

FALKLAND FARCE

IF Andrew Lloyd Webber is so hooked on Argentinian politics that he ever wants to write a sequel to 'Evita' he could hardly do better than pick up a scenario from the media of last week and write songs to fit.

In fact, some of the songs are already there, with a bit of pirating, which would be appropriate. Alter the lyrics of 'Georgia On My Mind' and stir in a bit of 'Any Old Iron' and you've got the opening number with all those scrap merchants landing on South Georgia (where?) to demolish an old unused whaling station, the wind machine ruffling their hair through the vigorous dance routine, closing with back projections of Captain Ahab and the Great White Whale—Moby Dick himself—there to symbolise the spirit of natural sovereignty.

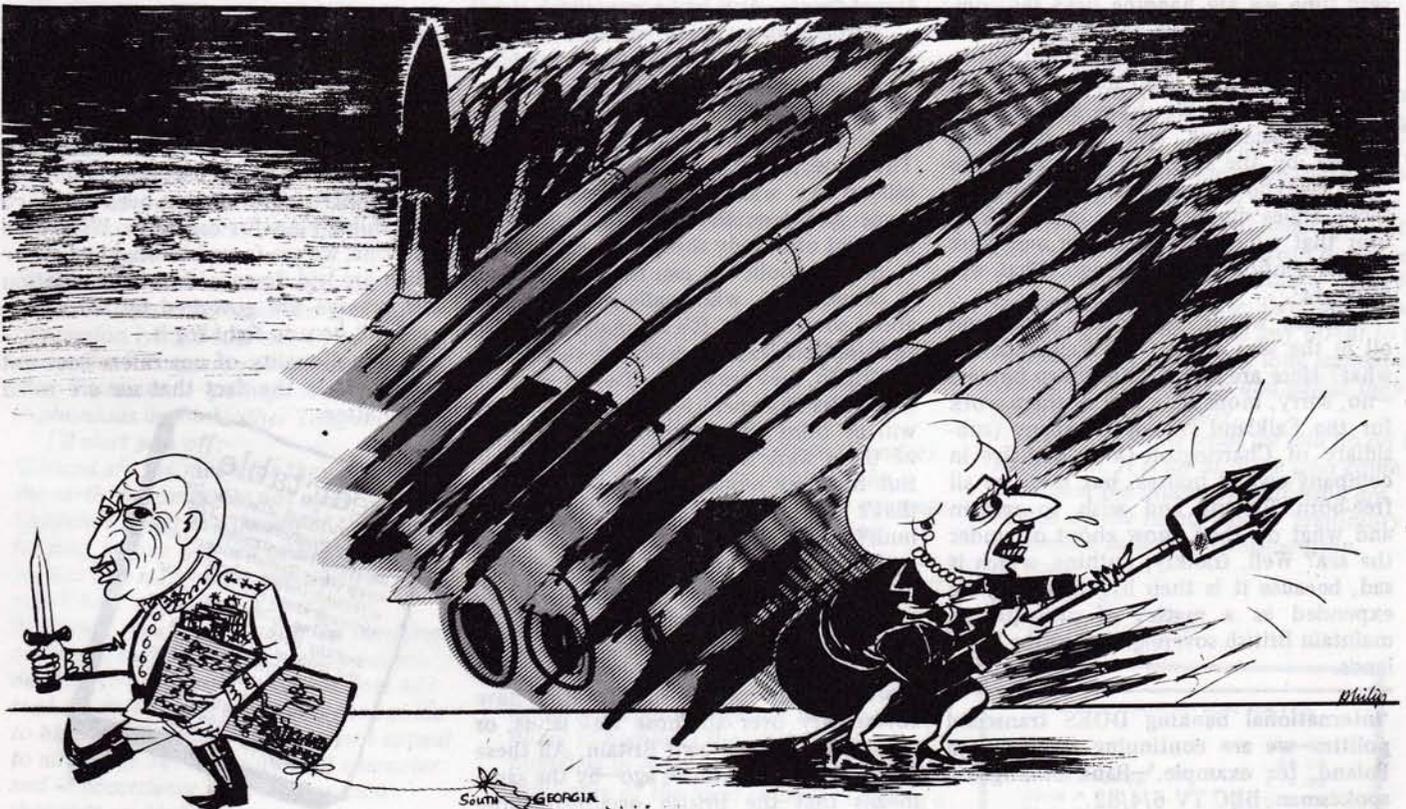
By the time you are reading this, comrade, you will probably know the end of this divertissement, for things are happening so quickly that as we go to press we can only say that the British Fleet, God Bless 'Er, is still steaming resolutely southwards towards the 200-mile circle declared out-of-bounds for Argentinian ships by the Lord High of the Admiralty here in London where everybody is still determined to hang on to the ownership of a couple of barren rocks pinched by our ancestors in the nineteenth century.

The actual origin of British sovereignty over the Falkland Islands is something that everybody (well everybody in power) is keeping very quiet about. This could be because the British just seized it in 1831 or thereabouts (nobody seems very sure when) after the Spanish, who had occupied

it before that, had evacuated all their 'possessions' in the South Atlantic and claim had been laid to it by the newly emerging state of Argentina—who made the mistake of not occupying and planting a flag on the relatively barren islands, 400 miles off the eastern shores of Patagonia.

Those were still the heydays of Empire, especially the British Empire, and anybody finding the odd island floating around without a flag on it (even 8000 miles away) felt entitled to stick up their own flag and shout loudly 'THIS IS OURS' and so it was.

Unhappily, something about the deal made with the departing Spaniards made the Argentinians think the Falklands and South Georgia 'belonged' to them—and they have never—never—accepted British sovereignty, which was established by



importing a lot of sheep farmers and populating the place rather like it was done in Northern Ireland.

Over the years, the dispute over ownership has been a running sore for the Argentinians, although they did not push too hard, for it was a matter of national pride more than anything else—as it has also been for the British, who have used the islands as a whaling station, a trading post and a jumping off point for whoever was exploring the Antarctic circle, as well of course, as a breeding ground for all those sheep—now numbering 600,000—and their owners, now numbering 1,800.

These are the people, and these are the sheep (you can tell the difference because the people walk on only two legs) about whom, or which, all the trouble is. Or so you are asked to believe. The Falkland Islanders, like the Gibraltarians and the Protestant Northern Irelanders and no doubt the Hong Kongians and the North Borneians and the people of the Isle of Man, all want to remain BRITISH.

And so they shall! No matter what the cost! They all may perish in the struggle, but by God, they'll perish British! Nobody perishes better than the British. We have perished in India; we have perished in Africa, we have perished in America, North and South; we have perished in Europe. There is no far-flung corner of the world in which the British have not perished. If we are good enough to perish in Northern Ireland, by God we must be good enough to perish in the Falklands!

What for, do we hear you ask? Are you mad, sir, or madam, or person? This is a matter of principle. You may have noticed in your public papers that at this very time we are handing over the complete control of their national affairs to the Canadians—but we must point out to you that this has been done by proper process of law. We have screwed the French Canadians and the remaining Indians by the due and legal processes that everybody respects—but here are these Argies simply walking in and taking over that which we walked in and took over a century-and-a-half ago. That was different!

Besides which, somebody has found oil in the seas around the Falklands. So what? Here are these 1,800 sheep farmers—no, sorry, more than half of them work for the Falkland Islands Company (subsidiary of Charrington Coal) and live in company-owned houses, but they are all free-born Britons and wish to remain and what do they know about oil under the sea? Well, frankly, nothing, which is sad, because it is their lives that may be expended as a matter of principle to maintain British sovereignty over the Falklands.

'International banking DOES transcend politics—we are continuing trading with Poland, for example.'—Bank of England spokesman, BBC TV 6/4/82.



We say 'may be' because we have to be realistic, don't we? It 'may be' that in the end of all this hullabaloo, we, the God-given British, will have to do a deal with these damned dagoes from Argentina. But we shall have to negotiate from a position of strength. It may well be going too far to actually *nuke* Buenos Aires, as one of our MPs suggested, but we certainly have to teach them Argies a lesson. They are on the Falklands. Right in Port Stanley, right? So that's where we have to wrinkle them out of, right? And if we have to blast Port Stanley, and the rest of the island out of the sea—so be it. Right must prevail, right? In this respect we must pay tribute to Michael Foot of the Labour Party. In the emergency debate in the House of Commons on Saturday 3rd April nobody provided a more patriotic, jingoistic and imperialist speech than Michael. He may be against nuclear weapons, but by God he really puts his faith in conventional forces. And he knows what's right!

Too bad about those Islanders, though. But then, we must admit, they wouldn't be much use when it comes to exploiting the oil between the Islands and the mainland—the area people who know are calling The New Kuwait—would they? It's the oilmen we want, the chaps who have made Aberdeen the Dallas of the North, not a lot of bloody sheep farmers.

So no doubt we can do a deal. When it comes to it, who really gives a damn about sovereignty? It's the material wealth that matters. Let the Islanders come back to Britain, they are white, after all—though under Mrs Thatcher's Nationality Bill, they will be third class citizens because most of them were not born in this country. But then, we repeat, they are white, and that's what really matters. Kith 'n' kin, innit?

Fifty million quid, this has cost us—before a shot has been fired. But it's all for a principle. It doesn't matter that the people of the Falkland Islands never owned the Falklands themselves, any more than the people of Argentina have sovereignty over all those vast lands, or the British people own Britain. All these were occupied centuries ago—by the same means that the British occupied those islands.

It so happens at the moment that Argentina is ruled by a particularly vicious 'tin-pot fascist junta' wanting to distract its citizens from its economic problems—and the Falklands are about to be defended by the rump of a nineteenth century imperialist tory regime, wanting to distract its citizens from its economic problems and using willing recruits to do its dirty work for it. So what's new? We defend one 'sovereignty' against another? It's very convenient for the British that the present regime in Argentina is a particularly nasty fascist regime—but has that stopped Thatcher's Government from trading with it? Or selling arms to it? Or lending it money? No, it hasn't.

One of the ironies of the present situation is that the Argentine navy has been equipped with British hardware. If it comes to a shooting match, the British navy knows exactly what to expect—for it is its own (out-dated) equipment that will be used against it. Another irony is that, for all the deterrence that Britain has with its vast nuclear arsenal—all pointing Eastwards—it has been upstaged by a third-class power from the West, taking it by surprise.

We might feel sorry for the islanders, and for the marines, soldiers, sailors and airmen who could be killed in this exercise if it came to a shooting match. But nobody forced the servicemen to join the forces. If they fell for the crap about a good life with the professionals; if they thought it was all glamour to learn how to kill their fellow men and women—and children—for the myths of nationality, patriotism and sovereignty, they have nobody but themselves to blame. The islanders have done well and have been coss-etted by the myths of British sovereignty—now they are being presented with the bill.

As anarchists we have to say that the sovereignty that matters is *individual* sovereignty. We all live in occupied countries. This country of Britain has been occupied by a ruling class for centuries. We live on its terms; we are forced to obey its rules—which are laid down without consultation with us—we are governed by force, but we don't *have* to fight for it.

The nationality of our rulers does not matter. It is the fact that *we are ruled* that matters.

PS

Predictable
 OLD MOORE'S Almanac for 1982: 'Predictions—The Falkland Isles struggle to keep their British connections although they are heavily dependent on the Argentine ... Owing to the uncertainties and the wild, windy weather the population continues to dwindle.' The only drawback is that Old Moore had this pencilled in for June rather than April. So that's the source of Foreign Office intelligence.

Jingo Terrorism

THE whole question of the relationship between violence terrorism and anarchism has been extensively discussed and quite rightly. Agreement between anarchists on the subject has never been reached, there is so much human emotion surrounding the subject and anarchists are as subject to the irrationalities of our society as are others.

The irrational fears that permeate our society are highlighted by the raids on the anarchist press by the Anti-Terrorist squad briefly mentioned in our last issue. The squad represents a group of successful terrorists who as this is being written are sending a vast force armed with all sorts of explosive devices against another group of terrorists (ie the Argentine government) who have occupied a small piece of land acquired by the first group of terrorists when they were in their prime.

GOVERNMENTS ARE SUCCESSFUL TERRORISTS

A good example of this is the present Israeli government, having successfully acquired sovereignty they are now terrorizing the old occupants of the land—except the present activities of the Israeli government are called enforcing law and order and the activities of their opponents terrorist. George Orwell called this sort of double talk Newspeak, and the visitation of the representatives of the legitimised terrorists to our press reminds us how close to 1984 we are.

SOVEREIGNTY

This is a specious sort of private ownership for which a lot of people who own nothing will be killing a lot of people who are in a similar position. These islands, a residue of the Great British Empire (over which the sun never set and the wages never rose) are now being subject to an expensive operation by one country, which has 3 million unemployed, and is drifting slowly towards being a police state

and, another which is already a police state and has a vast number of even poorer people. In both countries the populations are being roused by equally controlled medias to jingoist nationalist fervour for an operation which the dispossessed of both countries will have to pay and will not benefit the unfortunate population of the islands in dispute.

PROPERTY IS THEFT

The 800,000 sheep on the islands will probably have as much say on the future of the islands as the inhabitants, their destiny will probably be the same whoever claims 'sovereignty'. Neither will the populations of Britain and Argentina have any more say, they have no say over their land. The British governor's cocked hat and sword has not added to the islanders' security of tenure and having inherited a

previously uninhabited island and been prepared to farm the soil they have a right to assert their decisions over the islands. Instead the islanders have vested the powers of discussion in a small group of people thousands of miles away. This is what people do everywhere, some are given the illusion of control by being permitted to place a X on a piece of paper, others have a more overt form of power imposed upon them.

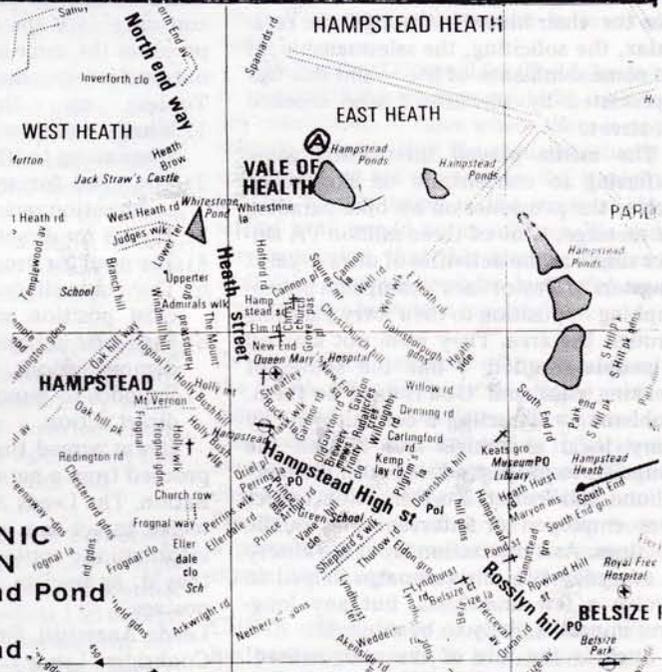
GOOD CUSTOMERS SOMETIMES BECOME BAD NEIGHBOURS

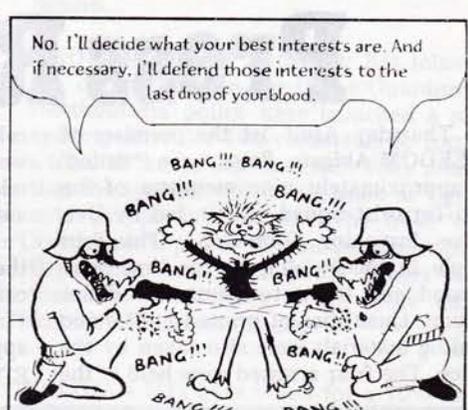
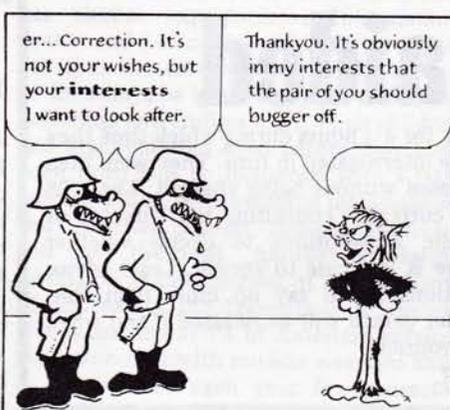
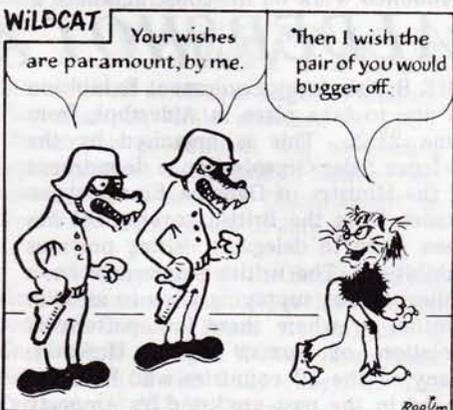
The probability is that if hostilities break out British weapons will be killing British people, for those that are sending forth this armada, represent those that have made a good profit out of such trade. Those that are baying about the foul Argentine junta have not been so concerned. The vast business interests that have kept the various S American juntas in place operate from European sources. Their victims number millions and it is within our own power to seize the sovereignty that they have over us, and we will only have to go up the road to do it.

ALAN ALBON



ANARCHIST PICNIC
MAY 1st 12 NOON
NW End Hampstead Pond
Hampstead Heath
Nr Tube Hampstead





REPORTS

IN THE MARGIN

THE Anti-Parliamentary campaign in the Hillhead by-election achieved some impact, but as usual the threat to the electoral circus was not serious enough to make more than a handful of the people take notice. A couple of comrades, in particular, committed themselves to street corner speaking six days a week for two weeks. Cold weather and indifference to any politics made most of this effort limited in impact.

The last meeting on Sat 20th did succeed. With more Clydeside anarchists participating, an element of 'spontaneity' was introduced as Brian, the principal speaker, posed as a heckler and attracted a large crowd as he bated Dave, the straight anarchist. This was extremely lively, and the interest continued even when Brian took over the chair himself. Amongst the razamataz, the soliciting, the salesmanship, at last some semblance of life — and this was appreciated by the crowd who blocked the street.

The media played their usual game preferring to concentrate on sloganising such as the pensioner on his bike parading the message: 'One of three million'. A sinister side was the activities of ultra-loyalist gangsters in Pastor Jack's campaign photographing opposition to their lorry parading through the area. They were not amused as people shouted 'I like the sound of breaking glass' and 'God is dead' to them. Problems in attracting a commitment by many local anarchists had limited the campaign to propagandising with the megaphone and leaflet. No disruption tactics were employed or intervening at public meetings. As a distraction from the misery of everyday life, the campaign helped to involve a few anarchists, but any long-term impact is likely to be minimal.

Such is the fate of the marginalised!

ANARCHISTS AND THE CND

ANARCHISTS from all over the north of Britain have met to launch an 'Anti-Bomb Campaign'. Comrades from Manchester, who called the meeting explained their reasons as being the vast growth of CND, which seems to have learned nothing from the lessons of the movement of the 1960's. Its aim is still to work through Parliamentary channels and to elect a party to achieve unilateral disarmament. This is unrealistic, as it is not in the nature of any state to get rid of its armaments.

It was also felt that there is a need for more coherence between anarchists' beliefs and their opposition to nuclear weapons. The relationship between anarchists and CND should be reviewed in the light of that organisation's close links with the Labour Party. There is a need for a body which reflects the anarchist belief that to get rid of these weapons there must be a drastic change in society as a whole. This contrasts with the CND platform, which proposes the same political state but without nuclear weapons.

Topics on the agenda were:

- 1) What's wrong with CND and possible alternatives to it?
- 2) The need for an alternative anarchist organisation outside CND.
- 3) Tactics for direct action.
- 4) The need for propaganda and publicity.
- 5) The contradictions between the anarchist position and the CND position.
- 6) Particular actions against civil defence, demonstrations, protests etc.
- 7) Support to groups already involved in direct action.

It was agreed that organisation should proceed from a network to a firmer organisation. The Leeds Anarchist Group volunteered to act as a secretariat. For further information contact them, no doubt, they'd appreciate something to cover postage.

Leeds Anarchist Group, Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge, Leeds LS2 3AW.

Greenham FOLK

THE festival of life around Greenham Common US airbase attracted over 6000 people for a day of peace. They came to show our government that we refuse to accept the terrible threat to our lives and to our planet which Cruise missiles represent.

250 took part in a women's action to blockade the base for 24 hours starting from 6.30pm. Throughout the night the blockade was successful, apart from some of the base personnel forcing themselves out of a pedestrian gate where they trampled over 11 seated women.

On Monday morning a gap was cut in the security fencing and civil police were instructed to block the roads, allowing only military and works personnel through.

Women immediately spotted the police action and several from all the other gates, where the blockade was maintained for 24 hours without problems, hurried to block the gap. Here 34 women were arrested in three waves and charged with obstructing 'free passage along Bury's Bank Road'.

Please show solidarity with these women by demonstrating outside the magistrates court in Newbury on April 14th and 21st when they will be tried.

WELSH ANARCH

WE have received a report on recent happenings on the anti-nuclear front here in South Wales. Local anarchists were involved in some of these events.

Last week South Glamorgan County Council bunker was occupied by three anarchists for the day. South Glamorgan is a nuclear free zone and the council is Labour yet this bunker is still retained. The occupation tried to expose this hypocrisy and publicise the existence of the bunker.

In Mid Glamorgan the Council has abandoned work on the construction of a

ALDERSHOT AR

THE British Army Equipment Exhibition is due to take place in Aldershot, from June 21-25. This is organised by the Defence Sales Organisation, a department of the Ministry of Defence. Financial assistance from the British government has been given to delegates visiting previous exhibitions. The British government has a policy of not supplying arms to areas in conflict or where there is a pattern of violation of human rights. However, many of the 50 countries who have attended in the past are listed by Amnesty

Press Raided

ON Thursday April 1st the premises of FREEDOM/Aldgate Press were 'visited' by approximately nine members of the Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS), led by Detective Inspector Gibb-Gray. The four people in the building at the time were arrested and taken to Leman St Police Station. Quantities of printed matter and printing materials were also taken by the police. The four arrested were held in the

cells for 4½ hours during which time they were interrogated in turn. They were then released without being charged. The ATS are currently consulting the Director of Public Prosecutions to decide whether there is any case to answer. Legal advice cautions us to say no more than this. Fuller details will be released if and when appropriate.

EDS.

Common NOW-UP

The police were ordered to change tactics as the number of arrests was increasing and many more women were ready to fill the spaces. For the rest of the afternoon police dragged women out of the gap to let traffic through and women kept on returning. At the end of the day 50 women gathered at the gap while the other seven gates continued their action. The police would have needed reinforcements to move them again.

We found our energy and strength growing by taking positive action against the death machine. Women spontaneously sang—'Women, Women, Women, We're only just starting'. By persevering together we will stop the bomb.

The women of Greenham Common wish to thank all the women who took part, all the men and women who supported here and the thousands of people who had us in their thoughts.

EVICITION NEWS

Since the above action we have had news that Newbury District Council have finally authorised their officers to institute legal proceedings against us. We urgently need publicity of all kinds and women who can stay at the camp. Please support us.

ISTS IN ACTION

nuclear bunker at Bridgend. This is after local CND groups set up a Peace Camp and sabotage of the site occupied by persons unknown.

Recently a Conference on D-Action and the Bomb took place in Cardiff. Jointly organised by an anarchist and Green CND. It was badly attended but something will come of it.

Direct action is only supported by a minority of people in local CND groups which are dominated by the Left. Very depressing.

Best wishes, TOMOS

MS EXHIBITION

International as Human Rights Violators. For example, Chile attended in 1981. The British government will be sending representatives to the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament, in New York from June 5 to July 7.

A campaign against the Exhibition has already begun. For further information contact London Peace Action, c/o 6 Endsleigh St, London WC1 or phone Anne Bebington (01-499 9821 (day)) or Ann Feltham (01-633 0133 (day)).

NEW guidelines have been announced for D Notices. These are the system by which the media voluntarily censors itself at the request of Whitehall officials. They cover things like defence plans, nuclear weapons, cyphers and communications. The system has been increasingly ignored recently.

THE Greek government has proposed legislation which would give workers the right to support strikes by colleagues employed by the same multinational company in other countries.

PRINCE Franz Josef of Liechtenstein has urged the men of the country to allow women to vote. Similar proposals have been turned down twice in all male referendums.

CHINESE peasant, Luo Shijun, has grown 25 new teeth at the age of 100, according to a Shanghai newspaper.

A doctor in Tuscany is being tried under Article 552 of the criminal code of 'crimes against the integrity and health of the race' and 'acts against persons of either sex, with their consent, which are intended to render them impotent to procreate.' He is accused of performing vasectomies.

SOUTH Africa has produced a 155 millimetre artillery system which makes American weapons 'look like toys'. A spokesman has dismissed a US congressional report alleging that the CIA 'bent previous policy' to allow South Africa to avoid a United Nations arms embargo. He also denies allegations that the 'super gun' had been designed to fire nuclear weapons.

Comment from Hugu Young, Political Editor of the *Sunday Times*, 'While only an anarchist or other revolutionary would say that unemployment *justified* crime, only a fool or a politician would deny that it contributes to a higher crime rate.'

DOCTORS at a conference in Cambridge have given their estimates of the effects of a nuclear war in Europe. Joseph Rotblat of London University predicts 150 million deaths immediately, and that half the survivors would be injured and die of starvation. Leonid Llyn, a soviet academician has similar expectations, 168 million deaths and 146 million injuries. He points out that the survivors would 'to the end of their days be haunted by psychological sufferings and endless woes. Their children and grandchildren even before they have been born will be burdened with a fatal predisposition to developing malignancies and inherited defects. Indeed, the living will envy the dead.' Another interesting revelation at the congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War is that about 4% of American servicemen, who deal with nuclear weapons have to be replaced each year for 'character defects and drug abuse'.

IN BRIEF

THE Law Commission has recommended changes in the laws relating to public order. A new working paper notes that the present laws have remained relatively unchanged for centuries and believes that they should be 'updated'. The new recommendations relate to 'riot', 'affray' and 'unlawful assembly'. It is suggested that 'riot' should be defined as three or more people gathered in public or private engaged in violent conduct causing any reasonable person present to be afraid for his or her safety. Drunkenness will not be a defence. 'Affray' would be, without lawful excuse, fighting with or inflicting acts of violence on another and acting with such violence that any reasonable person would have been in fear for his or her safety. The commission says that 'unlawful assembly' should be defined as three or more people together privately or in public with the aim of engaging in a course of conduct which either involves use of violence, threats or displays of violence. The reasonable person is invoked again.

The National Council for Civil Liberties is worried that such laws could be used to get convictions in cases where there is not enough evidence that the accused actually committed an act of violence. So, it might be that simply being in the street at the wrong time would be an offence. We had the impression that this already applied. And take another look at 'unlawful assembly'. Ever been to a meeting?

INTERESTING choices of words around the South Atlantic Crisis. Argentine newspapers had the headlines 'Recuperadas Las Malvinas'. Situationism has infiltrated everywhere. In contrast, Margaret Thatcher talks about 'redeeming the Falklands'. We are not sure whether she means from a pawnbroker's or whether her megalomania has taken on spiritual dimensions.

CHINA will produce more than three billion pencils this year. It is claimed that it is now the world's biggest producer of pencils.

ANOTHER Police Authority has joined the current fashion for Home Guardism. Northumbria police have launched a recruiting drive for 700 volunteers to form a band of 'home beat specials'. They deny that the specials will be regarded as vigilante groups in uniform. The head of Northumbria police's Community Services Department said, 'The public always say that they would like to see more uniformed officers on the streets'.

BELGIAN MPs have voted for a 10% cut in their salaries.

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COMPETITION PLEASE

Dear FREEDOM,
Having just finished the March 20th issue, we must add our criticism to that of the Hull and Doncaster groups. For a newspaper there is a total absence of news! In addition to the listing of strikes, demos etc there should be some attempt to provide an anarchic analysis of the main 'news' stories. This would serve the purpose of outlining anarchism in relation to major issues whilst helping to illustrate the fundamentals of an anarchist society.

Given the production and distributive facilities enjoyed by FREEDOM it is imperative that every effort is made to produce a paper that will be relevant and interesting to anarchists and non-anarchists alike. Only by doing this will the idea of anarchy and libertartarian alternatives reach more people, 'a free anarchist society can never be created while at least 99% of the people have never had it suggested to them' (Anarchy 33—who is John Guilt?)
BRETT FLETCHER
pp Stub City Anarchs

WORTH TUPPENCE?

Dear FREEDOM,
We read with great interest the letter from Hull and Doncaster Groups, and feel that we would like to add our 'Tuppence-worth' to what will obviously be a debate in the letters' page over the next few issues. Although we do not agree that all theoretical articles are 'simply irrelevant' we do feel that FREEDOM in its present form leaves a lot to be desired to say the least. By pointing out what we feel to be its inadequacies other readers may be encouraged to let their views be known so that you at FREEDOM will be in a position to measure reader dis/satisfaction.
1) FREEDOM shows all the signs of accepting anything for publication just to ensure that something comes out fortnightly. Examples being 'the Free Market shits', 'For the bomb', 'Are anarchists on the left or not' and the endless leader articles which say absolutely nothing.

If the justification for this is that FREEDOM is open to all opinion than why bother calling it an anarchist paper. We feel sure that many of the correspondents who you publish are not aware of what the word anarchy really means.

2) We feel, as do members of the Hull and Doncaster Groups, that what is needed is an agitational paper which could act as a news network concentrating on meetings, action, strikes, international information and calls for support. This should, in the main, be written in a short to the point style. If this was the case then the occasional longer, detailed background article would be welcome.

We believe that this is an important point if we are to create a movement in this country (yes, we do want a movement). For too long in this country the political philosophy of anarchism had been treated as a joke and many of those who tend to call themselves anarchists but who are just playing at it, should stop getting in the way of those who want to get on with the real work.

3) What we don't want is yet another comic strip, satirical, 'anarchist' paper there are enough of these. The people who produce these have nothing in common with the anarchists throughout the world who face imprisonment or murder for their views. Anarchism is not a game.

We feel that if FREEDOM cannot fulfill the need for a paper on which others can assess the state of the anarchist movement in this country then another will, and FREEDOM will then become just a name in the history of anarchism in this country. If your answer to all this is that you can't be 'all things to all people' then why not start producing a paper for anarchists.

What do others think?
TYNE & WEAR ANARCHIST GROUP/
DAM

BUT WE DO

Dear FREEDOM,
As a reader and Free distributor of FREEDOM, I have some positive suggestions to make. Your articles are all in depth but too long, in some cases.

This is important to allow all the information to come together. FREEDOM should be more lively. Instead of just writing reviews there should be more articles on current Anarchist/Feminist/squatters and anti-authority actions in Europe and the UK. Also more photos with these actions covered. FREEDOM is good but can improve.

At your next collective meeting of FREEDOM writers and staff please bring this up. Since I live in Connecticut it's hard for me to really make an impact on FREEDOM.

An International Anarchist contact list should be included in FREEDOM. Finally a review of Pirate Underground Radio should be a feature on a regular basis. If you're unable to do all these things because of a lack of writers, photographers etc, than ask people to send in well written news items from anti-authoritarian demos, rallies, lectures etc. You need to be more exciting and readable.

I hope I've been helpful to you all.
Sincerely In Peace,
KEN WEINER
Connecticut

EDITORIAL DECLARATION

WE HEREBY GIVE NOTICE that we have today despatched a flotilla of nuclear-powered serpentine class rowing boats to rendezvous in what passes for an estuary in Tyne & Wear with a cruiserweight kayak (sold to Spain in 1919, last used in the defence of Madrid 1936) already underway from Over-the-Water, Orkneys. Coal will be taken to Newcastle to bombard rebellious natives.

Simultaneously and at the same time a spraygunboat will sail up the the Humber with a landing force capable of carrying airplanes to Doncaster and back.

We take this resolute action with reluctance, but we can no longer duck our responsibilities while sniping and grousing and the repression of their own pheasants goes on throughout bleak and faraway territory groaning under the jackboot of the vile NEAF junta.

We intend to launch our surprise attack 14 days from now.

GREENHAM GROUSE

Dear Friends,
It would no doubt be better for the women involved in the Greenham Common demonstration to respond themselves to Cliff Poxon's letter, but may I say that the derision and hostility he expressed towards them can hardly be conducive to the cause he presumably supports. If a group of women wish to demonstrate in their own way and on their own terms against nuclear weaponry one might, I suppose, as he does, question the relevance of their actions, but I can't for the life of me see this as an 'appalling example of sexist matriarchy'.

I personally do not like the 'exclusiveness' this involves, but I feel that one should nevertheless respect and support their actions. But quite apart from the issue of 'sexism' I find the tone and substance of Cliff's letter quite disturbing. Generalizations made by the women about 'male violence' are dismissed as 'absurd' and 'clap-trap', and he cynically interprets their actions as motivated purely by the need to get a mention in the local press.

In the kind of class society we live in, the state, patriarchy and the production of nuclear arms are intimately connected, and the women are quite right to stress the links between 'male violence' and Cruise missiles.

I don't suppose for one moment that they are so naive as to think that their peace camp will cause physical inconvenience to the MoD, but it might through informal contacts and support, and through the media, provide a kind of rallying point for continuing opposition

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to nuclear armaments. There are much easier ways of getting a mention in the 'local rag'.

What does Cliff suggest? Throwing a few bombs at the Establishment or engaging in militarist and authoritarian tactics like the SWP? Indeed, his letter certainly sounded as if he belonged to the Trotskyist camp rather than from a professed libertarian.

Sincerely,
BRIAN MORRIS
Sussex

CND DEMO

Other Anarchists,

You may or may not be aware that Preston CND have organised a march on Saturday, 24th April from Ashton Park, Preston to Westleigh (the site of one of the main bunkers for local top brass), after which there will be some sort of music festival in Auenham Park. It might be a good idea (but, only a suggestion, like) if as many of us as possible, but particularly those of us here up North, could meet before the march is due to set off (11am from Ashton Park) and if nothing else, a sizeable Anarchist presence at what is 'only' a 'local' demo will at least let others know we're there and doing something (assuming we do nothing else). Quite a few people managed to get to the recent 'Bradford 12' demo in Leeds, despite short notice; it would be nice if this could be repeated.

Love,
JOHN
Merseyside

NO GOD NO MASTER

Dear Editors,

In reply to Peter Dodson:

1) I thought anarchists were people who did not want masters. What is God other than a master?

2) What are the teachings of Jesus Christ other than an exhortation to take oppression lying down and a license to cowardice? I suggest you translate your New Testament — perhaps it sounds too euphonious in the Mother Tongue.

I'll start you off:-

'Blessed are the meek for they will inherit the earth' becomes 'Do not assert yourself. Existence under the thumb of the powerful may be one hot-bed of toil and suffering but take it from me, when you're dead, you'll have a whale of a time.'

3) Even if you do agree with the teachings of Christ, that should be merely coincidental. An autonomous person does not read another person's thoughts for a guide to his actions — she or he does not appeal to authority but acts always in character and in accordance with his/her own thoughts on his/her own experience.

KAY

NOR POPE

Dear Editors,

The letter from Paul Cook sounds fine, but unfortunately several thousand Protestant loyalists are already organising against the papal visit. NO POPE HERE stickers are everywhere, and although their attempt to block the felling of trees under the guise of the South-side Rate-payers association looks like failing, the more militant of them will stop at nothing to disrupt the visit of Popeye. This problem of 'sectarianism' exists at a level that only Belfast surpasses, and is a constant problem for anarchist activity in working-class estates.

The leading article on El Salvador was extremely short on facts. It's too easy to say from the UK that life in Nicaragua is the same as Somoza. Surely it's not sufficient to say that the national liberation struggles don't produce an administration that is committed to some form of welfare capitalism with the State having some control over the economy. This may produce a more literate population with better medical care and less extremes of wealth, but as we all know it isn't anarchy. There is a difference with the US backed regimes that have been overthrown but not a change that is likely to persist in the long-run, as the question of the economy and identification with opposing sides of the Cold War leads to a choice between 'democratic' mixed economy capitalism and State capitalism on Cuba lines.

These editorial/general articles, which are weak on facts and research are one reason why FREEDOM does not succeed as a paper. There is a much higher demand for say XTRA or BLACK FLAG. FREEDOM's merit is that it comes out frequently and lists contacts.

KEITH
Box 3—Clydeside Practical Anarchy

HOOLIGAN'S REPLY

Dear FREEDOM,

I would like to reply to T Flinn (Dundee). I am one of the Sussex hooligans he mentions and is upset about the coverage we have been getting in your paper.

The group in Sussex has developed in a positive way over the last year and a half. We now have regular contact with the Hastings and Worthing groups. The three groups have come together to form the S@S (Sussex anarchist society). The group got a squat together in a stately home to highlight the plight of the homeless in Brighton and to point out the hypocrisy of the local council in having a 70 roomed house empty with a large number of homeless in the area.

We got some measure of support but not as much as we would have liked. We disrupted David Owen because he represents the new fascism under the guise of the SDP. They base themselves on the Social Democracy of W Germany, Italy, Greece etc. He is a possible future PM and Mr Flinn we are not prepared to tolerate the intolerable.

I wonder whether Flinn will sit back and talk around the fireside when thousands of comrades are rotting in jail.

The group is a collective of individuals with no specific anarchist strand particularly dominant. The group contains those influenced by Autonomist theory, Syndicalism, Communism, Situationist and others by no particular strand.

If there is to be an anarchist movement then it must be built through concrete action and not just words. We must be prepared to point out the nature of the left, unionism and argue for and build a movement on the assertion of Autonomy and one capable of bringing about real changes not indulging in metaphysical ramblings which lead nowhere.

MAB

Brighton

DIRECT ACTION, DIRECT DEMOCRACY, AUTONOMY NOW!

CONFRONTATION

To FREEDOM,

You may or may not have heard a rumour concerning the proposed action at 715 Curzon St, Mayfair on 30th April at 10'clock.

Many comrades may be concerned that this is a provocative attempt to mobilise anarchists and others in a confrontationalist way. They are right!

In the past we have been too concerned with public credibility. Thus our struggle against the state has often been muted, and pragmatic considerations have become an overriding feature of many actions.

Whilst not wishing to alienate potential comrades, we feel that we can no longer conform to the means 'allowed' to us for our protest and struggle. Demonstrations and the like do not pose any threat to the establishment, they have long learned to cope with such actions and adjust their machinery accordingly.

We don't know what we will do on the 30th April. It is up to those who come. But when the means of distortion are owned by the ruling classes 'credibility' becomes a ludicrous consideration.

Be there.

In Solidarity,

JOANNE CLARKE

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Surface	£9.00
Europe All-up	£10.00
Zone A	£10.50
Zone B	25 dollars US
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FREEDOM CONTACTS

NATIONAL CONTACTS

ABERDEEN

Solidarity, c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

BARRY

Terry Phillips, 16 Robert St, Barry, South Glamorgan.

BELFAST

Anarchist Collective, Jus' Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast 1.

BEDFORDSHIRE

Bedfordshire and isolated Anarchists, write: John, 81 F, Bromham Rd, Bedford MK40 2AH, Beds.

BRIGHTON

Libertarian Socialist group, c/o Students Union, Falmer House, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton.

BRISTOL

L Bedminster, 110 Grenville Rd, Bristol 3. Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol 6.

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge Anarchists, c/o 186 East Rd, Cambridge.

CANTERBURY

Alternative Research Group, Students Union, University of Kent, Canterbury. Canterbury Anarchist Group, meets every Monday 8 pm, Jolly Sailor, Northgate, Canterbury. Contact address is: Andrew Savage, 177 Old Dover Rd, Canterbury, Kent.

CARDIFF

Write c/o One-O-Eight Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Rd.

CIRENCESTER AND THE COTSWOLDS

c/o Andrew Wilkie, 7 Sperrington, Cirencester, Glos.

COVENTRY

John England, Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry.

CRAWLEY

Crawley Anarchists Ray Cooper, Bluebell Close, Crawley 511-873

CUMBRIA

12 Bath Terrace, Drovers Lane, Penrith.

DERBY

Black Ram c/o Forum Books 86 Abbey Street, Derby Tel: 368039

DUBLIN

Love v Power, Whelan's Dance Studio, 51 South King St, Dublin 2.

EAST ANGLIA

DAM, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Safton Walden, Essex.

EDINBURGH

c/o Box SLF, First of May, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh.

ESSEX

Oral Abortions, The Catskills, Maldon Rd, Gay Bowers, Danbury.

EXETER

Anarchist Collective, c/o Community Association, Devonshire House, Stocker Rd.

GLASGOW

Clydeside Anarchists c/o Box 3; Collective Action Group c/o Box 101 [Public meetings last Monday of every month City Halls, Albion Street]

'Caiderwood 16' pamphlets c/o Box V2; Glasgow Young Anarchists c/o Box 1984 [Weekly meetings Saturday afternoons] All at Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Gt Western Road G12 (Kelvinbridge Tube)

HASTINGS

Anarchists, 18a Markwick Terrace, Saint Leonards-on-Sea, East Sussex. (0424) 434102.

HUDDERSFIELD

Huddersfield Anarchist Group & DAM Box DAM, c/o Peaceworks, 58 Wakefield Road, Huddersfield

HULL

Libertarian Collective, 70 Perth St, Hull HU5 3NZ.

KEELE

Anarchist Group, c/o Students Union, The University, Keele, Staffordshire.

KEIGHLEY

Anarchists, c/o Simon Saxton, 1 Selbourne Grove, Keighley, West Yorkshire BD21 25L.

LAMPETER

Anarchist Group, c/o Adian James, SDUC, Lampeter, Dyfed SA48 7ED, Wales.

LIVERPOOL

Anarchist Group, c/o Hywel Ellis, Students Union, Liverpool University.

LEAMINGTON

and Warwick, c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington Spa.

LEEDS

Leeds Anarchist Group, Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge, Leeds LS2 3AW

DAM + Federation of Leeds Anarchists: Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge St, Leeds LS2 3AW

LEICESTER

Blackthorn Books, 7 Highcross St, (tel 21896) and Libertarian Education 6 Beaconsfield Rd, (tel 552085).

The Anarchist Society, Societies' Room, Student's Union Building, University of Leicester, University Road, Leics. LE1 7RH

LONDON

Anarcha United Mystics meet each Thursday at 8pm, Halfway House Pub, opposite Camden Town tube.

Freedom Collective, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1. (01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube, near Whitechapel Art Gallery. - Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1, Meet Thursdays 7pm.

Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark St, Kingston upon Thames, (01-549 2564).

London Workers Group, meets Tuesdays 8pm at Metropolitan Pub, 75 Farringdon Rd, EC1. Middlesex Poly Anarchists, Students Union, Trent Park Site, Cockfosters Rd, Barnet, Herts.

121 Bookshop and meeting place, 121 Raiton Rd, Herne Hill, SE24 West London Anarchists contact John Sanders, 4 Naylor House, Mozart Estate, W10.

MALVERN and Worcester area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrige, Malvern, Worcestershire.

MANCHESTER

Solidarity and 'Wildcat' 'Wildcat' or 'Solidarity' at: Box 25, 164/166 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, M4 3BN.

MERSEYSIDE

Box LAG 31 Gothil Street, Rock Ferry Birkenhead Merseyside

MORECAMBE & LANCASTER

North Lancs. Libertarians' c/o Cliff M Poxon, 13 Carleton St, Morecambe, Lancs. LA4 4NX

NORWICH

Anarchists, Student group and town group and Freewheel Community Bookshop Collective, all c/o Freewheel, 52/54 King St, Norwich. Tel 21209.

NOTTINGHAM

c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St, Tel 582506.

OLDHAM

Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Failsworth.

OXFORD

Anarchist Group and Solidarity, c/o 34 Cowley Rd.

PAISLEY

Anarchist Group are unfortunately contactable through the Students Union, Hunter St, Paisley, Renfrewshire.

PLYMOUTH

Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Ave, Pennycross.

PORTSMOUTH

area anarchist group, c/o Garry Richardson, 25 Beresford Close, Waterlooville, Hants,

READING

Reading Anarchist Group, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham St, Reading. Meets once a week.

RHONDDA

and MidGlamorgan, Henning Andersen, 'Smiths Arms', Treherbert, MidGlamorgan.

SHEFFIELD

Anarchists, c/o 4 Havelock Square Sheffield S10 2FQ. Libertarian Society, Post Office Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE.

SOUTH WALES

DAM, c/o Smiths Arms, Baglan Rd, Treherbert, MidGlamorgan, South Wales. Write for anarcho-syndicalist contacts in Treherbert, Rhondda, Pontypridd, Penarth, Barry and Cardiff areas.

SWANSEA

Black Dragon, Box 5, c/o Neges Bookshop, 31 Alexandra Rd, Swansea SA1 5DQ, W Glamorgan.

SUSSEX

anarchist group, c/o Students Union, Falmer House, University of Sussex, Brighton.

SWINDON area, Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon.

TAYSIDE

Anarchist Group, 3L 188 Strathmartine Rd, Dundee.

WAKEFIELD

Anarchist and Peace Group, c/o E Fazackerley, 36 Bowan St, Agbrigg, Wakefield, West Yorkshire.

DESIRES

16 year old anarchist who wishes to get in contact with groups of anarchists or just someone to write to regularly. I'm very isolated so get those pens rolling: Steven Codley, 4 Abbey Wood Rd, Abbey Wood, London SE2 9NP

LFOEM LEEDS WILL BE THERE

ANY detailed info on Scottish Anarchism mid 19th Century to mid 20th Century please send to Box V2, 488 Gt Western Rd, Glasgow G12.

EVENTS

A Scottish conference is scheduled for May 1st, more info from Cowan, 3r, 17 Cheviot Cresc, Fintry, Dundee.

SUNDAY 17th April, 1pm, Meal and Discussion on: 'Don't let school get in the way of your education'. 121 @ Centre, 121 Raiton Rd, London SE24. 01-274 6655

121 Bookshop Benefit Sunday May 2nd 6.30pm Centro Iberica 42/A Harrow Road Westbourne Park-tube Adm £1 Booze, Food, Music Zounds, Rubella Ballet, Conflict, Assassins of Hope, Amsterdammed.

PUBLICATIONS

'me myself i' - the paper for individualists and apprentice terrorists - will be making its debut on 18th April 1982. Only 10p+ stamp from Cliff M Poxon, 13 Carleton St, Morecambe Lancs LA4 4NX.

Cosmic Waters Friends of the Sane Alternatives Part 6 The Patriarchal Psycho-Social Order Michael Tobin Harepark, Boyle Roscommon Ireland

ANNOUNCEMENT

121 Book/Anarchist Centre Appeal 121 Books/Anarchist Centre is being forced out of its 18 month old squat and needs funds to re-establish itself. As the only active anarchist centre in South London, we need your financial support desperately. We will be staying open regardless but contributions are required for our 'contingency plans'. Send money, expropriations, cheques/postal orders (payable to 121 Bookshop) to 121 Raiton Road, Brixton, London SE24

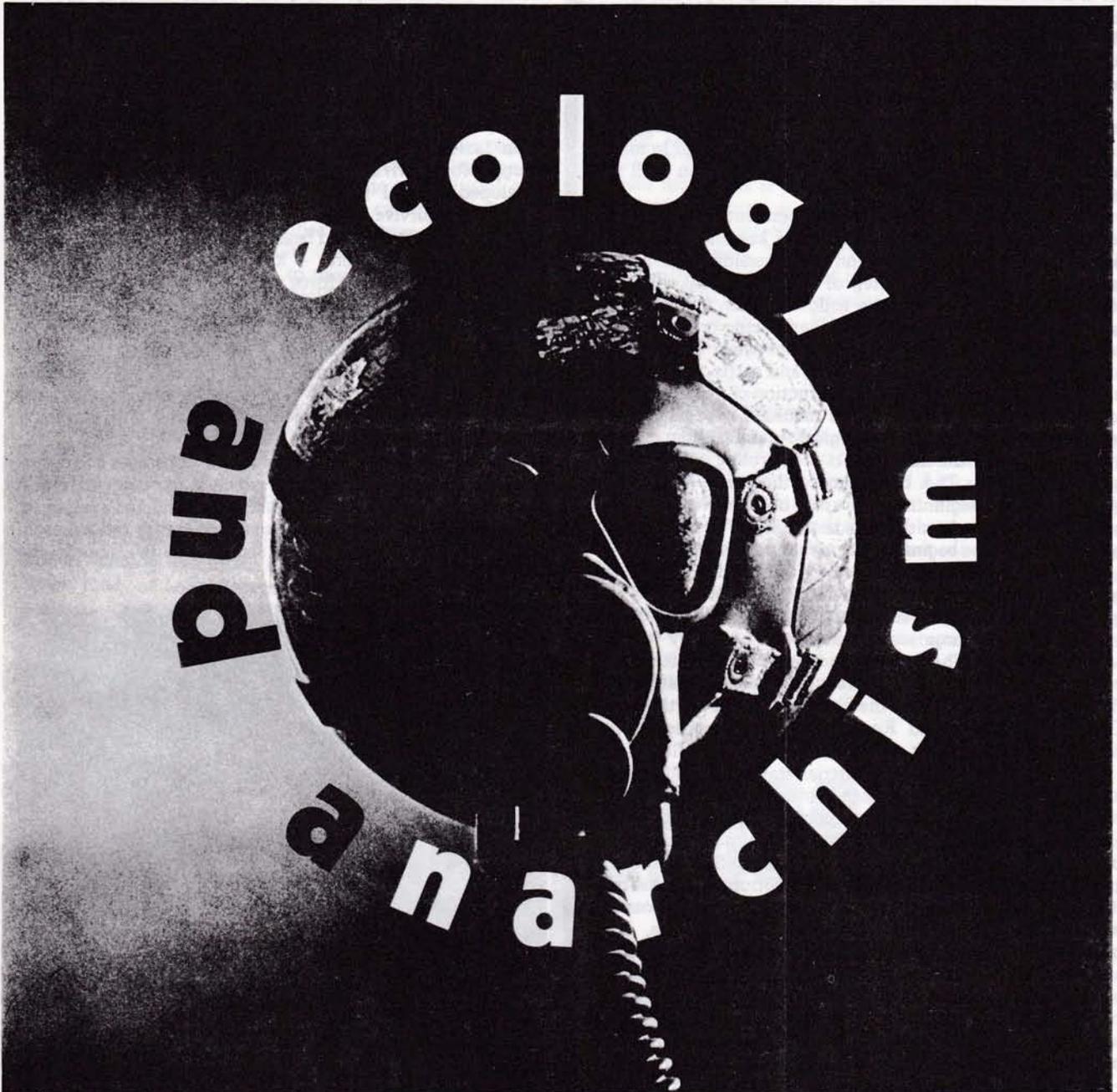
Freedom Press

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

Anarchist Review

Freedom

18th April 1982 Vol 43 No 7 22



MANY Anarchists have been attracted to the new Ecology Movement and actively participated in it. The Ecology Movement has adopted elements of libertarian principles such as direct democracy, within the groups, distrust against opportunists and would-be-leaders and against political parties, grass roots democracy, and federalist ideas. This adoption of some anarchist principles within the ecology movement is no mere coincidence nor is it the result of direct influence by individual anarchists.

On the one hand new social movements always and spontaneously develop anarchist tendencies because the ideal of self-management among equals in a free society is a natural human aspiration. Only when the first successes and achievements of such a new movement cannot be seen immediately and defeats have to be suffered; when optimism turns into frustration and spontaneity into routine; then comes the hour of the reformists and bureaucrats. This development can be studied in the history of the international labour

movement and in the history of every –failed– social revolution.

On the other hand, so I maintain, Anarchism and Ecology do mean the same in the end.

What is Ecology?

Ecology means the balanced togetherness of all the plants and animals on earth. Without the direction of a superior power 1) millions of different plant – and animal species co-exist. The single individuals eat each other up, but the balance of species does not get disturbed by that. In the ecosystem of the natural jungle there is a better balance between the thousands of plant – and animal species, which all depend on each other for their survival, than the best forester could ever achieve in a planned and controlled cult-OK. And this system has worked perfectly for millions of years – until man came and tried to rule over Nature.

The Destruction of Nature by the State

This assumption of power by mankind over Nature, the destruction of the natural Anarchy leads us today onto the brink of an ecological catastrophe. Not only more and more plant – and animal species become extinct, but all life on earth is threatened, including the human species. The threat is a double one: a) the danger of a sudden extinction of life through a nuclear war; b) the danger of a creeping extinction of life by steadily growing pollution of the atmosphere, the land, and the sea by chemical and radioactive poisons.

But it isn't just man's evil character that made him an incapable ruler over Nature. For hundreds of thousands of years humans were part of the natural balance and in many parts of the earth they remained in this condition until the last century.

Man only ceased to be directly dependent on the laws of ecology at the stage of agriculture and keeping cattle. The deforestation of natural land and its possession as farm – or grazing land was the first step of mankind in his rule over Nature; and the revenge often followed when formerly rich lands turned infertile because of over grazing or wrong agriculture. There is a clear connection between the development of private ownership over land and cattle, the development of economic classes, the construction of political states, and the beginning of the rule of mankind over nature. By leaving and destroying the 'ecological Anarchy', man created at the same time the instruments of his ruling over himself: private property. The beginning of the rule of Man over Nature was the beginning of the rule of Man over Man (and over Woman: I reckon that the beginning of patriarchy also coincides with the beginning of private property).

The small agricultural community did not live in the same ecological balance with Nature like a tribe of hunters and gatherers, but it was nevertheless not yet capable of destroying Nature on a large scale. States were necessary for this sad achievement. The deforestation of most Mediterranean countries was not done by a few goat-keepers, but by the first Mediterranean states: the Phoenicians, the Carthageans, Greeks, Egyptians, and Romans, who systematically cut down all the trees to get timber for their military fleets.

And only the modern industrial states and highly developed capitalism have managed to destroy the balance of Nature in such a way that an ecological catastrophe is to be expected. Nearly all extinct plant and animal species have become extinct within the last 100 years. So far the last step in this development is the construction of a lethal military and civil Nuclear industry, which would be impossible without the support and protection by the state. It is obvious that the state originated nuclear weapons, but the same is true in the civil sector. The first nuclear reactors were primarily destined to supply plutonium for atomic bombs, and the production of energy was only a welcome secondary effect. This was for instance the case in the first multinational concerns today are still not financially capable – or because of the financial risk not willing – to build up a nuclear industry completely on their own. In the more private-capitalist countries like West-Germany or the USA the state finances the nuclear research and the final storage of nuclear waste, and it guarantees insurance cover for nuclear accidents which private insurance companies are not willing to do. Private industry just runs the profitable 'middle bit': the actual production of energy and the construction of the power stations. Apart from that the state supplies police – and paramilitary protection in order to enforce the nuclear programme against the will of the people. In other countries like Britain or the USSR the state itself runs the whole nuclear industry.

1) It is typical that people in authoritarian societies find it hard to understand this anarchist natural state. Therefore they invent an authoritarian god as creator of Nature and ruler over her. But this theory of one single almighty god only became predominant with the development of the modern state (Rome).

Anarchy is the logical goal for a political Ecology movement.

In the course of human history we have become so removed from the original state-free society, that to most people nowadays a society without oppression and central government seems totally unrealistic and gets associated with chaos. But the anarchists say simply that the harmonic order without government which exists in Nature is also possible in human society.

The anarchist scientist Kropotkin has proven with numerous examples from the animal world that the instinct of mutual aid and solidarity is a very important factor in the history of social evolution. 2) Species with a social motivation factor are far superior to those without one in the struggle for survival. Only because of their extremely well developed natural inclination for mutual aid could the human race survive at all; for alone a human is completely helpless against most wild beasts. This social instinct – practically an inherited moral – keeps the human society together, and not external force applied by a government. This inclination towards mutual aid enables a society to exist without government and prevents chaos in such a society. 3)

Let me make it clear that I am not calling for a naive 'back to nature' or the ideal of the 'noble savage', because going back to the hunter and gatherer who roamed free without a state and in ecological harmony with nature is neither possible nor desirable.

Human society must achieve a new conscious social system of a society without state which is in ecological equilibrium with nature. This is not just a fine ideal, but a necessity of survival for the human race, since the statist and hierarchical way of organising human society has led us onto the precipice.



The anarchist workers' movement has developed models of how an industrialised society can function without state and central government: taking over the workshops and their management by the workers; exchange between workshops organised by workers' councils or unbureaucratic syndicalist unions; organising the distribution of goods to the consumers by democratic consumers' co-ops; organising the communal affairs of politically independent boroughs by grass-roots controlled councils. I cannot go into details here, but the essential point is that the model of an anarchist society is characterised by autonomous and democratically self-managed small industrial and political units which are federated on the basis of consensus to a network of short- or longterm unions, according to purpose.

It is no mere coincidence that the newly developed concept of an alternative energy-system, based on renewable sources, comes very close to that model of autonomous but federated units:

Each house has its own solar collectors and photo-voltage cells mounted on the roof, thus generating directly an essential part of the energy needed for private consumption. Rural communities and large farms operate their own small power station with Methane gas – produced from bio-mass. An electric grid fed by small and medium power stations operated by wind, water and coal supplies the remaining energy demand of industrial and private consumers. The energy is produced as close to the consumer as possible; no single producer of energy holds economic power over millions of consumers; no resources are being wasted; the environment does not get polluted.

Nuclear energy on the contrary is a typical instrument of an authoritarian society: One huge power station supplies millions of consumers which are economically dependent

on it and have no other choice than to buy the electricity at whatever price. This difference between the ecological and the state-capitalist form of production is extremely obvious in the energy sector, but the same goes for industries like agriculture, chemicals, transport and others.

'Small is beautiful' is the slogan of the new Ecology Movement and has, as a principle, always been part of the anarchist theory.

The essential aim is that we have to regain control over our fate, over our living and working conditions, over the decisions of what we produce and how we produce it. Under private – or state-capitalism we are forced to sell our labour for wages, and to produce thousands of unnecessary and often harmful goods and services under conditions that are often destructive to our health and to the environment. All this only in order to produce a profit for the owners of the means of production – be it state or private capitalist. Only in a society where we ourselves (we the people, the man and the woman on the street) decide what to produce and how to produce it, shall we be able to produce useful goods and services (useful for the individual, for the community, and for nature) without destroying our own health or the natural environment. Then profit will no longer be the

2) see Peter Kropotkin: *Mutual Aid* and Peter Kropotkin *Ethics*

3) Authoritarian societies are also based on this human feeling of solidarity. But this feeling is generally perverted into emotions like Nationalism, Racism, religious fanaticism, or class snobbery.



motive of our actions, but the realisation that our common wealth and survival are inseparably connected to the survival of all life on earth.

Libertarian Strategy and Tactics within the Ecology Movement.

The destruction of Nature has many faces. In some areas the destruction has proceeded so far that it is irreversible – extinct animals and plants for instance cannot be revived. In other areas the environment can still be saved, either by drastic quick and radical measures or by very longterm programmes. Stop the air-pollution from car exhausts and poisonous industrial emissions, and within a few weeks the air will be clean again. Even the reforestation of deserts is possible although that will be a programme of hundreds of years.

Today we are confronted with one aspect of the destruction of the environment that has a very special importance. I am talking about nuclear power. The development of the nuclear industry – even though already 30 years old – is still in its initial stages. In most industrial countries not more than 10% of the electricity supply is based on nuclear power. This means that the industrial countries can still do without nuclear power, even within the capitalist-statist system, although it would require a special effort. But if the plans of the pro-nuclear lobby come true, then more than half of our electricity consumption will be based on nuclear power within 20 years. Then the whole industry of the industrialised world will depend on nuclear power, and a reverse will not be possible without the collapse of the whole industrial structure. This the capitalist-statist system (east and west) would try to prevent at all cost – at the cost of formal democracy, and at the cost of the peoples' health and lives. Apart from that, the nuclear industry produces an enormous amount of environmental pollutants which are practically irreversible. Radioactive waste cannot be stored safely and remains on our earth as an ecological time bomb for over 100,000 years. Only our generation still has the possibility – and therefore the duty – to stop this nuclear madness. It will be too late for the next generation. Because of that the fight against nuclear power has to be a priority for every environmentalist and for every social revolutionary. What is the use if we fight for a free and just society if in the end we inherit a sick and contaminated earth where it isn't worth to live.

The fight against nuclear power can only be won by a broad and radical popular movement. Every anarchist ought to become active in a local environmental or anti-nuclear group or start such a group where it does not yet exist. It is essential for the success of such a group (so that it can expand into a broad popular movement) that the group is not sectarian and remains (party)-politically independent. One task of libertarians in the anti-nuclear movement must be to defend the autonomy of the group against attempts of authoritarian factions to take over the movement for their own interests.

We must not forget that the anti-nuclear movement as such is not a revolutionary movement, but it has only one common demand; shut down nuclear power. This makes it necessary to be tolerant against the philosophical and political convictions of individual members and against different tactics. Everybody is welcome in the fight against the Atom whether (s)he be Communist, Social Democrat, Christian, or Anarchist. And also different tactics must be tolerated as long as they are directed against the nuclear industry: letters to MPs, petitions working within political parties, working in the media, the legal battle in the courts, agitation on the street and in the workshops, working within the trade unions, demonstrations, and direct actions (non-violent or militant) against institutions of the nuclear industry. Tolerance against such diverse tactics means that no single one can be proclaimed to be the one and only possible tactic for the whole movement, and not another tactic to be absolutely destruc-

tive. Authoritarian attempts of one tendency or organisation to force one specific tactic onto the whole movement, and to fight a different tactic by all means lead necessarily to a split and weaken the whole movement.

Often it will not be possible in one group that all members will consent to one specific tactic. Then practical tolerance means for instance that one part of the group may collect signatures for a petition (which is a waste of time for others) and another may take direct action against a nuclear installation (what the other part may not be prepared to do). The coherence of the group need not be threatened at all by that.

Of course from an anarchist point of view one tactic is not as good and as useful as any other. Certain methods we find a waste of time (like writing letters to MPs), others we find to be directly harmful to the anti-nuclear movement – like the formation of Green – or Ecology Parties because they only create new illusions in Parliamentarianism and because of all the party-business (organisation, programme, power struggles) a lot of energies are diverted from the direct struggle against nuclear power.

As useful and necessary I regard the information and agitation on the street, in the communities and in the workshops (within and without the trade unions). In the long run we can only stop nuclear power if we succeed in convincing large parts of the population of the dangers of nuclear power; and when they themselves (the workers who build the nuclear power stations, the farmers on whose land they are being built, and the citizens on whose doorsteps they are being put.) stop the construction in direct actions. Just like the people of Wyhl have successfully stopped the construction of a nuclear power plant by occupying the building site for years, just like Australian Railwayworkers refused to transport Uranium, so people everywhere in the world can stop the nuclear industry with courage and determination.

But one should not assume that the relationship between convincing other people and direct action is completely one-sided, that the first (agitation) should always come first and lead to the later (direct action) at a later time. A direct action makes little sense if the mass of the population does not understand it. But we cannot assume that we have to wait till the last person is convinced of the dangers of nuclear power and then everybody will in one grand direct action finish the nuclear industry. The relationship also works the other way round: a spectacular direct action can cause many people to start thinking who were not aware of the problem before. We can also regard small direct actions to be something like 'gymnastic exercises' for bigger actions which would be impossible without prior training.

Mass-demonstrations can be useful, because they show our strength and might lead to direct actions.

Public enquiries, legal charges and lawsuits alone cannot stop nuclear power. But in connection with massive popular resistance they may give the state an alibi to back down, when forced to do so, without losing face.

The task of anarchists in the anti-nuclear groups should be to

- propagate useful methods of struggle and to set a practical example;
- to criticise useless methods in discussions without making a matter of principle out of it.

In the end everybody makes her/his own experiences in the struggle, and the movement learns more from its successes and defeats, in the battle against the atom than in endless discussions. I witnessed how a member of the Christian Democratic Party (in West Germany) left this party after being threatened by police with machine guns on a demonstration. And this certainly is not a single case.

Perhaps we shall lose the fight for saving our mother earth, but we still have the possibility to save Nature from the monster State. The essential point is that we have to take this opportunity. Either we shall win or Nature shall die with us. Let us win!

KLAUS G.

one step forward? two steps back!

BOOK REVIEW: *The Forward March of Labour Halted?*
by Eric Hobsbawm et al. (Verso £2.95).

THIS is probably the most dreadful book I have read in years. Not because of its conclusions, which are, as it says on the back cover, that 'the British Labour movement is now in a crisis' but rather because the responses to these conclusions put forward in its pages are so incredibly tired and conservative. Only one contributor (Steve Jefferys of the SWP) goes further than calling for a somehow rejuvenated Labour Party which can magically recapture the mood of 1945: for the most part *The Forward March of Labour Halted?* is nothing short of a conclusive demonstration of the utter bankruptcy and imbecility of the left Labour perspective.

It begins with a long essay by Hobsbawm, first published in 1978 in *Marxism Today* (the Communist party journal), which gives the book its title. The basic argument he advances is that, despite economic militancy, which has in any case been characterised by the pursuit of sectional rather than class interests, the British Labour movement has lost the hearts and minds of the workers (or at least their votes). This thesis is hardly daring or original: 'bourgeois' electoral analysts like Ivor Crewe had been plugging a similar line for some time even in 1978, and I suspect that Hobsbawm was more than slightly influenced by such sources. Still, plagiarism is neither here nor there, and there is a certain value in stating the obvious. Voting statistics undoubtedly do show a marked decline in Labour support in the last thirty years, and wage militancy in certain instances (in struggles to maintain differentials in pay, for example) is undeniably not motivated by, or consistent with, a concern for the interests of the working class as a whole. The actual extent of this 'sectionalism' is, however, debatable, as the contributors to the first part of *The Forward March of Labour Halted?* show in their articles (reprinted here from the pages of *Marxism Today*) with varying degrees of success. So too is the assumption of Hobsbawm's essay that Labour voting is at least a minimal prerequisite of 'socialist consciousness': yet not one of Hobsbawm's Communist Party and Labour Left cronies even raises the question, since they all equate 'socialism' with the election of a Labour government. Similarly, none of them stop to examine Hobsbawm's bracketing all workplace militancy under the heading of 'trade unionism': they seem blissfully unaware that time and time again the interests of those on the shopfloor have clashed violently with the interests of the institutions which purport to 'represent' them. In short, despite the talk of the dangers of 'sectionalism', the paradigmatic example of such practice,

the pursuit of particular interests by Labour movement bureaucrats at the expense of the working class' general interests, is studiously ignored. Perhaps this is all we can expect from people who have remained friends or even members of the Communist Party in spite of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland: but I have a suspicion that many innocent members of the general public are actually going to believe that their bleatings are radical.

Worse, however, is to follow. After the second rate *Marxism Today* debate, we are faced with an interview with none other than Tony Benn. Benn is a familiar type, the congenitally stupid but educated aristocrat, whose intellectual vacuity becomes embarrassingly apparent as soon as he is forced down from the podium and into dialogue. Here, he collapses into incoherent babbling even under the minimal pressure exerted by the sycophantic Hobsbawm: try as I might, I simply cannot make sense of Benn's ideas about the three possible paths for British governmental policy, which he labels 'monetarism', 'corporatism' and 'democratic socialism'. The last mentioned is particularly vague and incomprehensible: Benn's account is stuffed full of notions like 'grass roots leadership' which strike me as being nothing but rhetorical nonsense. And this man is supposed to be the great white hope of British socialism! But for the personal charisma he seems to exude, I really am at a loss to explain his current reputation.

Things improve a great deal with Steve Jefferys' piece which opens the third section of the book. I'm almost tempted, given what's gone before, to agree completely with his argument, which stresses the importance of grass roots activity *against* the bureaucratic Labour movement elite whose crisis of legitimacy is so mourned by Hobsbawm. There is, however, a sting in Jefferys' tail, in his predictable call to build the Socialist Workers Party (or at least its front organisations). Like so many others, he is completely blind to the bureaucratic practice implicit in Leninist notions of the party, with the result that his proffered solutions to the quite correctly identified problems of an ossified Labour and trade union machine are no solutions at all. Indeed, in a sense they are completely counterproductive – you don't have to look far to find examples of the pernicious effects of SWP interventions in manipulating and effectively neutralising what were at first self-managed anti-bureaucratic struggles in the workplace, the women's movement, anti-fascist activity or anti-nuclear campaigns.

At least Jefferys makes some kind of effort to wrench the discussion of *The Forward March of Labour Halted?* away from the sterile preoccupation with re-legitimising the Labour movement bureaucracy onto the level where politics

really matters, the struggle of ordinary people for control over their everyday lives. The same cannot be said for the remaining contributions, which range from the appalling to the ineffectual. Least offensive is the rather harmless piece by Raymond Williams, which repeats his twenty year old call for a renewal of socialist culture. Exactly what he means by 'socialist culture', and what he sees as practical steps in the right direction, remain unclear, however: I don't think he's talking about forcing *New Left Review* down the throats of the 'ignorant masses', but his recent association with the founding of the so-called 'Socialist Society' gives me doubts as to his intentions. At least with Robin Blackburn, who sings the praises of 'the new socialist intelligentsia' in his short article, there can be no ground for such uncertainty: he's the editor of *New Left Review*, after all, and has an interest in increasing its circulation. This might sound like an excessively crass remark, but it is not – my point is that intellectuals, like bureaucrats, have a tendency to act according to their own sectional interests while claiming to act in the interests of the workers, and in this light it is worth viewing with a degree of suspicion their calls for a special place for theory in the socialist project. For it is a small step from pleading the importance of theory to arguing on one hand that the day to day experience of ordinary people is trivial and inferior, and on the other that the theorist should occupy a position of power and privilege. Such a step does not have to be taken, of course: but I find it difficult to interpret the current attempt of the 'new socialist intelligentsia' to form a left-wing alternative to the Fabians in any other way.

The rest of *The Forward March of Labour Halted?* is largely unworthy of mention: with the exception of Hilary Wainwright, the contributors are union bosses whose platitudes would bore the pants off the most sympathetic reviewer. Wainwright's article deserves more serious attention – her perception of the problem of 'sectionalism' as that of 'the deep division, not so much between different grades or groups of workers, but between, for instance, employed workers and the young unemployed, between male trade unionists and all but the most organized groups of women and between workers as trade unionists and working class people as consumers and users of services' has more than a grain of truth in it, as has her observation that this sort of sectionalism can be overcome by intelligent workplace tactics – the provision of free services rather than the use of the strike in the public transport sector, for example, or the institution of overtime bans at times of high unemployment. On the other hand, she is mistaken to consider that she is making a novel point in all this – at best she is merely resurrecting ideas which first found their expression in revolutionary syndicalist theory and practice – and she does seem rather too keen on building the party for her ideas to be considered more than a minor challenge to the assumptions of her fellow authors.

So we come back to Hobsbawm again, who contributes some final 'observations on the debate', which do little more than repeat his previous remarks. And with that, the show is well and truly over – though of course we're supposed to sit ourselves down after reading the last page and write a letter to the membership secretary of the local Labour Party. I can't really see myself doing this – if anything, the arguments advanced in *The Forward March of Labour Halted?* redouble my resolve to do all I can to actually worsen the crisis of the bureaucratic Labour movement – but I fear that others will be more easily conned. Then again, no book published by Verso ever reaches more than a handful of declassé intellectuals, and it is at least partly as a result of such types joining Labour that the current crisis of plummeting working class identification with their traditional political outlet has occurred: ironically, the more people convinced by Hobsbawm and his chums (for the moment anyway), the worse (for them) things are likely to become. The funniest thing is that some of them actually realise this to be the case – and are shitting bricks at the prospect of their impending doom.

L ERIZO

THE TRIPLE STRUGGLE

The Triple Struggle: Latin American Peasant Women, by Audrey Bronstein, published by W O W Campaigns Ltd, £3.00 paperback, £9.00 hardback. Obtainable through FREEDOM Press.



Why Governments Fail to Help the Poor

THE simple answer is, of course, because they represent the rich and powerful. Democracy has no meaning because the means of bribing and manipulating electorates are also in the hands of the rich and powerful.

The question of poverty and oppression is of course a social, political and economic one. British charitable regulations are based on the old idea of the rich in their castle and the poor at their door so any charity that tends to point at the economic and political causes of the distress and poverty they are trying to eliminate is in for trouble with the Charity Commissioners, who regulate charitable organisations in this country. War on Want has had its troubles with the Commissioners as the economic and political domination of third world countries is the cause of the intractability of the problems in those countries. Consequently this book is published by WOW Campaigns Ltd, which has more freedom of movement to deal with the political and economic issues behind third world poverty.

South and Central America was the first area to suffer from European colonialism, its gold and silver fuelled an expansion of the financial system on which commercialism is based, which in turn developed the plantation system of commercially exportable products. This system, initially worked by slaves that replaced the decimated indigenous population with poorly paid wage labourers, still exists today.

As Eduardo Galeano said in *The Open Veins of Latin America*—

'The division of labour among nations is that some specialise in winning, and others in losing. Our part of the world, known today as Latin America, was precocious: it has specialised in losing ever since those remote times when the Renaissance Europeans ventured across the ocean and buried their teeth in the throats of the Indian civilisations. Centuries passed, and Latin America perfected its role... our region still works as a menial. It continues to exist at the service of others' needs.'

Audrey Bronstein travelled through Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, El Salvador and Guatemala and talked to the most oppressed part of an oppressed population, the women. Being a fluent Spanish speaker was a help and being a weaver, a widespread home occupation in Latin America, provided an introduction. Illiteracy, however, has a higher rate among women, who often only spoke one of the many Indian dialects, so a lot of interviews had to be done through the medium of an interpreter.

In the Preface the author points out that—

'Women comprise 50% of the world's population, do two thirds of the world's work hours, receive 10% of the world's income and own less than 1% of world property, according to the International Labour Organisation. As unjust as that global picture may be, when the situation of Third World peasant women is examined, it becomes apparent that they are one of the most oppressed social group in the world today.'

The problem for people in conditions of constant poverty is that the struggle for existence dominates their whole life, and for women often with large families working in the day and looking after the family at night, even the thought of change seems remote. To be poor and male in South America is bad, to be poor and female is worse. In spite of all the obstacles there have been attempts to form co-operatives in which by co-operative effort some independence by women has been achieved. There is often male resistance, for the oppressed feeling impotent against their oppressors, oppress those within their power.

The Common Enemy

One of the excuses for not deprivatising the ownership of land (I specifically reject nationalisation) is that peasant farming is inefficient but as it observes in the Introduction—

'Most international development agencies have tended to attribute this to agricultural backwardness rather than to the unequal structures of land ownership. The Oxfam report criticises this approach:

'In the agricultural sector modernisation is the that needs to be done is to draw them into it. In this is self defeating aim.... Often modernisation itself makes them poorer by strengthening the resources of the rich.''

When we are wearing our jeans (once an American working garment derived from the cotton picking slave south USA) which are so tight in the arse you cannot work in them, think of the pesticide poisoned plantations of Guatemala where most of it is produced. Cotton is one of the primary products produced at great profit to all but the plantation workers and controlled by the monopolies that have their base in the west. Trading in primary products in what are called futures each bale of cotton is sold several times over at vast profit to those engaged in it for no return to consumers or producers. While we acquiesce in this vast fraud we contribute to the misery that is portrayed in this book.

Togetherness or Separateness

The exploited must never end up as the exploiters, we see this when women aspire to become members of the controlling professions, when native South Africans become members of a white man's Army we see it all over. It is said with some truth that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world, and it is true in the sense that subservient attitudes are inculcated very early, and acceptance of existing social forms also derive from a very early age. Now motherhood can be from choice and not a condition thrust upon one. Motherhood is a rewarding and interesting experience that should be highly regarded and assisted as an important period where the seeds of a free society can be sown.

Breast or bottle

Breast or Bottle War on Want Publication £1

THIS is another War on Want publication appropriately reviewed with the preceding one. That making money is an activity completely without morality can be seen through capitalism's treatment of every human activity it gets its sticky hands on. After an exposure of the baby-food manufacturers activities in the third world this book exposes the activities of the infant food and bottle manufacturers in this country. It is now accepted that the artificial feeding of infants is a very poor substitute both physically and psychologically for the natural method. The natural method does not of course yield vast profits to the manufacturers. In order to discourage promotional pressure on others to abandon natural methods the World Health Organisation in May 1981 issued an international code of marketing. The manufacturers have virtually ignored the code in the United Kingdom. A lot of promotional material is presented dressed up as educational material to the professionals who often for convenience fail to give mothers the proper support for a natural process which does not necessarily adhere to a rigid timetable. There is also the point that breasts have become

a sex symbol. To quote from the pamphlet—

'A nursing officer from Sheffield commented:

'Much more needs to be done in schools to inform children about infant feeding, and this should start at an early age, before the concept of the breast as a sex symbol has become established.'

The way this is exploited by a large manufacturer WYETH is shown in this little snippet from one of their booklets on advice to fathers—

'Because of this sexual, rather than functional bias, some men look upon their wife's breasts as their 'domain'.... They do not take kindly to a little infant coming in on the act—and who can blame them.'

Capitalism Stinks

Practically every human activity is soiled by the market economy supported by every party without exception, it pervades the so-called caring professions as a quote from Vernon Coleman indicates:

'For too many years doctors have put up with expensive and tasteless advertising and have accepted happily free samples, presents and meals paid for by the drug houses which spend approximately 14% of their income on

advertising programmes. In fact, of course it is the patients and the National Health Service who pay for all this nonsense.'

He went on to say:

"The trouble with drug company information and the reason why it does not suffice alone, is that in it the advertisers are mixing information and promotional material. They are trying to tell doctors about drugs and at the same time trying to persuade them to prescribe them. Any sponsored information must be biased if it is to be commercially valid. As Dr Charles May has said: 'The goal of promotion, even when travelling along a circuitous path under the guise of "education" is to achieve uncritical acceptance of a preconceived message—to captivate the mind; stimulation of sceptical thinking would block the purpose. This is in sharp contrast to the objective of true education which seeks to cultivate the use of the mind for independent judgements'."

It is perhaps for that reason that the international code recognised the need for governments to either plan, provide, design and disseminate objective and consistent information on infant feeding, or control such information.'

ALAN ALBON

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