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## anarchist fortnightly

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## editorial

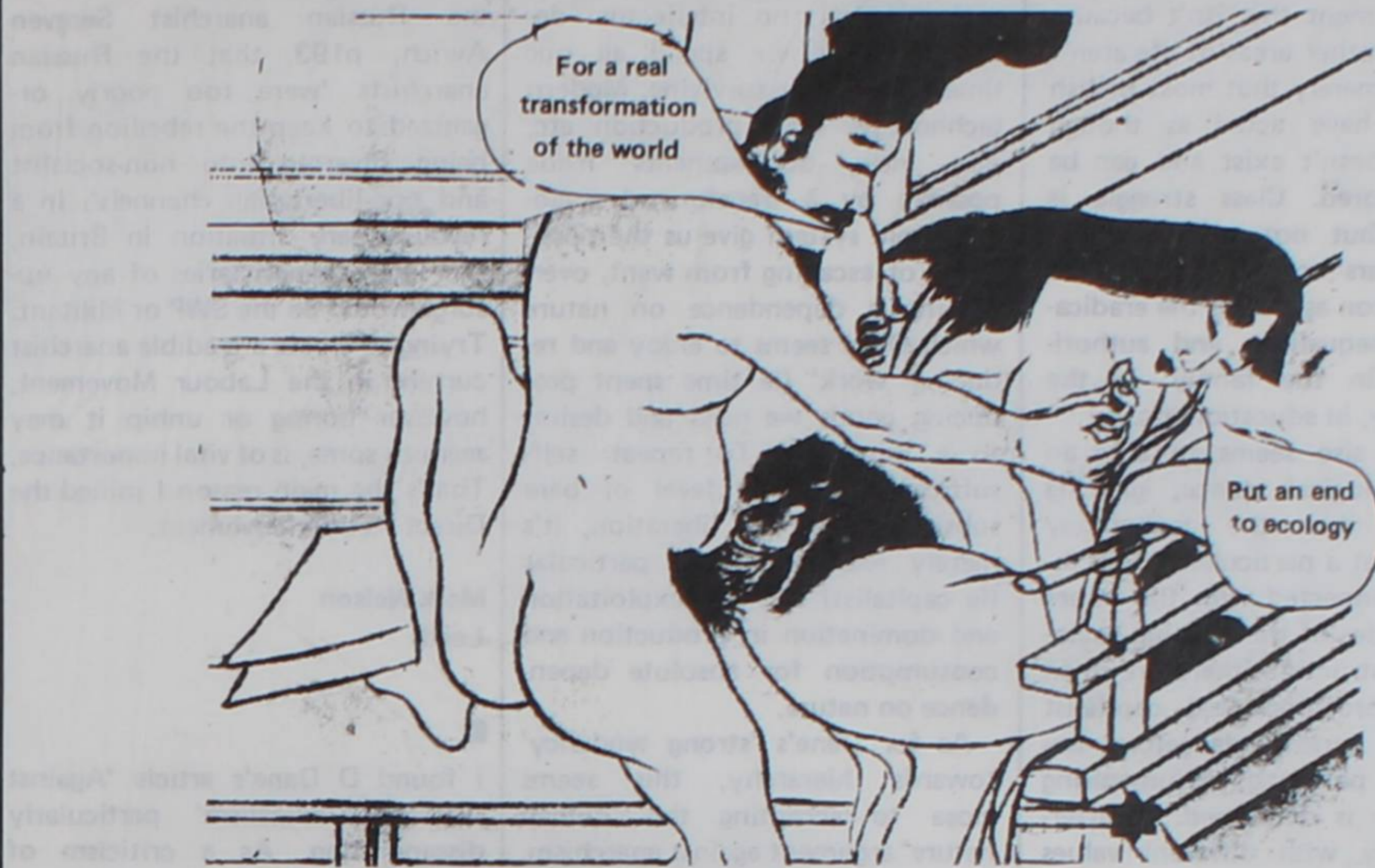
The easter protests throughout Europe and in this country have once again demonstrated both the futility and the sincerity of such actions. Governments have yet again been asked to soften the features of the unacceptable face of their warfare states in order to allay the public's fears of impending doom. And yet there is nothing to be gained by asking the state to do something for you, since what they give you with one hand they take with the other.

Ask them to remove American missiles from British soil and leave us without our deadly weapons! Do not build PWR nuclear reactors, but build us some safe ones! Give us back the right to govern our own bodies but maintain the society that denies this. Stop harming poor animals while testing cosmetics, buy your 'beauty products' from the shelves of health food shops.

Thousands of concerned individuals can pacify their minds quite simply by devoting the odd burst of energy and time to some oppressed minority, righteous causes, or saving seal cubs. The vast majority of these display an absolute hypocrisy in their day to day lifestyle and tacit acceptance of the status quo. Their expression, be it of support or protest, use those very forms and channels that mimic the state. Their structured organisations and neatly programmed solutions just a shadow of their supposed enemy. Maybe deep down they realise that they will change nothing, maybe deep down that is why they dare.

Anarchists should want everything, and they should want it now. For they are supposedly revolutionaries who realise the deceit behind empty reforms, not well meaning liberals who deceive themselves with such naive ease.

It is not possible to fragment the struggle against authority and expect to succeed. You cannot chip away at a monolithic state and hope that it will crumble. It needs to be destroyed by an explosion from below that will blow away its foundations, leaving it to collapse under its own weight.



# Anti Ecology

The ecological movement expresses an ideology of ecology. An ideology which functions as an alienating mechanism mediating between the individual subject and reality. On the one hand it creates a mythology, a conservative romanticism embraced by 'soil ideology' expressing a mystical attachment to ground, cyclical sowing, nurturing reaping. This is an apparent renunciation of industrial society. On the other hand it represents a mere refinement or 'purification' of the present industrial production a moderation of the worst political and productive centralism.

Ecologism manifests the bad conscience of the middle class (the mother of all modern ideologies) brimming with masochism of guilt and penitence, the protestant ethics of work and a fetish with survivalism. Pangs of utilitarian guilt are felt at the waste of materials and products produced by this society of poisoned abundance. In fact the whole concept of abundance gives the ecologist shivers of unease as if it isn't somehow 'right'. This gives an insight, ecologism is a function of the wealthy nations, this is a privileged guilt. In addition responsibility for the state of relative opulence in which we live is taken on the shoulders of individual ecologists, merely for existing in it, giving the flattering impression that they actually cause this state of affairs whereas in fact they are more victims than agents, and so guilt is futile.

The protestant ethic of hard work becomes a fetish in the ecological scheme of things, a living must be 'won' from nature, hard work is seen as 'healthy' and the useless backbreaking toil of the peasantry of earlier centuries becomes transformed under the gaze of the ecologist. Alienated labour is institutionalised as a natural state of things and is elevated to nobility.

The 'virtues' of property, artisanship, 'simple' pleasures are deified, but made smaller in compass, tighter. The ambit of living, of the world, becomes smaller, petit bourgeois, more insular both geographically and epistemologically. The de-centralisation of ecologism rather than

leading to a liberation of individuals leads to a more local control. The old centralism of power has become a determinant of its weakness and so domination can be exerted more effectively multicentrally in and by every individual. The social relations that exist under capital remain unchanged by this apparent decomposition of industrial society. For example the exchange of values becomes absolutely precise, a world of economy par excellence where value is accounted to the last penny, a miser's rationality.

The championing of 'simple' pleasures becomes an excuse for sacrifices and resignation. Rather than emancipating, this style of life enslaves. It holds no hope revealing in a state of constant poverty the eternal eking out of the time allotted, ending in miserable extinction when resources finally peter out. In the prism of private happiness a world without creativity, of puny minds and insipid, diluted desires is promoted as a liberation and a new utopia.

The 'back to nature' movement in ecology is an attempt to return to or to live out an impossible history in a world which either never existed or has been so totally transformed by capital that the 'countryside' becomes an artificiality (of unspoiled leisure areas and agribusiness territory) within which the only space available for ecological development are the cracks in its structure, the marginal and unproductive land.

In a sense too, ecologists seek to abstract themselves from history. This is a retreat, a form of egoism and escapism which denies the world. For individuals hope lies in the appropriation of history (the area of action and creativity) and thus the world; which has for too long been left in the hands of the establishment.

The obsession with 'natural food' indicates that the problems are seen as essentially internal and not as external in the social relations of the society of capital. For example, wholefood is seen as 'natural' and necessarily corrective to improve health and make one 'well balanced'. Considered as an alternative to the food production of capitalism there are however whole-

food shops where these products and many more 'eco' products can be bought (and with them the whole ideology of ecology) in the same way as any of the other dross commodities produced by capitalism. So by diverting dissatisfaction down acceptable (to capital) channels ecologism defuses potential points of conflict, a pseudo alternative is created within capital and a spectacle of dissatisfaction succeeds the real condition. In West Germany for example the Green movement has brought much of disaffected youth and the extra-parliamentary opposition back into the parliamentary arena and reformist politics, and in so doing increasingly marginalises those elements who do not follow the trend.

In the traditionally neurotic middle class manner some ecologists see the sanitization and sterilization of capital. With reference to the problem of pollution this could be said to be a laudable aspiration. However, this was an inevitable effect of industrial development, a necessary precondition to the development of the ecological mentality. As it is, the modifications ('small is beautiful', the production of more 'durable' or 'useful' products) imposed on capitalism by the ecology lobby serves to make it more acceptable to people, more 'humane'. And as we all know, anything that does not destroy the enemy makes it stronger.

Essentially ecology is both anti-metropolitan and anti-industrial, but one cannot deny the development of industrial society the dissolution of which on a purely practical basis is untenable, sheer weight of numbers would compel the starvation of large sections of the population, and for others scraping a living in the communal gardens of a block of terraced houses is not irresistibly attractive. It is necessary then to instrumentalise the machinery of capital, a tool by which individuals and collectives can transform their world. A means by which the unity of dream and reality can be achieved. In the society of ecology nothing is possible, whereas, in truth, everything is possible.

## Easter and after

The nuclear disarmament movement was not put to the test at Easter after all, because the authorities took care to avoid any serious confrontation during the four days of demonstrations. But this has only postponed the reckoning, not avoided it.

On Thursday, the mass blockades at Greenham Common and Burghfield were attended by about 1,000 people each, working in shifts from dawn throughout the day and then through the night, with hundreds more people involved in support activities; there was no trouble at all, the police making sure that work-people could get into and out of both bases without any demonstrators being arrested. On Friday, the 'Human chain' from Greenham Common to Burghfield by way of Aldermaston was attended by about 100,000 people, standing together continuously for 14 miles, often in two or more lines; there was hardly any trouble, the 200 women who climbed into Greenham Common being arrested and released without charge. On Saturday, the 'die-in' and public meeting in Glasgow were attended by about 4,000 people; there was no trouble at all. On Sunday, the 'human chain' at Faslane was



Balloons are released to mark the completion of the human chain in Berkshire on Good Friday.

attended by about 1,500 people; there was hardly any trouble, the five people who climbed into the base being arrested and released on minor charges.

The authorities both in Berkshire and in Scotland had clearly taken policy decisions to avoid arrests and serious charges, and to behave as moderately as possible. Some politicians and newspapers resorted to abuse, but nothing serious; one item was the accusation that extreme political elements were attaching themselves to the demonstrations—the fact is that they have been involved in such activities for 25 years.

**The debate on Anarcho-syndicalism**

Is D Dane arguing against Anarcho-syndicalism, modern technology or both? Why waste space criticising 'Trade Unionism' as such. Anarcho-syndicalists are as against it as anyone else. He produces the old 'straw man' argument. Anarcho-syndicalists 'see the problem of human liberation in economic terms'. If British Anarcho-syndicalists seem to over-emphasise the struggle at work, the need to abolish wage labour, commodity production and establish economic self-management this isn't because they think other areas of life aren't important merely that most British anarchists have acted as though industry doesn't exist and can be safely ignored. Class struggle is necessary but not sufficient. We need workers' control of the means of production as well as the eradication of inequalities and authoritarianism in the family, in the community, in education etc.

D Dane also seems to take an anti-technological stance, ignoring the fact that the technology developed at a particular time is inevitably connected with the values and priorities of the existing socio-economic structure, therefore in an unequal, profit-oriented capitalist society all sorts of dangerous, unecological, polluting, dehumanising technology is developed. A different society with different values and priorities would therefore produce a technology to benefit, not exploit, people. D Dane's call for small face to face communities brings to mind some pseudo-medieval commune where all is bliss apart from disease, superstition, unending toil to grow one's own food, make one's own clothes, build one's own house etc

(we don't want to use any of that nasty technology do we?) To quote from P Avrich's *The Russian Anarchists*, p190, 'Maximov scorned the sedentary Manilovs in the Anarcho-Communist camp, romantic visionaries who pined for pastoral utopias, oblivious of the complex forces at work in the modern world. It was time to stop dreaming of the Golden Age, he declared, it was time to "organize and act"'.

Dane's ideas lead back to crafts, unending toil, no intellectual development as we spend all our time and energy surviving. Modern technology, mass production etc, plus new developments made possible by a transformed socio-economic system give us the possibility of escaping from want, overcoming a dependence on nature which Dane seems to enjoy and reducing 'work' (ie time spent producing goods we need and desire) to a minimum. To repeat: self-sufficiency at the level of bare subsistence is not liberation, it's merely exchanging one particular (ie capitalist) form of exploitation and domination in production and consumption for absolute dependence on nature.

As for Dane's 'strong tendency' towards hierarchy, this seems close to accepting the 'human nature' argument against anarchism. To accept that any large regional or national organisation, however it is organised, is bound to degenerate into authoritarianism is to rule out the possibility of an anarchist society. One can't logically take this view and remain an anarchist. Finally, another quote from Avrich. Unfortunately these debates aren't irrelevant and out of date. We're

still having the same arguments today. The Anarcho-syndicalists 'always prided themselves on their modern outlook: unlike the quixotic Anarcho-Communists, they insisted, they did not pine for a bygone age of primitive agricultural communes but looked forward to a decentralized industrialized society incorporating the latest advances in science and technology', p239.

British Anarcho-syndicalists are trying to learn from history. We don't want to repeat the lament of the Russian anarchist Sergen Avrich, p193, that the Russian anarchists 'were too poorly organized to keep the rebellion from being diverted into non-socialist and non-libertarian channels'. In a revolutionary situation in Britain, the likely beneficiaries of any upsurge would be the SWP or Militant. Trying to create a credible anarchist current in the Labour Movement, however boring or unhip it may seem to some, is of vital importance. That's the main reason I joined the Direct Action Movement.

Mark Nelson  
Leeds

I found D Dane's article 'Against Anarcho-Syndicalism' particularly disappointing. As a criticism of anarcho-syndicalism it failed to improve on the abysmal standards set by NW's article of last year and proved a repeat of the condescending line of argument NW followed.

We are not the complete fools they seem to assume we are; we do see the workplace as a vital arena in which the struggle for social revolution is to be fought, but that

does not mean we operate in an industrial vacuum. We cannot achieve a libertarian society through industrial struggle in isolation from general social development; that this is not possible is patently obvious. The fact that Anarcho-Syndicalists are active in a whole range of issues proves that we do not have turned vision with regard to our priorities.

Once again the shortcomings of capitalist unions are supposedly applicable to anarcho syndicalism but the justifications given for this are vague and hypothetical. Similarly unsatisfactory is DD's account for the development of the factory system that is as naive as it is superficial.

Few people can doubt that the capitalist factory system subordinates and alienates its workforce. Anarcho-syndicalism applies an industrial and technological economy to a libertarian society in which the latter determines the former DD casts doubts as to the desirability of technology; technology, he feels 'can mould people's behaviour... to conform with it! - but so too can a society that has a retarded technology. Technology can provide profits and inequality or more leisure and greater comfort, it's all a matter of who controls, the State or the people.

With regard to DD's suggestions for an anarchist alternative, if indeed the writer wished to avoid laying down a blueprint then in that she/he certainly succeeded. I sincerely hope that at least the article fulfills DD's wish in stimulating ideas about new forms of libertarian organisation, it seems we are desperately short of them.

Ian Swain

**Blind as a Bobby and Anti-information**

I am glad I got FREEDOM for the 12th March. The article 'Blind as a Bobby' was very good. Of course, the City Police could cure the unemployment. But it would be better if they could only get new green uniforms, with brass buttons painted red, instead of that silly looking helmet, with that Roman guard thing on it. Couldn't they wear black bonnets? We would then realize that they were in mourning for all the people that are killed by 'accident'. The badge on the bonnet could be made of EPNS. In the middle of the badge on the bonnet there would be the £p sign, and give them all white walking sticks.

Before training, the advertisement for them should make sure they all have C levels. Occasionally they could be let out of the City. To stop the unemployed looking in waste paper baskets. Make sure the unemployed were properly dressed too. Collar and tie etc. And frisk an occasional one for fags. Bring them back to the Police station if they have the wrong brand.

Put up a proper flag over the Old Bailey. A white flag with a gold

'frame' on it. With a corkscrew in the middle. And when somebody appeared in the Old Bailey make sure the judge was a member of the honourable guild of Master Brewers, and paint out that crap over the door of the Old Bailey, about defending the poor. The poor should not be poor in the Welfare State. Anyone found guilty of being poor could be made to clean out the Guild Hall for 6 weeks, 7 days a week. The judge would know that thousands had been released from the poverty trap by Mr Chancellor Howe of the Exchequer.

There will be no end to the prospects of a lawyer in 1984. All the best to your readers and writers.

Zeno

First of all I would like to say that I very much admire FREEDOM and read it whenever it becomes available to me over here. In fact the purpose of this letter is to inform you of a project which a group of us here wish to initiate in Europe this summer and to request any assistance (definitely not Financial)

you may be able to give.

We are a group of Film makers who feel that images, be they film or television, are increasingly becoming the currency of Western Society. It is no secret that one of the main ways in which the authoritarian ideology of our society is propagated is through the image media. We feel it is time for Anarchists who have access to the tools of image making to start producing Anti-Authoritarian visual media. In much the same way that papers such as FREEDOM combat the lies in the power-media.

One of the first projects we wish to attempt is a survey of some of the main European urban centres and to film some of the 'direct action' type alternatives being practiced in them. Squatting of course comes to mind immediately but we are thinking also of papers such as yours and how they operate, Art, Music, Non-Nuclear groups etc. . .

We want to present Canadians with some real alternatives, ones which are being practiced successfully elsewhere by real people. We want to do this however in an anti-

media way, to try and produce images which make people question the authoritarian basis of our society. One very important thing we would like to film is the workings of a paper such as FREEDOM or if this is out of the question then maybe just talk to some of you about your objectives. Also it would be greatly appreciated if you could suggest any other ideas you would like to see a project of this nature express or put us in touch with other groups or people who are involved in one way or another with the struggle for freedom.

Of course we don't ask you to make any hard and fast decisions until you meet us face to face (sometime between June & September) but an answer to this letter with any ideas or information (information covering anywhere in Europe will be very welcome) would be appreciated greatly, our address is

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**Purist Anarchism and pure reviews**

There have recently been several letters from people suggesting that any interests other than purist Anarchism are diversionary. I disagree.

Historically 'pure' Anarchism has been a class-struggle to overthrow the State and lead to an Anarchist society based on Anarcho-syndicalist principles. This may be so but the Anarchist movement is not numerically strong enough, at present, to bring such a change about.

Anarchism is also THE ideology of total liberation. Hence if Anarchs want to be active they tend to join any liberatory struggle(s) they support. This may be the workers, peace, animal rights, feminist, anti-racist (or whatever) movement.

Taking the animal rights movement as one example, non-speciesist Anarchs are being attracted to it because it actually takes direct action rather than just talking about it. (Would CND sit down and stop traffic in Trafalgar Square or attempt mass NVDA in Downing Stree?) Some Animal Rights activists are also becoming genuine Anarchists.

Those who join our movement from such 'diversionary' causes soon realise that due to political and monetary vested interests nuclear weapons, animal abuse or inequality won't be stopped until there is Anarchy. Many then think about how to get such a society and turn to 'purist' Anarchism for the answer. So I think that instead of being

diversionary the presence of Anarchs in the various liberatory struggles strengthen the movement.

Like it or not, Anarchists are involved in many causes. So let's have no more of the 'more Anarchist than thou' attitude.

Let's respect the differences between us but remain united against our common enemy, the State. Surely that's what it's all about.

AMES

Michel Prigent was quite right to point out the error in my review of Sanguinetti's *On Terrorism and the State*. In the light of Sanguinetti's

thesis I accept that it was quite inappropriate to list the Red Brigades with the IRA, PLO and ETA in the context of alternative governments fighting for control with the existing governments.

In his final paragraph Michel offers us the 16th century Bishop of Ely's recommendation to always seize upon books with a picture of a cat and mouse on the frontispiece (the same logo which appears on the cover of *On Terrorism* . . .) As, in the previous sentence, Michel has already urged us to never trust a priest I am sure he will understand how errors and contradictions can creep into the most carefully prepared text.

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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.

On the evening of 10 March we stood in light drizzling rain with about 80 members of the Barcelona left, bureaucrats, press-men and photographers to witness the unveiling of a memorial plaque to the murdered anarcho-syndicalist leader Salvador ('Sugar Boy') Segui (1886-1923). Ostensibly to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of his gunning down just a few streets away from where we live, for us this attempted institutionalisation and 'embalming' of the syndicalist workers' leader remains as unsatisfactory, ambiguous and contradictory as the literature and facts concerning the man himself.

Even the facts of Segui's birth, nick-name and death—quite apart from the nature of his political legacy today—are a matter of controversy. According to the plaque, dedicated to this 'Defender of the Working Class', Segui was born in 1886 and died in 1923. Yet Murray Bookchin, for example, would have it (*The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years*) that Segui was born in December 1890 and died at the age of 33. According to Peter Sedgewick independent socialist scholar and translator of Victor Serge's *Memoir of a Revolutionary*, 'Sugar Boy' derived from Segui's fondness for sugar as a child; Bookchin, however, states that it was Segui's 'employment in a sugar refinery' which 'earned him a life-long nick-name'. As for Segui's death, even Victor Serge, a close friend and admirer ('Barcelona's hero of the hour, the quickening spirit, the uncrowned leader, the fearless man of politics who distrusted politicians'), gets his death wrong, in his *Memoirs* killing him off in 1922. (This error is uncritically repeated by Richard Greeman, translator of Serge's novel *Birth of Our Power*, based on Serge's and Segui's participation in the unsuccessful Barcelona workers' uprising in July 1917.)<sup>1</sup>

The ambiguity of Segui's life and legacy, theory and practice, are continued in the scholarly literature. Was he, as trade union organiser, 'essentially' or dominantly a reformist or a revolutionary, with all the (positive and negative, pejorative and honorific) ideological and political connotations these categories have, inside and outside the 'left'? According to Serge, Segui was that apparent impossibility, a libertarian anti-anarchist—and a revolutionary to boot: 'He was no anarchist, but rather a libertarian, quick to scoff at resolutions on "Harmonious life under the sun of liberty", "the blossoming of the self" or "the future society"; he presented instead the immediate problems of wages, organisation, rents and revolutionary power.' (*Memoirs*)

It is, clearly, but a short step from this characterisation of Segui to Serge's own practice as a 'libertarian' (critical) supporter of Leninism.

But if Serge was a fair-dinkum revolutionary, how do we explain Segui's consistently 'moderate', moderating influence on the policies and daily tactics of the National Confederation of Labour (CNT) of which, together with Angel Pestana, he was the outstanding leader? Symptomatic is his attempt to merge the CNT with the avowedly non-revolutionary UGT trade union, and his willingness to bargain and negotiate deals with bosses' representatives. Indeed, for Bookchin, Segui was basically neither a libertarian nor a revolutionary:

'Although Segui was familiar with Anarchist and Socialist writings, he remained above all a practical organiser to whom *comunismo libertario* ...remained a distant ideal. Revolution, in his eyes, seemed primarily a matter of organisation. A moderate who consistently favoured collaboration with the UGT...' (*The Spanish Anarchists*).

However different from Serge's, Bookchin's account and assessment at least has the merit of being fairly consistent. The same cannot be said

for that of Raymond Carr (*Spain, 1808-1975*). According to Carr, Segui was a 'devotee' [sic] of Nietzsche, a 'thinker' influenced by Nietzsche's 'aristocratic radicalism'. How anybody can be a thinker and disciple ('devotee') at the same time Carr does not explain. In addition to being a Nietzschean thinker, Segui was also 'an autodidact [sic] bred in anarchist cafes! To boot, together with Pestana he was, Carr tells us, 'strategically' a revolutionary: the two 'must not be considered as little removed from reformist socialism; strategically both were revolutionaries'. Thus making the old, untenable separation (beloved of Marxists, Leninists and left-authoritarians generally) between daily 'tactics' and long-term 'strategy' (the 'lonely hour' of the always-future revolution never coming), Carr is able to square the circle and present the facts of Segui's daily, dominantly reformist, collaborationist activities as other than, and opposed to, 'moderation'!

romanticises the latter by dodging the unavoidable, basic question this generated of the compatibility of revolutionary violence—including terrorism—with *libertarian* principles.)

Our discussion is in no way intended to be exhaustive. However, we hope this brief survey of the standard literature in English on Segui, his thought and times, is sufficient to demonstrate the ambiguous, contradictory character of the trade union leader's political thought, principles and activities—hence of his legacy. If the reality in question is *itself* intrinsically at best ambiguous and contradictory, we shouldn't find it surprising that these attributes are reflected in contemporary and subsequent commentary on his life and legacy. This conclusion is confirmed by a reading of Spanish literature on Segui—for example, *Salvador Segui: Materiales para una biografía* (Barcelona: Editorial Laia, 1976), by JM Huertas Claveria. Segui's political legacy by

Sartre; schools after Orwell; libraries after Freud or Brecht). It's rather the particular interpretation of Segui now dominant on the Spanish left (as expressed at the ceremony), and the significance of this for our understanding of the state of the Spanish, specifically left, politics today. For all our disagreements with Bookchin on other basic and minor matters, we have always agreed with his view of Segui as dominantly a moderate-reformist, naturally at home in the 'left socialist' wing of the CNT and the Spanish Socialist Party. In other words, Segui for us is *essentially* a Social Democrat.

It was for us appropriate therefore that the form of re-presentation and institutionalisation of Segui to the present public and posterity by the meeting's speakers and organisers, was as a Social Democrat. The meeting and plaque were organised by the Barcelona Sindicat de Quadres de Catalunya (SQC), in collaboration with the CNT, Socialist Party (PSOE) and local government authorities—the quintessential moderate Social Democratic mix/fix.

It is beyond our scope to analyse, document and detail the evidence for the essentially reformist, collaborationist, non-radical character of the organisations in question since the Civil War (Vernon Richards' *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* provides an excellent starting point for such a review of the facts.) Suffice it to say that the CNT and affiliated unions, for all their militant rhetoric, long ago lost any real revolutionary vitality, broken-backed as remains by their compromises during the Civil War, and the nearly 40 years of Francoist repression. On the other hand, the Socialist Party has never pretended (rhetoric notwithstanding) to do more than attempt to manage the existing power set-up more efficiently. This is particularly true of the present 'Socialist' government of Felipe Gonzalez. We feel it is thus historically appropriate that it should be this present (CNT-PSOE) Social Democratic coalition which is presiding over the historic economic, military, political and cultural integration of Spain into Western European capitalism—something the country has hitherto resisted for so long. (See Brenan's book *The Spanish Labyrinth*, and Franz Borkenau's *The Spanish Cockpit*.)

True, the speeches paid the standard lip-service to Segui as not merely a good, brave man (which he undoubtedly was), but as a beacon and inspiration in the revolutionary struggle for social justice etc, etc. There were, in addition to the local government and the unions, 'old-time' representatives from the past. But we feel it is in terms of the above perspective—the Social Democratization of post-Franco Spain—that the institutionalisation of Salvador Segui can best be understood.

#### Pat and Julie Flanagan

<sup>1</sup> Even the details of Segui's shooting are unclear in the literature. According to Serge, 'he was killed in the street, a few yards from the Ramblas, by the *pistoleros* of the employers' agency *Sindicato Libre* (*Memoirs*). The corner of Cadena and San Rafael certainly isn't a few yards from Ramblas. Richard Greeman is quite categorical: Segui 'was murdered by government scabs in 1922' [sic]. Gerald Brenan is equally explicit that it *wasn't* government agents: even after Martinez Anido was got rid of, 'the terrorism in Barcelona continued and indeed got worse. Even his removal did not end it, for his *pistoleros* no longer required his hand to guide them, but continued the war on their own account. Thus in March 1923 Salvador Segui was murdered in the streets of Barcelona...' Bookchin writes that Segui was 'probably murdered' by *pistoleros* of the Catalan manufacturers'

## The social democratisation of Salvador Segui



According to Gerald Brenan, the influence of whose *The Spanish Labyrinth* (1943) inevitably marks all subsequent scholarship (even if only by way of reaction), while the unions Segui and Pestana led were 'extremely militant and had ultimate revolutionary ends', the two were 'essentially trade union leaders', opposed to the revolutionary violence of Durruti, Ascaso and other militant activists of the anarchist FAI. Brenan in his discussion throughout his book makes no secret of his sympathy for the Segui-like moderation of the anarcho-syndicalists and his opposition to the revolutionary 'fanaticism' of Durruti and the anarchists. (At least this is explicit and honest. Bookchin by contrast in *The Spanish Anarchists* accepts Brenan's distinction between anarcho-syndicalists and anarchists, but dishonestly

its systematic ambiguity becomes a political Rorschach ink-pad or mirror. The different, more or less libertarian/authoritarian, reformist/radical, theoretical/practical individual and group streams which consitute the broad river of the left, can read in it those elements which most attract or repel them. Precisely to the extent that this is true, the dominant or prevailing interpretation of Segui's legacy at any time has great symptomatic significance for students of the left and its constituent elements.

If we leave the scholars and return to the sixtieth anniversary ceremony at the corner of Calle Cadena what is striking is not the attempt to institutionalise (hence make respectably tame) those who have attempted to oppose and change the status quo in any domain of activity (streets named after Voltaire or

# Greece

This letter is sent to inform you about the recent imprisonment of Kiriakos Moiras and his comrade Fotis Danatos. They were imprisoned on March 22nd 1983 for 12 and 14 months respectively because of participating in a demonstration which took place on April 13th 1982. This demonstration was organised in order for the demonstrators to protest against the tortures and suicides (murders) happening in the Greek prisons. During this demonstration a car window was broken because the driver of the car tried to disperse the demonstrators.

Kiriakos Moiras and Fotis Danatos refused to have a lawyer during their trial and spoke about their anarchist ideas. They told the judges that their anarchist beliefs were the reason for their prosecution and would be the reason for their conviction. The result was that they were sentenced as hooligans, though the minister of justice had announced many times before that this law about hooligans is obsolete and will be withdrawn.



Philip Kiritis at the time of his imprisonment

Kiriakos Moiras has been ill-treated by the Greek state many times before and he has already spent more than two and a half years in prison under terrible conditions. He was released on December 24th 1981 after 53 days of hunger strike together with me (Philip Kiritis) and John Scandalis. During the two and a half years of his imprisonment Moiras went on many long hunger strikes. Of course the state never forgets its opponents. It uses every opportunity to take revenge against its former victims.

Information about Kiriakos Moiras' past troubles can be found in FREEDOM No 18 Vol 42 (12 September 1981) and in FREEDOM Vol 43 No 4 (6 March 1982). We consider it necessary that our comrades abroad support Kiriakos Moiras and Fotis Danatos. They have both been on hunger strike since the 22nd March 1983 and they demand their release. A demonstration is going to take place on April 1st 1983 in order to support the hunger strikers. It will take place in the centre of Athens.

If it is possible it would be very useful if letters of protest were to be sent to the Greek embassy in London and to the Greek ministry of justice. It would be helpful too if letters of protest were to be sent to the Athens newspapers, *Eleftherotypia*, *Ta Nea*, *Ethnos*, and *Avriani*.

We give you the addresses of the ministry of justice and the newspapers.

The Minister of Justice  
Ypourgion Dikaosinis  
Zinonos 2  
Eleftherotypia  
Kolokotroni 8  
Ta Nea  
Hristou Lada 3  
Ethnos  
Mihalakopoulou 35  
Avriani  
Dimitros 12  
Tavros

For all the above read Athens, Greece.

Philip and Sophia Kiritis

Review of Asger Jorn Exhibition (1956-73), at the Barbican centre 15th Feb - 10th April.

# Asger Jorn



'The present exhibition' so the catalogue notes, written by Guy Atkins, tell us 'is confined to the period of Jorn's maturity as an artist, from the mid-fifties onwards... Besides oil paintings (some two thousand of which are recorded in the oeuvre catalogue) Jorn was a prolific artist in other media: graphics, drawing, ceramics, collages, as well as sculpture in bronze and marble.'

It goes on to mention Jorn's participation in the COBRA movement (Copenhagen, Brussels, Amsterdam) which lasted from 1948-51, but omits to mention that Jorn was also a revolutionary more than just in the realm of art, being one of the founder members of the Situationist International (in 1957). One of the main aims of which was to criticize and supercede art and the old, separate-type politics,

and its members had well understood that today's contending young artists, however scandalous they might appear to be, become tomorrow's Academy (this was still in the time when the possibilities for innovation in art had not quite yet exhausted themselves). In the *Internationale Situationiste* review (1958-69) Jorn contributed such articles as *The Situationists and Automation*, *The End of the Economy and the Realisation of Art*, and *Open Creation and its Enemies* in which he talks of socialism as 'the most complete liberation of the energies and capacities that are in each individual', examines the problem of automation and the perspectives for becoming its master not its slave (like the owners of this society would have us be) and proposes centres/places for 'autonomous creativity' as opposed to the sterile

rooms for the passive consumption of 'culture'. No wonder Guy Atkins wants this part of Jorn's writings and activity to be consigned to oblivion as it would, amongst other things, call into question his own role as the specialist/expert on Asger Jorn and his profession as an 'art historian'. Nor does he like to mention Jorn's participation in the Situationist International because the SI treat Guy Atkins book *Asger Jorn* with the scorn it deserves, (*IS* No 9) and call Atkins a confusionist.

Unfortunately none of the Jorn articles or the one mentioning Atkins are translated in Ken Knabb's lamentable *Anthology* if the SI (where he does not even give the whole text of the articles he has selected, as well as editing out all the pictures and illustrations!)

The catalogue in the Barbican library about Asger Jorn does

actually admit that he was a writer, and lets us know that 'All the works on display are available for loan' (not the paintings however!), and gives a list of the books - four of which are by Guy Atkins. But only if you live or work in the City of London (hard cheese to everybody else). However the most intriguing text about the exhibition was a small piece of paper stuck up with chewing gum on one of the stands outside the exhibition. It read as follows (I am quoting from memory):

### ATTENTION

Mr Guy Atkins in his leaflet about Jorn forgets to mention that Asger Jorn was a member of the Situationist International, a movement dedicated to the critique of art and separate politics.

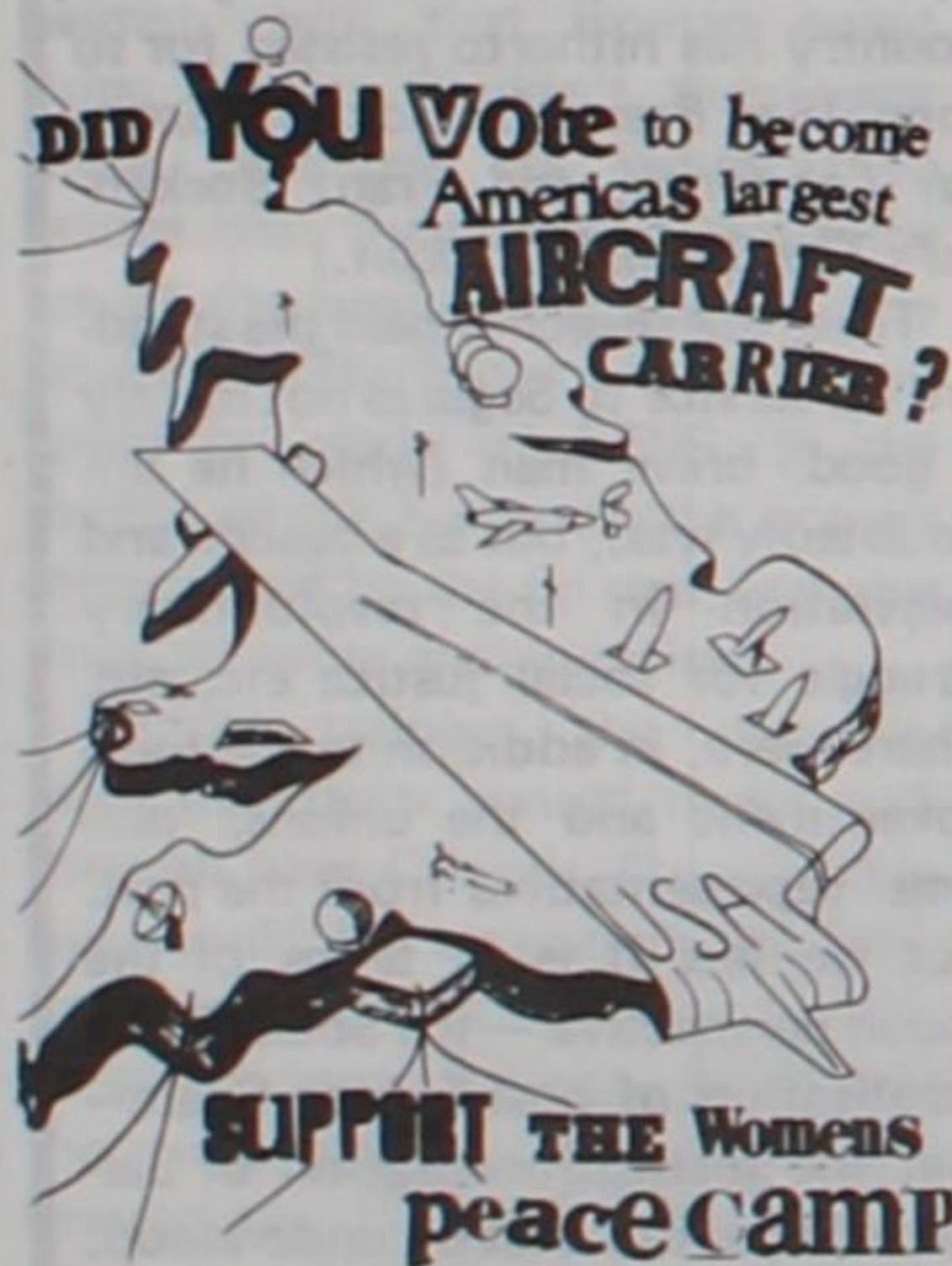
It is clear that Mr Atkins has failed to understand that the supersession of art is 'the North-West passage of the geography of real life', his North-West passage has obviously led him into the maze of the Barbican.

You might be able to tear down this leaflet, but you won't be able to forget its truth.

The most interesting book on display upstairs in the Exhibition, *Pour la Forme*, of which you can only look at the title page through the perspex case, and which has an article dedicated to the role of vandalism in Art, is not available for loan.

Anyway the paintings are very vibrant, and Jorn's use of colour is as invigorating as his passion for turning the world upside down and creating a new society - which is perhaps exemplified in one of his 'techniques' of *Modifications* or *Disfigurations*: old canvasses bought in junk shops which he overpainted like the one of the society-looking lady in her pearls to whom Jorn has bestowed an animal head - the gallery commentary calls it 'disturbing' - obviously even the Dadaist notion of UMOUR (without the H) has not yet been allowed to invade our insular shores.

Frances Parker



## Alan Albon reviews, The Greenham Factor and A message from the Falklands

*The Greenham Factor* (£1) is a beautifully produced pamphlet with a telling poster and including telling facts and quotations, published by Greenham Print Prop. It is typical of the new initiatives started by the women's action at Greenham Common. The non-hierarchical basis of the action, with its emphasis on 'What do you think?' and 'Do it yourself', has an anarchic side to it that should appeal to all anarchists. This may indeed be the factor that could ultimately reverse the authoritarian trend of society.

The other day I was reading *The Art of Seeing* by John Berger, in which he refers to the following story in Genesis, upon which is built much that is bad in Western society:

And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof and did

eat; and she gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat.

And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons.... And the Lord God called unto the man and said unto him, 'Where art thou?' And he said, 'I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself...'

Unto the woman God said, 'I will greatly multiply your sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee.'

As Berger goes on to comment: 'What is striking about this story? They became aware of being naked because, as a result of eating the apple, each saw the other differently. Nakedness was created in the mind of the beholder. The second striking fact is that the woman is blamed and is punished by being made subservient to the man. In relation to the woman, the man becomes the agent of God.'

Thus the whole authoritarian system of relationships was established in the Judeo-Christian tradition, in which the subservient position of women was to play a very important role in the establishment of the society that we have today. Women are not of course immune from authoritarian influences, as the prominent female politicians indicate, but the groundswell of anti-war activity among women who have so long been second-class citizens, but are now well aware of the consequences of our authoritarian society, shows the encouraging way things are moving at last.

## A Message from The Falklands The life and gallant death of David Tinker RN from his letters and poems. Penguin Books Ltd. £1.95

This is a sad, sad book, but it makes interesting reading for anarchists if we are going to gain an insight into the minds of those we speak to.

This is a tale of how people get caught up in an organisation for the wrong reasons, and without thinking through the ultimate consequences of their actions. The decision-making processes of the armed forces are such that a member of the armed forces is required to take part in actions, often of complete lunacy, with complete obedience. This is a situation that no intelligent person should contemplate. The reason that we have an unjust and violent society is that many people still place themselves in this position.

The early comfortable middle-class life of Lieutenant David Tinker did not require him to enter the armed forces, like so many of his less fortunate contemporaries, yet he ended his life (by his own standards) early, uselessly and needlessly.

Tinker was not a thoughtless person, and in spite of his orthodox education and his membership of a cadet corps, his observations of the stupidities of the military function came early in his naval career as a student at Dartmouth and his subsequent career.

In one of his last letters Tinker wrote: 'I cannot think of a single

war in Britain's history which has been so pointless.' However I think the First World War would have to qualify in that it was a Falklands many times over. A few men did say No. The tragedy is that it is not pointless to some who are making vast profits, or political capital.

Later in the same letter Tinker writes: 'Not only has Mrs Thatcher survived a political fiasco; she has covered up the military cost to Britain, (ten times what it will cost the Argentinians) and sent a fleet to do a job it should never have been sent to do; because of no air cover resulting in four ships sunk, four written off and more damaged. She has become a complete dictator, ordering war without consulting Parliament, and she is dragging the masses, shouting and cheering, behind her. The newspapers just see it as a real-life War Mag, and even have drawings of battles, and made-up descriptions, entirely from their own imagination! If some of the horrible ways that people have died occurred in THEIR offices maybe they would change their tone. Let us hope it ends quickly.'

Not only did Thatcher drag the masses into the war, she also dragged Parliament, including peace-monger Michael Foot, there were few who protested. It is no use just hoping these things will end, a positive step must be taken, and the cult of obedience has to be eroded. How was it his father, a supposedly intelligent man, did not question the useless occupation into which the son went? It is all right to be wise after the event, but we need more people to be wise before it.



*Freedom, Feminism, and the State* edited by Wendy McElroy, Cato Institute (Washington DC), £7.50 paperback.  
*Eve and the New Jerusalem* by Barbara Taylor, Virago Press, £9.95 hardback, £5.95 paperback.  
*Jericho* by Pat Arrowsmith, Heretic Books, £3.95 paperback.  
*Piecing It Together Feminism & Nonviolence* Study Group with War Resisters International, £1.50.

Here are four very different publications about various political implications of feminism.

*Freedom, Feminism, and the State*, subtitled 'An Overview of Individualist Feminism', is an anthology of American writings during the past century and a half. Wendy McElroy is active in the libertarian and feminist movements in the United States, and she is concerned to emphasise the individualist rather than the socialist tradition in feminism. After an introduction on the former from the anti-slavery movement of the 1830s to the women's movement of the 1970s, there are 29 items in ten sections on theory, sex, marriage, birth

on theory, sex, marriage, birth control, children, professions, religion, voting and war. Six are by men (including the old libertarians Stephen Pearl Andrews, Lysander Spooner, and Ezra Heywood), and one is on the great prophet of free-thought and free love Moses Harman. Among the women the most impressive are Emma Goldman (rather grudgingly included despite being a 'socialist-anarchist') and Voltairine De Cleyre, the Quaker pioneers Angelina and Sarah Grimke, Heywood's wife Angela and Harman's daughter Lillian — the last two being the most remarkable of all the writers included.

It is notable that the nineteenth-century writers are much better than the twentieth-century writers, and it might have been preferable to omit the latter. Certainly the early American anarcho-feminist movement is well worth rescuing from oblivion, and a full history would be welcome.

*Eve and the New Jerusalem*, subtitled 'Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century', is a doctoral thesis on feminism in the early British socialist movement, especially among the followers of Robert Owen from the 1820s to the 1840s. Barbara Taylor is active in the socialist and feminist movements, and is concerned to emphasise the connections between them, at the expense of the contradictions. As with so much work from the History Workshop movement, there is a great deal of fascinating material extracted from original sources, but not much convincing argument about its significance. The book is good on socialists who were feminists and feminists who were socialists, but not on socialists who were anti-feminist or feminists who were anti-socialist, or on confusing factors such as the freethought movement.

Where Barbara Taylor fails completely is on the lessons for the present, and here she could learn much from Wendy McElroy. The hard fact is that socialism and feminism are not the same and are often opposed to each other, and the missing factor of anarchism needs to be brought in to solve the problem.

The same is true of *Piecing It Together*, a booklet subtitled 'Feminism and Nonviolence' and produced by eight members of the Feminism and Nonviolence Study Group on the basis of six years' work. This contains much interesting discussion on the connections between radical feminism and radical pacifism, but it quite fails to answer the awkward questions. Are women less sexist or violent than men? If so, why? Is war the result of patriarchy? If so, how? Whatever the theory, why in practice are so many women opposed to non-violence and so many men involved in non-violence? What special part can women play in the peace movement which men cannot play with them? What in fact is the connection between feminism and non-violence?

The authors reject the forms of feminism which claim that women

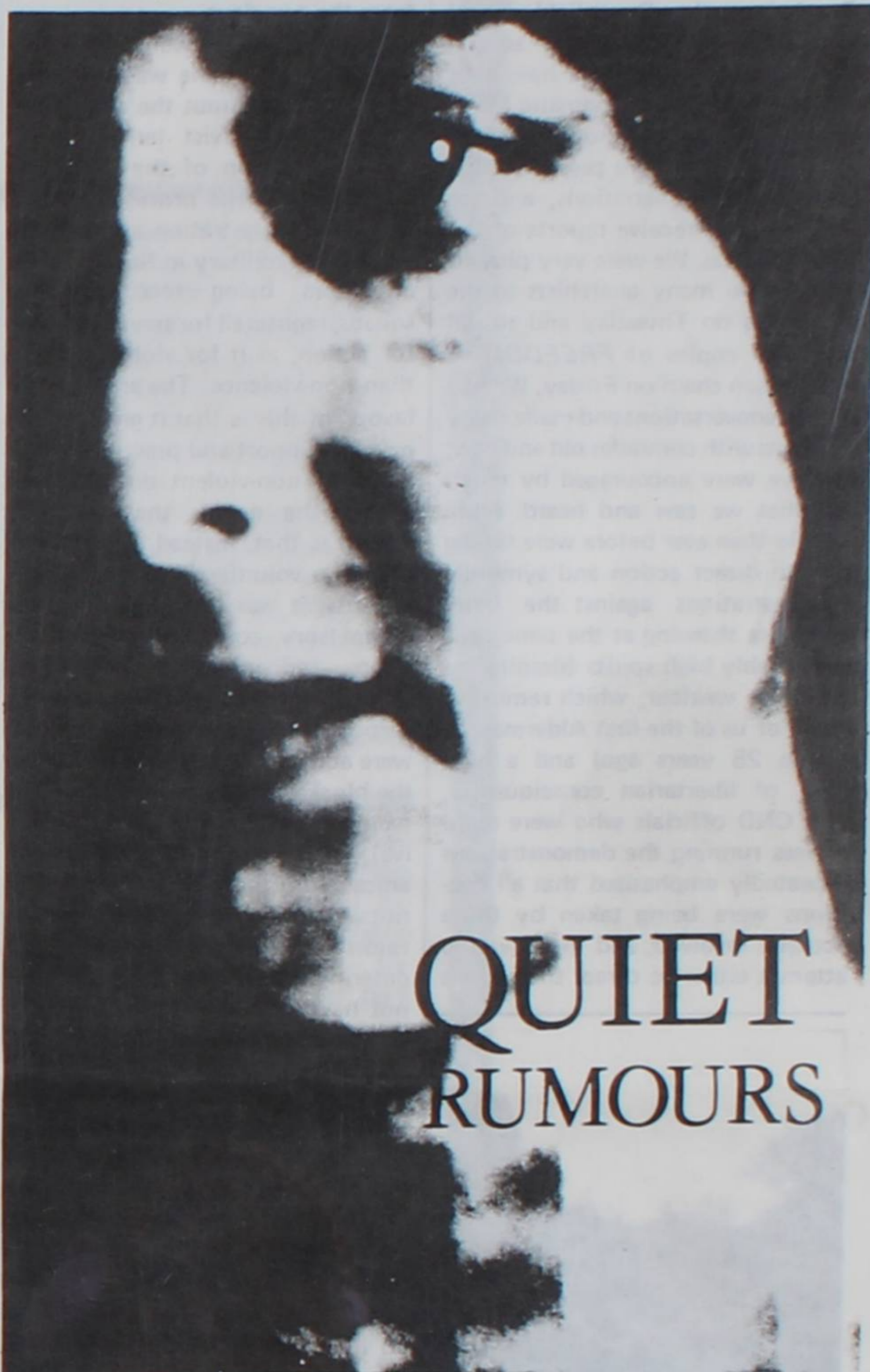
should take an equal place in the authoritarian state system or that women are naturally non-violent; but they fail to say what form of feminism they do want.

*Jericho* is a novel loosely based on the peace-camp at Aldermaston in Summer 1958, first published in 1965, and reprinted with a new foreword by the author. Pat Arrowsmith was a leading member of the old nuclear disarmament movement, who organised the first Aldermaston March at Easter 1958 and was deeply involved in the radical activity she describes. As a novel the book has little value; but as a fictionalised account of the sort of people and events involved in such activity it is a valuable historical and ideological document. Pat

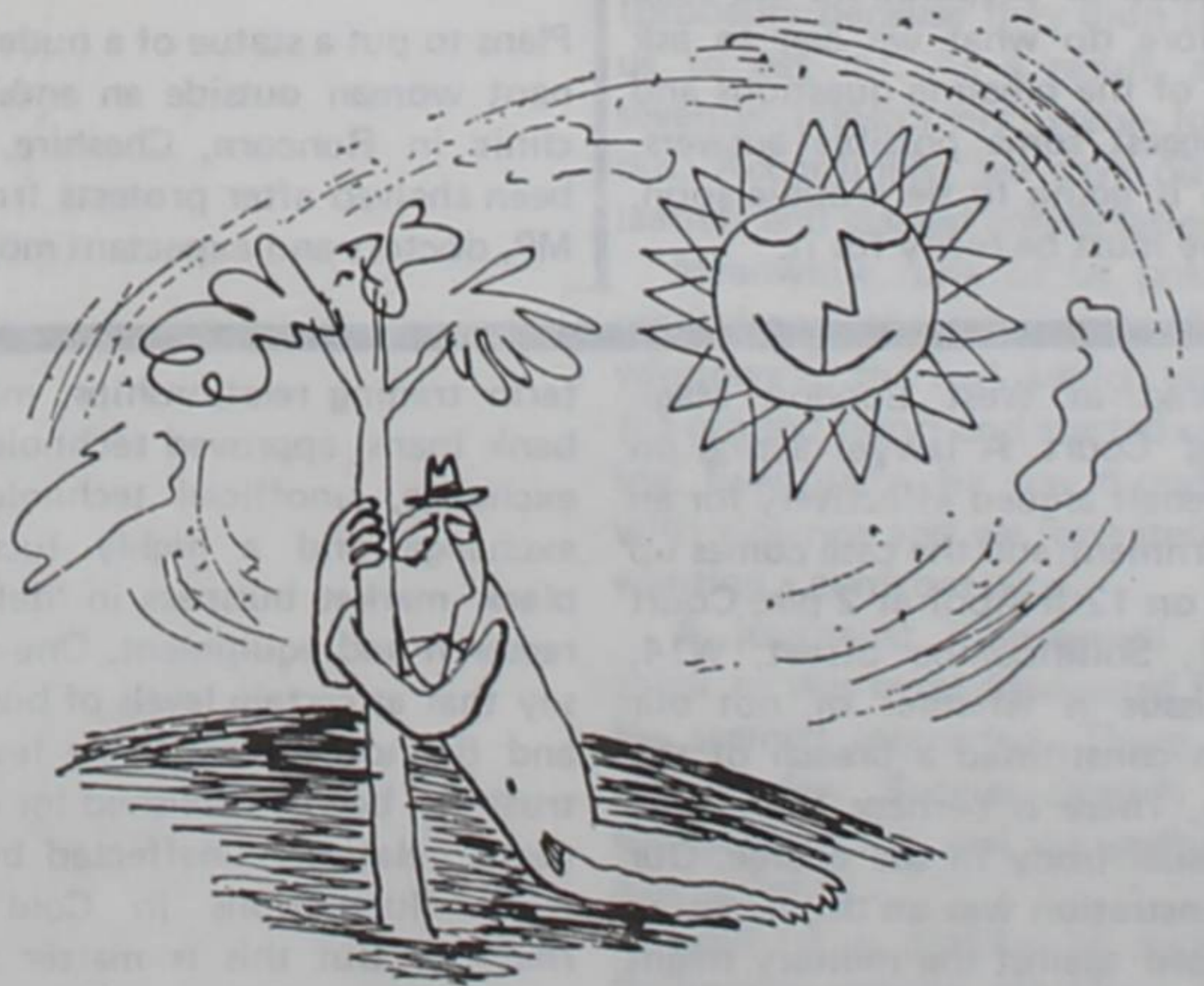
Arrowsmith herself notes how dated it is in its attitudes to homosexuality, feminism and racism, and it is also mechanical and melodramatic in its narrative; but it is one of the few books from the old movement worth reading in the new one.

The real answers to all the questions about the political implications of feminism lie in the political activities of feminists, women and men alike, who have worked together for the liberty and equality of the sexes as of all other groups in society. From this practical perspective, much of the theorising in these four publications seems very insignificant.

MH



*Quiet Rumours* (Dark Star, £1.50) is 'An Anarcha-Feminist Anthology' collecting half-a-dozen American writings written in the 1970s (plus an essay by Voltairine De Cleyre) and originally published in Britain as Black Bear pamphlets.



You are afraid of soaring, afraid of height and depth

Illustration taken from 'Listen, little man' by Wilhelm Reich

*Man's Search for Himself* by Rollo May. Published by Souvenir Press Ltd., at £5.95 paperback.

## Still looking

When this book first appeared in 1953, America, after having condemned the barbarity of the concentration camps and incinerated the populations of Hiroshima and

Nagasaki in the name of freedom, was fighting a savage war with the Soviets in the Third World for world domination. It had yet to suffer the humiliations of Vietnam

and Watergate.

Statements such as, 'We are confident enough of our military strength, but we fight defensively' ring with a strange naivete for a reader who has just listened to President Reagan's latest outburst against the 'evil' of communism, or who has witnessed the steady build-up of nuclear power to a point when each side could obliterate the people of the world twenty times over.

Thirty years ago Rollo May was to the forefront among people of the stature of Maslow, Fromm, Sullivan, Reich and Horney in reformulating some of Freud's central concept to make them more accessible to ordinary men and women. They made it possible for us to understand the problems of violence, loss of faith, drug addiction and existential despair.

The book retains much of its original freshness and impact but suffers from the retention of passages couched in the style of thirty years ago. Some re-writing would have increased its appeal today. For example, the first two chapters describe the forms and causes of our anomie — the emptiness, lack of purpose, 'other-directedness', the vacuity of T S Eliot's 'hollow men', and the desperate drive to maintain

the appearance of sociability while missing the joy and refreshment of real human contact.

The causes are seen to lie in the loss of those values that inspired Riesman's 'inner-directed' man, dramatically portrayed in Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, or in the compartmentalisation of life that leads to collapse as in Henrik Ibsen's *The Doll's House*: causes that arise in the breakdown of a particular form of society and in the loosening of the psychological and emotional bonds that had previously held it in a coherent form. It was left to Erik Erikson in *Childhood and Society*, Erich Fromm in *The Fear of Freedom* and Wilhelm Reich in *Character Analysis* to explore the relationships between character structure and the social process in the much more detailed ways that we demand today.

In moving from a description of our predicament to prescriptions for action, May convincingly makes clear the need for each new generation to detach itself from suffocating reliance on the parents and their values and outlines how this may be done without destructive rebellion. But there is an old-fashioned air about his description of the birth of self-consciousness, necessary to begin the process of detachment.

Self-consciousness is not some mysterious faculty or stage of growth: it follows from the child's acquisition of language and the transition from reference to himself by his name, as if he were indicating a third person, to the use of the personal pronoun 'I' and 'me'. The 'long-protracted period of infancy and childhood in human life — in contrast to . . . the puppy . . . prepares the child for this difficult task' of becoming a separate individual, but for the simple reason that it takes a long time to build up and perfect the intimate immediacy of linguistic association with sensory experience, especially in the internalised language of thought.

The quality of the self-consciousness is a product of the quality of experience and reflection, these being, in turn, dependent on the values of the society, the quality of the education and the models available to the young person.

Other topics covered in this book are Freedom, Religion and Courage about which May writes with grace and insight, using many felicitous examples. This is a book for those setting out in life, whether in a professional career or in some lifetime commitment like marriage. It asks questions that too often in the press of living are brushed aside or left for the indefinite future.

# Easter and after

(Continued)

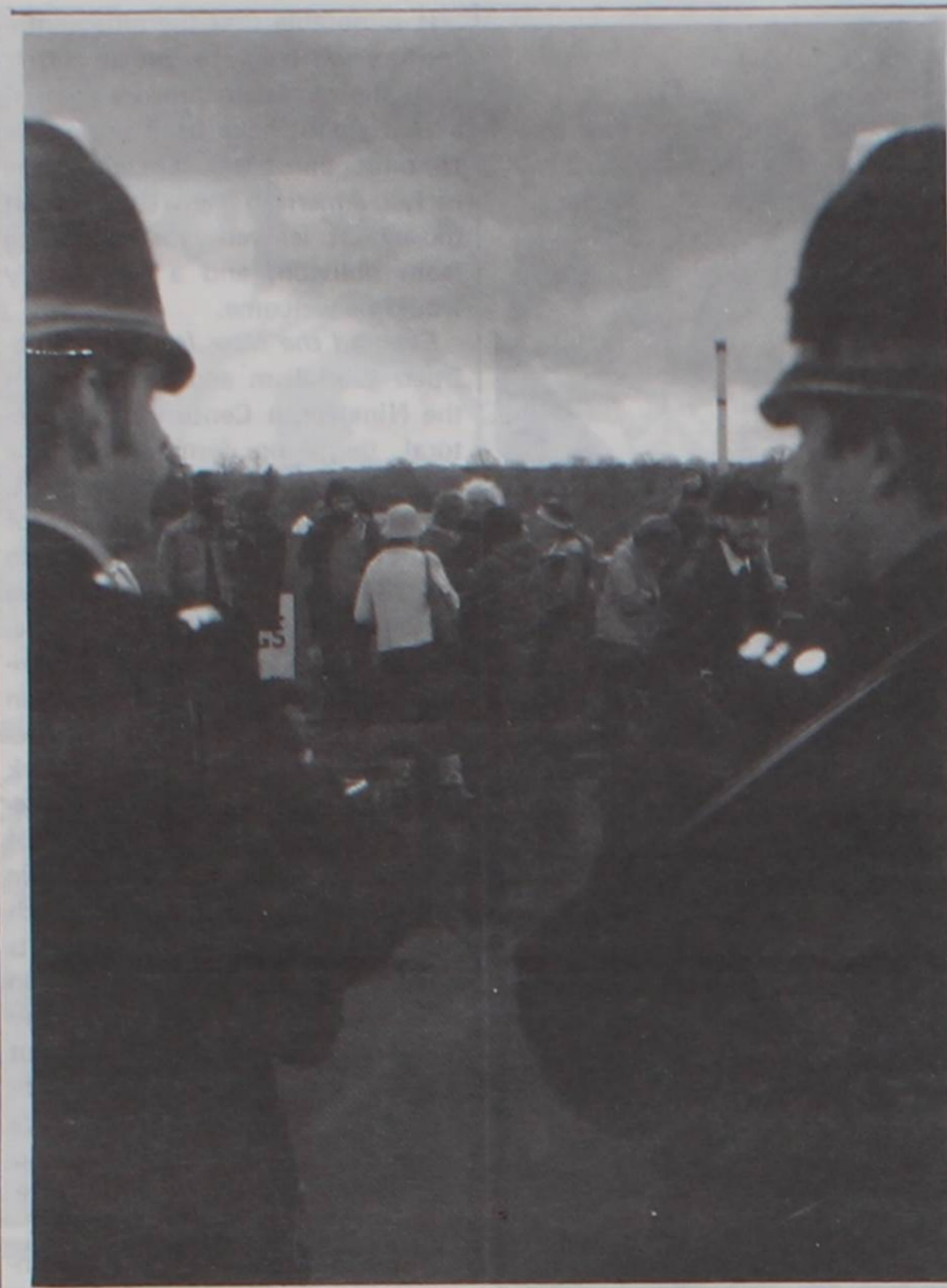
Perhaps the funniest single incident was the presence of Socialist Workers Party members with their standard banner calling for 'Jobs Not Bombs' at the Burghfield Royal Ordnance Factory, where several hundred working people have jobs making bombs; but dogmatic Marxists are impervious to such irony.

Several of us were present at the Berkshire demonstrations, and we also hope to receive reports of the Scottish ones. We were very pleased to meet so many anarchists at the blockades on Thursday and to sell so many copies of *FREEDOM* at the human chain on Friday. We had many conversations and made many contacts with comrades old and new, and we were encouraged by much of what we saw and heard. More people than ever before were taking part in direct action and symbolic demonstrations against the bases and were showing at the same time remarkably high spirits (despite the cold wet weather, which reminded some of us of the first Aldermaston March 25 years ago) and a high level of libertarian consciousness. The CND officials who were more or less running the demonstrations repeatedly emphasised that all decisions were being taken by those actually involved, and there was no attempt either to direct the actions

from above or to avoid the illegality of most of the actions. In general we felt that tens of thousands of people put a lot into and got a lot from the two days.

Nevertheless, we were worried by some aspects of the weekend. Our first worry is about the authoritarian and collectivist tendencies of the organisation of the blockades on Thursday. The process of group formation, registration and training was almost military in flavour, demonstrators being recruited into squads, registered for service, trained for action, as if for violence rather than non-violence. The argument in favour of this is that it gives people mutual support and practical experience of non-violent direct action before the event; the argument against is that, instead of being offered as a voluntary option for participants, it was being imposed as a compulsory condition of participation. Individuals and informal groups who didn't want to go through the bureaucratic procedures were actually excluded from joining the blockades (as happened to some members of the Freedom Collective), which seems absurdly puritanical. And the practical effect was not what was claimed; the demonstrators' treatment of workpeople entering and leaving the bases may not have been violent, but it could not be called non-violent with shouting, standing, and pushing of a kind which would have been unacceptable on the non-violent demonstrations 25 years ago, where self-discipline was a matter of individual commitment rather than collective training. We strongly hope that this unnecessarily rigid organisation of radical demonstrations will be relaxed in future to encourage as many people as possible to take part; and we particularly resent the misuse of such libertarian terms as 'affinity group' and 'direct action' in inappropriate contexts.

Our second worry is about actual nature of the demonstrations on Thursday. They weren't genuine direct action at all, since the police had no real difficulty in getting hundreds of workpeople in and out of Greenham Common and dozens



Members of the FREEDOM Collective being excluded from a blockade at Burghfield by CND officials while the police look on.

in and out of Burghfield. Greenham Common was working the whole time, and Burghfield was closed only for half a day; anyway, everything was back to normal after the weekend. So the mass blockades were just as symbolic as the human chain the next day. This doesn't matter, provided that it is properly recognised and that we don't try to deceive ourselves or anyone else about it. The next large-scale direct action is planned at the Upper Heyford American nuclear bomber base near Oxford, for the four days after the Whitsun Bank Holiday—from Tuesday 31 May, to Friday 3 June—and the important point is whether they will this time become real direct action or will again turn out to be mere symbolic action. In either case, much more work needs to be done with the people who live in the areas affected—those in Berkshire were volubly and often violently hostile.

There were similar problems on Friday. The human chain was magnificent, but it was only a gesture, and far too many people travelled far too long just to stand in line for several hours. The only good thing was that the following meeting had few political speeches, unlike those we have heard and heckled in London during the past three years. There was some good music, dancing

and theatre, but there should have been far more. The main difficulty was that the Friday action, unlike the Thursday actions, was insufficiently organised; for once it would have been good to have had some of the CND officials from the old days!

Our third worry is about future demonstrations. We cannot expect them to continue to become larger indefinitely; we cannot expect demonstrators and authorities to continue to behave so moderately with each other either. Yet there seems to be little proper consideration of the drastic issues at stake. Despite the approach of a General Election within the next few months, CND seems to be avoiding any formal support for the Labour Party. This is a welcome development, but it opens up the question of the political line of the growing nuclear disarmament movement, and no clear answers are being offered. We are glad to see the movement once again moving towards a major confrontation with the state, but we are sorry to see it doing so without adequate discussion or preparation. We shall, therefore do what we can to ask some of the pressing questions and to suggest some possible answers. There is going to be trouble soon, and we must be ready for it.

## ALF

Operation Valentine Trials Continue



A L.F. member with a liberated beagle.

The trials of 25 people on conspiracy charges following an ALF raid on Life Science Research Laboratories at Stock, Essex, on February 14th 1982, are currently taking place at Chelmsford Crown Court.

All 25 have been charged with conspiracy to cause £76,000 worth of damage, and conspiring to steal documents and beagle dogs.

The first trial of 9 people ended on March 15th with 3 people being acquitted, and the jury being unable to agree on a verdict on the others, much to the annoyance of the judge who seems determined to see people convicted.

Donations towards the legal expenses of those on trial should be sent to:

Operation Valentine Defence Fund, c/o ALF, Box 190, Peace News, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.

## in brief

Home Guardism received a lot of publicity last year, with proposals for various types of police irregulars, unemployed on Youth Training Schemes going into the services etc. Now, four 'retired warriors' have proposed the formation of a 750,000 strong army of volunteers to guard defence installations, fight back Soviet sabotage squads and generally help out. It is hoped that some of these would be ex-soldiers, so their expensive military training would not be lost to the nation. The proposers are eager to point out that this would all be 'official' and would have no resemblance to the 'private armies' that enjoyed a vogue some years ago.

Plans to put a statue of a nude pregnant woman outside an ante-natal clinic in Runcorn, Cheshire, have been shelved after protests from an MP, doctors and expectant mothers.



FREEDOM being sold as the balloons are released

## Soviet anti militarism



In Moscow on December 12th 1982 an unofficial youth group called 'Independent Initiative' held a pacifist demonstration on Lenin Hills. About 300 people gathered to take part. Placards were quickly confiscated and they were ordered by the police to break up the demonstration and leave the park. In the course of the next few days about ten supporters of the group were arrested and charged with possession of narcotics.

In London on 23rd March a number of us from Bristol staged a small demonstration against Soviet militarism and in support of suppressed Soviet independent peace groups. At about 10.30 am we chained ourselves to railings at the north end of Kensington Palace Gardens (No 13 is the Soviet Embassy) and displayed banners which called for action in support of hunger strikers Sergei Batovrin and Sergei Rosenoer, solidarity with the independent Soviet peace groups and freedom for Oleg Radzinsky, a core member of the Group to Establish Trust who has

been locked up since late October 1982. Our press release drew attention to the involvement of the Soviet state in the international arms trade:

'Last year the Soviet Union temporarily overtook the USA as the world's biggest supplier of high technology weapons. We want this business in killing to stop. It is up to ordinary people to make this change. For it is ordinary people in obedience to their rulers who make and use these weapons and are always their victims.'

Not many minutes passed before we had attracted the attention of the police, both special diplomatic and standard metropolitan varieties. After about half an hour of conferring and questioning on their part and our unwillingness to go away voluntarily, out came the bolt cutters and we were carried or dragged into a nearby police van. Though we were not formally charged we spent the next few hours in a police station in Notting Hill. After searches, more questioning and two hours in the cells we

appeared at West London Magistrates' Court. A lawyer acting on our behalf argued effectively for an adjournment and the case comes up again on 12th April at 2 pm, Court No 1, Southcombe Street, W14. The issue is whether or not our action constituted a breach of the peace. There is perhaps more than the usual irony in the charge. Our demonstration was on this occasion focussed against the military might of the unofficial 'official' enemy of the British State and one of our banners said no more than 'Look! This is a Free Country.' A not too inflammatory platitude you might think and a rather fuzzy photograph we took of our comrade Pat displaying this message just before her arrest may become a collectors' piece.

'Our role is to deepen and widen the political contradictions at every level.' I think this is a very accurate statement of our task. Behind the front-of-stage ideological confrontation between the governments of the USSR and the USA a murky play is going on. It involves long-

term trading relationships, massive bank loans, approved technological exchange, unofficial technological exchange and a highly lucrative black market business in 'defence' research and equipment. One could say that at certain levels of business and finance a remarkable level of trust has been established for many years, relatively unaffected by up-front fluctuations in Cold War rhetoric. But this is matter for a longer article. Readers interested in incorporating material on Soviet militarism into their own anti-militarist actions or leaflets please contact us. We can also send an address list of members of the suppressed Soviet peace groups. Write with sae to:

PAM (People Against Militarism), 13, Cotswold Road, Bedminster, Bristol, BS3 4NX.

\*In fact their fast had ended on 23rd March, partly in response to telephoned messages from END members in the UK.

# NEAF/NWAF Conference

This was held in Leeds on March 26th. Present were representatives of the various groups which make up the two federations, in all about 50 people.

Main result of the meeting was an agreed decision to hold what is hoped will become a national anarchist march on November 12th of this year, the Saturday after Anarchist Day (Nov 11th), probably in Manchester. Further details will be announced nearer the time and finalised after the next joint conference which will be the end of September, but meanwhile anyone interested is asked to get in touch with either federation and let us know if they are interested so as we have some idea of numbers to expect.

It was agreed that joint conferences should occur regularly every six months and whenever people feel there is need for one.

Regarding the general election

both NEAF and NWAF will be producing their own regional posters for distribution to all those groups and individuals in the respective federations who require them. It is hoped that this will complement the activities of groups locally.

Most people felt that the exchange of internal bulletins as it is at present is best left as it is, namely that the respective secretariats of each federation continue to exchange bulletins as they are produced. Any group or individual from one federation who wants copies of the other federation's bulletin mailed to them should write to the secretariat concerned and let them some stamps or money to cover postage etc.

A proposal by Doncaster Anarchist Group for 'twinning' say one group from the NEAF with one from the NWAF and vice versa as a way of improving contact and communication on a more personal level

between people involved in the two federations was felt something best left to individual groups if they so wished.

A discussion followed largely around anarchist involvement in the anti-nuclear movement. Most people present felt that although CND in particular was good as far as it went, there is a need for a grouping more specifically anti-militarist in its aims, something which would have scope in it for actions not limited to the 'nonviolent direct action' of CND and the current peace camps. There was some disagreement over this last point.

Addresses to write to for further information about the NEAF and NWAF are:

NEAF Secretariat, PO Box 168, Sheffield 1	NWAF, 31 Gothic St, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead, Merseyside.
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# It's a LAF

Recently some people have been suggesting the unoriginal idea of a London Anarchist Federation. There have been Federations in the past, but unfortunately on each occasion they have eventually wound up, after varying degrees of success.

But once again we feel that there is both a need and a justification for the emergence of a Federation now. We feel this way because nearly all those contacted, and maybe some who weren't, agree that for the anarchist movement even to call itself a movement today is a stagnant, hypocritical joke.

Anyhow we won't waste space on slugging others and ourselves into the ground. It all comes down to our belief that a Federation of London Anarchists would help unite all those groups and individuals who may now feel to a certain extent isolated and ineffective.

Here are some of the possible aims:

- To get together with people who want to do something in London to discuss ideas and possibilities.
- To co-ordinate skills, abilities and resources of London anarchists.
- To make sure struggles are not forgotten after the news media no

- longer use them for sales.
- To aid communications between London anarchists.
- To work together regardless of personality conflicts, and help to reduce those already existing.
- To promote anarchist projects.
- To encourage every anarchist to become active.
- To supply our own initiatives and promote action rather than reaction.
- The first meeting for everybody interested will be at the Metropolitan Pub, 95 Farringdon Road, EC1 at 8.00 pm, Saturday 23rd April. Nearest tube: Farringdon underground station, buses: 243, 55, 63, 5, 221, 259, 18.

# Darlington and Burghfield

The letter from Liverpool Anarchist Group suggests debate on Anti-vote campaigning at Bye-Elections.

I've sent this account of a small piece of action taken by six anarchists at Darlington. It is of interest because of its relative success considering that only one of us had done this type of thing before, and the few recourses and energy we used.

Foot was speaking at a meeting on the night of the 11th March. We wrote four different kinds of leaflet, reflecting our different approaches and ideas, and printed about a hundred of each. We ordered some posters, and made some stickers.

Arriving about an hour before the meeting, we gave leaflets out outside. Some up-holder of free speech, wearing red rosettes, told us to stop but we refused.

They closed the door early (probably because they didn't want us to get in). As a result, about seventy late-comers were locked out. Accordingly, we gave out our leaflets and started conversations.

Meanwhile, one of us poked a megaphone through one of the windows of the hall (which was on the ground floor) and started speaking. Eventually, he was threatened with violence and we retreated, not wanting a confrontation.

A journalist interviewed us. I think he was from Associated Press. He seemed interested. There were also a few Special Branch men snooping about, but no uniformed pigs as yet.

Four of us decided to do some fly-posting around the town, while

the other two would use the megaphone from the car, which they parked outside the main door.

The fly-posting was quite successful. None of us had done this before. We got about twenty up, many on the main street.

Meanwhile, we overheard people going past, talking of 'a bunch of anarchists disrupting Footy'. We left leaflets in telephone boxes and stuck stickers on the windows.

There was a short column about us in our local paper the next day. We had made our presence felt in Darlington, and it was good practice for a group of inexperienced teenagers for future activities. Hope this is useful.

### John

You might like to know that on Thursday 31st March, 1983, the day of the Burghfield Blockade, seven of PAM staged an impromptu poster parade at 1 pm outside the main gate of AWRE Aldermaston. Our banners were comical/ridiculous and said things like 'Make Bread Not Bombs', 'Bollocks to the Bomb', 'Stockbrokers Against the Bomb' and 'Troops Out of the World'. No members of the public were around at the time but one of the MOD police came over and we exchanged a few words. I told him that we would like the Research Establishment to be closed down. He said it already was - 'for the weekend'. I said we wanted permanent closure and he said he'd pass on the message. A bit later he came back with a colleague and

they closed the two large gates! This pleased us no end and we were able to enjoy the surprised expressions of the bigwigs or 'skeleton staff' or whatever they were - signalling left to enter the car park only to find the gates shut against them. This gave us a chance to approach with smiles and leaflets which we were able to say with some honesty were about Soviet weapons! (All we had with us was the press release from our recent demo at the Soviet Embassy.) Then quite unexpectedly our numbers were increased by the arrival of about 20 young boys on wide-tired bicycles who posed for photographs, did cycling tricks and made faces through the fence. This prompted the MOD man to come out again and padlock the gates. He responded wryly to our jeers and said 'You've won!' We were also photographed by someone who said he took stills for the BBC for use as programme captions and credits. The mind boggles. All of this was quite a lot of fun and raised our spirits - and mildly inconvenienced some very nasty people. Conclusion: spontaneity is a good idea. Incidentally this N/V demonstration was unintentionally exclusively male - as pointed out by our comrade Pat, the only woman present.

We recommend others within reach of Aldermaston to try surprise tactics. It doesn't have to become a heavy scene.

Peter Ford  
PAM

# In brief

Joao Camossa, leader of Portugal's Monarchist Party, is reported to describe himself as an 'anarcho-communist'.

The Chinese Peoples Music Press is upset. 'In the capitalist world rock dances are frequent. In this setting rock music mixes with drinking, drug abuse, violence and homosexuality. A rock dance actually is mad chaos at which people riot. For this reason, police are present at every rock dance to prevent an accident.'

The Soviet government has finally

criticised Iran for its oppression of Tudeh, the Communist Party. Tudeh has been opportunistically currying favour with the regime since the Revolution. It has done them no good.

A representative of Lufthansa in Istanbul has been given a three year prison sentence because the company had an old globe with references to Kurdistan and Pontas, which was a separatist region after the First World War.

A couple of suggestions to reduce the inefficiency inherent in the jury

system. The chairperson of the Law Commission thinks that complicated cases need special assessors'. For example 'it was difficult to get the British bosom into a sufficiently tranquil state to discuss this great subject'. He was talking about fraud. If his idea catches on, he thinks it might be extended, for example to cases of sexual abuse against children. The Lord Chancellor also thinks that fraud is too difficult for the average person to judge, 'There are no human beings in this country except a few very highly selected ones who could give their time' (to these long cases).

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 Bookshop, 36 Botany  
Rd, Alexandria 2015, Sydney

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 Resour-  
ce 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**  
Revolusionair anarchistes Kollektif, c/o  
Zwart & Rood, PO Box 546, B-9000  
Gent, Belgium.

**DENMARK**  
Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe,  
Meljigade 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 Betlejewski, age 22, Ulpolnana  
30/37, 09 402, Plock, Poland.

SPITSBERGEN

Stephen W Holland, age 27, 2 Glycer-  
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.

Sprangkullsgatan 19A, S — 411 23  
Goteborg, Sweden. Tel 031-130065

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**  
Malicious 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 06457.

**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 Federa-  
tion, PO Box 21071, Washington DC  
20009.

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Feminist Anthology. (72pp ppr)  
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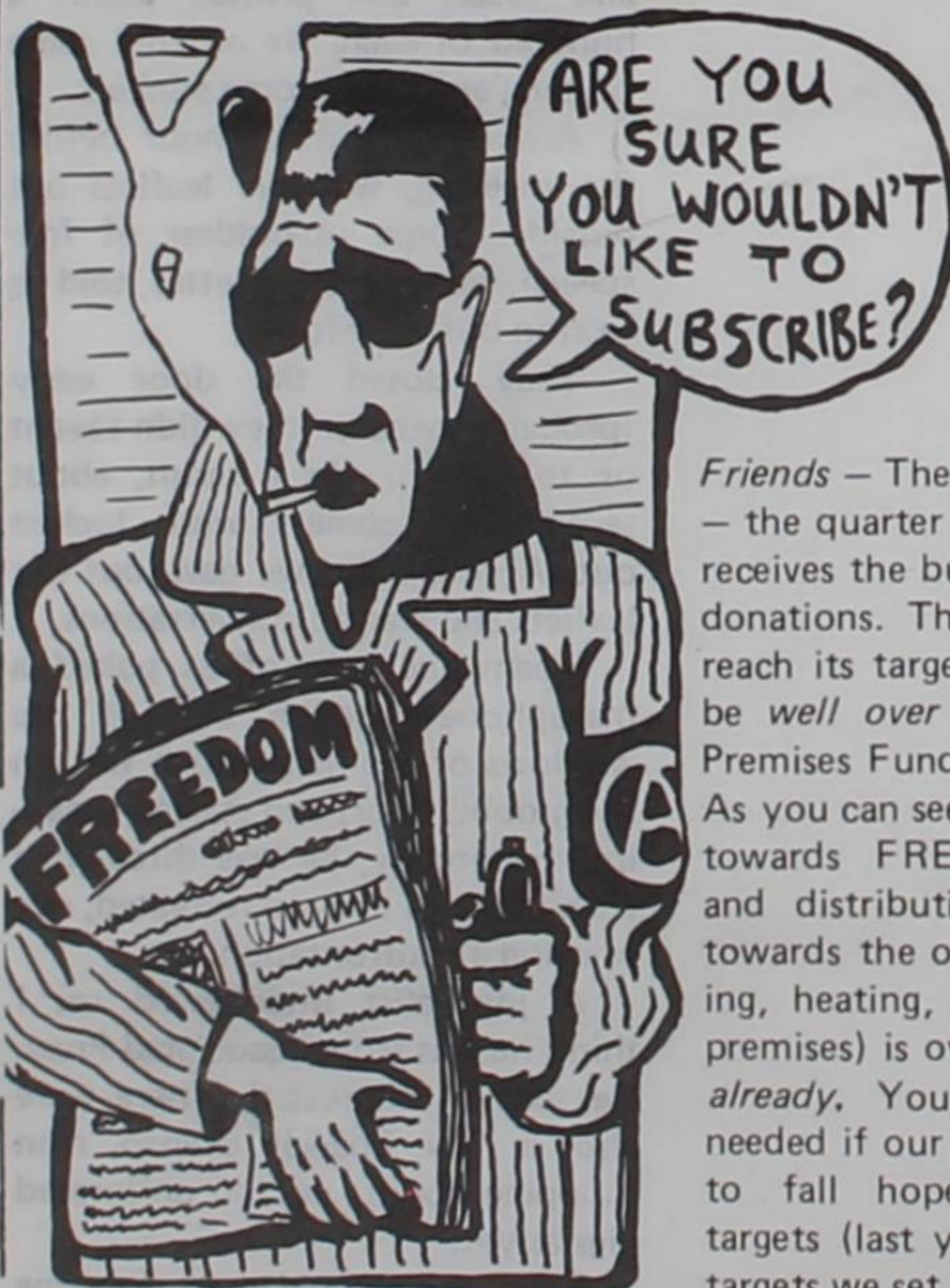
TOTAL = £56.73  
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TARGET FOR 1983 = £1500!

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donations. The Deficit Fund — to  
reach its target *ought* therefore to  
be *well over* £500 by now! The  
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As you can see each fund — the one  
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*already*. Your urgent support is  
needed if our support funds are not  
to fall hopelessly behind their  
targets (last year we met *both* the  
targets we set ourselves — just!).

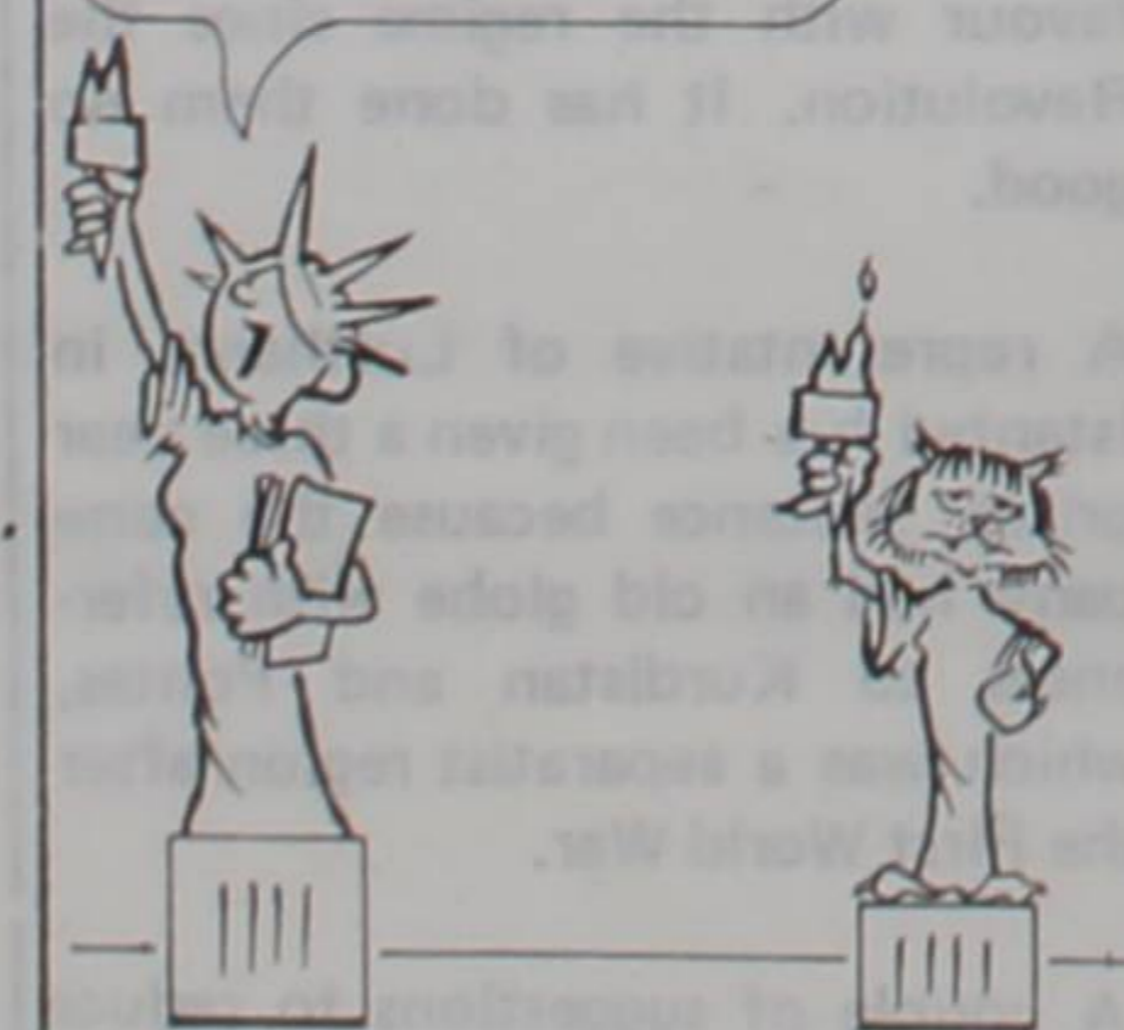
DEADLINES

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 21st April, starting at around  
6pm. This is also a good time to  
come and meet the editors.

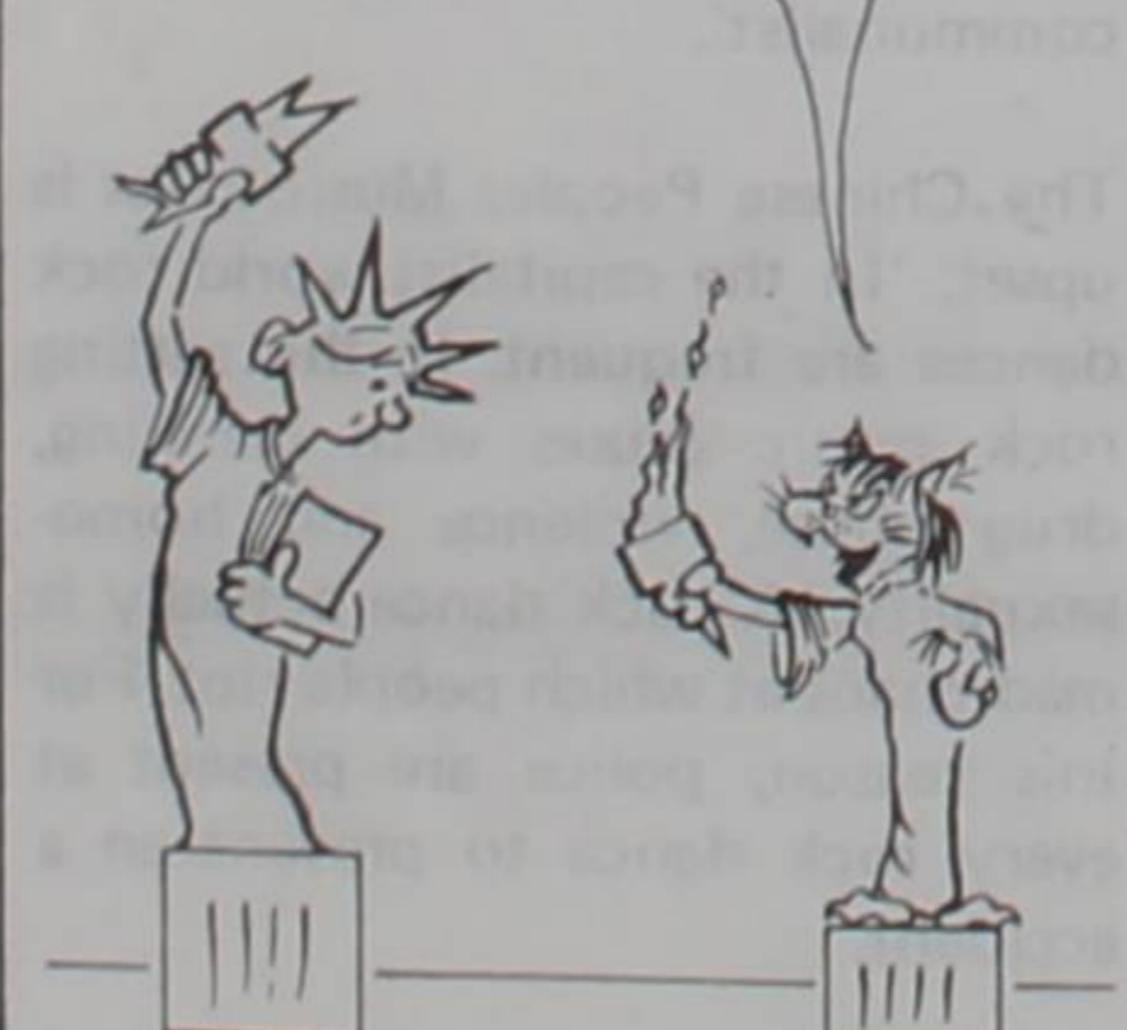
FREEDOM also needs your written  
contributions and any graphics or  
photographs readers feel would be  
useful to us. Copy deadline for  
short items for the next issue is  
first post, Monday 18th April.  
Longer articles in by first post,  
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WILDCAT

Speech is freer in the United States  
than in any other country.



May I say something??



Certainly not. You're not in the  
United States, and we don't encourage  
freedom in other places.



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