Freedom 30p

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ANARGHISTS ANARGHISTS ANARGHIST ANAR

SUNDAY, 6th June saw the somewhat depressing sight of over 150,000 CND supporters sitting comfortably on the grass enjoying the pleasant sunshine and the pleasant thought that they were 'doing something'. As speaker after speaker was rolled onto the stage to mouth the same

old platitudes and tired-out slogans this committed, dedicated crowd applauded in all the right places, cheered during the well-timed pauses and kept silent at all other times. The appearance of Benn and Scargill had all the trappings of the Pope's recent tour, mindless adulation ending

with a benediction from these two spiritual leaders, condescending to mingle with the masses, to give the Word to the poor ill-educated proles. As the police (both MP and CND) mingled with the crowd, only to ensure public safety and a nice,

(continued on page 2)

narchists Arrested

(continued from front page)

happy gathering, of course, any vestige of unauthorised protest was first washed by the rain, boiled by the sun and then quietly intimidated away by these guardians of

Last year's CND demo saw a large crowd of anarchists occupy the area in front of the stage. With banners flying and much heckling, this presence caused some distress to the organisers.

Not so this year. When the anarchists gathered together this time it was under the watchful eve and twitching truncheons of a large number of police. A cordon was placed around the anarchists effectively separating them from the crowd and at any sign of heckling or even mild excitement the boys in blue literally growled. Anyone trying, to join this group of anarchists was jostled and 'leant' upon by the filth, obviously begging for a reaction and a chance to preserve the peace. Realising that the odds were not in our favour we decided to set up an alternative platform. We all moved off to the side of the stage and in a clear patch of grass set up a megaphone. Anyone who wanted to speak was handed the megaphone and we were attracting a large crowd. Unfortunately a CND steward felt the need to protest about this unofficial, unauthorised activity to the police. As a large number of officers started to move casually in our direction, it was decided that, as a continued protest at the rally was somewhat pointless, we should have a protest march of our own down Oxford St.

Around 300 anarchists with a large number of flags and banners marched out of Hyde Park. At first the police didn't seem to be interested. One senior officer was heard to assure a constable that 'its alright, they're only going home'. However, when he realised just what was happening his cool tone changed to panic with a shout of 'No they're not!' and a grab for his radio.

As we moved into Oxford St with shouts of 'Free all Prisoners', 'Smash the Nuclear State' and 'Free Simon Los' (imprisoned for 3yrs for distributing a leaflet in Nottingham) we soon acquired an SPG van as escort. As we drew level with the turning that leads to the American Embassy in Grosvenor Sq, the police attacked Without warning this entirely legal and, though loud, peaceful march was assaulted by van loads of police. The police used were from the SPG and the newly formed, SPG style, quick-response riot units. They jumped out of their vans and waded into the march. Several anarchists were knocked to the ground in the melee.

48 anarchists were arrested. During the arrests they were beaten up. Several others were rescued by comrades who resisted

the assault. In one case it has been reported that two comrades were actually pulled back out of one of the vans. One escaped. the other was recaptured. The arrested have now been released and face a range of charges from insulting behaviour to assault.

Not content with just breaking up the march, the police vans then patrolled the side streets stopping anyone who looked as if they had been on the march. This was particularly unfortunate for the punk comrades with their easily recognisable form of dress. Several more conventionally dressed comrades managed to evade these patrols. There were also reports of police at nearby Underground Stations checking for possible marchers

This attack is entirely in keeping with recent police harrassment of anarchists. This spontaneous, unofficial march was fair game for the police. A chance to practise for the new riot-control units without the worry of adverse press coverage. The only mention of these events in the Media was a report that 'a few people had been arrested on an otherwise peaceful CND Rally in Hyde Park'.

Previous to this attack, on Friday 4th June, the police found it necessary to arrest 7 pickets outside a court where 2 people were being done for criminal damage. The damage was caused to a Ministry

of Defence building in Holborn as a protest against the Falkland Murders. The pickets were told to move, which they did and were promptly arrested for 'obstruction' and their placards were confis-

If we want to do more than bait Trots, heckle Labour Party hacks and get bored at demos and rallies then we will have to plan and take part in our own protests. However, as Sunday's events prove, such protests, are all too easily attacked, and dispersed by the State's thugs. We cannot expect any coverage, much less sumpathetic coverage, of these assaults, in the media. The dilemma of how to mount public protests on our behalf without becoming victims of police 'peace-keeping' is one that will require some thought and an imaginative solution.

BRIQUE LEFLIC

ght back

A Defence Campaign has been mounted to publicise this attack. It will also help anyone arrested that day. It can be contacted at this address:-

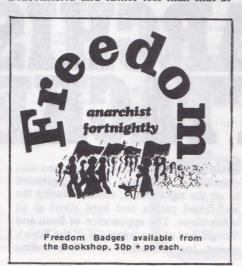
Oxford Street 48 Defence Campaign. Box 48

c/o 84b Whitechapel High St. London E1.

The Spectacle of Newspea

THE recent bye-elections have been hailed as great victories by the Government, as lesser ones by the SDP and as a Falkland hiccough by the Labour Party.

In spite of massive publicity and the covering of the areas by floods of party canvassers, barely 50 per cent of the electorate dragged themselves to the polls at Beaconsfield and rather less than that at



Mitcham and Morden. The gallant Tory victor polled about a quarter of the total electorate. So much for Thatcher's much vaunted democracy when most of the press is beating the drum in which all the propaganda stops are being pulled out when her candidate can get only a small proportion of the electorate to put their mark against her nominee. Dare we hope that a significant part of the large nonvoting electorate are saying a pox on all your houses?

Perhaps they will be discouraged by having so few voting for them; perhaps there is a good undercurrent of commonsense that is not being bamboozled by the massive pro-government media.

What hoo-ha there is about napalmused liberally in Vietnam with the British government's approval. What cries of disapproval at IRA nail bombs as superior British firepower delivers nailbombs on shivering Argentine conscripts-conscripted by a Junta that we have done so much to arm and keep in power. The hypocrisy is so blatant that we must hope that at least some of the population has not been fooled by the propaganda.

ALAN ALBON

WHY PAY FOR NUCLEAR POWER?

ELECTRICITY prices matter. Each winter tens of thousands of old people have to choose between food and heating, and each winter thousands of them die of hypothermia. Each year thousands of families are condemned to the dark and cold, as their electricity is cut off when they can't pay their electricity bills. In 1980 122,000 families were cut off in England and Wales alone.

The insistance of the CEGB on the nuclear power programme is one of the main causes of high electricity prices.

One response to this situation has been to refuse to pay for the research and development costs of nuclear power — which are passed on to us in the form of higher electricity bills — by refusing to pay 11% of these bills; according to the CEGB 11% is the proportion of all electricity generated which is provided by nuclear power.

In West Germany the campaign (known as 'Strobo', short for 'Stromzahlungsboycott') has been extremely successful involving 10,000 individuals. It has been running for 3 years, there have been hundreds of court cases and there are more than 80 lawyers actively supporting about 100 'Strobo' groups throughout the country. Experience in West Germany has shown that:

— opponents of nuclear power are provided with a structure both locally and nationally (via newsletters, area support groups, etc.) which will keep them together in the long term... At the same time people are included who would otherwise have little to do with the anti-nuclear movement due to Jack of time or energy, or because they live far from an active group.

— Electricity boards are the main distributors of nuclear power generated electricity and through the consumer campaign the boards are challenged directly at the point of contact between supplier and consumer. This makes it one of the most direct forms of action against nuclear power and for a sane energy future.

— It has successfully compelled the electricity boards to full debate with the opponents of their nuclear policies in public, in the press and in the courts. As the electricity boards themselves admit, this debate, as well as the Consumer Campaign itself, obstructs and disrupts them. The Boards have no smooth-running system for dealing with the campaign.

- People who refuse to pay part of their electricity bill, even for a limited period, are both symbolically and actually withdrawing co-operation from what they are opposing.

— Even cases which are lost (if its taken that far) provide an open forum for full debate on the energy issue.

If you decide to join the campaign, then deduct 11% from your next electricity bill and send the remaining 89% to your area board with a letter explaining what you are doing and why (and it's wise to keep copies of all the correspondence). Then send the 11% to your regional coordinator, or if you don't know who that is to the ANC national office, who will forward it for you.

The trust fund is a central national one, but each of the regions has its own bank account (cheques should be payable to the Consumer Campaign Trust) administered by a regional organiser and (hopefully) a local working group. When you have written to your area board it is also a good idea to write to the consumer representative at your area consultative council (you can get the address at any board shop) and it is important to stress that you consider that you are being overcharged—ie. that it is the board that isn't fulfilling it's legal obligations, not you... because the campaign has two aspects.

On the one hand it's like the Peace Tax Campaign — you are protesting about being obliged by the structure of things to finance nuclear power (you can mention the inevitable links between the military and so-called civilian nuclear programmes, proliferation, the illegal Nambian uranium

contract, the unsolved problems of reactor safety and waste disposal, the threat to civil liberties posed by any expansion of the nuclear power programme...)

On the other hand, the electricity boards can be attacked on their own territory - in capitalist terms nuclear power is a total failure, and the CEGB and the area boards have failed to fulfil their statutory obligations as set out in the Electricity Act, 1947 ('to promote the use of all economical methods of generating and distributing electricity', 'to secure the cheapening of electricity supplies', and to investigate seriously the potential of combined heat and power schemes); a lot of work has been done to show up the incorrectness of CEGB energy demand forecasts, financial statistics, etc. (see Colin Sweet's forthcoming book/pamphlet, to be published by the Anti-Nuclear Campaign, about the economics of nuclear power).

The beauty of the consumer campaign is that you can take it just as far as you want - you can avoid disconnection at any time just by paying off all arrears (contact your regional co-ordinator and he/she will send you a cheque for the amount you witheld, made out to your area board). If you pay up 'under protest' that leaves you open to start again just as soon as the next bill arrives. Or if you want to, you can go to court and argue against disconnection (courts in the past have decided that you can't be disconnected when there is a 'bona fide' dispute over a bill, ie. if you're not just trying to avoid paying a debt.)

If you want more information/would like to join the campaign, contact:-

The Anti-Nuclear Consumer Campaign, c/o ANC National Office,

PO Box 216, Sheffield S1 1BD.

(Tel: 0742-754691)

They'll put you in touch with your regional co-ordinator, and/or send you a mammoth info pack (full of useful arguments, statistics, etc.) free.













PEOPLE might be interested to hear about The Anarchist Response to the Pope coming to Canterbury. These people will be disappointed, because I'm not going to write about that, just my own experiences. These began at about 12 on the previous (Friday) night. Police cars were driving around all over the place, at high speed and very self-importantly, obviously rushing to deal with major threats to civilisation. Hired security men and private detective types were being very heavy about parking permits, presumably paranoid about the expected hordes of vehicles. Paranoia about terrorists also reached its climax in the pre-dawn hours—apparently, an arrest was made at 2am, of a bloke walking along a road in a suspicious manner...at 5am an officer of the law asked me where I was going, after I walked past the Cathedral gate for the second timeobviously good people are the ones obstructing the pavement in sleeping bags, bad people walk around looking for good ambush spots.

I had two sets of leaflets:- one antireligion; one pointing out that a God-vs-Satan view of the universe led to an unthinking attitude towards 'Good' and 'Bad'. But most people just politely declined the invitation to find out how 'religion leads to complacency, in the face of evil'. Nobody was insulted either.

Demoralised at this lack of response, I decided that I might as well wait until the crowds got thicker, and send paper-dart messages....But the crowds didn't get much thicker...

Instead, along came a reporter from an American Radio News Programme, working for a Station which, he said, commanded a fair chunk of the Radio Newslistening public over three or four West Coast States. They were big enough to have their own reporter in Europe anyway. We talked about background history of Canterbury, and what people's attitudes to the Pope were. Things seemed much more low-key, sober and unexciting than either of us had expected. My companion-in-leafleting, the other half of our partic-

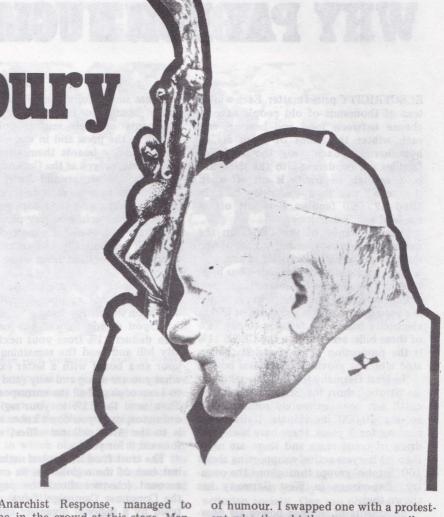
ular Anarchist Response, managed to find me in the crowd at this stage. Managed to? We were right by the gate to the Cathedral precinct that the Pope would go through in half an hour, and the crowd was only about five deep. We stayed where we were, to witness 'History' and talk about American radio. The Pope passed by. The reporter leapt into action. I'd told him he'd be lying if he said that the crowd was ecstatic, so he didn't. An interview with a convenient Anglican could not have had a more wonderfully representative subject-yes, he thought the Pope was a very nice chap, that reconciliation and unity amongst Christians had to be a good thing (though he wasn't so sure about doctrines) and, yes, he'd travelled six whole miles to get here.

Now was the time to use my once-ina-lifetime opportunity to influence the media, and West-Coast America's picture of Britain. I'd already persuaded the reporter to ask his editor to let him stay in Britain for the CND demo and reception of Reagan here instead of going to Italy to cover Reagan's trip there. Now I took him to where some friends were conducting the Feminist Response: half a dozen women with 'If the Pope could get pregnant....' leaflets never before made such a disproportionately large impact on the world's news—if the editor lets it through, of course.

I wandered round, giving leaflets to people who looked like they had a sense of humour. I swapped one with a protestant who thought the mass was a sacrilege. The point of the exercise was not to insult people, or spoil anyone's day, or to rush round shouting 'I'm a Satanist-Anarchist' and expect people to be impressed. The leaflets were designed for people who might be 'tempted' into Christianity by all the propaganda around the Pope, and for Christians who had enough sensitivity to be ready to question their Churches' attitudes to good and bad, especially to condemnation of war which stopped short of naming names.

But I don't think many people were 'tempted' that day. Enthusiasm never really took hold. The town was no more crowded than on any other busy Saturday. Quite a few people seemed more interested in Prince Charles than in the Pope. Carparks that were expected to be packed with thousands of pilgrims' cars were almost empty. Of the expected 250,000 only 25,000 came. By noon, things were so quiet that I decided to go home and get some sleep. Any media hype that you may have seen about the enthusiasm of the crowds here was a load of pap. (Sorrycouldn't resist that one). Most people seem to have simply decided that a man from Rome with a white coat and a silly hat, riding in a glass box on a Range Rover. was not worth making the effort to see. still less cheer at. That was the Anarchist Response

LUCIF@



IN CONCERT

THE Pope's Wembley gig went off without a hitch on Saturday, 29th May. For the most part, this early protege of Ian Drury went through his usual routine of affecting innocent senility and simple drunkenness, and his by now familiar acts included waving in slow motion with outstretched arms, slurred speech with a jumble of Latin phrases, wearing long, white, heavily embroidered hats and cloaks, carrying big sticks and scaring little children. There was no particularly new material on offer, but the Saturday night performance did add to his image of a carefree, welldressed 'shepherd' and a wandering, tipsy paedophile.

The crowd hysteria was reminiscent of early Beatlemania, but critics have put the cause of this unexpected level of euphoria down to the Catholic residue of Falklands nationalism. Suddenly, in the midst of the Wembley procession, a bearded,

shabbily dressed young man broke loose from the crowd and ran alongside the slow-moving Popemobile, demanding to know if the Pope did not agree that all the money spent on his trip could have been better spent on hospitals in El Salvador or Namibia, or on food in his native Poland. Before the man-who was wearing a black cross-could say any more than 'And what about Bobby Sands and Northern Ireland?' he was quickly whisked away by mounted police who dragged him safely out of earshot. He was later identified as a certain Jesus Christ, a 30year old Israeli immigrant, and released without charge.

The Pope himself, typically, did not seem to know what was going on. Later at an interview he said he had never known the man before. He recalled his earlier influences to have been Pope Paul VI, who made overseas tours fashionable, and the

main songwriting half of the Beatles, John and Paul, whose album 'Abbey Road' helped to inspire him (the early Karel V) to go on the road. He refused to comment on recent rumours concerning a split in his group and the plan to form a new band called The Pontiff and the Primates, which is said to include Bobby Runcie from Canterbury as lead vocalist. Some of Runcie's most faithful fans, though, will be disappointed if this controversial deal goes through, as it will be seen as a loss of their new-wave identity by joining up with a main competitor in the charts with a totally different style and distinctly dated form of presentation.

Meanwhile, promoters say that a soundtrack album of the Pope's London performance, 'John Paul — Live at Wembley', should be due out this summer. Other dates over the weekend and later on the tour included Liverpool, Birmingham and Coventry. Certain sources said there were 80,000 fans at Wembley; but (Anglican) police estimates put it at half that figure.

BN

NO NATIONS NO NUKES

NO NATIONS — NO NUKES is a new group of anti-authoritarian peace activists who believe that only the abolition of all national states by the people of the world can lead to nuclear and conventional military disarmament, world peace and individual liberty. We definitively oppose the imposition of any world government or superstate.

At our first meeting May 18, 1982, thirteen anarchists, libertarians, decentralists, ecologists and New Agers formed NO NATIONS — NO NUKES with two purposes in mind:

- To make an impact on all the many activities surrounding the June United Nations Special Session on Disarmament II.
- To sponsor a meeting of local and visiting peace activists to form an ongoing continental and worldwide network to work for the abolition of all nation states.

We all agreed that the group and the network should transcend narrow sectarian differences and disseminate all antinational state critiques and alternatives. We agreed that we must all work together to accomplish our goal through persuasion, protest, non-cooperation, civil disobedience and direct action. For further ininformation write to 541 W 49th St, Apt 62 New York, NY 10019 (212)662-4077, 265-2132, 533-5028.

IN BRIEF

THE Alternatives to War Research Establishment, based at Fairford Peace Camp, outside an USAF/RAF base in Gloucestershire, has produced a pamphlet, 'The Great Falklands Islands Crisis Quiz'. They say that 'the purpose of our quiz is to increase public doubt of officialdom, to encourage questioning beyond the facade of the daily news packages and to provide some background information'. One of the suggestions, originally included as a 'wilder speculation' has already come true, the USA has renewed grain shipments to USSR (Quiz Book, updated second edition, 12pp, available from FREEDOM, 30p + postage).

AWRE comments that it is a 'front organisation' behind which lurk ordinary people. They intend to research all aspects of militarism, to publish occasional pamphlets and 'Factsheets' and to develop by direct action ways of resisting the militarised state. They will picket the Soviet Embassy on 7th June.

A group of doctors at the Royal Free Hospital, London, have produced a report showing that unemployment is linked to heart disease, obstructive lung disease and bronchitis. The results, published in the Lancet, showed that 18% of those who had been fit when they lost their jobs, subsequently suffered from ischaemic heart disease, compared with 9% of those in work. 26% had obstructive lung disease, compared with 15% amongst workers and 25% had bronchitis, compared with 15%.

A tourist in a fur sleeping bag has been shot and killed in Elba by a man who thought he was a wild boar.

COMMERCIAL firms who attempted to cash in on the Pope's visit have suffered badly. The Holy Father scored quite a hit with the media, who didn't even get upset when he talked about peace in the South Atlantic. This is in contrast to Runcie. the Archbishop of Canterbury and ex-army officer, who has rediscovered that old Christian favourite, the just war. The problems connected with the papal visit stem from the lower than expected attendance. Only 350,000 people (Only!) attended the mass in Coventry. 800,000 eager buyers of souvenirs had been expected. The short-fall in Cardiff was worse. And in Manchester only 200,000 turned up, when a million had been expected. One Manchester company has been left with 45,000 framed posters out of a run of 60,000. Crowds in London were up to expectation. One member of the FREE-DOM Collective had the road suddenly closed in front of and behind him and was sitting quietly on his motor bike, being yelled at by enraged policemen, when he was almost knocked over by an ice cream van containing a gesticulating little old man. Being disorganised, and lacking an RPG 7, he waved back.

A Home Office working party has said that 'serious shortcomings' affect the way magistrates courts are run. Hardly any courts keep figures which would enable them to see trends in waiting times and delays, and that these delays could be cut if better management systems were in operation. The report also says that many courts cannot even tell from case papers how many times a case has been adjourned.

COURAGE IS NOT ENOUGH

AS Edith Cavell observed in a similar, more desperate situation: 'Patriotism is not enough', and as the old hymn says, it takes a certain sort of courage to 'dare to defend the right when right is mis-called wrong'.

The group in the photograph are such men, some of 32 men sentenced to death and taken to France in the first World War by a military bent on making an example of them so the cult of disobedience should not spread. My father, one of those not yet arrested, managed to get their plight known to The No Conscription Fellowship who mounted a campaign and got the sentences commuted. Many still died from ill-treatment for refusing to take part in a war that is admitted by most to be monumental in its stupidity and whose bloody battles are epitaphs to the military mind and the path that dumb obedience leads.

That war created the conditions that led directly to fascism. The revolutionary rumblings that came after the war were put down by the military (including the Red Army) with various degrees of ruthlessness, and many who had used, the business of a bayonet against their fellow workers of a different nationality, found themselves at the business end of a bayonet wielded by their own countrymen.

The aim of the military is to instill obedience, the same sort of obedience in Hitlers army, Mussolini's army, Stalin's army, Galtieri's army, Reagan's army Breshnev's army—etc, etc, etc—and Thatcher's army.

With television and the radio and the yellow press tinged with blood the whole thing has become a Roman blood circus, in which an estimated 61 per cent of the population are supporting the loss of other people's lives in a squalid quarrel between two discredited governments whose hypocrisy is so breath-taking that one wonders that so many people can be so dumb as to be taken in by it.

CND and The Labour Party

The antics of the Labour Leadership, their crass cowardice and political humbug should give many of the CND rank and file cause to stop and think. The whole history of the Labour Party has not served the cause of peace well. It is said that patriotism is the last resort of the scoundrel, and those aspiring to political power all have this fatal flaw. The Labour Party in power has not hesitated to use the military as scabs against the workers and was in coalition when the Tories acted against this paper because we suggested that soldiers stopped to think and to question the credibility of obedience. The Labour Party supports a state of society based ultimately on violence which leads it into paths of disillusionment and no change.



These men were sentenced to death in France-commuted to 10 years penal servitude.

The anarchist wants real change, for nuclear weapons are the logical conclusion of the sort of society that the Labour Party stands for. The anarchist wants to abolish the disease not the symptom. A society in which obedience is replaced by knowledge and participation in all the decisions which affect one's life and not a meaning-less cross that leads to war and premature death.

Glamorisation of Violence

Unfortunately life in a modern capitalist state is for many, lacking in excitement and meaning, as the control that people have over their own lives becomes less and less. With a powerful visual media, vicarious excitement becomes the rule. Vicarious excitement becomes less and less attractive however, and when a state can

mobilise its citizens behind a war and generate a glamour, which is generally lacking, then it obscures the real nature of its activities. Unfortunately the state is not alone in doing this; anarchists have also been guilty of glamorising an activity that at the best is a sad necessity. War always requires the sort of discipline that has a mindless quality necessary in an authoritarian society. One can observe, as the war fever is generated, the pressure to conform grows in the same proportion. I think in spite of the massive propaganda mounted particularly by the popular press, that a substantial proportion of the population is not so taken in. In spite of the hoo-ha of the recent bye-election the enthusiasm was so great that over 40 per cent did not bother to vote.

ALAN ALBON

INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CAMP AT BOURDIGOU

VARIOUS anarchist and libertarian groups in Perpignan and Beziers invite everyone to an international libertarian camp at Bourdigou from 3rd to 11th July 1982. There will be no charge for the camp (Translator's note: I think that's what it means!).

Bourdigou is one of those rare spots on the coast of France (?Europe) where naturism is not enclosed in a ghetto, but the construction of a '3 Star' capitalist built camp over a large part of the site is going to endanger the open and free character of the place.

The international libertarian meeting of July '82 will therefore have 3 objectives:

- (i) to enable visitors from all countries to spend 10 days at the seaside;
- (ii) to enable people to meet each other

and to create debating groups around different themes which will be suggested at the beginning of the camp;

(iii) to give the libertarian movement the means of demonstrating that the struggle in defense of open spaces is one of its priorities.

All participants are responsible for their own accommodation; the organising team will provide WCs and water points.

As well as providing a meeting-place for libertarians, the camp will enable us to say a loud NO to the commercial development of free and open spaces.

Further information from: GAS and I+A Libertaires 48 rue des Augustins 66000 Perpignan FRANCE

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

NEW MAGAZINE

Dear Friends,

How long anarchy indeed!, Down here in Kent, we've stopped waiting. Anarchists in Abbey Wood, Orpington and Eltham are starting to mobilise (dramatic eh!), to wit, we've started a magazine.

It's about time some contacts were made throughout the area, and that entails more than just getting your name on FREEDOM'S contact page, albeit the best yet.

What we need are letters from everyone whether we use them for the magazine or not. We also need news, views, events, local or national, art, articles, arty articles (Arthur Moyse where are you?), empty fag packets, ring pulls, in short anything. (We work on A4 paper and cannot reduce). We also would like to hear from all you revolutionary women, to balance out the fact that we're all men.

For the first issue we have an interview with the Poison Girls among other things, so if you've got something we can use, don't hang around.

We would also like to contact @narchy Mag Collective in Kingston, who wrote to us and asked us to one of their Monday meetings, but did not give us an address!

So next time you've nothing to do remember us. Our contact address is:

The Alternative Magazine
4 Abbey Wood Road
Abbey Wood
London

Get on with it! Yours, E GERBEAVER

SIMPLY ANARCHIST

Dear Editors,

Having taken part in a few marches over the last six months, notably October's London CND rally, with considerable anarchist presence I am getting fed up with the media constantly labelling them as extreme left-wing. To show the considerable anarchist movement which does existI propose simply an 'anarchist march'. If a few thousand turn up it is bound to get media coverage and there is no way it could be labelled as anything but anarchist. With communists being looked upon as the only real extremist party it would make the public sit up and prove that anarchism is not a thing of the past. I believe many anarchists do not turn up at CND or anti-vivisection marches for fear of leftist dominance. This would certainly turn the tables and the more the banners, the louder the noise then the larger the anarchist movement in this country will become.

Yours fraternally, BENVENUTO BALDELLI

MISQUOTATION

Dear FREEDOM.

My thanks to you for printing virtually in its entirety (and against all my expectations!) that embarrassingly long letter on sexism and autonomy. However at one point where you did chop stuff out, some confusion as well as misquotation has resulted. Readers who refer to FREEDOM 20 March will note that Cliff Poxon actually wrote, 'as libertarians we should be against patriarchy and matriarchy'. With which (in my actual letter) I disagreed: as libertarians we should be against lifestyle imperialism. As it's printed, my introduction of the concept (or name) has been attributed to Cliff!

ANDREW HUCKERBY

LAKENHEATH REVISITED

Dear FREEDOM,

The first time I visited RAF Lakenheath was in the mid-70's as one of some 250 (!) on CND's national demonstration of that year. My second visit to the home of the 48th Tactical Fighting Wing of the US air force which is based there was to see the latest of the British peace camps opening. Some 37 children and adults, a goat, two cats, a dog and some hens moved onto a large open site by the front gates on Whit weekend.

In the foreground are the towers, fences and bunkers of the nuclear base, in the background constant gunfire from the 'Rod and Gun' social club. An early serviceman visitor said that basically every body on the base wanted peace—and the USAF are there to keep the peace by retaining the 'nuclear balance...' Through leaflettir and talking to local residents the peace campers here found considerable interest in the camp—including support from dependants of servicemen.

The peace camp site is privately owned by the Elvedon estate, one of the main landlords in the area. The estate manager has said that he'll take legal action to evict the camp. Ironically the estate is concerned with the camp being near a site of special scientific interest—a nature conservancy area of rare lichens and mosses. We suggested that the camp was contributing to nature conservancy by trying to get rid of the nuclear base.

At the moment much of the activity at the camp is in organising the practicalities of the site and building a structure beside the main road to the Lakenheath gates. The police and press have been surprisingly friendly though have found it difficult to cope with the camp being collectively run and having no 'spokesman' or leader.

After the initial weekend the number of 'permanent' campers will be about 9, so visitors—short or long term are welcome. Visitors should preferably bring their own food and shelter, remember that the camp includes livestock and children, and respect the non-violent basis of this action.

In the longer term the camp hopes to become a centre for non-violent direct action against the many bases in the area and the site of a free peace festival—provisionally on July 19th.

The camp is supported by various East Anglia peace groups, Bury St Edmonds women's group and Nottingham CND, from whom most of the camp members have come.

The peace camp is on the A1065 between Brandon and Eriswell and the address is FAB Peace Camp, opposite Main Gates, RAF Lakenheath, Suffolk, or telephone Mildenhall 716556.

MESSAGE

Dear Comrades,

As I am most probably one of the youngest readers of FREEDOM and that my particular future seems to getting worse and worse with unemployment and what have you, I feel that it is very necessary that we all get together and actually work to get in a situation where we all can live as anarchists rather than endlessly fighting against authority when it's obvious that there aren't enough of us to make a big enough impression on people in general.

Put it this way, the media has labelled us as 'terrorists' and so on. If we carry on doing destructive things rather than creating, then we are going to be slagged off even more.

90% of the general population think SHIT. If we are going to show them that what we're talking about is not just some sort of crap, then we are going to have to get a place where we can all live. (A large commune type thing) and 'practise' anarchy.

If we do eventually get some sort of place like that then we can actually show people that anarchy is not shitty and mass destruction, BUT CREATIVE!

I'm 16 years old, I know about five anarchists altogether and it doesn't seem that they have actually found a place to live without having to rely on the system in some way.

I know it seems like a far off Utopia, but if all the anarchist groups got together and planned (eg, a mass squat), then surely, we are on the road to finding oursleves in a situation where we no longer find ourselves living in threat.

Anyway, that's my message.

I hope that has given a lot of people an actual 'goal' and also that something can be done....eventually.

Hopefully,

PAT RIOT

REEDOMA

nternational

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. Tel: 02-516 4416,

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. L. Trobe University, Bundoors, 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 and Libertarian Research Centre can be reached through PO Box 203, Fremantle.

TASMANIA c/o 34 Kennedy St, Launceton 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.

ARIZONA

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

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Bound Together: Book Collective 1901 Hayes St San Francisco, CA 94117 (415) 668-2785

Connecticut

Minn 55407.

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MINNESOTA Soil of Liberty, Box 7056 Pow-Station, Minneapolis, derhorn

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

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

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

SEATTLE Left Bank Publishing Project Box B 92 Pike Street Seattle, WA 98101

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

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY Séhwarzer Gockler (Black Cockerel), 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, 60 Schmuck, Postfach 153, 1000 Berlin 44.

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

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

Autogestione Casella Postale 17127, 20100 Milano Editrice A Casella Postale 17120. 20100 Milano Senzapatria c/o Mauizio Ton-etto, Casella Postale 647, 35500 Padova c/o Piero Tognole Via C Battisti 39, 23100 Sondrio

BELGIUM Revolutionair Anarchisties Kol-lektief (RAK), Oudborg 47, 9000 Gent.

HOLLAND De Vrije, Postbus 486, 2000AL Haarlem, Holland, tel: 023

Anarchistiese Boekhandel Slager-zicht (Anarchist Bookshop), Folkingestraat 10, Groningen

DENMARK.

DENMARK.

Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe, Meijlgade 48, 8000 Aarhus.
Rainbow Anarchists of the Free
City of Christiana, c/o Allan
Anarchos. Tinghuset, Fristaden
Christiana, 1407 Copenhagen.
Anarkistisk Bogcage, Rosenborggade 12, 1130 Kobenhavn K. Tel (01) - 12 26 82.

ANORG, Hoxtvedtv, 31B, 1431 As (Publish 'Folkebladt' 4 times a year)

SWEDEN Syndikalist Forum, Tenstiernas Gata 51, 11631-Stockholm, Syndikalistiskt Forum (anarchosynd bookshop), Husagatans 41302 Gothenburg (tel 03 Gothenburg (tel 031 132504)

Student, 23, whose passions include workers' collectives, Soccer, Zoology, Film-making, Kafka and Anarchy as a way of life and not only as theory, would like to hear from any individual. Please write to, R Ron, 16 simtat hagiva, Savyon, Israel.

ANETTE Lindkvist from Sweden wishes to move to GB with 2 children to lesbian collective. Has own means so not dependent. Paints, writes, thinks. Unhappy at home, wishes to widen horizons. Anette Lindkvist Box 25 19 20012 Malmo 2

ARE there any anarchists living in or around the Orpington or Abbey Wood area interested in forming a group? Action preferred to theory. Contact: Rik on 663 1263

IF you wish to contact other IF you wish to contact other Anarcho-Pacifists in Canada and elsewhere, we are forming a section of the URI — our publication — DESOBEISSANCE CIVILE, c/o GROUPE THOREAU, CP95 S/N PLACE d'ARMES, MONTREAL QUE. H2Y 3E9

First issue in French and English

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Women's writings, lyrics and poetry wanted for an anthology on nuclear holocaust collected by a group of politically active women attempting to use words to inspire change and resistance. Send material to R Azen, Flat 3, Honeywell Rd, London SW11

CHAOS - Journal of the Pagan Anarchists — 1st issue due out soon — If you wish to contribute articles, comments or any other queries, write to:-CHAOS C/O R-YVES BRETN S/N PLACE d'ARMES. MONTREAL QUE H2Y 3E9

conference

18th-20th June. Centro Iberico. 421a Harrow Road, London W10. Here are further details of the Here are further details of the Festival/Weekend of Action, outlined below. More information can be obtained from 121 Anarchist Bookshop, 121 Railton Road, Brixton, Tel: 01-274 6655. Friday 18th

5-8pm arrive and food.

8-11pm music/humour including, Wendy Wattage Live, Tony Allen and friends, Psychotics.

Saturday 19th 10-1pm Reports and Workshops. 1-2pm Food.

Simultaneous picket 2-4pm selected embassy in solidarity with anarchist prisoners.

4-8pm Workshop.

8-9pm Meal. 9-12pm Music/humour: Heuristic Music, Anarchist

Review, Keith and Robert.

Sunday 20th 10-6pm Discussion, Workshop Food, Video. It is hoped that everyone will arr-

ive early on Friday as it can be seen that plenty has been laid on. Don't forget to bring reports, papers, publications, videos (VHS only), flags, tapes etc, as well as sleeping bags. Also let us know in advance if you require creche fac-

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FREEDOM review

12th June 1982 Vol 43 No 11



WHO'S COUNTING

'We have made no estimates of cost'—John Nott, Minister of Defence, April 1982.

NO self-respecting pukka shahib in Poona, settling into the creaking wicker and downing his chota peg before tiffin, would dream of letting a day pass without observing 'Gad, life is cheap out here.' Since we are back in the glorious days of gunboat diplomacy, therefore, we shall not dwell on the cost in human life, of the new Battle of the Falklands since when states clash, life has to be cheap*. Besides which, by the time these words have appeared before you very eyes, the figures available as we write would be out of date.

Out of date, as well, will be any figures that could be calculated on the financial costs of this incredible exercise on economies which, as we all know, have been reeling from recession, inflation, unemployment, dying and bankrupt industries and, above all, monetarism.

Monetarism, inasmuch as any of us understand it at all, seems to mean that every enterprise must pay its way in terms of profit-making. Anything which does not make a money profit—like a Health Service, for example—is a failure in monetarist terms. Except of course, the institutions of the state: the armed services, the police and law enforcement agencies, prisons, civil services, etc. Even here, at the lower level, economies must be made—but, in order to retain

personnel of the proper 'quality' to run the state's affairs efficiently, inflated salaries can be paid without thoughts of 'profit' in monetarist terms. Thus the recent increases in judges' pay—up to £52,000 per annum for the Lord Chief Justice, and comparable pay for judges in general.

All that at a time when the already underpaid nurses of the National Health Service—which is not used by top people anyway—are being forced into reluctant militancy against a pay offer of about half the running rate of inflation.

So, the state looks after its own, and the taxpayer pays. When the task force was first being assembled to go down and give Galtieri a bloody nose, the financial cost was announced as being in the region of £50 million. This figure is now clearly laughable-if you feel like laughing. By the middle of May the Ministry of Defence was admitting that 'Frandly, we have nobody with time to spare to work on' ... the question of cost. But, without even taking into account the cost of losses in ships and aircraft (a type-22 frigate cost £120 million in 1980; Harriers cost £6 million each; the two Tigerfish torpedoes that sank the General Belgrano cost £300,000 each) and our high-tech missiles, or helicopters that seem to have a habit of ditching themselves... without any of this throwaway cost in combat, the expenses that have been amassed simply in the creation of the task force are astronomical.

While the use of the naval ships and their crews would have been going on as usual, the sudden charge over 8000 miles has meant the burning of enormous amounts of fuel—to supply which the government has bought the services of 11 civilian tankers, with an average of 25,000 tons of fuel oil—which the state buys duty free at about 65p a gallon. Work it out for yourself, if you know the consumption of those 75 ships in the original task force (since added to) all sailing flat out over those 8000 miles.

Nor are the sailors on this patriotic mission doing all this for nothing. The Royal Naval personnel immediately get a pay boost for going on active duty—and the civilian crews of the comandeered supply vessels have settled their fears by accepting a 150 per cent bonus for sailing south of Ascension Island. This means that men paid normally £200 a week are on £500 as soon as they are in the South Atlantic. Which can be a comfort to their widows, of course, though we are not told how many seamen in the Merchant Service

are on £200 a week normally.

More ships are being commandeered by our freedom-loving Government every week (those who booked cruises on the Canberra or the QE2 have just got to put up with their disappointment) but at the time of writing the count is around 40 ships ranging from those giant luxury liners (which have had helicopter decks rapidly built on them and have had their comfy carpets covered with hardboard and their wall decorations removed) down to tugs and trawlers. Chartering costs alone are running at over £3 million a day, and on top of that there are special insurance and indemnity charges that the taxpayer will have to face.

And all this is to say nothing of the costs of losses of these requisitioned ships. As we write only (only!) the Atlantic Conveyor, a large container cargo ship has, among the larger supply vessels, gone down—with aircraft and ammunition and spares aboard, but not much loss of life. The Canberra and the QE2 are still sailing south, the latter

with 3000 troops aboard...

Before the loss of the Sheffield, the Antelope, the Coventry and the Atlantic Conveyor, the costs, according to assessors in the City of London and the Ministry of Defence, were already rising in excess of £1000 million. We may be sure there is more yet to come. And if Britain 'wins' and thrusts the Argentinians off the Falklands, what then? It seems to be assumed by the British Government that then the junta in Buenos Aires will have to come to terms and a diplomatic agreement' will be finally agreed. But why should it? Why should not the Argentinians just sit back and let the British taxpayer go on, and on, and on, paying for Thatcher's pride and confidence and determination?

If Galtieri refuses to come to terms, the British will be forced to do what they have admitted they could not afford to do: maintain a sufficiently strong armed force on the Falklands to deter another Argentine invasion—all supplied from 8000 miles away—and pinned down forever, facing

sporadic aerial harassment.

The only way of breaking the deadlock then would be to attack mainland Argentina—which would immediately force the rest of South America into support for Galtieri, which might bring the USA into more open, direct, support for Britain and then bring the USSR into more open support for the Argentinians.

And then?

Then we might see the true cost of Margaret Thatcher's over-reaction, but nobody would ever be able to assess the price of saving her face.

JUSTIN

* 'I am proud to have a son who died doing the job he loved for the country he loved — Mr Harry Taylor, father of Lt Nicholas Taylor, shot down over the Falklands.



The first casualty

IT does not take much to get the Tories to show just how skin deep is their devotion to freedom as a concept rather than as an excuse for them to take liberties.

Owing to some strange technicalities involved in getting news from the South Atlantic back to Britain—through the use of satellites which serve both the television channels and the radio and newspapers—there have been at times as much exposure of Argentinian points of view and airing of their claims, as there has been for the British side.

This reached its peak in a Panorama programme on the BBC on May 17th, which was so 'objective' that the entire right wing of the Conservative party very nearly burst into flames. The presenter nowadays for Panorama is Robert Key, who is probably already on the Tories' death list for an historic series (that is, the theme was historic, not the series) last year on ireland.

Anyway, from the Prime Minister and Home Secretary down through the wilder of the back benchers the howl went up of 'treachery', 'odious subversive travesties', 'irresponsible' and so on, from those who are staunchly against state interference or governmental control of anything.....

that might get in their own way.

The fact that the BBC prides itself upon being independent of government control—and is admired throughout the world for what is held to be objective and truthful reporting—means nothing when the government wants its own point of view presented as the one and only truth and nothing else. The very idea that the Argentinians might have any arguments on their side is not to be considered. The fact that the government in Buenos Aires strictly controls the output from the media there can be used as an example of how they are totalitarian—but freedom of expression here is not to be used except in the British Government's service.

This sudden concern for the output of the BBC would carry a little more weight, perhaps, if we forgot the heavy cuts the BBC has had to make recently in its overseas broadcasting as a result of government economies—thereby preventing many people in totalitarian countries from ever hearing any other point of view than that of their masters. It is in line with the cuts in education and the raising of fees for overseas students which have resulted in many students from other countries being unable to come here.

Mrs Thatcher is now such a Little Englander that she can have no real arguments about such divisions in the world as the Berlin Wall, the Iron Curtain, closed frontiers and closed minds everywhere. The Stalin mentality is alive and well and living in Downing Street!

coping with the BOMB

'THE thing, in the end, was survival', writes Maggie Gee in her acclaimed recent novel, *Dying in Other Words*. If nothing else, this overriding *motif* in Gee's novel tells us much about the widespread concern for 'survival' at almost any price in our nuclear time. Germain Greer, when asked her message for feminists in the 1980s, summed it up in a lecture here last year: 'Survive!' For conservative intellectual Conor Cruise O'Brien, writing in the *Observer*, 'The United Nations is the most important international institution that has ever existed, and its survival is bound up with the survival of the human race.'

'Protect and Survive' is title and message of the British government's campaign to scare Britons into accepting the installation of American medium range cruise missiles here in 1983. 'Protest and Survive' is the title and message of replies by leading Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament supporters like historian E P Thompson. (See eg. Thompson and Dan Smith's 1981 Penguin Special, Protest and Survive.) In addition to distributing tens of thousands of copies of its 'Protect and Survive' pamphlet on civil defence and how-to-cope-at-home when 'They' attack us, the government is now flooding schools with similar stuff for kids. Government supporters publish a monthly 'civil defence' magazine, Protect and Survive, essentially to 'neutralize' the CNL' bimonthly, Sanity.

In recent years, 'survival' has become big business. In the United States, Australia and Europe, the rich and privileged are being offered womb-to-tomb survival kits, from secluded acres of land and mansions policed by private armies, to computers, video equipment, saunas, food, clothing and all the other commodities needed to help one 'survive'. Harry Schultz, the world's highest paid financial consultant (2,000 dollars an hour on weekdays, 4,000 an hour on weekends) runs a survival course for a select group of very rich people in Cannes. A vehemently anti-communist supporter of Prime Minister Thatcher and President Reagan, Schultz gives his 'friends' just three years before nuclear holocaust. The Friends of Harry, a recent Observer report has it, 'are busy establishing alternative identities (with aappropriate passports), building nuclear shelters, setting up their own bank, learning to fly their own planes and sail their own boats, locating isolated hide-outs and assembling survival kits.'

The striking fact is that while supporters and opponents of all things nuclear disagree sharply about necessary and appropriate means, the aim of survival is common to all. Whatever one's position of pacifism, the Russians, SALT 2, START, the 'zero option' re. deployment of NATO missiles in Europe, unilateral disarmament, nuclear-free zones, the latest propaganda-diplomatic initiatives by the Russians or Reagan, or whatever, the end is survival. At issue is only what sort of survival, for whom, at what price?

These, however, are precisely the questions participants in the current debate rarely address. An exception was a recent conference at Cambridge of concerned international doctors, scientists and professionals from East and West. Speaker after speaker stressed that 'survival' after a nuclear exchange between the super-powers is a sick non-joke. Most of the population in any country involved would die immediately. Those who didn't would die soon after, from the effects of radiation, lack of food or medical facilities. Propaganda by the superpowers to the contrary was argued to be lethal nonsense.

The extra-ordinary reception accorded illustrator Raymond Briggs' book When The Wind Blows* suggests that these questions are at last impinging on the minds of large numbers of people here in Britain. 40,000 copies have been sold since March; another 20,000 have been printed. The Times reports that an animated film version of the book is planned by the producers of the Beatles film, Yellow Submarine. The fact that the apolitical, conservatively inclined Briggs has produced such a strong indictment of the government's 'protect and survive' ideology, is perhaps the best proof of this. Hitherto, Briggs has produced a series of popular kids' books, including Fungus the Bogeyman and Father Christmas Goes on Holiday.

He explains why he spent 18 months on this moving illustrated tale of the fate of an 'ordinary' retired couple in the country when the Bomb drops:

I wanted to see if a nuclear attack does happen, if the alarm does go off, what do people actually do? I feel very strongly about government propaganda. The authorities are playing it down, pretending it's like the Second World War when it jolly well isn't.

Briggs is far from being a political idcelegue or activist: 'When I did the book I was not remotely a CND supporter.' What Briggs has produced, however, is a non-'kids' book for everyone which succeeds in showing with shocking pathos the price we can expect to pay for uncritical reliance on government 'Protect and Survive' leaflets. Briggs offers no overt message that prevention is the only possible path to survival in any acceptable sense. But it's implicit in his depiction of the post-Bomb death-agonies of Mrs and Mr Everyone.

I don't have such strong opinions on the right path to defence, but I shall emphasise my concern about the whitewashing that's going on...all this stuff about hiding behind the living room door in a potato sack cum the bang. That, partly, is what my book is about...and the horror of nuclear war.

Briggs is hardly a 'pinko', as the government here tries to depict pro-CND and anti-nuclear supporters. 'I can't accept that it's better to be Red than dead....saying such a thing doesn't rid us of nuclear war...My politics are vague, I'd probably vote SDP, it's a good party for the Don't Knows.'

Precisely because Briggs expresses the 'ordinary' person's desire for genuine peace and survival, and mounting scepticism at official propaganda, When the Wind Blows has been savagely attacked by pro-government politicians. It is, according to Stephen Hastings, Conservative MP for Mid-Beds, 'a subtle and pernicious piece of CND propaganda well aimed to induce irrational fear and panic. I am astonished that Hamish Hamilton should have lent themselves to such an exercise. Perhaps Mr Biggs (sic), whoever he may be, would like to follow up with a second picture book to illustrate what happens to us when we have finally given way to cowardice and abandoned our nuclear defence.' Other attacks have been even worse.

Everyone I know (child and adult) who has read Briggs' book agrees with me that When the Wind Blows has touched unprecedented depths of public concern at official propaganda on 'surviving at an acceptable cost'. A picture is indeed worth a thousand anti-nuclear words. If ever there was a non-kids' book for kids, this is it. With wit, sympathy and simplicity almost unbearable in its pathos, Briggs illustrates how powerless we all are, once we agree to leave decisions concerning our 'survival' to any self-appointed elite of politicians and 'experts'. The revolutionary message of When the Wind Blows is that 'ordinary' people can not rely on Big Brother either for their 'protection' or 'survival'. What ever one's political views, this book concentrates the mind wonderfully on the real questions: what sort of survival, for whom, at what price?

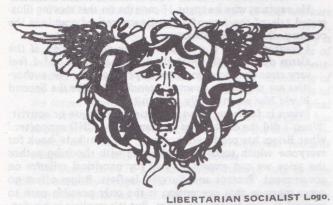
JULIE SOUTHWOOD

* When the Wind Blows Hamish Hamilton, 1982 £3.95.

review

A SHORT HISTORY OF RECENT SYDN

ANY history of Sydney, or Australian anarchism will be incomplete and subject to the subjectivity of the writer/historian. However, with this said, I'll now detail some of the recent history of anarchism in Sydney over the last decade. For it is a history which needs to be restated, and there are lessons which have been learnt.



BACKGROUND - BEFORE THE SEVENTIES

'There have been anarchist groups and individuals in Australis since the late 19th century. By and large, these had disappeared by the depression. After the Second World War immigrant anarchists formed their own foreign language groups and there were also English speaking groups around during the 40's and 50's. Today's anarchist movement developed chiefly from the Sydney Anarchist Group (SAG).

In Sydney during the 50's there was a certain community between the non-Communist Party of Australia left (anarchists, trotskyists, etc.) and the Sydney Libertarians—a rather dated group of free thinkers ultimately deriving from, and reacting against, the philosophy of a Professor Anderson of Sydney University. This community of the left and ultraliberal was sufficiently large to form a barrier against the relatively hostile political environment.

Although the SAG, which was chiefly composed of migrants, never managed to take root in the community at large it never completely disintegrated either. At various times in the 50's and 60's it apparently collapsed and was then revived; during periods of collapse anarchism continued as individuals at libertarian meetings.

The SAG attempted several publishing ventures:-Anarchist Review (3 issues), Red and Black (9th issue & still publishing), and The Anarchist (3 issues). At the same time the Libertarians produced Broadsheet (monthly), The Sydney Line (compilation of Broadsheet articles), and Libertarian occasionally).

There was considerable cross-fertilisation between the two groups—the chief contribution of the Libertarians being their trenchant criticisms of classical anarchism. Although Sydney Anarchism hadn't developed a distinctive position—unless libertarianism is anarchism—it was probably moving towards the sort of position exemplified by Cohn-Bendit with various alterations according to individual political backgrounds. The classical anarchist immigrant groups ceased to be significant.

In the mid 60's an anarchist group developed in Brisbane. This group was responsible for the first radical anti-conscription and anti-war demonstration in Brisbane. Later, its university wing helped in founding the Campaign Against Conscription and Students for a Democratic Australia. Also in 1966 a short lived libertarian group started at Monash University, and the group, TREASON at La Trobe University,

both in direct contact with the Sydney and Brisbane groups.

In 1969 Sydney Libertarianism started to take an anarchist turn and both it and anarchism (dormant since 1968 and the Bill Dwyer LSD takeover) started to revive. Also, after the 1968 events in France and Czechoslovakia, the non-anarchist left began a movement towards marxist syndicalism. While new anarchist groups appeared in Brisbane and Adelaide, various trotskyist and SDS/SDA type groups started carrying red and black flags and talking of anarchomarxism. The Communist Party of Australia (CPA) started talking of worker control. In 1970 a successful anarchist conference was held in Sydney.**1



The Jura Bookshop

THE START OF THE SEVENTIES

During the early 70's such personalities as Germaine Greer, Wendy Bacon, and Richard Neville were publicising anarchist ideas, especially in regard to state censorship. Such printing endeavours as Thor (which grew out of the university student paper Tharunka), Oz magazine, and a newspaper edition of the Little Red School Book (distributed free to school kids), aroused confrontation over censorship.

Meanwhile, the SAG were publishing anarchist leaflets, pamphlets, and the occasional journal Red and Black. A number of members were active in the Draft Resistance movement in Sydney. To the point of seeking TV interviews and then evading the local constabulary. One instance in particular with two anarchist draft resisters, involved a high speed car chase through inner Sydney streets. They seemingly were caught at a set of traffic lights near the entrance to Sydney University, as two burly police officers jumped into the back seat of the car. However, the comrade driving was able to drive the car up into the university, just at lunchtime when students were pouring forth from lectures. Several pairs of bolt cutters appeared in a matter of minutes and the comrades were able to escape through the crowd, leaving the police officers standing sheepishly with broken handcuffs in a crowd of hundreds of students.

Up in Brisbane during 1971 a split occurred in an organisation known as the Revolutionary Socialist Party. The Self Management Group (SMG) was formed in December 1971 in an attempt to maintain the continuity of libertarian socialist ideas. The Labour Action Group which initiated the split maintained its formation for a short period and then many ot its personnel joined the different leninist and trotskyist organisations in existence in Brisbane. The SMG was to adopt a councillist approach similar to Solidarity in England.

EY AND AUSTRALIAN ANARCHISM

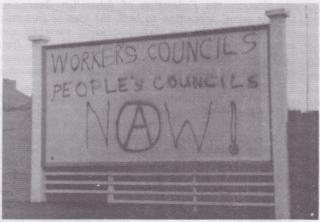
In Melbourne a number of groups were still active—the TREASON group around La Trobe University, and the Collingwood Freestore. The Freestore was a shopfront in which people could give goods and take goods as they saw fit. It also offered services like medical, tenant, and legal advice. There was also living space behind the shop for enough people to cover the rent, as well as providing a crash pad for interstate and out of town anarchists. The success of the Freestore can be gauged by this quote:-

'For the first month or two we had a van to do pickups, but discovered this quite unnecessary—stuff just came rolling in! Sometimes we'd come home to find boxes of clothes, etc, sitting on the doorstep. Our biggest problem has been in sorting and cleaning. Some people will make the place a dumping ground for useless junk. We largely overcame this by contacting the Brotherhood of St Laurence who agreed to take our torn and/or dirty clothing. *2

Activity was also happening in Perth, Western Australia. 'In the last couple of months the few anarchist activists in West Australia have landed together in a loose federation. We have obtained premises for living and printing etc and we are now in the process of running off edition no 2 of King Mob, our duplicated paper.'*3

One of the people involved in Perth, Julian Ripley, was framed in 1972 of the planting of a bomb in the Department of Labour and National Service.

In November and December of 1972 an anarchist conference was held in Melbourne, and a libertarian conference in Sydney. Out of the Melbourne conference came the Federation of Australian Anarchists Bulletin (FAAB), which survived for two issues during 1973. The Sydney conference was organized by the Sydney Libertarians and was essentially a forum for the presentation of papers and discussion.



Glebe Road Protest

MELBOURNE & SYDNEY 1973

During 1973 the centre of Australian Anarchism seemed to be Melbourne. The Freestore was going strong, Dingo was being published, university groups were active. In June a number of Melbourne women met and created AS IF — Anarcho Surrealist Insurrectionary Feminist. The Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) was started and the journal Acracia was put out, originally all in Spanish and then bilingual. The ABC group lasted for some years but dissolved in late 1975 after publishing some 40 issues of Acracia.

Other states also had activity. West Australia had an Anarchist Federation and published King Mob and had a freestore for a short time. A South Australian comrade was active in publishing an anarcho-surrealist poetry magazine called Mere Anarchy. Queensland and Tasmania both had

groups and bookshops.

The situation in Sydney in 1973 is described in a letter to FAAB no 2:-

'For a start, while there are quite a few people who regard themselves as anarchists in Sydney, there is no functioning group at present except simply as a group of people who are personal friends and may work together on a particular project....Rather than organizing as a separate anarchist group (except for publishing and self-education) we have been active mainly as a libertarian tendency within rank and file mass action groups. Primarily 'Push' libertarians have been active in the Victoria Street (Kings Cross) Residents Action Group (RAC) to stop high rise development destroying the community....Anarchists have also been involved in the Glebe RAG against a half constructed expressway that would bulldoze the entire area.

Anarchists are also active in the recently formed Sydney Centre for Workers Control. Within the meetings a group of women's liberationists (Communist Party of Australia members) have argued consistently for an anarchist structure....'*4



Ultimo House

RESIDENT ACTION -- UNION ACTION

The success of resident and union cooperation in applying 'Green Bans' to stop urban development was a major breakthrough between community and workplace struggles. A number of anarchists became involved both as rank and file unionists and outside activists in RAGs.

'Over the last 2 years the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) in NSW has been refusing to work on jobs it considered detrimental to the environment or living standards of the people. These bans were applied by the union after being approached by the RAGs in the areas concerned. These bans effectively halted 3,000 million dollars worth of building contracts in Sydney. They ranged from preservation of Kelly's Bush in a middle class area to the preservation of working class homes in the Rocks area and Victoria Street of inner Sydney. Bans are also preventing the building of a new (sensory deprivation) maximum security prison. In holding up these projects the BLF

have long been under attack by the Master Builders Association and the Askin State Government.'*5

In late 1974 the MBA and the State Government found a new ally—the Federal BLF leader, Norm Gallagher, a maoist, who procedded with the aid of the bosses to smash the organisation of the NSW Branch and install his own puppets.

'In anyone's eyes this act is blatant class collaboration. Gallagher, along with his marxist-leninist bedfellows have sided with the boss and the state to smash rank and file activity in NSW. The MBA have seen that the 3,000 million dollars worth of development now presently being held up because of Green Bans might be smashed if Gallagher's scab branch in NSW becomes established.

The Green Bans are a partial example of how workers can decide what they produce, how they will produce it, and for what purpose it will be used.... The experience is especially important in that it has created the links of unity with workers from the various states in the construction industry. It has meant a crucial strengthening of the rank and file groups within the industry regardless of the forces against them, it has shown leaderships for what they are; enemies to be fought against. The struggle has also given a large degree of confidence to the workers involved and this is an important development towards workers' autonomy and workers' power.'*6

Thus ended in 1975 a major contribution to rank and file and community cooperation in Australia—a period of job occupations, work-ins, rank and file and community decision



Glebe Rd, Rent Strike - 1975

1975 - THE SYDNEY ANARCHIST CONFERENCE

Activity at organizing the Sydney Anarchist Group did not restart till 1974, and that activity was a result of a number of Sydney individuals and Melbourne groups agitating for a national conference of anarchists. A preliminary Anarchist/Libertarian Conference was held in Sydney on 22/9/74 with

50 comrades present to organize and plan the continental conference. Groups represented included the ABC; CNT; La Trobe Anarchist Group; ROE (Student-Worker Resistance Uruguay); Brisbane SMG; SAG; and Canberra Anarchists. Much discussion was held on the structure of the conference, to be held for a week in January 1975. Two predominant attitudes came to the fore—the degree of organization and the structure of the conference and of the Federation. These two attitudes were typified by the Brisbane SMG and the Sydney Anarchist Group:

'Sydney comrades remarked that national strategy for libertarians in this country would evolve out of a national conference. Brisbane comrades replied that if unity and coherence can't be worked out on a regional basis, they will not be worked out on a national basis.'*7

And so it was decided that Sydney should host the conference—being the most central of the centres of anarchist activity. The months leading up to the conference served to solidify a diverse group of people with as much diversity in ideology, around the Sydney Anarchist Group. The group itself had no ideology beyond being anarchist, just the purpose of organizing this conference.

The conference itself—held over 9 days in January—proved to be a watershed in recent Australian Anarchism. The following is one account of the conference, published in a FAAB.

'Over 250 people attended the conference and the following groups were represented:- Brisbane SMG 8; Canberra 9 from the Woodstock Anarchist Party, ANU Anarchists, Canberra Anarcho-feminists, and Humanists; Melbourne from the La Trobe Anarchists 20, Feminist SMG 4, Monash University Anarchists 6, Strawberry Press Group 4; Flinders University Anarchists, Adelaide 1. There was a large number of people from Sydney anarchist and libertarian groups, plus many others not associated with any group, who went along to get more involved with the anarchist movement.'

* The conference was considered by most people present to have been a success. There were several achievements, one of these being the setting up of a national organization—the Federation of Australian Anarchists. Despite some opposition to both the idea of anarchists organizing, and to the verbalization of anarchist aims and principles, a draft document presented by A. from La Trobe Anarchists was accepted (with minor revision) as a basis for both a minimum definition of anarchist and national organization.

Following on from the acceptance of this document, there was discussion about the nature and production of the FAA Bulletin, with the result that this bulletin will become the internal communications bulletin of the It will be produced on a rotating basis by the federated groups....There was discussion concerning the feasibility of a national anarchist newspaper.

Another achievement of the conference was the development of personal relationships between people from different places, with many strong friendships being made. One disappointing feature was that of the numerous papers (31) prepared for the conference, only 3 were actually read and discussed.... Thus some of the discussions, without having a clear focal point, tended to be disorderly.

There was also debate over the format of large meetings eg whether a chair person was needed, how can a person's right to speak be respected, and what should be done with troublemakers? While these structural problems were never really resolved, most participants made a conscious effort to try not to dominate the discussion.'*8

In retrospect, the conference appeared to me to have minimal structure, was fraught with ideological argument and proved to be little more than a week long get to know your fellow anarchist. The only formal things to come out of the conference were the formation of the FAA and the organizing of the FAAB. A number of the more serious people with prior organizational experience deemed the

conference as a failure. What the conference did provide was better communications between the eastern seabord groups, and a definite resurgence of anarchist activity, especially in Sydney and Melbourne. The conference was the start of a period of 'anything goes' carnival anarchism among some Melbourne and Brisbane people and the SAG.



International Women's Day March

CARNIVAL ANARCHISM

Spontaneity was essentially the name of the game during 1975 and early 1976 in Sydney. Situations like a room full of stoned people suddenly deciding to go out and do a paint up on the local billboards and buildings often occurred. The local Police Station and Commonwealth Bank and the Medical Association building were often targets.

Virtually all of the activity was centred around one house -130 Glebe Point Road, Glebe. This house, with 9 bedrooms, was the main sleeping quarters during the anarchist conference. After the conference the house became anarchist and a short struggle was had to deprive our intermediate landlord of his profits from this house. Then ensued a lengthy and protracted fight with the owner, the Federal Government, on the amount of rent payable. A rent strike was initiated, widespread publicity was gained by painting our case on the front of our home, and the use of leaflets. A compromise solution was eventually worked out in September 1975 after recourse to the Labor Cabinet Minister responsible, Tom Uren. The house remained anarchist for over 18 months till about August 1976.

One action which proved highly successful in terms of media coverage was a simultaneous action by the Dairy Liberation Front in Sydney and Melbourne. The purpose was to publicize the division between rich and poor by a token measure of stealing milk from upper class suburbs and redistributing it to community organizations in working class suburbs.

Another successful situationist style action was the printing and distributing of the Leichardt Town Council Mayor's resignation letter. This was carried out at a time when allegations against council officers were being made about rezoning areas for high rise development. The fake letter caused a furore in council, made the headlines of one of the afternoon daily papers, and sent the police questioning all the left groups, except the anarchists. The letter was written in a style advocating an anarchist revolution and encouraging workers and residents councils.

There was also a move during 1975 to set up small anarchist bookshops in Melbourne and Sydney—both doomed to fail through disorganization, mismanagement and lack of commitment. In October 1975 a National Women's Anarchist

Feminist Conference took place in Canberra. This proved successful and discussed, amongst other things, methods of anarchist organization, concerns of particular groups of women, and a feminist critique of capitalist society.

The Brisbane SMG, by 1975, already had a well established bookshop—Red and Black—and a printshop. In Melbourne Strawberry Press became Slash Asterisk and provided an outlet for anarchist pamphlets. In Sydney a small offset press was brought secondhand and printing started in early 1976. Only three separate items were printed before the Sydney group split into roughly two factions at the June 1976 anarchist conference. After the split the press remained unused until a deal was worked out with Brisbane and an equipment trade was made.

In Canberra there were three distinct groups during 1975/6—the Woodstock Anarchist Party (WAP) active in High School circles, ANU Anarchists in university circles, and Canberra Anarcho-feminists. The WAP had about 12 members in Canberra, all high school students, who started the Students Action Movement which had a number of successful campaigns on conditions in Canberra schools. The WAP also had members in Tasmania, Melbourne, and Sydney and during 1975 published an Australian bulletin, the Phantom.

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was another international organization which recruited new members in the anarchist resurgence of 1975. A Sydney Group IWW was started in January 1976 and in May the Australian and New Zealand General Organizing Committee was formed. New members were signed up in Melbourne and Adelaide but the Sydney Group IWW has continued to be the only group of members in Australia and has continued to maintain a presence in Sydney ever since.

On May 1st 1976, the Sydney Anarchist Group organized a Mayday march.

'This year the first of May (the real Mayday) concided with the NSW State election as well as the May 1st marchfestival organized by the Anarchists. The bureaucratically run official Mayday march is now held on the first Sunday in May with police permission and has little to do with the original idea of Mayday being a day of general strike by the people. So this year we decided to take the streets on May 1st and have a march and then a festival.

We assembled at the Haymarket and then moved off The 40 of us took to the road and seized one lane of George Street and marched half a mile up to the (Sydney) Town Hall polling booth. There we urged people not to vote, sang songs, read poems and handed out anarchist literature. At this stage the pigs noticed us and began to hassle us but there were no arrests.

The afternoon ended with our festival in Hyde Park with free food, wine, dancing, and music. Everyone had fun and enjoyed themselves while other people in the city gave their lives away to the politicians for another years.'*9

From March to June 76 four issues of a monthly newspaper, Rising Free, were published. The paper folded through lack of distribution, lack of funds, and the alienating comments throughout the paper. While carrying some excellent articles it simultaneously derided our own politics through 'in' political jokes. The paper was in many senses an ego trip by certain individuals in SAG—the 'chaotists' or 'carnival' anarchists as they became known at the Melbourne conference.

JOHN ENGLART

- *1 From the Melbourne Anarchist Archives (Papers 1)-1970 leaflet.
- *2 and *3: From the FAAB no 1, early 1973.
- *4: From the FAAB no 2 late 1973.
- *5: From Acracia, December 73/January 74 issue.
- *6: From Acracia no 35, late 1974.
- *7: From FAAB, new series, issue no 1.
- *8: From FAAB, new series, Jan/Feb-article by D W.

*9: From Rising Free no 4 June 1976.

The second part of this article follows in the next FREEDOM Review issue.

the monkey and the dragon

Further to the item 'the monkey and the dragon' in FREE-DOM Vol 43 No 6, the tapes listed below are now also available.

TAPE FIVE

CHANGING MEN'S ROLES. Self-control, aggression, achievement—this is what we expect from men in our society and this is what we get. The result? Stunted relationships and authoritarian institutions. Interviews, a skit and songs show how masculine values shape male behaviour at home, at work and at play. (1980)

MEN FIGHTING SEXISM. Men from Baltimore, Seattle, and New York talk about their attempts to fight sexism. They describe their experiences in men's discussion groups, a men's household and with children; and offer suggestions for men struggling against heterosexism and male domination. (1977)

TAPE SIX

THE BLACK FLAG OF ANARCHISM. The black flag is flying over an increasing variety of political groupings. GARC analyzes this trend, and explores the history and development of anarchism over the past 100 years. Featured is an interview with Robert Paul Wolff, author of *In Defense of Anarchism*. (1973)

THE SOCIAL ANARCHISM OF MURRAY BOOKCHIN. Imagine life not dominated by a repressive state apparatus; imagine an end to physical and psychic oppression, an end to scarcity, an end to most work. Imagine a world shared by all its inhabitants, and not owned by an elite few; self-management at the workplace and in all aspects of life; a balanced ecosystem; humane living in decentralised communities. Murray Bookchin, the noted anarchist theoretician and activist, explains that we have the technological capacity to make such a world a reality. (1973)

TAPE EIGHT

FOR A SITUATIONIST REVOLUTION. A history of the Situationist International, an extraordinary political movement committed to the belief that revolution encompasses the totality of everyday life. This movement was one of the most exciting of our time, and still affects anarchists and libertarians today.(1977)

MOVEMENT FOR ANEW SOCIETY. MNS is a decentralized network of groups working to build a new society that is democratic, non-violent and non-authoritarian. Several members of the Philadelphia and Baltimore groups talk about tactics, strategies and goals of the organization. (1977)

The Monkey and the Dragon Tweed Street High Bentham Lancaster LA2 7HW England

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Please add postage as in brackets. Titles marked * are published in the USA. N American purchasers please convert £1 (plus postage) at 1.85 dollars (US) or 2.25 dollars (Canada).

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£1.75 (42p)

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* Louise Michel: The Red Virgin: The Memoirs of Louise Michel (Ed & Trans by Bullitt Lowry and Elizabeth Ellington Gunter). (220pp ppr) \$8.95 (94p)

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Jeffrey Paul (Ed): Reading Nozick: Essays on Anarchy, State & Utopia (418pp ppr) £7.50 (94p)

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* Sidney Lens: Unrepentant Radical (Autobiography) (438pp cloth) £11.50 (94p)

Bill Lomax (Ed): Eyewitness in Hungary: The Soviet Invasion of 1956. [Both Hungarian and non-Hungarian writers who were on the spot at the time report their experiences and impressions] (183pp ppr) £2.95 (42p)

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