

**SHAME ON THE 'PEACE' MOVEMENT**  
(CONTINUED)

The only article to appear in '7 Days' described the actions of the women and made no mention of the camp's awful history or of the lack of changes there. It ended saying the writer would return to the camp (he later re-traced the article in a letter, saying that the camp's position about the rapes was unacceptable and his 'peace' group withdrew its support).

What about the women themselves? How are they coping with seeing their integrity and personal lives on trial in print? Or does anyone care? It would seem not, judging from the venom in many of the letters printed. +Julia, Marigold and Lydia, the woman who lived at the camp and has supported them since the third rape, are still struggling to get their voices heard and all are extremely affected by what is written and said. Despite receiving some money, the rape survivors are still out of pocket because of telephone bills and photo-copying. The first woman to be raped has begun a fresh life elsewhere.

Angered by the attitudes prevailing in the 'peace' movement, two of the rape survivors entered USAF Alconbury and left banners saying: "Women say NO to male violence" and "War is MAN'S disgrace". The women's statement said: 'During last night's action we wanted to affirm that we are powerful women who won't be silenced about what has been done to our bodies. We wanted to say the word RAPE loudly because rape is the sick, insidious crime that women are forced to keep to themselves because they are doubted or blamed.' One of the women was assaulted by an American soldier and a complaint was being investigated by the police. The women said of this: 'Doubt was expressed as to whether the event took place. The situation was similar to one which rape victims find themselves in at the hands of the police (and 'peace' movement): delayed shock is used to 'prove' she is lying'.

They are determined that people should not support the camp at Molesworth which contains men who have verbally threatened one of them and been known to be violent. Strong attempts are being made to fudge over

two of the rapes by those living there. 'the biased reporting of the rapes alleged to have happened at Molesworth' (Sept Molesworth Bulletin) 'the rapes are clearly not being taken seriously by those living there and others, influenced by what they are incorrectly told, proceed to write down distortions about the rapes and their circumstances. 'I underst and two of the rapes were merely relationship problems' (Southern Resister Oct) This should be unacceptable and, in order for the 'peace' movement to regain self respect it must say so - loudly and often.

The shame of the 'peace' movement for having treated rape survivors who dare to speak out - so shabbily is not over. It has not even begun. But one day, it will.

+the names in this account have been changed.

@ It is not suggested that the quotes taken from peace news and other magazines reflect the editorial view. Criticism is safe, however, of decisions to include material which puts women on trial.

IF YOU ENJOYED READING THIS (OR EVEN IF YOU DIDN'T) WHY NOT TRY SOME OF THE FOLLOWING:

BLACK FLAG, DIRECT ACTION, CROWBAR, FLAMETHROWER (one off), SPECTACULAR TIMES, CLASS WAR, RED ACTION, AND MANY MANY MORE, ALL EITHER AVAILABLE FROM YOUR LOCAL "ALTERNATIVE" BOOK-SHOP OR FROM VARIOUS LONDON ADDRESSES (YOU'LL HAVE TO BUY AT LEAST ONE TO GET THE CONTACT ADDRESSES AND PRICES) OR....

WAIT TILL NEXT ISSUE WHERE WE MIGHT JUST SQUEEZE THEM IN BETWEEN ARTICLES ON SEVERAL AMAZINGLY INTERESTING SUBJECTS. SORRY THERE'S NO CONTACT ADDRESS FOR US YET. HOPEFULLY WE'LL HAVE ONE BY NEXT ISSUE.

THANKS TO ALL THE NUMEROUS PUBLICATIONS WE 'BORROWED' MATERIAL FROM. KEEP THINKING, LAUGHING, MAKING CONNECTIONS, FIGHTING BACK.

THE TIGER COLLECTIVE.



PAPER TIGER



'GRRRRROWL!'



**Tory conflict on the City**

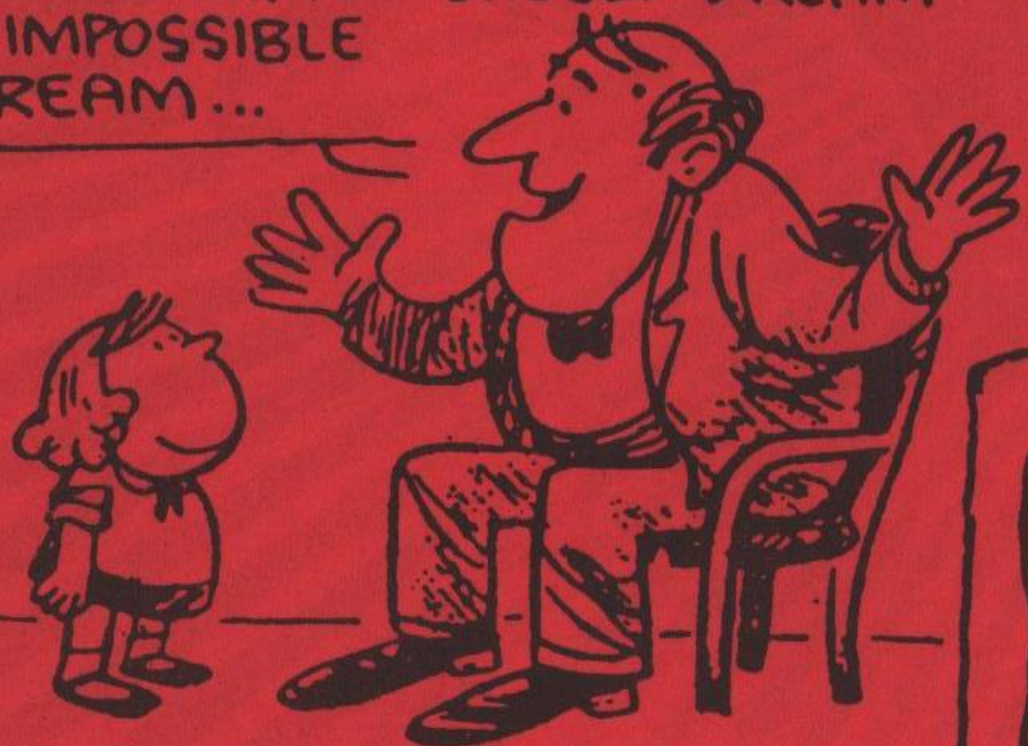
By our Labour Editor  
A survey of links between the City and the Conservative Party has revealed a shift in the balance of power. It says that eight Cabinet members had City interests before joining the Government. Tory MPs are retained as directors of more than a quarter of all company donations to the Conservative Party.



WHAT DO YOU WANT TO BE WHEN YOU GROW UP? GIRLS CAN BE ANYTHING THEY WANT TO BE THESE DAYS...



BRAIN SURGEON... COLLEGE PROFESSOR... PRESIDENT... YOU SHOULD DREAM THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM...



HOW ABOUT PAID EQUALLY?



YOU'VE GOTTA BE REALISTIC...



PAPER TIGER IS A NEW AND HOPEFULLY WILL BE A LONG-RUNNING LOCAL ANARCHIST MAGAZINE. IT'S AIM IS TO PROVIDE AN ANARCHIST VIEW ON VARIOUS ISSUES AND TO BREAK DOWN, IN A SMALL WAY, THE MONOPOLY OF INFORMATION THAT THE STATE AND CAPITAL HAVE AT THE MOMENT. THE ARTICLES ARE WRITTEN BY VARIOUS INDIVIDUALS AND THOUGH WE AGREE IN GENERAL WE DO NOT NECESSARILY AGREE ON ALL POINTS.

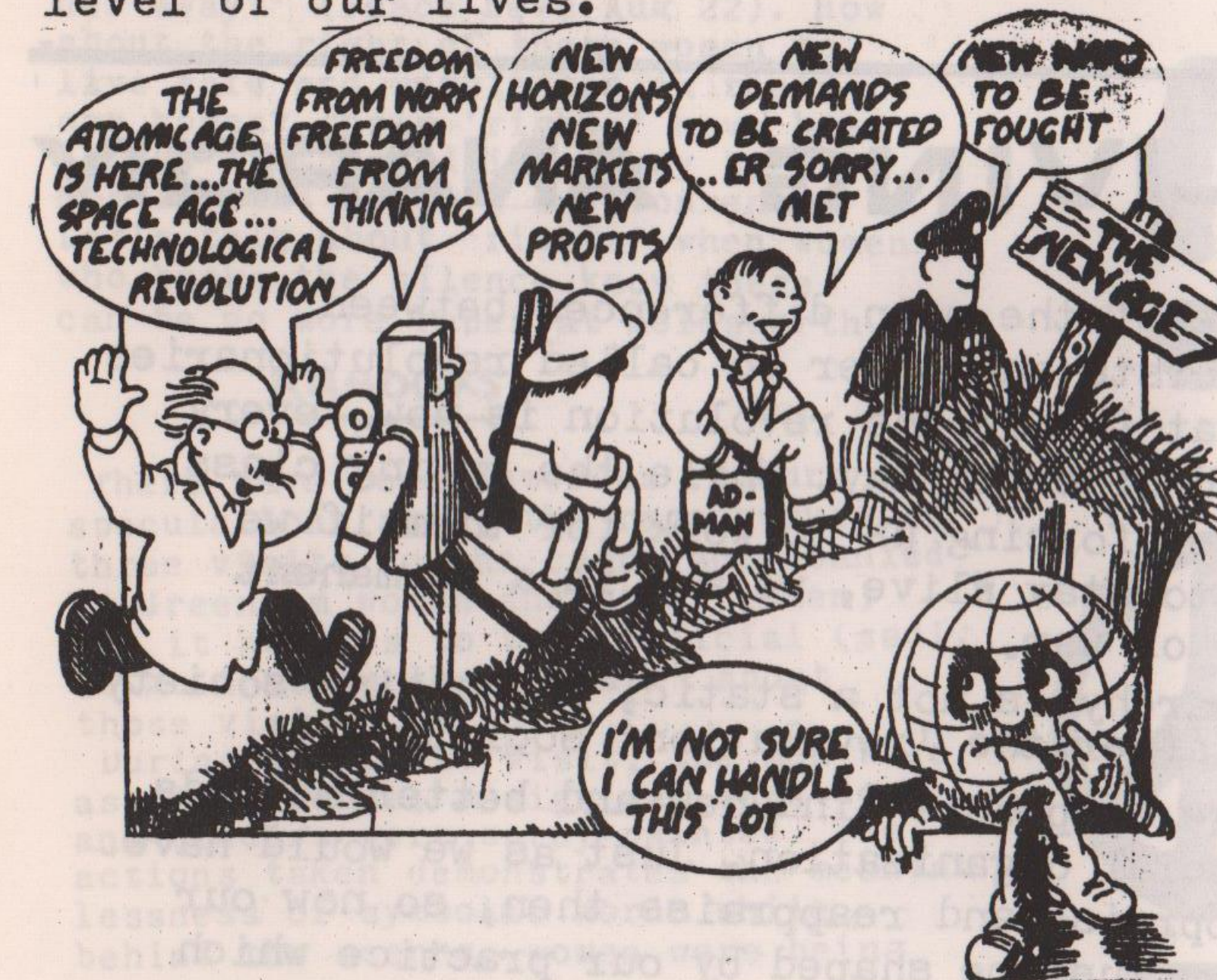


THAT WAR IS AN EVIL IS SOMETHING THAT WE ALL KNOW, AND IT WOULD BE POINTLESS TO GO ON CATALOGUING ALL THE DISADVANTAGES INVOLVED IN IT.

-THUCYDIDES c471-c400b.c.

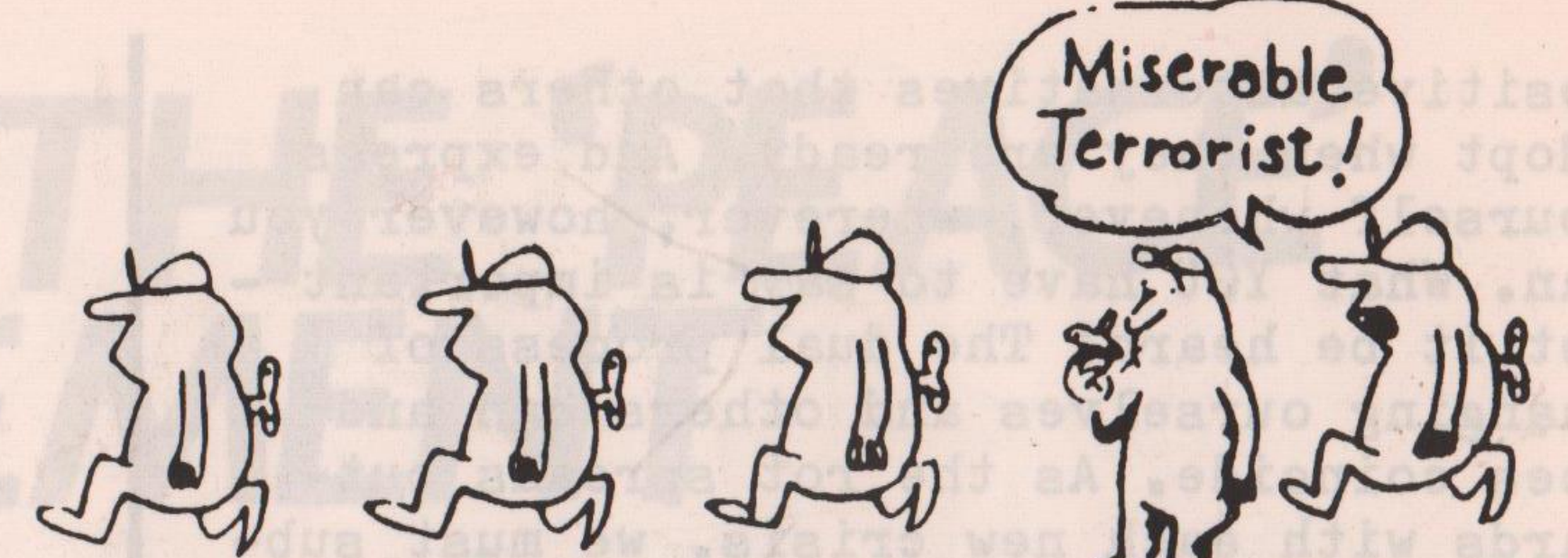
## Subverting the Subconscious.... Break on Through!

It is one of the cruel coincidences of life that the development of principles intellectually, emotionally and practically is both more important and more difficult with each step. Let no person tell you that fundamental change is easy to bring about....and let no person tell you that its impossible. We must challenge ourselves to tear down every conditioned wall we come up against. 'Daring to be different' has to go beyond the symbolic -outward image- and the negative -'anti-politics'- to the positive -living out our ideals at every possible level of our lives.

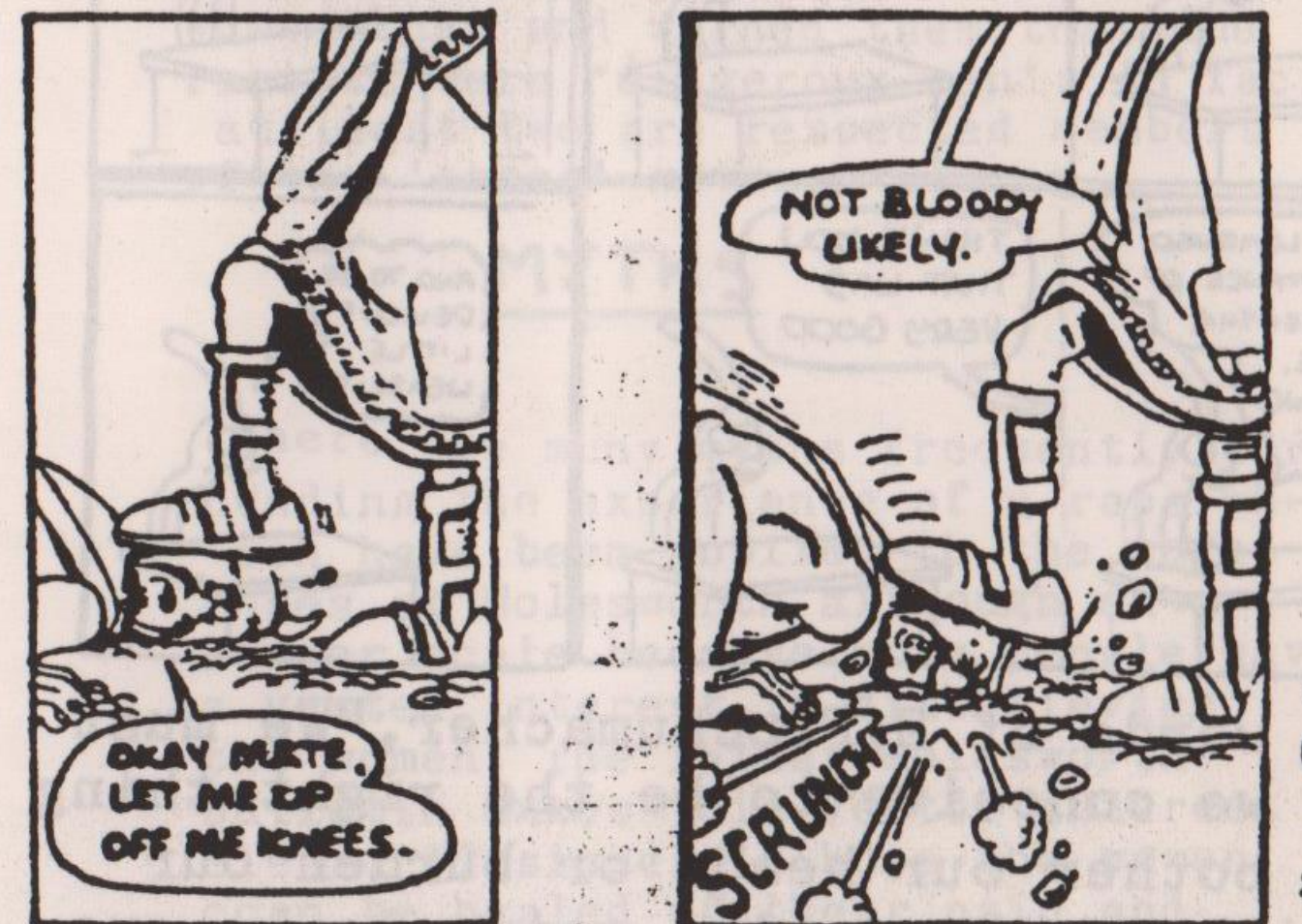


The channelling of our limited mental resources into anger and violence might be thought necessary to hold ground on the frontline and an understandable reaction under hostile circumstances but by that path alone it is unlikely that much headway will be made. At the core of society they are strong and we are weak - they'll screw you up or screw you in. Battling on the streets is all-too-often like hitting your head against a brick-wall that's being built up from the other side. There must be another side to the movement.

Revolution cannot be an overnight occurrence - change imposed by a minority inevitably fails and the means condition the end. We must work up from the grassroots. The real battle, as so many have said before, is to be won or lost in the hearts and minds of men and women. We must invade their consciousnesses with our ideas and push back the boundary of their cultural conditioning. To throw off habitual lifestyles and break with your past is a fundamental change and by necessity a gradual one.



And beware of tunnel vision! We must take a holistic view of the situation and avoid wasting our energies on sectarian struggles within the 'alternative movement' (anarchists, greens, decentralist socialists etc) - differences in emphasis should not obscure the common ground that we share. Having strength in putting forward our ideas does not preclude the humility necessary to listen and sometimes change our minds. No-one is perfect - we should not be afraid to recognise our own faults and resolve to overcome them. A collection of sub-cultures is no longer enough; we need a counter-culture underlying each unique individual consciousness through which alternatives can emerge in every sphere of life.



And that means that we must overcome the gravitational pull of the industrial, hierarchical, masculine-value orientated society that dominates every aspect of our lives; to begin the process of its creative disintegration. Where the opportunity presents itself, we must take advantage of loopholes in the present system. From pooling our resources and talents to establishing agricultural communes; from collective boycotts to setting up small-scale industrial cooperatives. By undermining their institutions from the fringes of society we can begin to provide



positive alternatives that others can adopt when they are ready. And express yourself whenever, wherever, however you can. What YOU have to say is important - let it be heard! The dual process of changing ourselves and others can and does coincide. As the rot spreads outwards with each new crisis, we must subvert from the periphery, developing new patterns of life as we go. United in spirit, let us move forwards together, finding happiness in each other. ('Love' is not a dirty word!) It is time that experiments in life began to counter the practise of death!



CALLING ALL HUNT SAB.SUPPORTERS!  
Oxford hunt-sabateurs have just bought their very own sab-van. They need money to help pay for insurance etc. so if you've got any to spare send it to the following address:

Hunt Saboteurs,  
Box 1  
15, Cowley Road,  
Oxford.

## LIVING ANARCHY

One of the main differences between anarchists and other so called revolutionaries is that for us the revolution is now - every second of every day. While the ruling class exists, forcing us to work for them if we want to stay alive, we are in a permanent state of war.

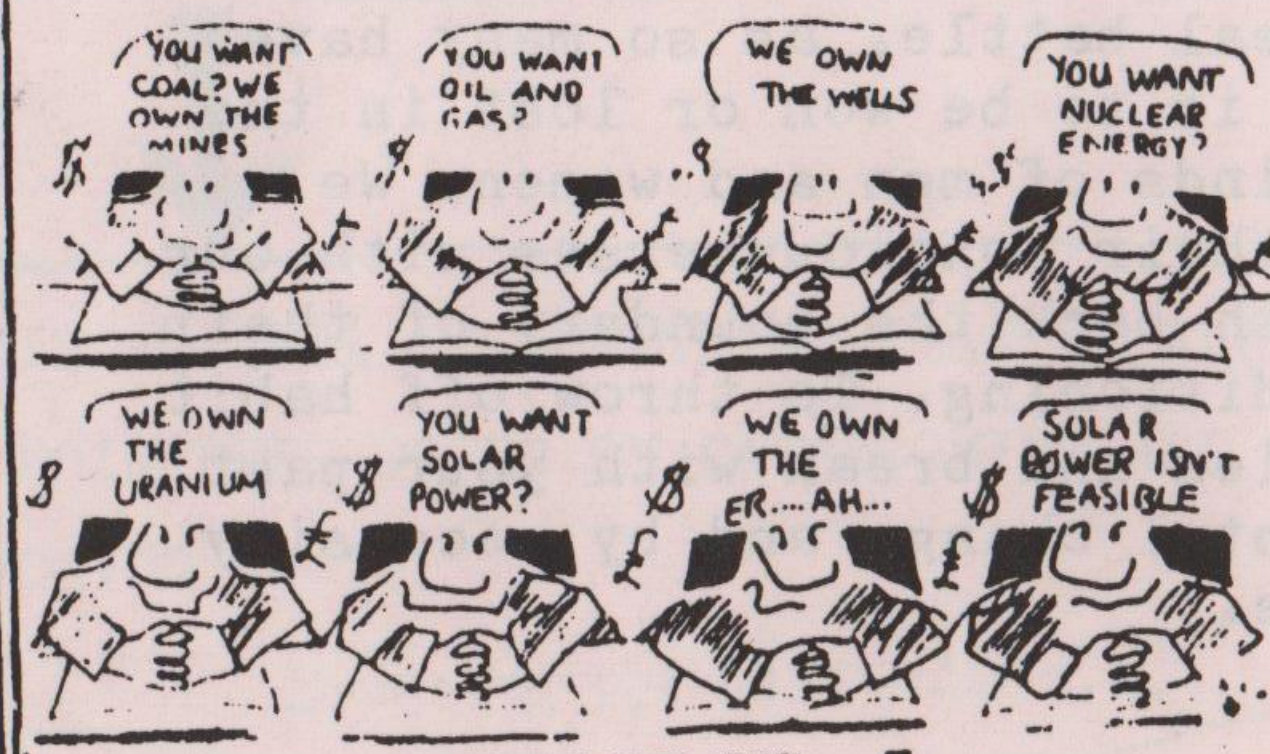
Anarchy is not a static, unchanging society. Even after the 'revolution' society will

change as people find new and better methods of social organization. Just as we would have to appraise and reappraise then, so now our theory must be shaped by our practice which should in turn be guided by our theory.

We must try to live anarchy now - in our personal relationships with friends, lovers and people we work with, as well as in more direct struggles against the state.

The spectacle makes spectators of us all. We watch the bosses and the politicians take decisions for us; we watch doctors write prescriptions for our latest ailments; the television entertains us; the papers tell us what's right and what's wrong, what's in fashion and what's not.

Anarchy is about people taking control of their own lives, not being told what to do - a total rejection of the spectacle in which we sit back and stagnate. Why wait for a revolution? We'll all be waiting together, and then we'll be dead.



In the words of E.F.Schumacher, "We must do what we conceive to be the right thing and not bother our heads or burden our souls with whether we're going to be successful. Because if we don't do the right thing, we'll be doing the wrong thing, and we'll be part of the disease and not a part of the cure." Remember, we're the realists and they're the ones who tried to create a dream-world that is fast becoming a nightmare.....

Think positively; act positively; constructive subversion - let's get to it!

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And wipe that cynical smile off your face!

# SHAME ON THE 'PEACE' MOVEMENT

It is a very disturbing fact that since women raped at Molesworth first opened their mouths to tell of it they encountered hostility, abuse, doubt, anger blame and total dismissal. The first culprits were members and ex-members of Molesworth 'peace' Camp but now the shame has spread to a wider 'peace' movement.

The reality of the rapes have continuously been questioned in the alternative 'peace' magazines and concentration has rested on the 'violence' of 'irrational and hysterical women'. A distorted idea of rights is talked about: 'If an individual wishes to camp at the gates of Molesworth which other camper has the right to turn him or her away?' (Peace News Aug 22). How about the right of those women to live safe and unmolested in their own homes? Their 'rights' have been denied of them, driven away by a hostile and abusive environment. Let's talk about 'rights' when women who broke the silence know there can be no more rapes at Molesworth.

## RUMOURS

There have been numerous rumours and speculations about the rape survivors' three visits to the camp (accompanied by Greenham women and other women) and it appears to be beneficial (sadly to go into further details about those visits).

During the first visit, the men were asked to leave, a sign was sawn down and benders were spray-painted. The actions taken demonstrates the meaninglessness of symbolic words while, behind the scenes, women were being raped.

The visit was not paid on an impulse nor was it the only way the women who had been raped had tried to get the camp to face up to unpleasant realities. The second woman, shortly after being raped, sent handouts on rape, wrote letters to individuals about the implications of the rapists action for the camp and wrote the whole camp a letter telling them that unless they acknowledged what camp men were doing underneath the layers of non-sexist platitudes then another woman would be raped.

There was no response to any of this. And then the third woman was raped. All the visiting women - most of whom had known about the first rape - were angry at the horrendous silence after a further two. They felt they had to take personal responsibility to make Molesworth safe. They exposed the destruction of the camp by spraying the word RAPE. Before this, the destruction remained hidden in the minds and bodies of three women.

On the other two occasions the rape survivors took down benders and spray-painted. On the last occasion a large notice greeted them when they arrived. 'Women - why can't we work together?' One of the rape survivors replied: 'Because men rape! and the camp keeps quiet and pretends it hasn't happened!'

There are many various details missed out in this account, including occasions when individuals then living or then supporting it protected symbols or pieces of wood and failed to see the real issue is men's violence. However, at no time was anyone physically threatened or injured. No one present could honestly say they were afraid for their own personal safety. What is the 'peace' movement really about when property is seen on an equal comparison with women's bodies? 'My entire being felt raped by the women's actions' (Molesworth Bulletin July). Or when women's violence is wholeheartedly condemned whereas the men's rapes are hardly mentioned? (Except to cast doubt on their validity)

Women who stayed at the camp after the rapes are verbal in their defence of men's 'rights' (although sadly lacking on the rights of women who have been raped) while men at the camp take a comfortable back seat. It seems from the Molesworth experiences that rape is one of the major issues where women are divided and ruled. Most of the emotion (apart from the raped women and their supporters) has come from women left at the camp. Rape is not an issue women can afford to

ignore even though men can. Many women cannot face the reality of rape which means they have to look at men's relationships with them and see the power structure inherent in those relationships. It's easier for women to perpetuate the myths a patriarchal society has invented, designed to put the blame back on women. (The women who have been raped have been told that their relationships with the men were at fault and that other women knew and warned them that the rapists were 'dangerous men'. In fact at least two are respected members of the 'peace' movement.)

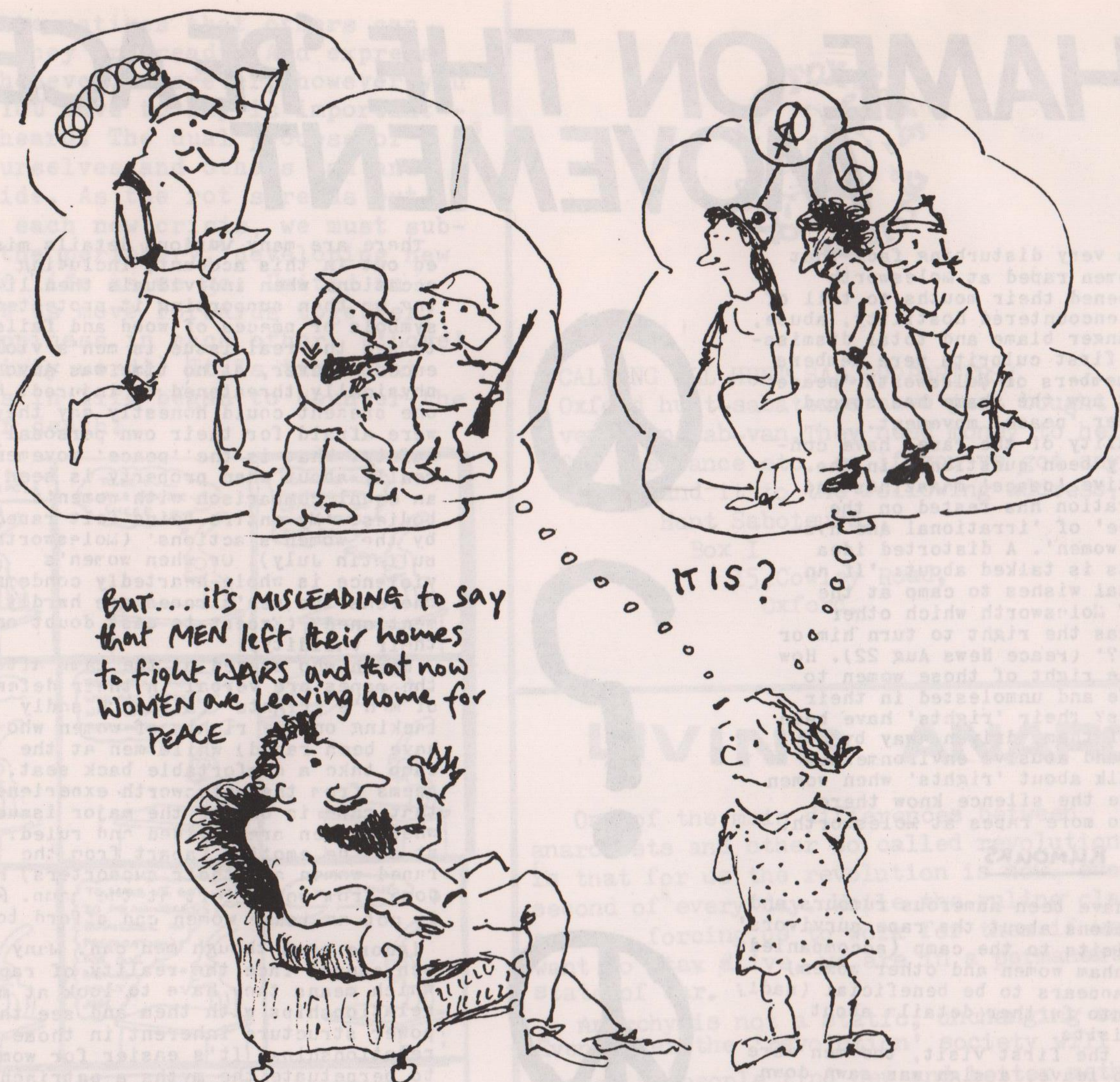
## MYTHS

There are many myths frequently surrounding the experience of a rape which have been applied to the three rapes at Molesworth although on a larger scale because more people have a vested interest in disbelieving the women. The latest Molesworth Bulletin makes this vested interest clear: 'I sincerely hope the women can be healed of their pain and anger...until that happens we cannot give all our thought and energy to stopping Cruise.'

By many in the 'peace' movement it is women's anger which is seen as the root cause of the problems, not MEN'S VIOLENCE. Given that analysis, it makes 'sense' that there have been calls in the 'peace' magazines for the rape survivors to be helped over that anger: 'If we care for these women we cannot stand passively while they destroy themselves with hate.' (PN 17 Oct) If only the women can get over what's happened to them all the problems (people's homes being damaged) will be solved.







## ANGER

What is really on trial in the 'peace' movement today is women's right to be angry and their right to actively (not passively) change what has oppressed them. When men sexually assault or rape it is under the cover of darkness or of a woman's guilt and confusion about what's been done to her or of the myths which collude with the man and say it was HER fault. By its very nature his act is clothed in secrecy and silence.

We quite clearly see in the Molesworth aftermath what happens to women who dare to break that silence and speak out publicly about what has been done to their bodies. Their anger and word were ignored as long as possible. After the sorry-painting this was no longer possible so the focus was then on - not rape - but 'the vigilantes,

the lynch mob, the bailiffs' (PN 17 Oct). When people write of these 'angry women', they conveniently de-humanize them describing them as: 'vigilantes claim to be from Greenham' (PN 3 Oct) or 'militant feminists' when it is, in fact, well-documented that it was basically the rape survivors and an ex-Molesworth resident who were responsible for the spray-painting and banner removing. It is a well-known patriarchal ploy to de-humanize the enemy. In fact, we in the 'peace' movement should be familiar with this tactic - ever heard of 'connies' or 'reds'?

## WOMEN ON TRIAL

The women themselves received many personal letters doubting the rapes, comparing their non-violent actions with the bombing of Libya and talking of the rape survivors 'violence' and how THEY are responsible for making men angry.

The women produced a history of the camp, describing the various attempts made at confronting the issues of sexism and how women had been abused by men at the camp. The account should have made clear that the spray-painting occurred after a very long and patient struggle on the part of women at Molesworth. 'Peace News' condemned the camp's decision to not deal seriously with the issue of rape after the rape survivor's pointed out that being 'objective' is not appropriate when women's safety is at stake.

However, since this statement, the content in PN and other 'peace' / alternative periodicals have deteriorated dramatically. Perhaps PN is afraid of losing vast subscriptions over the issue but it has gone back to its old (warn out) stance of 'objectivity'. This has led to further suffering for the raped women and caused PN to directly oppose its own editorial policy of commitment to non-sexism. The women continue to be out on trial - with a vengeance.

Who know for themselves that one incident was not rape, and have reacted to that dishonesty. If 'rape' is used for any kind of misunderstanding,

(Continued on back page)

# STERILISATION.

I have never particularly wanted children. After reading feminist books on childcare in society today and observing people around me I came to believe that childcare should be shared more widely, not just left to mothers. In this society women with children are overburdened with responsibility and other people have little opportunity to look after them. All women are conditioned to believe that they want children, so well that the alternative never occurs to most of them, and of course motherhood seems more meaningful and creative than routine work to many women in dreary, underpaid jobs.

When I was eighteen I started enquiring about sterilisation. The G.P. and family planning clinic doctors I spoke to kept predicting that I would change my mind, as though any woman would ask to be sterilised without considering this very carefully. I was finally referred to a consultant gynaecologist. I had to undress before encountering this great man, since he was only going to talk to me this seems to be unnecessary except as a tactic to make argumentative patients uncomfortable. The first thing he said to me was, "I am going to explain why I am not going to sterilise you." He managed to put all the usual arguments in an unusually patronising way. He seemed to think not just that I might change my mind, but that I ought to. The case histories he quoted of women asking him to reverse their sterilisation operations are only meaningful if you hold the opinion that all women are equally inconstant, vacillating creatures. Perhaps significantly, these histories are always of women who already have children, and change their minds about wanting more, not single childless women like myself. I was finally told sarcastically to come back when I was thirty.

A few months later I had moved to Oxford, and was consulting my new G.P. when I noticed part of a letter which this gynaecologist had written to my previous G.P. "I am sure she will grow up to have a large and happy family." I was very angry and discussed the whole issue with the doctor, whose concern seemed more genuine than the other doctors'. She has made enquiries about a new sterilisation technique which involves clipping rather than cutting the fallopian tubes, and hence is 70% reversible. Both methods usually involve a general anaesthetic, but the frequency of local anaesthetic use is increasing. They do not involve removing the ovaries, ova are still released but cannot reach the uterus to be fertilised and implanted. Hormone levels and periods should be unaffected by sterilisation.

Since most childless women, even if they are unsure about whether they want children, do not contemplate sterilisation, why is my experience relevant? Professional medics who believe that all women ought to want children may well hold other reactionary views, such as reluctance to allow women abortions, or prescribe contraceptives to young women.

One of the earliest women's movement demands was for the right to free abortion. This was a necessary emergency measure. Now a wider campaign about "choice" must be undertaken. There must be freedom for women to choose whether or not to have children themselves, and not need to beg for the assistance of the medical profession once they have made their decisions. Also, talk of "choice" is meaningless without enabling women to live out their choice to have children in decent economic conditions, supported in caring for their children by the rest of the community. Parallel to the refusal of sterilisation to white Western women is its enforcement on black and Hispanic women in the United States, and the massive birth control programmes in the Third World which seek to limit the population for racist "eugenic" reasons and have nothing to do with promoting women's autonomy.





# DAS KRAPITAL

The problem for non-Marxists when trying to argue against Marxists is knowing what they actually believe. For what Marx wrote is not necessarily a good guideline for two reasons. One is that some of it has been proved wrong by time and secondly because a lot of it was either vague or changed over his life-time. This has given Marxists plenty of scope to interpret Marxism the way they think best. Marxism nowadays stems from Marx but the details of belief amongst Marxist groups differs widely. So it seems to me the best way to argue against it is to pick out three fairly common factors and point out the dangers that they entail.

The first danger which is totally Marx's fault is his belief in laws of history and scientific socialism. Marx thought he had discovered how history worked, and therefore how you could interpret where history was at any point and using your scientific analysis could work out what the only consistent and sensible socialist action would be. This principle is dangerous in the same way religious ones can be. Someone who believes in an all-powerful god can over-ride in their heads mere human ideas of justice and fairness because what they think is GODS' orders; any who disagree are made into heathens and devil-worshippers. Belief in the claim of Marxism to be scientific can work in the same way. The central committee or individual Marxist interpret the situation using these 'scientific principles' and their followers treat it as gospel. Anybody who disagrees is dismissed either as having 'false consciousness' or are automatically counter-revolutionaries, (which in a revolutionary situation means either 1) do what you are told, we know better, or 2) being locked up or shot).

The second big danger comes from Leninism and the obsession with the Russian revolution. Lenin's model of the party was designed for a particular purpose. A tightly disciplined body of people holding the same views and completely loyal to the party as the saviour of the people is a perfect model for those who want to attack, overthrow and replace the state during a period of revolutionary instability. Its structure however limits free thought and democracy, and encourages indoctrination and kills initiative, all things which are good for power-hungry leaders who want to substitute themselves as a ruling elite.

The third thing is Marx's view of the state. To him the state was the means by which one economic class kept down the class they exploited. Therefore after the revolution when the Communist party were in control there would no longer be two classes and therefore the state would not exist in the same repressive way and Anarchists had no reason to be worried. Of course they've been proved wrong because the state is based on a power-relationship and not an economic, ownership of the means of production is just a word unless you also have control, and control comes from force. If a group has a monopoly of legal or effective force, usually through control of the police and the army, then they are the state and the ruling class.

Once this has occurred then it is their choice whether or not to give up their power and all the people can do about it is to attempt another revolution. In practice the Marxist and Communist parties have called their systems, 'peoples states', but where is the difference, you still have one group of people giving the orders, running things the way they think best. In other words the way that will keep them secure and in relative luxury. The people have to make do with what's given them and like it or lump it. They still have no control, they still have no freedom, they have even less say in what happens to their lives.

So why is Marxism still so widely accepted? The reasons are threefold: One is that after the 1917 revolution radicals all around the world went over to Bolshevism because it was seen as a winning team. This provided the impetus which has carried it forward for so long to the detriment of progress.

Secondly, aspects of Marxism (the one party state) have fitted well with the authoritarian desires of Third World anti-colonial movements which together with Russian arms lead them to declaring themselves Marxist- providing a much needed shot in the arm for the theory.

Thirdly its heavy philosophical nature appeals to students and intellectuals who make up the bulk of converts to radical politics. To some people the bigger the book the better the contents. Hopefully the continued failure of Marxism to provide a good example of a decent society in practice will lead people to look elsewhere.

Then maybe they'll realise that an equal and just society cannot be provided by a state or a party which stands from the people.

## ANARCHY

OR



Some Marxists say they no longer believe in taking over the state but call for a system of workers councils. However I don't believe that the Leninist type party could be satisfied with the role of being just one strand of opinion in a properly democratic system. For it seems sensible to me to believe that the way you go about something will influence what you actually achieve. And so how could a group with a leadership who believe in the rightness of their scientifically derived opinions and backed up by their loyal party members who trust in them, be expected not to usurp power whenever they had the strength to do so. The funny thing about this particular Marxist line is that it is based on a mistake. The people who believe it, do so because they actually believe that Lenin meant what he said about all power to the soviets (workers councils), and don't realise that it was just a trick to get the Bolsheviks some much needed support.





# TERRORISM HYPE

The bogeyman of the 1980's has emerged clearly as the International Terrorist Menace. Increasing media coverage, together with enlarged doses of sensationalism, distortion and selective portrayal of facts have hyped up the public consciousness of this threat to incredible proportions. It is a slur used increasingly in international politics and the media image-games played by politicians.

It is not clear whether the amount or intensity of political violence has actually increased. What we are able to examine is how the media and politicians have shaped public ideas of terrorism and how the authorities could use this new, manipulated awareness.

It is easy, but unwise, to underestimate the attitude-molding effects of the media. It is often the sole source of information, especially on foreign affairs. It is everywhere, all-pervasive and although it doesn't have complete control its influence is enormous.

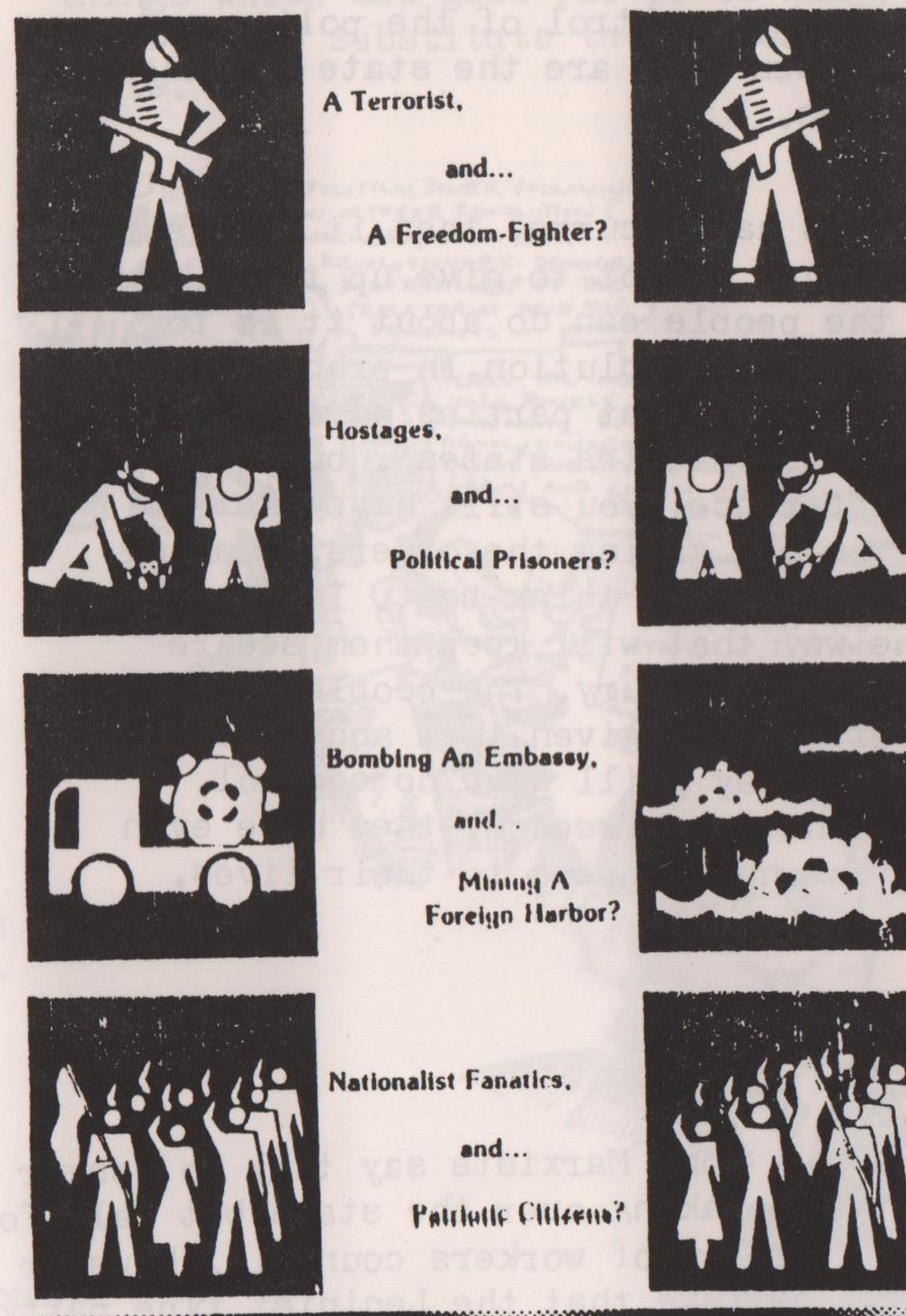
The most blatant but still useful tactic in the portrayal of political violence has been the distinction between 'Terrorist' and 'Freedom Fighter'. It's not necessary to give examples, just monitor the media use of both terms. The distinction - the judgement, since the terms have approval or condemnation inherent in them - is not usually made on questions of tactics, although it might look like it at first sight, nor on questions of support (witness the PLO 'terrorists' who have majority Palestinian support) but seems to be made most commonly on political grounds. This despite the fact that they rarely, if ever, give any indication of what exactly the groups politics or demands really are, beyond a cursory 'left-wing' or 'right-wing'. This is often true of the lefty 'alternative' media also. The judgement is made simply in choosing the word for the headline but how that judgement is made is seldom made clear.

A new category of terrorist discovered by Reagan not so long ago was the mysterious 'State Terrorist'. By this he meant a violent political group supported by a state. But the state-supported groups are by far the majority, with the exceptions being those groups who oppose all states. There is a never-ending round of

mutual destabilisation by states, using groups desperate for material support. Reagan openly backs the Contras, and the CIA's involvement in dirty tricks is on a worldwide scale. France was responsible for the Rainbow Warrior murder in New Zealand and the gagged Stalker inquiry in Northern Ireland (not to be confused with the inquiry into Stalker's own dodgy affairs in Manchester) was beginning to uncover evidence of a covert British Army death squad. Check these out before criticising anyone else.

## Can You Recognize A TERRORIST?

Do You Know The Difference Between:



Amore subtle distinction, and one never explicitly pointed out, is that between terrorists and the state armed forces. There is no state in the world which doesn't use internal and often external terror. In liberal Britain there has been an increase in the use of police violence to force people to accept the horrendous consequences of a political system that doesn't care about people. Comparisons can be made between political kidnapping and arrest and imprisonment of miners and other recent dissenters. One example is the Animal Liberation Front 'agent' (BBC quote) who has been sentenced to 10 years for 'conspiracy to cause arson'. The 'incendiary devices' were designed to set off automatic sprinklers to water-damage furs, no more dangerous than a box of matches going up in flames. 'No one was hurt. Ten years. A 'shocking terrorist outrage' on innocent civilians

ns can be usefully compared to any war or 'police action'. Witness the US bombing of Tripoli or their shelling of Lebanese villages in 1983. Were these people guilty by sharing a nationality with US political enemies? If this is legitimate then so is the targetting of US and UK citizens. Our nations have a long and bloody record of oppression and imperialism.



The major threat of terrorism to the UK, it seems to me, is that we continue to be hoodwinked by the media and politicians. A threat, like the Communist Threat of McCarthyism, terrorism can be used very effectively as a justification of severe limitations on our freedoms, 'for our own safety'. The recent increase in police powers to ever more frightening proportions has passed almost unnoticed. The Prevention of Terrorism Act, with its licensing of even more totalitarian tactics has seldom been used on the mainland (although at least once against the ALF to my knowledge) but witness the merciless use of it in Northern Ireland.

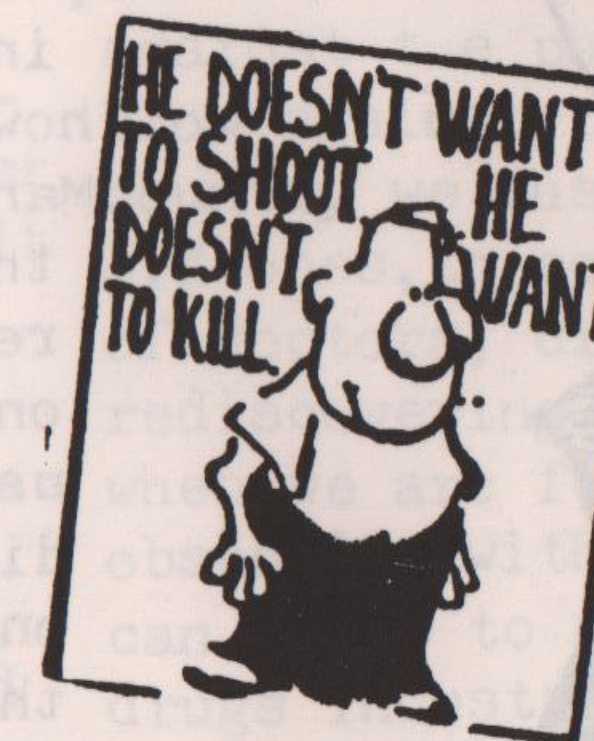
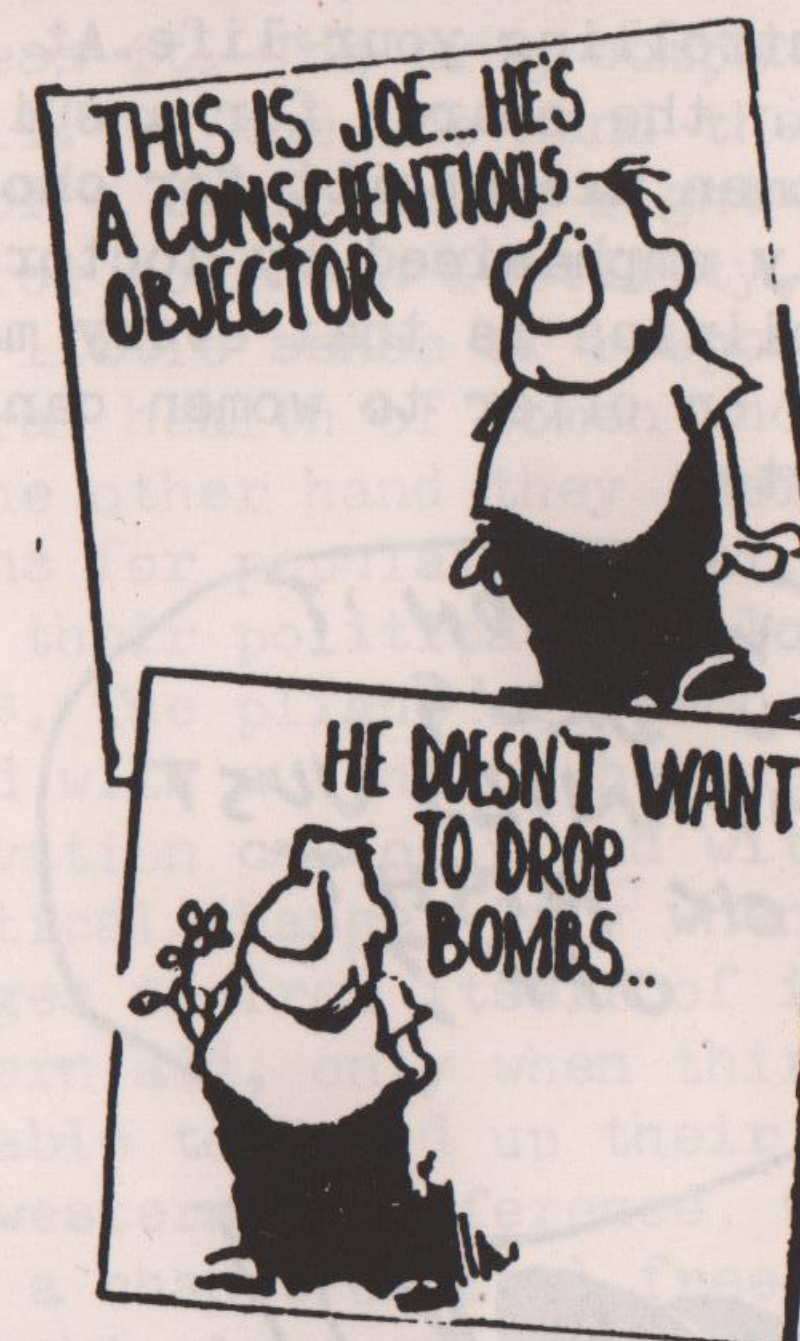
We must question the media labelling, and the constant condemnation of 'extremists' without even hearing their point of view. We must be wary of media distortion. We must be clear about why we support or condemn a violent political group and we must be consistent in applying the same standards to states and governments, too long unquestioned. And we must not allow them to take away our already over-restricted freedoms in the name of protection.

Interviewer: Which groups would be in the files here?  
Salisbury: Obviously anyone who shows any affinity towards Communism - that's commonsense - the IRA, the PLO and I would say anyone who's decrying marriage, family life, trying to break that up, pushing drugs or advocating the acceptance of certain drugs, homosexuality, indiscipline in schools, weak penalties for anti-social crimes, pushing that sort of thing. Oh, a whole gamut of things like that that could be pecking away at the foundations of our society and weakening it.  
Interviewer: And do you regard these people as subversives?  
Salisbury: Well, in a word, yes.

In the same programme Harold Salisbury, former Chief Constable for York, and the North and East Riding of Yorkshire, gave graphic picture of the work of the Special Branch in this country.



# DANGEROUS EXTREMISTS No.1





# GIVE US BACK OUR BODIES.

In these scientific times, fertility control has never been easier. Most women would agree that controlling your own fertility is an essential part of controlling your life. At first it seems that in the search for a suitable contraceptive women are spoilt for choice. What is not so clearly emphasised by doctors and family planning clinics is that every major form of contraceptive on offer to women can have major side-effects.



The I.U.D. or coil, placed in the uterus to prevent implantation, has a nasty habit of working its way through the cervix causing lacerations, or of perforating the womb. It can also cause uterine cramps and very heavy bleeding.

The side-effects of contraceptive pills are many and varied; none are problem free. Depression, cancer, cervical erosion, susceptibility to cervical cancer, adverse hormonal imbalance, and impaired sex drive have all been ascribed to the pill - not to mention all the nasty things they haven't discovered or haven't told us about yet.

Depro-Provera is an injectable contraceptive readily available in Britain but banned in the United States. It can cause depression, vomiting and in a high proportion of cases permanent sterilisation as it involves a very high level of hormones. The 'morning after' Pill is not strictly speaking a contraceptive at all, since it is used when there is a fear that conception has taken place. The hormone levels in this pill are so high that women are not supposed to use it more than twice in a lifetime in case their own hormone balance is permanently effected, although this is rarely mentioned and most women are unaware of it.

The cap/diaphragm does seem to have quite a lot going for it compared to this lot, but it has been known to cause toxic shock syndrome which is fatal, and the spermicide creams or jellies you have to use with them can cause very unpleasant irritation.

What this little lot shows is how low a priority female reproductive health is, how inadequate female contraceptives are, and how little effort has gone into their making. Many women are now starting to feel that until the medical profession starts taking female reproductive health seriously there is only one really safe form of contraception - one usually mentioned only fleetingly and then dismissed as unreliable (it is, after all, the only one that no-one can make money out of) this method is natural fertility charting. It involves observing the physical changes in your body that are linked with fertility: your daily temperature, the consistency of your vaginal mucus and the texture of the cervix. When this is charted over the months you can work out when ovulation takes place, and thus when unprotected penetrative sex is safe. On the unsafe days you can opt for abstinence, sex without penetration or using barrier methods. (More information is available from Family Planning Clinics - but be persistent!)

Taking your own fertility into your own hands and encouraging other women to do the same is not only the best way of avoiding the side-effects attendant on more dangerous 'scientific' methods, it can also be an effective way, if enough of us are into it, of undermining the power which the medical establishment and the pharmaceutical industry have over human reproduction throughout the world and which they are notorious for abusing.



For modern methods of fertility control are not dangerous simply because they are careless of women's health but also because they put power into the hands of those who seek to control and manipulate human reproduction. Thus Depro Provera and sterilization are often offered to black and poor women whom doctors often consider too stupid to remember to take the pill; appointing themselves angels of mercy, they intervene to remove from these women the need to ever trouble themselves about their reproductive functions again. It is no coincidence that these women also find abortions relatively easy to obtain, doctors finding the desire of a black/poor/disabled woman for an abortion easier to understand and approve of than that of a white/middle-class/able-bodied woman. The prejudices which doctors have and which reflect the dominant values in our society are extremely dangerous and in many ways amount to a very potent if subtle influence on population development.

The prejudice which confronts us in the doctor's surgery is all the more obvious in the attitudes of the governments of the developed world. All assistance is given to exclusive clinics set up to treat infertility in western women, while foreign aid to underdeveloped countries is often made conditional on the establishment of sterilization campaigns and the distribution of contraceptive drugs manufactured in the west. Thus Depro Provera, while being banned in the U.S. is manufactured there and exported to Bangladesh along with food subsidies. The pattern is repeated all over the third world.

In Puerto Rico a government programme, co-funded by the U.S. has encouraged, i.e. coerced, women to undergo sterilization, while providing inadequate and often incorrect information on the irreversible nature of the operation. At present, 37% of all women of childbearing age have been sterilized, many of them without ever having had the chance to have any children at all. The pharmaceutical companies make billions; western governments keep down the number of hungry mouths they have to feed and they can keep on pretending that world hunger is a question of third world population growth rather than western greed; national governments are provided with an effective means of limiting the number of 'undesirable' elements in their populations, and where fertility control is directly controlled by the state, with a convenient solution to poverty and unemployment. Those who suffer are the world's faceless women, pumped full of hormones, their wombs ripped out. At the other extreme are those who are denied abortion on the grounds that they are not poor enough or not black enough; the eugenic needs of their country depend on their wombs.



The political implications of governments and the medical profession controlling our fertility are clear. 'Scientific' means of 'contraception' are not only sometimes the cause of ill health and even death in women, they allow the power to control fertility to fall into the hands of those least fit to possess it. The drug companies are the worst of all. On the one hand they make vast profits out of a basic human right - the right to control your own fertility, and they do so with little sense of responsibility for the general health of women who use their products. On the other hand they facilitate governments' plans for population control in accordance with their political ideologies and economic plans. The plight of women in the third world, faced with a choice between sterilisation and starvation can only end with economic and political change. Only when the third world manages to free itself of its need for western aid, only when third world countries are able to build up their economies without western interference, will these women have a chance of real freedom from the external control of their fertility. But any blow against the pharmaceutical industry is a blow against their oppression. In this country we must find new ways, or rediscover old ones, to control our fertility, independent of doctors, drug companies and governments - rediscovering our bodies, coming to know when we are fertile, and overcoming our obsession with penetrative sex, so that we can learn to make ourselves independent of a drugs industry which, far from giving us the means to control our own fertility, merely gives others the means better to control us.

Number of women out of 100 who are likely to become pregnant in one year.	Method
1-3	Pills
2-7	I.U.D.
7-12	Condom
11-17	Cap/diaphragm
5-15	N.F.P.

N.B. These statistics show the effectiveness of different contraceptive methods in practice rather than according to theoretical effectiveness which is much greater.



# THE THEORETICAL BASIS FOR ORGANISATION.

An ANARCHY is a society without rulers, organised as a series of federated overlapping networks. It is highly ordered and diverse with considerable flexibility and adaptability. Any hierarchies present are bottom-up, that is power flows from below, the upper levels playing a coordinating role rather than a command role. All organisations are democratic. Leadership is ad hoc or temporary, fully accountable and subject to instant recall. Ranks are non-existent.

ANARCHY is not chaos. It is sometimes loosely defined as a society without the State, or without Government, but it is more accurate to describe it as a SOCIETY WITHOUT BOSSES.

## 1. The State:

### 1.1 Drawbacks to the State:

The majority of human beings live under some kind of dictatorship whether it be a tyrannical government or an undemocratic place of work or a domineering individual at home. Only a very few experience conditions of self-determination where they are able to use their creative powers to the full. Most people are stultified for much of their existence by the weight of authority above them. We live in a system plagued by the attempts of human beings to dominate one another. In many cases the individual is forced to accept consumer wealth as a surrogate for control over his or her own destiny.

The State is the ultimate top-down power structure which underpins a command society, where most people obey orders rather than contribute their own intelligence to decision-making, and as a result never realise their full potential as human beings.

"The System makes its morons, then despises them for their ineptitude and rewards its 'gifted few' for their rarity." (Colin Ward.)

Through its encouragement of patriarchal values such as obedience and patriotism, the State threatens the very existence of humankind by war. It threatens personal freedom and development by ever-encroaching controls over its subjects. The advent of new technologies of destruction (nuclear weapons) and social control (computers) makes the search for alternative social structures all the more urgent.

Although a parliamentary democracy may allow more participation than some of the alternatives, the system in practice is an elected dictatorship, where ordinary people can "choose between alternative labels on ruling elites" but have very little real self-determination.

### 1.2 Traditional justifications for the State:

Most political theorists argue that the state is necessary to provide SOCIAL GOODS (public goods). These are goods or services which are in the interest of society, but which are in no individual's interest to produce or where the use of market mechanisms would be too costly ("everybody's interest is nobody's business"). These might include:

1. Defence.
2. Law and Order - crime prevention, administration of justice, contract enforcement, public order.
3. Protection of the individual and property.

In addition a State might serve other functions beyond this "laissez-faire" minimum, for instance:

- Running Natural Monopolies-
  - Communications Networks (e.g. telephones, roads, railways, postal service),
  - Public Utilities (e.g. water, sewage, electricity supplies).
- Emergency Services.
- Environmental Management (e.g. conservation, pollution control, use of non-renewable resources, fish stocks).
- Education, Health, Welfare and Redistribution of Wealth.

Provision of a currency, economic planning, monetary and fiscal policies to promote growth and stabilise the business cycle.  
Research and Development.

## 1.3. The Origin of States:

Historically, States often arose from armed gangs or extended families, though there are examples developing from a body providing a social good such as defence, religion, food storage and redistribution or irrigation. Typically, over time, such an organisation would accumulate more power, would grow, and would become more centralised, exerting influence over a progressively wider sphere of economic and social activity. It would begin to compete with similar organisations, until it was established as the sole sovereign authority over a certain territory. Very few States have been established formally by means of a Social Contract involving the majority of the population in their respective territories, though many have come ultimately to possess some kind of Constitution.

## 2. Anarchy:

There is a broad range of anthropological evidence taken from studies on hunter-gatherer and early agricultural communities suggesting that much of humankind has lived in societies organised without States. (See "People Without Government" by Harold Barclay.) There have also been some interludes in recent history when large sections of society existed without state institutions e.g. Barcelona in the early part of the Spanish Civil War, America in 1776, the Ukraine in 1917 (the Makhnovists). Although these examples of Anarchy all occurred under war conditions when people may have behaved with more communal spirit, there are many examples of small-scale Anarchy operating during "normal" times of peace (see below).

### 2.1. Anarchist Theory:

Anarchists maintain that all public goods can be provided without the State, by topless federations. Most public goods can be produced by organisations more locally-based than at present. Anarchists would maintain that none of them require top-down dictatorial hierarchies. Nor do Anarchists see a need for a single sovereign authority. Different functions can be performed by different organisations or federations, all democratically controlled in a bottom-up fashion.

Central to Anarchist theory are the following beliefs:

- a) THE THEORY OF SPONTANEOUS ORDER: people naturally organise themselves into voluntary associations without any need for order to be imposed from above.
- b) MUTUAL AID: people are motivated by both self-interest and altruism to cooperate.
- c) PRINCIPLE OF REQUISITE VARIETY (from modern cybernetic theory): if stability is to be attained, then the variety of the controlling system must be at least as great as the variety of the system to be controlled. Conventional managerial ideas of organisation fail to satisfy this principle. Hierarchical top-down organisations are often fantastically inefficient. If information always has to flow through central bottlenecks in a bureaucracy then this is inevitable.

# ANARCHY AS A VIABLE SOCIAL

Anarchists envisage self-organising systems with considerable variety, redundancy and flexibility, characterised by:

- changing structure
- modification in the light of feedback from the environment
- complex interlocking control structures
- distributed learning and decision-making
- networks with direct links between nodes rather than indirect communication via a central bottleneck.

The Anarchist model of organisation has much in common with the new parallel processing network architectures that are being used in the newest generation of computers. There are also many similarities with the brain: a self-organising, parallel distributed network without any central control. There is no "boss" in the brain!

## 2.2. Organisations in an Anarchy.

These would include amongst others:

- a) Territorial - local councils, with an assembly which anyone within a certain area could attend. This would elect committees to perform certain functions. There would be no parties, no politicians, and instant recall of all committee members or representatives. Power would flow upwards, and issues would be discussed as they arose and by those concerned.
- b) Producers - all economic concerns would be workers cooperatives, where capital is paid a scarcity rent and the workers run the business.
- c) Credit - cooperative banks to act as shelter organisations for producer coops, providing capital, advice and planning, together with currency as a universal medium of exchange.
- d) Consumers - cooperatives for distribution and sale, and quality control. Others might include local crime prevention organisations, local militia for defence, road and rail associations, educational, housing and health organisations and similarly for all the other public goods. These various organisations to which most people would belong would be federated with analogous and homologous ones from different industries and regions to form a complex overlapping web, through which the economy and society could be coordinated on a wider scale. Economic federations would ensure contracts were honoured.

The emphasis would always be on

- Direct action
- Autonomy
- Bottom-up control
- Decentralisation
- Federation
- Ad hoc leadership

## 2.3. Examples of Anarchist modes of organising:

- a) Federations: e.g. international postal services, railways, broadcasting organisations which cooperate and coordinate their activities without central direction.
- b) Voluntary organisations providing a public good: charities like life-boat institutions, cancer research funds, Red Cross.
- c) Workers cooperatives: There are many examples of viable worker's coops- the Mondragon group (in the Basque Country) and many worker-managed firms in Yugoslavia are particularly successful. See "The Economic Theory of Cooperative Enterprise" (ed. Liam Kennedy), the "Cooperator's Handbook", "Economic Analysis of Producer Cooperatives" (F.H. Stephen), for more examples.
- d) Credit cooperatives: e.g. Co-operative Banks in Mondragon Group.
- e) Informal networks: e.g. groups such as CruiseWatch and others in the Peace Movements.

## 3. Conclusion:

There is an increasing amount of evidence that Anarchy could be a viable alternative to current social systems, which are threatening humankind with destruction and oppression.

It can be seen that many of the components for Anarchy already exist to a varying degree in many parts of the world. A gradual and experimental transition to Anarchy would not be too painful to initiate: there may be no need for a violent revolution. Anarchists are not interested in hijacking State Power, only in eroding it to bring about a society with true self-determination, a society without bosses, a society organised from the bottom up.

Anarchism is based on the belief that Liberty is the cause not the result of Order..

