

Big bombs and little bombs

ONE great disadvantage with which Anarchists have always had to cope is their reputation for being 'bomb-throwers'.

It was not, of course, a totally undeserved reputation, but it clung to the Anarchists long after most members of the movement considered the counter-productive effects of such 'propaganda by the deed' to outweigh any useful purpose.

What was that useful purpose anyway? Basically, the assassination of a tyrant must be considered 'A Good Thing' — except that the assassin was nearly always caught and suffered a nasty end — if he didn't blow himself up with his infernal machine before he got anywhere near the tyrant in the first place. So the score was one-one, with always another up-and-coming tyrant ready to step into the dead man's shoes.

It is always too easy to underestimate those ideas held by others which we think to be wrong. WE know how wrong are the royalists and loyalists, the patriots and nationalists, the religious moralists and fanatics of all kinds, the dictators and despots of all creeds and all shades of mistaken opinion, the misguided marxists and muslims, the crazy catholics and potty protestants — all those whose minds have been befuddled with obedience and servility in all its myriad forms.

Unfortunately they hold their opinions with the same devotion as we hold ours. Just as Anarchists are prepared to fight for their cause, so are they. So there is never a shortage of individuals ready to come forward and replace the murdered tyrant. Indeed, a martyr often helps their cause, for it highlights the perfidy

of whoever murdered their martyr, while imposing a kind of immortality upon the dead.

Nevertheless, if the victim *was* a tyrant there is some justification for the use of the phrase 'propaganda by the deed', for the deed itself has shown that even tyrants can be reached by the anger of their subjects.

Readers by now will have discerned a somewhat archaic flavour to our language in this article. 'Tyrant', 'Martyr'; are these not concepts which have virtually vanished with the later development of the 20th Century State?

Even the dictators of this century ruled through bureaucracies and secret police organisations of immense spread. Last to go in Western Europe was Franco, who died in his bed, having outstayed his welcome even among his own civilian bureaucracy, who have shown that a modern State does not need a charismatic leader, just as also has Russia since Stalin, Yugoslavia since Tito and China since Mao.

And how can you assassinate a State? How do you shoot a bureaucracy?

You obviously can't. All you can do, by the use of violence, is to pick off individuals, at whatever level in the State you can reach, and undermine confidence in the State's ability to protect its own servants.

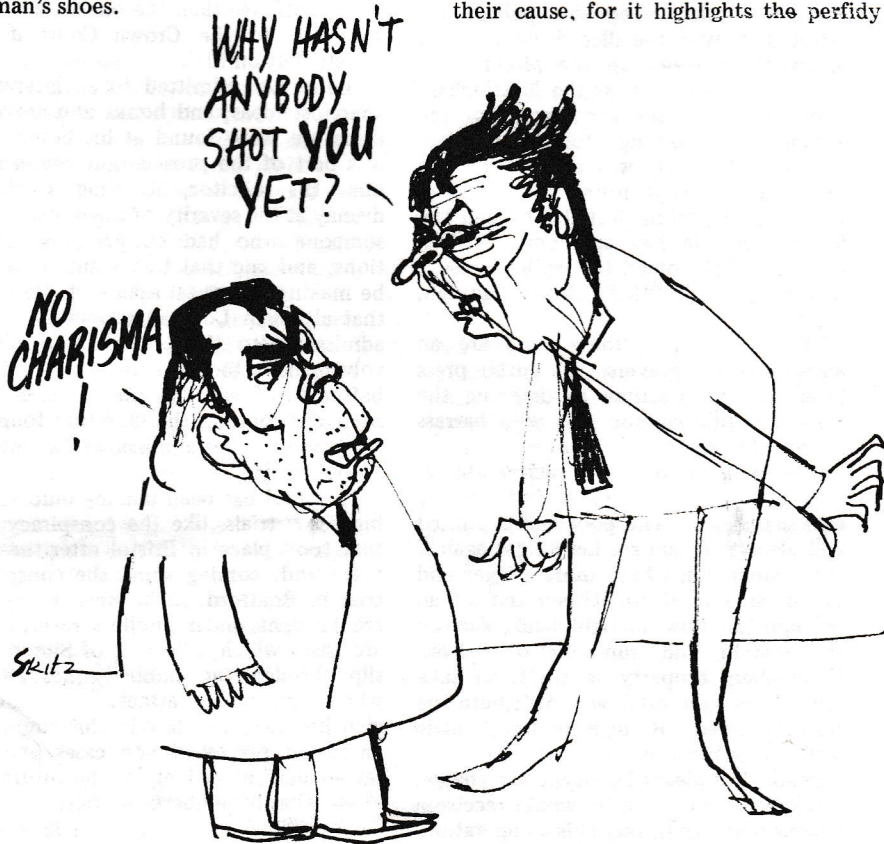
Which is not as easy as it sounds. The undermining bit, that is, for the enormous resources of the State (built up by robbing us blind every day of our working lives — and through taxing practically everything we buy!) enable it to buy loyalty, to commission confidence and, through control of the media, to denigrate its enemies and keep us all in ignorance of what they are fighting for.

The radio and television networks are forbidden to present interviews with the IRA, for example, although fictional programmes do occasionally get through — so all we know is about how many soldiers were killed today and how many bombs closed the centre of Belfast ... or London... but not really why.

While our 'respectable' capitalist press also does as it is told.

Now, quite frankly, we are not very interested in half of what the IRA is fighting for. That half is a United, (Catholic) Ireland.

The half we are interested in is seeing the British Army out of Ireland. To be frank, we would like the British Army



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BIG BOMBS AND LITTLE BOMBS

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out of Britain as well, and as anti-imperialists and anti-militarists we have always opposed the operation of British forces in other countries, *in our name*. Whether the other country be Cyprus, Kenya, Malaya, Egypt or Northern Ireland, our attitude is the same. Out! Let the people in those territories settle their own problems and run their own lives.

We have to say, however, that this presents certain problems in the case of Ireland. For the people are not united themselves. A majority of the population in Northern Ireland *want* the British to stay. They think of themselves as British! Some of them even want to be governed from Westminster!

As Anarchists we find this hard to understand. Living, as we do, within a bomb's throw of Westminster (well, given a mortar to throw it with), we resent like hell the notion that those creeps down there have the right to organise our lives.

One thing we do understand, however, is that launching a campaign of death and destruction upon our fellow-citizens would be just about the most unproductive thing we could do to persuade the British people that we were capable of creating a better world.

At this particular moment, there is a great and growing wave of revulsion against the kind of big bombs that could destroy the world. With a bit of luck it might be possible to extend that revulsion against the *authorities* that think in terms of destroying the world. By extension it may be on the cards that many more people than at present may see the connection between destroying the world and governing little bits of it in socially destructive ways.

Those who reject the essentially statist methods of destruction may well go on to question the whole destructive nature of the State — any and every State.

It is not really for us to advise a religious and nationalistic organisation like the IRA how to go about its business. But what we can say to it is that if they want to reach that part of the British people who are thinking about things today as they haven't thought for a generation — forget this bloody nonsense of indiscriminate bombing.

By luck last week you got a bomb expert. It could just as easily have been a woman with her child going for a Wimpy. That's a bad enough fate in itself without being blown up for a United Catholic Ireland.

You simply don't change ideas by bombs, big or little. We have learned that through our own identification with them over the years. You change ideas by changing ideas. Find a better way.

Simon Los: three years



FOR distributing 'inflammatory' literature Simon Los is now serving 3 years in prison. Another story about a Russian dissident? No. Simon Los, aged 18, was sentenced in Nottingham Crown Court on Tuesday 20th October, 1981. He was charged with 'Incitement to Riot' after he was arrested putting leaflets through letterboxes in an area of Nottingham which had been the trouble centre of the riots there.

In July, this year, following on from the riots elsewhere in England, there was rioting in the Hyson Green area of Nottingham. These events took place on a Friday and although there were a few other outbursts over that weekend, it was generally quiet after the police had arrested many of the alleged rioters. They appeared in court on the Monday, in what became known as the Nottingham Riot Courts. In the early hours of the Wednesday morning following these events Simon Los was arrested by the police as he went round flats in high rise blocks, putting leaflets through the letterboxes. He had apparently written out and photocopied the leaflet himself, which he had titled 'Burn, Babylon, Burn'.

The leaflet ran: 'these riots are an answer to our prayers. The gutter press have worked overtime in damning the riots and praising the pigs who harrass us on the streets The state is the source of all oppression, racism etc Governments come and go but nothing ever changes The poor and exploited will always remain so. Let's fight against the system. Let's have more, bigger and better riots in Hyson Green and set an example on how to fight back, destroy the system and run our own lives. Remember, property is theft, so take only what you need and distribute the rest.' It ended: 'Be high, be free, a little terror there must be.'

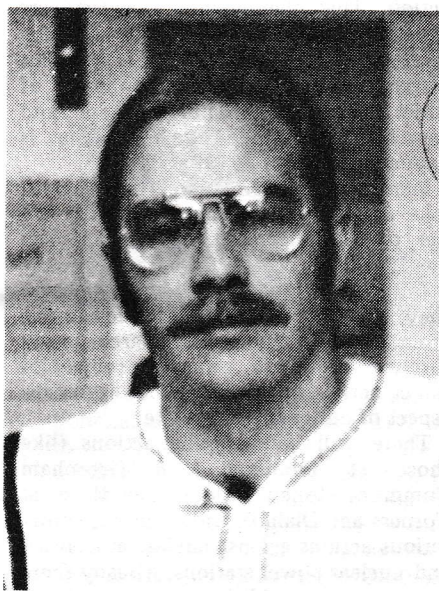
Simon Los pleaded guilty to the charge, thinking perhaps that he would receive a lenient sentence through his co-operation,

but he received a three year prison sentence. He was also sentenced to seven days to run concurrently, on a charge of theft. This related to some rubber stamps found in his possession when the police searched his home after his arrest. The stamps had apparently been taken from a magistrates court some time previously, when Los had gone as a spectator to the court. He was also accused (though never charged) with 'threatening behaviour', as the police alleged he made admissions, while being questioned, that he had in fact been involved in the riots on the Friday night. This accusation Simon Los denied, and would have contested, had he been charged with it. As this was a less serious offence than the one on which he was sent to the Crown Court it was merely 'left on file'.

Simon Los admitted to an interest in anarchist ideas, and books and anarchist literature were found at his home. This was part of the prosecution case against him. His solicitor, Mr King, expressed dismay at the severity of the sentence, for someone who had no previous convictions, and said that Los would definitely be making an appeal against it. He stated that although Los had supposedly made admissions to the police about his involvement in the riots, the only evidence before the Court was the leaflet he had been distributing, the literature found at his home and his admission of an interest in anarchism.

The state has been making much of its big show trials, like the conspiracy trial that took place in Bristol after the riots there and, coming soon, the conspiracy trial in Bradford. In between these that are brought under public scrutiny there are cases which, like that of Simon Los, slip through the publicity net and in which sly, savage attacks are made on civil liberties. The law in this country is based on precedent and cases like this set an ugly precedent for the future and erode what little liberty we have.

IRIS MILLS



Love and Rage

AS you probably know, Carl Harp, a revolutionary anarchist prisoner, was found hanging in his segregation cell, 5th September, 1981. There was known to have been a contract put on his life by the guards at the Washington State Penitentiary. People there said that he was alive when found, but died shortly afterwards. Those who knew Carl well insist he was murdered. The State immediately claimed suicide. An inquest was held on 14th October.

Carl sent out at least two letters to friends outside the day he was killed. He talked about feeling strange vibrations towards him from others inside — but couldn't pinpoint it. He had a feeling something serious was coming up. But he wasn't prepared to give up, and talked

about fighting back. In both letters, he wrote about upcoming events concerning him, such as some action in support of a parole. Also discussed was the next, the tenth, issue of the *Anarchist Black Dragon*, and getting back to general population. (If any of you have received a letter from Carl dated in September, please send us a copy.)

Several days before black militant, Benny Washington, was supposed to have been killed during a melee in the cafeteria. Benny was said to have been one of three prisoners along with Carl on a hit list from fascist guards known as either the Washington Cowboys or the Aryan Brotherhood. Fortunately, he got wind of the hit and avoided chow.

The inquest was a virtual farce. A couple of days after Carl's death, coroner Ames declared his death a suicide. At the inquest run by Ames his wife, Ann, asked the witnesses all the questions. Harp's side wasn't allowed to. Ames personally picked the jury — they were his friends.

Two prisoners testified under oath. Willy Butler, a prisoner in a cell beside Carl's said the tier was so noisy that if anyone had entered Carl's cell and beaten him up, he wouldn't have been able to hear. John Bosch, a close comrade of Carl's insisted that Carl was murdered by the State for his political activity. He also talked about a hit squad from the guards, and his last communications with Carl, which indicated anything but suicide. (Ames brought Bosch to the inquest fooled into thinking he would support a suicide view.)

The pathologist impressed people as being senile. He couldn't identify Carl from the photographs, and said the only wounds he found were injuries to his wrists and throat. He didn't produce toxology reports to determine if Carl was drugged because; 'We haven't received them yet.' (5 weeks after being sent ...?) It took two days to find the razor blades that slashed his wrists — hidden under the mattress and in the garbage.

The two guards who were supposed to be guarding Carl's tier were off in the kitchen getting food for other guards when Carl supposedly committed suicide. So, the verdict was of course — suicide.

Susan Waymire, Carl's widow, is thinking of pressing a wrongful death suit against the State. When Carl confirmed that there was a contract out on him, and entered Protective Custody, the Sergeant in Charge refused to allow him to stay. So he stayed in Segregation where he was more vulnerable.

The only thing left to do is avenge his murder and continue the struggle. People must decide for themselves what to do. Calls from London told of demonstrations outside the US Embassy and jamming the in phone lines with calls. In Seattle, the Revolutionary Communist Party has undertaken a mass petition against the murder and the prison. Obviously, the concern about the murder of an anarchist prisoner goes beyond sectarian barriers — the issue is State torture and murder.

More immediate is the critical situation facing prisoners in Walla Walla, Washington. Shane Green, an ex-comrade of Carl, is trying to save his life by getting transferred in State to a Federal Penitentiary. We have been unable to get word about the current situation of Benny Washington.

Any protests in support of these militants would be crucial. We can only urge you to write letters to the 'authorities' demanding 1) the immediate transfer of Robert Shane Green 628148 out of Walla Walla to a Federal Pen in State, 2) the effective protection of Benny Washington and other prisoners threatened by prison staff, 3) the removal of all guards associated with a hit squad, the Aryan Brotherhood, and all those originally fired in 1979 for brutalizing Carl Harp and other segregation prisoners and later reinstated, 4) an immediate and complete investigation into the guards at the prison.

Send these letters to: Amos Reed, Director of Adult Corrections, Olympia WA 98504; Governor John Spellman, Olympia, WA 98504; Prison Supt Kastema, PO Box 520, Walla Walla, WA 99362.

For more information, or if you have more information for us; Susan Waymire, c/o United Family and Friends of Prisoners, PO Box 22094, Seattle, WA 98122 and Solidarity Committee, CP 2, Succ La Cite, Montreal Que H2W2M9, Canada.

WILDCAT

Anarchy is when every individual has absolute sovereignty over himself.

'himself'?
Women don't count, then??



Anarchy is when every individual has absolute sovereignty over himself or herself.

I see...
Women second, as usual!!



Anarchy is when every individual has absolute sovereignty over herself or himself.

Reverse sexism. Putting men second.



Anarchy is when every individual has absolute sovereignty over ~~himself~~ ~~herself~~ ~~themselves~~ ~~whom~~.

Not clear...
Sovereignty over whom??



CND: Tasks for Anarchists

AT a time when the new movement for nuclear disarmament is not only as large as the old one, which was shown by the CND demonstration in October 1980, but larger than the old one, which has been shown by the CND demonstration in October 1981, anarchists are faced with two urgent tasks — the negative task of avoiding a destructive attitude to the movement, and the positive task of taking a constructive part in the movement.

A destructive attitude to the movement is obviously tempting, in view of its contradictory coalition of varieties of Marxists (from the old-fashioned Stalinists to new-fangled 'libertarians') and Labourists (from traditional fellow-travellers to equally traditional populists), Liberals and Social Democrats, Christians and humanists, pacifists and ecologists, feminists and trade-unionists. Indeed all these tendencies need rigorous and rational criticism. But nothing will be gained for our cause by written or

shouted abuse, by indiscriminate heckling of speakers, or by deliberate disruption of demonstrations. It is easy to say that marches alone will not alter anything, that constitutional methods will not achieve anything, that the Bomb will not be abolished; it is much harder to alter something, to achieve something, to begin to abolish the State.

Anarchists should always be respectable — not in the sense of demanding respect from our enemies, but in the sense of deserving respect from our friends. Hundreds of anarchists were present and hundreds of anarchist papers were sold at the enormous demonstration on 24 October; but what impression will the other hundreds of thousands of people there have gained about anarchist ideas and behaviour?

A constructive part in the movement is especially important when more and more new people are not only turning to the policy of unilateral disarmament but also turning to various kinds of direct

action. This phenomenon twenty years ago was a significant contribution to the revival of the formal anarchist movement in particular and to the development of wider libertarian currents in general; and anarchists should be aware of what is happening again.

Many anarchists may well not want to take part in even the most radical activities of the nuclear disarmament movement, either because they are already involved in other activities, or because they are not interested in nuclear disarmament. But many other anarchists will surely want to join a new movement of direct action against the most aggressive aspect of our enemy the State.

There will be symbolic actions (like those at Luxulyan and Greenham Common), token actions (like those at Torness and Diablo), and eventually more serious actions against nuclear arms bases and nuclear power stations. Already there are moves to establish local, regional and national networks to consider ideas and coordinate plans. Already there are groups of mainly young and largely inexperienced people working things out for themselves, showing no respect for leaders and organisers and no interest in dogmas or ideologies.

Whatever we do, there will be anarchist movement in this revival; but shouldn't we do what we can to make it move faster and further than last time?

N W

STATE TERROR and the Anarchists

THE nuclear bomb is the ultimate consequence of the way human beings run their affairs and until those that are against the nuclear society realise this all the effort being put into the anti-nuclear movement will be lost.

The previous large surge of the CND in Great Britain declined just because appeals to political leaders are of no avail, and those who give lip service to it as a means to popularity rapidly discard it when they have the reins of power. This frustration was reflected in the growth of the Direct Action Movement and the Committee of 100 in the vast disobedience actions of the early '60s. This was a step in the right direction and many began to question the total fabric of the society which had created such a frankenstein edifice in our midst.

There is no political party today that is committed to change society so as to make the growth of such cancerous power centres impossible. There are CND groups in the Labour Party, in the Liberal

Party, in that ragbag known as the SDP and even I believe in the Tory Party. The Communist Party believes in the Soviet Bomb. Attlee was the father of the British Bomb produced in secret even from parliament and presented as an accomplished fact to the British public. To believe that any of the parties will or can (given their adherence to state power) relinquish the ultimate in state power — the bomb — is to lead to disillusionment as before when the previous great movement pinned its faith on the Labour Party. The bomb is a symptom not a cause, a symptom of a condition of society where people leave the social organisation of society in the hands of a few powerful international companies and governments.

The corrupting influence of power must be self evident as a succession of politicians pay lip service to nuclear disarmament and discard it as power comes within grasp. The delegation of power is a dangerous thing; where individual presence is impractical, the decisions should never be relinquished — there is a vast difference between delegation and

representation. All important decisions both in the West and East about peace and war and economic matters and whether to declare war are taken by a tiny group of people. The war machine both in the East and West bestows immense profits and privilege on such a tiny group.

The cause of war is a social consequence of authoritarian society. The coercive nature of the state and its role in all modern societies should be closely questioned. The technology that produces the bomb and the other ecological and resource destroying aspects of it is very different to the technology that serves human needs and aspirations.

What Kropotkin said of the state in 1896 is truer today than it was then:

But after such a complete failure, and in the light of such a pitiful experiment, there are those who still insist in telling us that the conquest of powers in the State by the people, will suffice to accomplish the social revolution! — that the old machine, the old organism, slowly developed in the course of history to crush freedom, to crush the individual, to establish oppression on a legal basis, to create monopolists, to lead minds astray by accustoming them to servitude — will lend itself perfectly to its new functions: that it will become the

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Sexism in the peace movement



IN Peggy Duff's Dedication to her 1971 political autobiography *Left, Left, Left*, the redoubtable fighter for peace and socialism wrote that 'this book is ... most of all for the Aldermaston Marchers, whom I loved — I wonder where they've gone?' As those who attended the unprecedented, 250,000 strong CND-March and rally here in London yesterday (October 24) can attest, the old generation of anti-nuclear Ban the Bomb marchers are alive and protesting again, after a Rip Van Winkle slumber or hiatus of almost 20 years.

Of course, in several important respects, things have changed since Peggy (whom I was privileged to know and work with in her last years; she died in April at the age of 71), together with Bertrand Russell and Canon Collins, organised and inspired the big CND marches and rallies of the late '50s and early sixties. With the creation of the European Disarmament Campaign (END) and the revival of the British CND in the past 18 months, the old generation has been joined by two more; the anti-Vietnam war protest generation (mine), now in its mid-thirties, and a third, younger generation (from 15-25), who know virtually nothing about the campaigns and issues fought by either of its generational predecessors.

While the CND's membership has grown from three to thirty thousand in the past year (with an estimated additional 500,000 non-member supporters throughout the country), in one essential respect nothing much has changed in the CND and other Peace organisations since Peggy's time. If anything, since Peggy's death, things are now worse. I'm referring to the male-controlled character of the Movement as a whole, and of CND's leadership in particular. Yesterday's March and Rally in Hyde Park was a good demonstration of this fact.

If men dominated the politics and organisations of the original Peace Movement, the striking fact about Ban the Bomb rallies and protests throughout the world in the last year or so has been the initiative taken by 'ordinary' women in protesting against the nuclear arms race. From the 'No More Toys For The Boys' march on the Pentagon in Washington last November, the Peace March in July from Copenhagen to Paris, to the Women's groups in Holland, West Germany and

Britain, it has been women who've been providing the bodies, energy and grassroots action against the horrors of nuclear war.

At yesterday's March too, more than half the marchers were women (a fact which transcends and isn't explainable in terms of the three generations model sketched above). Despite this, the unprecedented commitment of women to a nuclear-free future has yet to be incorporated into and expressed in the leadership, politics, structure and style of the CND.

If we set aside the female representative of the Greater London Council and the impersonators of The Queen and Mrs Thatcher, three of the Hyde Park speakers were women — Australian child doctor and anti-nuclear campaigner Helen Caldicott, Anne Pettit of the Cardiff Women For Life on Earth group and Annajoy David, representing CND youth. These were three of the most interesting and valuable speakers yesterday. Yet the way they were incorporated into the list of male speakers (E P Thompson, Michael Foot, (Lord) Fenner Brockway, Tony Benn ... male speaker after speaker) and their treatment by the Rally's Chairman, tells us much about the male chauvinist character of the Peace Movement's leadership.

It's not just that three women were included in this fashion, sandwiched for variety between the male speakers. Just as important is the way the men on the platform running the show treated them. CND General Secretary, Bruce Kent, for example, introduced Helen Caldicott as 'Originally a child doctor, but a fine woman' — in spite of that fact. The patronising arrogance of this stayed with me throughout Caldicott's fine speech:

'How many world leaders, beginning with Reagan and Brezhnev have ever seen a baby born or a child die?; how many of them can imagine devastation, deaths and suffering caused by nuclear bombs....?'

None of the papers next day saw fit to quote from Caldicott's speech, or even mention that she was there. Indeed, the only reference to any of the women speakers was to Annajoy David in the *Sunday Times*; she 'matched a penetrating cockney passion with a suit of loud tartan'. (As though her accent or dress had anything to do with the cogency of her remarks.) Passionate, David's insistence that young people refuse to allow adults (men) to play the game of nuclear death with their lives certainly was. The men running the rally gave every impression of embarrassed condescension.

This impression was reinforced when Anne Pettit spoke. It wasn't just Pettit's strong language as she told us how four women from her Cardiff Women For Life on Earth peace marchers have (on a rota basis) chained themselves to the fence at the main gates of the US-run RAF base at Greenham Common, Berkshire, one of 125 such American military bases in Britain. (Ignored by the media, the chained women and Pettit's peace group at Greenham Common have been at it for over a month. They plan to stay there throughout the winter, indefinitely.)

What seemed to disturb the Rally's Chairman most was the uncompromising character of Pettit's message: men have caused the problem of war and ever-increasing threat of nuclear armageddon; only women, working with men where possible, by themselves where necessary, have the vision, guts and energy necessary to solve it. What was most threatening to the male-dominated leadership of CND, I believe, was Pettit's demand that women can and should play a far greater role in the politics and leadership of the anti-nuclear movement, 'The system we are up against is truly evil; believe me, lovers, brothers and children, we (women) are like terriers with a rat between our teeth, and we are not going to let go until we win.'

As I listened to the moving words of this courageous woman — what a contrast to the bombast of Foot and the polished calculated speech by Benn — I thought of Peggy Duff, and wondered what she would have made of it all, had she still been alive and fighting. Peggy called herself a socialist, rather than a feminist. But she would, I think, have recognised in Anne Pettit the spirit of the Aldermaston Marchers she herself had so embodied, loved and lamented.

Women by themselves may be unable to win the battle for a nuclear-free future. But unless the Peace Movement's leadership incorporates the anti-sexist fighting spirit of Anne Pettit and all the women she represents into its practice, it is doomed to chauvinist impotence.

JULIE SOUTHWOOD

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

DEBATING ON

Dear FREEDOM,

As someone who has only recently come to take a personal interest in anarchism I've been surprised at the lack of articles by anarchists to be found on the subject of feminism/women. Having come to anarchism academically (like many today from what I can gather), I soon concluded anarchism to be the oft quoted doctrine of the absurd as regards large scale social change. Having said that I have not found myself in agreement with those critics who, though not without some anarchist sympathy, consider it to have nothing significant to contribute to socialist theory except for its critiques of authoritarian socialism and the dangers of bureaucratization — in other words nothing positive.

It appears to me that it is just where anarchism can make most sense that it has had very little to offer, ie as regards the relations of women and men, women and women and men and men. For an 'ism' that concerns itself so rightly with the individual it is incredible that so little writing is to be found on personal relations — surely the basis of any useful social theory. Yet there is a bulk of literature to be found on themes like the State. I'm not dismissing this literature at all for I know its point of reference is forever the individual and free human relationships. The point must be that to get any revolutionary change going any amount of revolutionizing and talk of disposing of the State and Capital will make little real headway. Whereas on a personal level we can begin to do something ourselves ... and then who knows ... talk of freedom can be pretty infectious. And this isn't just to beat out an old argument on the impracticalities of a large scale revolutionary programme — which we couldn't do without either.

In her 'Reply' I think Carol Saunders is nearest my point. After many readings of Iris Mills' piece the effect was to increase my own sense of alienation and hopelessness, despite this I did agree with much of what she said. But the validity of her remarks does not excuse the practical inadequacy of her position. This theorising on an iceberg just fogs up any revolutionary potential there is. Didn't Bakunin say something like that about Marx. And if we are to follow out the implications of what Iris Mills is saying then her hope for free human relationships will not come through pricking the conscience of individuals at women's meetings (and I don't pretend that this is ever the whole answer) etc, but by having a few leaders who know best and can implement all these revolutionary notions from above. Is that what we want anarchism to stand for? The dangers are obvious.

And yes, I too, to quote IM, 'maintain that human beings and human relationships cannot be free until the oppression of the state and capital is destroyed and a classless society is created. Nothing less will do.' And I want things to move more quickly toward that goal, but all those comments on the current nature of women's and sisterhood groups are asking people to jump over their own shadows. If things can be sorted out on this personal level then anarchism will not for long have to hear the criticism of it being the doctrine of the absurd as regards its wildest implications. And the desire of Iris Mills for a women's movement of revolutionary implications will be all the more near a reality. Iris Mills has raised the crucial question of women's role in revolutionising society but the implications of what she is saying, if not her answer, will I believe leave all but the most austere of anarchists in the cold. I stand to be corrected.

Yours,
BRIAN J DUNN

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

ADULTISM

Dear FREEDOM,

I am currently researching into 'adultism' — ways in which children are subjugated by older people at home in the family, by teachers at school and by those responsible for providing child care in residential establishments.

I wrote to you a few issues ago and you very aptly headed the letter 'legal child abuse'. This is exactly my framework. I am particularly interested in the thin line between punishment and ill-treatment and any material I gather will be providing the background for a book I am writing which will hopefully expose what lies behind the veneer which masks the violence in most of the institutions children are subjected to.

Already I have documented proof that even where this is exposed and berated by experts in the establishment the rot does not simply go away but lies dormant for a while until the heat cools off. I hope to show that our 'peaceful' society actually has its roots in some extreme forms of violence that you and your readers are obviously familiar with but which renders most of the population into ostriches.

I would be interested to hear from any of your readers who may be able to provide me with concrete information either as a consumer or as a passive observer.

Yours fraternally,
ALAN

Bristol.

Please contact Box 444,
Freedom,
84b Whitechapel High Street,
London E1.

STATE TERRORISM

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instrument, the framework for the germination of a new life, to found freedom and equality on economic bases, [for] the destruction of monopolies, the awakening of society and towards the achievement of a future of freedom and equality!

What a sad and tragic mistake!

The State its Historic Role,
Freedom Press.

What is the alternative to what is known as the warfare state? The political parties are geared to capture it and having captured it become hostages of the institution.

The principle of free cooperative social

organisation is evident even now at many levels in society. Anarchists wish to extend this to every level and abolish those coercive elements in human society that prop up its property and class basis and have ultimately led to the prospect of nuclear annihilation.

Is this so impossible? On the collapse of the Spanish Government in 1936 in the worst of all possible situations there grew a remarkable social phenomenon — virtually ignored by the left, misrepresented by the Stalin dominated communists and destroyed by the inaction of the democracies.

What happened in the half of Spain free from occupation in the months following the military uprising is unique in the annals of contemporary

social history. Yet the collectives are still largely unknown, or written off as failures, or denounced as authoritarian systems imposed by the anarchist militia, and it is significant that their detractors have at no time made a serious effort to examine the considerable material available on the subject.

Collectives in the Spanish Revolution
Freedom Press.

The A in the circle is now everywhere, perhaps the idea will be followed by understanding and society free of its coercive element will be followed by a society free from all weapons of mass destruction. This is the point anarchists wish to make to all marching against nuclear weapons.

ALAN ALBON

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

SOVIET
COMMUNISM

Dear Comrades,

Many thanks for publishing my letter on Soviet Communism. I should point out an error in the paragraph on El Salvador, which, as printed, doesn't make sense. What I actually said was that, horrible as El Salvador is, the American people are free to protest against it. The Soviet peoples are not free to protest against the invasion of Afghanistan or indeed against anything else.

A brief postscript: did you note that this year the Labour Party invited to its Brighton Conference fraternal delegates from the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union (for the first time ever!), from Czechoslovakia, and from Poland.

These 'comrades' in turn entertained the entire Labour Party National Executive and other Party big shots to a dinner in Brighton. A small protest demonstration outside the hotel met with shame-faced embarrassment from Michael Foot, contempt from James Callaghan and belligerence from Party Chairman, Alex Kitson, better known to his friends as 'Radio Moscow'.

JANET LAWRENCE

London SE5

GET TOGETHER

Hello Comrades,

With regard to Cliff M Poxton's letter in FREEDOM dated 10th October, 1981, where he stated his view that it was about time all the anarchists in the globe were brought together by some means, I would just like to say that I agree with him entirely. Just like the Hull anarchists said at the start of the aforementioned issue of FREEDOM — 'Unity is Strength' — as surely all the separate anarchist groups dotted about all over the world can only benefit from being brought together in some way. The bringing together of anarchists everywhere is, in fact, one of the aims of the recently established anarchist youth federation, another aim was, by bringing anarchists together, to get a lot more direct action organised so that the day when we finally break the system down will be nearer. After all it's about time we became more active as we'll change nothing by sitting around on our arses, will we?

But anyway, in the meantime keep the FREEDOMs coming.

Organise! Demonstrate! Participate!

PEAT

Stevenage.

CND RALLY 1

Fraternal Greetings from an Armchair Theorist,

I was there, in Hyde Park on Saturday 24th and delighted to see so many black flags (not so many red and black ones though). I was there, up the front by the rostrum, and shared with the bearers of the black flags the feelings of impatience and scepticism at the utterings of politicians. But why did they have to be begged to be quiet to listen in silence to a survivor of Hiroshima? Why did they keep up their incessant chant of BOOR-ing, BOOR-ing, BOOR-ing whilst other speakers were at the microphone, and then, when (presumably one of their own number) was — unfairly — hustled off the stage, set up the chant of FREE SPEECH, FREE SPEECH?

It seems somewhat ironic, to say the least, that from where I was standing, their chants threatened to deny the right of free speech to others, a right which they later demanded for themselves. Personally, I would have been glad to have given my attention to what the young man was trying to say — the fragment I caught was that we should achieve nothing by merely marching; a sentiment that was nowhere echoed in the speeches that followed. But if you demand free speech for yourselves you must always concede that right to others. When I was but a nipper and first learned about Anarchism, I was always taught that for every right there is an equal and opposite responsibility — has it all changed? Or am I just a middle-aged wrinkle?

Yours fraternally,
PAT THORNE.

Bristol.

CND RALLY 2

Dear Friends,

I wish to share some thoughts with you, which I have had since Saturday's CND march. Despite Anarchist criticisms both of CND and of ritualised marches the event on 24th October was of major importance. Anarchists have always played a major role in campaigns for peace and disarmament, and by their principled stand have won many converts from the ranks of the 'non-political' demonstrators. We have succeeded in showing many people that our analysis goes further than that of CND or the Labour party; attacking not one specific manifestation of hierarchy, but all hierarchical systems. Our call for Direct Action against the military is beginning to be listened to.

However, what was the Anarchist

presence in Hyde Park on the 24th? The suggestion of a united Anarchist contingent that could perhaps instigate or achieve something came to nothing. Small groups stood isolated in the huge crowd and waved their pathetic black flags. A larger group assembled by the stage, and by their continuous and indiscriminate heckling, led the vast majority of the 200,000 crowd to believe that Anarchists are all senseless idiots. Some comrades tried to sell FREEDOM and Xtra, but after the Anarchist farce by the stage, they not surprisingly didn't sell too many.

Unless we can transcend this sort of pitiful showing, Anarchists are destined to remain a misunderstood group on the eccentric lunatic fringe of politics. Positive and constructive methods for Anarchist groups to use within disarmament campaigns were discussed at the Oxford conference: when are we going to start using them?

A COMRADE

Glasgow Bookshop Collective.

CND RALLY 3

Dear Comrades,

At the big nuclear disarmament rally, a group of people carrying anarchist banners appeared to be trying to shout down the CND speakers. They failed of course, because the CND had all the megaphones; but the barrage chanting presumably had some tactical objective. What was it? I have considered various alternatives, but none I can think of seem to fit.

To expose the faults of the speakers? No, because the chanters could not hear the speakers. When Michael Foot said that translating the demand for nuclear disarmament into action meant getting Labour back into power, derisive hoots were clearly called for. There were none, because the anarchists near the platform were chuntering too loud to hear what Foot was saying.

To draw attention to the anarchist presence? No, because the anarchist banners were well placed and clearly visible to marchers and TV cameras, and those who could not see would certainly make no sense of the noise.

To persuade CND to include anarchist speakers on their next platform? No, because such behaviour was calculated to reinforce the prejudice within CND that anarchists are incoherent yobs with nothing sensible to say.

So will one of the chanters please explain, what was the point? I ask for information.

DONALD ROOM

London.

FREEDOM CONTACTS

INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRALIA

AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY
Research and Resources Centre for Libertarian Politics and Alternative Life-Styles, 7/355 Northmore Ave, Lyneham, ACT 2602.

NEW SOUTH WALES
Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jura Books Collective, 417 King St, Newtown, NSW 2042.

QUEENSLAND
Libertarian Socialist Organisation, PO Box 268, Mount Gravatt, Central 4122.
Self-Management Organisation, PO Box 332, North Quay.

VICTORIA
La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRG, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083.
Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash University, Clayton, 3168 Melbourne.
Libertarian Workers for a Self Managed Society, PO Box 20, Parkville 3052.
Treason, Box 37, Brunswick East, Victoria, 3057.
Chummy Fleming Bookshop, 26 Regent Arcade, 210 Toorak Rd, South Yarra (Libertarian Workers shop).

WESTERN AUSTRALIA
Freedom Collective, PO Box 14, Mount Hawthorn 6016.
Libertarian Resource Centre, PO Box 203, Fremantle 6160.

TASMANIA
c/o 34 Kennedy St, Launceston 7250.

NEW ZEALAND

PO Box 2042, Auckland.
PO Box 22, 607 Christchurch.
Daybreak Bookshop, PO Box 5424, Dunedin.

CANADA

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver BC.
Wintergreen/AR, PO Box 1294, Kitchener, Ontario, N2G 4G8.
Black Cat Press, PO Box 11261, Edmonton, Alberta.

USA

ARIZONA
Malicious Hooligans (anti-nuclear) 1110 W 2nd St, Tempe, AZ 85281.

CALIFORNIA
Autonomy, PO Box 1751, San Francisco, CA 94101.
Libertarian Anarchist Coffee-house, meets last Sunday each month at Cafe Commons, 3161 Mission St, San Francisco.

MISSOURI
Columbia Anarchist League, PO Box 380, Columbia, Missouri 65201.

NEW YORK
Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, GPO New York, NY 10012
SRAFF/Freespace Alternative U, 339 Lafayette St, New York City, NY 10012.

TEXAS
Houston SRAFF, South Post Oak Station, PO Box 35253, Houston TX 77035.

MINNESOTA
Soil of Liberty, Box 7056 Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, Minn 55407.

OREGON
Portland Anarchist Centre, 313 East Burnside, Portland, Oregon 97205, USA.

WESTERN EUROPE

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
Schwarzer Gockler (Black Cock-erel), c/o A Muller, Postfach 4528, 7500 Karlsruhe.
Graswurzel (Grass roots) c/o W Hertle, Grozerschippsee 28, 21 Hamburg 90.
Schwarzer Faden (Black Thread) Obere Wiebermarktstr 3, 741 Reutlinge Libertad Verlag, 6br Schmuck, Postfach 153, 1000 Berlin 44.

AUSTRIA
Liberte, Postfach 86, 1033 Wien.
Monte Verita, Neustiftgasse 33, 1070 Wien.

FRANCE
Federation anarchiste française, 3 Ternaux, 75011, Paris (Groups throughout France).
Union Anarchiste, 9 rue de l'Ange, 63000 Clermont Ferrand.

ITALY
Autogestione, Casella Postale 17127, 1-20100 Milano.
Grupp Hem Day, Giovanni Tra-pani, CP6130, Roma-Prati.

BELGIUM
Revolutionair Anarchistes Kol-lectief (RAK), Oudborg 47, 9000 Gent.

HOLLAND
De Vrije, Postbus 6103, Gronin-gen.
Anarchistiese Boekhandel Slager-zicht (Anarchist Bookshop), Folk-ingestraat 10, Groningen.

DENMARK
Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bog-cape, Mejlgade 48, 8000 Aarhus.
Rainbow Anarchists of the Free City of Christiana, c/o Allan Anarchos, Tinghuset, Fristaden Christiana, 1407 Copenhagen.
Anarkistisk Bogcape, Rosenborg-gade 12, 1130 Kobenhavn K.
Tel (01) - 12 26 82.

NORWAY
ANORG, Høxtvedtv, 31B, 1431 As. (Publish 'Folkeblad' 4 times a year.)

SWEDEN
Syndikalist Forum, Tenstiernas Gata 51, 11631-Stockholm.
Syndikalistiskt Forum (anarcho-synd bookshop), Husagatans 5, 41302 Gothenburg (tel 031 132504).

FINLAND
Anarkistiryhma, c/o Terttu Pesonen, Neljas Linja 14 D 83, 00530 Helsinki 53.

KEVIN DOYLE from Cork, please contact E McNabb, JUST BOOKS, 7 Winetavern Street, Belfast. Tel 25426.

AUTONOMY CENTRE *URGENT!*

SPECIAL MEETING
to discuss
FUTURE!

Friday 6 Nov 7.30pm

Autonomy Centre
01 Warehouse
Metropolitan Wharf
Wapping Wall
London E1
Tel 481 - 3537

CHRISTOPHER DAVIS APPRECIATION SOCIETY

Thursday November 12th - Disco
8pm - Members 75p
Non-members £1.00

At The New Inn, Moseley Road,
Birmingham.

DESIRES

I would be interested to enter into correspondence with any readers who have experience of a hierarchy where the management function has prevented the organisation from achieving its goals; whereas if the boss/foreman/supervisor/head of section had just kept out of the way the people actually doing the job would have functioned much better, as I think it is the best practical argument for anarchism.

Alex Moir, 2 Ladds Way, Swanley, Kent BR8 8HW.

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EDINBURGH CONFERENCE

WE have now fixed a date and venue for the conference. The date is to be the 7th and 8th November. The venue is the Carlton Centre, Montgomery Street, Edinburgh. Here is a provisional agenda for the two days. Please get back to us with your comments on it soon.

SATURDAY

11.30 - 1.30 Lunch
1.30 - ? What's been happening this year in Scotland - reports from groups.
What might happen next year - Scottish co-ordination.
5.00 Dinner
7.00 Open film - 'Blow for Blow' - Fictional reconstruction of occupation by women of a French textile factory.

Not forgetting the compulsory Saturday night social! BYOB and have a good time.

SUNDAY

11.00 - 12.00 Practical workshops.
1. Co-ops
2. Working with the unemployed.
3. Community newspapers.
Lunch and reports on workshops.
12.00 Discussion/tactical workshops.
1.00 - 2.00 1. Fascism and racism - what's the connection? monitoring fascist and racist activity in our areas - how do we work to counter this?
2. Sexual politics.
3. Anti-nuclear -pro alternative? -what tactics should we use?
2.30 Reports on workshops.
3.00 SLF - its function, has it got one? co-ordination, newsletter.

At night there will be a play 'Gotcha' by Barry Keefe for and by Edinburgh Anarchists and any one else who wants to stay
Accommodation is available (bring a sleeping bag). Try and let us know if you'll be coming, and if you need creche facilities, accomodation etc. Anything discussed, and food provided. Also there will be a bookstall and creche.
Also it would be appreciated if you could contribute some money to our costs, the venue itself is £15 and the film £25. Any small sum will be gratefully accepted.
All communications to:
Box 1921, c/o First of May, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh.

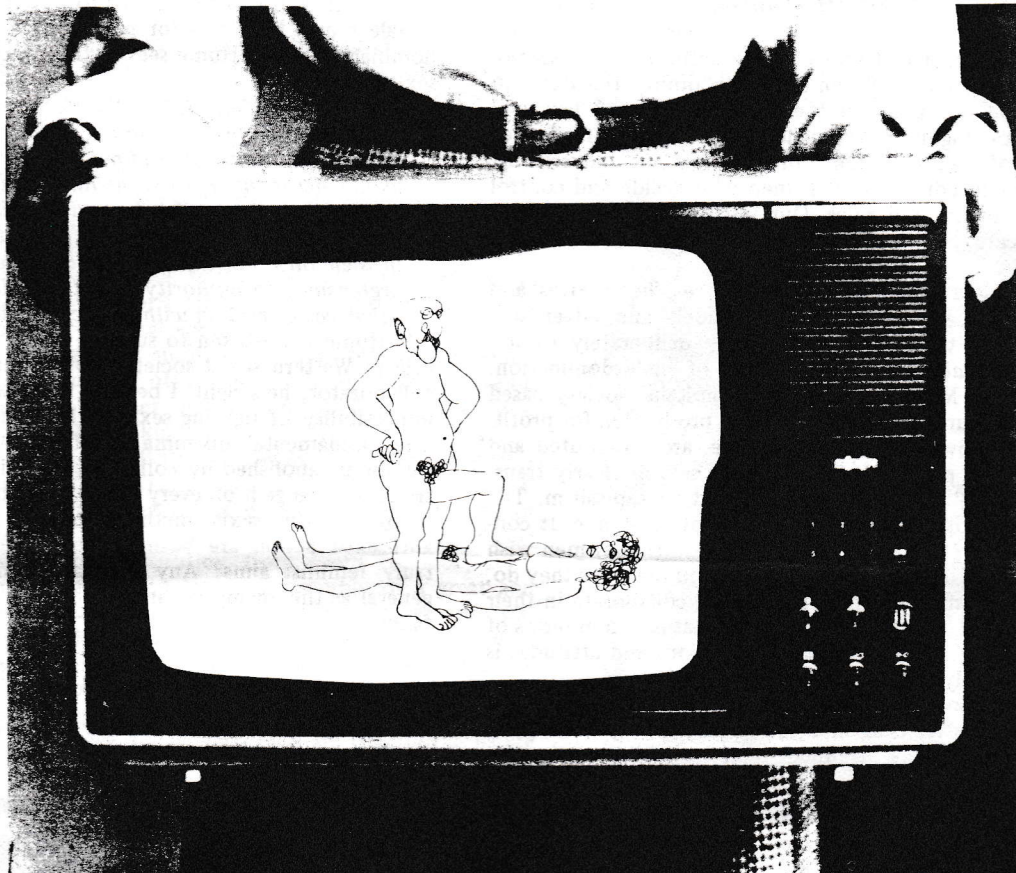
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Combatting Sexism



'HOW soon after you were dropped in Yugoslavia were you able to discover that Tito was in fact a real person and not, as some thought, a woman?' (Sue MacGregor talking to Sir Fitzroy Maclean on BBC Radio 4.) This is one of 300 examples of male sexist attitudes to women in *Naked Ape**, an anthology collected and reprinted from the *Guardian* Women's Page. But isn't the very idea — let alone institution — of a Women's Page sexist? Feminists themselves are not above sexism. Consider the feminist graffiti (p 53) in reply to the car ad: 'If it (photo of car) were a lady, it would get its bottom pinched' — 'If this lady was a car she'd run you down.' How can women (not to mention anti-sexist men) combat prevailing forms and attitudes of male domination, without directly or indirectly collaborating in their reproduction? What are the most effective and principle means of achieving a society of free and equal human beings?

Clearly, one can begin to address and grapple with the contradictions involved only after appreciating the existence, nature and dimensions of the problem. For attempting to shock women (and men) into an awareness of their collaboration in the whole system of 'un-

conscious' sexist attitudes to women (p 5), Liz Forgan (originator of the *Guardian* 'Naked Ape' write-in column) and Andrew Veitch deserve our thanks.

Shocking this collection of sexist attitudes in advertising, newspaper and magazine fare certainly is. Contra Forgan and Veitch, many of the included items are *deliberately*, consciously sexist. Almost all the ads for commodities using naked or even clothed women are of this kind. (See eg the photos and models for 'TowaVan, wide open ... for exploitation' (p 52) or Pernod (p 55): 'She's laid on most tables in Dublin pubs, needless to say she never gets stout.' Or consider this answer to the question 'Why Is A Ship Called She?' on an Irish Linen tea cloth (p 59):

A ship is called a 'she' because there is always a great deal of bustle around her; there is usually a gang of men about, she has a waist and stays, it takes a lot of paint to keep her good looking; it is not the initial expense that breaks you, it is the upkeep; ... it takes an experienced man to handle her correctly, and without a man at the helm, she is absolutely uncontrollable.....

The common feature of the sexist attitudes depicted in *Naked Ape* is the portrayal of women as objects for male

sexploitation and control. At best, women exist passively to satisfy male needs: 'Every woman loves the idea of a sheikh carrying her off on his white horse and raping her in his tent. It's a basic human instinct.' (Omar Sharif, quoted in the *Daily Mail*, p 11). At worst, women are non-persons, non-humans: 'One advertisement was for a magazine called *Women and Animals*' said Mr Beale. 'What is that but an invitation to the most disgusting debasement of man and of animals?' (Chief prosecutor in obscenity case, quoted in the *Cambridge Evening News*, p 9) Almost every advertisement or item in this collection, from the rape reports to the anti-Thatcher 'jokes', are an admixture or fusion of these two attitudes.

The reason that ours is a society of systematic male sexist exploitation is as simple as it is important; *men*, not women, construct and project these definitions and stereotypes onto women. If you're in any doubt, the pages in *Naked Ape* on rape and the administration of 'law' and 'justice' are highly recommended. In every profession or branch of work, from prostitution to advertising, journalism to education, it is men who decide and control the aims, means and rules. Our institutions of health and hospital care, so important for women, confirm the general point.

The problem is that women — as wives, 'housewives' and mothers, nurses and journalists, models and advertising copy-writers, teachers and typists — deliberately or unwittingly *collaborate* in the system of male domination. Of course, as Marx pointed out, in capitalist society based on wage-labour, private property and production for profit, all human powers, male and female, are prostituted and exploited for profit. However, (male) sexism clearly transcends 'classes' and cannot be reduced to capitalism. The problem at bottom is *psychological*, not economic. It concerns the psychology of power: why do (most) men wish to define and dominate (most) women in the ways they do, and why do (most) women accept and collaborate in their victimisation? To 'explain' the social status quo in terms of the prevailing system of sexist institutions and attitudes is to beg precisely what's in question.

What's important about this collection of male sexist attitudes in advertising and community thought and practice is that it helps us understand how all-pervasive the

system of sexism is. This is the key fact: sexism is a system in which we all participate and collaborate. The point is not just that we are responsible for all we don't try to change. The more basic problem is that we *must*, whether we like it or not, participate in the system — as dominators, victims or collaborators — as long as it resists abolition.

Naked Ape doesn't attempt to address the problem of how to change the system of male domination without collaborating in its reproduction, how to fight sexism (in all its forms) without using sexist means. On the contrary, it's best to see it and the *Guardian Women's Page* from which it derives as themselves *symptoms* of the problem.

In his essay 'Of Love And Marriage' (1742), David Hume declared that 'no passion seems to have more influence on female minds than this for power' over men, a desire for domination which Hume sees as the direct product of male sexism:

But to be just, and to lay the blame more equally, I am afraid it is the fault of our sex, if the women be so fond of rule; and that if we did not abuse our authority, they would never think it worthwhile to dispute it. Tyrants, we know, produce rebels; and all history informs us, that rebels, when they prevail, are apt to become tyrants in their turn. For this reason, I could wish there were no pretensions to authority on either side, but that everything was carried on with perfect equality.

If Hume is mistaken to suppose that women's dominant role in Western sexist society is other than that of victim-collaborator, he's right, I believe, to draw attention to the impossibility of fighting sexism with sexist means or aims. The fundamental dilemma for feminists is that sexism cannot be abolished by collaborating in it — either by *not* trying to change it on every front, work, home or bedroom; or by adopting sexist methods to fight it. What forms of anti-sexist action are both effective and compatible with truly feminist aims? Any approach which sees 'men' in general as the enemy is part of the problem and doomed to failure.

JULIE SOUTHWOOD

Andrew Veitch (Ed), *Naked Ape*, Duckworth, 1981. 64pp £1.95

Telly watching

SWITCHING over from *Brideshead Revisited* I caught the last 45 minutes of Trevor Griffith's *Country*, Play for Today on BBC 1. It was a well written, well shot film which presented a wealthy brewing family in their country seat weeks after the conclusion of the 2nd World War in Europe. They confidently await the results of the General Election — so confident that one member of the family expects a post in the new Tory government.

Perhaps as a premonition of things to come, hop-pickers squat in the stables and then, at a stunned breakfast table the men listen to the election results — a sweeping Labour victory. One dashes off and on the phone checks his tumbling share prices.

Enter the wayward daughter of the boss brewer, fresh from the French resistance, who articulates the wind of change. Whilst the hop-pickers get a little bolshy she berates her family for their corrupt and callow attitude and hopes for the day when the British working class garottes them all in their beds. Meanwhile her capitalist brother who is to step into boss brewers slippers warns of the coming fight with the socialist revolutionaries.



TECHNOLOGICAL
VALUUM

Although a pleasant play from a craft point of view (like *Brideshead Revisited*), how accurate a picture is it of the state of the classes in 1945?

There is no doubt that the Tories got a shock, but even Churchill privately wondered what his chances were. Was there a serious attempt to sabotage the Labour Government's attempts at reform? Perhaps, but there were greater economic forces at work, in particular the nation's bankruptcy after the massive war effort, plus the freak winter of 1947.

Griffiths, a Marxist writer, certainly seems to portray events in black and white terms. As he doesn't seem to be a stupid writer, was he unaware of the early strike-breaking of the Labour Government; did he really think that a government led by Attlee and Bevin (never mind *any* government) would herald in the socialist millennium? One Tory observed that Bevin's first speech as Labour Foreign Secretary 'was cheered and applauded by our side. It was almost a Tory speech, full of sense, and much the wisest exposition of foreign policy that I have heard for years.' (*Chips. The Diary of Sir Henry Channon*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 1967)

One could say that this was not what Griffiths was writing about, but by choosing not to mention it, one is suspicious of his intellectual honesty in presenting his case against the Tory ruling classes. This may turn out to be an important point as he apparently plans to write more TV plays which will infiltrate and expose the post-war TV plays which will 'infiltrate and expose the post-war roots of contemporary Conservatism.' (Interview in *Radio Times*)

An ambiguity for me, in his play, was in his attitude to his aristocratic characters. Boss brewer confesses to having had opium up his bum and 'it was rather nice' whilst he necks with a woman not his wife; the son who is to take over the brewing fortunes confesses to his mother that he is a bugger, having discussed the possibility of a marriage of convenience, which his mother concurs to. The suggestion seems to be that the upper classes are morally depraved. By contrast the hop-picking squatters seem to be the embodiment of wholesomeness and family decency as men, women and children, in flat hats and sweatrags gaily dance around a celebration fire, without an opiated or buggered bottom in sight.

At the very end boss brewer and son watch discreetly as the proles dance around this fire and throw an effigy onto it. Boss brewer asks 'Is it a funeral?' 'Yes' says his son, 'but they haven't noticed that no-one is in the grave.' And then we see that these merry proles are getting pissed on beer drawn from a barrel that bears the name of boss brewer's firm. Ah, the irony of it. And, oh the message. No revolution until the pubs close, etc etc. In fact, underneath the clever dialogue and fluid photography there seems to lurk a rather boring and puritanical morality tale, fit for any editorial of the *Morning Star*.

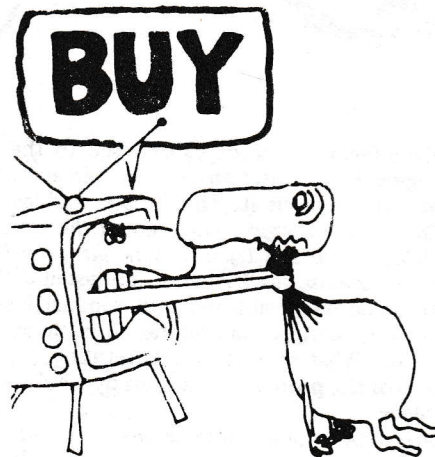
But just to make you feel really glad that you lived in the West, the previous evening's telly watching offered *Heute Direct* on BBC 2. It's a programme for those who want to improve their German, and their sample of German TV news came from the DDR. In fact what we watched had gone out four hours previously in that happy land where socialism has already triumphed.

Mind you, my guess is that when this comes on their TV screens at 7.30 every night most East Germans go and crap, piss, make cups of tea, make love, meals, build illicit bathroom extensions, tunnel their way to freedom, and so on. It was not merely boring, it was truly horrific.

An East German Cliff Richard lookalike (but without the smile) solemnly read the news. The first and most important item was the review of cadet officers passing out after their training, attended by a prestigious member of the East German Central Committee, flanked by an East German general who was permanently leaning to the left, due to the

Culture.

That really big commodity. The one that sells all the others.



weight of medals and ribbons on his tunic breast pocket.

As the camera pans, not one smile on these faces, anywhere. The new officers stand nervously as they listen to first the General and then the Committee member drone on. Polite clapping at the correct points. More droning: never forget your working class roots; drone, drone. The ceremony was held in a building named after Frederick Engels. Everyone seemed to be discreetly looking at each other, making sure they and their neighbour were doing it right. They all looked tense, including the Central Committee member. It was Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* condensed to a three minute news item.

Back to Cliff Richard, who links us to the next news item. The new appointment in Poland. Over to the harsh lit Warsaw TV studio where the DDR TV rep informs East Germans of the appointment of the new Polish president.

The horrifying aspect is how millions of East bloc folk have to put up with this shit on their TVs, in their papers, at work, and still retain their sanity. It's a totally schizoid existence. An existence that John Lawrence in his recent letter so correctly characterises as 'the most significant phenomenon of this century.'

The extraordinary events in Poland — the most significant to have happened since the Bolsheviks gained control of the 1918 revolution — may, and just may, lead to social organisation quite unlike anything we have in the West, or Communists impose in their different states, but in the meantime the attitudes of the revolutionary socialists in Britain, despite their criticisms of the USSR, will lead, when the chips are down, to a one-party police state. And when that happens I wonder if Trevor Griffith's British working class will be dancing around their bonfires celebrating, or will they be falling asleep in front of socialist-realist TV plays portraying bricklayers laying two million bricks a day?

PETE GRAFTON

CRITIQUE OF END



THE problem facing those of us opposed to the nuclear arms race, global militarisation and the threat of nuclear war, is what to do about it. The facts assembled in such works as *Protest and Survive*, *The State of the World Atlas*, *Britain and the Bomb* and *Dynamics of European Disarmament* speak for themselves.* Anyone interested in the facts will find these books invaluable. The criminal insanity of the Problem thus defined and addressed in these works is not in question. What needs a critical scrutiny, however, is the adequacy of the proposed Solutions by END supporters to the problem.

Supporters of European Nuclear Disarmament like E P Thompson, Ken Coates or Alva Myrdal stress that within the European 'peace and protest movements', there is no single set of views or organised consensus concerning the Movement's aims or means. While this is undoubtedly true, there is a common — and, I believe, profoundly pernicious — ideology of Peace and Survival to be found in the writings and statements of END supporters. My purpose in this article is to examine this common underlying ideology from a libertarian socialist standpoint.

The most striking feature of the solutions proposed to the Problem of the nuclear threat by END supporters is their abandonment of the aims and methods of the revolutionary socialist tradition. The aim of the European Peace/Protest Movement(s) is not the (revolutionary) transformation of the economic and State institutions sustaining the existing system of nation-states. It is Survival within an acceptance of the existing system of nation-states and their sustaining institutions. The aim is no longer the abolition of each nation-state in favour of a society of free and equal human beings. It is Peace within the on-going systems of Business As Normal in each nation-state.

Given this essential abandonment of the aims of the revolutionary socialist project, it's not surprising that the methods proposed and practiced by END supporters are those of peaceful protest, appeals to 'public opinion' and in general, social democratic attempts — to 'influence' the wielders of State power in each nation-state. In the words of Alva Myrdal, in his essay (described by Thompson in the *Guardian* of August 31 as 'outstanding') in *Dynamics of European Disarmament*: 'Public opinion has to be aroused so that it can in turn press those responsible for political decisions to stop the arms race — before it is too late. The leaders must by pressure from the people be brought to act, wisely and promptly, so as truly to lead us forward to arms control, disarmament, and peace.' (210).

Note the underlying assumptions: the aim is Peace. It is unquestioned that political power and decision-making should be in the hands of the wielders of State power. The necessary and sufficient means is to mobilize 'public

opinion' to pressure the Powers That Be to think and act wisely. I'll leave those acquainted with the history of the revolutionary socialist and social democratic traditions to muse over all the other assumptions in Myrdal's essay for themselves. The key point is that the Solution to the Problem of the nuclear threat as prescribed by this influential END supporter is the substitution of naive wishful thinking for realistic political thinking. We cannot solve the problem by collaborating in accepting and reproducing its institutional causes.

E P Thompson's views are more varied and nuanced, a curious con-fusion of wishful and realistic thinking. In *Protest and Survive*, Thompson describes himself as a 'socialist'. Without presuming to describe or understand the details or complexities of the Communist, Marxist, Utopian Socialist and Social Democratic stages and elements of Thompson's thought, Thompson's writings on European Nuclear Disarmament are essentially Social Democratic. The aim is survival. This requires the immediate expulsion of present and planned Super-power and other nuclear weaponry from European soil and the creation of a nuclear-free Europe. The necessary means to this end is peaceful protest — to the wielders of power in each nation-state. 'Confrontation' of the Powers That Be means the pressure of popular protest and demands for unilateral disarmament:

We must protest if we are to survive. Protest is the only realistic form of civil defence.

We must generate an alternative logic, an opposition at every level of society. This opposition must be international and it must win the support of multitudes. It must bring its influence to bear upon the rulers of the world. It must act, in very different conditions, within each nation state; and, on occasion, it must directly confront its own national state apparatus. (57)

However, from the classical libertarian socialist standpoint, the only hope for peace or survival is the revolutionary abolition of the entire system of nation-states and institutional causes of the nuclear problem. More precisely, Peace and human survival are possible only if their necessary conditions — the replacement of existing institutions and nation-states by socialist institutions and societies — can be achieved. For this purpose neither peaceful means nor wishful thinking can suffice. On the contrary, no matter how difficult the task, revolutionary methods are necessary. Peaceful protest, far from sufficing for Peace or even mere Survival, means acceptance of the prevailing status quo. This, by Thompson's own arguments, means the virtual certainty of nuclear war and non-survival. Far from being incompatible with pacifist aims, revolutionary methods are required for their realization. In the words of

A J Muste, in a world based on violence, one must be a revolutionary in order to be a pacifist.

In different writings, Thompson appears to recognise this. In his August 31 *Guardian* Agenda piece, for example, he sees the European Peace Movement(s) as an actively 'neutral', non-aligned 'third force' of European internationalism: '... it is that of peaceful European opinion acting as a Third Negotiator, between both superpowers, with the ultimate objective of reunifying European societies and culture.' Abstracting from Thompson's attribution of this causal role and status to 'peaceful European opinion', goals for social change other than and beyond Peace and Survival are at least mentioned. But the assumption remains that such changes/goals are possible only after Peace and Survival have been achieved. But precisely the opposite is the case — at least for the revolutionary socialist.

Thompson is profoundly right in his writings to link the struggles for peace and democracy. The trouble is that, in practice, by 'democracy' Thompson means no more nor less than the methods of 'bourgeois' democracy — ie, the methods of Social Democracy. Consider Thompson's contributions to *Britain and the Bomb*, in particular the final propositions of his summary of the policy of 'active neutrality':

4. Hence to wait for ultimate detente from initiatives at the top, to wait for some SALT treaty in 2079 — is futile. For the state of permanent terror affords to these elites their purchase upon internal and external power.

5. Hence the system must be made to crumble at the bottom before it will give way at the top. (17)

This sounds like a recognition of the need for revolutionary socialist change if real peace and democracy are to be possible. But in practice Thompson's methods and aims are those of Social Democracy, British style. In other words, Labour Party 'socialism':

What a British Labour government might have done — might even still do — with a policy of democratic socialism at home and of active neutrality abroad would be to to re-enter into (sic) an international discourse which would invigorate democratic practices both East and West. As a new neutralist heartland re-emerged (! — PF) in Europe, a hundred forms of political and cultural bonding would go on (17; also 16)

And so on, as though the 'democratic socialism' of the Labour Party wielding State power or in Opposition had anything to do with the methods or goals of Socialism in any non-obscene, non-Orwellian sense. Thompson, like anyone else, is perfectly free to abandon the struggle for revolutionary socialist change. What he is not entitled to do is pretend that the anti-Socialist methods of Social Democracy (in Britain, Poland, West Germany or elsewhere) can achieve anything other than the negation of the conditions necessary for either (let alone both) peace or democracy.

Either one genuinely desires peace and democracy or one doesn't. If one does, one must be a (libertarian) socialist. The conditions for peace and democracy are the conditions for a society of free and equal human beings. But Socialist ends require revolutionary socialist means — revolutionary because the methods of peaceful, piece-meal reform are insufficient to achieve the ends in question. Either Thompson doesn't desire peace and democracy or he is not a socialist. Thompson desires peace and democracy. Therefore

The problem is not just that, at least since 1914, Social Democracy has been a bankrupt 'stinking corpse' (Rosa Luxemburg) as regards its methods and aims, true and important as this is. The simple truth is that the large majority of the British population know this is true. They rightly believe that if this is 'socialism', they want nothing to do with it. (See Eric Hobsbawm's *Guardian* Agenda piece, September 28, 1981. Tragi-comically, Hobsbawm like Thompson believes that, despite this fact, the Labour Party can be something other than the direct negation of Socialism.)

Only a political imbecile would suggest that, given the absence of a magic wand, the great concentration of institutionalised economic, ideological and coercive power in the hands of the corporate and State power-wielders in each Nation-state (East and West), and the failure of efforts hitherto to achieve revolutionary socialist change, that peaceful 'bourgeois' democratic reforms of every kind are not (always) necessary. The simple radical fact is that such methods, however necessary — let me repeat, they are *always* necessary — can never suffice to achieve the revolutionary institutional changes necessary if real peace, democracy and human survival are to be possible.

For me as a libertarian socialist, what's in question is not the necessity for organisation and leadership if genuinely democratic, revolutionary change is to be possible. The crucial question is rather *what forms* of revolutionary organisation and leadership are consistent with and required by one's Socialist aims. We need, I suggest, to examine urgently and draw radical lessons from the failure of Marxist and Communist methods. The dogmas and illusions of privileged Parties, Classes or other groups are just that: pernicious illusions and dogmas.

The problem of necessary forms of genuinely libertarian and democratic organization and leadership is inseparable from — is, indeed, identical with — the problem of winning the hearts and minds of the large majority of the victims and collaborators of Business as Normal in each Nation State to the cause of revolutionary socialist change. Clearly, there can be no uniform process, single magic formula or recipe. My criticism of Thompson, Myrdal and other supporters of END is not that they are wrong to stress these facts. It is that they are insufficiently radical in what they propose to do about them.

Peace, democracy and human survival are possible only if and after the existing systems (East and West) of nation-states and their sustaining institutions have been abolished. In this perspective, it is not the revolutionary socialist who is the wishful Utopian, and the 'pragmatic' 'democratic socialists', the rational 'realists'. (See for example Raymond Williams' *Guardian* review of *Dynamics of European Disarmament*, August 13, 1981.) On the contrary, if my arguments are correct, it's the pragmatic 'realists' who are the irrational Utopians. The politics of Social Democracy has always been the politics of wishful thinking — as Marx himself pointed out as early as 1848. There is no place for illusory (non-realistic) thinking today. The politics of END can achieve neither Peace Nor Survival; by striving for these goals within an acceptance of the existing system of nation-states they collaborate in ensuring their impossibility. In Brecht's words, 'To achieve a great goal, great changes are required.'

Is revolutionary socialist change possible? I don't know. I know *nothing* is more urgently required. The traditions of Social Democracy and Marxian Communism are, I believe, intellectually and politically bankrupt. The libertarian socialist tradition remains undeveloped and almost completely neglected, still in its infancy. But then, it may be that children are the only hope for the future. I will discuss the libertarian tradition and its relevance to the present struggle for peace, democracy and survival in a follow-up article.

PAT FLANAGAN

*E P Thompson and Dan Smith, *Protest and Survive*, Penguin Books, 1980.

Michael Kidron and Ronald Segal, *The State of the World Atlas*, Pan Books, 1981.

New Statesman Report 3, *Britain and the Bomb: The New Statesman papers on defence and Disarmament*. New Statesman, 1981.

Alva Myrdal et al, *Dynamics of European Disarmament*, Spokesman Books, 1981.

Looking Backward

AS the revived nuclear disarmament movement grows larger than the original one twenty years ago, and as both its new and its old members get impatient with orthodox methods of political action, increasing interest is turning to plans for direct action in the future and also to the history of such activity in the past.

The first book about the old movement to appear during the new movement — *The Protest Makers* by Richard Taylor and Colin Pritchard (1980) — gave almost as much attention to the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War and the Committee of 100 as to the much larger Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, though this was presumably affected by the fact that more than half the people who answered the questionnaire which the book is based on had supported the radical organisations. (Incidentally, only 7 per cent said they were anarchists.) Similarly, the revised edition of *Overkill*, a Penguin book about nuclear weapons and nuclear disarmament by a former chairman of CND, John Cox, contains a new chapter on the history of the old movement which is much more sympathetic to direct action than any CND leader was at the time. And of course any serious discussion of the law relating to direct action or the facts about official secrets includes references to the experiences of two decades ago.

A more sustained attempt to provide historical material has been made by the second in the new series of Peace News pamphlets, *From Protest to Resistance*, which appeared just before the huge demonstration on 24 October. (The first in the new series, by the way, is Howard Clark's *Making Nonviolent Revolution*, a new edition of an excellent introduction to anarchist pacifism, first published in 1977.) The new pamphlet is a 64-page booklet prepared by Dennis Gould, Ross Bradshaw and Chris Jones and consisting of an anthology of old and new items about the direct action movement against nuclear war in the 1950s and 1960s.

There are a poem by Adrian Mitchell and a dedication to Peggy Smith (a splendid old Quaker who was active in every organisation and demonstration until she died five years ago), a preface by Ross Bradshaw, an introduction by Dennis Gould, an article by Austin Underwood about the Direct Action Committee at the time of its first demonstrations in December 1958, a short interview with Pat Arrow-smith about her attempts to stimulate industrial action, a long interview with April Carter and Michael Randle about the Direct Action Committee and the Committee of 100, an article by Nicolas Walter about the Committee of 100 soon after its largest demonstrations in 1961, a long article by Dennis Gould remembering his ten years in the old movement, some items relating to the Committee of 100 Wethersfield Trial in 1962, a long chronology of events from 1957 to 1966, and a bibliography; there are also several illustrations (including cartoons, photographs of events and facsimiles of writings) and a list of the members of the Committee of 100.

There is a great deal of material here which will revive memories in some readers and should provoke thought in others, but the pamphlet is really rather a mess. The sources of most of the items were omitted and have had to be supplied by a separate slip; thus Underwood's article first appeared in *Peace News* on 9 January 1959 and Walter's in the *Guardian* on 22 June 1962, the Carter/Randle interview appeared in *Peace News* on 17 April and 1 May 1981, and



the Committee of 100 list is not of the original membership in October 1960 but of the slightly different membership in September 1961. The functions of the items are very various; the articles by Underwood and Walter belong with the other reprinted and illustrated items as propaganda of one kind or another, whereas the two interviews and Gould's article and chronology are attempts to establish a historical record and draw conclusions about the past for the present.

Gould's introduction looks very much at the past. Bradshaw's preface looks much more to the present and the future. He was himself too young to take part in the old movement, and prefers the new one. He notes that it doesn't care about famous or respectable leaders, that it is based on local organisation, that it doesn't exploit women, that it has more papers on its side, that it is less concerned about success and failure and more about means than about ends; he doesn't recognise or perhaps realise that many of these changes are actually the result of the old movement, which not only moved itself in this libertarian direction but helped to move much wider sections of society with it. But, as with parents and children, the new movement will probably spend a lot of time and energy avoiding the mistakes of the past and making mistakes of its own. Never mind; as with this pamphlet itself, if you don't make mistakes you won't make anything, and it is better to get something written than to get it right. What is obviously needed is a more carefully researched and written account of the radical wing of the old movement if the new one is really going to begin a major turn to direct action.

M H

From Protest to Resistance is published for Peace News by Mushroom, Nottingham's alternative bookshop, and is available from the Freedom Bookshop at £1.25 (plus 24p post)

Howard Clark: *Making Nonviolent Revolution* is also published for Peace News by Mushroom and is available from Freedom Bookshop at £0.75 (plus 16p post).

Ginger

ONE has always accepted the fostered belief that museums were dead places given over to the tools of the dead and the midnight worship of strange gods. A world of silent corridors wherein Boris Karloff would come trailing the rotting remains of his mummified wrapping, ancient eyes peering through a dead skull and the whispering mutterings of old spells and curses and the command and the cry to the old gods. To peer, to dream above the measured glass cases at the fragments of papyri and the haunting hieroglyphs chanting of gods before God, of final stones falling into place and the hot sands covering the places of the dead, silent and forgotten until the tomb robbers forced the doors to remove the useless wealth of the uncaring dead. Now even Boris is dead these twelve years and is one with the ancient kings of Egypt but on those late night television movies he still walks the corridors of the British Museum ignoring the Keep Tidy notices by dropping his rotting wrapping as he seeks the archaeologist who desecrated his tomb and stole the sacred stele. I am as one with Boris, priest of the court of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, for to steal some one's sacred stele is held by many to be a greater moral crime than stealing some one's beer and a number of the top ranking British Museum staff and fair weather directors are in line for the curse and the midnight choking.

There within the British Museum is now on display a major exhibition of Egyptian Sculpture which means as it does with almost every major exhibition within a major or minor State gallery and museum a rousting up of the treasures of that institution from every corridor, store room and basement to form an assembly of a great and worth while exhibition. Boris, for obvious reasons, was not there on Press day, neither was my friend the mad Pole who is hepped on ancient Greek civilisation, but one who has long been an honoured and loved member of the British Museum was left to himself on the top floor of the museum while we the cognoscente of the fourth estate rested our wine glasses beneath the granite false beard of the Colossus of Ramesses II late of Thebes 1270 BC.

Missing from the wine sipping and the informed conversation was old Ginger for he still lay in his rock basin dead, kaput, passed over, gone before his time and they broke the mould when they made him etc, alone on the top floor of the British Museum. I have known old Ginger for over half a century and no disrespect is meant to him by addressing him such for this is his affectionate name among the British Museum staff. His roughly carved rock basin is no bigger than a household bath and old Ginger is no rotting mummy or yellowed skeleton but a corpse in his own right. Curled wombwise in his stone bath old Ginger has been dried and sun tanned by many an ancient sun but he can still ham it up with the best for the figure is full and the skin, due to many a hot summer on the sands, peels, just that little, and his thinning hair still has a roguish tint to it and he sleeps away many a generation of museum bureaucrats. He was a lad who leaned on many a street corner in the late Predynastic period, shall we say over 5,200 years ago, and I believed and I made my point on the press day that old Ginger and the tools of the stone carvers should have been among the exhibits in the main drag of the exhibition of the mighty kings of Egypt, but come the last of the wine I made my way up to the top floor to lean on old Ginger's rock basin to register my disappointment that he could not attend the press invitation hour. I am never impressed by the work of the Egyptian stone carvers for almost all, nay all of their work, was Disney style. Each figure, generation by generation, Lord of the Desert by Lord of the Desert, followed

the same unimaginative pattern like unto the statues for Famous Men in any twentieth century town or city. I am impressed as always with the skills of the craftsmen those thousands of years ago and for this reason I regret that these unknown workmen and women are not honoured by having their tools placed on display among these impressive but repetitive stone glorifications of men and women who played at being gods but ruled over empires of sand, and of a sterile State culture that imprisoned the mind and failed to advance the questing mind the length of a grain of that sand.

There within this exhibition is the Rosetta Stone and it is impossible not to be excited by it for it was this stone with three distinct inscriptions, hieroglyphs, demotic and Greek, that enabled Young and Champollion to make the breakthrough into deciphering the old tongue, yet like so much that has been recovered from the Egyptian tombs and sands all it offers is list after list of priestly honours and the Rosetta Stone from Memphis, Egypt, 196 BC does no more than that, yet a negative is a positive key to a past sterile 'civilisation'.



But there on its small stand and no more than a few inches high is Thoth the baboon god. Call him Ibis or the Moon God and Thoth will accept your call for this baboon god of wisdom and learning, who goes back four to five thousand years before Egyptian recorded time, for he dominates the exhibition as he squats among the huge carved figures of the dead kings and queens of the dead sand empires. He goes back into the dark paths before history and he moves forward in time to be accepted as a satanic worship for some, or as the god of wisdom for the faint hearted, in this year of our Lord 1981. I tried, I tried, but it was impossible to get a photograph of Thoth from among the press photographs and from the experts to the reference books was no more than a few lines, yet Thoth the baboon god is accepted as a living force by those seeking to explore the dangerous areas beyond the mind blowing drugs. Outside the British Museum in one of the dingy romantic bookshop lined streets given over to yesterday's maps and fingered books, and in one of those shops time gone man one could stand among the shadowed shelves of books on the old religions and talk of white and black magic and the black mass and what have you, now in 1981 there are for sale crude lino cuts of Thoth the baboon god and there on the crowded wall of this small crowded bookshop a postcard size reproduction of Aleister Crowley 'the wickedest man in the world' and I am sorry but that postcard reproduced drawing of Crowley is definitely not for sale'.

Crowley died on the 1st of December 1947 high on drugs and a man who had outlived his time for in the world of Manson he was small time. He was a man who argued that blasphemy is the most pleasing to God, used the Chinese oracle to divine the future or in his Thelema Abbey at Cefalu in Sicily stood as the Magus and with his black staff with its snake of eleven coils around it prayed to Abramelin, the mediaeval Egyptian sage. It was all farce except for the disciple who committed suicide, the two starving in Paris when the master had rejected them and the unfortunate cat that was to be sacrificed in a black mass but refused to die without a struggle. Only the dead moggy had a useless revenge when the disciple who knelt before the altar at the black mass died of poisoning through drinking the cat's blood. It was in 1919 that Crowley told Leah Faesi, his Scarlet Woman, to kneel down within his Pentagram magic circle drawn upon the floor and with a heated Chinese dagger branded her upon her breast with the Mark of the Beast and she became the Ape of Thoth. In a small bookshop but minutes from the British Museum exhibition of Egyptian sculpture of the dead kings there are for sale the crude lino cuts of Thoth, the baboon god, and he has reason to smile, this small stone figure from before recorded time, for in the twentieth century he played dancing master and still whispers his haunting chants to the foolish believers. Crowley and Leah, the Ape of Thoth, Gerald Hamilton, the original Mr Norris in the Isherwood Berlin novel, and twice in Brixton in two world wars as a danger to the State, Sir Roger Casement, Lord Beaverbrook,

Gerald Kelly the artist and William Joyce from the pre war Blackshirts. The sadly sad suicides and the branding and the cat with its throat cut for the satanic mass and all those basements in Soho for cabaret and or black magic, and in the playing out of all that comedy they never even raised an erection, and there within the British Museum squats the baboon god Thoth, eighteen inches high? and no one could offer me a photograph or information concerning him and he has reason to smile for, born before time, he is the only god from the Egyptian sands that men and women in 1981 still bend down before, and in this lifetime sacrifice and die for, in return for a little of his dark power.

Old Ginger, on the top floor of the British Museum, those 5,200 years ago must have known him but old Ginger is curled up in uncaring sleep. We reject Voltaire's *Candide* that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds but let us accept that Harry Blacker's exhibition of his black and white cartoons are skilful and witty drawings and with no trace of anger but we drank the wine and fooled around in the pale sunlight and someone beat it out on the ancient piano and Harry told of the old east end days and we waltzed around in the pleasant Highgate gallery until we were asked to leave and the piano key board cover was locked against us, but like Harry Blacker's drawings we left without anger, only a sense of well being and maybe that is the flaw in this fine work. Only old Ginger should be without anger for peace belongs to the long gone dead.

ARTHUR MOYSE

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