?

Only the disappearance of capitalism and the state will open the road to the emancipation of the workers.

The following is a translation of an Italian article which both we and the authors hope will gain publicity throughout the anarchist press.

Mauro Zanoni jailed



On Sunday, 13 February, a 20-year-old anarchist, Mauro Zanoni, was arrested at the 'Pavia' barracks, Pesaro for refusing military service. Mauro Zanoni, who comes from Asola, in the region of Mantua, should have presented himself at the barracks four months earlier.

In Italy military service is obligatory, and is 12 months long in the army and air force, a few months

longer in the navy. A 'civilian service' was set up in 1972, allowing conscripts to carry out an equivalent of military service in civilian institutions. But this is not an automatic right, and can only be conceded if an individual application is approved by a military commission set up by the Ministry of Defence. In recent years a large number of applications have been rejected. Civilian service lasts two years (or almost), twice the length of military service. It should also be stressed that civilian service was established above all with the aim of 'regulating' anti-militarist opposition and toning it down by placing it within the discipline of the institutions.

Zanoni could have applied to do civilian service and perhaps thereby avoid military service, spending two years of relative tranquility in a civilian institution. But in conformity with the refusal to acknowledge authoritarian institutions (even if not explicitly military ones), Zanoni would not carry out either military or alternative service. He made a public statement of his refusal for the first time on 26 September 1982 at the end of the study conference on Errico Malatesta in Milan. On 12 February at the Cristallo cinema in Milan, during an anti-militarist meeting organised by the Collective of Anarchist Students he tore up his draft papers.

A day later he presented himself at 'his' barracks and was locked up on the military prison of Peschiera del Garda in the province of Verona. His trial should take place in two months' time, and he could be sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

The case of Mauro Zanoni is only the last of a series of similar cases over recent years — almost all involving anarchists and libertarians. Last year two Sicilian anarchists, Orazio Valastro of Catania and Giuseppe Scarso of Giarratana in Ragusa province declared their refusal of both military and civilian service. Giuseppe Scarso tore up his draft papers in public last August, in the central piazza of Comiso, the small town in Sicily where a NATO military base for the Cruise and Pershing missiles is in process of construction. The anarchists are taking a very active part in opposition to the base, within the framework of the 'Self-Managed Leagues against the Construction of the Missile Base of Comiso', organised by the anarchists themselves.

Editorial Group of 'A' — Rivista Anarchica

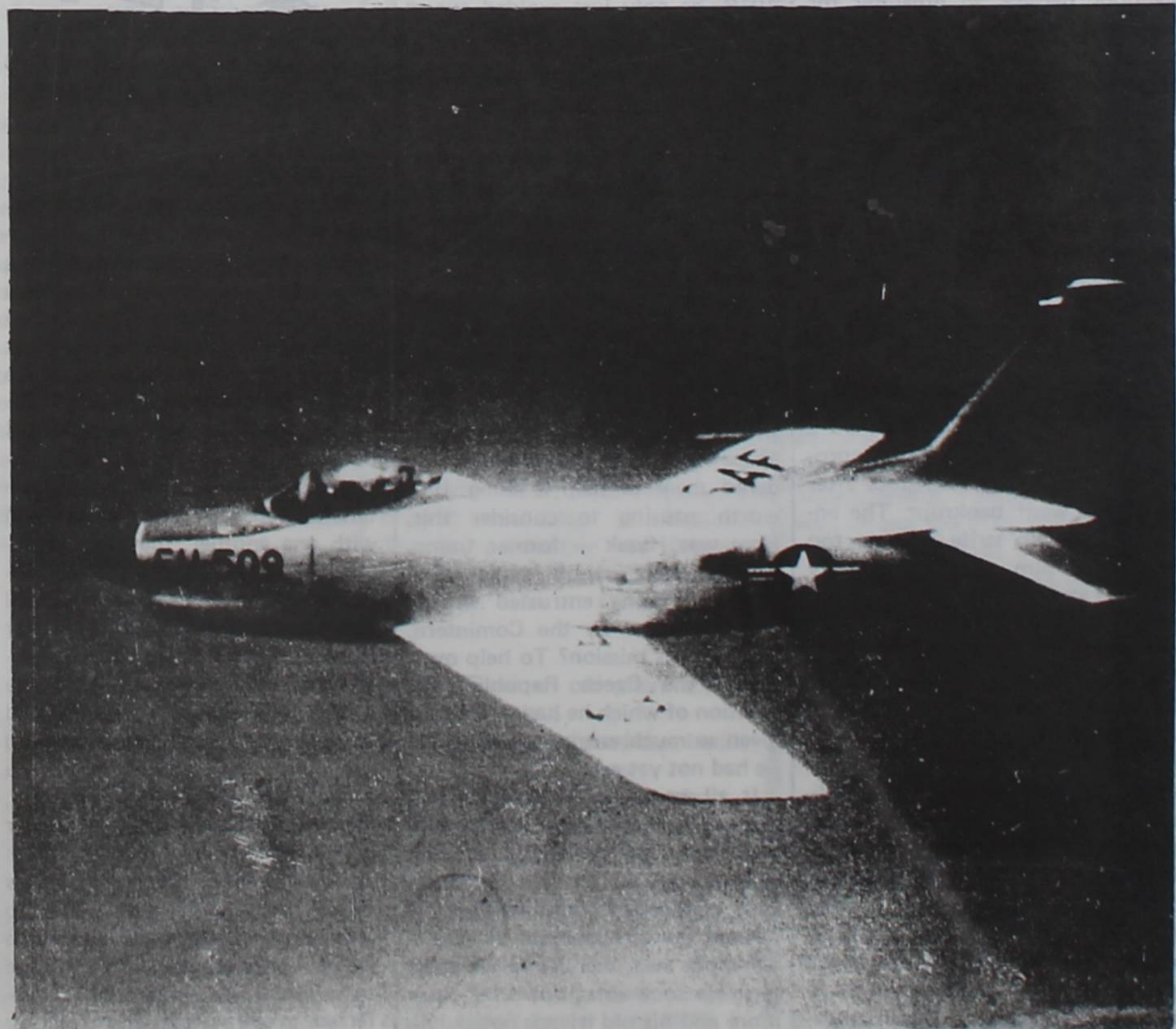
Makhno Samizdat

Firstly, he describes the nature of the Soviet propaganda machine and the reasons for the slander (the truly revolutionary social project of the *Makhnovschchina* and their opposition to bolshevism); he then goes on to describe, through Nestor Makhno's life, the anarcho-communist movement in Ukraine from 1905 to 1921 and its close ties with the Jewish community. He makes a number of factual references which point up the weakness of the accusations of anti-semitism and provide a considerable amount of information on the Makhnovist movement.

To quote an extract from the document: "The true story of the anarcho-communist movement in southern Ukraine is closely linked to the name of Makhno and to the movement for Jewish emancipation. As a result it has absolutely nothing to do with the slanderous accounts which proliferate in the historiography of the modern State. For this reason research work on the history of anarcho-communism should begin above all by dispensing with the slanders which surround Makhno's name and by re-establishing the authentic historic facts."

Although a large amount of *samizdat* material has appeared, and is appearing in the USSR, little of it refers to anarchism and anarchists. Until now, as far as we know, no *samizdat* document has been devoted exclusively to this subject. We have just obtained a text entitled *Nestor Makhno and the Jewish Question*, which was published in Moscow in *samizdat* form in June 1982. In 20 pages of close writing the author, V Litvinos, demonstrates that Makhno and the *Makhnovschchina* were wrongly accused of anti-semitism and of having caused pogroms.

IZTOK 20 January 1983 (Paris)



Jaroslav Hasek was an active anarchist in Bohemia in the first decade of the century. In the early 1920's, when his health was failing, he started to write his only novel, but died before completing it. This unfinished work — *The Good Soldier Svejk and His Fortunes in the World War* — has since been translated into over forty languages and been read by millions making Hasek probably the most widely read (ex) anarchist ever. Yet to many anarchists he still remains a virtual nobody. As the centenary of his birth is now upon us it is apposite that his own picaresque life story now be briefly told and appraised.



JAROSLAV HAŠEK: The Good, The Bad and The Ugly

The bare bones

He was born on April 30th 1883 into a lower-middle class family residing in Prague which was then simply a provincial capital within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The province was Bohemia, and its inhabitants, the Czechs, having their own distinct history, traditions and language, hated the German-speaking ruling class. Many young Czechs grew up despising the Government and Hasek was no exception, getting himself expelled from school for his riotous participation in the street fights between Czechs and Germans.

After doing jobs in two chemists' shops (1) he completed his studies and found work in a bank (1902). By then he was already engaged in activities he was to maintain throughout his life — writing short stories (by 1904 he had had 50 published); restless wandering (which got him the sack from the bank) and drinking (which was to eventually hasten his death). *In 1903 he added a new string to his bow when he started to take an interest in radical politics. For those young Czechs who combined a desire for radical social change with an anti-Austrian bent it was but a short step into the anarchist milieu.. (Many young Czechs considered the Social Democrats too internationalist.) Hasek made this step and in October 1903 was arrested for pissing in front of the main police station (2) Three more arrests followed in quick succession and he considered it wise to remove himself to the northern coalfields where there was a strong anarchist base. The miners there had formed themselves into the Czech Confederation of Trade Unions and they espoused a strange mixture of individualism (after Johann Most) and syndicalism.. (In contrast the movement in Prague was anarchist-communist.) Hasek worked on the CFTU's paper *Progressive Youth*. Soon, though, his restlessness and taste for drink got the better of him and he 'disappeared' while collecting subscriptions. When he was found two days later with a bandaged head and a bad hangover a bitter argument ensued and he left.

He was soon back in the thick of things in Prague, working on the anarchist papers, *Pauper* and *Commune*. At this time he and his comrades unmasked an agent provocateur whom they worked

over and then dumped outside a police station with an attached note offering him as an exhibit for the Emperor's zoo.. Hasek again came to the attention of the police so he again headed north from where he corresponded with his lover, Jarmila Mayerova.

This relationship was strongly opposed by Jarmila's father who insisted that Hasek must finish with anarchism. Ever-impulsive, Hasek agreed, but then immediately went out to an anarchist demonstration at which he was arrested for seriously assaulting a policeman. At his trial he wittily but foolishly defended himself by regaling the court at length with Dostoevsky's story, *The Double*. He went down for a month after which he was forbidden to see Jarmila until he reformed.

This he attempted to do, and although it meant he moved away from anarchist circles he still remained subversive. He took jobs writing for the papers of two political parties (between which he carried out a bogus polemic with himself), and in the 1908 elections became an organiser for one of them, publishing such scandalous lies about an opposition party that its members wrecked his adopted party's offices (what a shame!) as he fled out of the back door. He then moved on to the editorship of the journal, *Animal World*, and this impressed the Mayers who then permitted him to marry their daughter.

His new-found respectability did not last long. He was sacked from *Animal World* for inventing animals and when he followed this up with a dog business (which he called a 'cynological institute') he was prosecuted for forging pedigrees after which he went bankrupt. The ensuing domestic strife became too much for him and in February 1911 he attempted suicide.

But 1911 was to be a positive year for him. In May he wrote his first Svejk story which was rapidly followed by four more. (3) Then in June he executed his most famous hoax by inventing his own party for which he stood as the sole candidate in the Imperial elections. The party was The Party For Moderate Progress Within The Bounds Of The Law (how much more subtly scathing than the present-day 'Biscuit Barrel' bores) and it was the perfect medium through which to express his disgust with parliamen-

tary politics. Its meetings — which some say Kafka attended — were more like cabarets at which everything sacred and respectable was debunked. He subsequently wrote a *History of the Party* but it was too libellous for publication in his lifetime and didn't see printer's ink until 1963. (4) After this notable success he drifted around in ever-decreasing circles, writing, drinking, tramping, until the First World War broke out.

For many of the combatants in Central and Eastern Europe and Russia the war was seen as a chance to achieve national independence. Hasek was one such combatant and in September 1915 he allowed himself to be caught by the Russians rather than continue fighting for the Austrians. This marked a decisive turning point in his life. *

In his first two years in Russia he underwent several extreme political transformations, starting out as a pro-Romanov Czech nationalist and ending up as a member of the communist party dedicated to the social revolution. This fickleness almost cost him his life when, in May 1918, he only just avoided execution by the departing Czech Legion who considered him a traitor. By then he was busy putting his writing and linguistic skills to use doing propaganda work in the Urals for the Czech section of the Russian Communist Party.

For the first time in his life he found himself involved in a social commitment which he took seriously (he gave up drink) and in which he himself was taken seriously. His hard work in the Urals and Siberia (5) was noticed in Moscow and when the social struggle developed apace in Czechoslovakia he was ordered there to help it along. It is worth pausing to consider this. Here was Hasek — former tramp, drunk, anarchist, bohemian and skiver — being entrusted with a secret mission by the Comintern, no less. His mission? To help overthrow the Czech Republic, the creation of which he had in the past given so much energy to and which he had not yet even seen.

It all went wrong. He arrived in Prague just after the insurrection had been suppressed. This left him in a vacuum: he felt he couldn't return to Moscow empty-handed yet he was powerless to act in Prague where he had enemies in all quarters. He took solace in drink once more and his old friends noticed he

was no longer the merry jester of yore but was now bitter and cynical.

It was at this low point that Svejk came to the rescue. Hasek hit upon the idea of writing about him in the context of the war, a setting which was so huge that it justified a novel. However, no sooner did he start writing than his health began to fail so he moved to Lipnice in the country to continue the work there. His health still flagged and on January 3rd 1923, with only four of the projected six volumes written, he died of pneumonia and heart failure.



Some flesh

Clearly it is difficult to draw definite conclusions about someone as erratic as Hasek. Nor can we look to him for help; otherwise loquacious, when it came to his own life he was laconic. The many legends which sprang up concerning his exploits cloud matters further. He did once write a biographical 'confession' in answer to rumours that he left Russia with blood on his hands, but it was a spoof beginning, 'At the age of six months I devoured my elder brother ...'

However, two over-riding characteristics are discernible. Tied in with one another, they are his impulsiveness and his gross irresponsibility. He was someone who could pop out for beer and not return for a week; we have seen how he absconded with comrades' funds; he would sponge from friends and then unscrupulously turn a blind eye when they needed help. The only person he loved in his life, Jarmila, he broke with, leaving her with a child. Above all else he was a writer — his bibliography lists over 1,200 pieces — yet he took no interest in the work of his friends and contemporaries and was averse to cultural discussions. (He preferred to glean facts from railway

timetables, professional journals and tourist brochures.) He thought nothing of leaving some of his stories for Jarmila to complete.

Even so, it cannot be said that he simply did not care. For example, his alcoholism can be seen not just as a symptom of bohemian decadence but also as a sign that something vital was missing from life, a life he wanted to be full. Nor was he impervious to pain, though he tried his best not to show it. When his life was at an extremely low point in 1911 he could hide his pain no longer and tried to escape it by jumping off the Charles Bridge.

His vacillations manifested themselves in his politics. Although he was extremely self-indulgent he did seriously seek some form of social engagement from boyhood onwards and he developed into a political animal, albeit a chameleon. He was, in turn, a Czech nationalist street brawler, an anarchist, a National Socialist, (6) a Social Democrat, a monarchist, a liberal republican and a communist. That is, in non-zoological terms, he was an opportunist, a walking microcosm of all the multifarious, conflicting political currents that moved at that heady time when centuries-old empires swayed and finally fell and new republics (whether bourgeois democratic or state communist) came screaming into the world. Having an aversion to matters cerebral, he never once attempted to construct a coherent political critique from his extensive experiences, but, instead, was guided by an immediate gut reaction to all kinds of authority between which he never clearly distinguished. (A not uncommon fault amongst anarchists.) He therefore tended to unthinkingly respond to the passing pressures of the moment and could not himself initiate political ideas and action. His only attempt at this was a hoax — The Party For Moderate Progress Within The Bounds Of The Law. It would therefore be misleading to see him as a revolutionary and more pertinent to consider him a *rebel*. His last act was to harness this rebellion and express it in the way he knew best, by writing. Little did he know that the final stone he was to throw into the literary pond — *The Good Soldier Svejk And His Fortunes In The World War* — would send out ripples in time and space which to this day continue to expand.

Following in the footsteps of Cervantes and Rabelais, this 700 page epic is ostensibly a series of slapstick (mis)adventures of a certified idiot/unhailed sage; but it is also a scathing attack on the Austro-Hungarian military state in particular and on militarism in general. Beneath the literary custard pies and battlefield excrement lies an awesome sense of rupture in which the irrelevance of the old world is thrown into stark relief and the portent of the new is but dimly discerned. It is only in these terms that the generalised absurdity (usually considered the be-all and end-all of the work) is comprehensible. To say more about the book would require a separate article. Shortage of space here makes it possible to concentrate in any detail only on Hasek's life and his 'effect'. If you want more — read the book. (7)



And the remains

Within a few years of Hasek's death *Svejk* was translated into German and Russian (1926) and there were French and English versions by 1932. (8) It is now available in over forty languages. For a work that

was written essentially for a local audience — it was self-published in instalments and sold round pubs to begin with — this is a phenomenal achievement.

Although the idea of a bumbling private was not entirely new when Hasek created *Svejk* (1911), credit must go to him for perfecting the idea to such a degree that he gave to world literature a type that has constantly been used and a form of attack on militarism that has given other works a more readily accessible nature. The best known of these in the English language is perhaps *Catch 22*. Elsewhere, the now-exiled dissident Russian writer, Vladimir Voinovich, has virtually made a career for himself with his *Svejk* clone, *Ivan Chonkin*.

And the *Good Soldier* has also appeared on stage, first in 1922 in Czechoslovakia while the author was still alive. In 1928 there was a stage version in Berlin which involved a formidable combination of talent: Bertolt Brecht co-scripted, George Grosz designed and Erwin Piscator directed. Brecht later wrote his 'own' version which was staged as recently as this February in London.

Of course it would be naive to overlook the diluting and distorting effect this wide acceptance has had on the man and his work. He has become many things to many different people. In the Soviet Union there are streets named after him even though he was almost expelled from the party as soon as he joined; in Czechoslovakia he is a national literary hero, yet in the year of his centenary a modern Czech satirist, Vaclav Havel, was, until last month, rotting in a prison hospital with pneumonia; and in the West he is generally seen as a bohemian Bohemian, good for a laugh but not worth serious consideration and so his centenary is ignored. (However, the global organisation, UNESCO, is marking his centenary with cultural events.) Having had such a wayward character laid him open to having such diverse influence and, his success being posthumous, there was nothing he could do to counter any abuses.

It is perhaps fitting to leave the last word about such a complex creature with the person to whom he revealed most, Jarmila Mayerova. She succinctly captured the tragedy-comedy of his life when she wrote, 'His smile was not the smile of a good-natured man who smiles because he is happy. It said, "I'm smiling so as not to weep."'

A P

(With thanks to I and A)

Literature

The Good Soldier Svejk and His Fortunes in the World War. Hasek. Penguin. £3.50.

The Red Commissar. Hasek. Abacus. £2.95. (A collection of short stories.)

The Bad Bohemian, a life of Jaroslav Hasek. Cecil Parrott. Bodley Head. £10. (Biography)

Hasek and Kafka. Karel Kosik. Telos 23. Spring 1975.

Czechoslovak News Bulletin. November 1982. Czech embassy. y. Programme notes to National Theatre production of Brecht's *Schwejk in the Second World War*.

Notes

1. See 'From an old pharmacy' in *Red Commissar*.
2. See 'Justice and the lesser bodily needs' in *Red Commissar*.
3. All included in *Red Commissar*.
4. Excerpts in *Red Commissar*.
5. See 'Bugulma Stories' in *Red Commissar*.
6. Nothing to do with the Nazis.
7. A highly illuminating criticism is given in Kosik's *Hasek and Kafka*.
8. The first unexpurgated English edition didn't appear until 1973.

We are sad to report that our comrade Jack Robinson died last Sunday, 20th March, as a result of the severe stroke he suffered on 19th January, just two days before his 70th birthday. Philip Sansom writes of his contribution to *FREEDOM*, *Freedom Press* and *Freedom Bookshop* over 30 years.



Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa in 1961

JACK ROBINSON

I first met Jack Robinson when he came to London from the North of England in 1952 to work with Lilian Wolfe in the *Freedom Bookshop* in Red Lion Street, just off Holborn in Central London. In fact I can remember the letter he wrote offering his services and outlining his qualifications for the job — chief of which was the fact that he was capable of earning his own living as a second-hand bookseller and thus could work for the bookshop for a pittance. Since Lilian was also living off her pension, it meant that, as far as this part of the anarchists' activities in London were concerned, we had practically abolished the wages system.

In fact Jack first became known to one of the London comrades walking round the exercise yard in Wormwood Scrubs in 1942, doing six months as a conscientious objector and it was most probably there that he first began to get his anarchist education — for, like so many others, he began his political life in the ILP.

After coming out of prison, the state having lost interest in him, he offered himself for the astonishing job of a guinea pig in a hospital carrying out Vitamin C experiments and later got a job as a nurse in a hospital for epileptics. But with the end of the war, he set himself up as a second-hand bookdealer in Preston. It was in this area of Lancashire that he came into contact with likeminded people like Kathleen and Peter Rantell, warders of Jerusalem Farm Youth Hostel at Colne, whose enthusiasm (and overnight facilities) brought many libertarians together.

It was natural, then, having proved his anti-militarism, that Jack Robinson should be among the founders of the Colne and Nelson Libertarian Discussion Group, which in turn founded the Nelson and Colne Anti-Militarist Federation, bringing together members of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation, the ILP and the PPU. This group at different times held their meetings at the Weavers' Institute in Nelson and at the Twisters and Drawers Club in Colne — reflecting the dominant industry of that area: textiles.

Not for Jack, however, a life in the dark satanic mills. In 1949 he had met the anarchists in force at their annual summer school — that year held in Liverpool — and as I have already said, in 1952 came down to London, where he quickly integrated with the London Anarchist Group.

The first piece I have been able to find in *FREEDOM* over Jack's

initials was in fact initialled also by Lilian Wolfe. In the issue of December 27 1952, a small plug for the *Freedom Bookshop* entitled 'We Weren't Stalin's Booksellers' poured scorn on the flood, or 'plumber's flush' as he put it, of anti-Communist breast-beatings from all the fellow-travellers who suddenly saw the light when the Cold War replaced the war-time alliance with Russia. Both the title and the text were of the style we were to get used to in the years to come, when Jack Robinson, JR, Jack Spratt, or Jon Quixote never failed to appear in the paper, all in their different styles. Jack Spratt was the satirical one.

Also in that issue was a special 'Freedom Anthology' (well, it was the 'Christmas Number') of passages from writers varying from John Donne to Ignazio Silone, Ibsen to A L Lloyd, all the fruit of JR's insatiable appetite for reading. We all thought he must have read every one of the books he bought and sold, and indeed, I feel sure that Jack would not have sought to profit from any books of which he didn't approve.

By 1954 he and Mary Canipa, whom he first met at Jerusalem Farm, were living together and they were part of the strong team of anarchists who started the Malatesta Club, first of London's political clubs at this time. Typically, whereas the rest of us all did one evening per week on duty, Jack and Mary did two.

The Club lasted till 1958 and after a short hiatus in public activity, meetings started up again in the early sixties, coinciding with the beginning of CND and the Aldermaston marches — which included Jack and Mary from the very first one — the one that went TO Aldermaston. At around this time, Jack was instrumental in organising the regular Sunday evening meetings at which he frequently spoke and, at the same time, under the name of Jon Quixote, produced a column right through the middle 60's which proved very popular. Called 'Out Of This World' it appeared every week (yes, *FREEDOM* was a weekly then) and was a result of assiduous scanning of newspapers for the absurdities of governments and the pomposities of the high and mighty — which Jack always seemed to find contradicting each other. He had a sharp eye for that.

He was an individualist (and not the only one) who didn't approve of Stirner — although I would say he had a pretty well developed ego of his own; although he had been a frequent visitor to Jerusalem Farm, he wasn't really a communalist and

certainly wasn't a syndicalist, not even; like most of us, in theory. I suppose 'Tolstoyan' is the nearest you could get to a category for a person who didn't want to be categorised. But he was a vegetarian pacifist, who eschewed tobacco and alcohol — and not just because they were bad for you. I am sure he just could not bear the thought of contributing to the state's coffers through the ever-increasing duty the government levies on our weaknesses. For much the same reason he did his best to avoid entering the machine age and embraced a life of (more or less) voluntary poverty, earning enough, most of the time, for everyday needs without ever getting near that dreaded tax threshold. It's doubtful if the state ever got enough out of Jack Robinson to buy a single bullet.

In this he was very lucky to have a companion of similar views, though rather more practical skills, who not only contributed to their joint welfare, but, during *FREEDOM*'s lean years during the 70's, did the typing for the whole issue as well as, right up to a year ago, keeping the subscription list up to date, Jack making a fortnightly trip to London with the wrappers.

By this time, they were living in a small village in Suffolk where, in spite (or, because of?) going to prison in 1972 for refusal to fill in the Census Form, or pay a fine, both Jack and Mary became well integrated in village life and made many friends. Jack joined the local amateur theatrical society and the Amnesty International Group in nearby Sudbury.

Their village friends showed their concern when he was struck down in January by organising a rota system for driving Mary the 40-50 miles round trip to the hospital in Bury-St-Edmunds every day.

Unfortunately, the stroke Jack suffered was very severe, paralyzing his right side and seriously impeding his speech — a cruel blow for a person as communicative and articulate as he. Complications set in and it became impossible to help him with normal therapy. He had to have painkillers and was in a coma when he died. Mary was with him and so, coincidentally, was Alan Albon, also from the *Freedom Group* he had worked with for so long.

I am aware of the inadequacy of this tribute. Jack and I were very different in character and in our approach to anarchism. We often disagreed, but I would be the last to deny the contribution he made to the work of the anarchist movement in London and to *Freedom Press* in many capacities.

Hanging about with Jesus



It hangs from a ceiling within the Royal Academy as an essay in gallows humour for it has all the phosphorescent charm of a corpse in those last stages when the flesh ceases to be thinking, questing, man and worm or maggot bait, the last final indignity before becoming dem bones dem bones dem dry bones. It is the, literally, dredged up remains of Cenni di Pepi, known now as Cimabue's life size painting of Christ hanging from the cross and, like Salvador Dali's Saint John of the Cross, it hangs in theatrical space demanding that we look down for Dali and up for Cimabue. It hangs in shadowed silence within one room of the Royal Academy and that room has been turned into a stage set in the fashionable style used by the contemporary theatre to destroy the poetry and drama of Shakespeare, wherein the work of the artist is held to be secondary to the presentation. The room within the Royal Academy has its walls draped with brown cloth and along the full length of the walls are benches covered with that same brown cloth and at intervals of three or four feet and above the head of the seated person there is a small shaded light shining down onto the head of the seated person and, given an empty room with no

more than a dozen people seated, the light shining down onto the head of each separate individual, Cimabue's Christ dangling in space, we have the stage set for a pastiche medieval morality play buffet and bar and our next presentation *She Stoops To Conquer*.

It is impressive and I am impressed, but what am I asked to be impressed about, for this Florentine painter of the late 13th century moves in and out of the art historians' fancies as no more than a clause for them to move on to greater matters. Dante in his *Purgatorio* dismissed Cimabue by writing that 'Cimabue thought he held the field in painting, but now Giotto is acclaimed and his fame obscured' and in 1983 under the patronage of Olivetti i before e the remnants of this 13th century painting is being hawked across the world for the Town and his rosary swinging frau to pay for the pleasure of standing in silent adoration and catching up on their culture.

Seventeen years ago Florence was the, not so helpless, victim of a flood wherein many lives were lost and it is held that many of the lost lives and ruined masterpieces need not have occurred if various dykes had been opened, but the greed of the landowners and a supine, gut-

less political bureaucracy must be held to be responsible for much of the human and aesthetic tragedy. What we now have with Cimabue's Crucifix is less than half the original painting and ten years' work by the back room boys in cleaning and fixing the remains. I was appalled, and no one loves being more appalled than I, at the casual and heavy handed way the aproned lads and the tip toeing top brass humped and dragged the Olivetti chaperoned Christ upon His cross, for one felt that Christ the Original carried his cross to Golgotha the Place of the Skull with more regard for the State's property than the Art Establishment and International Big Business appeared to show for their Masterpiece of the Month.

Of every act that tops the bill, be they super star or super stud, it is claimed that they give a new interpretation to the role and of Cimabue it can be claimed that he gave his angels muscles and to the crucified Christ an appearance of the futility of the acceptance of the agony and the death. Whatever merit Cimabue's painting of the crucified Christ may have had, I would bear witness that the Italian landowners, bureaucratic politicians, multinational big business and the international art establishment, each in their own interests, are intent on doing a dead action replay of the road to Golgotha and using Cimabue's rotted masterpiece for the disposable studio prop. Let us of our sins equate Cimabue's crucified Christ with the pleasant fashionable trivia of the hour and hand in hand with the Town and his jesting frau find the town offers us much for our amusement and demands little of us intellectual-wise as we would say sitting beer in hand among the student squatters within the Senate House of London University for it is all of a oneness said Mr Toad.

Those many years ago I would sit in the gallery of the Shepherd's Bush Empire there to watch and applaud Max Miller and Max Wall long long before the London pseudo intellectual middle class patronised them into camp cult figures

in their pantheon of the secondary higher arts. Max Miller and his cheque book are long gone and now Max Wall is left to do his funny walk and to move into the plays of Beckett and Pinter, proving to the hoi polloi that great art can be fun. Now Max Wall is at the National Portrait Gallery for he has been enshrined for all times, at least until the 15th May 1983, in a series of paintings by Maggi Hambling, one time Artist in Residence at the National Gallery. The value of the work lies in the fact that it is of a known and well liked entertainer and the subject is recognisable and Maggi has captured him in a variety of poses and moods. Yet of the paintings what can one write, for they reflect too many other styles, from that of Francis Bacon's use of paint as raw colours left on the canvas like raw wounds with Velasquez 17th century Pope Innocent X painting as his model, drawings echoing Toulouse-Lautrec to backgrounds recalling, via Japanese airline, the soft and subtle merging harmonies of colours favoured by the Japanese advertising industry. Max Wall with a red rose in his lapel stood among us, a very gentle man, and he signed our catalogues 'with love'. Eighty years or so ago these paintings, because of their subject matter, would, as with the works of Toulouse-Lautrec, be important social-historical documents, but in the world of the mass all purpose recording media one now turns to the artist desiring works of creative imagination or skilled craftsmanship but Maggi...

But it is the Quilting Patchwork and Applique 1700 - 1982 exhibition at the Craft Council Gallery, two minutes from Piccadilly Circus, that has drawn me a number of times, for here on display are a number of skilful and often very beautiful works of sewing by women and the point that is made in the catalogue by June Freeman is that it meant mind deadening drudgery for generations of women and in relation to that it was the sewing machine that helped to free women from that mind deadening lifetime of sew sew sew.

Rich or poor it was the sewing circle and the sweat shop that trapped women's minds into that one narrow area and one thinks of all those closed rooms and the hours of those sewing sewing sewing needles. Around about 1880 a north country quilter woman might earn 7s 6d to 10s a week selling her work while the male land worker would expect to earn 15s to 20s a week with a tied cottage and for the woman dependent on her own resources this was her only means of livelihood. In 1981 Pauline Burbidge claimed that she could earn £146 a week as an art teacher, but for making quilts she could not expect to earn £75 a week, but I would suggest that for the woman and the man of 1880 their work and their poverty was frozen within their social standing within that society whereas in 1981 whether one throws a pretty pot, sews a quilt or opens a back street bookshop is part of a choice of a limited luxury greater if one is a Bond Street gallery flogging Caro's iron sculpture with built in rust or lesser if one is making quilts, throwing pots or selling the poetry of Denis Gould. It is not the grim ordained economic necessity of the 19th century. But comrades the exhibition and the catalogue is worthy of, nay more, demands your attention.

And for myself, in the cause of art and the demand to stand up and be counted, this week and next I shall be moving resolutions through various committed bodies asking, calling upon, then demanding that the GLC of Ken Livingstone shall follow up their praiseworthy but quickly forgotten statue to Peace somewhere on the South Bank by commissioning a Life Size statue to Blair Peach who was beaten to death at Southall. Let the GLC commission it, let it be made Life Size and let that statue to the slaughtered Blair Peach be erected in a public place in the presence of all those politicians who claim to support the aims for which he died.

Arthur Moyses

EASTER RISING

Continued from front page

insert on the Easter demonstration, the great bulk of the space being given to the Thursday blockades, with a guide to non-violent direct action and a legal briefing. The orthodox opposition to such demonstrations, which split the old movement, seems to have faded away. What remain to be seen are the reactions of the authorities and of the general public.

The reactions of the authorities to the growing radical wing of the new movement have so far been cautious and confused. There has been relatively little violence at direct action demonstrations compared with what happened in the old days, when people were quite often hurt. There have been remarkably few arrests at such demonstrations compared with what happened in the old days, when there used to be hundreds at a time. There have also been remarkably mild charges and sentences compared with what happened in the old days, when there used to be trials for incitement and conspiracy, sometimes under the drastic Official Secrets Acts, and long prison sentences; so far the main technique has been to arrest the minimum number of people, to use minor charges, and to imprison only for the refusal to be bound over.

The Greenham Common women have for nearly a year been suffering more from the civil than from the criminal law. They have been continually harassed by a series of court cases aimed at evicting them from the land where their peace-

camp is situated, outside the main gate of the base. The government departments involved have almost entirely kept out of this procedure, leaving it to the local council; yet, despite great expense of time and money and severe court orders against some women, the peace-camp remains. One ironical point is that the base is on a common - or rather, two commons, Greenham and Crookham - but of course, as usual in English law, a common is not in fact common. All that is left from the old system of genuine common ownership is the limited right of local residents to have access to the land and to do such things as gathering food or raw materials (nuts and gravel, in this case); and Newbury Council has now deliberately revoked these rights, so that technically no one is allowed on the common at all. What a symbolic business - the state, pretending to defend us, drives us off our own land!

But the state has much more powerful forces at its disposal, if it decides to use them. All the demonstrators at Greenham Common and Burghfield could be charged under the Official Secrets Acts, for approaching and obstructing prohibited places for purposes prejudicial to the state; and all the organisers could be charged for conspiracy and incitement. We could be met with considerable violence and thousands of years' imprisonment. We must be ready to face this fact, if our action begins to become effective.

The real test is indeed how to make our action effective. A huge gathering at Aldermaston on Friday will get a lot of publicity, but

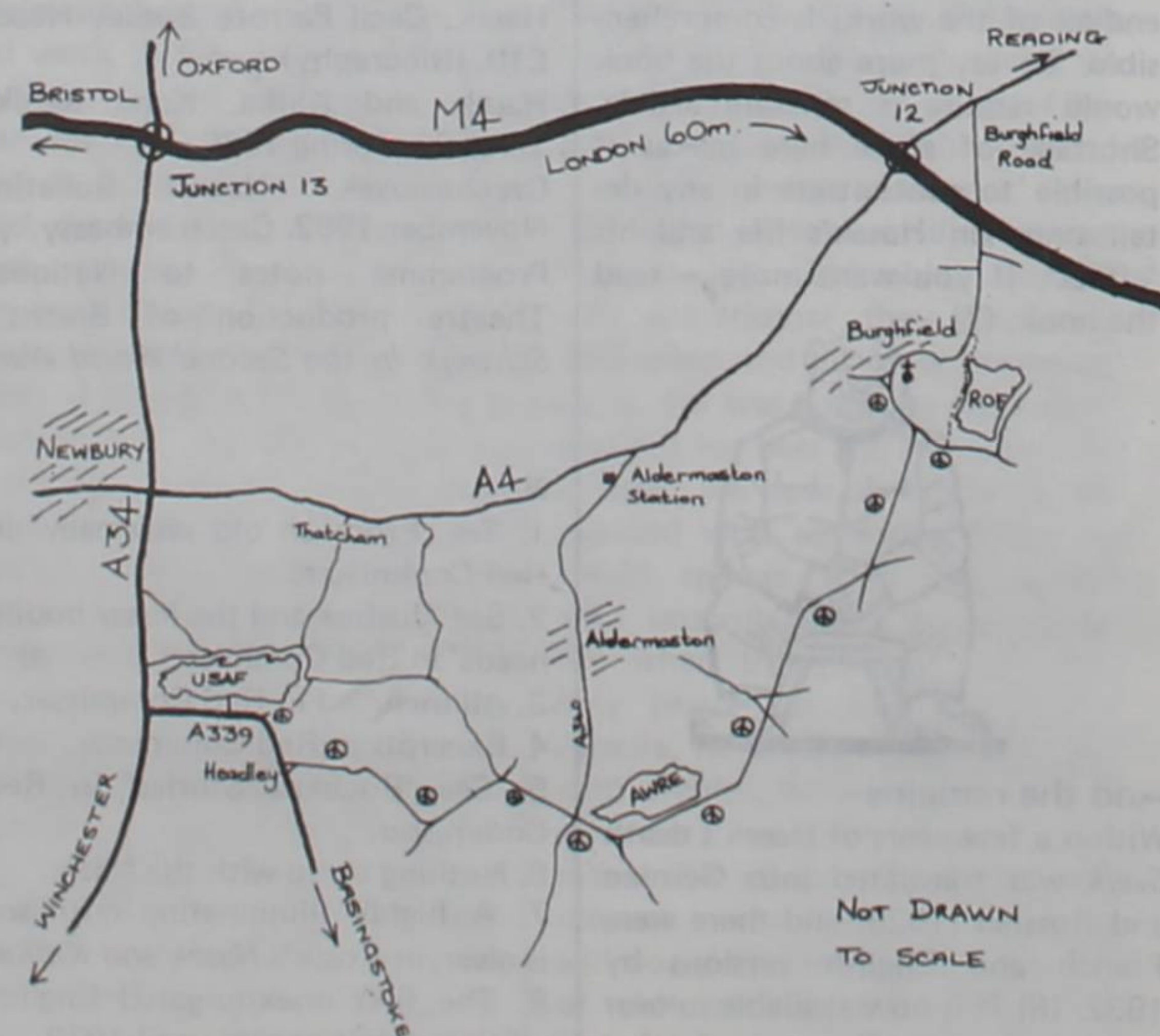
it will only polarise opinion and will not affect the general public much. Large blockades at Greenham Common and Burghfield on Thursday, even if they succeed in closing both bases for a day, won't stop them opening again after the weekend. The truth is that we haven't yet begun genuine direct action and that we are still at the stage of symbolic action and propaganda by deed. It matters not so much whether such action is legal (as on Friday) or illegal (as on Thursday), as whether the deed spreads the propaganda and the propaganda spreads the deed. What we are doing now mainly helps us to increase our resistance and helps others to join the resistance. If we succeed in this, we shall begin to meet the real opposition of the authorities; and if we succeed in facing this, we shall begin to take genuine direct action. As well as the vast work of getting and giving information, having and winning arguments, raising and spending money, the vanguard of the movement will have to move forward, start serious obstructions, permanent invasions, and deliberate sabotage of sensitive places, going beyond reformist to revolutionary activity.

Anything less than this will not be enough. Cruise and Trident, the American bases, so-called civil defence - these are important issues which arouse anxiety and anger and have caused the revival of the movement, but we shall have to move beyond them. It will not be enough to cancel the new nuclear missiles while keeping the old ones, to remove American bases while keeping British ones, to dismantle

civil defence while keeping military defence. The radical movement against nuclear weapons must get at the roots of war and authority, the whole political and economic structure of the warfare state, and put down new roots of peace and freedom. We began to do this 20 years ago, but we failed for many reasons. One was lack of numbers, and Easter may show that this no longer applies. Another was lack of determination, and Easter and what happens afterwards must show that this no longer applies either. In this, as in every other struggle, we shall get nowhere by following leaders or trusting parties, passing resolu-

tions or holding elections; whatever we want done we shall have to do ourselves, and whatever happens it will be a long and hard struggle.

Anarchists will of course be present on all the Easter demonstrations, as on all the previous nuclear disarmament demonstration. Anyone who wants to sell FREEDOM should if possible obtain copies from us beforehand. Some of us will be joining the Sit Together demonstrations on Thursday, and several of us will be selling FREEDOM at the Stand Together demonstration on Friday. See you there!



Darlington farce



The farce at Darlington continues apace. We have been doing the usual - flyposting, leafletting etc, but what has really got up the bastards' noses is the 'Darlington Free Radio'!

our outside broadcasting unit was under attack from the party thugs, and as it was only borrowed from a friend we decided to retreat. However we did return twice more to disturb the proceedings.

ing. This upset the hacks even more. Although they were the ones who were screaming abuse, trying to relieve us of our radio, flags etc, it was we who were threatened with arrest if we opened our mouths any more that day.

Trafalgar Square Demo

On Saturday 12 March there was a demonstration at Trafalgar Square, organised by the International Fund for Animal Welfare, against the continued slaughter of baby seals.

no time in grabbing a loud haler and asking people to protest in 'the proper way'... when they refused he made it clear that they were nothing to do with the 'official' demonstration, and shortly the police (was it the SPG) moved in for a spot of rough stuff, to clear the road.

individuals. New friends had been made; a disillusionment with such leader- and followership, as had been displayed this afternoon, must have been felt by all present; and it had also demonstrated that spontaneous, leaderless action can be taken by anyone.

Anarchism on course

The course on Anarchism held during February and March at the Mary Ward Centre in London has been a great success. More than 40 people registered (and paid) for the six two-hour sessions on Monday evenings plus another hour in the pub, and although there were always several absentees there were always several visitors, and the attendance was never less than 30.

to 40 years! experience of the movement, some knew nothing about anarchism at all, but there was always productive give-and take between the two extremes.

sisted mainly of a lecture with questions afterwards; others, especially on anarchist theory and practice, consisted mainly of open discussion. Nearly everyone seemed to get something out of the course, and at the end of the last session (this week) more than 20 people decided to continue discussing some of the topics.

Take the Toys from the Boys

With the production of their latest LP, Poison Girls have reached an impressive level of both conception and performance. Labelled Where's the Pleasure... Fear of Freedom the songs offer notes of warning, cries of pain, shouts of anger.

balance the lyrics deserve. You actually hear the words! But more than that, instruments are being added which enrich the sound. With a trumpet, trombone, saxophones and a piano, this is now becoming a band.

whatever you may want to think are you feeling proud of the hole in the ground at rio tinto zinc? while 'Take The Toys From The Boys', sung like a church litany with leader and 'choir', links making THE bomb with capitalism in the lyrics 'made a bomb out of ... coffee ... sugar ... rubber ...' and ends with:

In brief

The chairman of the British Medical Association's central committee on community medicine has said that he will be asking the BMA to adopt a formal position of non-cooperation with government planning for the aftermath of nuclear war.

The government has made a profit of over £3 million from immigrants registration and naturalisation fees in this financial year. It is estimated that the actual cost of each application is £52. The fee charged is £200.

valier, has appointed special commissioners to ensure 'honest and correct elections' next month. These are the first elections in 26 years of Duvalier rule.

The FBI has been given wider powers to use infiltrators and informers and to tap telephones to investigate 'organisations advocating violent social or political change in the United States'. This will apply even 'if such groups are inactive'.

The Labour Party has drawn up new plans for repealing the Official Secrets Act and replacing it with an Information and Privacy Act. This is reassuring, they haven't given us such an undertaking since last time they were in power.

A couple of legal rulings. A magistrate gaoled a man for seven days for whispering in the public gallery. 'I'm sick of these sniggering people at the back'. The Law Lords have ruled that a man who accidentally set fire to a house (he was smoking in bed) and failed to try to put it out or call the Fire Brigade was guilty of arson.

Haiti's president, Jean-Claude Du-

NATIONAL

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

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

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

BELFAST
Anarchist Collective, Just Books, 7 Wine-tavern St, Belfast

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

BRISTOL
Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 197 Cheltenham Road, Bristol 6

BURNLEY
BAG, c/o 2 Quarrybank

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

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

CLEVELAND
25 Liverton Crescent, Thornby. Also produces 'Common Cause' local anarchist paper.
Box A, c/o 120 Victoria Road, Middlesborough

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

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

CUMBRIA
2 Forestry Cottages, Millfield, Hutton Roof, Penrith

DONCASTER
Doncaster Anarchist Centre, 49a Doncaster Market Place

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LANCASTER
Tadeusz Szczepanski, 38 Bradshaw St, LA1 3BE

LEAMINGTON AND WARWICK
Lemming and Yorick A's, c/o 23 Radford Rd, Leamington Spa, Warwks CV31 1NF

LEEDS
Leeds Anarchist Group, Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge St, LS2 JAW
DAM + Federation of Leeds Anarchists, Box RU

LEICESTER
Blackthorn Books, 70 High St; Libertarian Education, 6 Beaconsfield Rd, (tel 552085)
The Anarchist Society, Societies' Room, Student's Union Building, University of Leicester, University Rd, LE1 7RH

LIVERPOOL
Liverpool Anarchist Group, Box LAG, 31 Gothic Street, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead, Merseyside.
Discordians, Liverpool Students Union, Brownlow Hill, Liverpool.

LONDON
Anarchy Magazine, Box A 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1; FREEDOM Collective, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1 (01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube, nr Whitechapel Art Gallery
Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1. Meet Thursdays 7pm
London Workers Group, 11 Leyden St, E1
121 Books/Anarchist Centre, 121 Ralinton Rd, London SE24 Tel: 274 5655
Anarchist-Feminist Newsletter, c/o 121 Ralinton Rd, SE24
Pigs for Slaughter, c/o Ralinton Rd
South London Anarchist Group (SLAG) c/o 121 Ralinton Rd
South London DAM, c/o Ralinton Rd SE24
South London Stress, c/o 121 Ralinton Rd SE24
Squatters Defence Network, c/o 121 Ralinton Rd SE24
Toxic Graffiti, c/o 121 Ralinton Rd, SE24
Martin Nicholas, 186 Mount Pleasant Rd, London N17

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

MANCHESTER
'Wildcat' or 'Solidarity' at: Box 25, 164/5 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, M4 3BN
DAM, Box 20, 164/66 Corn Exchange Bldgs, Hanging Ditch, M4.

MORECAMBE AND LANCASTER
Chris Preston, 27 Nightingale Close, Gosport, Hampshire PO12 3EU. (Correspondence only)

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

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

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

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

OLDHAM
Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Fallsworth

ORPINGTON
Rik Fuller, 60 Ramsden Rd, Orpington, Kent

OXFORD
Oxford Anarchists, 34 Cowley Rd

PLYMOUTH
Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Ave, Penny-cross

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

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

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

SHEFFIELD
Anarchists, c/o 4 Havelock Square S10 2FQ

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

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

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

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

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

SWANSEA
Billy, 63 Clynymaes Place, Blaenymaes, Swansea

SWINDON
area, Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon

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

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

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

WEST WALES
Terry Phillips, 7 Heol Nant, Felinfoel, Llanelli, Dyfed SA14 8EL

GRAVESEND
A Jones, Lodge House (by Valley Lodge), Ifield Way, Gravesend, Kent.

North West Anarchist Federation, c/o NWAFF, 224 Garston Old Road, Liverpool 19

CREWE
CAG, c/o Camm St Community Centre, Old Co-op Factory, Camm Street, Crewe Cheshire.

SHEFFIELD
Counterpoise Collective, 69, Rustlings Rd, Sheffield 11. 683692.
Black Hand, 60 Bates St, Sheffield S10 1NQ.

LITERATURE

Anarchist Stickers
Designed by Cliff Harper.
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MEETINGS

'Stand together' - Easter demonstrations against nuclear weapons, 31 March - 2 April. Non-violent blockades of Burghfield Royal Ordnance Factory (men and women) and Greenham Common missile base (women only) from Thursday to Friday; human chain linking Greenham Common to Burghfield via Aldermaston Atomic Weapons Research Establishment (14 miles) on Friday morning, followed by mass demonstration with entertainments at Aldermaston on Friday afternoon; mass die-in in Glasgow on Saturday. CND, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ; Scottish CND, 420 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow G2 3JD.
Anarchist Federation would London anarchists and libertarians who have ideas towards the setting up of a network for coordination of information and resources please write Box F, c/o Freedom.

BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

Please add postage as in brackets. Titles marked * are published in N America (N American purchasers please convert £1- plus postage at \$1.60 US and \$1.90 Canada).

In Memoriam Arthur Koestler, Died March 1983

Arthur Koestler: Darkness at Noon (211pp ppr) £1.50 (31p)
Arthur Koestler: Arrival and Departure (190pp ppr) £1.75 (31p)
Arthur Koestler: The Sleepwalkers: A History of Man's Changing Vision of the Universe (623pp ppr) £3.95 (60p)

Alexander Herzen: Childhood, Youth & Exile (271pp ppr) £1.75 (36p)
Alexander Herzen: From the Other Shore and The Russian People and Socialism (208pp ppr) £1.95 (49p)
Alexander Herzen: Who is to blame? (275pp cloth) £3.95 (94p)
*Edward Hallett Carr: The Romantic Exiles: A Nineteenth Century Portrait Gallery (Herzen, Bakunin Nechaev and Ogarev) (391pp ppr) £8.50 (94p)

Journals
The Libertarian No 23 Spring 1983

(44pp por) £0.45 (19p)
New Departures No 15 1983 The Third International Poetry Olympics (64pp ppr) £1.50 (36p) [we can give full trade terms - plus postage - on bulk orders of both these journals].

The Bomb
John Minnion and Philip Bolsover (Eds): The CND Story. (158pp ppr) £1.95 (31p)
Vernon Richards: Protest without Illusions (168pp ppr) £1.95 (49p) [we can give full trade terms - plus postage - on this title].
Ian McEwan: Or Shall we Die? (32pp cloth) £4.95 (36p)
Ian McEwan's libretto to the Oratorio by Michael Berkeley - together with his highly relevant essay on the libretto - on the subject of Nuclear Weapons and the Arms race. [reviewed in FREEDOM Vol 44 No 5].
Laurens Otter: Serious Politics Begin with the Bomb (29pp ppr) £0.30 (19p)

Housing
Colin Ward: Housing: An Anarchist Approach (200pp ppr) £2.25 (42p) [New Edition from FREEDOM

Press - with a new postscript - Full trade terms - plus postage - are available on this title].
Sarah Eno and Dave Treanor: The Collective Housing Handbook (142pp ppr) £3.50 (42p)

Gianfranco Sanguinetti: On Terrorism and the State (101pp ppr) £3.00 (31p)
*Randolph Bourne: The Radical Will. Selected Writings 1911 - 1918 (Ed by Olaf Hansen) (548pp ppr) £5.25 (94p)
*William Cahn: Lawrence 1912: The Bread and Roses Strike (illustrated throughout) (240pp ppr) £4.95 (94p)
*Edward Hallett Carr: The Romantic Exiles: A Nineteenth Century Portrait Gallery (Bakunin, Nechaev, Herzen and Ogarev) (391pp ppr) £8.50 (94p)
*Wency McElroy: Liberty 1881 - 1908: A Comprehensive Index (cloth) £20.00 (66p) [Special price to FREEDOM subscribers. Otherwise £25.00]
*Scott French: The Big Brother Game: Bugging, Wiretapping, Tailing, Optical and Electronic Surveillance, Surreptitious Entry. (237pp ppr) (large format) £9.00 (94p)

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DEADLINES

FREEDOM Collective would welcome any readers who wish to help fold and despatch the paper. The next issue will be sent out on Thursday 7th April, starting at around 6pm. This is also a good time to come in 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 4th, longer articles in by first post, Thursday the 31st.

WILDCAT



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