

# FREEDOM

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## editorial

There is this much to be said for Margaret Thatcher: that our experience with her in power is enough to squash forever those spurious arguments about how much, in the name of equality, we need to have 300 women MPs, and how those feminine qualities we all know and love — like soft gentleness, compassion, intuition and unselfishness, etc, etc, bear as much relationship to universal truth as does macho male behavioural myths.

So the Matriarch can behave like a Patriarch. The Mother of Two who wept briefly when her son was thought lost in the Sahara, when it comes down to it, can boast proudly that she has the courage to press the button — no doubt from the imagined safety of a bunker specially prepared for her and her specially selected acolytes — the yes-men with which she determinedly surrounds herself.

Rather than ask where's the difference, we should instead seek the reason for the similarity between the Matriarch and the Patriarch. The answer is of such simplicity that only those determinedly bemused by politics can pretend not to see it: POWER!

All those who took part in last week's pantomime pretend that their candidate, if they were in a supportive role, or they themselves if they were contenders, would behave differently if they found themselves in a position of authority. If they really believed that, they would not be seeking authority in the first place!

It is the possession of power over others that is the cause of corruption in human relationships, and although the feminists are right in seeing male domination in so many situations, it is the *domination* itself that is wrong, not the sex of the individual, nor the colour of his/her skin, nor any other characteristic over which they can have no control.

For making this clear, our anarchy-feminist sisters should be delighted with the re-election of Mrs Thatcher, whose cynical use of every hype in the book during her campaign has underlined the anarchist case just as surely as the next few years will destroy the 'straight' feminist generalisations.

Unhappily, those are not all that will be destroyed in the next few years. Many more will suffer; many illusions will be shattered.

If that includes the main illusion, that's no bad thing!

# Back to Reality!

So at last that's all over, and here we are more or less back where we started. In the 1983 General Election there was more concentration by all campaigners on the mass media, there was more polarisation of issues, there was more proliferation of parties, and there was a more decisive result than since the Second World War; yet there has been hardly any significant alteration in the real facts of political life.

The first thing to note is that, despite the major landslide in the distribution of seats in the House of Commons, there has been only a minor shift in the behaviour of the voters in the country since 1979.



The main changes are that about 3 million votes were lost by the Labour Party, about 1 million votes were lost by the Conservative Party, and about 3 million votes were gained by the Alliance of the Liberal and Social Democrat parties. But because of the old-fashioned electoral system in Britain, the effect of these changes is that nearly 40 seats lost by Labour went not to the new third party but to the Conservative Government, which therefore has a much larger majority of seats although a rather smaller minority of votes than in 1979.

Thus the Conservatives have won 397 seats — more than since 1935, though they won 410 seats as recently as 1970. Labour have won 209 seats — fewer than since 1935 — and fewer votes than since 1918. The Labour Party has been losing votes since 1951, but for the first time it has lost against all the other main parties and has been reduced to its basic constituencies — the poor, the old, the blacks, the unemployed, the claimants, the council tenants. The trade unions, which have provided almost all its financial support for all its life, must begin wondering whether it is worth it — especially when so many of their members vote for other parties. Yet because the 8.4 million Labour voters tend to be concentrated in the traditional areas of working-class urban constituencies, there are still more than 200 Labour seats in the new Parliament — whereas the Alliance, whose 7.8 million voters are evenly spread around the country, has won only 23 seats. The other 21 seats have gone to the Ulster parties and to the Irish, Scottish and Welsh nationalists. The rise of the SDP since 1981 means

barring unforeseen accidents, the Conservatives will have complete control of Parliament for up to five years.

But the second thing to note is that, although the electorate is larger than in 1979 (42 rather than 41 million), about 1 million fewer people voted (30 rather than 31 million). Indeed the non-voters actually got into second place, and are now pushing the Conservatives hard for the first place. Expressed in percentages of the electorate (which doesn't count the unknown but large number of people who don't put their name on the register), the results of the 1979 and 1983 General Elections are as follows:

1979	
Conservative	33.3
Labour	28.0
Non-voters	24.0
Liberal	10.5
Others	4.2

1983	
Conservative	30.8
Non-voters	27.3
Labour	20.1
Alliance	18.4
Others	3.4

This means about 11.5 million adults don't think that any party is worth voting for, or that any government is worth supporting. The politicians and the media ignore this interesting fact, and it is hardly ever mentioned in the results of public opinion surveys. But it is not just a reflection of apathy or ignorance or confusion. More and more people are deciding that it doesn't really make much difference which party wins an election or what the Government does.



The third thing to note is that these people are right. We may dislike Margaret Thatcher, we may dislike David Steel and Roy Jenkins, and all of them more than Michael Foot, but they are much the same as each other in Parliament and especially in Government. The left generally claims that the Conservatives endanger liberty, equality and fraternity, and particularly accuses the Thatcher Government of oppressing the poor, the ill, the old, the young, the women, the blacks, the unemployed, the homeless, and so on. But the truth is that Government behaviour scarcely



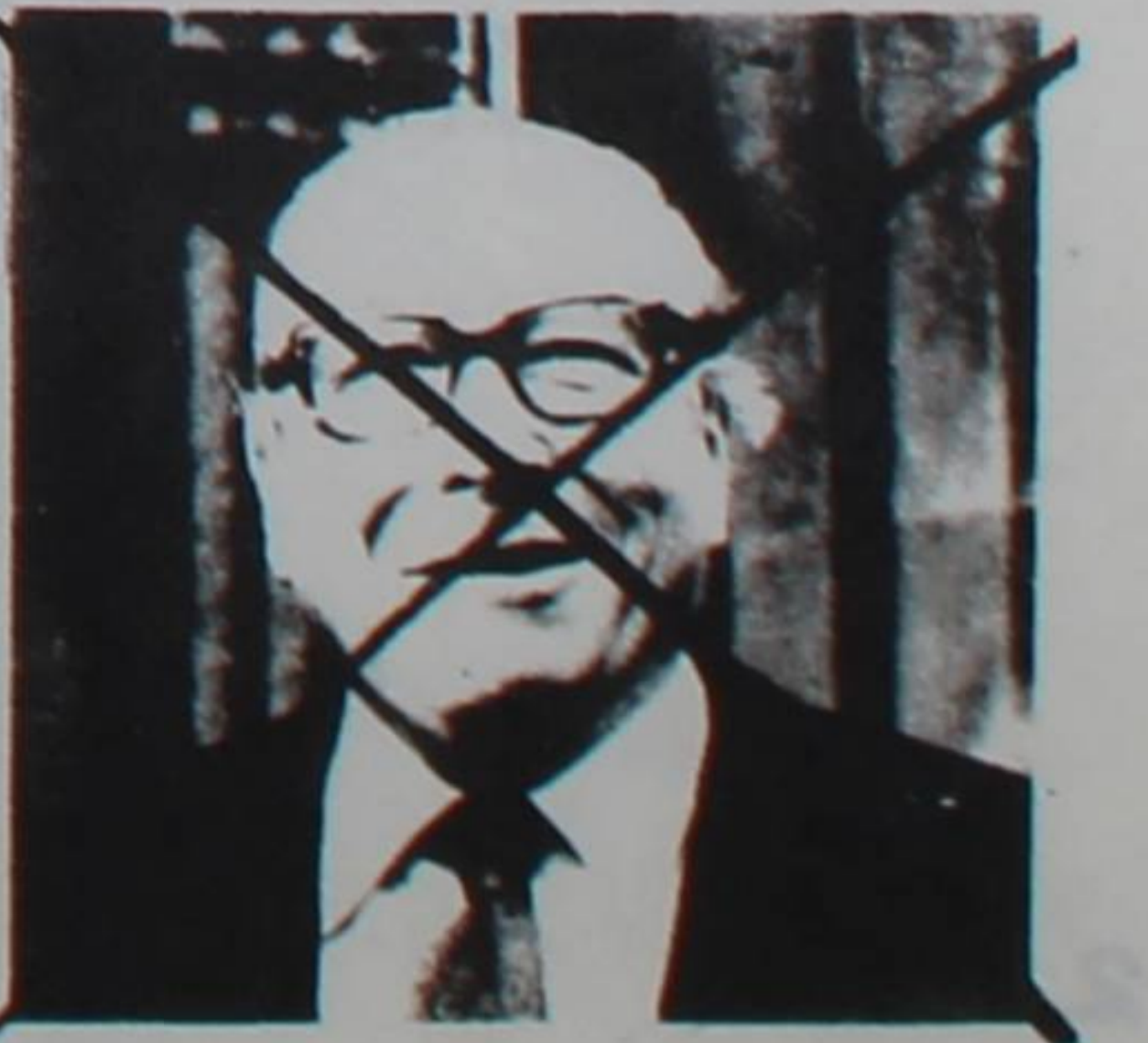
'I would press Polaris button', says Thatcher — Guardian 1.6.83

changed in 1979 when Callaghan was defeated, and would scarcely change now if Thatcher had been defeated. Expenditure on the welfare state and social services was reduced under the previous Labour Government of the Wilson and Callaghan, as a result of the world recession, and wouldn't be increased by a new Labour Government. Expenditure on the welfare state and the armed forces, on the police and prison services, was maintained by the previous Labour Government, and wouldn't be reduced. In 1979 the Conservatives promised to reduce public expenditure and taxation, as well as unemployment and inflation; they have increased public expenditure and taxation, unemployment has doubled, and inflation has fallen because of international trends. In 1982 all parties supported the Falklands War, just as all the parties have always supported the British Bomb.

Once these political facts are understood, the point is to change them; and the results of the General Election make this more likely than before. The candidates of the various Marxist parties did very badly, which should encourage extra-parliamentary activity by the radical left. The candidates of the Ecology Party did very badly, which should encourage extra-parliamentary activity by the growing Green movement. The few black candidates did badly, which should encourage extra-parliamentary activity by the Black community. Most of the nationalist candidates did badly, which should encourage extra-parliamentary activity by the Celtic fringe. Most of the candidates who favour violence, whether of the extreme right or the extreme left or the various extremist nationalist fact-

ions, did badly, which should discourage support for violence. Most anti-war candidates did badly, which should encourage the already growing programme of non-violent direct action by the nuclear disarmament movement.

Just as the collapse of the capitalist economy of the West has led to the so-called 'black' economy, so the collapse of parliamentary politics of the West is leading to what could be called 'black' politics. There is the same growth of do-it-yourself mutual aid, the parallel rise of individualism in private life and of collectivism in public life, the general move towards direct action as the most appropriate technique for most problems. The whether liberal or socialist, should be followed not by parliamentary campaign but by an extra-parliamentary movement to coordinate all the best elements of this trend. Anarchists have a crucial part to play in this task, because this has always been our kind of politics, and we shall be doing our best to reinforce and report libertarian developments during the symbolic approach to 1984. After the spectacle of the General Election, it is back to reality and the hard worker of genuine politics.



ON GOD AND THE STATE

In reply to Alan Albon's comments in FREEDOM (May 7th, 1983). I would like to elucidate a few points about religious alienation and consequently everything else. Alan Albon fails to distinguish between the priests (these specialists) and the flocks. The critique of religion is the cornerstone of all critique. In Poland we can see that a *battle for a drop-out generation* is taking place: 'Both the communist party' (so-called) 'and the Catholic Church are preaching in the vocabulary of sacrifice. General Jaruzelski calls for economic sacrifice,\* for young people to be patient, to work ideologically and physically to restore and rebuild Poland. The Church, or at least parish priests like Father Kantorski, preach that sacrifice is central to Christianity (...) The Church is thus counselling young people to be patient, to contain their discontent.' *The Times*, April 6th 1983.

We can see parallels with what is taking place in Poland and the aims of the CND hierarchy, which wants to contain protest

The grip of the CND hierarchy makes sure that a real critique is rooted out, it stifles spontaneity. Winston Churchill should be pleased that such a hierarchy exists, it helps *his* world to carry on!

So when Albon says 'the sort of attitude that Michel Prigent expresses in the letter on priests and the State (23 April) is one of the reasons why anarchists remain a small and

ineffective minority in this country.' He must read the various organised anarchists. When one reads the various newspapers, mags it is obvious that the critique dished out does not match the reality of the wealth of all the class struggles in Britain. That is the real reason why organised anarchists are ineffective. For it seems that more proletarians are rising up daily against the whole of this system of misery. Soon officials (TUC leaders and bosses) won't be able to visit factories, mines etc. without being punched like the Coal Board robot was recently in Scotland. Anger is mounting hour by hour. (In Spain recently a local government official was nearly lynched by an angry band of protesters, and now we hear that 'Spaniards on the dole may be required to work for the State during the period in which they collect unemployment compensation,' this should add fuel on the social inferno!) So if I take the recent ecology article in FREEDOM for example, there was no distinction made between what pollution is, ie. the fall-out of the commodity, (the disasters brought about by this mode of production are becoming more and more alarming: lead poisoning, an oil lake in the Gulf, the devastation of the Amazonian forests, also known as the lung of the world, is now having an effect on world-weather, droughts in Africa etc...) and what ecologists want. If we look *closely* at the *Ecology Party*

and all the greens we see that they do not want pollution, but then they wish to retain a commodity society. Therefore they cannot get at the roots of the problem, that is to say, capitalism. The bureaucrats in the East have the same polluting dossiers on their desks as their Western counterparts. The only solution is to rid the world of this entire cycle of misery (nuclear weapons, hunger, pollution, wage-slavery etc...) by a world-wide proletarian revolution without leaders and hierarchies.

In the meantime Alan Albon says in his letter 'if we refuse to have a dialogue with those who believe in God, we cut out a large part of humanity'. It might be more interesting and less boring to look at why people need religion (and ideology for that matter) as a crutch. It is really 'the heart of a heartless world'. The more a person believes in God the less he believes in himself.\*\* And as usual the Kingdom of God is nigh! Some still ask the ridiculous question is there life after death? I, like many, ask is there life before death?

Michel Prigent  
(May 11th 1983)

PS: Archbishop Heim, the Pope's representative in Britain has nothing to fear in the case of Bruce Kent, he is not going to let the cat out of the bag, ie. say why Aldo Moro was murdered by the Italian State. Mr. Kent is a trustee, Cardinal Hume knows that. He does not wish to

rock the State, only shake the cradle a little bit, as all reformists do. Cardinal Hume is pleased with Saint Bruce's performance.

\* Sacrifice is also central to Thatcher's nightmare.

\*\*We can see another parallel: the more a person believes in being a consumer, the more his being will be consumed. All those who fight back know this.

And now in the latest FREEDOM (June 4th, 1983), a Nottingham reader says: 'it would perhaps be constructive if Michel were to meet; and discuss CND with Bruce before jumping to conclusion and insult'. First I must say that I have no wish of meeting priests no more than meeting managers of supermarkets. As for meeting Mr. Kent, the day he stops being a priest and believing in God and also acting as a spokesperson for CND, that day I might stop and talk to him, until then I will never forget what the priests did in the Spanish Civil War, that is to say give their blessings to the fascist Franco (and today they give their blessings to the socialist Gonzales). It seems I am not the only one that criticizes Kent and Co., see *The Commonwealth* (summer 1983) on that score. So it is not so much that Alan Albon has 'taken me to task' as Ross Bradshaw says, but rather that the question of the CND hierarchy has been brought to the surface.

WORKERS PLAYTIME

Your young correspondent thinks I sound like a member of the SWP - a serious charge to make. Apparently I have no right to call myself an anarchist.

The article he refers to, in *Workers' Playtime* no. 1 (Greenham Common Mistake) was supposed to be an attack against the currently fashionable pacifist/no nukes 'peace' movement. How then can it be likened to the line of the SWP, which is in full (if 'critical') support of CND and the whole pacifist carnival?

This is nothing new - the SWP has tried to capitalise on every single voguish one-issue distraction I can remember (Anti-Nazi League, Right to Work etc.)

The SWP may sometimes make noises about class violence, although it is not violence alone that separates revolutionaries from liberals. But it is what the SWP does in practice (telling people to vote labour, spreading illusions about the trade unions being able to win lasting gains for workers, defending democratic 'rights' etc.) that places it firmly on the side of capitalism. (Or, more precisely, on the liberal wing of the capitalist hierarchy of interests).

Unfortunately, because most anarchists (though certainly not all) have no effective critique of capitalism, they fall back on the nebulous, timeless concept of 'authority'. This has caused all sorts of confusion and demoralisation. The worst of it is that all power/authority is equ-

ated with statism. So after advocating violence against the class enemy, aimed at the dismantlement of its central organ of repression (the state), I am accused of being no better than a statist myself!

The social revolution will necessarily be violent. It is not merely a question of resisting capitalism, as enthusiasts of non-violent protest advocate. If the revolution does not *destroy* capitalism, then capitalism will certainly destroy the revolution. In this sense, like all other revolutions, communist revolution must be 'authoritarian' - it will be a process whereby one section of society will impose its will on the other.

But the communist revolution will have no need of state. The communication of life - the emergence, out of the struggle of the dispossessed, of a society in which it is *people* who themselves shape their lives as opposed to market relations - will destroy the material bases of the state, its roles as mediator, teacher and nanny. All that remains is the repressive rump. This too must be destroyed, but it can only be destroyed militarily.

If such 'heresies' mean that I must be excommunicated, prohibited from calling myself an anarchist, then so be it. But I would suggest that appeals to orthodoxy do nothing to advance our critical theory, as years of sterile debate in FREEDOM show all too clearly.

'Playmate'

AUTHORS REPLY

As the authors of most of the coverage of the nuclear disarmament movement in FREEDOM during the past few years, we want to reply to some recent criticisms.

In general, it should be made clear that the Freedom Collective has no agreed view of the movement. Some of us are interested and are indeed involved in its activities, but some of us are not interested and are even opposed to it. Those of us who have taken part in recent demonstrations, whether legal or illegal, have been concerned about some features of them, as expressed in various articles in FREEDOM, and as is the duty of people involved both in an antimilitarist movement

and in an anarchist paper.

In particular, we have been worried about current tendencies to make legal demonstrations very mild and to make illegal demonstrations rather exclusive. Of course the organisers of legal demonstrations are likely to encourage a largely moderate tone; but we consider that there should be more recognition by the CND authorities of the growing radical wing of the movement. Of course the organisers of illegal demonstrations are right to encourage participants to come in groups and to be properly briefed about probable developments and properly practised in appropriate techniques; but we consider that

CRITICISMS

Your editorial in the last issue of FREEDOM ended with a totally inadequate 'Don't vote' argument which compares badly with Ross Bradshaw's excellent article in the latest *Peace News*. While voting may give encouragement to professional politicians, it does NOT give them legitimisation. You appear to have confused the unwilling recognition of external power with the voluntary acceptance of that power. On June 9th we are being offered (in practical terms) the choice of either a labour or a tory government, there is not a third option available that has any chance of success. Your claim that there is no difference is question-begging, if there is no disparity between the two then there simply is no lesser evil to opt for. But what if there is a difference? Then your argument against 'lesser evilism' is useless and most commentators, including tory-voting Marxists, agree that there is, even at the most modest level, a distinction to be made between the effects the two parties will have on individuals living in this country. A vote for a labour candidate is not necessarily a vote for the electoral system or for the labour party, rather it is just ONE way of preventing Thatcher from causing more early deaths. There are other ways of course, but will one of these have been enacted I'll be spoiling my ballot and I wouldn't piss on Foot if he was on fire (perhaps if he wasn't) but some of this bullshit on legitimisation;

haven't you heard about structural violence yet?

Titfreak

Concerning the front page article 'Rock the State' (7th May), whilst I agreed with the religious bit and the attack on the 'jobs not bombs' mob, I thought the rest was a little paranoid; if I was reading my first copy of FREEDOM, this is probably where I would have stopped. The 'Conspiracy of world authority' that PS paints as an 'us'/'them' picture, too often seen from your average Marxist. Authority is an *attitude*, not something supernatural that has been foisted upon us by an unseen force. There's nothing wrong with Reagan, Thatcher, Andropov & Co. except that they have authority; power corrupts, but it only exists as long as people allow it to. Authority is not something that can be knocked down or blown up; it is an attitude that can be changed if we change *ourselves* and try to communicate our beliefs and new attitudes to others. I'm not ruling out direct action; such actions, demonstrations leafletting, squatting, culture (music etc.) and living anarchy are vital in order to put anarchist ideas across. However, it must be done *constructively* and peacefully, or else the authoritarian ideas of the great mass of people will be strengthened by fear. An 'us'/'them' attitude will not change anyone's ideas, just turn them off.

Tim

formal registration and non-violent training should be offered as options rather than imposed as conditions of participation in direct action.

We are convinced that illegal demonstrations should be designed to attract participants rather than to repel them, and some of us found it absurdly difficult to join the demonstrations at Burghfield in April and at Upper Heyford in June. We have also noticed that all the elaborate preparations don't seem to be very effective. There have been several episodes on recent direct action demonstrations which have been far from non-violent and which could have been avoided by the old method of having short

and simple rules widely publicised at meetings and in leaflets. There has been much confusion which has been caused by changes in police tactics and which could have been avoided by the old method of meeting any such difficulty with an immediate sit-down. There have been missed opportunities, such as the failure to end the long blockades at Burghfield and Upper Heyford with a single march and rally. And there have been several occasions when the admirable determination to avoid authoritarian organisation has led not to libertarian coordination but to a chaotic loss of purpose and initiative.

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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.

From Tuesday 31 May to Friday 3 June there was a planned blockade of so-called 'RAF' Upper Heyford, which is in fact a USAF nuclear bomber base a few miles north of Oxford. It is now the home of F1-11s and is soon to be the home of EF1-11s - the same aircraft filled with radar jamming equipment, making it possible for them to be used as first-strike weapons. About 4,000 people took part at some time during the four days, attempting to obstruct a dozen gates around the perimeter, especially at the beginning and end of each working day, and 752 were arrested. This was the largest direct action demonstration at a nuclear base in Britain, and the largest number of arrests outside London. The next such action has been planned at Greenham Common, where women will attempt to obstruct the gates from 4 to 8 July. Meanwhile here is a report from some Brighton comrades at Upper Heyford.



they didn't need to nick: they got quicker and quicker at clearing our 'die-ins', and soon perfected their technique, using crowd-control barriers and relatively little violence (only two or three of the coppers we came across were excitable and a bit vicious, obviously enjoying the power they had by virtue of their uniform).

After a while, some of us became demoralised because we didn't seem to be getting anywhere, so we tried a change of tactics. Dancing the conga all over the road, for instance, blocked access just as successfully as a 'die-in', cheered up those of us uninhibited enough to join in, and had the coppers scratching their heads in bewilderment. But eventually that too was cleared to let vehicles past.

This was the disappointing thing for many of us. At a planning meeting beforehand in Brighton, many people didn't seem to think the demo was going to be heavy; and the Peace Campers were just as surprised as the Thames Valley Police at the number of arrests. But many of us went there thinking that a blockade was a blockade was a blockade, and that things were therefore bound to hot up. So we were very disappointed, at

first, to discover that this 'blockade' was yet another symbolic demonstration, yet another moral protest. After a while, though, we got less content to bring their banner to the picnic at the side of the gate, and realised that there weren't enough people to immobilise the base anyway - so we decided to get on with causing as much disruption as possible in view of our limited numbers.

So we stayed until Friday. On Wednesday, most of us feeling fairly disheartened and not knowing what to do, we simply walked with our banner up Camp Road (Camp Road which all but two of the gates are on, is the road dividing the operational and residential parts of the base). Unplanned as it was, our little march disrupted traffic a fair bit; we were also greeted by applause and a lot of friendly faces, and got to know what was going on at all the gates on the way.

Without being unfair to the Peace Campers and the many others who not only got everybody up to Upper Heyford in the first place, but also organised camping, water, toilets, transport, legal support, etc. etc., it would be wrong to talk of them as 'The organisers', especially

after Wednesday. They seemed so keen *not* to tell people what to do that they went too far in the opposite direction; and the so-called 'Informative Caravan' was distinctly uninformative! This wasn't helped by the fact that the walkie-talkies distributed round the gates could only be used for emergencies, and would have been monitored by the police anyway. Better coordination would have led to more disruptive action; in the absence of coordination by the Peace Camp, blockaders were thrown back on their own resources, to a considerable extent. The result was several more or less coordinated marches, sessions of Morris dancing, and lightning blockades of the road round the base - all of which kept up our morale, bewildered the coppers (who couldn't leave the gates), and clogged things up to the extent that some vehicles were in fact turned away, and on Friday the road was closed by the traffic-cops for a while.

The four days had their bad points. The turn-out was poor - though frankly not as bad as we had feared: Brighton CND has over 1,600 members, and of the 30 or so Brighton people at Upper Heyford (so much for mass-membership organisations.) The Peace Camp did not succeed very well at coordinating actual blocking activities, and showed signs of incipient bureaucracy. There was the usual bunch convinced that you mustn't demonstrate any awareness of the political role of the police force, nor show any anger or dismay at the enthusiasm with which they carry out that role. It should have been made clear from the outset whether the blockade was intended to be symbolic or actual. If only a symbolic protest was intended, it was not necessary to have so many people nicked (especially since those tried so far are being bound over for 12 months)? People blockading the gates often seemed unwilling to change tactics or think up new ways of increasing the disruptiveness of their actions. And although the shift-by-region seemed to work reasonably well, there wasn't enough information (about the reactions of police on a particular gate, for instance) being passed on to new people.

On the whole, however, most of us came away feeling the 'blockade' had been worthwhile, and that we'd learnt a lot. The organisers did a tremendous job getting all the facilities together, and going out in pairs in the preceding months to talk to individual groups (necessitated by the fact that the demo was *not* organised by national CND). Morale was generally good, and

there was a powerful feeling of solidarity and mutual support, even - or especially - among the hundreds of us who spent hours in the gym of Banbury police station! Some comrades thought prisoners were treated too much as martyrs and heroines/heroes; certainly many demonstrators seemed to think that got nicked in the process (which is nonsense unless you planned either to get publicity through provoking mass arrests, or to bring the courts to a grinding halt). This meant that others felt under pressure to get themselves nicked, even when they didn't feel easy about doing so.

The total absence of red flags and of 'Socialist Workers' trying to sell us their paper, and telling us at the same time that we were in the wrong place (ie. not outside factory gates), was refreshing, as was the multitude of black or black-and-red flags at the campsite and on the final procession. Some comrades have complained about the request that demonstrators should attend 'non-violent direct action' briefings, and of the misuse of libertarian terms like 'direct action' and 'affinity groups'. But 'direct action' has never been a 'pure' tactic, and it needs to be discussed and developed. We spoke to people of many backgrounds and ages, and were pleasantly surprised by their dislike of bureaucracy and of group structures based on leadership and order respecting, and by their total lack of respect for coppers - other than as human beings like the rest of us.

The great thing about the last couple of days was the way small groups organised various activities among themselves, without central coordination, without leaders, and without arrangements with the police: such actions *were* 'direct' in that they were not a mere registration of individual moral objection (a simple washing of hands) - they aimed to disrupt as much as possible, and they did not occur within the legal structures that exist for 'pressure groups'. And this was carried on over from days without violence of any kind on the part of demonstrators (men and women alike). For many people, this was their first experience of such types of organisation, and of such open defiance of the law - and morale and solidarity were such that even arrest was a positive experience for most of us. Several people broached the subject of anarchism in conversation with us, and hundreds would have wanted to buy a copy of FREEDOM had it been on sale there.

So what's the next step? An actual immobilisation of the base, perhaps concentrated over two days. Let's hear from other demonstrators.

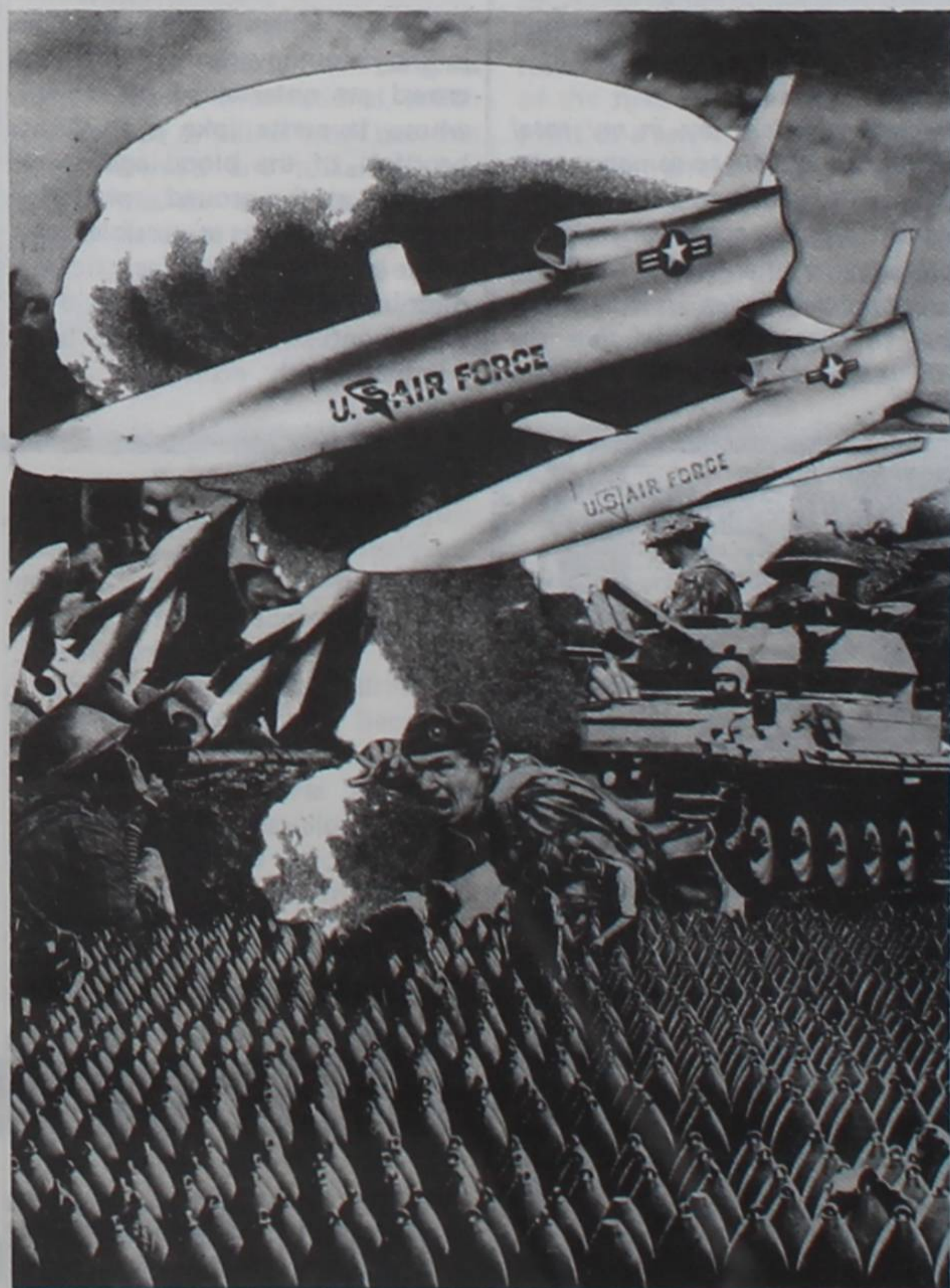
AL, PM, DB (Brighton)

## UPPER HEYFORD

A group of us from Brighton arrived on Monday evening in order to get some sleep before our shift started at 7 on Tuesday. We were kept awake all night by a bunch of dope freaks who were more pissed than stoned, and who didn't shut up until forced to by a thunder-storm. The first day was therefore very tiring, not only because it was an 18 hour shift!

The police were at first flexible. The two isolated gates - named Hazel and Oak by the organisers - were both at the end of access roads closed to traffic; before 6 am we were actually allowed up to the perimeter fence at Hazel to grin at the guards (obviously under orders not to speak) and bark at the Alsations, but later on - once we'd established ourselves at the end of the road - we were no longer allowed up there. The people at Oak did the opposite, and consequently could only be reached on foot for the rest of the four days.

Our coppers were very keen on keeping Hazel a 'civilised' gate: the copper in charge thought 'good' crowd control involved as few arrests as possible. As it turned out,



# Notes from a mud hut



*The Innocent Anthropologist: Notes from a Mud Hut* by Nigel Barley. British Museum Publications £9.95.

I get no royalties from the sale of this book, but I have to declare an interest of sorts. The design and illustrations are by me. At least I can claim to have read the work thoroughly.

Nigel Barley, an anthropologist now working at the Museum of Mankind, writes a delightful account of his adventures as an anthropological field worker, with entertaining digressions into the subject of field work in general. His main target audience is the aspiring anthropologist, who wants an honest and irreverent introduction to the job. But the book is equally valuable to the end users of anthropological research, the people who wish to know what alternative social organizations are possible because they aspire to social change. The works of Malinowski, Margaret Meade and other popular anthropologists are on sale in radical bookshops. This book should be among them.

Its greatest value is that it explains how anthropology is done in practice. Sometimes, this is like explaining the tricks of a magician. In the matter of communication, for instance, we often get the impression that the anthropologist is a linguistic prodigy:

*... wandering into a village, settling in and 'picking up the language' in a couple of months... Never mind that this is contrary to all known linguistic experience. In Europe, a man may have studied French at school for six years with the help of language learning devices, visits to France and exposure to the literature, and yet finds himself hardly able to stammer out a few words of French in an emergency. Once in the field, he... becomes fluent in a language much more difficult for a Westerner than French, without qualified teachers, without bilingual texts, and often without grammar or dictionaries.*

The secret is simple. The anthropologist employs an assistant, a local person who is bilingual. But because the assistant is not strictly part of the anthropological study, he is not mentioned in the published account.

The impression of the lone anthropologist, the only foreigner in the native locality, is produced by a similar mechanism. It is not relevant to the anthropological study if the place abounds in missionaries, merchants, teachers, police and government officials. Barley was the only foreign resident in a particular village, but the mission station



and the police station were only five kilometers away along a motorable track. The missionaries were very supportive, helped Barley shift his gear, lent him paperbacks, plied him with beer on his frequent visits to the mission. The police often visited him in the village, checking his whereabouts because they thought he was a spy.

*The real problem lay in my total inability to explain to someone who had no conception of pure research why a foreign government should be interested in an isolated tribe of mountain renegades. It was quite clear to the police chief that the only reasonable explanation lay in*

*the nearness of the Nigerian border.*

Another important matter which is not strictly part of anthropology, and therefore 'absent from the anthropological literature but not the anthropological experience', is sex. Not the sexual customs of people under study, of course, but the sex life of anthropologists in the field. Of his own sex life, Barley says only that he was viewed by the villagers as having no sexual existence in the village. But he makes some interesting observations about anthropologists in general.

The people he studied are the mountain Dowayos of northern Cameroon. I understand he has written a proper anthropological study of them to be published by Cambridge University Press. But one gets a good idea of what the people are like from this anecdotal work. They emerge as a laughter-loving, easy-going people, thought by other Cameroonians to be irresponsible and filthy, for reasons not wholly inexplicable.

They feed their dogs on human faeces. When Barley surprised and delighted them by accepting an offer of local beer, they cleaned a calabash for him by letting one of their dogs lick it out. When a person dies the corpse is left out to rot for a time until the head can be easily removed and stored for the funerary skull ceremony; there are specialist head removers, renowned for their skill in deftly yanking off a head without any teeth falling into the stomach. During the skull ceremony, the skulls of many deceased are piled up and covered in a mixture of blood and faeces. There are long intervals in the ceremony during which the crowd are entertained by clowns, whose favourite joke is to throw handfuls of the blood and faeces mixture at the ground, splattering as many onlookers as possible.

The book includes some articulate diatribes, notably one against those who confuse technological backwardness with ecological purity.

Barley recalls an exhibition of Red Indian artefacts, in which a canoe was displayed alongside pictures of the manufacturing process, clearly showing that a large tract of forest was devastated for every canoe produced. The label read 'Wooden canoes operate in harmony with the environment and are non-polluting'. *Primitive man is used by Westerners nowadays as surely as he was by Rousseau or Montaigne to prove a point about their own society and castigates those aspects of it they find unattractive... The 'Noble Savage' has risen from the grave and is... living in NW1.*

Notwithstanding the gratuitous slur on Camden Town, this is a useful swipe at a dangerous superstition among radical thinkers.

There are hilarious anecdotes about a pompous official meeting rained off by a Dowayo rainmaker, a man who draws teeth on behalf of



the dentist, a prostitute resembling Oliver Hardy, a mad missionary, cicadas in the hut, pangolins in the bath, farting goats, Cameroonian bureaucrats, Italian bureaucrats, British bureaucrats. This book is funny as well as instructive. I can recommend it without reservation.

Donald Room



## Marching or Action?

# The Retreat From Liberty

Michael Moorcock

A BEE IN BONNET BOOK



*The Retreat from Liberty* by Michael Moorcock,  
*The Doomed Rebellion* by Paul Ableman,  
Zomba Books, £2.25 each.

These are the first two items in the new 'Bee in Bonnet' series edited by Maxim Jakubowski, in which the publishers say 'offers respected authors and personalities a platform for unconventional and controversial views on aspects of contemporary society'. They are old-fashioned tracts - at about 25,000 words longer than pamphlets but shorter than books, and elegantly produced and moderately priced - all by well-known writers on well-worn subjects. It is a bold project, and so far one can only say that Michael Moorcock's contribution is interesting but Paul Ableman's is not.

*The Doomed Rebellion* is a conventional critique of dogmatic feminism from a moderate position by a male author of minor fiction and journalism. It is readable, if repetitive, but it consists almost entirely of assertions rather than arguments about femininity and masculinity as biological and psychological characteristics. A much more penetrating and convincing critique of dogmatic feminism appears in *The Sceptical Feminist*, a recent Pelican book by Janet Radcliffe Richards.

*The Retreat from Liberty* is an unconventional defence of anarchism by one of the best-known British authors of science fiction and fantasy fiction. Moorcock says himself:

*This essay has no claim to much originality or profundity. It is essentially a piece of journalism*

*written in response to a publisher's offer to rant if I felt I had something to say. I haven't covered every aspect of the ideas I've raised and would not expect to be able to do so in this form. I know that I've occasionally let my rhetoric exaggerate some points and that elsewhere I've only sketchily outlined my arguments.*

Fair enough; but it is still worth reading.

Moorcock describes his own political career, which is typical of many libertarians - 'attracted to the anarchist movement of the fifties', and involved in the movements for nuclear disarmament and against racial discrimination; first a member of the Labour Party, then a worker for the Liberal Party, then a member of the Labour Party again; finally 'I returned to my original position as an anarchist where I was able to express both my own coherent political views while also speaking to fellow anarchists as an opponent of terrorism', and he is now 'a supporter of the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review and its wide variety of publications'. (He had an excellent article in *CPAR* 4.)

His political outlook is also typical of many libertarians, being an extreme form of liberalism. His subtitle is 'The Erosion of Democracy in Today's Britain', and his sections are called 'The Retreat from Liberalism', 'The Retreat from Internationalism', 'The Retreat from Feminism', 'The Retreat from Individualism', and 'The Quest for the Perfect Lie'. He deplores the loss of the freedom which had grown during the 1960s and the early 1970s; the rise of nationalism and

racism which had fallen during the same period; the failure of the women's movement, which he calls 'the largest and best of all the radical movements'; and the eclipse of 'anarchist humanism' and the anarchist movement, which he sees as presently reduced to a handful of serious thinkers and perhaps no more than a few hundred romantic people (most of whom are male). His main hope is in 'non-aligned feminism'; his main fear is that the widespread quest for increasingly 'perfect lies' will continue the processes he deplores. An appendix reprints an article in *Time Out* last August protesting against increasing censorship of pornography; this hardly fits in with the attitude of most feminists!

Convinced anarchists may well be disappointed by *The Retreat from Liberty*, but of course it isn't written for us; it is meant for the millions of ordinary people with liberal or left-wing ideas who seldom think much about serious political issues but often worry about the way things are going and sometimes wonder about just voting Liberal or Social Democrat or Labour, and it expresses the feelings of a very popular writer who is able to address such people much more directly than we ever can. Moorcock belongs to a long line of anarchist fellow-travellers who have done so much to spread libertarian ideas in our more or less liberal society, and he deserves our gratitude for this tract, which should be very widely read.

MH

*The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London* by Hermia Oliver, Croom Helm, £13.95

This rather clumsily titled, drastically abridged, austere produced and excessively priced book is a very valuable short survey of the activities of anarchists in London during the 1880s and 1890s.

Hermia Oliver begins by firmly placing the British movement in the context of the international movement and briefly dismissing the influence of the native libertarian traditions in the Labour movement and the radical intelligentsia. She then opens her narrative with the International Revolutionary Congress of August 1881, which was held in London because it had become the main refuge for revolutionary socialists from all over Europe, and this is the frame for her picture of the next 20 years. She concentrates on the mainstream of anarchist communism, as expressed above all by Peter Kropotkin, who lived in Britain in 1881-1882 and permanently from 1886. She has discovered more than anyone before about Kropotkin's main English follower, Charlotte Wilson,

There are detailed accounts of the appearance of FREEDOM and its individualist predecessor, Henry Seymour's *Anarchist*, of the anarchist activities in the Socialist League and its paper, the *Commonweal*, of the Jewish *Arbeter Fraint* and the individualist *Herald of Anarchy*, and of anarchist participation in Labour struggles. The internationalist emphasis returns in the treatment of 'The Era of Propaganda by Deed', which fills two chapters and is the most reliable version yet published in English. It also remains in the account of the *Torch* and *Liberty*, two papers of the 1890s dominated by foreign contributors. She then describes the *Alarm*, a short-lived native paper, and the successful continuation of FREEDOM after the departure of Mrs Wilson in 1894.

'The Parting of the Ways' is found in the 1896 London congress of the Second International, which is described as 'a final break between the anarchists and socialists' and which was the last occasion when anarchists tried to work alongside state socialists. There are short accounts of such figures as Louise Michel and Saverio Merlino, and an

epilogue containing several biographical sketches. Then comes a miscellaneous chapter on 'The Turn of the Century', by which time the movement in London was well established and less dependent on international connections but more isolated from the growing left.

Hermia Oliver concludes that the British anarchist movement was largely initiated by foreign refugees or under foreign influence, and that revolutionary anarchist communism has had little impact on British politics, though other forms of anarchism have had more.

The main feature of Hermia Oliver's work is its careful use of sources - not just periodicals and pamphlets, but also private papers and public records - and its frequent correction of her predecessors. Little space is wasted on familiar topics and events, and the result is not so much a full history of the first 20 years of our movement as a series of attempts to put right the errors and fill up the omissions in previous attempts. Everyone who is interested in the subject will need this book, and it will be an essential source for all future books in this area. NW

## The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London

*Jarrow March* by Tom Pickard, Allison & Busby paperback, £2.95, (+ postage)

The people's March for Jobs makes this account of the famous hunger march half a century ago relevant today. I suspect that it will have the same effect as the Jarrow March of 1936, which exposed the ineptness of the Labour establishment and the inability of the Tory monetarists then in power to solve the problems of unemployment except by war.

We have all heard of American pig producers being paid not to produce pigs. In the 1930s British steel producers were being paid not to produce steel. The plan to build a steel plant in Jarrow was killed by the steel cartel. But why march to London, that unproductive heartland of finance, to ask for employment? Why not stay at home, take

over the fields, factories and workshops, and become self-employed? Never mind, the Jarrow March exposed many scandals and is worth remembering.

Sir James Lithgow, chairman of National Shipbuilders Securities Ltd., who closed the shipbuilding yard at Jarrow, was appointed Controller of Shipbuilding during the Second World War, after presiding over the destruction of Britain's largest and most efficient yard before it.

The book is full of quotations from participants and contemporary photographs. Tom Pickard quotes the following report from the *Manchester Guardian* of 23 Nov. 1938:

**MONEY FOR NEW INDUSTRIES**  
*Jarrow Bill*  
*The Jarrow Town Council last night adopted a resolution to promote a*

*bill in Parliament to give the council power to acquire land compulsorily for industrial development and to advance money for industrial purposes.*

*Alderman J.W. Thompson, moving the resolution, said they had been assured by Parliamentary agents that the amended bill had every chance of being carried. He considered the bill would greatly assist them in getting industries started in the town.*

*Councillor W. Gordon (Progressive) said the rates were 22 shillings in the pound, and such a bill would be a wicked and wilful waste of public money and would greatly add to the burden on the town.*

*Councillor T.W. Crumbly said it was a purely Socialist measure and had no chance of getting through.*

*Councillor P. Scullion advocated another march to London, and that*

*the marchers should remain there until the Government did something for the town.*

And he adds the following comment:

*A few days later someone in the Ministry of Labour Cuttings Section, now filed in the Public Records Office at Kew, underlined London in the last paragraph and, alongside an exclamation mark, penned in the comment: "Why not to Consett - it's nearer". Ironically, in 1980, British Steel, under the present Tory government, closed down the profitable works at Consett with as little concern for the effects on that community as had been shown for Jarrow in 1936.*

How little things change!  
Alan Albon





The second European Nuclear Disarmament Convention was held in West Berlin from 9 to 14 May (with an unscheduled demonstration in East Berlin by representatives of the Green Party). Several thousand people attended for six days of concentrated talk, and the event ended with a symbolic human chain from the Portuguese Consulate to the Polish Military Mission. Here is a report from Peter Ford who attended some of the proceedings.

Much of the discussion I heard was grounded on assumptions about the potential of existing organs of centralised power to legislate away will work — if they work — on the the problems of nuclear weapons and the arms race. These strategies will work — if they work — on the basis of applying overwhelming pressure on governments by petitions, referendums, massive demonstrations and 'peace parties'. Even non-violent direct action fits into this scheme as just an extreme form of pressure on government. I arrived at the Convention with strong doubts about the prospects for this approach, and left with my opinions reinforced; however, this is the strategy either overtly or implicitly advocated by END and CND and by many of the prominent personalities who speak for these organisations, some of whom were participants at the Convention.

I was present for a very small part of this huge event. I feel as if I learnt a lot in a short time, and I am still working out my responses. So this is really a collage of notes

made at the time, with additional ideas added since my return.

About 3,000 people representing 25 different nationalities came to Berlin. Some who did not come were the representatives of the official and unofficial East European peace groups. It was said that the officials boycotted the convention; I heard that they had been invited but insisted on such a degree of control over the agenda that the invitations were withdrawn. Members of the unofficial groups, if not actually imprisoned, could not obtain exit permits.

On Friday 13 May, I attended one of the largest workshops on this theme of 'Forms and Strategies of Resistance'. The hall seemed about as big as the Royal Festival Hall, and five-way simultaneous translation was available at each seat. A nuclear physicist from New York State talked about recent and future protest actions on the East Coast of the United States. The current focus of attention is the Senneca Army Depot which is the place from which Pershing II missiles

will be deployed. A women's peace camp is to be established there on 4 July and three weeks later there is to be a big demonstration at the site. The concept of first strike weaponry has still to penetrate the consciousness of American people: 'Most people in the States are only just at the beginning of developing any political awareness.' After the civil rights movement, Vietnam, Watergate, and Three Mile Island, one is tempted to ask what they have been doing all this time. Is the notion of a possible threat to their own comfortable life-styles the only way such consumerist complacency will be disturbed?

On the West Coast a main target of protest is the Livermore Research Centre. Cruise and Pershing have been developed there and at Los Alamos in New Mexico. The campaign against the siting of MX missiles is gaining strength in Utah, one of the most conservative of American states. 'People are really feeling threatened there, where they are.' But not where they aren't: 'US political and moral consciousness has not so far been able to grasp the idea that large numbers of West Europeans also feel threatened by the intended Cruise and Pershing deployment.' 800 people were arrested for trespassing and blockading at the USAF base at Vandenberg near San Diego on 21 March. This is one of the testing ranges for the new first-strike weaponry.

The Tomahawk missile — the approaching Cruise — has not been doing too well in these tests, and recent Pentagon reports now acknowledge similar technical problems with the air-launched model. Even if it is successful in taking off, it may crash into tall obstacles on the way to its target. Each missile has the destructive power of about 7½ Hiroshima bombs, and its explosion would not discriminate between 'communist' and 'free' citizens. Someone made the sharp-focussed remark that even if the European campaign against ground-launched Cruise was successful, similar or 'improved' Mark II missiles can be sea-launched, air-launched and, if we wait a little while, space launched. He did not add that the improved version of Cruise can also be fitted with warheads containing conventional explosives, thus making them potentially useful to proponents of non-nuclear defence. The speaker concluded: 'We have to fight the whole concept of having to have an enemy that can be fought with these weapons.' Amen to that.

Bruce Kent expressed general

sentiments with which few readers of this paper would quarrel: 'We have a long-haul struggle; we are fighting against the whole concept of nationalism and war-fighting.' He cited the approving response of much of the British public to the Falklands War as evidence of the latent jingoism and nationalistic belligerence that we are up against, compounded by the alarming effectiveness of mass-media mind control. He then weakened the impact of his opening points by advocating pre-election doorstep canvassing: 'Ask people to vote for the candidate who has the best programme for disarmament.' Governments will never be our agents in the struggle against nationalism and war-fighting, and even for single-issue anti-nuclear campaigners this road will not lead in the right direction. Government agreements on arms limitation and 'disarmament' are no more than a form of periodic massage for anxious sections of public opinion, and serve covertly to redirect or encourage new developments in weapons research and technology. The technical development of the Cruise missile went along discreetly in tandem with the much-vaunted 1972 SALT I agreement. Cruise-type weapons had the great advantage of being immune from any of the existing arms control agreements. The 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty effectively took much of the impetus out of the old nuclear disarmament movement, but it did not stop nuclear tests other than the sort that there was no longer any technical need for. In fact there have been more nuclear tests (underground) since than before 1963. The 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty 'banned' developments that were already proving impracticable. The 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty has not stopped the spread of nuclear weapon technology. There is not much doubt that India, Israel and South Africa now possess or could rapidly manufacture nuclear weapons, and there is a report that Libya is the most recent addition to this grim list. A nice analogy recently likened a *successful* disarmament agreement at Great Power level to a heavy smoker on five packets a day agreeing to limit the increase of his smoking level to only six packets a day instead of eight. We are after all, talking about a massive international industry with an approximate ten to fifteen-year research and development time span. Research on Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicles began in 1958! This may seem negative. It is. But it is realistic.

Later there was a powerful

contribution from a Basque representative. It was in fact one of the few statements I heard that amounted to an expression of anti-militarist principle — as distinct from anti-nuclear tactics. Wars take place not only between countries, he said, but within countries. The struggle is against the militarised state, its increasingly militarised police forces, and against national armies within countries, not merely the imposed occupying forces. (Transposing this to our own situation, we must indeed join with the campaign to get British troops out of Northern Ireland, but the problem for us has not ended when the troops come back here.) The Basque speaker went on to accuse the French leftists of bearing responsibility for the current policies being developed by Mitterrand. Having been taken in by his pre-election rhetoric, their obvious duty is to struggle against the implementation of these policies. However, what do we see? 'Lack of real controversy underlined the similarity of the socialist programme with that of previous right wing governments . . . under the socialist programme a seventh nuclear submarine is to be built, a more powerful warhead is to be developed for missiles, a new low-level bomber force is to be formed and long-range tactical missiles capable of delivering neutron bombs are to be stationed on the French border' (*Guardian*, 20 May). And we all remember the difference between the promises and performance of our own Labour Party in opposition and in office.

On the final day of the Convention I took part in a workshop on 'Individual Resistance'. I listened to a powerful description of the extreme militarisation of neutral and non-nuclear Switzerland where there is such a high level of militarisation that peace activists are seen as enemies of the state. Since Switzerland is sometimes praised by advocates of so-called 'Alternative Defence', I found it gloomily impressive to hear how awful such a 'lesser-evil' system is, particularly for the brave individuals who try to resist it. George Orwell should have lived to write about Alternative Defence.

Later in the day I spent some time walking beside the infamous Berlin Wall and writing down some of the graffiti which cover it. One in English said: 'What you think and do comes back to you'; and this message was repeated in a tapering trail which apparently disappeared over to the East Berlin side. I keep thinking about that one.

Peter Ford

May I be the first to start the post anti election debate with a few comments about the British Nationalistic Party election broadcast at the end of May. I was not surprised to hear that what was once a great nation of peace and order, the rulers of Westminster had turned into a land of crime, violence, industrial ruin and anarchy.

According to the British National Party the failure of British industry is the failure of an entire economic system — the international system that allows Britain to be flooded by imports from Europe and Asia.

The racist ideas put forward during this party election broadcast had a remarkable similarity with those of the Communist party of Great Britain. Racist slogans such as get Britain out of Europe and get European and Asian imports out of Britain is something that could have been found in the British Road to Socialism (The programme of the CPGB, or as it is generally known in anarchist circles, The British Road to lost Deposits). In drawing these parallels I do not suggest for one moment that the British National Party is a communist or Marxist organisation. The political concept of Nationalism

is not an exclusive preserve of right wing parties.

The Communist and Labour parties stand for the regeneration of British capitalism through increased public spending and import controls. Although the import controls of the lefts alternative economic strategy are to be selective rather than total, and the foreign bankers they object to are not always Jewish or Asian, the communist demands for controls on imports are fundamentally the same as the fascist. If there are differences of detail they are very subtle. The communist party of Great Britain, unlike the British National Party, is a strong advocate of the fictitious notion of non Racist Immigration controls as a realistic alternative to repatriation.

We can deduce from this that CPGB race policies are as close to the British Nationalism as the conservative and labour parties.

David Isiorho  
Nuneaton Anarchist Group  
(Lubanka Tendency)

For too long Anarchists have had no real policies for counteracting

the undemocratic and illusory electoral system. The negative 'Don't vote, it only encourages them', urging people to stay away from the polls is a cop out. Abstaining anarchists merely become linked with apathetic apologists who simply can't be bothered to take any control over their lives, which extends to them not voting. It would not make a scrap of difference to the validation of the system even if the only people who voted were the candidates and their entourages.

I am proposing an alternative, which can be best summed up by the motif 'Steal your ballot paper'. What I suggest is that people on the electoral register go into the polling hall and be given their ballot paper as per normal. They then go into the polling booth and instead of marking the customary X or the wasted message of a spoilt paper, they secretly put the ballot paper in their pocket/bag. Then with a clenched fist (ie pretending to have the ballot paper tightly enfolded in their hand) walk up to the ballot box and pretend to put the imaginary ballot paper in the box. They then leave the polling hall with the real ballot paper illicitly hidden in their pocket.

Can you imagine the scenario in a marginal constituency where, for example, one candidate wins by 50 votes, but there are 100 less votes counted from the ballot boxes in that constituency than the number of people recorded as voting; or the scenario in the country as a whole, where 100's of recorded votes can't be found. Not only would it probably invalidate the election, but if it continued to happen it would both undermine and wreak havoc in their system. Not the bullet, but the ballot box.

Unfortunately such a campaign has one major handicap — it could not be widely publicised by the printed word. Once 'they' find out what's going on then they have their explanation and would probably take steps to stop it. The campaign to steal your ballot paper will have to grow by other means — such as by word of mouth and at anarchist groups.

WARNING — it is an offence under S1 of the Theft act to steal your ballot paper, since under the Representation of the People Act the ballot paper is government property. NOTE — I've still got my ballot paper from the last election.

## Final election address

Brighton Reports

May has seen an upsurge of various libertarian activities in Brighton.

Several demonstrations met the International Arms Fair at the Metropole Hotel. A group of women in evening dress offered glasses of 'babies blood' to those arriving for the civic reception on the first night. The next day a morning 'die-in' was followed by an attempted blockade of the main entrance at lunchtime; this was violently broken by police, who arrested one woman. Three more people were arrested as police tried to clear the area in front of the police station of those who had gone there to support her. All four were charged with obstruction, as were two women arrested the next day during an attempted women's blockade.

Several porn and video shops have been bricked by a group called 'Angry Women'. Women attempted to blockade the Navy careers office on Womens Day of Action for Peace.

The squat of an empty council-owned shop was ended when police forced entry, arrested all the occupants, and charged two of them with

criminal damage to a road (painting a zebra crossing!) The shop was boarded up whilst they were in the police cells.

Outlines of bodies and an anti-militarist message were painted on the ground in the shopping centre. A lot of spray-painted graffiti - feminist, anarchist, anti-militarist and anti-apartheid - has appeared throughout the town.

Brighton Anarchists.

▲ We feel that there are a lot of people involved in radical politics, who - whilst acknowledging the necessity of organisation and some form of coordination with other groups - are dissatisfied with working in the labour party or in dogmatic Marxist groups like SWP. Many of us, for example, were encouraged by the 'War in the Third World and the Third World War' conference, held recently in Brighton, and the consequent setting up of the Brighton Peace Forum. On the other hand, such people reject the 'individualis-

tic', negative and unconstructive attitudes of many so-called anarchists - there are so many 'anarchists' around at the moment who conform perfectly to the image people have of 'anarchists', an image created and constantly reinforced by the bourgeois press and by Stalinist historians alike.

We think that this needs to be corrected, so we have decided to start the Campaign for Real Anarchy (Brighton), and intend to organise a series of public meetings with speakers on various topics. Maybe some coordinated activities will come out of this.

Not all of us call ourselves anarchists (not least because of the reputation that label has aquired), but we all feel that a group promoting anarchist/libertarian ideas and practices is sorely needed in Brighton. NB: We are not the 'Sussex University/Brighton Anarchist Group', nor do we have anything to do with them...

Anyone interested in the Campaign for Real Anarchy can contact us on Brighton 772205.

Dave

Soviet Embassy Picket

Saturday 4 June marked the first anniversary of the Soviet independent peace group known as the Moscow Group to Establish Trust. In London, at the now traditional site opposite the north end of Kensington Palace Gardens, about 200 people demonstrated their solidarity with this group and their rejection of all nuclear weapons including the hundreds inside the Soviet Union targeted on us here. The demonstration was planned by two women in Bristol and strongly supported by the Western Region CND. For some of us, who have attempted to demonstrate at or near the Soviet Embassy a number of times already this year, the tight control of the demonstration by the police was no surprise. People were in effect penned behind crowd barriers and all attempts to walk on the opposite pavement nearer to the Embassy were prevented. Lots of press and TV were present, but apart from a good photograph on the front of the *Sunday Telegraph* no detailed reports were published. This maintains the traditions of the British press. *The Guardian* sent no reporter at all, which maintains their tradition of non-coverage of protests at this site.



Many banners drew attention to the current plight of Moscow Group member Oleg Radzinsky, shortly to face trial and possibly seven years' imprisonment for 'anti-soviet agitation and propaganda'.

An emergency fund is being set up to send visitors and gifts over to Moscow. Many of the group members have lost their jobs and have no means of supporting themselves and their families. They will have difficulty surviving materially, as

well as morally, unless their colleagues in the West help out. For more information send narrow foolscap s.a.e. (plus one or two extra stamps if you can afford them) to: People Against Militarism, 13 Cotswold Road, Bedminster, Bristol, BS3 4NX.

Newcastle

Just a short report of our actions during Anti-Militarist Week (14-21 May).

On 14th May we went around shops that sell war toys handing out anti-militarist leaflets.

On 16th May we distributed leaflets outside army and navy careers offices and job centres, and on 18th May sprayed the doors of the Territorial Army, as well as a tank and army tractor, with anarchist and peace slogans.

We haven't come to a stop with the end of Anti-Militarist Week and are planning future actions. Newcastle Anarchist Group

The Japanese government has given way to pressure over its attempts to rewrite history textbooks. Words like 'invasion' will be acceptable descriptions of Imperial behaviour during the Second World War. However, any figures cited for the numbers of people killed in various massacres must be 'verified and substantiated', eg. by the government.

Research from Israel, quoted at a symposium, contradicts the popular image of business executives suffering from stress. In fact, employees suffer much more. They have more frustrations and less room to manoeuvre.

The entire Guardia Civile garrison at El Grove in Galicia has been arrested on suspicion of being involved in tobacco smuggling.

China has returned to the International Labour Organisation, after a vote to write off \$36 million in unpaid contributions.

An Anglican bishop in Uganda has warned his parishoners against being tempted by stolen bibles at cut-rate prices.

The United Nations World Tourism Organisation has been urged to advocate a ban on trips that 'cater to travellers' sexual inclinations'.

President Evren of Turkey has been dropping hints about the general elections planned for November. They will be postponed 'if it is deemed necessary'. He also does not rule out 'harsher measures'. He is particularly incensed by the newly formed Grand Turkey Party, so much so that he felt forced to ban it. His reason is that their leader is a retired general, which is obviously a move to split the armed forces as the Nationalist Democratic Party also has a retired general. 'Can you think of a more treacherous move than this?'

There is disagreement in the press about whether the new government contains a majority in favour of the return of hanging. *The Sunday Times*, with the aid of a poll (another one) of new Tory MP's, thinks that there might be. *The Guardian* is not so convinced.

The Greek government has managed to pass its law restricting the right to strike until a long consultation process has been undertaken. There is considerable opposition to the idea. In the government this is lead by the communists, who see it as eroding their influence in the unions.

In Brief

▲ The number of deaths in police custody in England & Wales was 55 last year, an increase of 6. They included eight suicides and 30 deaths resulting from 'misadventure' or accidental causes.

The Saudi Arabian government has extended Ramadam to non-moslems. They will be dismissed from their jobs or deported if they eat, drink or smoke in public places during the month.

Soviet soldiers are receiving illicit vodka, smuggled in hot water bottles, according to a Moscow newspaper. The perpetrators are usually their parents.

**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**  
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

**FALKIRK**  
Black Balm, c/o Box 3, 488 Gt Western Rd, Glasgow.

**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)

**GRAVESEND**  
Please contact Adrian, Lodge House, By Valley Lodge, Ifield Way, Gravesend, Kent

**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 Anarchist Group, c/o Students' Union, Keele University, Keele, Staffs, ST5 5BG

**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**  
Box LAG, 31 Gothic St, Rock Ferry, Rirkenhead, Merseyside.  
Discordians, Liverpool Students Union, Brownlow Hill, Liverpool.  
North West Anarchist Federation, 224 Garston Old Road, Liverpool 19, Merseyside.

**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 Raiton Rd, London SE24 Tel: 274 6655  
Anarchist-Feminist Newsletter, c/o 121 Raiton Rd, SE24  
Pigs for Slaughter, c/o Raiton Rd  
South London Anarchist Group (SLAG) c/o 121 Raiton Rd  
South London DAM, c/o Raiton Rd SE24

London Anarchist Youth Group meet every Friday at 121, 7.30pm.  
South London Stress, c/o 121 Raiton Rd SE24  
Squatters Defence Network, c/o 121 Raiton Rd SE24  
Toxic Graffiti, c/o 121 Raiton Rd, SE24  
Martin Nicholas, 186 Mount Pleasant Rd, London N17

**NW LONDON**  
K Potkin, Student Mail, Polytech of Central London, 32-38 Wells St, WC1  
**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, 71 Wykeham Rd, North End, Portsmouth (Correspondance only).

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**  
Anarchist Group, Box A, Mushroom Bookshop, 10 Heathcote St. 582506  
Jackie Veevers, 7 Irene Tce, Basford  
Individuals Anonymous 12p sae, above address

**OLDHAM**  
Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Fallsworth

**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**  
Libertarian Society, PO Box 168, Sheffield 1  
Black Rat, c/o Students Union, Sheffield University  
Anarchists, c/o 4 Havelock Square S10 2FQ

Sheffield Peace Action, 69 Rustlings Rd, Sheffield 11.  
NEAF Secretariat: Box 168, Sheffield 11.  
**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**  
Anarchist Group, Box 5, Neges, 31 Alexandra Road, Swansea.  
Billy, 63 Clynymaes Place, Blaenymaes, Swansea

**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

**YORK**  
Shell 22, 73 Walmgate, York

**MEETINGS**

The LWG is holding a public meeting on Tues 21 June at the Metropolitan Pub, 95 Farringdon Rd EC1 at 8pm on the subject of 'The Economic Crisis - What does it mean?'

**DESIRES**

Keele Anarchist Group have just set up a small bookstall with the aim of selling anarchist literature at as big a discount as we can manage. At present we have hardly enough books to cover our table and hardly enough money to cover our bills! Any help in getting books cheaply would be gratefully received.

**FUNDS**

**Deficit Fund**  
Contributions received: May 26th - June 8th incl.  
Milton Keynes, D.H. £1.00; Canterbury, A.M. £1.50; Cumbria, J.M. 50p; Wakefield, D.E.F. 20p;  
In Shop. A.W. £4.65; Heidelberg, R.S. £1.00; Littlehampton, A.J.L. 50p; Albuquerque, USA, W.R.D. £3.10; Gravesend, anon. £2.50; California, USA, L.J. £1.75; Herne Bay, I.W. 25p; Wolverhampton, J.L. £1.50; J.K.W. 50p; Leeds, W.G. £1.00; Total = £21.90  
Previously acknowledged = £598.62  
TOTAL TO DATE = £620.52  
TARGET FOR 1983 = £2000  
We still need around £400 *this month* to get back on schedule for our target!

**Overheads/Premises Fund**  
Contributions Received: May 26th - June 8th incl.  
Canterbury, A.M. £1.50; Stockport, T.E. £8.58;  
In Shop. Anon. £2.35; Wolverhampton, J.L. £3.00; Heidelberg, R.S. £1.00; Albuquerque, USA, W.R.D. £3.10; Gravesend, anon. £2.50; California, USA, L.J. £2.00; Wolverhampton, J.L. £3.00; London, NW 8, D.S. £7.00; London, E 1, A.G. £2.00; Total = £36.03  
Previously acknowledged = £400.50  
TOTAL TO DATE = £436.53  
TARGET FOR 1983 = £1,500  
We still need about £300 *this month* to get back on schedule for our target!

**BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP**

In Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

Please add postage as in brackets. Items marked \* are published in the USA. N.American purchasers please convert £1 - plus postage - at \$1.60 (US) and \$2.00 (Canada).

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\* Richard Drinner: Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman. £7.95 (70p) (ppr).

**A MISCELLANY:-**  
The Commonweal. Summer 1983, no. 1 £1.20 (33p) (93pp ppr)  
John Minnier & Philip Bolsover (Eds.): The CND Story 1958-1983. £1.95 (27p) (158pp ppr)

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\* Sidney Lers: The Day before Doomsday: An Anatomy of the Nuclear Arms Race. £3.75 (60p) (274pp ppr).

\* Leo Tolstoy: On Education (edited by Leo Weiner). £2.75 (65p) (360pp ppr)

\* Howard Zinn: A Peoples History of the United States. £6.00 (95p) (614pp ppr)

**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 30th June 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 27th, longer articles in by first post, Thursday 23rd June.

**WILDCAT**



FREEDOM BOOKSHOP and FREEDOM EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE are both at 84B WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST LONDON E1. Phone 01-247 9249  
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