

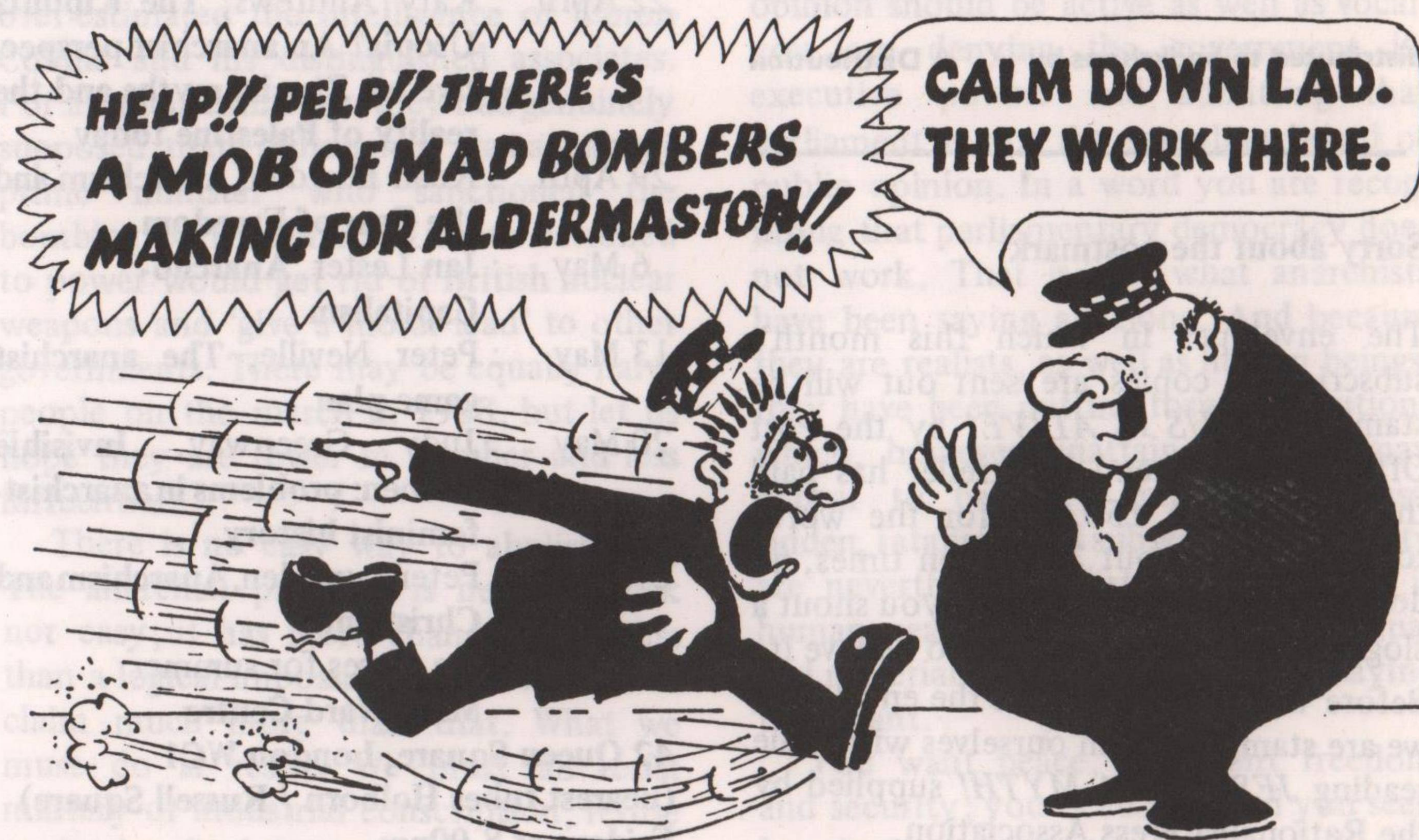
THIRTY YEARS ON BACK TO ALDERMASTON WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

THE real objective of the march to Aldermaston is to call public attention to the menace posed by armaments, especially nuclear armaments, and nuclear industry. The symbolic objective is to speak to the workers at the atomic weapons plant, and try to persuade them against their horrible trade. The main achievement may be different from either of the planned objectives, and no less valuable for that. Bonds of kindness and solidarity may well be formed, as they were on the last march to Aldermaston in 1958, between the marchers and those who offer them encouragement and hospitality on the road. The marchers may then go home feeling they have achieved something magnificent though not spectacular, and they will be right.

The endeavour may end in a pathetic farce, with the empty gesture of a solemn meeting and a resolution calling on those governments which have nuclear weapons to give them up. As if governments could be moved to a change of heart by the fact that some thousands of people had demonstrated their earnestness and sincerity by trudging fifty miles.

The last atomic bombs used in war were those dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The Japanese government could not retaliate because it had no bombs of its own. Since then no government has dared to use a nuclear weapon, not for fear of destruction and death to the citizenry (rulers have always been prepared if necessary to fight to the last drop of subjects' blood), but because these weapons are so effective, they put the government themselves in danger.

Governments are urgently studying the problem of how to preserve government in the event of nuclear war. The solutions proposed so far, such as regional seats of government deep underground, are just ridiculous. But the problem may be solved



eventually, in which case a nuclear war may be expected where ordinary people are killed as they are in all wars, to further government interests.

War is the health of the state

War benefits states in three ways. Firstly it directs the hostility which people feel towards unjust societies away from home injustice towards foreign injustice. Secondly, on the 'us and them' principle that external hostility enhances internal loyalty, it enables those who impose their will by force to persuade their victims that they are benevolent. Thirdly, it absorbs surplus production, creating shortages and so keeping the capitalist system going.

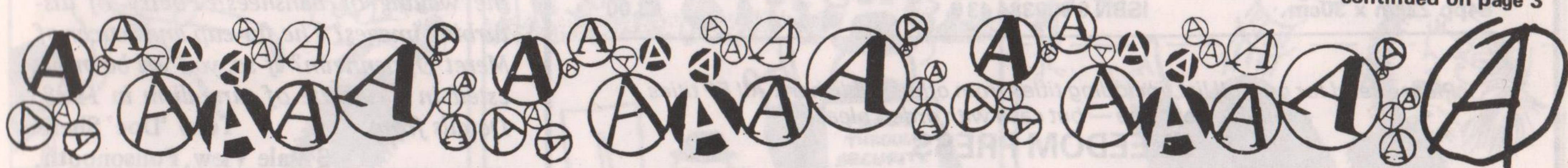
There is no shortage of non-nuclear warfare. 53 countries are known to be selling arms to the Iran/Iraq war, 27 of them to both sides. But also there is the Cold War between nuclear powers, varying in intensity but always present. Unless and until some way is found of carrying on a nuclear war without destroy-

ing governments along with people, nuclear weapons will not be used on purpose (though accidents are not impossible). But research continues into the design of more efficient warheads and means of delivering them.

Recently the stockpiles of nuclear arms have become too much of a financial burden, especially for the Soviet Union. A treaty is being negotiated, it is hoped for signature this year, decreasing stocks of some classes of weapons by fifty per cent, making it possible to eliminate life on earth twenty times over, instead of forty times over as at present (estimates correct to an order of magnitude). This will cut costs, but make no difference to horror. One class of nuclear weapons is being eliminated altogether, by an existing treaty. A cynic might observe that the gigantic battleships, which every side used in World War Two, have already been eliminated without a treaty, because they became obsolete.

The last march to Aldermaston in 1958 ended with a whimper when the

continued on page 3



Please help to sell *Freedom* on the march. Phone Freedom Bookshop, 01-247 9249, for details.

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Sorry about the postmark

The envelopes in which this month's subscription copies are sent out will be stamped *JESUS IS ALIVE!* by the Post Office. A Southend bookseller has paid the Post Office £50,000 for the words to be printed about 30 million times, no doubt on the principle that if you shout a slogan often enough you get to believe it. Before the Post Office gets the envelopes, we are stamping them ourselves with a die reading *JESUS IS A MYTH!* supplied by the Rationalist Press Association.

London Anarchist Forum

Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, London WC1 (behind Southampton Row, opposite Russell Square). Meetings start 8.00pm. Forum people usually in ground floor cafe beforehand.

- 4 March : Open discussion
- 11 March : Open discussion
- 18 March : People from the **Federation of Anarcho-Pacifists** will spark off a discussion.
- Centre closed for Easter
- 22 April : Katy Andrews, **The Kibbutz Utopia? An anarchist perspective on Zionist myths and the reality of Palestine today**
- 29 April : Ruan Bowden, **Anarchism and the Fear of Freedom**
- 6 May : Jan Lester, **Anarcho-Capitalism**
- 13 May : Peter Neville, **The anarchist game plan**
- 20 May : Judy Greenway, **Invisible women: problems in anarchist-feminist history**
- 27 May : Peter Lumsden, **Anarchism and Christianity**
- Centre closes for summer
- Mary Ward Centre**
42 Queen Square, London WC1
(nearest tubes Holborn / Russell Square)
Fridays at 8.00pm

Anarchism: theory and practice, past and present. Sixth annual series of six weekly meetings, with talks by Nicolas Walter followed by discussions, at Mary Ward Centre. Begins at 6 pm on Tuesday, 19 April. Inquiries to: Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, London WC1N 3AQ (telephone 01-831 7711).

SOLIDARITY READERS' MEETING

Solidarity has announced a readers' meeting on Sunday 1 May at 2.30 pm. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

London ACF

The Anarchist Communist Federation is calling a public meeting to discuss **Resistance to the poll tax**. The meeting will be held on **Thursday 17 March at 8.00pm at Marchmont Street Community Centre, Marchmont Street, London WC1**. Nearest tube stations Russell Square / Euston / Kings Cross. This meeting is free and open to all. For further details contact Paul, Secretary London ACF, c/o Freedom Bookshop, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

The Anarchist Communist Federation will be holding the following discussion meetings, open to all:

Leisure	24 March 1988
Education	7 April 1988
Health	21 April 1988
Future Society	5 May 1988

Alternate Thursdays starting at 8.30pm
Marchmont Street Community Centre
Marchmont Street
London WC1

(Nearest tubes: Kings Cross, Euston, Russell Square.)

1968-1988 – 20 years of struggle

A French comrade of the Union des Travailleurs Communistes Libertaires, active in the May events of 1968, and now a militant in the railworkers struggle will speak at a public meeting organised by the Anarchist-Communist Federation London on Wednesday 11 May at the Small Hall, Conway Hall, London WC1 (nearest tube Holborn).

DO YOU dream in dark colours? Do you like Celtic music of disconcerting sounds, the wailing of banshees? Poetry of disturbing images? The fur cup and saucer of Meret Oppenheim? If so, you will be interested in a cassette of surrealism in 1988. Details from:

Tony 'Doc' Sheils
3 Vale View, Ponsonooth,
Truro, Cornwall

VERNON RICHARDS

PROTEST WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

Compiled with today's anti-nuclear war protestors in mind, this is not a history but includes first-hand accounts of CND Marches and Committee of 100 Sit-downs of the late 50s and early 60s, as well as contemporary articles on Parliamentary 'Defence' debates of the time. 24 pages of photographs + 168 text pages. £2.50

NEITHER EAST NOR WEST Selected Writings 1939-1948 by Marie Louise Berneri
and including 16 anti-war cartoons by **John Olday 1943-44**

192pp xxiv ISBN 0 900384 42 5 £4.50

ANARCHY IN ACTION (3rd printing) by Colin Ward

152pp ISBN 0 900384 20 4 new price £3.00

MUTUAL AID: A Factor in Evolution by Peter Kropotkin

With a 17-page Introduction Essay Mutual Aid and Social Evolution by **John Hewetson**

278pp xii ISBN 0 900384 36 0 £4.00

FREEDOM — A HUNDRED YEARS, OCTOBER 1886 TO 1986

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FREEDOM PRESS

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continued from front page

organising committee collected those marchers who could be persuaded to stay in Aldermaston a little longer, and sent a resolution from the meeting to 10 Downing Street and the United States and Soviet embassies, requesting the three governments to cease 'the testing, manufacture and storing of nuclear weapons indefinitely'. The following year, 1959, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament undertook the organisation of the march and changed its direction, so that it went from Aldermaston to London. The symbolic objective of speaking to the workers at the weapons plant was abandoned, to concentrate on whimpering to the government that the subjects do not like what the government is doing.

Thirty years on

The original CND (the present CND is a direct descendant but somewhat differently constituted) was a group of 'distinguished' people firmly committed to the sterile policy of appealing to governments in the name of public opinion. They held their first press conference, and two weeks later their first public meeting, in February 1958.

Freedom said at the time: 'If the distinguished platform succeed in arousing widespread and active interest in, as well as indignation at, the tragic, potentially suicidal, folly of the armaments race they will have achieved something positive. But if, at the same time, they believe that the government (any government) will 'follow' the wishes of public opinion, then we believe any good work they may

have done will soon be undone. At the Campaign's recent press conference attended by three members of the Executive, this reliance on action at the top was unfortunately only too evident... When Canon Collins, CND Chairman, said that "they were determined to channel the existing feeling in the country and create a climate of opinion which the political parties would have to follow" he was shirking the issue or just using fine-sounding words in which he had little faith.'

It became apparent some years later, when Labour regained office and (of course) kept the bomb, that *Freedom* had over-estimated the intelligence of Canon Collins and his distinguished associates. For all their eminence, they had genuinely supposed that, although it was a Labour prime minister who sanctioned the bombing of Hiroshima, Labour returned to power would get rid of British nuclear weapons and 'give a moral lead' to other governments. There may be equally naive people on the march in 1988, but let us hope they are fewer in number and less influential.

There is no easy way to abolish war. The anarchist proposal is neither quick nor easy; it has more chance of success than a logical impossibility but we cannot claim much more than that. What we must do is resist. We must all resist military or industrial conscription, refuse to be involved in war work, re-organise production for human needs not for profits and the maintenance of the present order. This means converting

public opinion, but the changed public opinion is to be channelled into public *action* for public good, not into *speech* intended to change the minds of bosses.

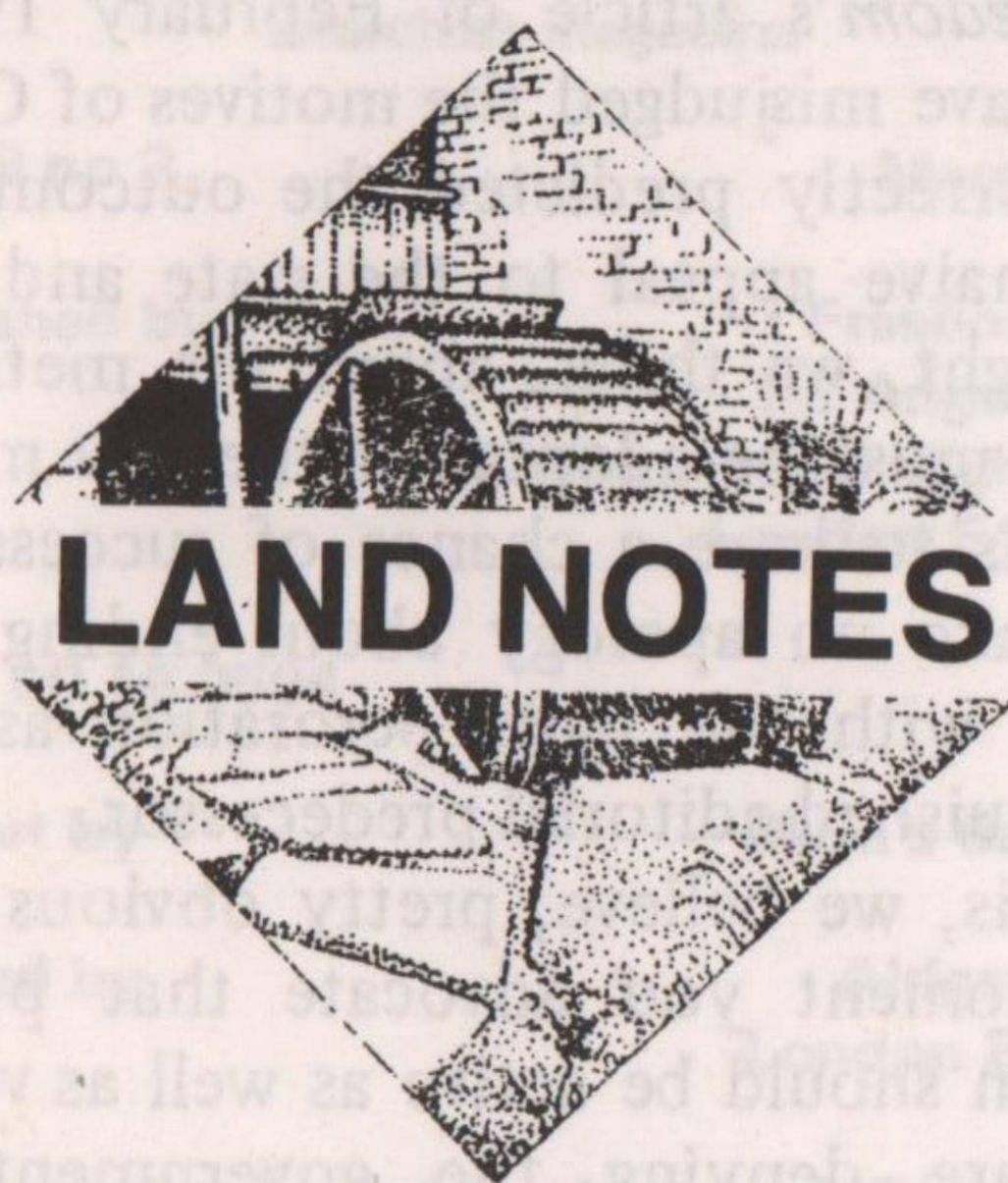
Freedom's article of February 1958 may have misjudged the motives of CND, but correctly predicted the outcome of their naive appeal to the state and was also right, we think, about the methods which must be adopted if the ND movement is to have a chance of success. So we make no apology about ending this article with the same peroration as our distinguished editorial predecessor.

It is, we believe, pretty obvious that the moment you advocate that public opinion should be active as well as vocal, you are denying the government its executive powers and admitting that parliament is not the sounding board of public opinion. In a word you are recognising that parliamentary democracy does not work. That is just what anarchists have been saying all along. And because they are realists, as well as human beings, they have been putting forward solutions which, however unattainable they may appear to be to a conditioned, class-ridden, fatalistic and subservient humanity are nevertheless realistic and practical if humans really want all the things, spiritual and material, which they are always saying they want.

You want peace, you want freedom and security; you need love and you seek happiness; you want leisure and you yearn to be yourself. But you will get nothing so long as you sit back and wait for Big Brother to get them for you!



Food Mountains or Food for Health



THERE was a one-day conference on the politics of food production, processing and consumption on 20 February at Southbank Polytechnic in London, organised by the London Food Commission and the Co-op Political Committee.

The London Food Commission has long been doing useful work in examining the whole problem of food additives and the effects of modern agri-business on food. The growth of the food industry has had a marked effect on the nature of the product, but whereas in other areas the nature of the product is not crucial to life, food obviously is. The primary purpose of food (i.e. nutrition) is obscured by other considerations like profit and power. Food, from being an article of nutrition, has become something processed and adulterated to such a marked extent that urban populations are beginning to feel the effects and to become concerned.

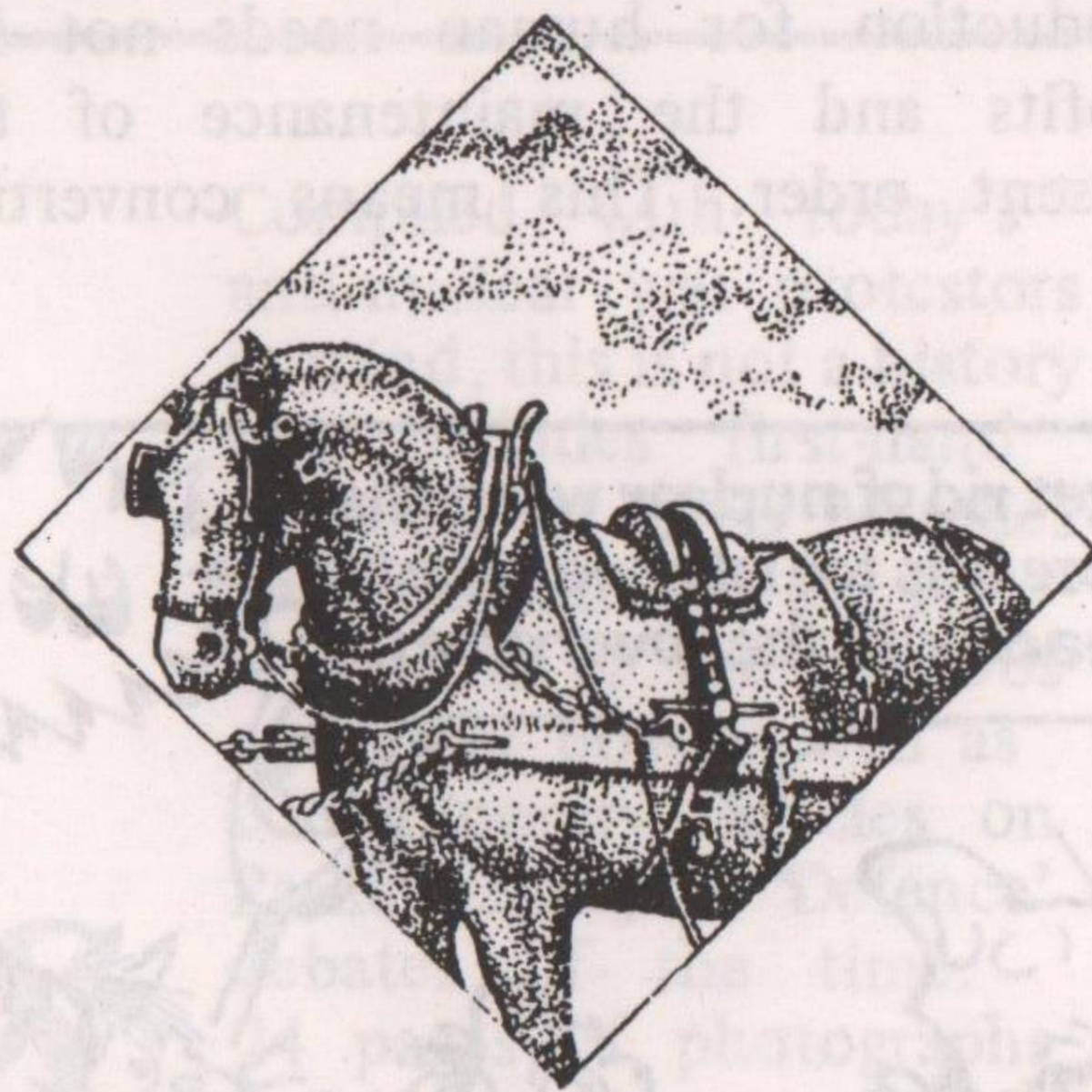
Not only are consumers becoming affected but workers in food processing, agricultural workers, and the water we drink are affected by the way food is grown, processed and delivered. The London Food Commission is a body independent of commercial interests, oriented towards the consumer. It is studying what additives are in the food, what their purpose is, and what effect they may have. In the early days of food adulteration measures were taken to deal with the more flagrant abuses, but with the growth of what is called food technology the measures are totally inadequate. Nothing can take the place of consumer awareness and the London Food Commission is doing a good job in this respect.

At one time a person could depend on a food that was wrapped in its own skin, like an egg, an apple, an orange, or a spud. Now, besides the toxic chemicals used to grow them, various chemicals are applied to enhance their shelf life, and in the case of the humble spud a chemical to prevent them sprouting. In countries where food is taken more seriously than in Britain measures have been taken to deal with the worst consequences of food

commercialisation. In Britain the mammonification of life has made the country the most backward in dealing with pollution and the direction of resources to this end.

The Co-operative movement, who also helped to stage this interesting conference, did start as an organisation oriented to supplying cheap good food to working people, but has in recent years drifted towards a more commercial organisation, due of course (as in the trade union movement) to the fact that members ceased to take an active part in its organisation. It is interesting to see that in 1984/85 the co-ops still held the highest share (12.8%) of the food market. The general drift of working class movements away from their original concepts, and the professionalisation of political activity from direct action to indirect representation has resulted in less control by ordinary people, and less perception of their powers to make change where necessary.

The interesting thing about this conference was its mix of ages, colour and the number of working people in what has generally been a middle class interest. It is the working class that have suffered to a great extent from food adulteration, particularly in Britain where



it has a longer history. A large part of working class diet in my childhood between the wars was white bread, margarine, tea, jam, sugar, and potatoes. This changed somewhat in the Second World War as it was in the state's interest to maintain a healthy working and fighting force. People began to appreciate that food had some connection with health. Now in the west there is a vast amount of food, and there are health problems associated with excessive consumption and problems like trace element deficiency arising from the type of agricultural practises now widespread. This is in addition to the third world desertification and use of best land for cash crops instead of those devoted to feeding the indigenous population, in part causing widespread starvation.

Although the conference paid some attention to agricultural matters, the whole problem of land use, land ownership and control was not given the attention that its importance to the food chain merits. To change farming practice to organic methods requires more labour so the cost of land, the interest required to service the enormous capital required to buy it, has a dramatic effect on land use. Henry George at the beginning of the century realised the distorting effect that land values have on the economy if the community-induced increase in value is left in private hands. There is no doubt that the origins of private control of vast tracts of land lay in acts of robbery with violence. This sort of activity was spread all over the world by the various European powers. The world as a whole is now suffering from these attitudes. The entrenched, legalised vested interests appear to be enormous, but they are in effect small in numbers and are only powerful in that they have persuaded a large section of the population that their interests are compatible. However, it is becoming more and more obvious that problems created by vested interests are not in the interests of people as a whole.

As our contemporary Emile Capouya says commenting on the unrest of 1968:

The patriotism that would cleanse our streams and the air over our cities, expend an equal amount of tenderness on all our children, and educate all to be of some use to themselves and some interest to us, is a slower growth.

Writers in the libertarian dimension have long been concerned with the effect that our social organisation has had on our plane. To conclude with some words by Murray Bookchin:

Some thousands of years ago men lived in some kind of totality with nature. They were dominated by the natural world, but they also lived in harmony with the natural world. Then there was a tremendous cleavage. Man's attempt to free himself from the domination of the natural world, to gain some type of security, resulted in the domination of man by man. It split man from nature, it split man from man, it split man internally. It split his mind from his body. It split the concept of subject from object. It produced a whole logic of domination.

This conference is possibly the start to new realisation by bringing that most important item in human survival back to its primary purpose.

Alan Albon

Unaccidental Death (continued) SPAIN

TOUGH punishment and stiff sentences by the courts is not something I feel qualified or inclined to advocate. Even when the defendants are brutal 'screws' or corrupt policemen, I am still uneasy about calls for legal vengeance. Yet it is hard to think of the sentences on the prison staff responsible for the death of the anarchist CNT member Augustin Rueda ten years ago as being other than soft in the extreme. The Tribunal seems to have considered their actions amount to imprudent treatment of a prisoner, which resulted in his death. A sort of inadvertent killing while engaged in the business of torture.

Had their offence been classed as homicide the sentence would have been between twelve to twenty years, and up to thirty years in the case of premeditated murder.

As it was the torturers of Rueda and the other prisoners, including the then director and his deputy at Carabanchal jail, were given between six and nine years imprisonment. Two prison doctors who later failed to provide adequate treatment to the beaten prisoners were each condemned to two years jail.

The general view here seems to be that the state-employed killers of the anarchist prisoner Augustin Rueda got off lightly. An *El Pais* editorial comments: 'The verdict of the Tribunal judging the Rueda case has turned out well for the prison functionaries accused of the brutal

beating which provoked the death of this anarchist ten years ago in the cells of Carabanchel jail.'

The delay of ten years in which it took to bring this case to court has been described as a scandal of Spanish justice; for which both the present Socialist government of the PSOE and the previous centrist administration of the UCD must take responsibility. It would seem that they both dragged their feet on this political killing, because they did not wish to disrupt the political consensus.

The worry now is, to what extent is the Rueda killing the tip of an institutional iceberg? We know that on the same night as Rueda died in March 1978, six other prisoners were badly beaten and these have each received compensation of between £600 and £750. What we don't know is, how many similar cases of violence committed by staff on inmates have been covered up in the inevitable obscurity of the prison system.

The Rueda case brought the remark from the Catalan intellectual Vazquez Montalban that: 'Beneath the carpet is a body. Nobody knows, either through the exact sciences or the inexact sciences, how enormous the body which lies beneath this carpet is.'

What will be clear for those who have ever been in prison is that the inmate's chief terror is his awareness of his own vulnerability. The feeling which is never far from your thoughts when you spend a

night in a cell is that they can do anything to you and that there is very little you can do about it. Rueda must have felt like that, as they tried to beat the answers out of him as to who dug the escape tunnel.

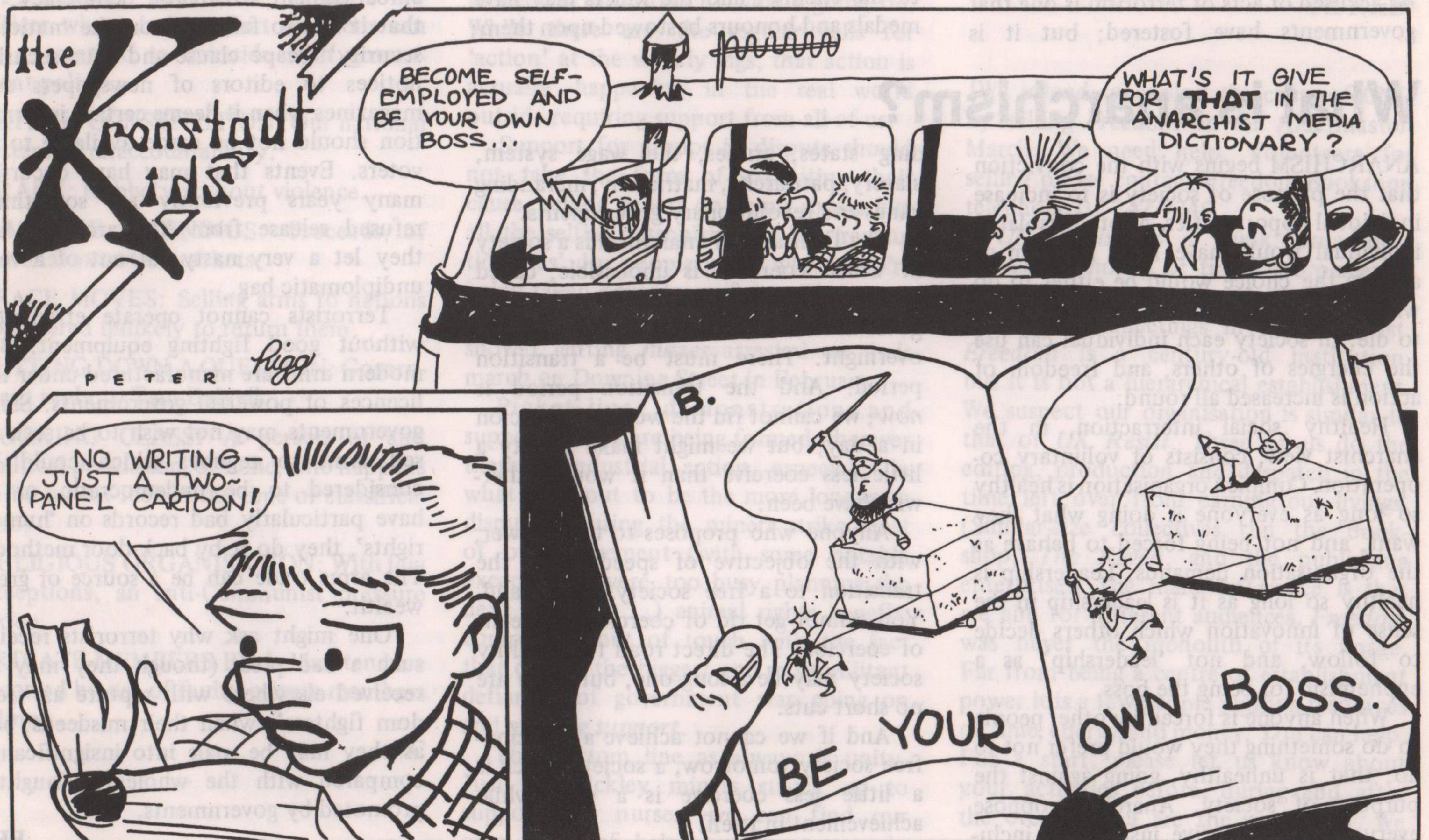
Brian Bamford

A Dublin Catholic mother, Mrs Anne Spicer, has written to the Irish Censorship of Publications Board urging that the Bible be banned from public sale since it is 'full of obscene incitement to crime'.

'You will see that in the first few chapters of this book we have endorsement and exhortation of acts ranging from sexual abuse of youngsters to the torture and execution of captives. Mutilation and genocide coupled with graphic obscenity and ritual murder is a prominent theme and indeed many of the heroes and heroines (like Deborah) are extolled for their murderous ability and promiscuous prowess.'

Mrs Spicer also quotes the mosaic laws that brides who turn out not to be virgins, and rebellious sons, should be stoned to death. The response of the Censorship Board has not yet, so far as we know, been published.

A court in Belfast has ruled that if a lawfully arrested person is assaulted by the police, the arrest then becomes unlawful. The police have applied for leave to appeal to the House of Lords.



Terrorists or Freedom Fighters?

TERRORISTS, by dictionary definition, are persons or groups of people who attempt to dominate others by the use of frightening tactics which can range from threats to actual violence. In the popular mind they are relatively small groups which are used by 'bad' nations to harass 'good' nations for certain despicable reasons. However, any particular group recognised as 'terrorist' by one category of people may be described as 'freedom fighters' by others, depending on nationality, ideology, etc. Furthermore, there are instances of terrorist leaders who later became national leaders, to be accepted by the leaders of nations who previously had denounced them as dangerous fanatics.

An essential factor of a terrorist group is its inability to 'declare war'. The reasons for this are:

1. It does not have the backing of a recognised government
2. It has the backing of a recognised government too weak to 'declare war'.
3. It has the backing of a powerful government which does not wish, for one reason or another, to 'declare war'.

In the latter case, such breaches of convention are carried out secretly or with the excuse that their intervention was requested by the invaded country's 'legitimate' government.

Dictionary definitions of terrorism do not exclude the actions of government forces even where a 'state of war' exists. The idea that government forces cannot be accused of acts of terrorism is one that governments have fostered; but it is

nevertheless false.

It is a matter of simple arithmetic that the larger the group of terrorists, and the more potent its armoury, the greater is the threat to the well-being of the human species. It therefore becomes obvious that governments pose by far the greatest threat to us all. We would do well to remember that the most concentrated acts of terrorism were carried out by government forces at Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Dresden; that the great Empires — Roman, Ottoman, British, etc. — were forged by terrorism. The Red Indians, Australian Aborigines and some African peoples were almost wiped out by government backed invaders (terrorists).

Governments, of course, do not for one moment like to be recognised as terrorist organisations, especially by their own subjects. The American and Russian governments, who threaten each other with enough weaponry to render the world uninhabitable in a matter of minutes, like to be known as peace-seekers. They refer to their massive arsenals as 'weapons of defence' and have changed the names of their war departments to 'Ministries of Defence'. Now we have the strange phenomenon of ministries of defence having 'first strike' capabilities! Governments are members of the most exclusive club of all time. They, and only they, have the authority to kill people 'legally' by a 'declaration of war'. Acts that would normally be described as mass murder become 'infliction of great losses to the enemy', and the killers may have medals and honours bestowed upon them;

there is no murder trial unless it can be shown to the satisfaction of most that the vanquished nation had an express policy to exterminate certain categories of people in their own population who had committed no crimes. Sadly, these offending nations are as likely as not to run out as the victors, so that there is no trial, no redress and no justice.

There are occasions when governments, particularly those who wish to pass as democratic, resort to deception in order to carry out terrorist attacks. In these circumstances preparation must be made secretly and the attack carried out before their subjects, and those who represent them, have a chance to find out what is going on. Should there ensue a great outcry, the offending governments excuse their undemocratic actions on the grounds of 'national security'.

Where the use of regular armed forces would be unacceptable, governments call upon their secret agencies to carry out acts of subversion, assassination, or other outrages, to further their ends. To facilitate this, governments must have a good measure of control over the judiciary, police, media and peoples' representatives. Totalitarian states have no problem in that respect but 'democracies' have to resort to every trick in the book if they are to retain any degree of credibility. Democracies must not be seen to act in ways contrary to the wishes of their peoples.

A free press can be a source of great embarrassment to a false democracy, so that it has to fall back on the 'national security' escape clause and issue security notices to editors of newspapers and magazines when it deems certain information should not be made available to its voters. Events that may have occurred many years previously are sometimes refused release from 'the archives' lest they let a very nasty cat out of a very undiplomatic bag.

Terrorists cannot operate efficiently without good fighting equipment. But modern arms are manufactured under the licences of powerful governments. Since governments may not wish to be seen to sell arms to regimes which could be considered to be undemocratic, or to have particularly bad records on 'human rights', they do it by back-door methods. The arms trade can be a source of great wealth.

One might ask why terrorists receive such a bad press (though they may be received elsewhere with rapture as 'freedom fighters') when their misdeeds, bad as they may be, pale into insignificance compared with the wholesale slaughter promoted by governments.

What is anarchism?

ANARCHISM begins with the conviction that the purpose of society is to increase individual opportunities. A totally isolated individual would have little freedom of action; the choice would be either to do whatever was necessary to stay alive, or to die. In society each individual can use the energies of others, and freedom of action is increased all round.

Healthy social interaction, in the anarchist view, consists of voluntary co-operation. Complex organisation is healthy so long as everyone is doing what they want, and not being forced to behave as the organisation demands. Leadership is healthy so long as it is leadership in the sense of innovation which others decide to follow, and not 'leadership' as a euphemism for being the boss.

When anyone is forced by other people to do something they would prefer not to do, that is unhealthy, going against the purpose of society. Anarchists oppose every kind of coercive institution, inclu-

ding states, armies, the wage system, slavery, patriarchy, matriarchy, marauding gangs and revolutionary governments.

The final aim of anarchism is a society in which coercion is impossible, called *anarchy* from the Greek for no-government. Nobody expects anarchy overnight. There must be a transition period. And the transition period is *now*; we cannot rid the world of coercion in a day, but we might make society a little less coercive than it would otherwise have been.

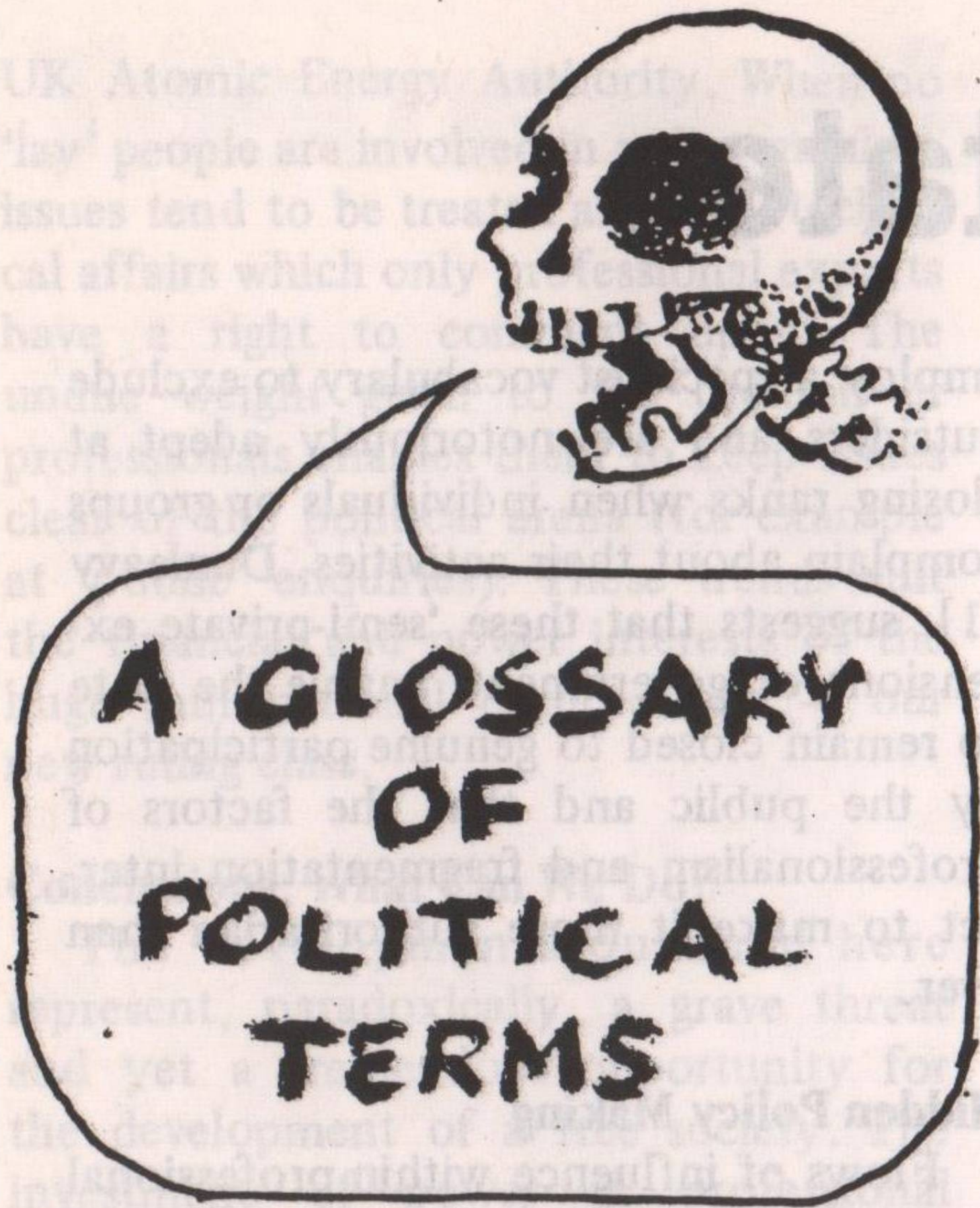
Anyone who proposes to take power, with the objective of speeding up the transition to a free society, is a fraud. You cannot get rid of coercion by means of coercion. The direct road to a healthy society may be a long one, but there are no short cuts.

And if we cannot achieve a coercion-free society tomorrow, a society which is a little less coercive is a worthwhile achievement in itself.

DR

EFC

Dealing with aces



A POLITICALLY naive twenty year old, I volunteered for flying duties with the Royal Air Force in 1940. Propaganda, boredom and the chance of glory, perhaps, prompted the decision. As a result, one year later, I was an operational Spitfire pilot in a very dangerous theatre of the war. Most of my short career in that frightening but 'glamorous' period was spent in a quite famous Fighter Squadron which boasted several live aces — and many dead ones. However, I have become disillusioned with what I thought, at the time, to be worthwhile.

What played some part, albeit small, is my disillusionment with my part in the downfall of Hitler was learning, some years after the war had ended, that at least two of the aces on my squadron despite being gentiles were to be found flying for Israel in its war with the Arabs.

My disillusionment was reinforced on finding out, even later, that my pre-war

employer had been singing the praises of Hitler up to as late as the year 1937.

But perhaps my biggest shock came in 1956 when the British Government sent the armed forces into Suez. It was at about that time that I signed the Peace Pledge. Better late than never. So there it is. I am one of those dreadful anarchist / pacifists. I cannot attend those nostalgic squadron reunions. And when I see, on my television set, 70 year old RAF pilots excitedly swapping yarns with contemporary 'enemies' from the Luftwaffe, I feel sick and betrayed.

When I was flying Spitfires and, later, Typhoons, I thought I would most probably die for my country. I now realise that I did not own one square inch of 'my country' — and never shall. Those Etonians who died in disproportionate numbers in the First World War no doubt had something to die for. Not I.

I am so glad I did not die.

Ex-Warrant Officer, RAF

FIGHTING FOR YOUR COUNTRY:

Committing atrocities on behalf of the rich landowners in the knowledge that your six feet of the countryside will be given to you sooner rather than later.

TERRORISTS: Persons or nations that kill indiscriminately without the support of, or permission from your own government.

UNITED NATIONS: A terminological paradox.

VETO: Device employed by controlling nations to postpone the inevitable collapse of UN.

THE FREE WORLD: Anywhere in the world where the author of that phrase happens to live.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Chief law officer whose independent decisions can be guaranteed to coincide with government policy.

BRITISH CONSTITUTION: Our national system of unaccountability.

TRADE: Robbery without violence.

INVISIBLE EARNINGS: Proceeds of national extortion rackets.

PEACE MOVES: Selling arms to nations considered unlikely to return them.

PUTTING DOWN A QUESTION: Government reply to Tam Dalyell.

WORKING CLASS: A person of any political persuasion, or none, who happens to be out of luck at the time of classification.

RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION: With few exceptions, an anti-Communist pressure group.

PRIVATE MEMBERS BILL: Maintenance incurred by use of faulty private members johnny.

EC

Genuine support needed

AS THE new wave of industrial action hits the news involving car workers, nurses, pit deputies, seamen and others, we at *UK Resist* wonder if yet again the anarchist and punk movements are going to remain oblivious to what's going on. While there are the regular calls for 'action' at the weekly gigs, that action is actually happening in the real world outside requiring support from all of us.

Support for groups in dispute should not take the form of exploiting their cause, selling papers on demo routes like all the selfish patronising far left 'revolutionaries' do: people know when they're being taken advantage of, just like nurses knew it was outsiders who pushed and shoved getting *nurses* arrested on their march on Downing Street in February.

Picket lines, demonstrations and support groups are being formed wherever there is industrial action, especially in what turn out to be the more long-term disputes. During the miners strike most of our movement (with some notable exceptions) were too busy planning the next (yawn . . .) animal rights benefit, completely out of touch with the fact that one of the biggest and most militant defiances of government was going on and *needing support*.

The bottom line as always is unity. Just as Frickley miners struck up to support the nurses, we can find our own ways of helping other groups in

their struggle, such as attending public demonstrations of support, raising money through benefit gigs and increasing awareness at our gatherings. Then, as one, we will 'rise again to rid their hellish schemes'.

UK Resist

[We intend to exploit the cause of CND by selling *Freedom* on the Aldermaston March. We need help. Volunteers for selling please contact Freedom Bookshop telephone 01-247 9249.

UK Resist is a punk broadsheet consisting mostly of times and places of gigs, but including the times and places of anarchist meetings in the same list. *Freedom* is a century-old institution, but it is not a hierarchical establishment. We suspect our organisation is similar to that of *UK Resist*. Three of us do the editing, production and despatch in the time left over from earning our livings. (Similar-size collectives run the bookshop, *The Raven*, and the publishing enterprise.) The main difference is that we aim for different audiences. *Freedom* was never the monolith of its image. Far from being a centre of establishment power it is a few people juggling resources of time, energy and money. You can help. For a start, please let us know about your activities before, during and after the events. You are the movement. We aim to publicise the movement.]

Professionals and the State

HIDDEN NETWORKS OF POWER

IN HIS recent article 'The Path Not Taken' (*The Raven* 3) Colin Ward emphasised the complicity of the 'professional classes' in the development of a managerial welfare state at the expense of the libertarian alternative of a welfare society based upon networks of self help and mutual aid. Professionals continue to play a major role in sustaining the state machinery and their power has become a pervasive factor in setting the political agenda. The extent to which our culture is now dominated by the managerial ethos of the professional is exemplified by the penetration of everyday speech by its vocabulary: We are 'clients' and they describe our 'needs' to us. [There was a fine slogan on the masthead of the Autumn '87 edition of *Green Anarchist*: 'The enemies of the people are those who know what people need'.]

A key argument in the 1987 'Don't Vote' campaign was that much of the real power in our society remains with the owners of capital and land. An argument less commonly used in Anarchist propaganda is that the power invested in the 'representative' institutions is being drained off into power groups which are even less accountable to us than our MPs and councillors. These groups are the associations of professional experts. As power leaks to these non-elected technocrats the state can no longer maintain the facade of democracy and is becoming more overtly authoritarian.

The Source of Professional Power

Since World War 2 there has been a massive expansion of state activity as a result of the complexities of managing the welfare state and the post-industrial capitalist economy. This massive expansion of state patronage has left the elected institutions (central and local government) unable to carry out highly technical functions requiring specialised knowledge and information. As a result, many policy areas are managed by groups of professional experts. The House of Commons represents a shrinking nucleus of elected power within the state apparatus and is becoming a mere money-moving institution. This development is accommodated by Malatesta's definition of the state as 'all political order based on authority' (Malatesta's *Anarchy* — Freedom Press).

The state's policies are developed and

implemented by networks of professional specialists who are able to keep issues clear of the political agenda and away from public scrutiny. Conflicts of opinion are resolved in a 'private government' (Richardson, Gustafsson and Jordan [3]) by experts bargaining amongst themselves. Decisions which affect our lives are made on a purely technical basis and often without our knowledge.

The power of the expert professional in contemporary society makes a mockery of Thatcher's claim that her government is reducing the role of the state in our lives. The transfer of these powers from the government to professional communities does not give society as a whole a greater opportunity for participation in policy making. On the contrary, the state is allowing us even less autonomy since the use of this power is less visible than government policy making. We cannot protest about policies if we do not know that they are being made!

An Optimistic View

Some political pundits have suggested that the trend of passing state power to professional groups is a safeguard ensuring that policies are made which conform to the interests of society and lead to a more participatory form of democracy. These optimists usually belong to what is known as the 'neo-pluralist' school of thought. This supposed trend towards a less authoritarian state machine is attributed to two aspects of the professionalisation of state business:

- 1) Power has leaked to a number of professional groups with specific technical expertise and the state apparatus is thus becoming fragmented and decentralised. This fragmentation is held to mean that state power is distributed across geographical and organisational boundaries. Individuals within society are supposed to have greater sway when power is broken down and localised in this way.
- 2) There is an ethos of public service and self regulation ensuring that powerful professional policy makers do not become self-seeking exploiters of the state machinery. Ethical standards are assumed to be maintained by professional associations (eg the Law Society).

The neo-pluralists use these putative trends to justify the vast power of these non-accountable groups within society and claim that the state is developing into a 'humanised technocracy'. There are major flaws with this rose-tinted view of professional power. Professional networks are just as closed to public scrutiny as any other part of the state machinery — perhaps more so since they

employ a specialist vocabulary to exclude outsiders and are notoriously adept at closing ranks when individuals or groups complain about their activities. Dunleavy [1] suggests that these 'semi-private extensions of government' enable the state to remain closed to genuine participation by the public and that the factors of professionalism and fragmentation interact to make it more authoritarian than ever.

Hidden Policy Making

Flows of influence within professional associations undermine both geographical and organisational boundaries. Where occupational groups cross the public/private divide the professional 'high fliers' (its highest paid members) are employed by large private corporations. These occupational trendsetters dictate the fashionable ideas within a profession. It is no surprise that professional ideologies favour the financial interests of corporations rather than the needs of society as a whole. As an example of the flow of professional ideology, consider the case of the National Nuclear Corporation (NNC), a body run by the UK Atomic Energy Authority and a consortium of private firms. GEC provided the management of the NNC after 1973 and some critics (Elliot [2]) have claimed that their professional experts exerted pressure upon their peers to support the building of American-style nuclear reactors in Britain. Professional ideas and influences bridge the public/private divide and private sector influence is channeled directly into the public policy machinery.

In geographically fragmented state bodies the grip of professional bodies is at its strongest. In the National Health Service, for example, professional influence and the transfer of information via occupational networks overrides the separate status of area health authorities. There is a flow of ideological information via professional journals which enables unified national policy systems to be created. Professional networks re-establish links between tiers and geographical areas in the public sector. The fragmented nature of the state machinery is counteracted by these networks and policy making is recentralised.

Where there is a concentration of members of a particular profession in a government body, a distorted notion of 'the public interest' may be formed. Elliot [2] suggests that the concentration of nuclear engineers working hand in glove with nuclear power plant manufacturers prevented objective assessment of nuclear power programmes by the

UK Atomic Energy Authority. When no 'lay' people are involved in policy making, issues tend to be treated as purely technical affairs which only professional experts have a right to comment upon. The undue weight given to the opinion of professionals enables them to keep issues clear of the political arena (for example at 'public' enquiries). These trends suit the financial and power interests of the huge multinational corporations — our new ruling class.

Conclusions: What Can We Do?

The developments outlined here represent, paradoxically, a grave threat and yet a tremendous opportunity for the development of a free society. The investment of power in professional networks makes state policy-making less visible to society. Since the end of feudal times we have never been more excluded from decision-making which affects our lives. The massive expansion of professional power also presents us with opportunities to undermine the influence of the state. The fact that professionals are replacing elected politicians at the local level makes it more difficult for the state to maintain the charade of a participatory democracy. Anarchist propaganda should focus on these hidden networks of power — especially at the next election.

The state cannot perpetuate itself without professional networks which, in turn, need the mystique attached to them by the public in order to maintain their expert power. If we can undermine this mystique the professionals will wield less influence. The centralised state apparatus will then face a crisis stemming from a lack of information about conditions within society and an inability to implement its policies. Anarchist writers such as Colin Ward (*Housing* — Freedom Press) and Tony Gibson (*People Power* — Pelican) have outlined ways in which we can occupy the professional's space by acting on our own behalf and tapping the vast amount of expertise distributed throughout society. Since the industrial revolution the keynotes of our society have been 'specialisation' and 'professional-

ARMAMENTS GET NOBODY ANYWHERE



AND EVERYBODY NOWHERE

ism'. We should take every opportunity to propagate an ethos of sharing knowledge and skills in order to free ourselves from the power of experts.

The editorial in January's edition of *Freedom* suggested that subversion and the setting-up of counter-cultures is at least as effective an approach to revolutionary change as insurrection. A key point of attack for these methods should be upon the power of the expert professional.

Andrew Hedgecock

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- [1] Dunleavy, P. (1982). 'Quasi-governmental Sector Professionalism: Some Implications for Public Policy-making in Britain' in *Quangos in Britain* ed. A. Barker. Macmillan.
- [2] Elliot, D. (1978). *The Politics of Nuclear Power*. Pluto Press.
- [3] Richardson, J., Gustafsson, G., and Jordan, G. (1982). 'The Concept of Policy Style' in *Policy Styles in Western Europe* ed. J. Richardson. Allen & Unwin.

IN BRIEF

A Soviet sociologist, Vitaly Pereventsev, writes in the weekly magazine *Nedelya* that women outperform men at every level of education. One reason he suggests is that men, but not women, are subject to conscription.

'The first thing the security forces is to use might, power and beatings to prevent demonstrations' — Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin addressing the Israel Parliament, 11 January 1988.

Increasing violence against the police constitutes a 'slow riot', according to the West Midlands Chief Constable. A nice phrase.

Boy Scouts of America have dropped their 78-year ban on women as troop leaders. This is seen as a concession to changes in the family and society.

Italy's leading authority on AIDS, Professor Fernando Aiuti, has been sacked from the government AIDS committee for publicly advocating the use of condoms.

The publicity about the sentencing of John Duffy for multiple murder and rape, does not fail to mention that he 'studied' *The Anarchist's Cookbook*, a 1960s urban guerrilla handbook. It is about time that this silly book is allowed to sink into the obscurity it deserves.

Meanwhile, a number of militarist romantic bookshops have been receiving adverse publicity. One magistrate commented, 'The whole tenor of the material is cruel, barbarous, sadistic and glorifies violence and constitutes blatant encouragement to indulge in it.'

IRELAND Workers Solidarity Movement

The first three years

ANARCHISM has no real history or tradition in Ireland. A few Irish emigrants such as Jack White and Matt Kavanagh did become anarchists but that had no effect on things at home. In the early 1970s there was a small group of ex-republicans who associated with the Anarchist Black Cross and got involved in small scale illegal activities until the arrest and conviction of Marie and Noel Murray.

In the late 1970s the first local anarchist groups appeared (Belfast, Dublin and Limerick). Generally these were short lived as no amount of idealism could make up for the fact that they stood for nothing in particular this side of the creation of an anarchist society. They were incapable of sustaining any public activity and were a mish-mash of people who had nothing in common other than a self-description of 'anarchist'.

Out of this came a few anarchists who saw the need for a national, rooted in the working class and holding agreed policies and tactics. After much discussion comrades in Cork and Dublin launched the WSM in September 1984.

In the three years that followed we built branches in Cork and Dublin, gained new members and undertook activities including:

- publishing 27 issues of *Workers Solidarity*;

- organising a speaking tour with a Spanish Civil War veteran of the CNT which saw him address several hundred people in Dublin, Cork, Wexford and Belfast;

- engaged in strike support work with many groups of workers including the UCD cleaners, Cork ESB, Pat Grace Fried Chicken and others;

- were involved in building support for the Dunnes Stores strikers, and set up the official support group in Cork;

- produced pamphlets on anarchism, the family and the Spanish Civil War, all of which sold very well;

- establishing a mail-order book service for anarchist literature;

- involvement in ad-hoc campaigns such as those against the Herzog visit and Self-Aid.

This is but a brief selection of what the organisation was doing. It was very much an activist organisation.

It is important to state that all this took place within a context where we had agreed written policies on the major areas of struggle, a written constitution and participatory decision making.

By the beginning of 1987 we felt we had established ourselves. We were holding regular branch meetings and producing a monthly paper. We had generated a small degree of interest and respect for the WSM as an anarchist organisation. However, this was achieved in a worsening social and economic climate. It was only achieved through a high level of personal commitment from the small numbers involved. There was considerable pressure within the organisation to recruit new members, which inevitably led to people joining who in practice had little real idea of what our politics were.

Problems were exacerbated, not just by the seriousness of the 'downturn' which increasingly left the organisation unable to test its ideas and politics, but also by the lack of clarity in the WSM about its own role as an organisation. Informally, though particularly in Cork, some members increasingly saw the main purpose of the WSM as building a leadership for the working class. They emphasised ideological 'purity' and zealous activity. Not coincidentally they sanctioned authoritarian methods to 'weed' out comrades they considered to be unsuitable, as they became increasingly more introverted in their concerns. Some of these people have since followed the logic of their position and declared themselves Trotskyists.

Emerging from all this:

We presumed that because someone joined an anarchist organisation that they understood and accepted anarchist ideas and values. This was wrong. We need continual internal education on anarchism, its tradition, theory and values. We especially need to be sure that new members have a good understanding of our theoretical basis. We had people joining 'a WSM' and not 'the WSM'. It is not good enough for a potential member to just accept our end goal or our strategy and tactics. They must understand and agree with both. This does not mean that we want everyone agreeing on everything, we do not want an organisation of clones. But neither do we want one that is divided on important questions of orientation and direction. Seemingly small differences should be discussed in a comradely way as they come up. They should not be let slip as 'minor' and allowed to fester. We can never have too much friendly discussion and debate.

We have to insist that once a decision is made it must be taken seriously. Otherwise there is no point in making decisions in the first place.

Libertarian values have to be upheld. Any manifestation of authoritarian or uncomradely behaviour within the organisation should be challenged.

Our essential anarchism was not as visible as our specific tactics. In future our anarchism should be a lot more upfront.

Should anything happen that is felt to be inhibiting free discussion it needs to be tackled without delay.

Some comrades overestimated the role of the WSM at the expense of seeing the vital role of working class self-activity. We need a clear policy on this question.

All our activities and developments have to be continually monitored and discussed at both branch and national levels.

The clear break came over the matter of our libertarian principles. Though other matters were related, it was around this that no further ground could be given. In retrospect we can see that the WSM, because there had never before been an organised movement in Ireland, put too much stress on organisational matters and not nearly enough on the essential libertarian content of our ideas. In accepting that we made mistakes we admit to no major demoralisation. We accept that anarchists struggle for as long as it takes to build the type of organisation that is not afraid to constantly test its ideas, the sort of organisation that can see the anarchist idea become a mass revolutionary influence capable of creating a better world.

**Workers Solidarity Movement
PO Box 1528, Dublin**

The number of registered voters in Glasgow has fallen by 11,500 compared with last year. This is seen as attempts to avoid the poll tax. It doesn't seem a very encouraging proportion; Glasgow has a population of around a million.

Repeated wife beating in the Philippines may become illegal. Any husband who was found to have beaten his wife twice in any one year would be liable to a year in prison and a 5,000 peso (£150) fine. One beating a year is apparently acceptable.

Who needs the army?

POLAND

[A watcher of the British media might form the impression that everyone in Poland is an adherent of either the Communist Party or the Roman Catholic Church, one authoritarian institution forming the government and the other claiming to defend civil liberties. Fortunately there is a third political grouping, an alliance of anarchists, pacifists, and advocates of civil liberty calling themselves 'Peace and Freedom' (Wolność i Pokój or WiP). They produce a tiny journal called *A Capella* (a musical term meaning sung without accompaniment), with the A on the front cover in a circle.

WiP's current campaign is for the legal recognition of conscientious objection to conscription, and for an alternative to military service, such as is available to conscripts in Italy and France. *A Capella* comes to *Freedom* with summaries in English of the articles. This is one such summary.]

Who needs the army?

THE demand for introducing alternative service, uttered by WiP, has finally provoked a response from official media. The authors of these responses aver that the introduction of alternative service would bring about a collapse of the Polish Army, implying that the majority of conscripts would take advantage of alternative service.

The prediction of collapse is ridiculous, because it assumes that the strength of a contemporary army is in its number. This doctrine was developed in the nineteenth century when great national armies first came into being, since when war and military service have involved the entire male population. The First World War demonstrated that victory does not depend on the number of soldiers, but on superiority of tactics, strategy and armament. Most states nowadays rely for defence on professional armies, as advanced technologies require much training.

Why, in that case, is the spectre of alternative service so frightening to Polish military men? Why are they not frightened instead by the condition of armament in the Polish army, which is far from high-tech?

One should bear in mind that according to Marx and Lenin the role of the army in a communist state is two-fold. One function is outer defence, and for this task the Polish army is not prepared. It is the task of the Red Army to play this role for the entire Soviet bloc.

The other function is inner, and consists in preserving the power of the Communist Party. In Soviet bloc states, the army is closely connected with the

police and security services; it is not apolitical. To fulfill this function (as for instance in the Polish civil war of 1944-48, the events of 1956, 1970 and 1981, and the invasion of Czechoslovakia), it is not complicated armament but massive and prolonged indoctrination which is needed. That is why political training takes up more time in the army than the teaching of practical skills.

The army also functions as a reservoir of free forced labour. That is why all men have to serve in it.

**A Capella
Poland**

[On 13 December last, WiP was in contact with eleven Polish conscientious objectors in prison. Eight of them – Piotr Benarz, Marek Czachor, Sławomir Dutkiewicz, Oskar Kasperek, Wojciech Niksinski, Piotr Rozycki and Wiesław Soliwodski – were mentioned in the January *Freedom*. The other three are Mariusz Bajda of Szczecin, Wojciech Wozniak of Szczecin and Piotr Zdrzybicki of Łódź. Dutkiewicz, on 13 December, had been on hunger strike for a month.

Not in contact with WiP, but known to be also in prison for conscientious objection, are an unknown number of Jehovah's Witnesses.]

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CAPPPELLA

NIEREGULARNIK RUCHU WOLNOŚĆ I POKOJ

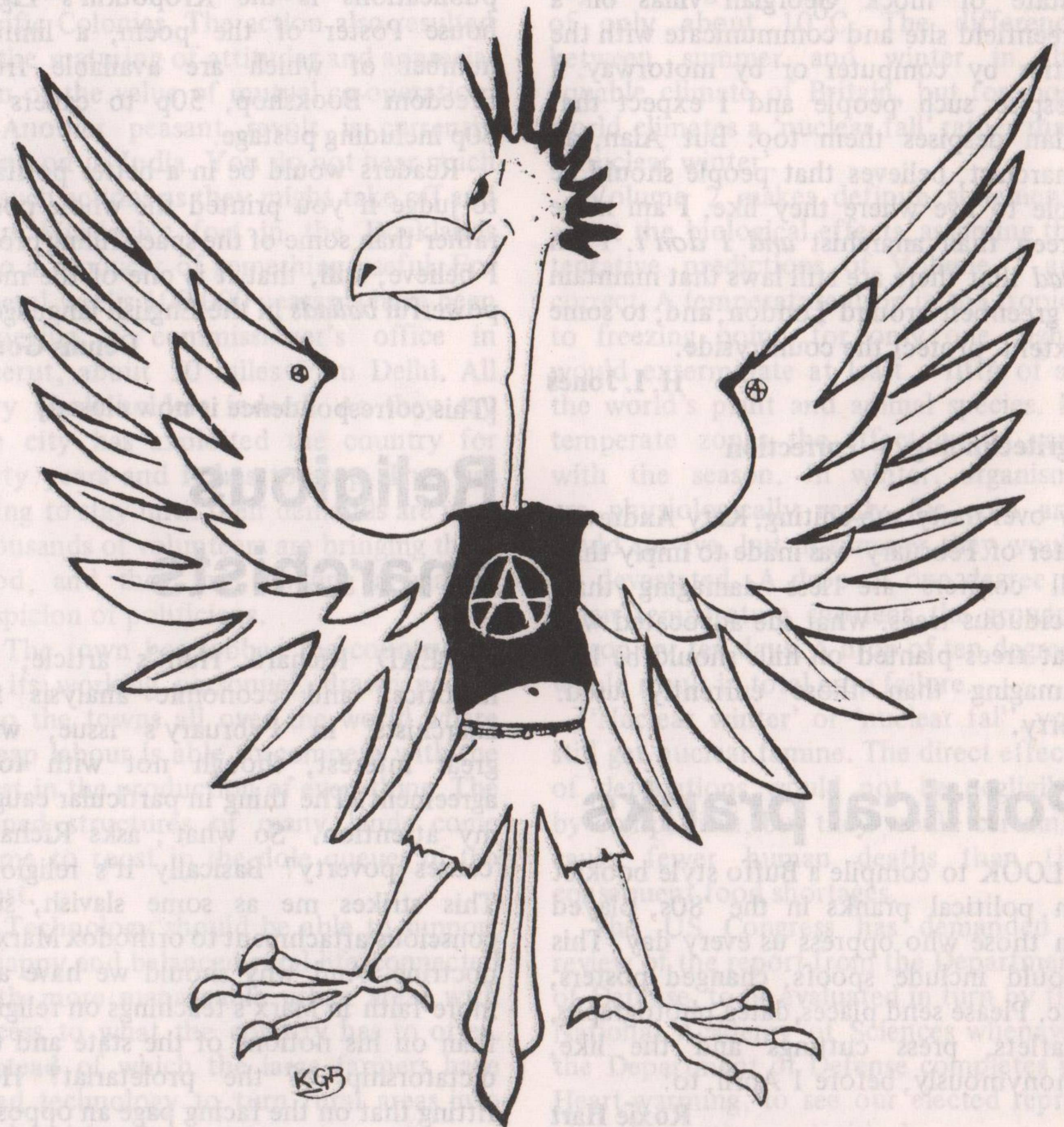
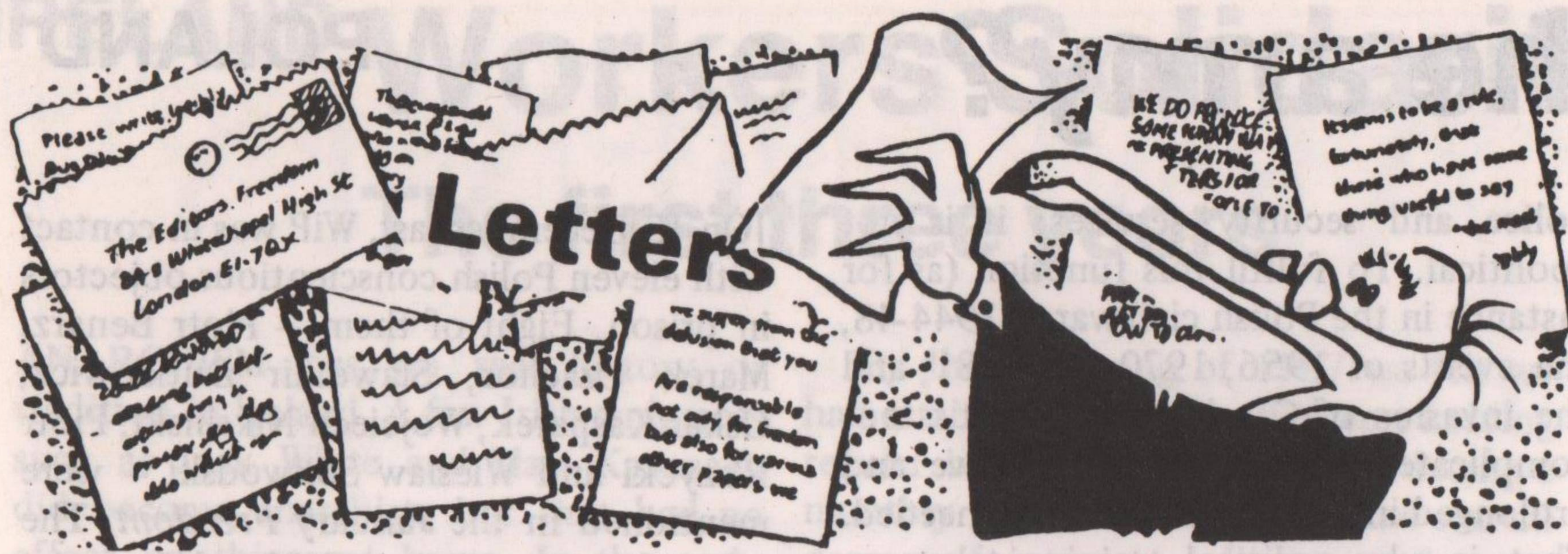


Illustration from the front cover of *A Capella* number 7



Agrotechnology

BRIEF replies to comments on my January letter. Yes, I was hard on the Forestry Commission. I have no objection to conifers themselves, it's the uniformity of planting that led me to describe them as a (visual) blight.

I'm sorry Alan Albon found my letter contradictory. I'll make my main point again with examples.

1. In 1988 there is a *tiny* number of people who wish to move, or do move, from the cities to the land in order to practise agriculture. One can read about them in, say, *Resurgence* magazine. I think they are fine people. I'm sure Alan agrees.

2. In 1988 there is a *huge* number of people who wish to move from town to country in order to have trendy weekend retreats or to live on a custom-built estate of mock Georgian villas on a greenfield site and communicate with the cities by computer or by motorway. I despise such people and I expect that Alan despises them too. But Alan, an anarchist, believes that people should be able to live where they like. I am more green than anarchist *and I don't*. I am *glad* that there are still laws that maintain a greenbelt around London, and, to some extent, protect the countryside.

H. I. Jones

Agrotechnology – correction

By over-hasty sub-editing, Katy Andrews' letter of February was made to imply that hill conifers are less damaging than deciduous trees. What she advocated was that trees planted on hills should be less damaging than those currently used. Sorry.

Political pranks

I LOOK to compile a Buffo style booklet on political pranks in the '80s, played on those who oppress us every day. This would include spoofs, changed posters, etc. Please send places, dates, photographs, leaflets, press cuttings and the like, anonymously, before 1 April, to:

Roxie Hart
Box ASS, Leeds Other Paper,
52 Call Lane, Leeds LS1 6DT

Tom O'Bedlam

'POOR naked Bedlam Tom's a-cold', a 'Crye of London' setting by Orlando Gibbons (British Library Add MSS 17,792-6, 29,372-6 and 37,402-6) must surely be the earliest reference to the Tom O'Bedlam genre and its accompanying music. The 'crye' is printed, in addition to twenty purely Madrigal arrangements, in *The First Set of Madrigals and Mottets of 5 parts, apt for Viols and Voyces Newly composed by Orlando Gibbons Batcheler of Musicke, and Organist of his Majesties Honourable Chappell in Ordinarie, London*, published in 1612.

David Sedley

TOM O'Bedlam certainly roused a lot of concern for 'a curiosity' that 'really should not be taken seriously' (AF, February). Not mentioned in the list of publications is the Kropotkin's Lighthouse Poster of the poem, a limited number of which are available from Freedom Bookshop, 50p to callers or 60p including postage.

Readers would be in a better position to judge if you printed the whole poem rather than some of the space-filling prose. I believe, still, that it is one of the most powerful *ballads* in the English language!

Dennis Gould

[This correspondence is now closed]

Religious anarchists

I READ Richard Hunt's article, 'A historical and economic analysis for anarchists' in February's issue, with great interest, though not with total agreement. The thing in particular caught my attention. 'So what', asks Richard, 'causes poverty? Basically it's religion.' This strikes me as some slavish, sub-conscious attachment to orthodox Marxist doctrine. And why should we have any more faith in Marx's teachings on religion than on his notions of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat? How fitting that on the facing page an opposite view is voiced! In the words of the Portuguese IDEIA group, as anarchists,

'we must demand the freedom to work, to embrace different political ideologies and religious beliefs . . .' Ask and it will be given unto thee: a review of two new publications of Tolstoy's religious writings on page 15.

Richard may rant about Moses' imposing a tithe system, but if he did it wasn't at Mount Sinai. Perhaps Moses, as the prophet who rebelled against the oppression of the Pharaoh and was so instrumental in the exodus of the tribe of Israel from Egypt and captivity, was a bad example to choose. No, religion isn't all bad but like guns, physical strength and so many other things it is open to misuse. Tolstoy, whom generations of anarchists have read and loved, clearly found a way to equate his religion with his politics.

Could we have more about religious anarchists? With the atrocities in Palestine very much in the news, I for one would like to read a little more about the intriguingly named Jewish A's than just their address on the back page.

Roderic Vassie

WOULD anybody interested in studying / researching / teaching history (anarchist / labour, etc.) also be interested in creating an in/formal group or network to perhaps exchange info / undertake collective research / give help, etc., with perhaps the view to producing work / conferences, etc. If so, please send an SAE to: Eddie May, c/o Dept. of History & Welsh History, University College, PO Box 78, Cardiff CF1 1XL.

Hunt saboteurs – correction

Malcolm Samuel, whose address was given for information about hunt sabotage in the February issue, has asked us to point out that he is not involved in the anti-blood sports campaign. He would welcome enquiries about the FOE rainforests campaign, and organic farming and products.

The correct contact for information about hunt saboteurs in Northern Ireland is Dave Garland in Coleraine, telephone 0265 58353.

A Chinese woman beat her son to death because he scored less than 90% in a school test. She then killed herself in jail.

Some Chinese schools are introducing fines for pupils who have love affairs. At one school, the fine is 40 yuan (£6.00), about two weeks pay for a worker. Couples who stay out too long after dark can be fined £2.00. The reported record is £15.00 in six months. The breakdown between the two types of fine is not quoted.

Larzac: A Victory for Nonviolence

Roger Rawlinson

Quaker Peace and Service, £1.00

THE recent shenanigans about the Common Agricultural Policy reveal the differences between the countries of Europe; some have many small farmers, others have vast holdings. In many countries, including our own, the great estates are getting bigger. The disease of private ownership is spreading from this country to all over the world. We are told that this is in the interests of efficiency, yet there are more people starving and suffering from malnutrition than at any time.

If one examines this large scale farming that has done well in a system designed to protect the small farm structure of many European countries, one can see how the myth of cheap plentiful food has grown up. This agriculture involves very high capital input with smaller and smaller human input, the high price of land (which benefits the existing large land owners), and the enormous input from the third world which supports an unbalanced agricultural structure. Its consequence is a degradation of the countryside, pollution and greater expense to the community as a whole, as the consequences become more pronounced in water, food and air.

However, the peasants do not propose to take things lying down, as told in this admirable pamphlet. In Larzac a group of peasants took on the French Military, not an inconsiderable arm of the French state. The fight took ten years and the pamphlet makes fascinating reading.

As Rawlinson observes:

An unusual aspect of the battle was that it was not conducted through the usual political channels. The peasants realised that unless they remained in full control their cause might well be used for party political purposes and their true interests be forgotten.

Of course no politician of whatever stripe likes independent action, and Kinnock recently warned against people taking



such action against the Poll Tax in Scotland. All politicians dislike the people discovering their own strength, and like

action to be sanitised to emphasise their own importance. In an age when more and more people regard our political system with some cynicism, it is essential to develop alternative methods of social relationships.

The writer points out the action was more possible in a country like France. I wonder whether in a country with a strong peasant element of actual working farmers able to control their own environment instead of management industrial type farmers, you also have a spirit of independence that is largely absent amongst urban populations. (Constructive civil disobedience has only been tried briefly here when Tarzan was able to deploy his paid mercenaries. It may be that is why the British establishment has been a bit reluctant to employ conscripts especially in an era when troops may increasingly be employed against civilians.)

The 103 (the group that started the action) responded to each hostile move by the government with just sufficient pressure to stop it in its tracks but not enough to give it an excuse to use the considerable powers at its disposal.

The local movement led eventually to a much wider appreciation that many people all over the world are suffering similar afflictions. They supported strikes in the local town and in the Becançon area. They also supported actions in France's Pacific Colonies. The action also resulted in the maturing of attitudes and appreciation of the value of mutual co-operation.

Another peasant revolt is currently going on in India. You do not hear much of such actions as they might take off and turn Murdoch's fort in the Docklands into a producer of something useful. For several weeks 100,000 peasants have been besieging a commissioner's office in Meerut, about 50 miles from Delhi. All very small holders indeed. As they say the city has exploited the country for forty years and it has to stop. They are going to stay until their demands are met, thousands of volunteers are bringing them food, and they are showing a healthy suspicion of politicians.

The town has robbed the countryside of its working personnel, drawn people into the towns all over the world where cheap labour is able to compete with the west in the production of everything. The ruined structures of many lands come home to roost in the dole queues of the West.

Technology should be able to support a happy and balanced rural life, connected with more manageable urban areas with access to what the country has to offer. Instead of which the large farmers have used technology to turn rural areas into arid prairies, at our expense.

Alan Albon

Environmental Consequences of Nuclear War

Vol 1: Physical and Climatological

Vol 2: Ecological and Agricultural

ICSU-SCOPE (International Council of Scientific Unions - Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment)

John Wiley, vol 1 882pp £58.00, vol 2 523pp £51.50

NUCLEAR winter? Five years back the question was raised, whether a nuclear war would kick enough smoke and dust into the atmosphere to shut out the sunlight, with effects to make the blast and radiation damage look negligible by comparison. ICSU called for investigation to the limit of present understanding of climatology and nine technical workshops were set up, with the co-operation of 199 scientists from 30 countries.

The first pricey volume of the report came out in 1985, attracting wide neglect in the media. On the basis of minimum assumptions about the amount of smoke produced per bomb, there could be a short cold spell taking the tropics down to freezing point. But 75 per cent of the dust would be rained out in a couple of days, leaving a lasting temperature drop of only about 10°C. The difference between summer and winter in the equable climate of Britain, but for most world climates a 'nuclear fall' rather than a 'nuclear winter'.

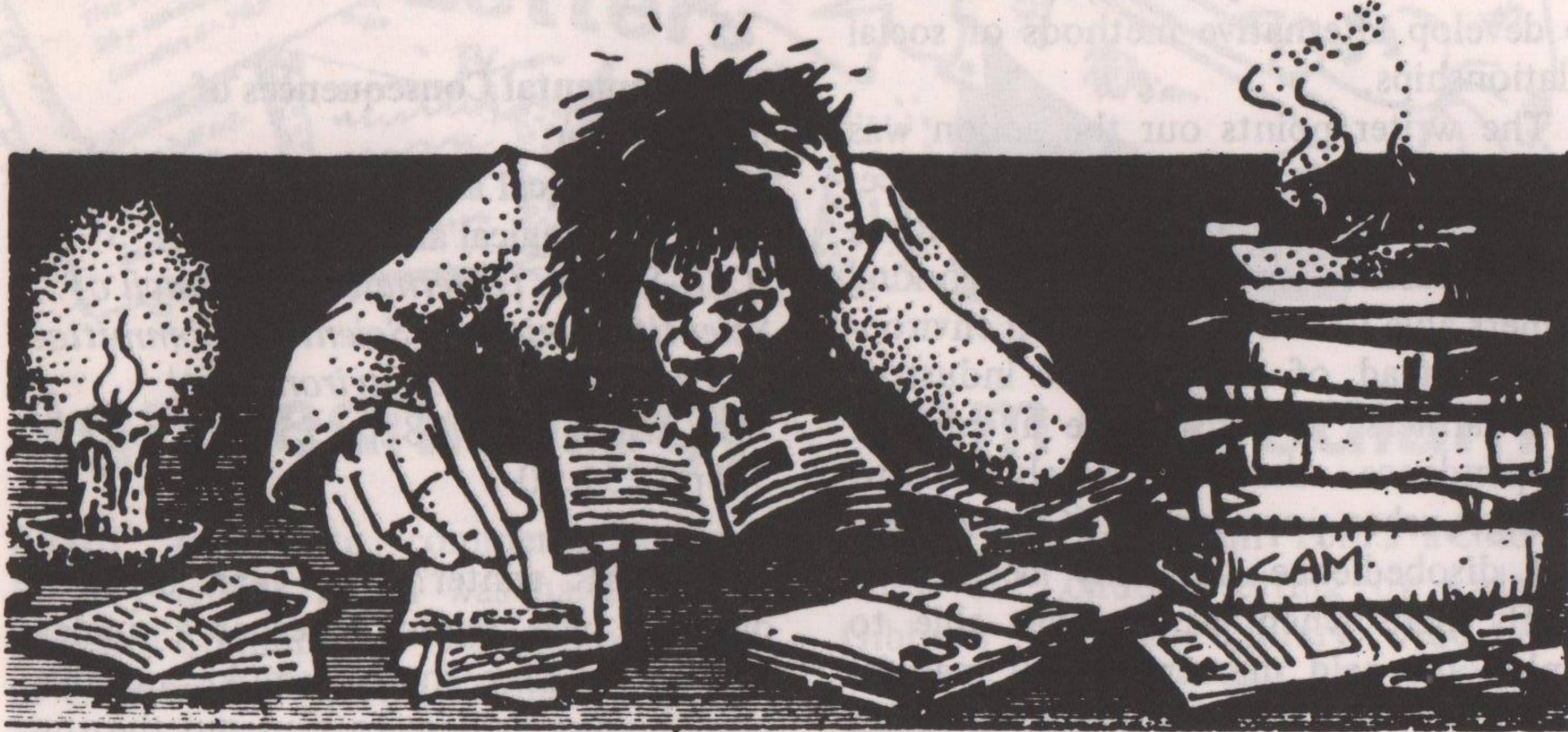
Volume 2 makes definite statements about the biological effects, assuming the tentative predictions of Volume 1 are correct. A temperature drop in the tropics to freezing point, for only one night, would exterminate at least a fifth of all the world's plant and animal species. In temperate zones the effect would vary with the season. In winter, organisms are physiologically ready for cold and could survive, but in summer they would be devastated. A drop of one degree in mean temperature shortens the growing season by ten days. A drop of ten degrees would result in total crop failure.

'Nuclear winter' or 'nuclear fall', you still get nuclear famine. The direct effects of detonations would not be negligible by comparison, but they would certainly cause fewer human deaths than the consequent food shortages.

The US Congress has demanded a review of the report from the Department of Defense, to be evaluated in turn by the National Academy of Sciences whenever the Department of Defense completes it. Heart-warming, to see our elected representatives acting so decisively.

Andrea Kinty

A LIFE IN PEACE



A Life in Peace
Andrew Rigby
 Prism Press £5.95

ANDREW Rigby is a lecturer in the School of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford. At the outset, I must confess that until I read this excellent biography of Wilfred Wellock, I knew next to nothing about this libertarian pacifist thinker and activist, apart from the occasional reference in Albert Beale's *Against All War* and in *Articles of Peace*, co-edited by Gail Chester and the present author. Indeed, he is far better known in Sarvodaya circles in India than he is over here. Let us hope that this work will help to rectify the situation.

Wilfred was born into a nonconformist working class family in 1879 in Nelson, Lancashire. From his parents he learnt the value of hard work, self-improvement, sobriety, frugality and good neighbourliness. By the age of 18, Wilfred was training to become a lay preacher. Nelson was at this time a centre of socialist and cooperative activity. There was a feeling that socialism would entail a total spiritual and moral transformation of society and culture, to the benefit of all. He says, 'Discussions among Church workers and lay preachers had led me to a study of the works of Ruskin, Tolstoy, Carlyle, Kropotkin, Thoreau, Emerson, Wordsworth, etc., all of whom influenced me profoundly, especially Ruskin and Tolstoy. Books like William Morris' *News From Nowhere* stimulated the minds and freed the spirits of thousands of workers from the bonds of a soul-destroying industrialism'.

The outbreak of the First World War came as a profound shock to him. Most churches and even the established peace movement offered no resistance to war. It was left to the socialists to campaign actively against militarism through the No-Conscription Fellowship (N-CF), founded by Fenner Brockway in 1914 on

the prompting of his wife. The Fellowship required its members that they 'refuse from conscientious motives to bear arms

because they consider human life to be sacred, and cannot, therefore, assume the responsibility of inflicting death'. Although the majority of the N-CF were members of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), there were also other socialists, anarchists, Quakers and other religious believers. With the passage of the Military Service Act, the N-CF faced not only opposition from the press, public hostility and disruption of meetings by outraged 'patriots', but also direct persecution by the state. To counter press bias, Wellock decided to produce his own four-page broadsheet called *The New Crusader*, which was soon running at over 15,000 copies, distributed all over the world. Its main feature was the advocacy of Christian pacifism. Inevitably Wilfred was summoned before a local tribunal as a conscientious objector, offered alternative work in assistance of the war effort



Illustration from *Articles of Peace* Chester and Rigby Prism Press £4.95

and even exemption as a minister of religion, albeit unpaid. He refused both, as he opposed the extension of special privileges to the clergy, particularly when so many of them were blessing the war. He was imprisoned in Preston where many COs were dragged across the yard by their hair. He was later transferred to an army camp in North Wales where an attempt was made to force him to submit to military discipline. On his refusal he was court-martialled and sentenced to two years hard labour in Wormwood Scrubs. Altogether he was court-martialled three times and finally released from Shrewsbury jail in 1919.

In 1919 the N-CF of religious pacifists was wound up and replaced in 1921 by the socialist No More War Movement (NMWM). In Holland an international pacifist organisation PACO (Esperanto for peace) was established. Founding members attended the International Anti-Militarism Congress convened by a number of anarcho-syndicalist organisations. In 1923 PACO was renamed War Resisters' International (and has continued intermittently to use Esperanto, although at the moment this useful practice needs renewing).

Wellock claimed that bourgeois pacifism was dead. He joined the new ILP, which supported pacifism, stood as a candidate for Stourbridge in 1923 and was actually elected as an MP in 1927 but lost his seat four years later. The contrast between cynical opportunism and his own idealistic ardour for the co-operative commonwealth disillusioned him for life with parliamentary politics.

In 1931 Wellock met Gandhi when the

latter was in London to attend the 2nd Round Table Conference on the future of India. He accompanied him on one of his early morning walks through the East End, asking his views on the suitability of satyagraha for the anti-war struggle here, but Gandhi was reluctant to pass an opinion about a country of which he knew so little. By the mid-1930s, Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia and the Spanish Civil War provoked a massive international wave of anti-fascism. This led to the isolation of pacifists within the socialist movement, and voices were raised in the NMWM demanding the exemption of civil war from their pledge. Frustrated at losing the vote, these elements resigned and precipitated the final crisis within the NMWM. In 1937 Wellock negotiated with Dick Sheppard its merger with the bourgeois Peace Pledge Union and became a PPU sponsor. In one of his earliest contributions to *Peace News* he declared, 'The sentimental pacifist is a social danger', and denounced international war as a manifestation of imperialism. In the event of invasion, instead of proposing non-violent social defence, which had not yet been conceived of, Wellock naively said, 'An invading army being greeted with kindness and hospitality, and a calm refusal to be anyone's slaves, would be wholly unable to continue shooting down their hosts in cold blood'. The PPU was further marginalised after the Labour Party replaced its war resistance stand by support for collective security. The No Conscription League, formed by Fenner Brockway, Wellock, et al, collapsed as the nation resigned itself to war.

When war came many pacifists were, in the words of Alex Wood, 'so sensitive to the claims of the community in their service that they (were) eager to find some positive and constructive work'. In 1940 the Forethought Committee within the PPU issued four 'Peace Affirmations', stressing the role of pacifists as a redemptive minority witnessing to an alternative set of values, which someday would save the world from destruction. Small utopian farming communities were established in several parts of the country.

When Wilfred died in 1972 at the age of 93 years, it was obvious that the creative development of his thought through inevitable twists and turns was always consistent with his fundamental insight as expressed for instance in his statement in 1932 that 'war is the logical and inevitable outcome of a social system which is based on greed, class and sectional rights instead of upon co-operation and human rights. In the deepest sense, to fight for peace and the disarmament of the world is to fight for a change in the basis of society, which at root is a spiritual change, and involves the substitution of goodwill, social justice and world-wide co-operation for exploitation, class privilege and social antagonism'. Aldous Huxley maintained that Wilfred Wellock was one of the few isolated voices seeking to restate the old doctrine of self-reliance and mutual aid within a localised, co-operative community.

If my review is more of a precis than a critical evaluation of the book, it is simply because of my total admiration for its content and style, and my sincere thanks go to its author. JH

Mbube — Music of the Township Masses

ON 4 March 1985, after years of trying to get the company to recognise their union, the workers at BTR Sarmcol decided to go on strike. Two days after the strike began, all 970 workers from the factory were dismissed, leaving the whole community — already suffering from low wages — with no form of income at all. Nearly three years later, the workers are still on strike, fighting to get their jobs back. To keep themselves alive, the workers formed SAWCO (Sarmcol Workers Co-operative), which has set up a number of co-operatives in the township which provide a small income for the strikers and their families. For example, an agricultural co-op was set up, as well as a T-shirt producing co-op, which makes T-shirts for the whole South African union movement, and a cultural co-op, which produced *The Long March*.

This is a tape of music from the British tour of the SAWCO Players' *The Long March*. In the late summer and autumn of 1987, audiences across Britain were delighted, entertained and moved by this unique example of South African workers' theatre. Combining the traditions of mime and improvisation which is the hallmark of modern South African theatre with the aims of true agitprop theatre, the play was a dramatic record of a community's struggle with a large multinational employer which sacked all the workers for going on strike. It was written and performed by the workers themselves.

African music has become increasingly popular in Britain in recent years, from township jazz through to the modern pop of the urban Mabaqanga style. The music on this tape is of the Mbube style, which relies solely on the traditional vocal harmonies of the singers.

The songs on this cassette are songs of resistance, struggle and trade unionism.

Music plays an important part in the struggle for freedom in South Africa, binding the spirit of the people together and reaffirming the solidarity of a mass struggle. The vibrant spirit of union solidarity shines through such songs as *Hlanganni Basebenzi* — 'All workers must unite' — and *Sizoyinyomfa Thini* — 'We will struggle onwards'; and we are reminded of the significance of the struggle, when the players sing the anthem of the liberation movement, *Nkosisikelela I-Afrika*.

The cassette is available from: **CRS, London Region Political Committee, 78-102 The Broadway, London E15 1NL.** Cassettes cost £4. Cheques payable to SAWCO. All proceeds from the sale of this cassette go to the SAWCO Solidarity Fund.

For more information contact **SAWCO, c/o 12 Manor Road Extension, Leicester LE2 4FF.**

Nearly two nasty accidents

Nuclear missiles almost launched by accident in 1981 and 1985

WORLD War III was narrowly averted seven years ago thanks to a quick-thinking technician — who pulled the plug on a computer about to launch a Titan II ballistic missile at Russia.

The incident, which occurred in Kansas, is one of many close nuclear shaves revealed in a report from the Bradford School of Peace Studies last week.

In another incident four years later at Warren Air Force Base in Wyoming crew parked an armoured car on top of a Minuteman missile silo after the computer announced the missile was about to launch itself.

The authors of the report, researchers Shaun Gregory and Alistair Edwards, believe the increasing reliance on computer automation to control nuclear launchers and warning systems makes the accidental start of war more likely.

Gregory argues that computers cannot decide about the nature of a suspected incoming missile. A human operator knows that a single missile fired at the US is probably an accident.

However, current computerised early warning systems will see it as an all-out attack, and will counter-attack.

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Allons enfants d'anarchie



THE Collectif Lyon 89, the Atelier de Creation Libertaire (Lyons), the CIRA (Geneva), the Centro Studi Libertari (Milan), the Anarchos Institute (Montreal) propose to organise the Rencontres Internationales Libertaires 89 (Libertarian International Meetings 1989) on the occasion of the bicentenary of the French Revolution.

We libertarians feel it is important to bring a different note than those resulting from the commemorations organised by the state and by the political parties.

Two hundred years after the Great Revolution, what forms of social and cultural transformation do the anarchists propose, practice and dream of? How can we transmit through practice and theory the fundamental values of anarchism? The international anarchist meeting may be an occasion to exchange and to illustrate what we are doing, what we believe, what we feel is important.

These meetings will take place towards the end of August or the beginning of September 1989 and will last about one week. You can contact us at the following address: **Collectif 89, rue Pierre Blanc, 69001 Lyon, France.** You can phone on Fridays between 9.00am and noon, at 78292826.

Collectif 89

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