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## editorial

FREEDOM enters 1984 blowing its own trumpet on which it knows only two notes: one high and one low.

Firstly, the high note is in fact a cheer from the wings for our long-suffering but prospering printers, who greeted the New Year with a new (well, new to them) printing machine which greatly expands their capacity for quantity and quality printing.

They had been working their old machine so hard that it virtually fell to pieces—but now they are in a position to take on ALL YOUR PRINTING REQUIREMENTS, providing a special service for libertarian and alternative causes. We're told that they offer special prices for capitalist firms too!

The low note came from FREEDOM BOOKSHOP, which ended the year in financial straits, as a result of which, and for other reasons too, our comrade Jim Huggon has withdrawn from the shop in which he worked, at first part-time and then full-time, for about eleven years. Good luck, Jim!

All the work on FREEDOM and for Freedom Press publishing, is done voluntarily, but it is not easy to run a bookshop and staff a telephone service operating a mail order book operation without a fulltime worker or a team of volunteers who all know the business reasonably well.

A bookshop for the anarchist movement fulfils more than one function. The mail order business we have mentioned, but as well as that it provides a centre for comrades from abroad or out of London to call in and make contacts personally, to say nothing of presenting newcomers to anarchism with a wealth of anarchist literature not available elsewhere.

Freedom Bookshop concentrates on anarchist and libertarian books and papers—and let's face it, they don't all sell like hot cakes, but we have to have them. 'Alternative' and left-wing bookshops can cover wider fields that we are not interested in—or can't afford the stocks for.

Nevertheless, our bookshop/mail order service will continue, and one way in which those of you who have to buy books for your work, your pleasures, your studies or your hobbies can help us to cover the overheads is by ordering through Freedom Bookshop.

For many comrades abroad, English-language books can often come cheaper through this source, even allowing for postage, than the fancy prices you may have to pay at home.

There are thousands of anarchists and potential anarchists we haven't yet reached. How about helping us to intensify our propaganda for a more libertarian analysis of what has to be done?

If you think the anarchists are in disarray—take a look at the politics!

# THE ARRIVAL OF 1984

Whatever else he did, Orwell made people aware of the totalitarian dangers of the growing power of the State. While that danger is obvious in some States, and some people are aware of it, in the so-called democracies there is an illusion of freedom which is OK as long as people do not use it. Many liberals and pontificating professional philosophers such as Malcolm Muggeridge have been congratulating themselves, and western society in general, for not having arrived at Orwell's worse case by 1984.

### The Crystal Spirit

Very little has been heard of the source of the Orwell warnings and of the book *Homage to Catalonia* or of his experiences with the dispossessed. Those of us who were around at the time could not fail to be affected by returning visitors from Barcelona in 1936; the failure of the working-class movement in Britain to support the struggle there, with its subsequent subversion by the Stalinist Communists.

Newspeak was already very well practised during the Spanish Civil War not only by the Tory Right-wing press but also the left-wing press fed by the Communist Party. The rebels became 'insurgents' then 'nationalists' while the republicans became 'Reds'! We must remember the refusal of the *New Statesman* to publish letters by Orwell trying to put the record straight.

Orwell, his wife, and John McNair, the Independent Labour Party secretary, were not the only ones who barely escaped with their lives because they did not conform to Communist Party policy, (and some did not escape). This is of course the extremes to which all authoritarian and hierarchical structures will go if privilege and power is threatened. What of course the privileged did not like in the Civil War was the ability of ordinary people to organise the means of production effectively in their own interests without politicians and leaders. In fact it was these very people who ultimately were able to subvert the revolution.

### 2+2=4

The Orwell programme that affected me most, was Orwell's time on Jura when he was writing *1984*, because at the time I was living with somebody suffering from the same disease as Orwell, but who recovered. There were several people in the Anarchist movement at the time into alternative medicine, notably Lilian Woolf. I do not know whether Orwell was too far advanced for recovery or, indeed whether, looking into the grim future, that he wanted to.

Talking to his son in this programme he is reported as saying, 'Don't forget 2+2 make 4. There will be countless people, mostly governments, who will try to tell you that 2+2 make 5. Take no notice'. It is this ability to persuade

people that 2+2 make 5 that the establishment in the west have been so good at, and predominantly urban populations seem predisposed to such manipulations. Stalin had to kill millions of peasants to persuade them thus. The so-called democracies stood by while a combination of Franco, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and Republican politicians did the same in Spain.

### Homage to Catalonia

In a period of around 18 months in Spain, Orwell saw what was possible and the way authoritarian organisations can behave in their relentless struggle for power. The subsequent history of the Communist Party and its total commitment to Russian foreign policy showed how Newspeak in its cruder manifestations in *The Daily Worker* of the time completely ignored the anarchist dimension. Their malicious and murderous attacks on the small POUM were well known to ILP members in this country, but the point of view then, as now, was prevented from gaining wide publicity. It is interesting that in the recent programmes anarchist thought was not presented directly, in spite of its importance in the development of Orwell's ideas.

Many people of course now recognise that suspicion of politicians is very widespread, but widespread discontent without understanding can lead to totalitarian solutions — as is happening to some extent.

### The Computer age

Computers have not resulted in people being more content and happy. It is not leading to the dispossessed having more to say in their social environment. One of the speakers in the recent '1984' programmes on BBC 2 was saying that we could develop a system for electronically metering cars in congested cities — a complicated and costly alternative to making public transport so efficient that everybody would want to use it.

Technical advances have not made people any more secure. More people in the world are starving than ever before. Computers may be of benefit only in a world where the social situation secures equitable access to its advantages for all.

The economic control of the media, and especially advertising, by establishment institutions and multi-nationals have combined to make draconian methods of control unnecessary. Such methods are not, of course, unknown. People have been persuaded that the cake is too small to be divided according to need; that money is capital; that those in control are entitled to more of the cake than others; that it is necessary for people to be homeless and in sub-environmental conditions while the brick fields are full of bricks, and builders unable or rather prevented from putting one



brick upon another; to support agriculture that is in basic economic terms unsound while millions starve; to persuade people that human solidarity doesn't apply if you are a different colour, different sex, or live in a different patch of the globe.

Then there is an education system designed to serve a divided competitive society and a legal system that protects primary robbery with violence and legalises it.

### Professional Elite

Most of those discussing Orwell and his impact belong to a privileged elite. Some believe that there is nothing wrong with society that a bit of tinkering here and there will put right; others believe in a computerised utopia without changing the market and money economy; others in God and the old Victorian values (Dickens' England?) One or two remarked that there was a growing cynicism in the political processes and politicians and a general growth of the black economy and co-operative undertakings in which people are taking over the management of their own environment.

### The use of Fear to Control

Referring to the atomic bomb — then in its relatively devastating infancy — Orwell regarded fear of the bomb as a means of controlling

national populations. There is nothing like a foreign enemy to get people behind the home establishment. The insane arms race which will enable the world to be demolished several times over also enables arms manufacturers to make vast profits trading on this fear. Britain has certainly fulfilled Orwell's prophecy as *Airstrip One*, but the paranoia of the USA has certainly aroused quite a lot of opposition in this country as the danger of being America's anchored aircraft carrier is slowly dawning upon people.

### In what shape is Big Brother?

The use of the legal system to weaken the dissidents is a feature of 1983 running into 1984. The increased expenditure on police and increasing their powers is in the next legislative programme — but generally impinges only on the dispossessed of our society, not experienced by the middle-class commentators.

There is control of computerised records, but not where it matters. Police and security records are to be uncontrolled. Doctors are to be obliged to reveal patients' records so that Big Brother or Big Sister can flourish. Not without considerable opposition, we hope, in 1984.

Alan Albon

POWER IS TAXES

The power of a state was based on the sword, on the fear of brutality and death. Then the state found that by imposing 'Justice' it could force the population to pay over its wealth to the government elite by taxation. With these taxes the rulers could buy their soldiers, their weapons, their prisons and policemen, their judges, all the paraphernalia of institutionalised violence. Power is taxes. Without taxes a government ceases to exist. The fewer its taxes, the less power a government has. In an anarchist country there could be no taxation. Cutting taxes, and thus government expenditure is the first step towards anarchy.

Cutting taxes has unexpected results. First it redistributes wealth to the poor. Taxation was introduced to take the wealth from the poor and give it to the rich. Nothing's changed; it still does! Today the top tenth of the population receives the lion's share of government expenditure; mortgage relief, insurance relief, transport subsidies (the lines in the stockbroker belt receive the heaviest subsidies), health (the poor, hourly paid, can't afford long stays in hospital), education (university grants go mostly to the

rich). (See the 'Strategy for Equality', Julian le Grand) All the tramp gets is a clean bed to die on if he's lucky. And he pays taxes on his meths!

Taxation takes from the poor to give to the rich. To redistribute wealth we must cut (indirect) taxes.

If you cut taxes, you cut the cost of living. The small co-operative doesn't need so much turnover or profit to make a living; other co-ops can open and take business from the chain stores and multi-nationals.

High taxes mean a high cost of living. This causes high wages and high labour costs which causes labour-saving machinery and unemployment. If we cut taxes, labour-intensive techniques undercut the machines. We reduce unemployment.

In the hospital Tender Loving Care replaces computer nursing. On the farm organic techniques replace bag fertilizers and biocides. Recycling and repairing become economic.

In a village of 200 wage earners, today's taxes at about 50% are enough to buy a hundred jobs. Only one of those jobs, the school teacher, is placed in the village. The other 99 jobs go to the town or the city and the South-East region. That's the cause of rural depopulation

and regional unemployment. If you cut taxes, you reverse the process.

If labour undercuts machinery there will be technological regression AND WE WON'T BE ABLE TO BUILD THE BOMB.

But if we cut taxes, what government expenditure do we cut? First we cut defence spending. If everyone, men and women, were trained and armed, any invader would know he was committing suicide. The arms would be stored in local armouries for an emergency. There would be no concentrated military target for nuclear weapons.

Education is the reinforcement of the elite's authority and prestige by inculcating the elite's value systems and culture and obedience to authority. Education should be by the small community which needs much less money. Cutting defence and education is the easy bit.

Health and Social Security is more difficult. A fifth of the population live below the supplementary benefit level and that level is kept deliberately low to prevent it rising above the lowest wage. It is reckoned that the benefit should be 40% higher.

So before any cuts in welfare are

made, poverty must be eradicated. It's not difficult. You take the land from the rich without compensation and give it to the poor for free, Land Reform. You then have recreated the small caring rural communities who take care of their own. You have removed the basic cause of the Welfare State, urban poverty. The Welfare State was introduced to protect the Establishment. The poverty which it had created by the Acts of Enclosure threatened urban violence and that violence threatened the Establishment. To protect itself, not to help the people, the rulers introduced the Welfare State.

If we do not cut taxes, the power of the State will be maintained. With the growing shortage of resources the cost of living will increase, wages will increase and so will labour costs. Labour-saving machinery will create even more unemployment. The small co-ops will be forced out of business; small shops will disappear; multinationals will flourish; repairing and recycling will be impossible. Big will be economic and the State allpowerful.

Richard Hunt  
Oxford

PART OF THE LEFT

I would like to comment on the most recent manifestation of the perennial question of 'how do we stand in relation to the left', as expressed by writers Janet Lawrence and BN. Firstly, it is obvious that both writers overstate their case, as is inevitable in such debates. Of the two, however, I feel that Lawrence is far closer to the truth. It is more than slightly ironic that BN's letter/article appeared, declaring that CND is *absolutely* not pro-Soviet, in an issue of FREEDOM which reported the speech of the head of the CND to the Communist Party annual congress, a speech noted for its glorification of the very pro-Communism that BN would like to pretend doesn't exist. It is also ironic that BN asks us to compare 'Chile, El Salvador and the Phillipines etc. to Afghanistan, Poland or Hungary' in order to prove how much worse the US supported regimes are. As a matter of fact, available to anyone willing to do the smallest amount of looking beyond the average diet of propaganda consumed by the average leftist, the death toll in Afghanistan is far greater than in the three US supported dictatorships combined, with a few others like Argentina, Uruguay etc. thrown in for good measure. This sort of carelessness leads one to believe Lawrence when she states that the left 'has no idea of what oppression is'.

All irony aside, one could spend a pleasant evening trading atrocity stories from either side. Begin with a few dozen for Poland's latest crackdown and for the Phillipines, work up to a few thousand for, say, Hungary 1956 or for Uruguay, go higher to the tens of thousands for Ethiopia (Soviet backed) or Argentina, reach out to the hundreds of thousands for Afghanistan or Indonesia. Finally, unfortunately for the left, reach into a league of millions in which the Communist contenders such as Stalin's Russia, Mao's China, Kampuchea outgun the sole 'capitalist' entrant, Nazi Germany (one *doubtfully* 'capitalist' or Western supported). Both sides have committed horrendous acts of barbarism, though I am convinced that my mother's countrymen of the USSR hold the world's record.

One could also prove very easily that there are non-communists active in various peace movements, but only an utterly blind individual could claim that the left, including the peace movement, isn't relatively very much more anti-American

than anti-Soviet. This is the way it is perceived by the average non-participant in these movements, and this perception is very much true. This is the crux of the matter, BN. You can rise to the defence of the left, using all the slander available to you, but by doing this you help to close out the vast majority on non-leftists who know 1. That the USSR is a far worse ruler than any of the present developed Western governments and 2. Communists are not merely misguided souls who are communists merely because they haven't heard enough anarchist propaganda. Put bluntly the present Peace movement is doomed to failure. It will fail because the majority of Western citizens will not believe the illusions pandered by either Communist or liberal leaders of the movement. This does not mean that the USSR is set to invade Western Europe at the drop of a nuclear umbrella, but it does mean that the USSR is an imperialist power with far less scruples, even if with more fears, than the USA, and that the USSR can make life unpleasant in other ways than by invasion.

A peace movement can only succeed if it manages to change the political system of the USSR, if by success is meant real, major disarmament. The present Soviet ruling class is not open to serious arms reduction, and unless the USSR becomes open to such matters the majority of the Western population will be closed as well. The point is not to make moralistic condemnations of the 'conservatism' of the great 90% outside the left but to understand their feelings and attempt to find a political solution to winning them to the side of peace. This solution is for the peace movement to make far greater efforts than at present on the other side and presenting a new and less frightening image to the Western population.

Anarchists have traditionally been addicted to dealing with political questions in moralistic terms. The present day left, having degenerated from politics to a subculture, is also very concerned with proving its own superiority and little concerned with winning large numbers of adherents. But to create a peace movement that might actually become a majority, a lot of hard questions have to be asked. Try, BN, to think of these questions in the realm of practicality.

Pat Murtagh  
Winnipeg, Canada

BN's letter about the nuclear disarmament movement (19th Nov.) has already been answered by several letters (3rd and 17th Dec.); but it includes some inaccurate references to my front-page article on the subject (22nd Oct.), as well as several other points which should also be answered.

He says Eastern militarism doesn't consist of 'one bloc'; but my article didn't say it does. He says Eastern militarism isn't more successful than Western militarism; but it is, as may be seen almost wherever it has appeared since 1945. He says nuclear deterrence 'does not and cannot work'; but it can, and indeed it has done so for nearly 40 years — the American Bomb has deterred Russian military actions in Berlin, in Greece, in Yugoslavia, in Korea, in Berlin again, in Cuba, in Vietnam, and of course in the Middle East. He says the 'red-or-dead' choice 'does not exist'; but it does, every time a country is faced with a takeover by a Marxist dictatorship — as has happened dozens of times during the past 40 years in Eastern Europe, South-Eastern Asia, Eastern and Southern Africa, and Central America. He says 'no country in the world is "communist"' but some 'claim, rightly or wrongly, to be socialist'; but most of them are ruled by party dictatorships in the name of Communism.

He asks, 'Did CND 20 years ago actually become "an instrument of Russian foreign policy"?' What my article said was 'CND is in danger of becoming an instrument of Russian foreign policy, just as it was 20 years ago'. This danger arose when the Communist Party began to 'support' (ie, infiltrate) it in 1959-1960, and reached its peak in 1962, with the World Peace Congress in Moscow (when CND delegates opposed the demonstration led by the British Committee of 100 members in Red Square against all nuclear weapons), the *Steps Towards Peace* policy statement (when CND leaders advocated more Western than Eastern nuclear disarmament), and the Cuba crisis (when CND leaders — and Bertrand Russell — were more anti-American than anti-Russian).

When CND lost its influence in the late 1960's, it was dominated for more than a decade by Communists. Now, as BN says, it 'has resolutely and successfully resisted' attempts at left-wing infiltration; but these have been attempts by

Trotskyists, who have rightly been resisted by the leadership, but who have rightly described the leadership as a Communist-Christian coalition. BN is very naive about these very experienced manipulators in the world of protest politics.

He says my article 'mistakes the real purpose of Cruise'; but it said nothing about the purpose of Cruise. He says Cruise is 'simply a reaffirmation of the "special relationship" between Britain and the United States'; but Cruise isn't simply anything, being the product of a complex combination of circumstances involving the pressure of the American military-industrial complex and the profound problems of other countries in Western Europe, as well as the steady escalation of medium-range nuclear missiles by the Soviet Union.

He says there isn't a Russian threat which is backed by nuclear weapons and which is deterred by American nuclear weapons; but this is just as much a fact as the fact that there is an American threat which is backed by nuclear weapons and which is deterred by Russian nuclear weapons. The point is that we are in the middle of this precarious balance of terror, and that, while we must of course concentrate our primary campaign on the American (and British) nuclear weapons in our midst, we must not ignore the Russian nuclear weapons aimed at us or the even more oppressive political system they protect or the danger of being driven by the hatred of any tyranny into tolerance of its opposite.

FC

OR WHATEVER

Butting in on the debate going through various issues of FREEDOM between BN of Leicester and Janet Lawrence on what is meant by anarchism when I am asked to define my basic anarchist beliefs to people who have never heard of anarchy or believe that it means the popular misconception that it means chaos, I tell them that I believe that people should be able to organise their own lives either by themselves individually or collectively as a group of whatever number and to be free of any authority over them and to not exert any authority over others who do not wish it, and that is basic anarchy to me.

Rodney Ritchie

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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.

# Buckinghamshire Blockade

High Wycombe lies roughly midway between London and Oxford. The Chilton Hills provide landscape suitable for tunnelling into the depths below; and so, form being a centre of the furniture trade, High Wycombe is now both a NATO and a USAF command centre in the areas below Nap Hill and Daws Hill.

To draw attention to this, various individuals — Quaker, pacifist, CND and anarchist — came together under the umbrella of an affinity group to organise a day of action.

Arriving at the main gate of USAF Daws Hill around 6am on Monday 19th December, I could just make out the banners of 'Quaker Action for Peace' and in the half-light see some 50 people blocking the main entrance. Daws Hill is only a few yards from the M40 motorway and this road was like a central London one at rush hour.

Within half an hour all those squatting on the road had been arrested and another wave of non-violent direct action began as people from Milton Keynes, Reading and Oxford had been carried off. There were further groups who took over from London, Salisbury, Southampton, Andover and further afield. Altogether 173 people were herded into police vans and ferried to High Wycombe police station before 9am. Meanwhile, a march through the town and a picket outside the police station drew attention to the arrests.

By 3pm everyone was released on bail and most were trekking up Nap Hill where the very British National Trust had graciously given

up some woodland, left in its custody, for use as a vast military bunker for the USAF. It is one thing to read about the *Airstrip One* that Britain has become, but to see physically this enormous quarry-like construction site — with cranes the height of St Paul's Cathedral, with chalk mounds of hillside extracted to make way for the concrete command bunkers/tombs, with police and military police guarding it (from British citizens) — is to realise that we are indeed an occupied island.

We have no say whatsoever in the movements of our own military, let alone those of our occupying power, the USA. People forget, if they ever knew, that, historically, an army is always used *internally* just as much as it is ever used externally. But most people are confused and indoctrinated with the distant fear of an enemy across the border. Meanwhile, their daily life is interfered with *now* by their own oppressors: police and military groups under their 'own' government.

So the action of 19th December went a little way in showing up what a fragile democracy we have here. The national media were more concerned to martyrise the dead Harrods bomb police than to reveal plans that may lead to World War. While ITV gave a fairly accurate account of what happened at Daws Hill, the BBC's '60 Minutes' showed a tiny fraction of film *shot the previous weekend* at Greenham Common! This showed women pulling down a section of fence.

Good stuff too — but not quite what happened at High Wycombe, where men and women sat passively on the road blocking the main entrance to Daws Hill! Several phone calls to the BBC's complaints department brought little satisfaction.

Over 250 trees were planted at Nap Hill — to save that obscure, poor and radical body, the National Trust — as a memorial to those in the Trust who meekly gave the US military an area of woodland. These trees were planted by people who came armed with their own tree, plus spade and compost, and I was pleased to meet someone from Reading Ecology Group with two oak trees which I helped plant in the space between the Nap Hill bunker and the National Trust's surrounding trees. A practical and useful activity in opposition to that of earthmovers and bulldozers across the wire.

Any reader who would like more information on Nap Hill and Daws Hill is invited to write (please enclose SAE) to: 48 Kingsley Crescent, High Wycombe, Bucks. The peace camp always needs more individuals to support it, just as the whole peace camp movement needs more people to form more peace camps. Information about existing camps can be gleaned from *Greenline* magazine, c/o EoA bookshop, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford. (30p + 16p stamp) or *Green CND Newsletter* (20p + 16p stamp), 4 Chase Crescent, Woodcutts, Wilts.

**Dennis Gould**

PS The people who were arrested will appear in High Wycombe magistrates' court during January.

# Denmark

In our last newsletter we told you about our efforts to create local groups in replacement of the Copenhagen group. This seems well under way already now. Three local groups are starting up their own activities. At the beginning of next year two of them plan to start study circles on anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism and local issues. The third group will concentrate on public meetings around different locally founded subjects. Their first meeting dealt with housing.

In the month of October the ASO also held an internal week-end seminar where we discussed the functions and activities of local groups. In a country like Denmark, where at present it is not possible to create an independent anarcho-syndicalist trade union because of the all-powerful reformist unions — to which practically *everybody* belongs — local groups become the principal form of libertarian organisation. Because of this it is not easy to decide what activities to concentrate upon, particularly in a city like Copenhagen where people rarely work and live in the same area where local problems, except maybe housing, are not so local as we would like them to be.

Some of the work will still be taken care of by our subject-groups, formed by members from several local groups. The housing group is trying at present to establish contacts and co-operation with collectives of libertarian inspiration. The trade union group has started publishing a free leaflet, *den Sorte Stjerne*, in which groups and members of the ASO will give their views on present issues. Our Black Cross group has published no 2 of a Danish *Black Cross Bulletin* to alert the Danish public opinion about the imprisonments of anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists.

In the month of August the ASO

held an extra congress around the issues of international relations, in preparation for a coming IWA congress which did not take place as planned. At this extra congress of the ASO it was agreed that the ASO should continue to try to establish contacts with all forms of libertarian groups and organisations. These contacts, both personal and organisational, should include groups outside as well as the IWA and the IFA, such as the SAC, the CNT-V, L'Organisation Communiste Libertaire and the autonomous groups in Italy. The members of the ASO are firmly convinced that a free flow of information and exchange of ideas is necessary to strengthen the libertarian movement.

The distinction between contacts and support was also discussed at this extra congress. It was agreed upon that support should be given and evaluated on concrete questions. Thus, the ASO does not give general support to the FAF in supporting Radio Libertaire. The same thing would apply to our support of Solidarinosc. We would try to support those tendencies we believe in. In this context it was agreed upon that the fact to participate as observers at other organisations congresses is not to be regarded as general support of all the policies of that organisation. This was clearly stated in answer to the critique that the ASO has received from some sections of the IWA because of the fact that some of our members participated as observers to the congress of the SAC. That is also the reason why the 'Guidelines for contacts between sections of the IWA and other groups' (proposed at the meeting of the northern IWA sections) was not ratified by the members of the ASO.

**Anarko-Syndikalistisk Organisation (ASO)**

# ANARCHISTS AND UNIONS

Most anarchists know exactly where they stand with regard to political parties. We're agin 'em. After all, the very word we take up to describe where we stand: 'An-archist' means one who wants 'No-government', and since political parties are all after getting into government, it follows we must be opposed to them all.

Of course, we would be less than human if we never felt, sometimes, that one lot would be better to live under than the other lot, and the present time is certainly one of them. The present arrogance of the Tories, and their deadly policies, makes the possibility of another term—should the world last that long—a ghastly prospect. We have three to four years to make up our minds about that, if we need them. And yet, the possibility that anarchists will fall for the political alternative is pretty remote. We are members, today of a movement that has had its ideas clear for a hundred years, and if any thing that century has confirmed, rather than weakened, our conviction that the path of government is death to the people. Politics is the path of government and it has been followed by reformist parties as well as reactionary, by left-wing parties as well as those of the right or the centre, and not a bloody thing has been changed.

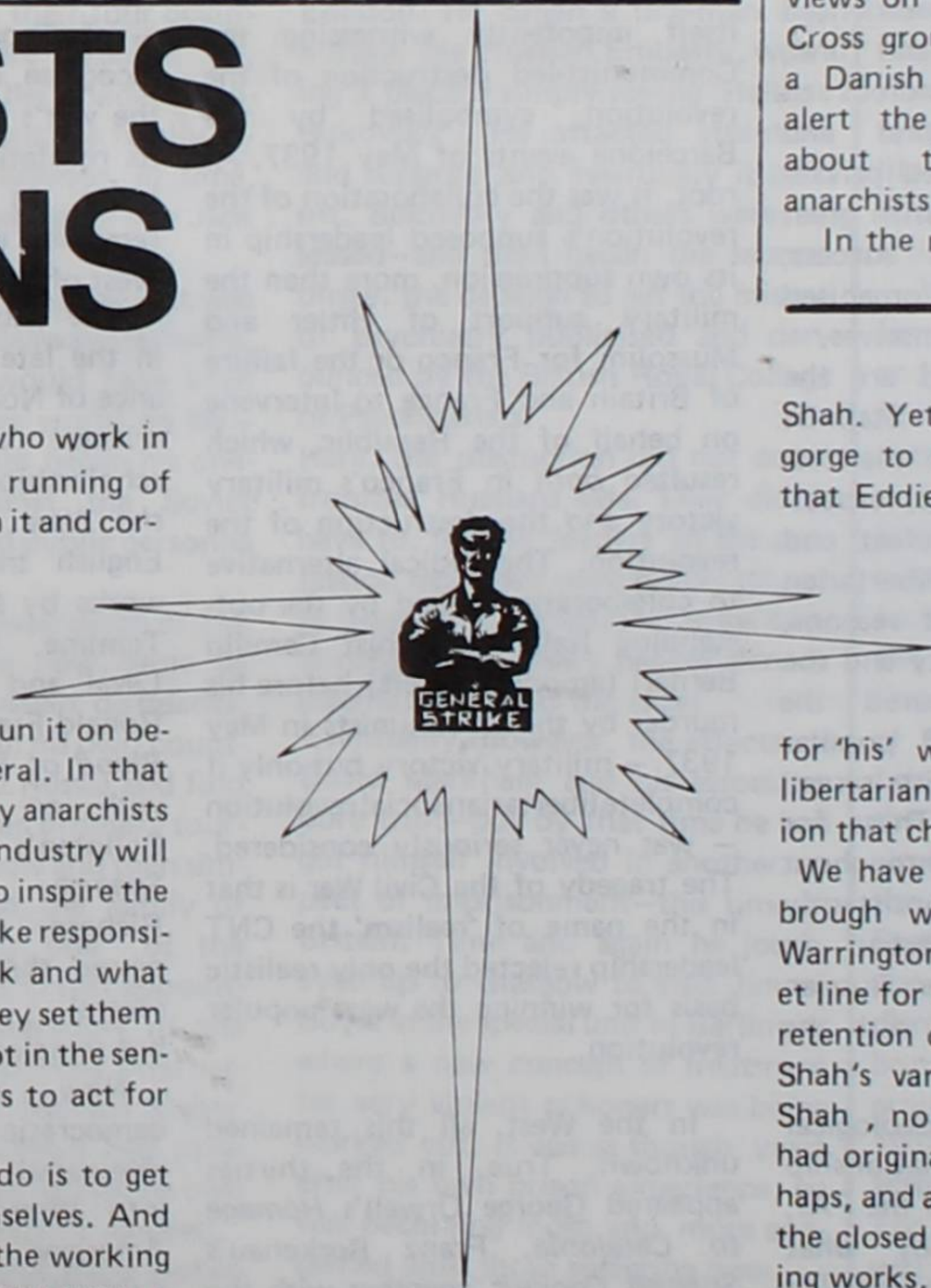
So, since we don't want to take over government, don't want to set up a 'workers' state, we know exactly where we stand on political parties. What *do* we want to take over, then? Well, let's get one thing clear. 'WE', as the 'anarchist movement', don't want to 'take over' anything. We

want to see the people who work in industry take over the running of that industry, not to own it and cor-

ner the profits, but to run it on behalf of society in general. In that process, undoubtedly, any anarchists who are working in that industry will act as a kind of catalyst to inspire the other workers there to take responsibility for how they work and what for. But at no time can they set themselves up as leaders except in the sense of inspiring the others to act for themselves.

And the first thing to do is to get them to think for themselves. And this is something which the working class is most definitely never encouraged to do. If the Duke of Wellington was right when he said 'If my soldiers were to start thinking, there would not be a man left in the ranks', how much more can there be said to apply to role of the industry worker? If there is, and there IS, a reaction against the very concept of WORK in the anarchist movement today, it must be because anarchists have started to ask themselves what they are working for and why are they working like this?

Anarchism is a constructive philosophy. While governments of all persuasions think in terms of constraint, of repression, of imprisonment and death, of the destruction of human society, anarchists think in terms of releasing all human potential, of lifting the lid off ordinary people so that they are not pushed out of sh-



Shah. Yet, though it sticks in our gorge to say it, we must declare that Eddie Shah's concept of fights

for 'his' workers was rather more libertarian than that of the trade union that challenged him.

We have comrades up in Middlesbrough who journeyed down to Warrington to do battle on the picket line for the NGA, fighting for the retention of the closed shop in Mr Shah's various printing works. Mr Shah, no doubt a slimy operator, had originally agreed, it seems, perhaps, and almost probably, to accept the closed shop in his various printing works.

Later, however, he realised that there were enough workers in his Warrington plant for him to be able to attack the concept of the closed shop. Eddie (himself at first a member of the NGA) now says he wants his workers to have the right to join or not to join, that is the question. Now we cannot remember a time when anarchists were enthusiastic about the closed shop, for it seems to us, and always has, that this is tantamount to an agreement between the union hierarchy and the capitalist management to manipulate the labour force, for a peaceful life. Is this what our Warrington warriors want us to defend?

The National Graphical Association, (wroughly described in *FREE-DOM's* headlines of 3.12.83 as something to do with *industrial union-*

ism is making a last ditch attempt by a *craft* union to hang to its privileged position in a very privileged industry. Remnant of the old compositors' and typesetters' craft union—work quite rightly dominated by men because it consisted of very heavy work with heavy metal components, the NGA is now facing the technical revolution wherein the work of setting columns of type and composing pages can be done by women at a computerised keyboard. Done by women now because it literally means no hard labour. It literally means no hard labour.

Our comrades at Warrington, then, were defending, in part, the continuance of hard labour (by men)—as well as the closed shop, as well as the paying of the political levy to the Labour Party. This, comrades, is what is involved in defending the reformist, indeed reactionary, trades union.

Let them go, we say. They have served their purpose and certainly served their time. The Warrington struggle, where a reactionary boss was refusing the right of workers to join a union if they wanted. Now, workers are seeing the unions rather as the anarchists have seen them for four many years: part of the mechanism by which capitalism controls them.

We will go farther: when the print workers refuse to print the shit in *the Sun* and *the Mail* and especially *the Daily Telegraph*, then we can talk about workers becoming responsible and their struggle worthy of anarchist support!

PS



## Lessons

In the West, there have appeared many books about the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). Until recently, however, the true history of the war remained surrounded by ignorance and ideological misrepresentation. This is especially true of the three outstanding features of the war, a war which cost nearly 1 million Spanish lives, and resulted in almost 40 years of Franco dictatorship.

The first is the unprecedented social revolution, urban and rural, during this period. Hundreds of thousands of agricultural and industrial workers rejected private property and the state. With great courage, efficiency and success, against great odds, they organised and ran their lives for themselves.

The second and third are the crucial roles of the Stalinist Communist Party and the anarcho-syndicalist CNT leadership, respectively, in causing the defeat and destruction of the libertarian revolution. For different reasons, both the Communist Party and the anarchist leadership feared the largely autonomous and popular revolution. The Communists served Stalin's foreign policies. These, for all their twists and turns throughout the twenties and thirties, consistently opposed revolutions abroad in favour of conserving the Russian state and good relations with the capitalist West.

Despite its libertarian ideological rhetoric and intimate relationship with the revolutionaries of the FAI, CNT was dominated by what Frederica Montseny has aptly called an 'anarchist dynasty' which believed that it knew what was in the best interests of those — half of Spain's workers — it presumed to represent. This leadership had supported the Popular Front parties at the February 1936 elections. After the July 1936 Franco uprising and the consequent spread of the popular revolution, these leaders decided that 'military necessity' obliged them to 'defend the revolution' — by joining first the Catalunya Generalitat, then in November 1936, the central government of Largo Caballero. Juan Garcia Oliver, Frederica Montseny, Juan Lopez, Juan Piero, Horacio M Pristo and Abad de Santillan, were among the most influential of these leaders.

However different their motives, both the Communist and the

anarchist leaderships subordinated then sacrificed the social revolution to the war against Franco: 'first victory against Franco then social revolution' was the common ideology uniting these different groups. Armed by Stalin and aided by his secret police, the Communists ruthlessly assumed control over the central government's anti-Franco and anti-revolution efforts. The compromised CNT leadership found itself impotently witnessing the Communist-led destruction of the revolution, symbolised by the Barcelona events of May 1937. At root, it was the collaboration of the revolution's supposed leadership in its own suppression, more than the military support of Hitler and Mussolini for Franco or the failure of Britain and France to intervene on behalf of the Republic, which resulted both in Franco's military victory and the destruction of the revolution. The radical alternative to collaboration urged by the outstanding Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri (amongst others) before his murder by the Communists in May 1937 — military victory but only if complete libertarian social revolution — was never seriously considered. The tragedy of the Civil War is that in the name of 'realism' the CNT leadership rejected the only realistic basis for winning the war: popular revolution.

In the West, all this remained unknown. True, in the thirties appeared George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, Franz Borkenau's *Spanish Cockpit*, together with the writings of Rudolf Rocker, Emma Goldman and Karl Korsch. Above all, there was the English fortnightly *Spain and the World*, edited throughout the War by the husband of Camillo Berneri's libertarian daughter Marie Louise, the English anarchist Vernon Richards. But their collective circulation was tiny; the right-wing and Communist lies and propaganda, overwhelming. Later, in 1943, Gerald Brenan published *The Spanish Labyrinth*. But this excellent study of modern Spanish history stopped at 1936.

Finally, in 1953 appeared Vernon Richards' *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*, a decisive critique of the CNT leadership's fateful collaboration; and, in 1961, Burnett Bolloten's definitive expose of the counter-revolutionary role of the

Communists, *The Grand Camouflage*. For many years, however, both books were ignored. A symptom of the West's lack of interest in the truth is that Bolloten, who covered the war as an American journalist, completed his book in 1952, but was unable to find a publisher until 1961, the same year in which Hugh Thomas' *The Spanish Civil War* first appeared. Remarkably, in spite — or because — of Thomas' virtual inability to recognise, let alone treat adequately, the war's three basic features, and its refutation by Left-scholars, the latter in various editions has remained the leading account in the West of the war.

The situation began to improve in the late 1960s with the appearance of Noam Chomsky's influential critique of 'liberal' Civil War scholarship in *American Power and the New Mandarins* (1969), and English translations of important works by Pierre Broue and Emilio Temime, Daniel Guerin, Gaston Leval and Jose Peirats. In 1979, Ronald Fraser's Marxist but valuable *Blood of Spain* appeared, together with an expanded edition of Bolloten's work, now entitled *The Spanish Revolution*. Vernon Richards' *Lessons*, meanwhile, had passed through several editions in several languages (including but remains still a neglected classic.

Now, as post-Franco social democratic Spain finds herself integrated, it seems irreversibly, into Western capitalism and the American military alliance, the publication of this latest, updated edition of Richards' *Lessons*,\* provides for both Spanish and non-Spanish reader alike the opportunity to reflect on the tragic price that Spain has paid because of the strangulation of the libertarian social revolution in the thirties. Thirty six years of Franco dictatorship were horrific enough; impoverishment of Spain's economy, politics and spiritual culture under present social democratic capitalism is, if possible, far worse. While the publication of this 1983 edition of Richards' book can in no way change this situation, it provides a relevant set of criteria by which to measure the state of health of the present Spanish Left.\*\*

In addition to an updated bibliography of literature on the war in English, Spanish, French and

Italian, Richards' new edition has a valuable critical commentary, including a critique of the 1977 edition of Hugh Thomas' book. For us, however, its chief value remains its sympathetic libertarian critique of the fatal mistakes and crimes of the anarcho-syndicalist/FAI self-appointed 'dynasty' of Garcia, Oliver, Montseny, Piero, et al. Unfortunately, lack of space makes it impossible here for us to provide a detailed critical discussion, rather than the following schematic summary, of Richards' detailed demonstration of four basic theses:

1) The untenability of the so-called 'Principle of the Lesser Evil' whereby CNT leaders and supporters then and since have tried to justify their abandonment of the real task of libertarian revolution in favour of serving the regional and central governments and 'Winning the War against Franco'.

2) More generally, the untenability of the 'principle' that 'The End justifies the Means', indeed of all Means-Ends frameworks. From a libertarian standpoint, one must either be in all one's actions what one is for, or cease being a libertarian. The CNT leadership chose the latter course.

3) The Anarchist movement's failure to confront the problems and contradictions of revolutionary violence, specifically terror, from a principled libertarian standpoint. (This failure also vitiates Murray Bookchin's recent history of Spanish anarchism up to the Civil War). Indeed, Richards even argues that 'the attitude of the CNT-FAI to legalised violence during the period 1936-39 is such as to make their collaborationist deviation pale into insignificance.' (213)

4) Finally, Richards' book demonstrates how dangerous power is, how easily even (or especially) the most ideologically committed revolutionaries become corrupted by the 'arrogance of power': the assumption that they, qua 'leaders', have the knowledge and right to decide what is in the best interests of those they presume to lead. Richards shows decisively the need for libertarian principles of decision-making to be *practices* and not merely professed. The crucial decisions to join the regional and central governments were taken by the CNT-FAI 'dynasty' without the approval of the hundreds of thousands of their revolutionary 'supporters' — the Spanish people. In its abuse of power as in other respects, the 'leadership's' practice was counter-revolutionary.

The present Spanish Left can learn much from this classic study. However different from the 1930's Spain, the problems for the libertarian Left in Felipe Gonzalez social democratic capitalist nightmare remain unchanged. To the charge that his critique provides ammunition for the political enemies of anarchism, Richards replies: 'my criticism is not that anarchist ideas were proved unworkable by the Spanish experience, but that the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists failed to put their theories to the test, adopting the tactics of the enemy'. (14). He concludes his study of the 'lessons of the Spanish revolution' with this quotation from French anarchist Sebastian Faure: 'I am aware of the fact that it is not always possible to do what one should do; but I know that there are things that on no account can one ever do.'

Patrick and Julie Flanagan  
Barcelona

\* *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* Freedom Press, London, 1983. 256pp £2.95

\*\* Appropriately, the book is dedicated 'To the memory of Camillo Berneri, 1897-1937 and Marie Louise Berneri, 1918-1949.'

# The left and the erotic

*The Left and the Erotic* edited by Eileen Philips (Lawrence & Wishart £3.95).

When I first accidentally stumbled on the life and work of Edward Carpenter — the early English utopian socialist writer — I was astonished that, after several years around the left, I knew more about Trotsky than about any home-grown activist. That there is a real tradition of British popular left figures outside the Communist or Labour Parties was a revelation to me, perhaps this feeling is slightly akin to feminists discovering their hidden history. It could be that Carpenter particularly is little known because he talked of sexual politics and lived out his beliefs in an openly gay lifestyle.

Since those days — for so many reasons I've felt very much in and against the left. Quite often there's no-one else to work with — or more honestly that left politics are so daunting and impersonal that mere individuals unarmed with a good party line have been driven away. Also, frankly, the left is boring. And as this interesting new book points out, decidedly unerotic... which is not to say that sex is not there. I can immediately think of half-a-dozen male former colleagues who's eloquence and charisma was of value to them both in winning

arguments and winning one-night stands to boot. (Had I been more eloquent and less conscious of a bad complexion I could have fallen for that one too). I'm not of course denying that a one-night stand may be non-oppressive, or valuable, just suggesting that the sexual couplings after the conference disco smacked more of usage than anything else.

*The left and the erotic* is a follow-up to a session at the 1982 *Morning Star* 'Moving Left Show' and is a very varied collection. The writing includes some typical examples of left academic jargon "...the history of sexuality cannot be understood in terms of class hegemony alone. The latter is an episode in the description of a larger historical trajectory, and whose conceptualization..." and "... a history of sexuality as the history of inter-connected discourses by way of what we can now see as an ambivalent critique of the thesis..." (Jan Cook on *Notes on History, politics and sexuality*). I refuse to read material cluttered with such garbage and don't see why anyone else should be expected to. On the other hand we have Zelda Curtis, ex-fundraiser of the *Morning Star* writing in human terms about her political upbringing in a sexually repressive party. The party sidelined any discussion of sexual politics other than marital acceptance of

the latest Soviet policy on the family, whilst women members suffered sexual harassment by other members. There's poetry too, from Michele Roberts, Walt Whitman's *I sing the body electric*, and Angela Carter on the sex life of women in Chaucer and George Eliot. Mick Eaton writes on some aspects of Victorian sexuality, Frankie Rickford on the acceptability of public sexuality and Elizabeth Wilson on North American feminism.

However, *The Left and the Erotic* most comes to life with Noell Greig — a gay playwright — describing his own political development within the Gay Liberation Front and as someone who has tried to keep his own emotions and attractions unburdened by his necessary involvement in the Left as a gay socialist. Greig again introduces Edward Carpenter, as his mentor and I'm pleased that Greig is now working on his biography. Hopefully this book will be used to encourage greater discussion of sexual politics in the Left — its title alone is sure to provoke interest, though I must say that the cover illustrations of a 'baby-doll' figure sitting by demophotos is somewhat disturbing. I'm not sure exactly what Cliff Harper intends with that drawing.

Ross Bradshaw

# Bertrand Russell



*The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell* edited by Kenneth Blackwell and others. Volume 1: *Cambridge Essays 1888-1899* (Allen & Unwin £48).

*Why I am not a Christian and The Faith of a Rationalist* by Bertrand Russell (Rationalist Press Association & National Secular Society 60p).

Here are two very different editions of works by the very various writer Bertrand Russell (1872-1970). He was one of the most distinguished thinkers and indeed one of the most remarkable people of the twentieth century. He came from an extraordinary background, being descended from several aristocratic families which belonged to the political and intellectual establishment of England (one ancestor became Prime Minister, another was beheaded for treason), and he had an extraordinary career. He lived for only two years less than a century, and was continuously active until only two days before his death. During this long and busy life, he knew most of the people worth knowing, and he made his mark in everything he tried. During his adult life he produced an average of one book a year, as well as hundreds of articles and lectures.

When he was young he became famous as a pioneering philosopher, and when he was old he became famous as a dissenting politician; in between he became famous as a propagandist for sexual and educational freedom (open a free school) and against religious and social dogmatism. He won some of the greatest national and international honours (including the Order of Merit and the Nobel Prize for Literature), and for a time during the late 1950s and early 1960s was almost an unofficial broker between the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union; yet he was pursued by sexual scandal, was dismissed from academic posts on both sides of the Atlantic on moral grounds, and was imprisoned in 1918 and again in 1961 for his activities in the anti-war movement. For more than half a century he was probably the best-known campaigner for freedom of thought and expression in the world.

Although he was never an anarchist, he is particularly interesting to us because of his sympathy with anarchism in theory — especially in his book *Roads to Freedom* (1918) — and because of his occasional cooperation with anarchists in practice — especially in the campaigns against the First World War and for nuclear disarmament and in the campaign against Communist dictatorship in the Soviet Union (see Vivian Harper's article in *Anarchy* 109, March 1970). He is also one of the few libertarian writers of the past whose work is both well written and easily available.

These two publications represent the two extremes of treatment *The Collected Papers of Bertrand Russell* is an enormous academic

and commercial project, undertaken by McMaster University at Hamilton in Canada (which bought Russell's papers in 1968) and Allen & Unwin (which published Russell's books from 1916), and consisting of 28 volumes to appear during the next 18 years. The first volume, *Cambridge Essays*, containing nearly 600 pages, is ostentatiously edited and beautifully produced but prohibitively priced and misleadingly titled. There are 50-odd items, written between the ages of 15 and 26 (he was at Cambridge less than half this time), and almost all published for the first time from the original manuscripts. There are two diaries, including important material about his emotional and intellectual development; there are some essays written for a cramming establishment in Southgate (the only school he ever attended — and some talks written for the Cambridge Conversazione Society (better known as 'The Apostles'), showing astonishing maturity of outlook and mastery of treatment: there are dozens of undergraduate and postgraduate essays written as a student of mathematics and philosophy at Cambridge and of economics at Berlin, appealing only to specialists. There is a great deal of editorial material — introductions and notes, chronology and bibliography — and the result will be liked by people who like this sort of thing. Ordinary readers will find the whole business rather absurd, but there are some bits which are well worth reading — the diary entries on his slow loss of religious belief, for example, and some of his political writings (especially an essay written at the age of 17, called 'Destruction must precede construction', defending nihilism and anarchism on the ground that bad systems must be destroyed before better systems can be constructed).

*Why I am not a Christian and The Faith of a Rationalist* is a 32-page pamphlet published by two of the main freethought organisations in Britain reprinting two of Russell's writings on religion and freethought. *Why I am not a Christian* was a lecture for the South London branch of the National Secular Society in 1927, and *The Faith of a Rationalist* was a radio talk for the BBC Home Service in 1947, both being originally published by the Rationalist Press Association (of which Russell was president for the last 15 years of his life) and frequently reprinted. An editorial note says that the two essays have been reprinted again 'because although they have inevitably dated in a few minor details, they remain excellent summaries of the arguments for rejecting religion in general and Christianity in particular and for adopting rationalism and secularism'. They are certainly as good as anything on this subject, and the pamphlet is well produced by the Aldgate Press (and available from the Freedom Bookshop for 60p plus 17p postage).

# David Markham

It is with great sadness that we record the death on December 15th last of our old friend and comrade David Markham.

David Markham was 70 when he died and during his three score years and ten had made his name in two very distinctive fields. As a very professional actor, he began his career after leaving RADA (Royal Academy for Dramatic Art) in 1934 and joining repertory in Manchester, rapidly getting to London's West End by 1935.

But we all know what happened in 1939, and when war broke out, David, by then an established and respected actor, took the unpopular step of becoming an uncompromising conscientious objector and was sent to prison. More, he refused to have anything to do with propaganda films for the war effort, and while others went on with the 'Periscope up, periscope down' routines in mock-up submarines, Markham went into the wilderness. As *The Times* obituary (17.12.83) said, he 'was occupied in the regions', touring for the Old Vic in Chekov, Shaw and Shakespeare. Safely historical — and we don't think he would have played Henry VI.

Rebuilding his career after the war's end, David was again in demand in London theatres, by 1954 working with John Gielgud in *The Cherry Orchard* at Hammersmith, but there was no doubt that his wartime dis-sidence had meant that 'his cards had been marked'.

In 1953, he introduced himself publicly to the anarchists by sending out an open invitation for them to 'escape from London' for Cornation Day — by coming to his smallholding in Sussex, hidden away in the Ashdown Forest with a few pigs and chickens and vegetables galore. Some twenty London anarchists squeezed themselves into vehicles and followed the country lanes down to what seemed to us an idyllic rural hideaway. It was in fact Olive's and David's home for about

forty years, where their four beautiful daughters were brought up, where Olive wrote her children's stories (ably helping out the family income) and from whence, in time, David himself sallied forth like Jack the Giantkiller.

What do I mean? I mean that it was from this rural hideaway — wherein, in his sixties he would have been well able to let the world go by — that David Markham began his one-man campaign against the Soviet Union, and a second public persona began to appear.

Hearing about the emergence of the individuals that we now come to think of as the Russian dissidents, David, a dissident in his own country, decided to go to Russia and find out for himself. As an ordinary tourist, he flew to Moscow and then simply set out to find the family of Valdamir Bukovsky, one of the group of Russians who had appointed themselves as monitors of the 'Helsinki Agreement' — the international agreement on 'Human Rights' which the Soviet Union had cynically signed and then within its own borders, equally cynically ignored. It was the beginning of the era when any Russian citizen who challenged the Soviet system was categorised as mentally unbalanced and shipped off to a mental hospital for treatment, where they were treated by the same sort of methods which have now crept into British prisons — the prescribed Valium, the 'Liquid cosh'.

In Russia, of course, it didn't stop there. The sentences were longer and there was always Siberia in the background — and the punishments were meted out not only for 'principled' dissidence, but also for Jews wanting to leave the USSR for Israel. David Markham actually went to Russia twice — simply flying in and then finding his way to private (?) homes to contact and get information. By the end of his second trip it was clear to him that it would be unwise to come back a third time. But his attack had been mounted in

London. He began a one-man vigil outside the Russian Embassy, wearing a placard simply saying 'Release Bukovsky'. He attracted attention and support, and eventually it paid off. Bukovsky and others were released — and then began the second phase: the campaign to get the misuse of psychiatry publicised and denounced by the British Royal College of Psychiatrists.

Here, the obstruction did not come from the Russians side. They didn't have to, for the 'leaders' of the profession over here were desperate not to upset the international apple cart. If only the ordinary people were as internationalist as the elite!

Eventually, however, the effects of David Markham and his associates bore fruit — but by that time he had got himself involved in another aspect of imprisonment — this time in Britain. Time and again he journeyed up to Glasgow to visit Jimmy Boyle in the special unit in Barlinnie, where a new concept of treatment for very violent prisoners was being worked out. It was as though, years after his own prison experience, he was becoming more and more concerned with those suffering now.

He also maintained throughout his interest in the anarchist movement. He was one of the handful of people who advanced loans of considerable sums for the purchase of the Freedom Press premises in Whitechapel.

In later years, David worked more in television and films than in the theatre — indeed one of his last was in a small 'vigette' as a true blue Britisher in 'Gandhi', while he also featured in the TV series on Lloyd George.

David Markham was a thoughtful and serious actor, and a gentle brave and generous man. There will be a meeting of friends sometime within the next few weeks and we shall speak of him again.

Philip Sansom

# 'POLITICAL' PRISONERS

Reg Butler, who is now clay-molding in the great studio in the sky (circa 1981), was a sculptor who gave the Town and his giggling Frau much pleasure in his thirty working years. Every exhibition meant pleasurable anticipation that one would be amused, that one would enjoy good craftsmanship, and that there would be a mild, very English, eroticism to titillate and to shy smile with the false knowledge that truth is beauty, beauty truth.

That Butler had talent as a working craftsman cannot be denied, but he was a parasitical artist in that he moved into other men's visions, and the sterile work that he produced added little to their dreams made manifest. Like many artists who have over the years become the coinage of the art-dealers, Butler was a politician in that he moved into the fashionable cause of the day and the galleries of the Free World. Westward-ho the cheques are lumbered with third-rate works of men and women working in the style or of the school of Impressionism, Cubism, Abstractionism, Surrealism or just plain Daffy Duck.

The 1950s was the age of the gimmick in politics and the arts, and it was a good time, for it was a time for laughter; within the arts the centre of the circus ring was the Institute of Contemporary Arts in its old haunted house in Mayfair's Dover Street. Here it was that the first news of the competition for the erection of a huge monument to 'The Unknown Political Prisoner' was heard, with an £11,500 prize for the winner; and the Old Guard and the Young Lions from West Berlin to these United States pulled out their fingers and their 8B pencils in the cause of freedom and £11,500. Ugly rumours then began to circulate among those of us leaning on the Dover Street bar that maybe this was not your actual voice of freedom weeping in the wilderness but the old political laundered moeny, ay, ay! Like the London-based cultural/intellectual magazine *Encounter* that had Britain's aging intelligentsia feeding off it like flies off warm rich shit that was exposed as a rather naughty secretly funded American CIA front, Richard Calvocoressi states in his long and well-informed introduction to the Tate's Butler exhibition thirty years later that 'since that £11,500 prize money for the competition was almost certainly donated by a wealthy American diplomat with politically influential business interests, allegations by the Soviet Union of CIA involvement and Cold War propaganda, though exaggerated, may not have been entirely unfounded'.

I can think of no sound reason why the KGB or the CIA should not publicly hand out their citizens' taxed monies to commission your actual great works of living art, but when they secretly finance a front organisation to pay the artist then it becomes and was in the matter of the 'Unknown Political Prisoner' monument graveyard humour. But in thirty years tens of thousands of guilty and innocent men, women and children have rotted and died in prison camps and cells, and we wineless in the Tate are left with the work of art. In the beginning Butler saw his idea as referring back to the Nazi atrocities, while the German sculptor Heiliger believed the theme to be any unknown political prisoner in any area of our imprisoned world; but in the end sheer lack of talent among the competitors ended with the currently fashionable steel-frame, television wire effect. So here within the Tate is Butler's wire modelled maquette of the huge CIA-funded

hunk of USA Cold War propaganda that was never erected, and Butler received £4,500 in payment, and is now dead; and I don't feel too well.

For me, two philosophical questions in relation to the Tate's exhibition of the Unknown Political Prisoner filled my mind those thirty years ago and thirty years later, and they are still not resolved. On 15 March 1953, Laszlo Szilvassy, a 28-year-old stateless Hungarian, walked up to Butler's model, no bigger than a bird cage, and squashed the wire frame work as a political protest. I sat in court when he came up into the dock and I heard him state, 'I am a Hungarian and have been a political prisoner', and I wondered then and I wonder now how the very people who financed an artist to produce a work of art protesting at the persecution of men, women and children for their political beliefs could then prosecute a man for making his political protest. It is wrong to destroy someone's creative work, but when it was so easy to reproduce. Did no one say to the CIA comrades, Put your proclaimed principles into practice, for in the end only the unknown and forgotten Laszlo Szilvassy, the walking talking ex-political prisoner, walks into history with some small honour? And I still stand and look at the small wire-framed never-to-be-erected model for the Unknown Political Prisoner and, ever the philosopher, I ask why not statue should be erected to a woman who steals a crust of bread to feed herself and her child and is labelled a common criminal, while the ranting Colone who refuses to pay his rates as a protest against the lack of police action against the women of Greenham is honoured as a political prisoner — this elitist demand that one is not of the common herd and does not stand in the dock through starvation or pure and happy-minded stupidity but for one's self-seeking principles, and therefore I demand preferential treatment in the matter of reading, clothing or outside communications. The grave is classless and the worms reject the tarnished honours. Build me a monument to honour the woman who stole bread for herself and her child, and to honour the Uncommon Criminals who stole £25 million in gold.

But there was light and gaiety at the Reg Butler exhibition within the Tate Gallery, even though it was the wineless day, for we saw the work from his period of bulbous nudes, cast some time in 1955, fashioned in all the bed-warming charm of a michelin tyre advert, and also his 'Venus of Lespugue and Other Naked Ladies' were on full display. They are life-sized female nudes cast in bronze but painted in natural colours. They wear wigs of hair and the eyes and the lips and the nipples are painted in human colours. When photographed in colour they could be accepted as living and breathing creatures except — ah, except! With each life-sized doll — and this is what they are — Butler turned and twisted the human figures as a child might turn and twist a doll of coloured clay. Great rounded arses are twisted around to the front of the body; a head is turned half-circle to gaze down at the spine; hips and buttocks swell out like unto party balloons; and all in natural human colour, and each one life-size. Cast them in soft foam rubber, and they would make ideal Christmas gifts for those customers of the Soho sex-shops whose taste runs to the off-beat bizarre.

Do they humiliate or treat women as a subjugated sex object? No more than Jean Ingres the nineteenth century French painter did

with his painting 'La Baigneuse de Valpincon' or his harem paintings wherein, as with Butler's sculptured coloured life-sized nudes, everything ends as pink skin sacks of soft jelly with nary a bone inside. It is the artists' prerogative to do as they wish with the clay, the colours and the brush and the only crime, as Laszlo Szilvassy argued from the Bow Street dock, is to sell yourself to an unknown pay-master. So let us be amused, for the end joke is left to the end; for in every one of his coloured life-sized female nudes, to the shy-making blushes of the Town and his simpering Frau, Butler sculptured with meticulous care and craftsmanship the vagina in per-

fect detail, yet in the glossy coloured catalogue containing the photographs of these distorted female nudes not one lass was shot from that cough-making angle.

But let us tread lightly on old graves, for there are minor pleasures and wine for the drinking as we trail the Town and his holly-decked Frau to the National Portrait Gallery, for here, my masters, is order and beauty. Beauty with Jean at the desk and misrule with Polish George and Harry and Mollie and new gossip and new wine and lest we forget, the paintings of Arthur Devis of the 'Polite Society'. Here are the established middle class of the eighteenth century, secure in their Cromwellian-won victory of political power following on economic power, and in Arthur Devis's group paintings they pose in the false

knowledge that theirs is the safest of all possible safe worlds.

And the paintings are so very good. A muted background, no middle distance, and a well-painted foreground of pleasant family groupings with slightly deformed children for, Dev lad, you could not paint the eighteenth century, Gawd forbids, but the sheen and the highlights of the women's dresses are lovely; yet beyond the gates in those muted backgrounds are the animal sounds of the new rising industrialists growling for the same political power that goes with new wealth, and the trees in the muted backgrounds of Devis's paintings are Chekhov's cherry trees in that sad orchard, for I hear the sound of the axe.

Arthur Moyses

## WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

It's encouraging to see lots of people becoming aware of the threat that nuclear weapons pose to their lives. But nuclear weapons are only a symptom of much greater problems, problems that the self-appointed leaders of the 'peace' movement don't want discussed. The contemporary 'peace' movement is like most single issue 'anti' movements; it exists in opposition to only one or two aspects of this society. And when people in a 'movement' aren't questioning the nature of this society in its entirety they choose tactics that mirror their conservatism and timidity-tactics like *electoral politics* and *pacifism*. 'We got beaten up by the cops and we spent a week in jail, so we must have changed something...' or, why the confusion?

I was involved in the blockade at Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power plant in the fall of 1981. I spent four days in the demonstrators' camp and after arrest I spent three days in jail. I found that the more committed people were to pacifism, the less committed they were to any meaningful social transformation. They were very smug about it, 'No, violence is never justified...' Rather than discuss the politics of nuclear energy the protestors would engage in a lot of 'New Age' style-group therapy. It was a very white, middle-class scene. Even when the police were beating the shit out of their fellow demonstrators they would be telling the cops how much they 'loved' them.

### Pacifism and social control: Gandhi and a few examples from his life

Pacifism is (generally) a principled and unconditional opposition to all forms of violence, even the use of violence in self-defence by victimized individuals and classes. Thus the violence of the slave in revolt is supposedly just as terrible as the violence of the slave-owner. I don't think that this is an unintentional naivete on the part of pacifist ideology. Find out about the career of Mohandas K Gandhi, not the Hollywood-movie Gandhi. Read about what he said and how he acted.

Gandhi was the son of a very well-off family in Porbandar, India. After receiving his law degree he moved to South Africa. He immediately involved himself in the Civil Rights struggles of Asian people in South Africa. In 1913 the civil rights campaign reached its height in a massive strike of indentured Indian miners. This strike threatened to link up with a simultaneously occurring strike of European railway workers. The government declared a state of siege

Gandhi helped to demobilize the strike by calling off a march of Asian workers, saying *he did not wish to embarrass the South African regime*. With the praises of the government for his moderation, Gandhi sailed off to India, leaving behind an embittered and racially-divided working class.

In India the struggles against the British were not simply nationalist or within the context of 'non-violence' ideology. In the early 20's a wave of strikes and peasant revolts swept the country. Like in South Africa Gandhi helped to take the steam out of the uncontrolled rebellion. This was the course of Gandhi's activity throughout his life. *Gandhi was a very shrewd and demagogic conservative whose philosophy and tactics served the nationalistic interests of the capitalists and big landlords of India*. His pacifism was primarily a way of disarming the radicalism of the Hindu and Muslim poor and working classes. His 'pacifism' was conditional; the lower classes were never to use violence but it was an option for the State. Gandhi served as a recruiter for the British Empire during both World Wars. In the mid-30's when a group of Indian soldiers under British officers mutinied and refused to fire upon a non-violent demonstration, *Gandhi condemned the soldiers, say that a soldier takes a sacred oath to his commander, that soldiers must always obey orders* and that when he and the Indian National Congress took over the government they would need to rely on those same soldiers (to shoot demonstrators and strikers, I presume). 'Sainly father of non-violent change' my ass! Throughout his life, Gandhi was on the side of the capitalists landlords, and pacifism today is a logical continuation of that kind of politics. A final quote from 'the Mahatma': 'I will not support the dispossession of the propertied classes. (of India) *Capitalists are fathers and workers children*.' (!?) **THIS IS PACIFISM! AND THIS IS THEIR 'MORALITY'!**

The smug advocates of non-violence ideology circulate photographs like this one. Like most photos from symbolic 'blockades' this one shows a protestor suffering a lot of pain at the hands of the police. To most people, this doesn't seem like a very desirable situation. *But the hippie bureaucrats of the 'peace' movement celebrate the imagery of their brutalization at the hands of the police*. The pacifists seem to wallow in a morbid desire for physical punishment. And the pacifists glamorize getting punched-out by cops and thrown in jail because most of them are upper-middle class privileged people or religious believers who don't live under the everyday threat of violence at the hands of the cops the way that working class and poor people do.

'I think that if Gandhi were alive

today, he would be in El Salvador, teaching non-violence to the peasants and rebels.'

Jonika Mountainfire, Livermore Action Group, Berkeley

Why are the exploited and rebellious supposed to become non-violent? Why don't the advocates of pacifism teach non-violence to the cops and the rightists instead of disarming their opposition? I think that it is because the pacifists are on the side of the State, that *pacifism is the height of upper middle-class morality, guilt and self-inflicted suffering as a substitute for effective, radical action*. When people glamorize Martin Luther King they are forgetting that any concessions granted by the powers-that-be were as much a concession to the armed insurrections of Watts, Detroit and Newark as to law-abiding reformers. As Malcolm X said, '... It's time to stop singing and *start swinging!*...'

We want to live without the threat of war, too. We want peace to be possible in our lifetime, *and we want a lot more than just peace*. Symbolic resistance and peaceful demonstrations won't bring it any closer. And sending postcards to politicians is like sending postcards to the Nazis, begging them to not send gas to Auschwitz, *they'll do it anyway*. The bomb is a product of capitalism in the West and of state-capitalism in the East. *The old men who rule us are criminal, insane, and stupid*, you can't guilt trip those maniacs, they won't listen, *they don't care*. The bomb has got to go, and so does this whole dead society. You can vote, pray, lie down in front of freight trains but that won't do it. It can only be done by a mass revolutionary movement like those in Russia and Idrania from 1917 to 1921, Italy in 1920, Spain in 1936, Hungary in 1956, or the radical wing of Solidarnosc in Poland. How many people in the US know that there was almost a revolution in France in May of 1968? *Ten million people on a wildcat general strike*. Look at Britain in the summer of 1981, big riots in twenty-one cities! The naive left-wing talks about 'revolution' in Nicaragua, but what about the revolutionary youth in Northern European nations, the anarchist 'Sponties', the 'autonomists' in Germany and Holland? Look at the rebellions against capital in Italy, since the 'hot autumn' of 1969, not the idiots in the Red Brigades but the workers, immigrants, and poor, fourteen years of factory occupations, wildcat strikes, squatting and *mutinies of enlisted people in the armed forces*. It's that kind of rebellion that can free us from the current mess. Let's all fight to make that here!

Don't go on idiotic fasts to starve yourself, let's starve this system! Universal Disarmament by Destroying the State!

We from Kronstadt, c/o Anti-Authoritarian Studies

# Liverpool, Leeds, Bristol and Bradford



On Thursday 8th December 13 people comprising of members of the Liverpool Anarchist Group and friends held a picket outside the local RAF recruiting centre. The picket had two aims: firstly to draw peoples attention to the new Youth Training Scheme and its links with the military, and secondly as a protest against militarism generally and in particular the links between increased arms spending and Third World starvation. Reaction was surprisingly non-hostile and we managed to get rid of all the leaflets we had produced in the 1½ hours or so we were there.

**Liverpool Anarchist Group**

In Leeds and the surrounding area, plans are being made for a demonstration at Menwith Hill air-base (near Harrogate). The demonstration will take place on Saturday 28th January

Our reasons for wanting to demonstrate at Menwith Hill are that it presents a target for nuclear missiles; it is a spy-station used for Big-brother style invasive surveillance and it constitutes an authoritarian outrage perpetrated by a foreign government. It follows that not even a parliamentarian could approve of it, since there was nothing in the Conservative manifesto about

welcoming American imperialism. (Shades of Grenada).

The demonstration is gathering support. We need funds to print maps and leaflets. We also need a public-address system. Cheques etc. should be sent to Martin, 17 Roundhay View, Harehills, Leeds LS8 4DX and should be made payable to North Leeds Peace Group.

Anarchists should try to make an effort with this demonstration. At the moment it is dominated by the 'just vote Labour and it will be all right' crowd. Please do what you can. Come to the meeting yourselves if you get the chance.

**William Gaskill**

On December 14th Bristol anarchist's and Bristol Housing Action Movement (a squatters group) opened up a peace centre in central Bristol. Its main functions are as cheap vegetarian/vegan cafe, bookshop and information centre and meeting place for various groups. At the moment we have a three month licence on the premises but hope to extend indefinitely (or else we shall squat it again). We hope as many people will come along and contribute towards making it useful and worthwhile.

The address is:- Bristol Anarchists group 1 Picton street Montpelier,

Bristol BS6.

In an attempt to kick some life into the present apathetic state of submission, a group of young, unemployed people have occupied and are renovating a building in Ivanhoe Road, Bradford.

We intend to set up a Peace Centre for the furtherance of ideas of Peace and Anarchy. The Centre will be the focus for Libertarian/Pacifist ideas and culture in Bradford. The Centre will provide a shelter and accomodation, meeting rooms, a cafe and hopefully a book-shop. Above all it will be *our* centre, run by us for ourselves free from rip-off entrepreneurs, bouncers, and the 'social worker' mentality of the State's official unemployment Centres which are little more than ways and means of control.

We ask readers and supporters of FREEDOM to help us. If you're in the Bradford area come along and help with the work. Money is of secondary importance to us but if you want to get rid of it we'll take it.

Publicity and letters of support are important to the squat and are needed.

**Keith Campbell**

(See Contacts page - Eds.)

## Hazelton

On 28th January 1984 a national demonstration is being held against Hazelton laboratories, Harrogate. this animal belsen is part of the largest contract testing organisations in the world.

Hazelton and many other labor-

atories like it in this country and throughout the world are torturing and murdering millions of animals for private profit, it has to be stopped. Please attend this demonstration and let's have a large anarchist presence at this march to

help bring an end to this ugly form of private profiteering. These big money companies have been brought to their knees before and with your help they will again.

**Frank**

## SRAF

We would like to announce the formation of a new SRAF Bulletin production group based in Medford, Mass. Now that we have the mailing list from Washington, we figured we should let you know who we are and what we want to do.

First, our address: SRAF Bulletin, 41 Lawrence street, Medford, Mass. 02155, USA.

We'll be trying to get Bulletin 85 out in mid-January, so send your letters and contributions to this address.

This is supposed to be the free forum for any and all anarchists, so SRAF is and will be what its members make of it and not what the production group dictates. SRAF Bulletin is a collective of member groups and individuals, and so anyone connected with SRAF should feel free to suggest editorial policy. All major decisions will be

made openly in our report to the membership each issue. We'd like to keep editing to its absolute barest minimum. For now, we reserve the option to cut all letters over a page in length, but we want to get around this limitation and print everything we are sent without reservation.

To achieve these lofty goals, we will have to depend a great deal on the financial support of the SRAF membership. The members of our group do not have enough to invest in the Bulletin to keep it alive. We are looking for ways to make it stable within a couple of months - otherwise we won't be able to continue the project. This may involve reproduction changes to cut costs.

Basically, we will put out what we can afford to print depending on how much money we get. As in the past, all dues and subscriptions

will be by voluntary donations. Contributions are also solicited for the expense of printing your letters. We are committed to printing as much material as is sent to us and sending copies to any interested parties, but this cannot happen unless the resources are present. So we are in need of a lot of support from those who participate in this project if we are to live up to its ideals.

Please get in touch with the Bulletin at its new address. We need contributions of all kinds - money, stamps, letters, information. And we need new members - if you know anyone else interested in action against the state, turn them on to SRAF! We hope to hear from you soon.

**Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation**

## In Brief

The Indonesian government seems to be having a clean up drive. They are to set up a centre for Jakarta's estimated 4,500 transvestite prostitutes. The idea is to get them off the streets and train them for 'more acceptable' work, such as beauticians. The government's tactics are not all so benign. The Legal Aid Institute estimates that 2,000 suspected criminals have been killed by semi-official death squads in the past nine months. Adnam Buyung Nasution, former public prosecutor and founder of the Institute, says that the true figure is probably twice that.

A restaurant owner in Bordeaux who refused to serve a cripple has been banned from driving for a year. The court had been told that

he could not pay a fine.

Chinese Buddhist monks and nuns are being urged to abandon a 1,000 year-old initiation rite of scalp burning because it is 'bad for their health'.

A central district of Rome was paralysed when hundreds of vehicles slid into each other on a carpet of bird droppings after heavy rain. Trafalgar Square has not yet reached this stage.

The Constitutional Court in Bonn has ruled that the controversial national census can go ahead. However, it imposes 'severe restrictions' on the use of the material collected.

Some enterprising suggestions for coping with prison crowding. The

Home Office is studying plans to convert closed-down hospitals and schools into 'part-time' prisons. Much more sensible use of resources. Meanwhile, in the USA, the free market is examining the area. A new company, 'Corrections Corporation of America', is to open a multi-million dollar prison in Texas. It will specialise in holding illegal aliens captured by the Immigration and Naturalisation Service. The founder sees it as a pilot scheme for a chain of private sector prisons all over the country.

A Yugoslavian schoolgirl has been sentenced to 15 days in gaol for claiming to have seen a vision of the Virgin Mary.

