

THE nuclear disarmament movement is reformist and constitutionalist rather than revolutionary and libertarian. All anarchists will find this criticism valid, but many of them will disagree with the conclusion that they should therefore ignore or even oppose the campaign. On the contrary, such anarchists will continue to support the campaign for nuclear disarmament in the same way and for the same reason that they support other partial campaigns for various aspects of liberty and equality. It shouldn't be necessary to say why, but in view of what has already been said perhaps it is.

Briefly, if we think there is more chance of getting something than everything, we think there is more point getting something than nothing. The present campaign will not lead to revolution and will not remove the causes of nuclear weapons (or slavery or child labour or starvation or persecution of Jews or any other social or political evil), and if nuclear weapons are dismantled it will be done by nation states. However,

Anarchy and the Warfare State

we are faced not with a simple choice between two extreme alternatives — doing nothing effective about the present situation, or working for a libertarian socialist revolution which will solve the present situation — but with a complex choice between a whole series of intermediate alternatives. One of these alternatives is for us to take part in the nuclear disarmament movement, not trying to take it over to pull it apart, but trying to push it as far as possible in a revolutionary and libertarian direction.

One objection is that this means working within the state. Of course it does, just as we do in virtually all other political activity. The answer is not to oppose all activity which might involve contact with any aspect of the state, but to bring anarchist ideas and actions into such activity so that the state is pushed further and further back. If a state is forced to stop rearmament or even start disarmament by a mass peace movement, this is at the same time a blow against war and a blow against the state, and is surely worth working for.

Another objection is that this means working with people who are not libertarians or revolutionaries. Of course it does, in just the same way. The answer is not to withdraw from such people or to attack them, but to work with them for the common cause in the hope that we can teach (and learn) something in the process. If we manage to do this, the experience of the past is that more authoritarians become libertarians, more reformists become revolutionaries, more Labourists and Marxists become anarchists than the other way round. We may not get nuclear disarmament, and even if we do we may not get it in the form we want, but we may get something.

The most powerful pragmatic argument for taking part in such activity is that there is no chance of a libertarian socialist revolution until a large proportion of the population will come out for it, or at least won't come out against it. The way to achieve such a situation is partly by organisation, whether legal or illegal, but mainly by action, and particularly by direct action. There are many areas where such activity is appropriate for anarchists, and no one should be diverted from what is already worthwhile into joining a new campaign. But one area which is particularly appropriate for anarchists is that of the warfare state, and particularly the nuclear warfare state. If we join the campaign in this area, the experience of the past is that the more we put into it the

Continued overleaf



Anarchist Activities

THE recently revived Bristol Anarchist group staged its first public intervention at the 8th November 'Remembrance Day' ceremonials. The action was planned under the heading of 'Bristol Action Against Militarism'. Attempts were made to contact and involve local PPU, CAAT and CND members. Some PPU people did join with us on the day but CND's officials seemed doubtful about us and the information about the planned action probably did not reach the grassroots membership. Despite this about twenty people gathered on Sunday morning with double sided hand-held banners. All of these had on one side the PPU red and green poppies 'Peace?' poster and on the other a variety of slogans including 'Troops Out of the Army', 'Who Will Mourn the Dead of World War III?', 'Health Warning - Governments Kill', 'War is Waste', 'Government is Organised Violence', 'Arms Race - Death Race' and 'Stop Destruction - Stop Arms Production'. The two sides gave us the option of unity or diversity depending on which side was facing outwards.

As the various military, ex-military and paramilitary groups assembled at the cenotaph we distributed about 1000 leaflets — including a home-made one with a pre-first world war syndicalist poem on it. After the two minutes silence and as the military and council officials paraded past we stood together at a good vantage point and held the banners high. At this the police began to take an interest. We were told to lower the banners as they were in bad taste and likely to give offence. For our part we claimed that we were offended by the public celebration of militarism and found the passing cannon not to our taste. The banners rose and fell in response to individual feelings about police directives and to whichever section of the parade happened to be passing. The council dignitaries got the full treatment and some I felt, looked away rather quickly. At one point there was a police threat to arrest on 'breach of the peace' charges anyone who raised their banner again; even so banners edged their way up and no charges were made — in my view because the police judged that arrests would lead to publicity and maybe more and worse bad taste next year. When the parade had left the square one of our number, a nurse, placed a black and red rectangular wreath (with the inscription 'They Always Die in Vain') at the base of the cenotaph. The rest of us mounted a brief parade of banners opposite the memorial.

It was difficult to judge public reaction in any general sense. We expected to meet

hostility and we did, but not all that much. There was also a bereaved lady in tears — her family all war dead — who wanted to know if we were against all wars and wanted to stand with us next time — and some people came up and asked for more leaflets. I think we all felt it had been worth doing if only as a kind of basic training in bearing public witness to 'unpopular' beliefs. Seeing the size of the opposition helps to keep one's own notions 'realistic'. And I will not forget this verbatim exchange:

'Would you like a leaflet, madam?'
 'What's it all about?'
 'Peace'
 'Oh, No thank you!'

P F

Bristol

AUTONOMY CENTRE DEBATE

SO far there have been three debates at the Autonomy Centre, one on feminism, one on revolutionary violence and one on young people. It seems to me that debates should be a regular feature of the Centre since they give an opportunity for ideas to be communicated and this is surely the main function of anarchism; getting our ideas across to people. Now one of the ideas of the Centre is that people don't just sit back and wait for things to happen, they go and make them happen. Since I think there ought to be debates at the Centre, it's up to me to put them on and that is why on Friday 11th December at 7.30 pm I'll be speaking in favour of the motion that 'Marx was wrong'.

The choice of subject was made for two reasons. Firstly, it is important to show Marxists that theirs is not the only type of anti-capitalism and that there exists an alternative to state socialism. Secondly, there is the fact that a lot of anarchists accept Marx's economic ideas, his concept of the class struggle. I suggest that Marx's view of the economy and the class struggle is entirely wrong and that accepting Marx's economics leads to a complete misunderstanding of how society really works. If we don't genuinely understand how the system works, we can't hope to change it.

So much for this particular debate. I intend to arrange one on a different subject for January. Hopefully there'll be at least one debate every month. Incidentally, the Trotskyist group I asked to provide someone to speak against the motion haven't replied yet so it looks as if the

debate might be rather one-sided. If anyone else wants to lay on a debate then please contact the Autonomy Centre.

B H MOSELEY

IN BRIEF

COMMENT from Jim Jardine, chairman of the Police Federation, criticising the Merseyside police committee and Toxteth rioters; 'This is all part of a hate campaign which has been waged against the Merseyside police for several years. Last year it was Jimmy Kelly. This year it is Toxteth. I do not know what the cause will be next year, but rest assured that there will be one.' So it's official.

THERE are stories of disturbances in the Soviet Union serious enough to require the use of troops. The stories say that a Christian funeral crowd in North-Assetian Autonomous Republic attacked the local Communist Party headquarters, demanding an inquiry into the stabbing of a taxi driver. They then attacked Moslem sections of the town. Andropov, head of the KGB, was brought in. There were many arrests.

Warfare

continued from p 1

more we get out of it. The old nuclear disarmament movement travelled in our direction for ten years, partly because of our hard work, and did us a lot of good. So can the new movement, if we do our best again.

None of this means that we should conceal our opinions or suppress our criticisms. What it does mean is that we should make our opinions informed and make our criticisms relevant. Thus it is inaccurate to suggest that CND is entirely statist or pacifist, when much of its membership is neither, and it is ineffective to heckle CND speakers unless the target is appropriate and the message is audible. No one is forced to go to a CND meeting or on a CND demonstration and nothing is gained by trying to wreck such events. Anarchists who object to this campaign should listen to their own propaganda and do something more effective somewhere else; and anarchists who join this campaign should do so sincerely and look for the right time and place and way to express themselves; but no anarchists should imagine that attacking the nuclear disarmament movement is going to contribute in the slightest to the anarchist cause.

BLUNDERS OF THE ANARCHIST PRESS

Summer Riots

THE Anarchist Press has, on the whole, welcomed the summer riots as a healthy symptom of discontent and of people acting upon their discontent. FREEDOM (Vol 42 No 14) asked 'is this how revolutions begin?' Xtra! (No 9) declared that the Brixton riots went 'beyond all expectations.'

Reactions like this can be explained by the Anarchist Press's frustration at operating in a country that has not a very good track record of getting off its knees (though we could have a revolution tomorrow if a few of us put our heads together), the riots were a long-awaited respite from the dull diet of Royal Weddings and the annoying knowledge that our working class is one of the most conservative in the world. But in their enthusiasm for the riots almost every piece that I read ended up giving the riots a status as an *end*, whereas riots should always be placed in their proper and most effective context of an anarchist revolution — as a means to attaining a state of libertarian communism in the grand old Makhnovian style. Instead, every group and political party further left than Benn has merely had the disgust which many Tories and members of the law-abiding public felt for them increased, which will put people off becoming anarchists because they cannot completely shake off the impression, deeply rooted in our culture and 'education', that all anarchists are a load of mindless hooligans whose only skill is making petrol bombs.

I am not advocating a conscious abnegation of all violence: the revolution will of necessity be violent because all the time that we delude ourselves into thinking that non-violent direct action will work, and what nice people we are for renouncing violence, the police (which ultimately means the State) is piling up ever larger arsenals of ever more potent weapons — weapons that they fully intend to use. Non-violent direct action gets more redundant and superficially effective, though it treats only the symptom, not

the disease, as time goes on and technology overtakes the techniques of passive resistance.

Instead, we should use violence constructively, as part of a larger plan to achieve a state of anarchy. That violence, that anger, that was dissipated uselessly in pitch battles on main roads in the conurbations last summer could have been so effective, so helpful to the cause of anarchism that it makes my blood boil to read sentences like 'who but the most enthusiastic protagonist could have predicted the whirlwind riots that would devastate the high streets of our cities?' (Xtra! No 9). It is even sadder to see this coming from a paper that has in the past so enthusiastically put forward the case for revolutionary violence.

The First of May group, in their *Towards A Citizens' Militia* have shown that riots, and indeed all violence, has most revolutionary potential when directed along the correct lines. The summer riots, on the other hand, lacked cohesion, direction and purpose, degenerating as they did into pointless pitch battles with the police. And what for? And don't let's have that social deprivation sociology rammed down our throats again. I do not believe that the riots were a protest *about* unemployment or poor housing; perhaps the fact that the inner cities are pigsties was an incentive to riot, but rioting such as we saw in the summer is primarily a reaction against all that is boring and exploitative — like working on a car assembly line at Vauxhall. What it was most definitely *not*, is a precursor to a revolution.

Despite all this, the Anarchist Press leapt on these aimless shows of force as having great revolutionary potential. If this journalistic miscarriage has served any purpose, it is that of making me, and I hope many others, realise that there could be a revolution in Britain if we planned one and started to work as the potent unit for social and political change that we are.

If anyone is seriously interested in

showing the Tories and the Communists alike what we are made of and in drawing up a plan of action to be implemented by its architects then they should make their voices known now, before it is too late. As a first step, I would be grateful to receive letters, ideas etc from anyone interested. Never mind the working class, it's anarchists who've got to get off their knees first!

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Dogs against IRA

FRIENDS of Bella, the black labrador, and Jasper, the yellow labrador, aged 79, have set up a defence group called Dogs Against the IRA (DAIRA for short). They aim to expose the balckhearted attitude of IRA gunmen who, during their last three bomb attacks in London this autumn, have twice struck at defenceless canines.

The new group says that it is not the fault of either Bella or Jasper that they 'belong' to human beings who also happen to be soldiers, or soldiers' wives; and that perhaps next time the IRA plan an assassination bid they might consider attacking animals more their own size, like cats, mice, goldfish and so forth ...

While Dogs Against the IRA are glad to report that Bella escaped without physical injury, and that Jasper has been released from hospital after an hour-long operation on his front left leg, security is being stepped up around the Queen's Corgis. We gather they have been issued with bullet-proof vests, that some of their public appearances have been cancelled or postponed, and that their exercise routes are being changed daily.

Dogs Against the IRA are busy printing badges, and are also planning a memorial service for the casualties of the Irish Collie Club dinner dance, bombed two or three years ago in Northern Ireland. Their actions are to be sympathised with; but all the same children are warned not to leave their goldfish bowls on their windowsills.

WILDCAT



Letter from Tehran

HERE, in Iran, we have unemployment, inflation, high prices, low incomes, non-productivity, shortages and a tighten your belt policy. In fact we are marching in a marsh.

However, I think that this regime is not going to be with us for very long. This is not only because of the bad economy, which on one hand speeds up the crash and on the other keeps the people looking for their daily bread, food, fuel etc. It has to be kept in mind that people are passively resisting this regime merely by whispering to each other. It doesn't yet seem to have been enough time for these whispers to turn into a cry for freedom and better economics.

People are passive mainly because they are scared, unarmed and more cautious than they were during the anti-Shah uprising. People have been deliberately manipulated to lose a great deal of their revolutionary spirit. It is also important to note that the Shah and his army were ordered to reduce their shooting at the people. There was an international plot to overthrow the Shah. Everyone was eager for his overthrow, without realising about this plot. So, we got Khomeini. Due to our national mistake, we are paying now. The process of awakening mass consciousness takes time and people's lives.

People seem to be more awake than before and they know that they have been done, but they don't seem to be in the position to make a mass move, for the above reasons. This can be seen in the last few months of armed struggle by the Mojahedin. The small engine has not fired the big engine.

It seems that the Mojahedin have now come to the same view. They do know what they are doing. They have managed to confuse and shake the rulers and produce high morale in their energetic supporters. They enjoy mass popularity for their recent actions against the government. People yawn when there is no heavy militant action around. The Mojahedin have shown themselves to be interested in people's democratic rights and also to have good military capabilities. Perhaps less than one third of their armed militias would be enough to eradicate the mullahs and their so-called 'revolutionary' guards, gain control over the radio and TV stations and eventually win the power.

So, why haven't they done this yet? (In one sense they are in power when you see that the government has gone underground. Top officials have to travel secretly, in ambulances!)

The answer to this question has to be found, I think, in the international deals taking place between the superpowers over Poland, Iran and, most likely, Afghanistan. These deals are, of course, carried out step by step.

At the moment, both US imperialism, including Britain and Israel, on the one hand, and Russian imperialism, through the pro-Russian opportunist party (Tudeh) on the other, are helping this regime from falling. Lately, we have seen more shifts towards Russia, with economic visits etc to begin with. This regime shouts anti-imperialist slogans on one hand and executes radicals and leftists on the other!

Why should these superpowers want to deal over Iran and Poland? Because otherwise it becomes a vicious circle, and, in Iran, people will eventually rise or the Russians will manage to stage a coup like they did in Afghanistan. This latter case, of Russian control over Iran, is unacceptable as far as the USA is concerned. In addition, Russia has enough problems in Afghanistan. The first possibility, that is the Iranians eventually rising, will be dealt with shortly.

In Poland, people will manage to lose their ties day by day. Perhaps there will be a 1905 type rising, using more sophisticated methods, more difficult for the Russians to tackle. So Russia has to move fast. Hence the Ministry of Defence is installed as the Party leaders and workers got the first outbreak of violence with the police a couple of weeks ago. None of the superpowers want to see this happen as it means a mass rise of consciousness, which they prefer to control. They do take the mass into their calculations more than before. They also search for better and

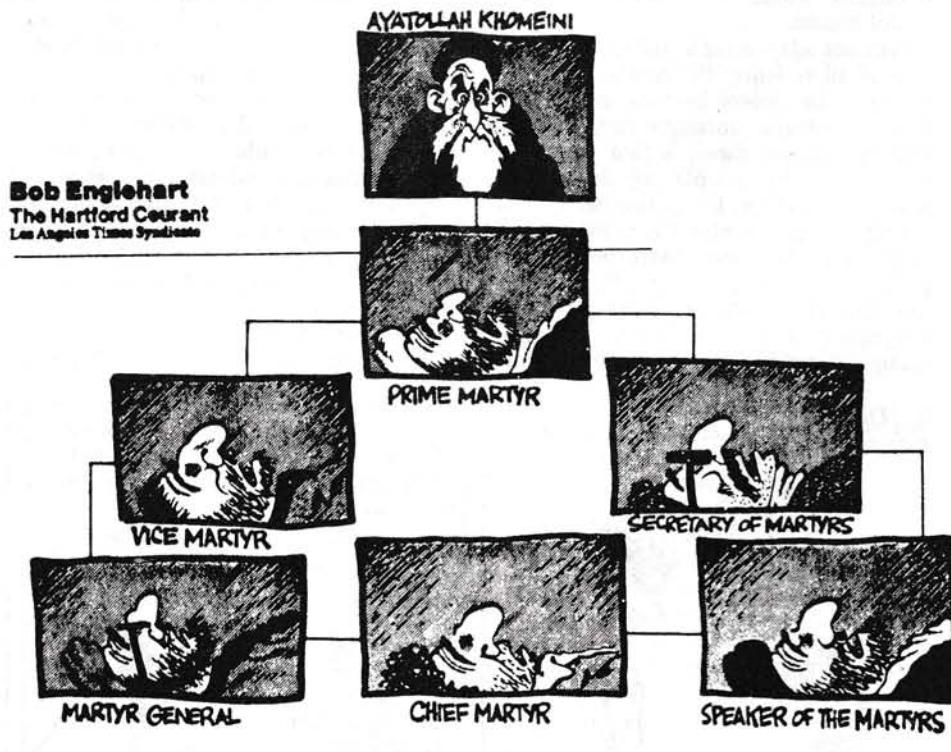
more sophisticated means of mass manipulation, mobilization, satisfaction, bribery, deception etc. As a small scale example, consider the strikes in Britain, which are firstly attempts to gain more pay (an approach more or less accepted by the system) and only secondarily for social changes.

Yes, they prefer to control the speed with which mass consciousness rises, if not the whole of it.

It seems that an implicit agreement has been reached. USA would like to gain economic penetration in Poland and USSR would not like to lose Poland as an Eastern bloc country. It also seems that USSR is interested in economic matters, in Iran and USA would not like to see a sudden Soviet take over of all or part of it. Each has the other by its sensitive organs. The masses must make the most of this clash and press as hard as they can to get the maximum possible freedom.

USSR is showing its bloody teeth to the Polish workers but they have no other choice but democratisation. Do they have the guts to put up a fight with the workers there? If they do, can they win? It seems that international deals will persuade Solidarity not to press to the verge of Soviet military invasion. Otherwise, we might get a '1956' in Poland.

Perhaps USA is prepared for Iran to go the way of Nicaragua, rather than continuing with the Islamic regime which, for them, has the abovementioned dangers.



Hence I think that the Mojahedin may be the best choice for everyone. Note that there is no other real force fighting this regime, with the exception of the Kurds, in regional terms. Relatively speaking, they would establish democracy but not a 'living happily ever after'. The left and the radicals must co-operate with them to get the country running on its feet, but they must also form a vital opposition force to stop the Mojahedin if the latter try to establish their own dictatorship. Our left may be equally authoritarian but it is gradually waking up to the facts and fallacies of Marxism.

At the moment the Mojahedins' revolutionary practice has disarmed the left of its ideological superiority and crushed its arrogance. The Mojahedin are trying to get a guarantee from the left, for their own future government. The Tudeh party is already thinking of perhaps changing its leadership in order to put the blame for its opportunism on the previous one and get a place in the future regime. This is further opportunism. They can have no place if the Mojahedin want the left to co-operate. The left must help the Mojahedin in the fight against this regime if they do not want to repeat the old historic mistakes of communists.

Tehran

'B'

Notes:

Mojahedin — Radical moslems, now underground again. They are probably the major opposition to the Islamic regime, having carried out many guerrilla attacks. Thousands of them have been shot in the last few months. Their social policies are, to say the least, confused.

Tudeh — The pro-Moscow communist party. As devious a crew of opportunists, vacillators, sectarians and Moscow adulators as you wouldn't want to meet anywhere.

In the last couple of weeks the opposition campaign has got going again. After several notable successes, such as the killing of at least 76 members of the ruling Islamic Republican Party with one bomb, heavy repression followed. Thousands have been arrested and shot out of hand. Now there have been more bombings and even demonstrations. Fierce fighting has broken out again in Kurdistan. The major Kurdish groups (Kurdish Democratic Party — marxist tinged nationalist, and Komaleh — more decentralised) have been strengthening links outside the country, for example with ex-president Bani-Sadr and exiled Mojahedin leader, Rajavi. The army and Pasdaran (Islamic militia) have been sent in to prevent Kurdistan becoming an effective free zone.

A letter leaked to a press agency instructs Iranian diplomats to revoke passports of 'Baha'i counterrevolutionaries'. The government deny it.

Everybody is waiting for Khomeini to die.

Dustbins and Pissspots

ALL is not well in the British Prison System. With chronic overcrowding (although reduced by 3,000 in recent months, there are still some 4,000 prisoners more than the 'optimum population' of 39,000) and dilapidated buildings (see reports in FREEDOM Vol 42 Nos 10 and 15) it now seems as though the senior management is getting agitated.

On Tuesday 17th November the *Daily Express* (of all papers) ran an editorial criticizing the Home Office decision to retain the 'slopping out' procedure at Wormwood Scrubs Prison. A £6,000,000 modernisation scheme on A Wing, the hospital and visitors block is due to start next spring. However none of this cash will be used to provide a simple necessity, a toilet in each cell. Interestingly the *Express* describes the 'slopping out' procedure (the emptying of pisspots that prisoners have in their cells) as 'a legacy of our old Victorian Prisons.' When Wormwood Scrubs was built each cell had a toilet. They were removed later. Anyway it goes on to say 'Slopping out is disgusting, degrading and brutalising. The Home Office, in perpetuating it, disgusts, degrades and brutalises.' Not a bad piece of comment for a basically fascist rag. It continues with, 'the Under Secretary of State directly responsible, and Mr William Whitelaw, the Home Secretary, are guilty of allowing a shameful decision to have been taken and a foul practice to continue.' Even more surprisingly the 'Excess' agrees that in asking for the same rights as N Ireland prisoners — 50% remission (as opposed to the present 30%), own clothing, weekly visits (as opposed to monthly plus one 'privilege' visit that can be withdrawn) and two letters a week — the British prisoners in Parkhurst, Hull, Worcester and the Scrubs 'have a point'. For the 'bring back flogging' *Express* this is a revolution!

The slopping out procedure is not popular with the screws either. Apart from the hygiene risks to prisoners, the main form of attack upon a screw is accomplished by the offended prisoner emptying his pisspot over said screw's head.

Two days later the *Times* published a letter from John McCarthy, Governor of Wormwood Scrubs. Mr McCarthy is nicknamed 'Mr Elastoplast' in the Prison Service. When a jail is in trouble he comes and sorts it out to the Home Office's satisfaction. It was in this role that he arrived at the Scrubs following the riots there in 1979. His stay has been marked by repeated rooftop protests about conditions in the prison at the rate

of about one a month. The 1979 riot saw the use of MUFTI (Minimum Use of Force Tactical Intervention) squads which left 69 prisoners injured as the screws took their revenge. (See *The Abolitionist* No 4 for further details.)

Obviously no stranger to normal prison conditions, he's been through more nicks than any lifelong villain, and with that £6 million modernisation scheme under his belt the letter is most unusual. McCarthy writes:

I did not join the Prison Service to manage overcrowded cattle pens, nor did I join to run a prison where the interests of the individuals have to be sacrificed continually to the interests of the institution, nor did I join to be a member of a service where staff that I admire are forced to run a society that debases.....As it is evident that the present uncivilised conditions in prison seem likely to continue and as I find this incompatible with any moral ethic, I wish to give notice that I, as governor of the major prison in the United Kingdom, cannot for much longer tolerate, either as a professional or as an individual, the inhumanity of the system within which I work.

At first glance a fairly damning statement by a disillusioned man. Whitelaw is quoted as saying 'no comment' when asked his opinion of it. You can almost



LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET

hear the liberals and prison reformers cheering, believing they have found a new ally. That same evening of Thursday 19th November the spokesman for the Prison Governors' Association was on Capital Radio to defend McCarthy and tell us that nearly all the PGs agreed with McCarthy. Words like brutalising, degrading, disgusting, flowed forth in full, not so different from the 'Excess' editorial. The 'Excess' prides itself on its 'sources' within the Establishment. Onwards we march through the pages of the 'Excess' and what do we find in the follow-up articles? The emphasis shifts from the plight of the toiletless cons to the trials and tribulations of the gallant PGs. Such nice people fighting for decent civilised prisons.

After wading through that garbage we reach the conclusion — build more prisons to take more prisoners to ease the overcrowding. We are told of HO plans to start building 2 prisons a year for 3 years. Wait a minute. Up till now we have been told 4 prisons are on the drawing board. Two a year for three years makes six. Somewhere two prisons have been slipped in. As to the cry over slopping out; the 'Excess' and the PGs want 'integral sanitation' included in the modernisation plans for the Scrubs. With the support of the liberal elements no doubt such will come about. The price will be the 6 new prisons the HO/PGs want — can't have one without the other, to relieve the inhuman, degrading etc, overcrowding. The liberal concern will be salved by the provision of toilets in A Wing, Wormwood Scrubs. But what of B, C and D wings? And what of Pentonville, Wandsworth, Hull and the rest? For the inmates there it's a case of 'carry on as before'.

Don't be fooled by the sudden liberal tone of the 'Excess' or the bleating of McCarthy and his pals. Having failed to win more cash with its 'shock, horror, collapsing prisons' tales of early this year the Prison Service's latest tactic is to dress up the extension of the Law and Order State as a humanitarian act. The provision of new prisons will not ease overcrowding. It will merely make more space available. Who will be the new prisoners? With little sign of any improvement in daily life for millions of people in this country we can almost guarantee reruns of this summer's street fighting. As conditions radicalize more people, the advent of overtly political prisoners is not far off. Such an alarmist view should not be dismissed.

One must admire the thinking behind this move by the HO/POs partnership. The prospect of concerned liberals et al 'forcing' a reluctant government to build prisons has a certain black humour. It also exposes the folly of trying to influence and reform the System from within. Catch 22 has nothing on this little episode.

MAK

END OF THE 'ROAD'?

Dear Friends,

Open Road is on the verge of bankruptcy. We are running out of money to keep up our monthly loan payments. Open Road No 13 is ready for publication but we don't have the funds to publish it. Our last issue, No 12, came out last May when we're supposed to be quarterly. Not only are we in danger of losing our 2nd class mailing permit, but postal rates in Canada are going up 20-50% this spring. We need financial help desperately.

We are well aware that other anarchist groups are facing similar difficulties. In our last issue we made financial appeals on behalf of Partisan Press, Black Rose Books and Cienfuegos Press. We now ask that our friends and supporters in turn inform their friends, supporters and readers of our financial problems, and our need for renewed financial support.

We believe that anarchist publications such as Open Road are needed now more than ever. We hope you can help us keep Open Road on the road. Please spread the word that we need help. We'd appreciate any help you can give.

Love and anarchy,
BOB GRAHAM.

for the O R Collective

TAKING ISSUE

Dear Friends,

Pat Flanagan's article (in FREEDOM 21st November 1981) titled 'The Impotence of Pacifism' argued for the need of a libertarian socialist change if the aims of the Peace Movement are to be realised. As such this is a view that I would agree with but there are a couple of points I would take issue over.

The first point is that CND is a pacifist movement. In fact it is nothing of the kind, it is a broad based movement aiming at Unilateral Disarmament. This means that the membership consists of people of all shades of opinion, at one side some people not against conventional weapons and at the other side some people being pacifists. Traditionally it has believed in the conventional political process of persuading governments to undergo unilateral nuclear disarmament. (Although to be fair, some of its members as individuals, in the past, have been sympathetic to or taken part in direct action with other organisations such as the Committee of 100.) Anarchists/libertarian socialists, quite rightly in my opinion, criticise and criticised it for its belief in conventional politics. To say that CND is pacifist (actually it is primarily against one aspect of militarism) as such is as true as saying the Labour party or the Conservative party are pacifist

organisations.

The second point I would like to bring up is that the article neglects the anarcho-pacifist viewpoint with its emphasis on nonviolent direct action, the changing of human relationships and the creation of a nonviolent society. Readers of such magazines as Peace News will see that many people in the peace movement itself do not believe in the necessity for some kind of anarchist/libertarian socialist change. Undoubtedly there are differences in emphasis but many activists (if I can use that rather elitist term) are libertarians as such.

As an anarcho-pacifist, the title of the article 'The Impotence of Pacifism' makes me wonder which sort of pacifism the article was directed against. It points out, in my opinion correctly enough, the failings of campaigning for unilateral nuclear disarmament in a conventional political manner. However surely the title itself cannot but fail to alienate people in the various peace organisations who may sympathise with anarchist/libertarian socialist ideas, and as such seemed badly thought out.

Yours peacefully,
D DANE.

London N12

POSITIVE HECKLING

Dear FREEDOM,

As someone who has recently become interested in anarchism and one of the thousands on the CND march in October, I wish to give my observations to the 'Rally Debate'.

Many letters have attacked the so-called rowdies and chanters. Well just for the record, I'll throw my lot in with them any day. Their contribution to the rally was the most constructive thing all day. This was also the belief of the large group of punks and skins I was standing with, as well as nearby 'straights'.

As far as anarchist literature was concerned, there was no shortage. I managed to buy FREEDOM, Xtra, Black Flag, Direct Action, News from Nowhere and picked up a leaflet from as far away as Glasgow. (Reckon the person from the Glasgow book collective must have fallen asleep along with a hundred thousand others.)

Next time round I'd like to see the anarchists go a step further and take over the platform and call for the marchers to march on the MOD and have a sit-in, 250,000 people would be quite effective. Although it won't abolish the bomb it's a start, and a damn sight more positive than listening to bloody Michael Foot and Co.

Best Wishes,
JOHN
Anarchist punk and school student

Jarrow, Tyne & Wear

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET



ACTION WITH REASON

Dear comrades,

I see from the 'Rally Reply' letters that the barrage heckling at the London CND rally had no tactical objective. It was a spontaneous expression of deep emotion (John), an explosion of contempt (Calvin), a shout of joy at being in the company of anarchists (Bill Wells), a product of extreme frustration (DM).

Understandable, and indeed admirable motives for action. But may we hope that next time the action will be better thought out and less counter-productive? The effect of barrage heckling was to create the false impression that anarchists are mindless yobs, which is exactly what is wanted by those who were being heckled against.

As DM points out there were some two hundred and fifty thousand people on the march, and all of them resembled Stuart Burnley in that they need no-one to tell them about the horrors of bombs. In the light of the experience of 1974, most marchers must be highly sceptical of the official CND line, that the way to get rid of the British bomb is to get Labour back in power. Anarchists have something useful to say to them and they are ready to listen, provided the anarchists present themselves as reasonable people.

DONALD ROOUM

PS about the 'police' helicopter. There was only one helicopter overhead, and as those with access to TV saw that evening, it was taking aerial photographs of the crowd for Independent Television News.

THEORY AND ORGANIZATION

Dear FREEDOM,

In reply to Bill Wells reply (?) about the CND rally and the need to suggest national rallying points etc. I quite agree. In fact, if he searches through the dusty back copies of your 'knoble organ', he will find that the Hull group did so, not only in FREEDOM, but via the North East Anarchist federation mailout and Direct Action Movement I.B. The need

for us to get ourselves organized even on such basic levels as this is paramount, so build up contacts with local groups, form federations or at least organise a regional mailout. I am sick to the teeth with arguing that anarchists are not anti-organizational and that libertarian forms of organization DO work only to look at a movement which cannot even write to its most regular newspaper suggesting we all meet at one place, at one time, at any particular demo or other event.

If I didn't believe in anarchism so strongly, I'd resign. However, there's nowhere else to go. So how about a little practice of that theory then folks? As they say, "Practice makes perfect"

Love, Solidarity and Revolution,
VI KING

P.S. Thanks to everyone who gave me fags on the Oct. 24th demo, I'll return the favour if only I can find a nice sub-postoffice or two.

Hull

SIMON LOS

Dear Comrades,

I read with disgust and almost disbelief the article 'Simon Los: 3 Years' in FREEDOM No 22, about the wildly unjust sentence pronounced on Simon of Notts. for distributing so-called 'inflammatory literature' in his home town. However the obvious injustice of the sentence does serve a purpose; it shows the absolute paranoia of the ruling classes (here represented by the Law) of any action, however slight, that might threaten their set-up in any way. Even from a more conservative perspective, the fact that Simon's OFFENCE (?) was described as 'threatening behaviour' by the judiciary is an outright affront to the so-called 'rights' of every individual to free expression.

In the interests of preserving Civil Liberty I propose to begin a petition here in Sheffield for the immediate release of Simon Los. Why should intelligent and disillusioned people be refused their opinion simply because they are not lackeys of the system?

Yours peacefully,
MARK PIPER (WFF)

Sheffield

FREE SPEECH?

Dear FREEDOM,

In the last FREEDOM three letters and one article appear which are highly critical of the anarchist activities at the CND rally of 24th October.

I think there are grounds for criticism, but at the same time I am unsure about the views and assumptions expressed.

Firstly, it should be understood that

there was no prior organisation of the anarchist contingent's 'activities', although it seems likely that many anarchists gained confidence by being with a large number of other anarchists — certainly one of the largest numbers together in recent years. In itself this suggests the growth of anarchism.

As regards the chanting, shouting etc, it was a question of how individuals responded to the situation of being passively fed predictable, rhetorical speeches by politicians and would-be politicians.

Certainly the great majority of anarchists were more than willing to listen to the speaker from Hiroshima. Mick McGahey, on the other hand, got surprisingly little opposition considering he is a leader of a Party which supports the Soviet State and its nuclear policy.

I feel it is confusing to talk of equal rights to free speech when it involves politicians who constantly are given the opportunity to speak to millions through the press, TV and radio. Besides, we were not given equal, or any, speaking rights on the 24th.

A group of anarchists did actually politely ask the CND organiser if someone could make a short speech — even a pre-inspected prepared statement — but this was refused point-blank. One person managed to get up and say that marches were useless without direct action, but he was hustled off in a manner which at least instructed us that CND is not a 'pacifist' organisation as is often implied.

Amongst the anarchists there may have been some more interested in spectacular, rather than in real, opposition to nuclear weapons, but that applies to the practical activities of the vast majority of other marchers too. It seemed to me that most of the anarchists were angry at our well-being and our very existence being manipulated and controlled by politicians, and at opposition being channelled into yet more politician's speeches, resolving, petitioning and sucking up to the mass media, rather than actually doing anything.

As regards spreading anarchist ideas amongst CND supporters, I agree this is something important we must do. But we must also initiate anarchist practices, even if they do not consciously go by the name 'anarchist'. Marring the spectacle of unity of this rally, which was fundamentally geared to promoting the statist and parliamentarian ideology of the Labour left, may not have achieved much in itself. On the other hand, it did demonstrate that there are those of us not prepared to entrust our lives to politicians of any shade. What needs to be done now surely is practical activity against the nuclear terror, and against the states and their military apparatuses for whose ends this terror exists.

DAFYDD MOON
Hailsham

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.
Tel 02 5164416

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 and Libertarian Research Centre can be reached through PO Box 203, Fremantle.

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
Autonomia, PO Box 1751, San Francisco, CA 94101.
Libertarian Anarchist Coffeehouse, meets last Sunday each month at Cafe Commons, 3161 Mission St, San Francisco.

Connecticut

Wesleyan University Eco-Anarchists, Hermes, Box HH, Wesleyan University, Middletown CT 06457

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.

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

MEETINGS

Bristol Anarchist Group is in a growth phase! Fortnightly discussion meetings take place at various venues throughout the city (next on N Ireland). There is a Communication Broadsheet that could grow into something grander. Contact address is:
c/o Full Marks Bookshop, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol.

'TUBE PARTY'
on 24th December — Thursday at 6.00 pm. Meet at the bar on the CIRCLE LINE PLATFORM, LIVERPOOL ST.

IRISH Comrade seeking relief from 'the troubles' requires temporary accommodation in the London area while establishing himself over here. Contact via Jim at Freedom Bookshop.

BIG A SALE

Anarcho-Productions of Wapping bring you → The Big A Sale! Yes Folks! On Saturday, 12th December at the Autonomy Centre, Wapping, all the Anarchist Publishers will be having a sale. With a massive 25%, repeat 25% off all titles now is the time to stock your bookshelves, help your local friendly Anarchist Press and support the Centre too! Don't delay — come to the Big A! You know it makes sense!

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Printed and typeset by Aldgate Press, in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1.
Tel 247 3015

Distributed in Britain by A Distribution, 01 Warehouse, Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, London E1.

Freedom Press

IN ANGEL ALLEY
84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.
LONDON E.1
PHONE 01-247 9249

Anarchist Review

Freedom

5th December 1981. Vol 42. No 24.



PROSTITUTION

PROSTITUTION clearly shows the present patriarchal attitude towards women, the double standard of morality and the assumption of the division of male and female roles in sexuality and the division again of the female role into two distinct species: those that are sexually quiescent and those that are promiscuous and can be stigmatized as such.

This double standard has been rationalized, through prostitution, by various studies and legitimized by legal institutions and biological studies. This underpins a general acceptance that it is the female that has a body to sell and the male a licence to buy it, whatever way that may be interpreted.

Prostitution can be seen as an acceptance, a resignation; the logical extension of the bargaining role that women are obliged to adopt in a male supremacist culture, ie that they have a short period of sexual attractiveness, which should be regarded as an economic asset, to be exchanged for some sort of security.

But just what is 'prostitution'? Is it just the performance of sex for non-sexual and non-amative reasons? What about the mistress or kept woman, the starlet rising to fame via the casting couch or people who trade sexual favours for food, entertainment or other gifts? Indeed what about Marx's 'universal prostitution of the worker' and marriage which as Engels, quoted in Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1975), states 'often turns into the crassest prostitution — sometimes on both sides, but much more generally on the part of the wife, who differs from the ordinary courtesan only that she does not hire out her body like a wage earner on piecework but sells it into slavery once and for all'.

Although certain characteristics can be identified, such as the number of clients and the payment of, usually, cash for each, usually short, sexual arrangement, these are too inclusive. What we come down to recognising as prostitution is what society and particularly the law accept. We single out and punish the, predominantly female, prostitute who offers herself, on the grounds of a general legal agreement. As Garfinkel, quoted in Carol Smart's *Women, Crime, Criminology: Feminist Critique* (1976), states: 'the laws are a formal codification of attitudes towards women that permeate our culture'. This legal 'understanding' accepts that female bodies are a commodity to be bought by men for their pleasure, it endorses the view that the role of the female in sexuality is to be passive whilst that of the male is to be active.

The development of this double standard of behaviour and the concept of prostitution can clearly be seen to evolve together from Victorian times. In the 1840s the word 'nymphomania' was used to describe any sexual desire by women. In 1857 William Acton's *Treatise on the functions and disorders of the reproductive organs* reported that women had no sexual feelings. Women were made to appear asexual to protect men from 'sexual excesses' and not to interfere with the Protestant work ethic. Whilst they should remain pure before and after marriage, men 'to prove themselves' should indulge in pre- and extra-marital sex. Prostitution was (and is) seen as an outlet for man's naturally polygamous nature, for 'male incontinence'. It was regarded as the price to pay for monogamous marriage, which needed to be safeguarded as a way of ordering the sexual behaviour of society to obviate conflict over women, ensure the certainty of heirs and the proper transmission of property. As the Lord Chancellor, Lord Cranworth, commenting on the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857, said: 'the adultery of the wife might be the means of palming spurious offspring upon the husband, while the adultery of the husband could have no such effect with regard to the wife'. Thus to avoid the placing of 'spurious offspring' on other 'respectable families' and to protect the rights of property it was necessary to tolerate the liaison of upper and middle class males with housemaids and prostitutes. The zeal of the law in protecting 'legitimate' children was only matched by the cruelty of the law towards the unmarried mother and child.

In the nineteenth century Mrs Pankhurst's words that poverty 'forced women to turn to criminal earnings' were supported by such economic and materialist theorists as Engels. Other studies, such as Lombroso and Ferrero (1895) and Gibbons (1965)[sic], have a more biological and psychological bias. They see prostitution as a degeneration, a primitive throwback taking the place of ordinary crime in women. Prostitutes were seen as sexually over-active and compared unfavourably with Victorian upper- and middle-class women, their characteristics were idleness, misery, alcoholism and organic deficiencies. Prostitution was a pathological and meaningless compulsion.

These studies were replaced in the 1950s by the Freudian Oedipal explanation, developed by such as Glover and Rolph and Greenwald, that prostitution was individual psycho-pathological instead of social. These concentrated on the Oedipal syndrome and the repression of early sexual love for parents (maternal domination or paternal rejection), which produced personality defects such as homosexuality and prostitution. More recently such as Benjamin and Masters, Heniques and Sandford have tended to be less biological and psychological and have examined wider social issues such as the size of earnings, greater opportunity and prostitution as a career. These studies, like others that have concentrated on analysing individuals and treating them as deviants, have ignored the legal and cultural context within which prostitution operates, thereby rationalising it and justifying the present system of inequalities. Most works on prostitution accept soliciting as a punishable criminal offence whilst apparently condoning the clients.

The legal legitimation of the double standard of morality is clear in that prostitution is one of a very few sex-specific offences. In the Sexual Offences Act 1967 the offence by a prostitute relates, in the Official Statistics, only to women. Only women can be described as 'common' prostitutes; the comparable offence by men is prosecuted under 'importunity by males' or 'indecency between males'.

Despite the laws set up under the 1957 Wolfenden Committee being wide open to abuse and injustice (a selective system of two cautions before arrest and then the labelling as 'common prostitute'), the 1974 working party, whose job it was to review the Act, made no comment on this aspect of it. They did comment, however, on the police ability 'to distinguish the prostitute from the respectable woman'. The basis of this is that the 'unrespectable' woman is promiscuous and receives payment while the 'respectable' woman is monogamous and unpaid in the formal sense. There is no corresponding classification for men, even kerb-crawlers, they can still be regarded as 'respectable members of the community'. The working party compounded the fault of the 1959 Act in legitimizing the common discriminatory double standard attitude, where it is permissible for only men to be sexually active.

Prostitution has to be seen in relation to a culture where bargaining is an important part of everyday life and the traditional basis of marriage. As Rene Guyon (in Benjamin & Masters *Prostitution and Morality* 1965) says 'commercialization of the female sex permeates our society and the sex of the female is therefore a recognized value and economic asset'. Women are obliged to take part in this, exchanging their sexuality for economic security, social mobility, or marriage (or all three). Carol Smart quotes Kingsley Davis in her book, that:

Formerly a respectable woman gave her sexual favours only in return for the promise of a stable relationship and economic support The girl could thus use her relatively short period of maximum attractiveness to settle her future in the best way possible — by marriage. This is still the bargain that many girls in contemporary society would like to make, and some of them do; but their bargaining position has been undermined by the growing loss of family and community controls.'

Carol Smart continues:

'Her bargaining power is reduced because her honour is no longer protected by her family and the legal system as it was when a daughter was defined as her father's property This reduction of female sexuality to a market commodity in everyday life is also clearly emphasized in the prostitute-client relationship; the prostitute's accomplishment of numerous bargains each day confirming the value that is placed on female sexuality as a commodity.'

Whatever the official attitude towards it, within a patriarchal culture there will always be a demand for it. It, as Engels puts it:

'is as much a social institution as all others. It continues the old sexual freedom — for the benefit of the men. In reality not only permitted, but also assiduously practiced by the ruling class, it is denounced only nominally. Still in practice, this denunciation strikes by no means the men who indulge in it, but only the women. These are ostracised and cast out of society, in order to proclaim once more the fundamental law of unconditional male supremacy over the female sex.'

It is clear that prostitution is one half of the double standard of sexual behaviour that women are expected to conform to, the 'virgin' and the 'slut'. It is an extension of cultural attitudes, shown in the laws and practices towards sexual behaviour in general and women in particular, that regard female sexuality as nothing more than a commodity, as an object to be bought. That is why the same culture is so unable to comprehend lesbianism, a relationship without commercial transaction. That is not to say that such a relationship is impossible between different sexes but the stigma of prostitution is directed towards all women,



towards the repression of female sexuality and the amplification of male.

Howard Clark. Peace News Pamphlet No 1, Mushroom, Nottingham. 75p.

WITH this publication, the new series of *Peace News* pamphlets appearing under the imprint of Nottingham's Alternative Bookshop has got off to a good start. Its author, Howard Clark, is an outstanding representative of the younger generation of radical pacifists who now carry on the ill-paid and often gruelling work of producing Britain's leading peace movement journal. It was largely on his initiative that *PN* moved its base from London to Nottingham and changed its format, style and contents along the lines it currently follows. After a six-years' stint in the *PN* Collective, he wrote the first edition of the present pamphlet which appeared originally as a pull-out in the paper in 1978. The second edition now appears in a more convenient and attractive format, together with a 1981 postscript and a useful guide to further reading. Written in a popular, un-stuffy and non-academic style, it deserves to find a wide readership.

It should certainly be read by any anarchist whose antique prejudices about pacifism have led him (*him* probably more than *her*) to ignore the most significant development in pacifist thinking in the last twenty years or so: the fusion of pacifism and anarchism which has produced the distinctive hybrid that goes by the name of 'non-violent anarchism'. As far as this country is concerned, the critical years in the production of this hybrid were the early 1960s when, under the umbrella of the Committee of 100, anarchists and pacifists (or, at least, some of them) educated each other. In the process, they discovered each other's strengths and weaknesses. The strength of simple pacifism was its principled opposition to war and militarism; its weakness was its failure to appreciate that war and militarism are inherent features of the statist mode of social organisation. In contrast, the strength of anarchism was its principled opposition to the state, while its weakness was its failure to analyse adequately the concept of violence —

BOOK
REVIEW

MAKING NONVIOLENT REVOLUTION

HOWARD CLARK PEACE NEWS PAMPHLET NO.1 75p



**BOOK
REVIEW**

ANARCHY IS MAGIC

Review of *Magical Child* by Joseph Chilton Pearce. Paladin £1.95, available on order from Freedom Bookshop, postage (36p).

ONE of the difficulties anarchists face in spreading our creed is the fears that Erich Fromm describes in his book *Fear of Freedom*. Even many anarchist parents fear freedom for their children and to some extent impose their anxieties and that of society on them. Although in recent years the importance of play has been recognised in primary schools, in other fields, such as childbirth, with a few honourable exceptions birth has become a disease to be surrounded by technological mystery and artificiality.

Like the author as parent and observer much of what is written in this book coincides with my own experience and the gradual moulding of the individual to fit in with an authoritarian society begins before birth. As the author says in the preface,

'Nature has provided that the human child be more dependent on a caretaker, for a longer period of time, than any other species. If parents and society honoured nature's purpose behind this long dependency and slow maturation, the child would discover and respond to the world without concern for the utility or value of his/her discovery. If the child were allowed to develop this natural world view, logical maturation would develop a utility, value and ability almost beyond our imagination. Children throughout other parts of the world do, in fact, continually display abilities far beyond our accepted norms, though not for long.'

As Bacon said it is a strange thing that men 'seek authority and lose liberty'. There have been many anarchists that have been aware of the importance of education in anarchist thought, and the catholic contention of having a child up to the age of seven and being theirs for ever is very significant. The concern about the later stages of education and ignoring of the vast importance of early nurture was corrected somewhat by the ideas of Reich on self-regulation. This is like building something without a foundation.

The writer of the book says presently 3 billion years of primary knowledge is covered up by anxiety conditioning, and if the baby is frustrated from interacting with this primary knowledge more and more energy goes into compensating, thus preventing that early stage from maturing and creating a fractured foundation for human development.

The Matrix

Pearce refers to the child's bonding with her/his mother as the matrix and the importance of an anxiety free pre-natal period, birth and postnatal period is paramount for the development of the child. In the West mother and child are subject to continual processing, producing adults amenable to processing, either as processed or processors. Often when the mother returns home the situation is far from supportive, returning sometimes to immature men who also require mothering she finds she returns to two infants, the spouse being jealous of the baby who requires constant attention. Modern knowledge confirms that the baby is far more aware than was realised.

As William Blake observed —

*Children of the future Age
Reading this indignant page,
Know that in a former Time
Love! sweet Love! was thought a crime.*

Experts with all the conditioning of modern society have for a long time suggested that the baby is a creature of confused and unaware condition but work being done in Southampton University to-day suggests that many of the views put forward in this book are right. They suggest 'the inputs of the various senses are coherent rather than confused'. However one does not have to be a research professor to have observed this... 3 billion years of primary knowledge are covered up by the anxiety conditioning of the modern world. There are according to Pearce three categories of interaction,

1. Living earth which includes early bonding to the mother.
2. Ability to interact with the earth according to the principles of creative logic developed in the mind brain system.
3. Ability to interact with the products of the mind brain system itself.

The whole process of development depends on the free development of the infant in a step by step biological plan that depends upon intent first followed by action. Stimulation before the infant is ready results in difficulties. It can be observed however that the institutionalised child lacks often the matrix bonding that provides the sort of stimulation that will ultimately enable mental and emotional maturity.

Outward from the matrix

From the matrix to the unknown, the child steadily extends the fields of the various senses, and anxieties of parents frequently frustrate this natural development. The human being is a balance of stress and relaxation but unresolved stress breeds confusion and anxiety.

The New Demonology

The new demonology is bent on exorcising nature. We are locked in a cultural stress plus stress atmosphere in which relaxation has to be chemically induced (alcohol, tobacco, illegal and legal drugs). On page 35 the author observes the following —

'To trace the root causes of this notion of stress as the enemy within us would take volumes because it would lead to the unravelling of the whole fabric of current life. I shall focus on only the most significant assumption'





tion that underlies this notion and show how it is the real issue before us. This assumption, which really cripples us, is so axiomatic, so much part of our whole web of beliefs that to question it seems ridiculous. The assumption runs like this: in this 3 billion years of experimenting, life has evolved our huge and brilliant mind-brain system in order that we might have the intelligence to outwit and so survive this life system that has evolved us. That is, we really believe that we have a superior brain in order that we might outwit nature, and we believe we must outwit nature in order to survive her ... Outwitting means acting against, dominating, overcoming, removing the causes of stress. Interaction, the cooperative flow of energy with the life system, is then quite lost to view.'

It is this whole 'web' of beliefs that the anarchist is out to challenge, a web of beliefs that far from ensuring our survival is moving us towards extinction. Our personal power has been submerged so it is invested in tools which go further and further from the individual's grasp and control so that as a meaningful self expression the tools become meaningless. These tools are the expression of power and have become a menace to survival.

Anxiety and the Infant

A growing body of opinion is beginning to revolt against processed babies. In so-called civilised society the baby is conceived in a world of anxiety and propelled into a world of noise, intense light, pain and fear and parturition is often made to fit in with the institution in which it takes place. It is rarely that a smile appears on the face of the baby for 2½ months, forming the occasional grimace that is put down to wind. Yet in many societies the reverse is true — the baby is not torn from the mother at birth and with delivery in more natural conditions than here the phenomenon of the unsmiling baby does not occur. From my own experience, where in a community a mother refused to call the midwife and doctor and I was privileged to witness and help, very little was needed in a birth as nature intended. Leboyer noticed that in a nation of 50 million people there were 1 million dysfunctional children and questioned obstetric practices and concluded that these contributed substantially to this number. Leboyer withdrew from the field for a time and studied more primitive people. Leboyer's contribution to happier, more anxiety free births is now well-known.

On page 40 the author says —

'As a father of five children, my first reaction to the evidence gathering about me was to shut it out. I did not want to know. I had done the best I could, as had my wife. We had acted conscientiously to a painful degree. We had no recourse but to accept the words of the authorities, for we were the product of the age of professionalism. And it has taken me a long while to realise that we're not guilty, a point I want to emphasize here for other parents caught as we were.'

It might be remarked that in nearly every field touching on the human condition the professionals have been tried wanting. World's End, appropriately named, is the latest failure of the mandarins in the field of housing in Chelsea, London, where the human element is ignored. It looks as though dynamite has to be the answer to that particular cockup.

Chomsky maintains that language is innate and there are definite body responses to sounds even in the pre-natal stage of development. With autistic children there is no body speech patterning. It is well known that oxygen starvation causes some degrees of brain damage. Drugged birth, premature cutting of the umbilical cord and the artificial atmosphere surrounding it may result in these conditions. Windle, in a report in *Scientific American* in 1969, said —

'[Our experiments] have taught us that birth asphyxia lasting long enough to make resuscitation necessary always damages the brain A great many human infants have to be resuscitated at birth. We assume that their brains too, have been damaged. There is reason to believe that the number of human beings in the U.S. with minimal brain damage due to asphyxia at birth is much larger than has been thought. Perhaps it is time to re-examine current practices of childbirth with a view to avoiding conditions that give rise to asphyxia.'

This could be part of the reason why people appoint such lunatics to be their leaders.

Infancy in Uganda

In more natural societies the bonding or non-verbal communication with the mother is complete and observers have found the babies clean without napkins because the mother anticipates the bodily functions. The genetic instinct for mother and child to bond, in which the physical connection of sucking at its mother is paralleled with the psychological connection, is vital for a coordinated development of the entire human biological system. In Uganda it is interesting that a superb nurturing system in which the infant smiles from the moment of birth comes to a sudden halt when the child is taken away at 4 years and abandoned to a rigid taboo system at which point development stops. Anything that frustrates the bonding, that inhibits the senses in those early days of recognition of physical contact, creates a situation that can lead to impaired emotional and intellectual development.

Establishing the Matrix

This is an interesting chapter which touches on the subject of the nuclear family; the author says in the first paragraph of this chapter —

'The mother in this chapter is a composite of real people. I have met her in many different places, in my travels lecturing on the magical child. She has not been made to feel guilty by that current accusation: 'Don't you want to make something of your life?', which is so often heard in schooling when some young woman tries to follow her intent. She knows that the creation of life is the greatest of human acts and that the successful nurturing of new life is a consummate art, greater even than being a successful accountant or advertising executive.'

In this paragraph one sees where the author does not proceed to carry his ideas to the logical conclusion in criticism of an accountant and advertising dominated society in which so much has been done to devalue the values that this book does so much to advocate. We see all around us

the vulnerability and disabilities of the nuclear family, the products of anxious and deprived parents. Alex Comfort puts it well in *Sex in Society* —

In choosing a partner we try both to retain the relationship we have enjoyed in childhood and to recoup ourselves for the fantasies which have been denied us. Mate selection accordingly becomes for many an attempt to cast a particular part in a fantasy production of their own, and since both parties have the same intention but rarely quite the same fantasies, the result may well be a duel of rival producers. There are men as Stanley Spencer said of himself, who need two complementary wives, and women who need two complementary husbands or at least two complementary love objects. If we insist first that this is immoral or 'unfaithful' and second should it occur there is an obligation on each love-object to insist on exclusive rights, we merely add unnecessary difficulties to a problem which might have presented none, or at least presented fewer, if anyone were permitted to solve it in their own way ...'

The natural function of child rearing is devalued except as a source of profitable manpower and market place consumers and as an activity that does not yield instant profit this labour, and in the early years essentially female labour, is undervalued and relegated to a position regarded of little consequence among all the other anti-social and destructive activities that go on to-day.

The World as it is

If the child's development has prospered it gradually moves from the relationship with the mother to the world; this growth is inhibited if the earlier stage is frustrated. In the modern world the situation of mother and child is often far from ideal. In a society concerned about the optimum

development, the economic and emotional pressures placed upon the mother could be relieved, which would be of great benefit to the growth of the whole of society. Much of the thought behind Neill's ideas, applied earlier, are in this book, such as let the child function and the structure will take care of itself. The author makes this observation —

'One issue that the parents keep uppermost in mind because it is easy to forget is that the child's logic and their logic are different ways of processing information. They do not confuse their reality experience with the child's reality experience. Their rule is never to describe any aspect of the world to their child by word or implication. Their education of him/her is in to the world as it is, free of the adult values placed upon it.'

Conclusion

The whole ethos of the idea that enables the child to function and the structure will take care of itself is an anarchist ethos. Death as unknown and unpredictable, a source of challenge instead of religious induced anxiety, must be a step away from authoritarian or religious induced inhibitions. A lot of violence in the world is due to deprivation not only of material things but also of love and in the male the lack of male bonding leads to sexual attacks. The authoritarian is a product of a society which deprives its young of an adequate love relationship. Those who elevate violence to some sort of religion, and there are anarchists among them, would do well to read the later chapters of this book on the yin and yang of male female relationships, the relationship of rape and violence. In a world of authority and violence anarchists have to think of ways of enabling their children and all children to develop in love and without anxiety.

ALAN ALBON

Land for the Landless

DURING 1978 a motley crowd of young men and women with children wandered into the Dyfed area of West Wales. They had no previous connections with each other but the pressures of unemployment, high rents, the soaring cost of living and land hunger had spilled them out of the inner city areas of Britain and collected some forty of them in Broadhaven, Dyfed. Underused and unused land abounds here.

After a swift period of forming into family units the group settled in some chalets on a piece of ground owned by Lloyds Bank. The Bank disliked this invasion of its private property and asked the Welsh Secretary to evict them. That the Right Honourable Nicholas Edwards MP was formerly a director of Lloyds had nothing to do with the speed of subsequent events, of course. That his friend, lawyer Hal Williams, Deputy Sheriff of Dyfed, undertook the actual eviction was also mere happenstance.

In the red strobing of flames from their burning chalets, set to the screaming of frightened children, the Mutants, as they came to call themselves, were forced out into the surrounding snows of a bitter January evening, silently observed by the unhooded Ku Klux Klan responsible. The next morning this writer saw two male Mutants, ragged, smoke-blackened and exhausted passing the window of his flat ten miles away in Haverfordwest.

After they were fed they consented to make a taped interview of the previous night's goings-on, which tape is now available on demand from Haverfordwest Museum archives. It represents an ironic counterpoint to the white hot heat of our alleged technological revolution, the Welfare State and the present position of the Rights of Man.

Thereafter commenced what can only be described as a saga of community solidarity. It is a fact of military history that the British and Swiss armies alone have never

been defeated in defence. Like a handful of bruised, bleeding fingers these British militants proved now the mettle of their pastures by clenching into a solid fist. To date that fist has remained closed, impregnable and impervious to all attempts by Statist elements to smash it.

Within days of the eviction friendly gypsies had sold them old caravans for a few pounds and the Mutants moved in, on the same site. The Council speedily moved them off and onto a nearby car park. Pushing its luck it then attempted to prosecute them for trespass, which the Magistrate's Bench unhappily set aside on the grounds that it was the Council which had put them there. Subsequently they were towed off the car park and strung out along the verges of a country road near Broadhaven.

Sanitation was effective, but this didn't prevent the Health Officer huffing and puffing about health hazards. Caught in its own trap the Council sent a councillor to advise the Mutants that Pelcombe Common near Haverfordwest would be temporarily acceptable as a camp. Apart from sporadic police harassment and one police attack on them in the early hours of a November morning the community remained substantially undisturbed on the Common until 1980.

Pressure from the local surrounding landowners concerned at a possible drop in property values forced another move and the Mutants found themselves strung out for two miles along the verges of the busy A40 Carmarthen road. Once more they proved their resilience and resourcefulness. Within 72 hours of the latest move they had collected again on a Council site alongside Withybush Aerodrome and remained there until August 1981.

That move was a mini-saga all its own. The caravans had defective chassis and broke down as they were towed. Clifton, a welder, literally ran along the lines of caravans with gas bottles on a trolley welding the weldable as fast

as a break was reported. This writer remembers visiting them on site, hollow-eyed, exhausted from lack of sleep for three nights, but triumphant.

A kind of hysteria began to sweep the area. Scurrilous pamphlets referring to the habits and life-style of the Mutants were printed and stuffed in thousands of letter-boxes in and around Haverfordwest. The landowners formed into so-called Vigilante groups and began to pressurise Council and Police to make an end of the Mutant 'threat'. By this time both State elements had seen their error. Putting pressure on a community with nowhere left to go had brought about the most dangerous situation in warfare, a cornered enemy, united, determined and as dangerous as any trapped rat.

In August the by now unhappy Council and Police performed another forceful eviction and returned the Mutants to the verges of the A40. Once again, heroic efforts. Once again, within a few days the caravans had collected together on their latest site, a layby on the A40 about a mile from Haverfordwest. Nearby, shifts of Vigilantes watched them round the clock.

Throughout this saga tactical raids by the Police resulted in many arrests, few charges and even fewer convictions for the usual offences young people in these circumstances commit; smoking, defective vehicles; damage to police vehicles and so on. These raids were motivated by a single aim; to pick off the leaders in the community, thereby leaving it naked and defenceless, losing its brains and its muscles to Her Majesty's Prison in Swansea.

This aim did not succeed and for a strange reason. On the west coast of our ramshackle medieval kingdom, in a county renowned for its political backwardness, on the outskirts of what has been described as the most reactionary town in Britain, a flower bloomed; anarchism.

At first the politicising of the Mutants was a slow task. Highly individualistic, intelligent, semi-educated in machine technology, they wanted nothing to do with 'politics'. This they conceived of as the remote goings-on of barely understood people, the Clones, in Council and Parliament. The cutting edge of the State, the Police, they coped with daily, but only faintly did they grasp that they had employers, that they were being directed by unseen political forces, often far away in an English south country town, London. The links ran off behind the raised truncheon into the distance and the Mutants were uninterested in what they could not see.

This writer made friends with one of them, Bob, whom he had invited into his flat after the original fire-storm eviction. Bob was of a good 'respectable' skilled working class family from whose scene he had dropped out. Intelligent, kind and a lover of children, he was a great favourite with the Mutant mums. Once a week he visited, once a week he was educated into the elements of anarchism.

This task was far from being a series of lectures on Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta et al. Assuredly Bob would have listened politely to one or two then gone on his way. Nineteenth century anarchism requires considerable modification to fit the contemporary scene. The chosen tactic was to interrogate him about the daily life of the Mutants. Every time an anarchist aspect of it came up this was seized upon, contrasted and compared with what went on elsewhere, conceptualised and hammered home.

From the basis of his own everyday experiences Bob was led to an understanding of the continued existence of his chosen community in the teeth of massive State threats. Solidarity, non-hierarchy, personal morality versus the Rule of Law, fraternity and sorority, self-management, were all present in the Mutant community. Bob eventually realised that there was already in existence a philosophy which made these concepts intelligible and drew them together into a *weltanschauung*.

The tactics did not end there. Bob returned to his community laden with the insights of the day and broad-

cast them liberally. Early in 1980 a caravan was daubed with an A. Then another

Prominent in the community was Denis 'the Dutchman' Rayce. A skilled mechanic, his day consisted of stripping, repairing and fitting engines into vans owned by Mutants. Quite fearless, as strong as a gorilla, extremely intelligent, he was feared and hated by the local Police and 'hard men'. Naturally many attempts were made to establish him as a leader in a hierarchical system of repression with a view to picking him off and, in theory, leaving the Mutants headless and defenceless.

That he was the 'leader' was put to him as the accused in a Special Court in August, charged with damaging a fence. His reply marked a massive step forward in the politicising of the Mutants; it was also historic in being the first defence of anarchism in a Welsh court. 'I am not a leader. Or, if you like, we are all leaders. I cannot tell anyone in my community what to do, neither can anyone order me. Each of us has special skills and we go to the owner of the ones we want advice on. Whatever we do as a community we do by group discussion and rarely do I get my own way. I've learned to respect this because in some way the discussions of the group are better, less likely to be mistaken, than individual decisions. I've been turned right around in some Mutant meetings and been glad of it later. You should try to run your community the same way.' He was acquitted amid cheers.

That the Mutant Miracle is working on the next generation also can be seen from the following anecdote. Some of the loonier Vigilantes contacted a social welfare worker with a view to enlisting his aid in the cruel tactic of putting the children into care, thereby demoralising the Mutant mums. His outraged reply is worth a quote too; 'Leave these children alone! They are well-fed, well-clothed and well-behaved, which is more than I can say for some of the children in your community.'

Bit by bit, as the costs of evicting and trying them on trivial charges mount up — already unofficially estimated at £200,000 — the Council is swinging round to the notion of providing a permanent site for the Mutants. It is hampered in making any collective decision by the activities of rich Vigilante landowners infiltrating it, more interested in some kind of shoot-out with the Mutants. To date a shotgun has already been fired into the camp at night, peppering a caravan and narrowly missing a sleeping child.

On the other side of the hapless Council, making it the jam in a sandwich, the Welsh Secretary daily takes suffocation decisions ie taking no discernible action whatsoever in a set of circumstances crying out for decisive action before blood is actually spilt. As my old Dad used to say, 'Them as lives longest'll see most!' But there is strong evidence that as in 1932 Spain, anarchism has come to stay in the midst of fascism; Yesterday's Men are being inundated by Tomorrow's Men; there will be land for the landless unemployed in Dyfed, at least.

T M ARTINGSTOL



MAKING NONVIOLENT REVOLUTION'

Continued from page 11

a failure which resulted in many anarchists adopting an ambivalent attitude towards some (their own side's) manifestations of extreme coercion. The strengths and weaknesses of pacifism and anarchism were, thus, complementary. Recognising this, nonviolent anarchism seeks to combine the strengths of both while jettisoning their respective weaknesses.

The key concept of nonviolent anarchism is 'nonviolent revolution'. It was, therefore, a significant step that *PN* took when it adopted as its subtitle, 'For Nonviolent Revolution'. The words did not actually appear until the issue of 24 December, 1971 but, as with many symbolic acts, it set the seal on a process that had begun over a decade earlier — the process which de-linked *PN* from the Peace Pledge Union and transformed it into the independent organ of nonviolent anarchism that it now is.

The term 'nonviolent revolution' has a Gandhian provenance; and, referring to it, Gandhi stated that it was not a programme for the seizure of power but it was a programme for transforming relationships — in a way consistent with the twin principles of Truth and Nonviolence. In India, after Gandhi's assassination, a small but significant movement took on the task of translating the idea into reality — with varying but, so far, only limited success. In the West, in the absence of a Gandhi, a Vinoba, or a Jayaprakash Narayan, it proved more difficult to put flesh on an idea which, according to conventional thinking, was a contradiction in terms. But progress was made by George Lakey and other radical Quakers in the United States and by the War Resisters' International which, in 1972, published its *Manifesto for Nonviolent Revolution*. In both the latter and in Lakey's books (*Strategy for a Living Revolution*, 1973, and *Moving Towards a New Society*, 1976), nonviolent revolution is not conceived in an explicitly anarchist fashion: the accent is more on nonviolence as a technique rather than as a constituent element in an anarchist vision of social change. It was left to someone else, therefore, to spell out in terms relevant to Western experience the essentially anarchist concept of nonviolent revolution. The someone was Howard Clark and the pamphlet under review represents such a statement.

Clark himself would be the last person to claim that he has elaborated anything so portentous as a theory or strategy of nonviolent revolution. He is refreshingly modest about what he has done and engagingly frank in his appraisal of the prospects for nonviolent revolution. Nevertheless, he has succeeded in describing a wide range of activities which can be seen as contributing to nonviolent revolution in the sense of making such a revolution a genuine possibility.

In elaborating his idea of nonviolent revolution, Clark distinguishes it negatively from the usual socialist concepts of revolution which hinge on the seizure of state power, assume that revolution can be triggered off only by an economic crisis in capitalism, and postulate that the principal agent of revolutionary change is the male industrial proletariat. Viewed positively, nonviolent revolution is essentially the process in which people, individually and collectively, struggle to take control of their own lives in an effort to become self-governing actors rather than puppets in the drama of human society. This process, Clark insists, will begin only when people feel the need for change, believe that change is possible, see changes they desire and realise that they can make changes. 'Our starting point has to be here and now, with people's experience, people's alienation from each other, our alienation from such basics of life as the land on which our food is grown, our alienation from our own desires.' And we need to understand what are the structural underpinnings of our present alienated existence — male supremacy, the State, and capitalism.

The first step, therefore, in the nonviolent anarchist approach to revolution is to question our own immediate relationships and to change ourselves — not in some quest for individual perfection but as part of building a counter-culture, a culture in which people struggle, contest power, affirm each other, and try to manage their own lives. The basic unit of organisation in promoting this culture is the 'affinity group' — a group, not necessarily formal, in which people gain support from each other in their attempts to act differently and in which they learn from each other without setting up new hierarchies and new barriers of exclusive expertise. 'And the first places of struggle are wherever you are — in your home, in your neighbourhood, your place of work, your social relationships, as a consumer too.'

As Clark makes clear, the strategy of nonviolent revolution is a dual one. It involves not merely creating a counter-culture and the building of free, cooperative alternative institutions but also the re-appropriation of existing resources. As he puts it: 'Building our own independent structures cannot be separated from reclaiming what the State has taken away from us (or what we have conceded to the State) Fundamental to a nonviolent anarchist approach is the continual erosion of State power through the growth of counter-structures alongside a continual struggle within institutions to dispute hierarchy and strengthen our collective consciousness.'

In struggling against the State and power-holders generally, nonviolent anarchists have no illusions about how ruthless they can, and are likely to, be when they perceive their positions to be threatened. The strategy, therefore, requires a 'cool' attitude towards conflicts: 'nonviolence doesn't try to avoid conflicts, but neither does it go along with a strategy of continually stepping up conflicts in order to provoke deeper and deeper polarisations.' This attitude is buttressed by the conviction — the basic assumption of nonviolence — that all structures of power and domination depend, in the final analysis, on people's obedience, whether that obedience is willing, habitual or coerced. In pursuing their objectives, nonviolent anarchists, therefore, keep their eyes focused firmly on the central target: the destruction of the social but unnatural relationship in which some humans obey others. And they do so in the knowledge that the destruction of this relationship not only does not require but positively excludes the use, on their side, of violent means.

Clark does not underestimate the difficulties of making nonviolent revolution or disguise his doubts about the prospects of such a revolution in Britain. But, he rightly concludes, there is no genuine alternative. Violent revolution through armed struggle is, certainly, no alternative since such a struggle 'requires structures of obedience, hierarchy, chains of command, military discipline ... a toughness, a brutality, a masculinity in fact that makes even more distant any attempt to undo masculine culture.' It is a mistake, he concludes, to think that nonviolent anarchism is simply a policy that stops short of violence. Rather, 'it demands a different sort of revolution, made in a different style: to resist authority, to undo and outgrow authority relationships, to take authority for our own actions in cooperation with others.'

GEOFFREY OSTERGAARD

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