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editorial

The radical wing of the nuclear disarmament movement seems to be in real danger of a serious decline, after the steady revival of the past three years. The most recent demonstration of non-violent direct action — the attempted five-day blockade of Greenham Common last week — attracted far fewer women than had been expected and needed. There were only a few hundred demonstrators each day — by contrast with the several thousand at the attempted four-day blockade of Upper Heyford a month earlier — and there were only token obstructions and invasions, involving a total of only 139 arrests (less than a fifth as many as at Upper Heyford).

In particular, it seems that Greenham Common is beginning to lose its appeal, less than two years after the establishment of the peace camp in September 1981. This is particularly unfortunate when the first Cruise missiles are due to be installed there later this year, and when there should be increasing rather than declining demonstrations. In general, it seems that, following the General Election, many people are reconsidering the prospects for any genuine moves towards nuclear disarmament or even towards a nuclear freeze by this country when a stronger Conservative Government faces divided Opposition parties in Parliament and supports aggressive right-wing governments in the Western alliance.

The only chance for renewed revival is a deliberate reinforcement of extra-parliamentary activity in the nuclear disarmament movement, to mobilise the considerable majority of the population opposed to the installation of new missile systems and to increase the significant minority of the population opposed to the existing American nuclear bases and British nuclear weapons. There is nothing to be lost after the General Election and everything to be gained during the deepening Depression, and there is plenty to do. There is a conventional symbolic demonstration in the human chain between the American and Russian Embassies in London on Saturday, 16 July; there is the Green Gathering near Glastonbury on 26-31 July; there are major demonstrations coming in London in October. And abroad there is the attempted mass occupation of the new Cruise missile base at Comiso in Sicily on 22-24 July (see the feature on pages 4-5). It is up to us now.

WHOLESOME POLITICS

For a non-exploitive society

Much of the pollution, soil erosion, hunger and disease we suffer from stems directly from the property and power based society in which we live. This has been so since the growth of hierarchically structured society in which groups of people have sought power over the rest. In recent times, the problems associated with such societies have been accelerated by the vast increase in technical power now available to us. This power threatens us in two ways — first through the destructive weapons now wielded by those who control the hierarchical blocks, and second through the exploitation of natural resources in a profiteering and consumer orientated society.

Apathy

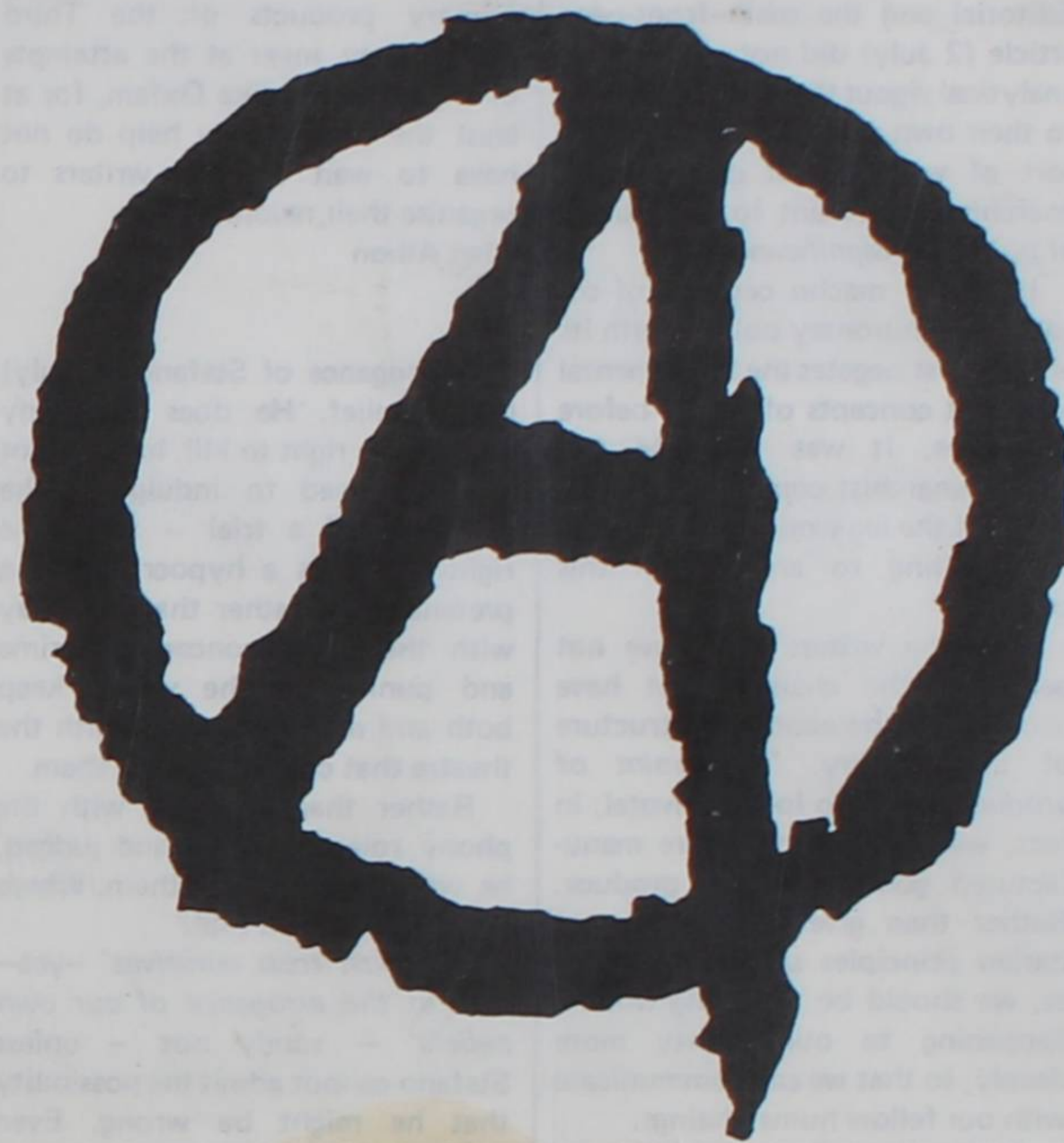
One of the features of modern industrial society is the apathy and the feeling of impotence that most people feel about changing the course of events. The development of professionalism and specialisation has discouraged people from thinking about those areas of human activity that affect them most — housing, food, transport, and the general environment. On top of this is the law developed by professionals and practised by professionals, at great expense, mainly to protect property and the political institutions around it. In all these areas people have to take what is offered them, and what is offered them is often deficient and not in accordance with their needs.

Privatisation and nationalisation

We have heard little about nationalisation recently, but a lot about privatisation. All this means is handing over the control of society and the environment to a group of bureaucrats or private individuals and companies intent on making a profit out of people's activities. The result for most people is exactly the same.

Anarchist Organisation

One has to organise with other people to supply basic needs, and the appropriate sort of organisation for anarchists was practised in the



Spanish collectives in the Revolution. The importance of this sort of organisation is only just being recognised. In fact today there are many instances of the growth of equal-pay and non-hierarchical structured groups. It is not easy, but it is possible, for such groups to operate within a society in which the competition rather than co-operation is the norm, and profit is the measure of success.

One can envisage many types of organisation, but they have to be small enough to make certain that everybody involved is able to participate and be responsible for the decisions that have to be made, while the profit motive and ownership principle remain, this is impossible as the clash of interests has to be resolved by governmental

imposition and the reinforcement of the harmful relationship. Government is the separation of the decisions from action, representing those who have acquired the power, while the ultimate sanction in enforcing those decisions is force, those who already have power also have powerful means of persuasion.

Anarchist organisation is where everyone is enabled to be intimately concerned with decisions, and where no group of people will profit, apart from the communal benefit derived from the satisfaction of needs and the arrangement of the work process for mutual satisfaction. People, of course, already do this sort of thing for specific purposes; anarchists suggest that it should be spread to our entire economic life.

Money

It is said that money facilitates exchange; it only facilitates exchange if you happen to have it. It confers on some unearned benefits, it enables a few to live off other people's labour — and the West to absorb a disproportionate amount of the world's wealth. Money has introduced unreality into the world of economics. As in many other spheres, the professionals have subjected economics to the mystification that enables financiers to manipulate the system for their own ends.

Money is not capital; it cannot generate anything but more money. Wealth can only be created by applying labour power to materials and land. If materials are diminished in the process, then capital source disappears. There is one source of capital, however, that can accrue, that is the land. For the sun as an external source of energy can by the process of growth actually increase the productive potential of the capital (ie, the land). This, however, does not apply to industrialised agriculture, where inputs actually exceed the outputs. In fact the cost of producing food from this source is so high in terms of energy and materials that people who need it most cannot afford to buy it — particularly in view of the fact that the source of raw material for that agriculture is derived from their own unbalanced agricultural system.

Profit, power waste and want

The practical problems of an ecological nature are within our technical power to solve, but the exploitation of people is linked with ecological exploitation, because the same attitude that treats people as a source of power and profit uses technology and resources for the same ends. We have to get among the disillusioned and the apathetic to convince them that they can change society, not as elitist groups, but as fellow humans facing the same problems.

Alan Albon

'STOP THE CITY!'

Over the past few months an idea has been developing within the various peace/ecologist/libertarian movements to occupy the 'City' area of London, especially around the Stock Exchange, as a protest against the war machine.

The City is the financial centre of Britain and vast profits are made from the arms trade and related industries. The action is being planned for Sept 29th, the day when profits for the summer are being reckoned up. A day of reckoning?!

On Saturday July 2nd a planning meeting was held to discuss the idea in full. About 60 people came from all over the country and spent all day discussing how this idea could be made to work in practice, and planning publicity, contacts and organisation.

By the end of the meeting there were contacts for many areas of London and the South-east as well as other regions. It was generally agreed that the action will involve a carnival on the streets and an effort to encourage a work stoppage in the area. The aim is to draw as many people as possible to reclaim the City on the day. The action is intended to be peaceful, not involving violence to people or other animals.

Various working groups were formed — coordination; fundraising; research; international contacts; contact with City workers; publicity; press; first aid; legal group and carnival group. In Manchester 'Stop the City' people are also encouraging similar protests in other cities on the same day.

How can you help — attend and

participate on September 29th; volunteer to be a contact for your area or group; join working groups; organise local meetings; do graffiti, leaflets and publicity; raise money and talk to everyone you know.

London coordinating group



meets every other Monday at 6 Endsleigh street, WC 1.

Contact: Dave - 01 809 1346

Andrew - 01 609 1852

Mike - 01 586 1096

In Manchester contact 061 226 4683

or 061 928 9134

Rapidly Approaching 'Militant Liberalism'

As someone rapidly approaching 40 may I reassure John (only 19) (FREEDOM letters 12) that, having read an anarchist pamphlet and actually thought about it, he is already more aware than 90% of the so-called movement. Unfortunately we are as buried in mindless clichés as authoritarian marxists. "You don't learn anarchy at school" as the Spanish say, but these days it seems that many English anarchists learn 'theory' from the 'put-downs' in the *Daily Telegraph* - chaotic rule!

Since FREEDOM itself devotes more space to 'Militant Liberalism and Marxist analysis' than libertarian understanding, it's not surprising you should confuse pacifism with anarchist opposition to heir-

archical power. I'm well aware that FREEDOM feels that people are already aware of basic anarchist ideas, so don't 'bore their readers' by discussing them. I can only say that, having been to many anarchist meetings, I find no evidence for that view in the real movement. Besides, just what is the point of an anarchist paper that doesn't devote itself to spreading anarchist ideas?

As for the articles in *Workers Play-Time* sounding like SWP rhetoric, most of the people in London Workers Group are 'pure' marxists who think that by tacking the word autonomy (never clearly defined) on to the holy writ of Das Capital, they can call themselves 'Libertarian'. Far from being anarchists, they even 'side' with Marx

against Bakunin over the 'First' International!

The first thing that any young anarchist must learn is that marxism is a metaphysical authoritarian religion; from the labour theory of value to the 'inevitable crisis of capitalism'. It can only lead you into serious confusion and contradiction if you want real revolutionary change in the real world. For instance, this issue of *Workers Play-Time* contains a mind-bogglingly stupid 'analysis' of the workers co-op movement as a GLC plot to maintain capitalism! When reality fails to conform with their Theory, marxists 'bend' their perception of reality rather than change their ideas. Now they claim you can have capitalism without capitalists!

The second thing to learn about pacifism is not anarchist either. The lesson of our history is that *those who cannot defend themselves must serve or suffer*. Pacifism amounts to an appeal to the better nature of the ruling class, and anyway pacifists are often rather aggressive and intolerant people.

The third thing is that the anti-theory 'activists' are in fact stuffed full of theory ... they just can't stand criticism (like all authoritarians).

The last, and most important thing, is that any fool can call themselves anarchist (including playmates) so *never* read just *one* pamphlet on any subject.

Arthur Askey

... and the meek shall inherit the Earth?

It is a pity that the writer of the Editorial and the main front-page article (2 July) did not employ the analytical vigour they are demanding to their own writings. For it is this sort of writing that consigns the anarchist movement to the 'gutter of political insignificance'.

It is this macho concept of so-called revolutionary politics with its elitism that negates the fundamental anarchist concepts of people before ideologies. It was two old and valued anarchist comrades who did much of the leg work to bring ritual state killing to an end in this country.

It is the writers who have not perceived the changes that have occurred in the economic structure of the country. 'The point of production' is no longer pivotal; in fact, we now import more manufactured goods than we produce. Rather than give up the humanitarian principles so glibly sneered at, we should be analysing what is happening to our society more deeply, so that we can communicate with our fellow human beings.

While the writers of this jargon

are filling their bellies with the primary products of the Third World, they sneer at the attempts of organisations like Oxfam, for at least the people they help do not have to wait for the writers to organise their revolution.

Alan Albon

▲ The arrogance of Stefano (2 July) defies belief. He does not deny himself the right to kill, he does not feel the need to indulge in the formality of a trial - which he rightly sees as a hypocrisy and a pretence; but rather than do away with the whole concept of crime and punishment he would keep both and merely do away with the theatre that comes between them.

Rather than do away with the phony roles of judges and judged, he would just reverse them. Where is the Freedom in that?

'We must trust ourselves' - yes - but 'in the arrogance of our own beliefs' - surely not - unless Stefano cannot admit the possibility that he might be wrong. Even anarchists make mistakes - they

have done so before and will do so again - surely an element of humility rather than arrogance is called for - the world has had enough of arrogance and where it leads.

One must fight slavery with freedom, violence with non-violence, alienation and fear with compassion and understanding; otherwise, if we 'win' we will only do so in order to discover that we have won our enemy's victory and not our own.

Apparently the death penalty of the state is bad and that of the 'revolutionary' good - surely the one behind the gun is the State to the one in front of it, whoever they each may be. Stefano will merely succeed in replacing one tyranny by another - possibly worse one.

JH

▲ Michel Prigent (letters, 18 June) really has taken political debate to a new low in equating the pacifist Bruce Kent of CND with the pro-Franco Spanish priests. If such comment is acceptable anarchist thought, we might equally start hating all Moroccans - and Spaniards - since a great many of them

also supported Franco.

Michel claims as an ally the magazine *Commonweal*, which also criticises Bruce Kent. It might be helpful to quote *Commonweal's* exact wording: *We hope that in the not too distant future, someone will have the good sense to place a brown plastic bag over the head of Monseigneur Bruce Kent - and tie it tightly*. This is from the magazine that goes on to claim: *It can be argued that anarchism can be relied upon as the only political force that will consistently oppose militarism*. Such sloppy thinking and elitism is valuable ammunition to those who see anarchism as the expression of mindless violence and infantile posing rather than a practicable and feasible way of living for us all.

Michel does not wish to take up my suggestion of discussing differences directly with Bruce Kent. Fair enough - as an alternative what about talking to a few CND groups - or if Michel's neighbours aren't too busy 'rising up daily' as true 'proletarians' should, perhaps they can be talked with.

Ross Bradshaw

Searching for the common ground

Having read your review of *The Commonweal* (2 July), we thought it warranted a reply, your readers having been left with a bad impression.

You start by saying it contains a 'rather hysterical article' on the police. We presume you are actually referring to a 14-page, carefully written and researched appraisal of what seems to us to be a 'rather hysterical' police force, who have shaken off their old Dixon of Dock Green image, all the better to keep us in our place (they think).

This, it is stated, is followed by a 'rather silly article' on the peace movement. This is an article that suggests that if CND achieves its limited aim it could end up by strengthening the State, which may seem silly to you, but we would have thought was at least worth some sort of reply if you disagree.

Then, apparently, there is a 'very bad poem'. You might have considered that this supposed very bad poem was written in a passion (not after the usual sterile comment and bland academia, we expected you to notice) by someone who doesn't aim for the poet laureateship but rather wanted to state in human terms what it actually feels like to be under a death sentence from working in an asbestos factory. To take no notice of this small fact is callous in the extreme.

Next you 'review' the 17-page article 'Towards a free society'. As this is a broad-ranging consideration of the fundamental changes in the nature of capitalist society and the inadequate anarchist response to this, and goes on to discuss the failure of the 1960's, the unemployment situation, and the arguments between pacifists and non-pacifists, and makes some suggestions as to what our response should be, we

fail to see how the article says 'very little'.

To clear up a few points, there is not an 'attack on trade unions' (this was a joke at the expense of the anarcho-syndicalists, as is stated in the introduction). Nor is there a 'documented attack on Trotsky's view of workers in Bolshevik Russia' (which would be pedantic). It is an attack on Trotsky's ideology and its influence and relevance to the Trotskyist movement today.

After various other comments, mainly non-committal, you then inform your readers that the *Commonweal* is 'rather a mess' (rather a lot of rathers, don't you think?) We would like to suggest that it is your review that is rather a mess. When faced with a new publication, one moreover that aims to say something new, to write it off as Hysterical/silly/a mess, might have been justified if you had bothered to make out even one argument as to why you consider it so. Constructive criticism, of which we have received some, is always helpful (even when we don't agree with it), writing off the whole journal with one word comments is not.

Commonweal

P.S. As a further illustration of the insensitivity of the review, calling David Nicoll 'a little crazy' is just not on. Nicoll was driven out of his mind in Chelmsford gaol, after being sentenced for defending the Walsall anarchists, an experience which gave him wild hallucinations, and from which he never recovered.

▲ 'Leaving the workers movement it's traditions and history' (were you ever in it? recently that is?) for Autonomy, which is a 'recently dated tradition if ever there was

one, and avowedly Marxist, be it Situationalist, Ultra-Left or Councilist varieties! 'Analytical rigour', 'point of production is pivotal', 'mere accomodators of the continuing remodification and retrenchment of capitalism' etc. all make sense in the enclosed world of dialectical sciences such as Marxism but are really so much froth, take away the gilded jargon and phrasemongering, what do you get, the Vanguard, the Avanteguard, the Palace Revolution guard. On the other hand, the Anarcho-syndicalist article used a flowery language at times too, but the aim is practical from experience even unlike so many revolutionaries who see themselves as intervening etc. bringing consciousness to the thick proles. It ain't what you say, it's just the way that you say it, and so it goes onto Ain't what you do, it's the way that you do it. Anarcho-syndicalism seems more and more relevant to the problems of yer actual workers, while all the Autonomy pose a 60's revival of the Provoariat idea of student and middle-class drop-out lifestyle confrontation which as we all know dropped back in with fashion marketers and their ilk.

There is a lot of slugging off, eg. Stop the City, Upper Heyford, Pornography and Censorship in the letters page. Without these actions the authors would be nowhere, and their bit more of this, bit less of that, liberalism masks a real authoritarianism. They want to control what actions people do. The only way to really overcome this dead-end is to do actions yourselves for comparison. *The Commonweal* review too, is a bit pure, a big effort, a new (well, revived) publication, and cheap publication, deserves more encouragement. You're right

about the patchy content, but that doesn't stop me buying FREEDOM does it?

Glad to hear the Welsh are getting organised, what about the Irish and Scots? Simon Saxton of Keighley is an inspiration to us all, we gotta get out and about and let people know our ideas and actions.

Keep up the good work.

B. Tillet

Foul Play

In reply to 'Playmate'. I agree with John, the article in *Workers Playtime* does sound like SWP rhetoric.

An anarchist should not advocate violent revolution. As an anarchist you should be against all oppression, no-matter who is the oppressor.

Like the hammer is the tool of the Blacksmith, violence is the tool of the oppressor. By using that tool you are forcing someone to accept something they don't want and as an anarchist you should feel that that is wrong.

We've got to use other means. We have to take control and manipulate the media to get our views across. We've got to use rallying, leaflets etc. Of course it's difficult, but it's a struggle we have to persevere with. Anarchy is the human way, it should be allowed to develop naturally. That is why there is a resurgence going on now, and this time we won't be beaten, we are here to stay.

If we use force people will not accept us and will destroy us. So, 'playmate', stop reading Stirner, it's bad for you.

Paul Hope

FREEDOM
Editorial Collective
84b Whitechapel High St
London E1

We reserve the right to cut
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specified by the author.

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

West Papua: The Obliteration of a People, TAPOL, 8a Treport street, London SW18 2BP. £2.50

Indonesian genocide in West Papua New Guinea

The Nazis said they were going to destroy the Jewish people, and they tried to do so. The other great powers looked on with indifference. When it was over, they beat their breasts and said, 'Never again'. That was 40 years ago. Since then, various other attempts have been made at genocide.

Today, far from Europe in West Papua New Guinea, yet another people is being systematically wiped out. Since 1963 Indonesia has shown in word and deed its intention to eliminate Melanesian people and culture in its territory. Again the world looks on with indifference, while Western governments give Indonesian military aid which assists the project.

The terrible history of West Papua has now been told by the London-based human rights organization TAPOL, in a valuable book, *West Papua: The Obliteration of a People*. The facts are dreadfully clear. Unless Indonesia's military regime is stopped, the million West Papuan people will lose the struggle for their existence.

The first step to prevention is knowledge of the events. Western governments know, but they are part of the problem. For the rest, symptomatic of prevailing ignorance is the fact that the 1983 Amnesty International Report, *Political Killings by Governments*, does not even mention West Papua. The TAPOL publication fills this important gap. The question remains: after Armenia, Stalin, Hitler, Palestine, Nigeria, Bangladesh, East Tomor and Kampuchea, has genocide become so institutionalised that people no longer care?

West Papua New Guinea was annexed by Indonesia in 1963. Even before a rigged, post-hoc 'Act of Free Choice' in 1969, Indonesia embarked on a programme of cultural imperialism bordering on genocide. Reliable statistics are difficult to obtain. The Suharto regime does not allow access to independent observers. However, estimates from various sources indicate that, as a result of the takeover, between 70,000 and 150,000 people have died so far. Taking the standard demographic variables into account, this is at least 10 per cent of the population. Today, the chief threats to the remaining people are economic transformation, starvation, transmigration and direct military assault.

West Papua is rich in a variety of natural resources. Petroleum products, copper, timber, sea foods, and land pour at least half a billion dollars into the Indonesian budget each year. In the exploitation of these resources by Indonesia and its foreign partners, the Melanesian people are swept aside like 'wild



animals', as they are called by Indonesian officials.

From the outset, Indonesia's direct military violence has taken a terrible toll. Methods include the bombing and burning of whole villages, livestock and food gardens, and frequent ground attacks on undefended villages. West Papuan sources report the use of napalm and chemical weapons. This has gone virtually unreported in the Western press.

The effect has been to deprive West Papuans of work, land, culture, health and elementary human rights. In response, however, they have not been passive. Led by the Free Papua Movement (OPM) guerrillas, villagers have attacked Indonesian patrols and installations, armed mainly with bows and arrows. Indonesia has retaliated with mod-

ern technology in its efforts to crush and punish the popular resistance of a people whose only crime is to exist.

As the regime and its backers cut down forests, open mines and establish businesses, dozens of village settlements are abolished from agriculturally productive areas. For a people almost totally reliant on the soil for their existence, this is catastrophic. The result of the rural uprooting has been serious famine and related diseases. Few Melanesians are now seen in the towns.

These trends have been greatly accelerated by Indonesia's transmigration programme. This programme is designed to ease the awful social conditions in rural Java, and for 'security' reasons. Indonesian settlers create a buffer zone between West Papua and independent Papua

New Guinea (the former Australian colony), and transform areas where Papuan resistance is strong. The most fertile lands and the best fishing grounds are taken by the new settlers. The West Papuans are left to die of hunger and disease in inhospitable terrain.

Some Indonesian officials expect that by the year 2000, two million Indonesians will have been moved to West Papua. The former Vice President, Adam Malik, has stated that the programme aims at nine million new settlers. It is likely that Indonesians already outnumber West Papuans.

For the Indonesian regime, the West Papuans have no right to exist. Propaganda posters in Indonesia proclaiming Indonesia's 'development' programme for West Papua

exhort: 'Protect our forests, water and land'. The people represented in the posters are Indonesian. All school textbooks are in Indonesian. They make no reference to Melanesian culture except to describe it in passing as 'primitive'. Melanesian art, in particular the marvellous carving, has all but died.

Where does this leave us? Among the motivating impulses behind the universally applicable principles enumerated at Nuremberg in 1946 was the recognition of the racist battle of genocide. The final Nuremberg Principle declares that knowing complicity in a crime against humanity is also a crime against humanity. We can no longer plead ignorance about what is happening in West Papua New Guinea.

Julie & Patrick Flanagan,

Housing

Fantasy

Last week members of the Residents of Unsatisfactory Post-War Housing went to the golf course where Sir Kenneth Wood was playing (Sir Kenneth is past chairman of Bisons, the system builders), then went to the house of Peter Jupp (one of his executives), and picked them up to install them in one of their own tower blocks. They are hoping to identify more politicians, planners and architects responsible, to join the above persons in the same block. Investigations are still going ahead to find out who benefitted from these building operations, knowing they were dangerous and had serious faults.

It is proposed to sell the desirable property owned by these people, to help defray the cost estimated between £200 million and £300 million to put these buildings right, if that is possible.

Reality

The proposed new Criminal Justice Bill will not deal with crooks like Sir Kenneth Wood and Peter Jupp. It is designed to hassle their victims and to protect the property-based society under which they operate. As Peter Jupp said, 'The prime consideration of any chief executive, as far as I am concerned, is the commercial viability of his company, securing the interest of the shareholders, and the staff and employees; that was my prime concern.' This man destroyed evidence of building faults so local authorities continued to buy and erect buildings from which several tons of masonry could and would fall. The most spectacular building failure was of course Ronan Point, which resulted in the deaths of several people.

Post-war building is riddled with faults, some hazardous to health, mostly in the public sector. Never has the dictum, Private profit equals public good, been shown to be so false.

Government

Never has representative government so clearly failed as in the field of housing. There are politicians, planners and architects assessing other people's needs with total lack of consultation. There are private builders screwing as much as they can out of the need for public housing, where the poorest members of the community are housed. Profit is paramount, so resources have gone into commercial buildings and offices, though the automation of office work has now created a surplus of office space. Now is the time when a sane society would be returning many beautiful houses which are now offices to their original domestic use.

Between the speculators, the profiteers, and the professionals, which have little communication with building research, the unfortunate resident is faced with rising rents and bad conditions, and a government unwilling to allocate resources to remedy the faults created by their profit motivated economy.

Sheffield

Yesterday, (to commemorate the 107th anniversary of Bakunin's death), The Sheffield Anarchists occupied the building that used to be used as the juvenile court and the morgue. It is our intention to use it to house homeless anarchists and as a centre for anarchist activities in the area.

Recent activities by the group have concentrated on the revival of the old *Sheffield Anarchist* magazine, disruption of election and other party political meetings. We hope to use the building for holding our own meetings, producing the paper more regularly, along with leaflets and posters, and as a base for spontaneous actions by the people staying there.

At the moment we urgently need both people to occupy the building whilst we become established, and letters of support to help to establish our postal address, could you help to spread the word amongst your friends. We will send you an updated report in time for the next issue.

Sheffield Anarchist Group

The Anarchist Centre, The Old Courthouse and Mortuary, Nursery street, Sheffield.
2nd July 1983.

Ulster

Ulster and the Falklands provide a classic spectacle of an empire in its last desperate bid to retain something of its dwindling territorial conquests. Most imperialists would rather leave their empire in ruins than see it peacefully returned to the original inhabitants. British policy in India left half a million dead as a consequence of inadequate concern for inter Moslem and Hindu rivalry. Its handling of Southern Africa resulted in the Rhodesian war and contributed to the development of Apartheid. Ulster can also be looked at as an apartheid system which explains the hostility of Republicans to this geo-politically engineered state.

The British have such a paranoid fear of becoming a colony themselves that they would rather see the whole world destroyed in a nuclear holocaust than risk the

unlikely occupation by a foreign power. Like the USA, Imperialist Britain with its neo-imperialist economic and military policies in the third world, must be exposed for what it is—a continual attempt to subdue the world's people and retain natural resources for the use of North America and Europe. The biggest carrot kept dangling in front of the population of the wealthiest nations is the private motor car. If we are to share the world's resources this monstrous vehicle of alienation, sudden death and appalling injury will have to go.

A. Anderson

In brief

A conference has been held in Cambridge to examine ways to reduce the number of burglaries. The general conclusion was that it couldn't be done, so emphasis should be shifted to reassurance in an attempt to reduce fear of crime. Meanwhile, the Advertising Standards Authority has been doing its bit. It has upheld complaints against marketers of burglar alarms. Amongst these are leaflets saying, 'Half of all rapes occur in the home.' 'If you live in London you're likely to be robbed, assaulted or burgled twice in your lifetime.'

The British Medical Association has ruled that doctors can be struck off for telling parents that they prescribed contraception for girls under 16. Jill Knight (Conservative, Edgbaston) describes this as 'monstrous'.

Controversy has been aroused by a new book which claims that George V flung his cousin, the Tsar, to the mercies of the Bolsheviks. The author says that private papers, which he has been allowed to study, show that the king personally blocked moves to allow his relatives to come to Britain.

EVERYONE

FREEDOM reprints here the text of 'Tutti a Comiso', a broadsheet published and widely distributed in the Comiso area of Sicily. It urges anarchists throughout Europe to do all they can to support the people of Comiso in their struggle against the building of the Cruise base at nearby Magliocco airport. In the face of the American military, Italian state and Mafia, popular opposition is very strong. Within this opposition the Self-managed Leagues, organised along anarchist lines, play an active role. We join with the Leagues in appealing to all readers to join the fight against the Comiso base, to travel to and participate in the occupation of the base during July 22-24.

Translated by Jean Weir and Clifford Harper

WHAT MASS OCCUPATION MEANS

The mass occupation of the Comiso missile base means interrupting a project which, if realised, threatens us all with mortal danger; also the militarisation of our territory, control, speculation and mafioso management of public life would be extended to their maximum degree.

■ Briefly, for us to enter the base presently under construction in a mass occupation means liberating the land which belongs to us from the American occupation and foiling the Mafia speculation.

► Mass occupation involves an active critique of the Communist Party's limited and vague statements which have not in any way interrupted the construction work. Huge conventional demonstrations will not change the minds of the Mafia and politicians who serve the Americans.

► Mass occupation of the Comiso base means refusing actively, and not merely with words, all that the Christian Democrats and Socialists wish to impose on us — a project which has already transformed our area into a militarised desert where only army and police vehicles circulate freely.

► Mass occupation means rejection of war, rejection of atomic missiles and every kind of armament, whether Russian or American, an affirmation of the necessity to demilitarise here and now, beginning from our own area, where they intend to place their deadly weapons, and then extend wherever else they plan to place missiles and wherever else missiles already exist.

► Mass occupation of the missile base means joining together on 22-24 July, deciding together what to do, planning assembly points and then marching together on the base

— everyone, students and proletarian women, farm hands and peasants, workers and unemployed — entering and transforming it from the launching-site of death that the Americans intend, to the launching-site of life.

► Mass occupation means entering the base and restoring the land to its real purpose — to plant and cultivate food, tomatoes, peppers, aubergines — to plant everything it is possible to plant, to plant the flags of freedom instead of the flags

of oppression, the symbols of peace instead of the symbols of war.

► Mass occupation means the defeat of the local and international Mafia's building speculation and drug peddling, the defeat of those forces whom the state claims to fight, while in fact it supports and finances with such projects as the construction of the Comiso base.

► Mass occupation means us all together, proletarians and peasants, beyond all possible political divisions, demonstrating our decision to transform Comiso base into a place of peace, not war.

► Mass occupation means demanding 'clean work', realising all the social projects promised and never carried out, without submitting to the blackmail of unemployment which the bosses impose on workers, bypassing the possibilistic and treacherous trade unions who claim they are against the base, but whose only 'method of struggle' is begging for work on the base for a handful of the unemployed.

► Mass occupation means ending the nightmare which, for months now, has hovered over Comiso, it means a future without the American invaders and their terrible weapons of destruction. □

THE TIME HAS COME

The missile base is being built.

► The Americans are arriving.
► The Mafia are already at work.

Military control over our area increases every day.

► What are we waiting for?

It's time to move together, to occupy Magliocco airbase and put an end to its construction.

It's time to say 'Enough' to the gabble and false promises of all the different tricksters and politicians. 'Enough' to those who've sold out to the Americans, or for political reasons try to hold back the actions of the people.

► It's time to move on to action. □

THE AMERICANS ARE ALREADY HERE

The Americans are invading, an invasion whose every detail has been carefully prepared. When they disembarked during the Second World War, they handed out chocolates, tins of meat and beans. Now they cautiously fraternise with the population, trying to camouflage themselves, hoping to pass unnoticed.

They have orders not to cause too much upset, not to get drunk in the pizzerias and bars, to go easy courting the girls, and if there's no other way, at least to hint at the possibility of marriage.

At the moment they are only a few hundred, mainly young men. When they go out in the evening they are looked upon with suspicion by the local people, who keep their bitterness and grievances to themselves. Our people hate invasions, they have put up with dozens in

the course of history, but they cannot yet see this invader as an enemy. Our people are basically trusting, and expect these invaders to bring some improvement, work and peace!

But, despite their inoffensive ways, these young healthy boys, wandering aimlessly through the streets of Comiso and the neighbouring villages, are the carriers of the most murderous destruction man has yet devised — the Cruise missile. These same boys will position and guard these weapons, forcing us to sleep with deadly danger beneath our pillows.

Their smiles mask their true faces — servants of American imperialism. To consider them friends is a deadly mistake for which we will all pay dearly.

► Americans, go home — we don't want you here! □

THE MAFIA COMES TO COMISO

The Americans are not the only visitors to our home. The Mafiosi from Palermo and Catania are also paying us a visit. The massive building speculation drew them like bees to honey. Hundreds of sites are up for construction — hotels, villas and buildings of every kind. Our beautiful Inlei mountains, untouched for millennia, sung of by the poet Pindar, are swiftly being transformed into a rotten Swiss cheese of villas and residences.

The base is the biggest money-maker of recent years and, as we all know (though of course no one will say so), such money is never made without the Mafia. The construction will enrich the Mafia enormously, their profits will be invested immediately in their most productive sector — drugs. Two out of every ten American servicemen use drugs. So there will be, as a natural consequence of the Americans arrival, a huge demand and supply of this product. Vittoria's 400 addicts are destined to increase — to what figure?

We are saying all this today, because tomorrow it will be too late to say or do anything at all.

Whoever does not do everything to prevent the base's construction connives with those who speculate, deal or profit in drugs. Those who

sell themselves for the miserable blackmail of a few months' work on the base and give up the struggle for 'clean work' are just as responsible as the politicians who are doing nothing effective to stop the base.

The waiting and empty words are over. The great demonstrations and petitions are over. The hunger strikes are over. It's time to move into action, to occupy the base and stop the construction. □



Co-ordinamento
Leghe
Autogestite

via Conte Torino 1
97013 Comiso
Tel: 0932 966289

Box Comiso
121 Railton road
London SE 24

TO COMISO

THE SELF-MANAGED LEAGUES AGAINST THE COMISO BASE

The many difficulties raised by the need to develop a concrete form for the opposition to the Comiso base has led for a time to a certain decline in the Leagues.

However, once a decision was made for the mass occupation to take place, there was an immediate renewal of interest and participation which has continued over the past few weeks.

In many cases individuals are

re-contacting the Leagues in order to work out how to organise and participate in the July occupation.

The Leagues occupy an important position, principally as the focus for the organisation of the struggle. Following the occupation, the Leagues could carry out the more complex task of forming stronger links with the local people and of defining and clarifying the next stages of the struggle. □

THE TRADE UNIONS AND 'CLEAN WORK'

The unions who initially mobilised against the construction of the Comiso base have now, for the miserable carrot of a few months work for a fraction of Comiso's 2,000 unemployed, taken a crucial step backwards. While declaring they are against the base, they urge the unemployed to work there. Thus they abandon the struggle for alternative 'clean work'.

It is not hard for the workers to draw their own conclusions. By accepting the blackmail of a few months construction work on the base, the unions become accomplices not only of the American invasion, but also of the other consequences we have warned against — the growth of Mafia building speculation and drugs, of military control over the area, of indiscriminate price increases, and so on.

Their efforts to demand work should be directed to forcing those responsible for investment to create projects for Magliocco airport that would be useful to the economy of

the area, not such a monument to death as the installation of nuclear missiles.

We will not forget that these same unions which today give way, thus splitting a struggle which could have developed more real and meaningful actions, are those who yesterday marched in huge demonstrations against the base. So what should we think? That those demonstrations were useless and fictitious? Or that the workers' position has changed?

We think that the construction of the base can be prevented by a mass occupation, installing a committee of occupation inside the airbase capable of imposing a different and peaceful future.

As representatives of the workers and unions should be present in the struggle, imposing an alternative and demanding 'clean work', starting at the airbase and moving out in a coordinated action to obtain work in other productive sectors. The time of huge demonstrations is over. The time for real, constructive action is here. □

TO EVERYONE!

One of the most indispensable elements in the mass occupation will be the presence of as many comrades as possible. It seems to us that such a presence among the people of Comiso on the days when they act against the base, will give to the occupation a precise and inescapable meaning, leaving no room for doubt or equivocation.

Not only will our participation do these things, it will also be indispensable to a successful occupation, and for immediately afterward continuing the struggle and defending the gains that are made. Therefore we urge all comrades to be here on 22-24 July and take part. □

TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The moment has come to settle accounts. The time of huge marches and mass demonstrations full of yesterday's symbolism, is over. The time for mass occupation is here.

Soon the people of Comiso and the surrounding area, mobilised by the self-managed Leagues, will occupy the base and put a stop to its construction.

On 22-24 July we shall all move together towards Magliocco airbase, enter it, and prevent this criminal farce from going any further.

We won't be alone in this. As well as the local people, there will be many militants from the base of your own Party, who have indicated their intention to participate and have voiced genuine and radical doubts about their Party's position over this issue. Also, moving with us will be comrades from all over Italy and every part of Europe, who will gather for a deadline that is crucial to the freedom and justice of the entire world.

And what are you to do? Will you again stay at the roadside? Again just the bystander, listing 'possible resolutions at government and international level', to a problem that is overwhelming the people of Comiso? Or will you be beside us, with the people of this area who have finally decided to say, Enough!

We cannot believe that at such a crucial moment the Communist Party can withdraw, and thus support by its actions the most reactionary forces of national and American capital. The time for a clear, unambiguous decision is here.

Either participate with the people in the occupation; or call the cops.

It's up to you. □

PACIFISM ISN'T WAITING RESIGNEDLY

Mass occupation becomes legitimate and just when it becomes clear that the actions of the government threaten our personal safety and the basic principles of life.

In the face of such a threat, we are sure that the apparent differences between a pacifist struggle on one side, and a potentially violent intervention on the other, will ultimately disappear.

Like the people of Comiso, we are not violent, but we feel this is not the time for another debate on non-violence versus violence — this can be postponed for a while. Like the people of Comiso, we feel the first job is to occupy the base, and as the deadline of 22-24 July draws even nearer, we cannot put that job off any longer — certainly not in order to talk.

We know that most of the pacifist militants work with open minds and good faith, and that they are quite capable of dealing with the occasional politician who has entered their movement for the benefit of this or that party.

Although at the moment the pacifists activity is limited to a 'massive participation' on 22-24 July, we believe that as the day draws nearer they will agree to a common struggle. Otherwise their activity runs the risk of becoming a dead letter, as they stand aside in order to 'clarify their ideological position'. To do so would be to apply a dead weight, a brake, on action, rather than a stimulus for a point of departure. □



歴史的批判

日本における社会主義思想

赤旗運動

The Origins of Socialist Thought In Japan by John Crump (Croom Helm, London 1983, £15.95).

I can think of few people who would not find reading this book a worthwhile and rewarding endeavour, least of all those who might pass it by because its subject matter seems esoteric or because it is a book about socialism. As the author points out, the formidable barriers erected by language and cultural differences have hindered a ready two-way flow of information and ideas between Japan and the rest of the world; any work which attempts to bridge this gulf is thus very welcome. Neither is this an interpretation of socialism viewed from the standpoint of any of the variants of social-democracy or bolshevism; the author's commitment to revolutionary first principles makes a refreshing change from the 99% of writing about socialism which only serves to drag its name through the mud.

The book is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with the years between the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and the

Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). During this period the capitalist development of Japan was embarked upon, though hardly fully consciously, as a way of realising the new ruling class's aim of 'National Wealth and Military Strength'.

Yet by the eve of the Russo-Japanese War the factory proletariat in Japan still only comprised little over 1% of the population. Less than half of the enterprises in the textile-dominated industrial sector of the economy used any form of mechanical power, and the average-sized factory employed just 59 workers.

It is a central part of Crump's argument that this was to have profound consequences for the way a socialist movement took shape: 'the undeveloped state of the capitalist economy in Japan in the Meiji era was bound to seriously hamper the efforts of those there who thought of themselves as socialists to formulate an alternative to capitalism. . . Along with an undeveloped capitalist economy went an equally undeveloped working class. The backwardness of the workers not only added to the socialists' isolation but even made it difficult for many of the Meiji socialists to recognise in the working class the force which could achieve socialism.'

Unable at this stage to formulate a penetrating critique of this unfamiliar mode of production, capitalism, the early socialists in Japan ended up 'merely advocating an alternative method of constructing capitalism in that country'. Their schemes proposed a reorganisation of capital to bring it under the collective control of the state. Crump characterises this as 'state capitalism' and contrasts it with genuine socialism 'where production is for the direct satisfaction of human needs without the mediation of a process of buying and selling or exchange, where the means of production are commonly owned and democratically controlled, where there are neither social classes, the state, nor money'.

A second consequence of the undeveloped state of capitalism was that, given the smallness and weakness of the nascent proletariat, social revolution as working-class self-emancipation seemed to make little sense, and many socialists adopted the elitist idea that socialism could only be imposed from above by a benevolent minority. This position was reinforced by the legacy of traditional Confucian teaching and admiration for the *shishi* of the 1868 revolution - 'the

relative handful of courageous and self-sacrificing revolutionaries who had been prepared to throw away their lives for what they believed in'.

Such wayward beliefs received little correction from the socialist ideas which reached Japan from abroad during these years. Marx and Engels' theories made little impact before 1905, due mainly to the difficulty of transposing terms such as 'bourgeoisie' and 'proletariat' to a context where such classes were as yet barely recognisable. Russian *narodism* enjoyed a certain vogue up to 1885, mainly because of a fascination with the activist *elan* and romantic deeds of its heroes and heroines; few explicit tactical parallels were drawn between Meiji Japan and Czarist Russia. Another Russian influence was Tolstoy, who won a following because of his pacifist opposition to the Russo-Japanese War but then lost most of it after criticising 'the very feeble, illusory and fallacious theory of socialism'.

By far the deepest impression was made by German Social-Democracy. From their own desperate situation the Japanese socialists looked with admiration upon the electoral successes and mass membership of the SPD. But, Crump argues, 'the lessons which the socialists learned from European social democracy were disastrously wrong'. The SPD's influence strengthened state-capitalist conceptions of socialism. Parliamentary notions also took root, providing a startling example of the way Japanese socialists 'took over the SPD's strategy and tried to apply it in a set of circumstances which ruled out any chance of its success whatsoever'. Standing as a by-election candidate in Tokyo in May 1906 Kinoshita Naoo won 32 votes from an electorate of 16800. As Crump remarks, 'the surprising thing is not that Kinoshita received only 32 votes but that he managed to get any votes at all', since the workers were not enfranchised and stringent property qualifications restricted the electorate to the very wealthiest 1% of the population!

The second half of the book takes the account up to 1918, and in so doing tells a story which bears striking resemblance to that related in Part One.

Despite the further development of Japanese capitalism 'the economic and social environment in which the socialists operated was fundamentally unchanged'. By 1918 30% of all factories still lacked mechanical power, the average-sized factory

employed just 63 workers, and the factory proletariat as a whole comprised only 2.6% of an overwhelmingly peasant-based population.

Nevertheless the 1906-1918 period saw the first flexing of the young working-class's muscles. With no trade unions or enfranchisement to direct their grievances along reformist channels, the simplest of workers' protests often escalated into ferocious insurrections involving violent direct action, most spectacularly during the Ashio and Besshi copper mine disputes in 1907 and later in the Great Rice Riots of 1918.

These events made a deep impression on the socialist movement and by around 1908 had helped to cause a split in its ranks. One faction maintained an attachment to European social-democracy and looked to the Meiji state to implement a policy of reforms culminating in the goal of nationalisation plus parliamentary democracy. Katayama Sen was the most prominent of these 'moderate socialists'.

A second faction, by contrast, drew from the events of 1907 (and also from the Russian revolution of 1905) the lesson that the future direction of the class struggle lay with the tactics of Direct Action and the General Strike. This faction embraced advocates of 'an entire spectrum of political positions, ranging from almost pure anarchism, through anarcho-syndicalism and a type of industrial syndicalism similar to that favoured by Tom Mann in Britain, to the direct actionism of some who rarely described themselves as either anarchists or syndicalists'.

Kotoku Shusui could be counted the best-known of the anarchists/syndicalists. His seven months' visit to the USA during 1904-1905 and his meetings there with anarchists and wobblers was crucial to his conversion from social-democracy to anarchism, while the first years after his return to Japan were occupied in part by translating Kropotkin's highly-regarded *The Conquest of Bread* into Japanese, a task eventually completed in 1901. During this time Kotoku 'honoured' Kropotkin with the title *sensei* meaning teacher/master.

But most of the ideas 'imported' from abroad were as little help to the Japanese socialists during 1906-1918 as others had been in the previous period, for as Crump points out 'syndicalism was no more relevant to the Japanese working class than was the social-democrats' parliamentarism in a context

where workers were denied the vote'.

Once again Japanese socialists had taken over a Western European strategy and tried to apply it to a set of circumstances which ruled out any chance of its success, for 'not only were there hardly any trade unions (and those few which did manage to exist were weak and often miniscule) but the working class was small and highly unstable as well. How a social general strike

(which had as its aim the paralysing of social production) was to be implemented in a predominantly peasant society such as Japan, where agriculture was carried on in a fragmentary fashion by family units, was never satisfactorily explained'.

To their credit, on the other hand, the anarchist/syndicalist faction's hostility to state capitalism, commitment to working-class self-emancipation, and determination to abolish the wages system represented 'giant theoretical steps forward' over the ideas held by the social-democratic wing of the movement.

All told this is a fascinating and stimulating account and many of the lessons drawn from the experiences of the Japanese socialist movement between 1868 and 1918 have an applicability which ranges beyond the confines of that country and that historical period. Careful reading of the text might clarify commonly mistaken notions of 'capitalism' and 'socialism' and clear up some of the misunderstandings which separate socialists and anarchists today, while the criticisms Crump makes of syndicalism and terrorism deserve wider discussion. Finally, those who would look to the 'Third World' as the most probable location for the initial outbreak of the coming revolution are also likely to find their ideas strongly challenged here, for Crump argues in his Introduction (and the book can be interpreted strongly in favour of this point of view) that 'if socialism remains throughout the world a future possibility rather than a description of existing reality, the areas of the world where that possibility has the greatest chance of first registering on the popular consciousness are those which are economically the most highly developed and where the blue- and white-collar working class comprises the vast majority of the population. At present this principally means Western Europe, North America and Japan'.

Mark Shipway

Amnesty

Persecution East and West Cosmas Desmond, Penguin £2.50

Cosmas Desmond describes himself as "a Christian and a socialist who is implacably hostile to capitalism". He became a Franciscan friar and worked as a missionary in South Africa. He was put under house arrest there in 1971. In 1972 he left the priesthood and a few years later returned to England. He became director of the British section of Amnesty International (AI) in 1979 and was sacked in 1981. The reason appears to have been a staff conflict over office restructuring. However, it clearly emerges from this book that Cosmas Desmond does not know very much about Amnesty work, and is unfamiliar with the Amnesty statute.

Persecution East and West is, in my view, an ill-informed and dishonest book. It is curiously confused, transparently bitter, badly written and often downright silly. Most readers of FREEDOM will probably be uninterested in too nit-picking an examination of Desmond's views of Amnesty, but certain inaccuracies and misconceptions ought to be mentioned straight away. For instance, AI does not adopt prisoners if informed that they do not wish to be adopted. It has not distanced itself from the trade union movement. It does not devote disproportionate energy and resources to attacking socialist countries. It does not consider that imprisonment is the worst of all possible fates. It does not say that freedom of expression is the absolute right of all individuals. (1)

There are other, wider misconceptions. Capitalism which he defines as the desire for private ownership, is not the only cause of existing oppression. Socialist countries are not oppressive only because they retain vestiges of capitalism. Nor is unemployment in most cases as bad as, or worse than, imprisonment and torture in most cases.

Of course organizations like Amnesty International are legiti-

mate targets for criticism. Desmond rightly points to its political ambiguity, and certainly from an anarchist point of view, statements such as "...the death penalty (is) an act of cold blood beneath the dignity of the modern state" (my emphasis) (2) are highly suspect and definitely political.

But the problem with this book is that Cosmas Desmond believes he has written a polemic, when he is merely shadow-boxing. It is sensible of him to say that AI (or other human rights organizations) "cannot be the vehicle for a total political and human commitment", and a number of Amnesty members or workers may well have succumbed to this view. But in my view the danger is grossly exaggerated. Most people in one way or another who work for AI are perfectly aware of its limitations in a sense that Desmond himself seems not to be. For by criticizing its "Western liberal" position, which is the term by which he describes AI's concentration on work for individual prisoners, he comes very close to saying that AI should become instead a "socialist" organisation with a virtually unlimited mandate, dedicated to the eradication of all forms of oppression and the overthrow of capitalism; that AI should,

in other words, become a left-wing political party.

Desmond's constant complaint is the "Western liberal" outlook. Indeed, at times he seems to worry less about oppression than to fear that the nations of the world will suddenly start to implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and thus accept "the imposition of Western standards".

He seems to forget that Marxism also (and for that matter anarchism) derives to a very large extent from Western political ideology. He makes an artificial distinction between individual and human rights. He appears happy to brush aside freedom of conscience or expression as a "Western concept" with little meaning for the rest of the world. He writes about liberalism as though it has never had an intelligent influence on socialist movements and about freedom of expression as if the oppressed are not interested in learning to read and write. He does not seem aware that social revolution is impossible without freedom of expression, and that very few revolutions of any kind have taken place without being able to build upon a period in which freedom of expression was comparatively widespread.

Desmond closes with a chapter in

which he states the belief that "human beings are naturally perfectable people" and are "not naturally possessive individuals" and that it will be possible to build a free and equal society based on workers control. Personally I am not particularly interested in the perfect human being, but it might have been a more useful exercise to write a book developing this idea. Instead, he tags it on to the end of one which seems simply to have served as a vehicle for his personal bitterness.

GAIA Footnotes:

(1) Rolf is a right-wing extremist who refused to remove a notice letting his house to whites. Desmond says the only reason AI did not adopt him was that he had been imprisoned for contempt of court. However, the preamble of the AI statute begins by saying: "Considering that every person has the right freely to hold and express his or her convictions and the obligation to extend a like freedom to others" (my emphasis). This is the point on which Rolf could not be adopted. Desmond is therefore simply wrong to state that AI believes in absolute freedom of expression.

(2) *Amicus curiae* brief submitted by AI to US Supreme Court, 1976.

Arrests in Spain and Greece

Two anarchists, alleged members of the *Grupos Autonomas Armados*, were put on trial in Barcelona on 27 June on a charge of robbery with violence.

Miguel Mulet Nicolau and Jose Granados Martinez both denied the charge. They also referred to the maltreatment in prison to which they had been submitted after their arrest.

The anarchists were arrested in the summer of 1979 and their treatment in prison became the subject of a widespread campaign on the lack of legal support for detainees held under the anti-terrorist law.

Several other alleged members of the GAA were arrested in 1979. This year marked the end of a decade of renewed libertarian activity in Catalonia with the appearance of the *Movimiento Iberico de Liberacion* and *Organizacio de Lluita Armada* and other groups who were heavily persecuted by the then Minister of the Interior, Rudolfo Martin Villa. One of the most tragic consequences of the repression carried out at this time

was the garrotting of Salvador Puig Antich.

Miguel Mulet and Jose Granados have been sentenced to a total of 27 years imprisonment. They were charged with having taken part in the robbery, on 8 October 1976, of a van taking money into the Universidad Autonoma of Bellaterra.

▲ I am writing to you as an anarchist who, here in Greece, is affronted by the treatment of his comrades as well as himself.

I was recently released from jail along with my comrade, Fotis Danatos, after a hunger strike of 58 days that brought us very close to death.

We were, at that time, imprisoned because we took part in an anarchist march and because we are both well known anarchists — we were both imprisoned in 1979 after the events in the St. Barbara quarter; I spent three years in jail.

Seven days after our liberation, Fotis Danatos is again imprisoned,

after a strightforward manifestation of the authorities power. A few days later he declared a new hunger strike in order to protect his freedom. While I was helping with the support group to my comrade I was informed that a warrent for my arrest had been issued. So I am forced to go into hiding, while my comrade is forced to die slowly, a prisoner in the State's jail.

As an anarchist, I must demand action from my comrades abroad against the programmed extermination of my comrade Fotis Danatos.

You may protest to the Greek embassies abroad, or you may write to the Prime Minister of Greece: Indreas Papandreou, the minister of Justice, G.-A. Magakis, Greece, sending registered letters. You can also send petitions protesting against the imminent murder of Fotis Danatos and the extermination of the Anarchists in Greece.

You can write to me at the following address: Basilis Karaplis, Lawyer, 8 Aristidou str., Athens, Greece.

Kiriakos Moiras

Middlesboro', Cleveland, Glastonbury and Haverfordwest

During the election farce we busied ourselves with the usual flypost, graffiti, leaflet campaign throughout the area, and as a result two people were pulled for flyposting. As yet nothing has happened, although notices in the town threaten prosecution for sticking bills.

We attended all the major political meetings in Stockton south (marginal) and distributed leaflets etc.

Our star moment was when a 'solitary anarchist' heckled and ruined the Roy Jenkins meeting, thereby achieving nationwide fame on 'News at Ten' and TV am; (not forgetting the local rags), suspiciously aliasd as 'Peter Black'.

Following this the pigs had a message in the local paper saying that they would be taking measures to counteract the secretive Middlesbrough based anti-election campaign idiots.

We then attended the Healey meeting. So did the special branch, 2 of whom we knew, names and addresses and all. Stupid bastards. We left bored, (Healey mouthed nothing apart from shit about the

Conservatives) dismayed that our attempts to obtain stink bombs had failed. Oh well. The pigs followed us and watched us walk away, stood in the car park, so one of us went over and asked him whether or not he was trying to steal a car because he was looking very suspicious (goodly citizens) (We recommend this to anyone odd looking) we then were going to call the police, but the special branch had pissed off after an onslaught of waves and sadly blown kisses, no doubt slightly ruffled.

Next we attended the Finnegan/Joseph meeting which was turned into uproar by anarchists and lefties alike. The police arrived and threatened one person with arrest for using offensive language and gestures. When the pig was asked; 'isn't this a free country, and heckling part of our tradition', she replied that 'it was if she said so'. Police mentality, give them a uniform and they think they're God.

No other meetings ensued and current projects include a regular leaflet/paper called *Strike Back* by the DAM members of the group. It's pretty good too.

The Cleveland Anarchist Group

▲ This enormous CND pop music festival was almost totally ignored by the media, except for a feature article in the *Guardian*. FREEDOM had a stall and other comrades were selling their paper *Class War*. Talking to these and other comrades, we all felt the need for more cooperation to create an anarchist centre in such gatherings where there is a great deal of sympathy for anarchist ideas. It is no use producing anarchist literature if we don't go out and sell it.

If there were less theological anarchist nit-picking (as in Michel's letter in the last FREEDOM) and more contact with people, we might

have more influence. Some of us do not need lectures about alienation, we know all about it, but we do need help in spreading anarchist ideas. There is no black and white in human life, and if we spend endless time in purifying our creed we just become like numerous esoteric religious and political groups — small and impotent. Anger is not mounting hour by hour, I wish it was; get out there and help it mount. Get out of your armchairs and away from the goggle box; it can be fun promoting anarchism.

Alan Albon

▲ May 1, as an original politiciser of the Haverfordwest Mutant Commune, bring readers up to date on happenings there?

Doubtless many will have seen them on TV entering the Court in Camarthen for the hearing. The upshot of it was that the judge told all named parties in the injunction to vacate an area of their own country, Dyfed, by July 14 or else suffer imprisonment. In his infinite mercy this diktat did not include the young children, who will be ripped untimely from their mothers and placed in the tender care of the Fascist Red Cross, alias social welfare elements, should they stay and go to gaol.

The entire area is now buzzing with speculations about the future movements of the Mutants. Various new sites have been sussed by the kulak landowners and round-the-clock watches mounted to deter Mutants from squatting there. The morale of these individuals and anarchists is high, as usual, and their solidarity, if it were transferable, is enough to have won the election for the Labour Party twice over. They shall not be moved!

Trevor M. Artingstoll



In Brief

The Zimbabwe Senate has adjourned for two weeks because none of the members had anything to say.

Police have discovered 38.8 pounds of heroin offered for sale as talcum powder at a shop in Split, Yugoslavia. The shop bought it at an auction at a customs post.

South Yorkshire has just spent £10,000 on an anti-vandal campaign on their buses. The response was a 20% increase in the number of seats damaged.

People who are worried about the influence of television should note the following story. A one-legged man has been fined £25 for stealing a single shoe from a display outside a shop in York. Now, there was a sketch in 'Not the Nine O'Clock News'...

Almost 40% of people questioned in a survey said that the churches are a serious barrier to the spread of Christianity in Britain. Services were criticised as too boring, sermons as too serious and congregations as pompous and unfriendly. 20% never attend church. However, a third of these said that God was important in their lives and 18% accepted the bible as 'God's message to all mankind'.

Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan has apparently been impressed by the general Islamic upsurge. He has sold his collection of African art in order to concentrate on Islamic pieces. No doubt, the new collection will be helped by the £483,000 raised by the sale.

A disturbing change of title. The

Medical Research Council's Protection Against Ionising Radiation Committee has been renamed The Committee on the Effects of Ionising Radiation.

Merseyside police stopped 23,280 people during the 12 months to March 31 under their powers of stop and search. This diligence resulted in 2,457 arrests.

The government has re-presented its Data Protection Bill, which fell with the announcement of the election. Lawyers say that it contravenes European law. It excludes from its 'safeguards' computer entries relating to immigration and payrolls. The activities of MI5 are completely exempted. All police computers can be lumped together as one registration.

■ 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 B1 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 7JHW

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, Box 20, 164/66 Corn Exchange Bldgs, Hanging Ditch, M4.

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 3AW
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, Birkenhead, 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. S82506
Jackie Veevers, 7 Irene Tce, Basford
Individuals Anonymous 12p sae, above address

OLDHAM
Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Failsforth

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

MANCHESTER
Black & Red Society (Anarchist Group), c/o The Students' Union, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester

■ MEETINGS

A public meeting to discuss the situation in the North of Ireland prior to the annual Troops Out Movement delegation to the North of Ireland, which will be visiting Belfast over the weekend of 4/5/6 of August. The meeting will include a T.O.M. slide show and an open discussion. Being held at: Camden Labour Club, Carol St., London NW 1 (Tube-Camden Town). On Thurs. Jul 14th at 8 pm. All welcome.

■ DESIRES

Wanted: 'Marxism and the Russian Anarchists' by D'Agostino. Write to: Steve Connor, c/o Leeds D.A.M., Box Lap A, 39a Cookridge st., Leeds LS2 3AW.

■ FUNDS

Deficit Fund

Contributions Received: June 23rd-July 6th inc.
Hong Kong. R.P. £8.00; Southend. R.B. £1.50; London SW16. C.H. 50p; London WC 2. R.L. £1.00; Hawarth. J.D. £1.00; Wolverhampton. J.L. £1.50; J.K.W. 50p; L.R.T. 25p; Derbyshire. K.A.B. £1.00; Basildon. M.B. £3.00; In Shop. Anon. 85p; Wimbledon. P.H. £2.00; Dublin. J.O'C. 25p; London NW 8. D.S. £7.00; Wolverhampton. J.L. £1.50; J.K.W. 50p; London N 17. D.G. £1.00; G.N. 25p; Sutherland. J.A.J. £2.00; Llanwrst. M.B. £10.50;
TOTAL = £44.10
Previously acknowledged = £635.77
TOTAL TO DATE = £679.87
TARGET FOR 1983 = £2,000 !

Overheads/Premises Fund
Contributions received: June 23rd-July 6th inc.
Hong Kong. R.P. £8.00; Southend. R.B. £1.50; London SW 16. C.H. 50p; Wolverhampton. J.L. £3.00; Derbyshire. K.A.B. £1.00; Basildon M.B. £3.00;
In Shop. Anon. £2.00; Wakefield. D.E.F. 20p; London NW 8. D.S. £7.00; Wolverhampton. J.L. £3.00; London N 17. D.G. £1.00; Sutherland. J.A.J. £1.25;
TOTAL = £31.45
Previously acknowledged = £445.36
TOTAL TO DATE = £476.81
TARGET FOR 1983 = £1,500

■ 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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Fighting the Revolution Three studies of revolutionary leaders - Nestor Makhno, Buenaventura Durruti, Emiliano Zapata. Pamphlet 75p (21p).

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POLAND

*Oliver MacDonald (Ed): The Polish August: Documents from the Beginnings of the Polish Workers' Rebellion, Gdansk, August 1980 (176pp ppr) £4.00 (53p)
*Andrzej Tymowski (Ed): The Strike in Gdansk, August 14-31, 1980 (50pp ppr) £2.00 (27p)
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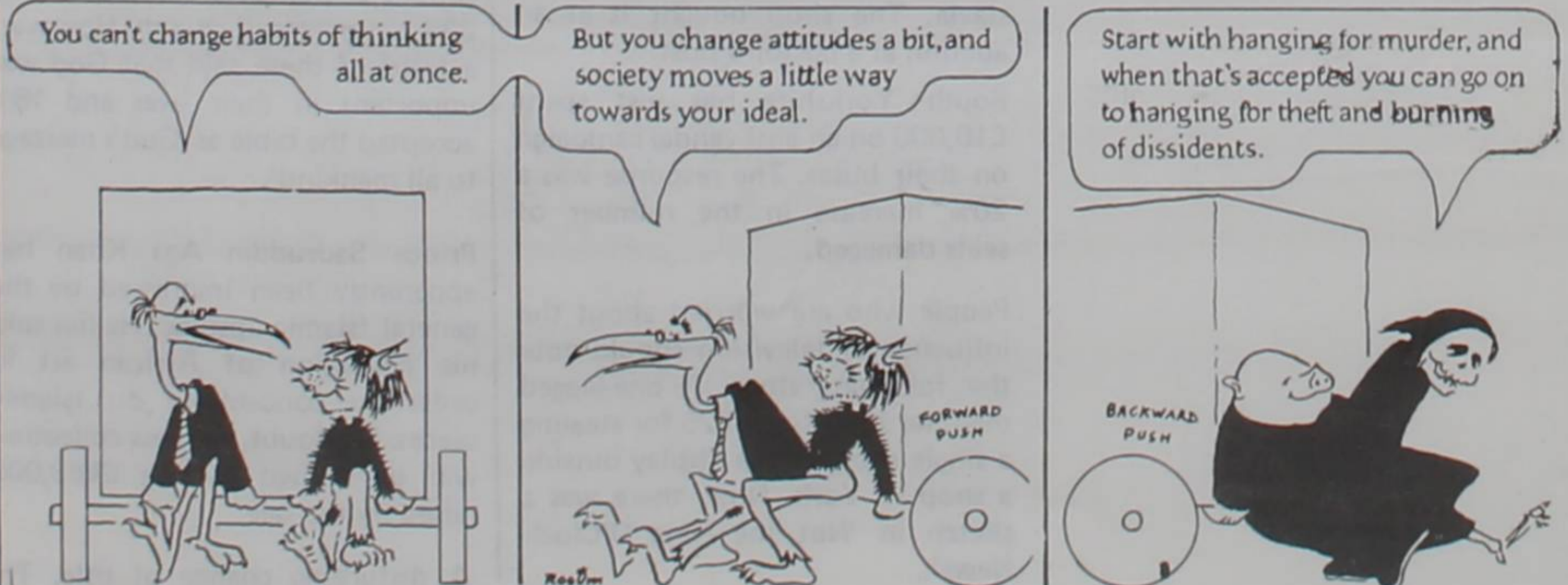
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*Rudolf Rocker: Nationalism & Culture (614pp cloth) £15.00 (£2.00)

■ 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 28th July, starting at around 6pm. This is also a good time to come in and meet the editors. FREEDOM also needs your written contributions and any graphics or photographs readers feel would be useful to us. Copy deadline for short items for the next issue is first post, Monday 25th July, longer articles in by first post Thursday 21st.

■ WILDCAT



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