

# FREEDOM

*Liberty without equality is exploitation: Socialism without liberty is tyranny.*

**international anarchist monthly**



CND Here we are again!  
ANARCHY AND POWER POLITICS



# FREEDOM

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## CND

# Here we are again!

THE CND demonstration in London on Saturday, 26 October, marks the latest stage in the development of the revived nuclear disarmament movement.

The old movement emerged nearly 30 years ago, as part of the radical realignment of the Left following the Destalinisation campaign in Russia, the Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolution, the Anglo-French attack on Egypt in the Suez War, the rise of the New Left, and the British testing of the hydrogen bomb in the Pacific. There had been protests against nuclear weapons since 1943, legal demonstrations since 1948, and illegal demonstrations since 1952, but a significant public movement appeared only in the late 1950s, with the formation of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War in 1957 and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in 1958, respectively the militant and moderate organisations for anti-nuclear activity.

DAC was responsible for the first Aldermaston March in 1958, at which Gerald Holtom's nuclear disarmament symbol was first used, but then specialised in illegal demonstration of non-violent civil disobedience. CND specialised in legal demonstrations and propaganda, taking over the Aldermaston March in 1959 and holding meetings all over the country. The Committee of 100 was formed in 1960, in an attempt to combine the militancy of DAC demonstrations with the size of CND demonstrations, and absorbed DAC in 1961.

The old movement reached its peak during the early 1960s, with mass demonstrations, both legal and illegal, with the Labour Party committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament for a year, and with between a quarter and a third of the population supporting such a policy. A whole generation was radicalised, and the process contributed substantially to the revival of the anarchist movement. But in 1964, with the election of Harold Wilson's Labour Government, making the usual left-wing noises and taking the usual right-wing actions, the radical initiative passed to the movement against the Vietnam War, the Marxist sects, the student movement, the Northern Irish movements, the women's movement, the gay movement, squatters, drugs, everyday life. The last large-scale illegal demonstrations and the dissolution of the Committee of 100 came in 1968, and the movement which had been so important for more than a decade almost disappeared for more than a decade.

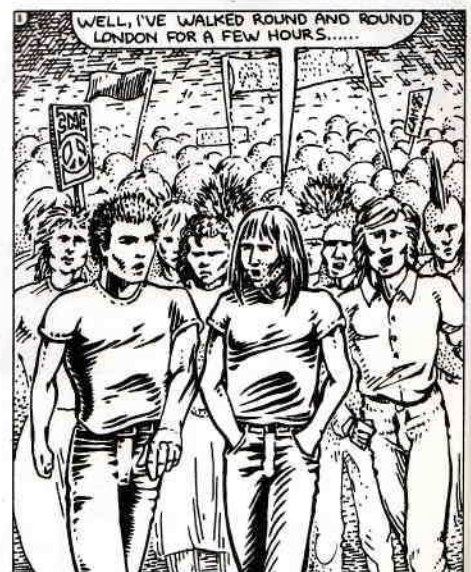
Of course the nuclear disarmament movement continued to exist. CND continued small-scale demonstrations and low-key propaganda, pacifists continued to struggle after 1968 as they had done before 1958, the ecology movement turned attention to nuclear energy as well as nuclear weapons — but the media and the masses moved on to other things. The change came in 1979, with the election of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government and the NATO decision to install a new

generation of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe, beginning with Cruise missiles in Britain. The movement revived, and a new generation of campaigners joined the old generation in what became a new movement, and a new process of radicalisation began.

The process of revival was marked by a series of mass demonstrations in London. The first, in October 1980, was so large that it brought the movement back to public attention and political significance. The second, in October 1981, was twice as large. The third, in June 1982 (just after the Falklands War), was twice as large again, and was indeed the largest nuclear disarmament demonstration ever held in this country. The fourth, in October 1983, was so large that it could hardly move. In 1984 there was instead a demonstration at Barrow-in-Furness, where the new Trident submarines are to be built, which was inevitably much smaller in size, if not in impact. In 1985 we are back in London.

### This time?

The question is what we are doing here this time. Last time, two years ago, not only was CND itself increasing in membership and support, but local





groups were growing all over the country, and above all direct action was becoming a popular method, with the women's siege of the first Cruise missiles base at Greenham Common and the first Stop the City demonstration, and then a series of autonomous illegal activities all over the country, many of them approved or even organised by CND, in welcome contrast to the sectarian condemnation which marred the old movement. But since the demonstrations against the Economic Summit and at the second Cruise missile base at Molesworth last year, there has been a marked decline in mass action, above all in the failure to maintain a major campaign at Molesworth. CND remains the largest protest organisation in Britain, with more than 100,000 individual members and four or five times as many members of local groups and with a majority support for the campaigns against new missiles, and there are still all kinds of actions in all kinds of places, but it seems that the media have moved on to other things and that masses may do so soon.

One problem which we have repeatedly raised is the danger of the movement becoming identified with the electoral interests of the Labour Party. The Labour Party Annual Conference passed a unilateralist resolution by a small majority in 1960, but this was reversed in 1961. However, it passed a

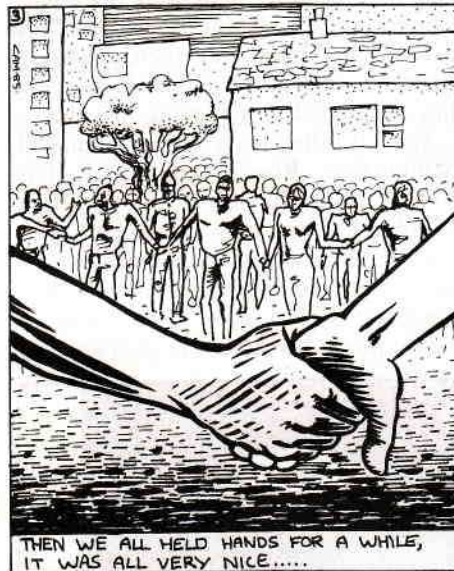


unilateralist resolution again in 1981, and this was confirmed with a two-thirds majority in 1982, making it official party policy, which it has maintained ever since. The Labour Party fought the 1983 General Election with a unilateralist policy and a unilateralist leader, and although it lost heavily it has the same policy and another unilateralist leader. But Neil Kinnock, who like every previous party leader climbed to power on the backs of the Left, has now like every other party leader begun to

turn away from the Left. It may be tempting to rely on the election of a Labour Government at the next General Election, but it would be as futile as in 1945, 1964 or 1974.

### Holy Alliance

Another problem which we have similarly raised is the danger of the movement becoming manipulated in the strategic interests of the Soviet Union. The holy alliance between Communists and pacifists in the anti-war movement has long exploited the inevitable emphasis of the British nuclear disarmament campaign on American and British weapons, and the recent Russian offers of partial disarmament have clearly been designed to impress the Left in Western Europe rather than the Reagan Administration in the United States. So, while we



should welcome any move which might reduce the rising tension in the nuclear arms race, we should be aware of the dangers of supporting the kind of Marxist front which did so much to vitiate the movement against nuclear weapons before 1958 and the movement against the Vietnam War after 1968.

A more immediate problem is the form of the present demonstration. Learning from the previous ones that the numbers will probably be so large that people are physically unable to get from one place to another, CND have organised a circular march starting at 11:00 and going clockwise round Hyde Park to call at the Russian Embassy in Kensington Palace Gardens and the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square. So we are being asked literally to walk round in circles, which is uncomfortably symbolic of the present state of the movement! CND have also organised actions to take place during the long march — a four-minute die-in at 1:00, a four-minute sit-down at 2:00, and a four-minute hand-link at 3:00 —

each representing a technique which has been widely used during the past few years, but all a matter of symbolic rather than direct action. Finally there is the theme of the demonstration — 'Human Race or Nuclear Race' — which is a neat phrase but still a nice evasion of the



original question of what we are doing here. Add to this the predictable content of the speeches which will be given at the final rally from 3:30, and we have much to disapprove of in this demonstration.

### Protest without illusions

Nevertheless, nothing will be gained either by just staying away (unless of course you are doing something more effective) or by just trying to disrupt the proceedings by attacking the speakers (rather than the police, who are more likely to hit back!), as has been done by some anarchists on some previous occasions. By all means let us show our dissent, but let us do so in ways which are likely to be understood by our opponents as well as our supporters and to increase rather than decrease support for our ideas. Let us circulate our publications and participate in discussions, doing everything we can to win friends and influence people on this most serious of all political issues.

Above all, let us add our small numbers to the large numbers of those who seem to share our views about the military policies of this and all governments, remembering that Canada in North America and Norway and Denmark in Western Europe have refused to accept the new missiles and that New Zealand on the other side of the world is going even further. We may not actually manage to pull this country out of the nuclear alliance and the arms race, but we can do our best. As we said on so many previous demonstrations of this kind — protest, without illusions.



## Bashed by The Rich March #2

CLASS WAR'S Bash the Rich March no 2 called on people to meet at Chalk Farm tube at 3:00pm on Saturday September 21st, with the intention of marching to those parts of Hampstead in which 'Rich Scumbags' have chosen to make their luxurious dwellings. By 3:00 quite a crowd had gathered; it was a shame that most persons present were in uniform, and busied themselves about searching the pockets, bodies and baggage of those out of uniform.

At a very rough estimate about 300 people took part in the march, escorted by what seemed almost as many police (including those who, previously out of sight, appeared as if on cue when the trouble started). The actions of the police were extremely provocative. En route to Hampstead they succeeded, by such means as several snatch arrests, in raising the tempers of the marchers. Tempers were pushed to the limit. Just inside Hampstead we were met by a line of police blocking the path of the march; diverting it down a side street away from where people wanted to go.

Here the march stood still, arrests were being made at the rear and fighting ensued as people attempted to resist these arrests. Those previously out-of-sight police appeared on the scene. Police lines tightened up as more arrests were made.

After people had been sufficiently frightened and once the potential trouble makers were in custody the march was allowed to continue — away from Hampstead! It was plain to see that this was a premeditated tactic of the police, and people played right into their hands, despite the odds. As I heard someone say, 'You can't take on that many coppers'.

### Achievements

I'm not quite sure what people were hoping to achieve besides getting faces on police film and names in police files. This was certainly something the police wanted, and by detaining everyone for just a few hours and then releasing them all, except for one, uncharged, they succeeded in achieving just that.

And if the march had reached 'Millionaires Row', what then? Far from 'Putting the Shits up the Rich Scumbags', as they watched from behind their lines of police and in the comfort and total security of their own homes, it would have done more to amuse them, breaking the monotony of

the umpteenth game of croquet.

The idea behind the march, I am told, was to revive an old tradition. I can't help feeling that when times have changed then ideas should too! Shouldn't we be changing and inventing new and more successful ways of registering our discontent? Ways that aren't just an angrier version of Hyde Park!

Nick

## The Guardian links Class War with National Front

The so-called quality newspaper, *The Guardian*, recently claimed that the (ultra-leftist?) anarchist group *Class War* had been formed by leading members of the (fascist) National front. This was of course total bullshit, as was quickly discovered when *The Guardian* journalist 'responsible' (the young and inexcusably politically naive David Rose) was questioned as to his sources. These turned out to be hearsay from a friend of a friend in the Labour Party, who had "actually bought National Front literature in *Class War's* bookshop".

*Class War* doesn't have a bookshop, of course! To cut a long story short, the 'National Front literature' turned out to be a cassette of the punk band the Apostles (whom David Rose's informant had 'mixed-up' with the NF group, the Foreskins) purchased at the Freedom Bookshop!

Fascists and anarchists have frequently been linked in the UK media this year. These reports are usually pointers to muddled 'background' briefing from the British Secret Service (MI6 has the same section for fascists, anarchists and any other non-marxist revolutionaries!). The other source is the IMG and the SWP marxists, who are aware that one member of *Class War* cheerfully admits to having been a 'Powellite'. This was when he was 16 years old. He claims to have been 'anarchist' since he was 18, many years ago. Being a working class job, he is unaware of the standard middle class revolutionary pose of being born with 'Ché Lives' stamped on your bum.

Personal knowledge of *Class War's* leading lights goes back a long way amongst London anarchists. Indeed some of us can remember when Ian Bone took part in local government elections as a (very) radical Labour Party candidate. There are no known links with the National Front, except for one very bloody confrontation.

### Courtiers to King Media

Whilst *The Guardian* cannot be excused for its deplorable bullshit,





# Direct Action or Revolutionary Socialism

CRITICS of the Direct Action Movement (in the Socialist Federation, etc) have of late accused it of turning its back on the existing trade unions and shop stewards' organisations, and attempting to set up new adventure unions outside of the 'reality' of the British Labour Movement. This view is, of course, a traditional Marxist misunderstanding of the 'bottom-up' approach to life employed by most anarchists and direct actionists. As one speaker at the DAM September Summer School, near Bradford, said:

*"We have no faith in any form of officialdom. We put our confidence in ordinary people at the grassroots: on the shop floor; in the street; on the picket line; in the dole queue. What distinguishes us from the party politicians is that they all believe in bosses of one form or another: the Tories in businessmen; the state socialists in civil servants or union bureaucrats."*

John Simkin of Burnley DAM spoke on the national rank and file movement which DAM is hoping will develop. The idea is to co-ordinate the existing industrial rank and file movements like that of the miners, the teachers, and the building workers, and to create liaison with workers in other industries.

Some concern was expressed by the unemployed in such a movement rank and file workers. Many anarchists and direct actionists are out of work. It was suggested that DAM should fight MSC and YTS schemes and cheap labour programmes. This could well become DAM national policy at its October Conference. It was also said that DAM should expose the union officials in the pay of such schemes as these.

An account of the history of the national rank and file movement in the 1960s which was formed by anarchists and syndicalists was given by another speaker. An explanation was provided of its shortcomings, achievements and eventual demise. It was argued that any future movement would require a clear and relevant programme as well as a libertarian structure.

The national rank and file Miners Movement sent up three speakers from Doncaster. They were all very critical of the TUC, the Labour Party, and Communist Party, and called for a movement cutting across party political lines. Their recent conference has already adopted many syndicalist principles:

- 1) Accountability, recallability and regular elections of officials with no life positions.
- 2) The average wage of the industry for all officials.
- 3) Union representation on every shift, as in the shop steward system.
- 4) Mass pit meetings to decide action and making all strikes over jobs, conditions and victimisation, official.
- 5) Build up an inter-union rank and file group, across trade union barriers.

Though the structure and spirit of the national rank and file Miners Movement is excellent they seem to be a bit gullible politically. Like so many of the left in British politics they seem to have picked up the plague of revolutionary socialism. This was evident at both the Summer school and in the NUM's revolutionary approach to the TUC, in seeking reimbursement of its funds confiscated by the courts during the pit strike, and demanding a review of the cases of the jailed miners and reinstatement of those sacked. This is clearly a political ploy in the the NUM are appealing to a party to which they are affiliated — the Labour Party, an intensely legalistic party given to solving all problems by the

passing of laws — to juggle with the decisions of the judiciary if it gets elected in three years. Meanwhile, the miners are still in prison and those sacked stay sacked. Perhaps this is an example of the hypocrisy for which we English are so famous.

A more pressing problem for us in view of the incompetence of the Coal Board, must be to work out a strategy for the coal mining industry. This strategy must question the way the coal industry is managed, and offer realistic alternatives to McGregor's 'management by diktat'. Basing their approach on solving the problems and overcoming the inadequacies of the present management structures, the rank and file members and the DAM ought to produce a series of programmes for specific industries dedicate to establishing a more democratic administration of work.

After the conference of the national rank and file movement in 1961, a writer in *Freedom* declared: "Obviously the trade unions have their achievements and their uses: the point of the demand for a new rank and file movement is that they are not useful enough, and that in some circumstances and cases, their structure is antipathetic to workers' actual needs."

If the Summer School of the DAM has given us some clues about how to tackle some of these problems it will have done a good job.

**Brian Bamford**

LORD Hailsham, the Lord Chancellor, has said that he has not banned supporters of CND from becoming magistrates. However, a spokesman for his department has confirmed that local committees are being advised to question candidates on the issue. The fear is that they will 'bring the magistracy into disrepute' by taking part in demonstrations. Several JP's have been dismissed after taking part in peace protests. Some are trying to appeal. Desperately important for Civil Liberties, no doubt, but somehow we don't feel much sympathy.



# POWER

## Violence and hypocrisy



A WAVE of orgiastic leader-worship has flooded the country over the past few weeks. Thousands of normally upright citizens have prostrated themselves before führers and potential führers in the hope of becoming, or remaining, on the winning side. Rights and wrongs have been bandied about, causes and effects have been kneaded into the bread of life for dubious organisations led by small groups of politically motivated individuals from whom no sane person would buy a second hand car.

The problem is to find the sane persons. Once the wave of euphoria reaches the private parts, the emotions take over and mind itself is taken over by matter.

And what is it that matters? Let us go back just twelve months, to the end of the SDP annual conference, and the peroration with which Dr David Owen ended his winding-up speech at the 1984 rave-up. He summed it all up thus: "What we want is votes. What we want is influence. What we want is power!"

Well, now, you can't be more honest than that, can you? Listening this year to as much as we could stomach of the various parties' annual conferences, Dr Death's words came back to us time and time again.

### Lore 'n' ordure

Whether it was the Liberals or the Social Democrats (whatever they are!) or the Labour Party or the final knee trembler, the Conservative conference, the one message that came across loud and clear to the watching millions — and thank goodness for television so we can now see in close-up those bulging eyes and twisted mouths — was that

*they all wanted power. But they all said that they wanted freedom for the people, while never, at any time, promising to set us free from them.* On the contrary, like Dr Owen last year in that moment of unaccustomed frankness, they all wanted power, and in their terms, that meant coming into control of the state machine, and being thus able to impose *their* concepts of law and order (or lore'n' ordure, as some of us call it) upon everybody else. Democratically, of course.

But under our (ie, *their*) electoral rules, here in the land of the Mother of Parliaments (and where is the father I should like to know?) democracy really means one-party government as surely as it does in Russia or Chile. It needs only a slender majority in the Commons to give a party power, and this is usually achieved with a minority of votes in the country. So we are usually governed by a minority party. Way back in 1945, an exception to this was chalked up when the Labour Party swept to power with a huge majority. The party leaders were taken by surprise, for it was taken for granted that our greatest wartime leader, Winston Churchill, would be returned to office by a nation ever-so-grateful for his leadership during the most destructive war up to that date.

The election was swung, however, by the very voters he had led so gallantly from the rear: the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the armed forces had voted overwhelmingly for a change. Unfortunately, what they got was the Labour Party, who hadn't got the guts to do what the electorate had obviously expected of them — a *radical* change in the British system that would have made the return to the bad old days of

the 1930s impossible. Blimey mate, in those days we had more than three million unemployed! Didn't want that again, did we?

### One Big Boss

The Labour Party's idea of change was to nationalise the mines, the railways, electricity and gas. Instead of a thousand mine owners, there would be only one — a state appointed, nationalised board of bosses. Instead of a thousand little bosses, one big boss. The miners cheered, silly sods, for while it must be admitted that access to state money (ie: public, ie: your and my money) improvements in conditions were possible, safety standards were improved, pithead baths were installed, so miners did not have to walk home in their working filth, to squat in a bath before the kitchen fire before crawling off to bed. How the Tories hated that! But the big boss was now there. A miner black-listed for 'disobedience' in one pit found himself black-listed everywhere — for the same boss was everywhere.

If nationalisation ever needed its final condemnation, it got it this year — when the miners had to crawl back to work after a noble year-long struggle, behind a leader who believes in nationalisation, and is indeed a Stalinist, believing not in workers' control but in centralised state control. The final irony, which seems to have been ignored by many supporters of the miners, was that among the many countries which were helping to break the strike by exporting coal to Britain was Poland — whose Stalinist government is supported by Scargill, against Solidarity — a much more syndicalist type organisation than the NUM.

### Lost Chances

But to cast another quick backward glance to the 1945 Labour Government, one can only weep that the chance to make those radical changes was not even considered. Not that anarchists expected them, but the political power was there to introduce a much stronger say in the running of industry by the workers. Never mind about owning shares in the mining industry — giving workers a slice of the capitalist action — but *some* degree of decision-making should have been written into the nationalisation legislation, some workers control over the closing of pits, for example. But the idea of extending, even by a little, *industrial* democracy, which would give workers some control over their working lives, did not even occur to the Labour Party — or the Trade Union bosses. Scargill's fight against pit closures was a bit late; for pits were already being closed in the



fifties — with no opposition from the unions.

But then, the Labour Party has never been a socialist party in any real sense of the word. Or even, for that matter, social *democratic*. It has been a centralist party, aiming at the control of individualistic capitalism by smoothing over its rough edges; its introduction of the welfare state was aimed at making capitalism more acceptable, not abolishing it. The welfare face of the warfare state.

### Scavenging for votes

The case is still the same today — perhaps even more so, faced with the twin evils of the 'militant tendency' on its left and the Social Democratic Party on its right, the Labour Party now has to tread a very careful and narrow path towards respectability which will win it votes in the next election. Which is all that matters.

All the parties are today scavenging for the middle ground, with the possible exception, as of now, of the Tories. While Labour has always sought the support of middle class radicals to top up its solid working class base, now there is no solid working class base. For the first time in history, 'blue collar' workers are no longer in the majority — except among the unemployed, who are learning the hard way that the 'masses' are no longer needed in our increasingly computerised industries. The SDP, having come from nowhere, has to scavenge for votes wherever it can. Led by careerist ex-Labour politicians who left the sinking ship in advance of the rats, the SDP makes it up as it goes along, pretending to be something different. The Liberals try to be the same 'libertarian' conservative party they always tried to be, which is absurd in an increasingly authoritarian situation. Nuclear disarmers should note that the Liberals are 'in favour' of getting rid of Cruise, etc; the SDP is not. A vote for either is a vote for the Alliance, which is more likely to be led by David Owen than by David Steel, so that Liberals voting against nuclear weapons may end up finding themselves being led by allies in favour of keeping them. And if you think that Labour, without any such complications, is a safe bet because of Neil Kinnock's firm statements — take a look at Labour's record the first time around. "We cannot", said Aneurin Bevan, "go naked into the conference chambers of the world". Welsh wizards may change, but power politics do not.

### Naked class hatred

So we end with our annual orgy with the Tories. In some ways it is a relief. You don't have to try to read between

the lines so carefully. A Conservative Party Conference is blatant. Sheer naked class hatred, equalled only by our own Class War comrades, blazes forth from the speakers from the floor. The leaders are rather more careful, but egged on by their supporters can also go over the top. The hangers and floggers rant and roar, retired policemen call for rubber bullets, water cannons and CS gas on the streets, to standing ovations. 'Life and death sentences are demanded with such intensity that you feel as though damnation, purgatory and eternity itself cannot provide enough punishment for the evil wickedness of pinching videos and nappy liners from supermarkets.

Make no doubt about it. Rubber bullets, water cannons and CS gas will be provided. Just as a rookie constable can be paid more than a teacher, the money can be provided for the maintenance of law and order, with riot gear, shields and new (South African



style?) truncheons. Violence on the grand scale can be provided.

The Tory conference had one great advantage over the others. Its timing coincided with the last riot of a series. The fact that police violence had sparked off the summer's riots was ignored. This was a summer in which three separate incidents of armed police 'accidentally' killing or wounding innocent individuals had highlighted the growth of state violence on our streets — a violence which our black fellow citizens had been forced to live with for years. Not with guns, perhaps, but with harassment and insults, with provocation and intensified 'containment'.

### The rule of force

The violence of the state is all pervasive. In our 'democracy' it likes to play it cool, in its dealing with the citizens, most of the time. This is because, most of the time, British citizens also play it cool. But step out of line and you will find little difference

between the dear old British bobby and the Russian, South African and American equivalent.

And that's just on the streets. That's just internal 'peace keeping'. Look at the British role worldwide. We (*we?*) sell arms like there was no tomorrow to anybody around the world who will buy our (*our?*) superior products. We sell to the Israelis and we sell to the Arabs. We sell to the Africans and we sell to South Africa.

One reason why Dr David Owen (as Labour Foreign Secretary) was still supporting the Shah of Iran long after his people had overthrown his tyrannical regime was because the Shah had been such a good customer for British arms. And now, Margaret Thatcher, 'batting for Britain', does her best to sell British armaments around the world — while at home she denounces violence, but supports the presence on British soil of Cruise missiles, NATO bases, American Command posts,

Polaris nuclear submarines, etc, etc, etc. Compare the use of a few hand-made petrol bombs on the street, even the death of one policeman by a teenager with a penknife, with the proud boasts of nuclear states that they have enough weapons to destroy the world 17 times — but deny decent living conditions for their own citizens.

It is all hypocrisy. Vote-catching among the soporific electorate and the denunciation of violence on the part of deprived youth are all part of the massive deception which governments and states practice against the people every day of our lives. We are robbed by taxes, misled by propaganda, ill informed, censored and deceived from the cradle to the grave. Welfare state or warfare state, we are always the subjects of hypocrisy — and when hypocrisy fails, subjected to violence.

Do you wonder why anarchists denounce all parties, all governments, all states?

Philip Sansom