

THINKING THE UNTHINKABLE

THE development of nuclear weapons has always brought with it its own brand of specious justification. The first Atomic Bombs, as dropped on Japan, were justified because they 'saved lives by bringing the war to a speedy conclusion'.

The Hydrogen Bomb, as developed by both America and Russia, was defended by the ghastly logic that they maintained

a 'balance of terror' since both sides were afraid to use them. The appalling destruction, uncontrollable fall-out and long-term poisoning by radiation of land and sea spelled too much danger for the world's rulers, who would be destroyed along with the rest of us.

The latest development has brought with it a new justification: it can be

controlled! The Neutron Bomb, dubbed by the Soviets as the 'Capitalist Bomb' — which doesn't mean they won't develop one themselves — was originally said to 'kill people but leave property untouched' and to have a very short life of radioactive contamination. Conquered territory could be occupied by the victors in a battle in a relatively short time.

Because of this, it is now being justified because it would be limited in its use to 'the theatre of war' itself, and not used as a terror weapon against civilian populations.

Messrs Reagan and Haig are now speaking openly of the possibility of waging war in Europe (that's America's 'Theatre') with neutron bombs to overcome the Soviet's alleged superiority over NATO in numbers of conventional weapons.

What does this mean? It means quite simply that war between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries can now be contemplated, safe in the understanding that it can be contained within battlefield Europe.

What bloody nonsense! Can anybody believe for a moment that if the commanders of either side saw themselves losing such a conflict (and one side must lose!) that they would not call up their inter-continental missiles to strike at the heartland of the enemy?

Both sides now have enough megatons to destroy the world 'several times over' — and we know enough of the ruthlessness of the world's rulers to know that they would not hesitate to use them once the chips were down.

Neutron bombs, therefore, precisely because they sound more 'controllable', are *even more dangerous* than their predecessors, because nuclear war is now becoming *thinkable* in tactical terms by the lunatics who rule the world — instead of being *unthinkable*.

It is time we all linked cause and effect. Governments are bringing us to the brink of annihilation — it is time we began to think of *government itself as unthinkable!*



'TOVARICH, I KNOW IT'S A MUCH SMALLER TARGET, BUT IT'S SO MUCH NEARER!'

HOW CAN YOU MISS?



ALAN ALBON

REPORTS

CANCUN

THE monumental problems of the Third World are unlikely to receive much help from the West with Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher at the helm. Thatcher's remarks at the Commonwealth conference in Australia indicated that a bigger cake will have to be created before a small portion will reluctantly be given to the Third World. Ronald Reagan is embarking on a great new extravagant expenditure of resources to make sure that the Third World and in fact the rest of the world will have their problems solved by being sent to an early grave.

There is going to be very little to cheer the prospects of those with empty bellies, with the poor in the countries of the Thatcher/Reagan axis getting harsher treatment due to the economic difficulties produced by their crazy and artificial financial system. Whether the peasants of the poorer countries receive any better treatment from the world money lenders than from their native money lenders remains to be seen.

The Brandt commission is unlikely to result in anything of consequence from the international conference in Mexico, except excuses from the rich countries explaining why they cannot help. The delegates are well insulated from the poorer people of Mexico in the tourist centre of Cancun. Mexico itself, with the discovery of oil, has graduated from the ranks of the Third World but it is unlikely that the poor of Zapata's country will benefit much from its new found wealth.

To be sure while the present economic system prevails the outlook for the Third World is very bleak with their leaders imbued with the same ideology and values as those of Western countries, where most of them were educated. Of the financial assistance that is dispensed to these countries very little actually reaches the people in greatest need, a lot of it is played off against so-called defence equipment and inappropriate technology. A lot is lost in corrupt and bureaucratic government administration. Countries that tend to be of strategic importance to the West and sympathetic to the Reagan government are likely to benefit much more, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Turkey etc.

So called independence has benefitted the people of the Third World very little. With many of their economies tied to the commercial production of particu-

lar crops, self-sufficiency has given way to cash crops, the markets of which are controlled by multinationals who are even now investigating seed control by legislation, which would mean that the peasants would have to rely on them in every stage of the production process. These firms of multinational agri-business operators have powerful lobbies in the government circles of Western countries and exert a world wide influence on world economics largely to the detriment of the Third World.

In spite of the extraordinary technical progress that has been achieved matters continue to get worse in a large part of the world in which we live.

To quote from a publication by an Australian group called permaculture:

'We, the citizens of the 'Lucky Country', today share a planet with over one billion people who are hungry or suffering actual malnutrition. Twelve thousand a day die from hunger. This is not the deliberate effect of the policies of any evil genius planning for a third reich or a brave new world, yet it far exceeds Hitler's tally of dead. We can, however, hold the community of world leaders responsible for callous indifference. There are limits to the problems of the poor and on 1974 costs it was estimated that 127 billion dollars spent over a ten year period could provide basic food and nutrition, education, urban housing, water, transport, clean rural water, family planning, and community health programmes for all the world's poor. Current world arms expenditure is 400 billion dollars a year. Even allowing for inflation, if 5% of world arms spending was diverted to the poor every year we could solve the problem.'

In FOOD Comix No 1 the whole food situation is graphically pictured showing just why in spite of modern technology more and more people starve.

The whole system has to be radically changed and it cannot be done through the so-called agencies of democracy, the political parties who cannot think in terms other than spurious economic growth or so called honest money. There is no such thing as honest money. It remains paper with print on it or entries in a ledger and has no relationship to resources. Interest is quite unrelated to justice, equality or economic reality and only has meaning in a society that is concerned with power.

ALAN ALBON

Leeds

AT a recent meeting in Leeds it was decided to put the following piece in local papers:-

'There is a proposal afoot for the setting up of a non-profit making resources and activities centre in the middle of Leeds, available for use by anybody who wants it. Possibly based in a large defunct building. Facilities might include light industrial workshops, live music, a games room, skill sharing exchange, (children's) adventures, cheap cinema nights. Resources might include media facilities like printing, duplicating and layout, a food co-op, swap-shop, bottle and paper bank, workshops for cars, bikes, wood and electronics and perhaps a cafe. These are only provisional plans but they will be realised! If you have similar ideas please contact 786219 (LEEDS).'

It was also decided to contact London and Birmingham anarchist centres. There is also an anarchist community centre in Keighley now.

The problems now are finding suitable property and finding money. So if you've got any ideas/want to drop by any time, get in contact.

ADRIEN

11, Richmond Mount,
Headingley,
Leeds LS6 1DG.
West Yorkshire.

Whitelaw

WILLIAM Whitelaw, Home Secretary, has called for a cut in the number of people sentenced and the length of prison terms. He considers that 'human problems of massive proportions are inevitable with such numbers', believed to be over 45,000. The last Home Secretary, Merlyn Rees, was scandalised by a prison population of 42,000. We must assume that, contrary to popular impressions, Home Secretaries are weak, powerless individuals. Many delegates at the Labour Party conference last week were also upset by prison conditions. Mr Whitelaw also commented 'Frankly, the conditions in our prisons are such that those who work there, let alone those in custody, cannot be expected to tolerate.' We must make the further assumption that these intolerable working conditions are the reason for the renewal of stories about warders with National Front and British Movement badges. Now read that last sentence of Mr Whitelaw's again. Surely this is incitement for prisoners to riot. Good on yer, Willie, there's hope yet.

Tim Corker

12.2.53 - 15.9.81

IT is with feelings of sadness and regret that we must write of the death of Tim Corker in London this September. Tim's death in hospital was the end of two weeks struggle against a severe attack of hepatitis contracted in India.

Many London anarchists will remember Tim for his enthusiasm, optimism and determination to inject a dose of humour and joy into a movement that often threatens to fall asleep from straightfaced boredom.

As well as organising his much missed series of Christmas parties on the London Underground Tim was tireless in transporting people to and from festivals and music events. Having studied law and coming from a family of solicitors, he was able to give legal advice and help to those who fell foul of the law.

Besides all this Tim had been very involved since his schooldays in making music, admired both as boogie piano player and saxophonist. A growing belief in Anarchism (when 15 he detonated a bomb during school assembly) culminated in his forming the AUM, Anarcha United Mystics, in the late '70's. This grouping attempted a synthesis between mystical and magical ideas gained with the use of LSD and the social and revolutionary ideas of anarchism.

All this eventually led Tim to leave England for India, convinced by a vision that he'd meet death in his 28th year and that in the sub-continent he'd somehow find answers to the questions posed by this vision.

Tragically, what Tim in fact discovered in India was his own untimely death.

ADAM FLOWERS & CLIFF HARPER

(If anyone is interested in knowing more about AUM contact Adam Flowers c/o FREEDOM).

Love and Rage

WITH the murder of Carl Harp in Walla Walla jail, USA, a strong and sensitive Anarchist fighter, writer and organiser, has been silenced.

Last summer, after four years of writing to each other, Carl and I met a couple of times at San Quentin prison where we spoke for some hours through a glass partition and telephone. Such had been the sort of contact Carl was allowed with the world beyond his cell for 8 years, 8 years of constant institutional violence and repression, and isolation.

Carl's response was to turn initial confusion into a clear understanding of the machinery of oppression, to develop his rage against that System and to protect his humanity and honesty amid the brutality of everyday prison life. Unity amongst prisoners, clarity of thought, tolerance, respect and love, self-confidence and resistance — these are the things he continually argued and fought for. And above all, active solidarity of all oppressed peoples — both inside and outside the walls.

His ideas, his struggles and his personality, which he developed in the most

adverse conditions, were an inspiration to all people trying to resist and smash this System and create a new world. It is impossible for me to do justice to Carl's life with my feeble words. I hope my poem helps.

The most fitting response is to continue with increased determination, the struggle for Anarchism which Carl pursued at all times, with every ounce of his effort and humanity. In particular we must strengthen our links with people in prison, especially those active in resistance, to break through the isolation. Our struggle is long and difficult. If Carl has taught us or others about patience, about perseverance and courage, about human feeling and resistance, and if we translate them into personal and collective strength and action, then his efforts will not have been in vain. And his murder will have silenced one of us, only to increase the voices raised in anger against a System which imprisons and destroys us all. Wherever people resist oppression, Carl Harp is at their side.

In Love and Rage,
DAVID MORRIS

IN BRIEF

THE Labour Party conference passed a resolution 'calling on' the next Labour Government to replace the Official Secrets Act with a Freedom of Information Act. This would give the right of access to information held about oneself and to all information held by government agencies, unless security or privacy was at risk. Commitments to repeal the OSA were given in 1975, 1977 and 1978. A member of the Labour Party National Executive Committee described the failure as a 'matter of shame'.

JAMES Anderton, chief constable of Greater Manchester has said that the purchase of two automatic rifles was a 'mistake'. The weapons concerned, Heckler & Koch HK33A3's can fire 750 rounds a minute, with a range of 400 metres. They cost £456. Mr Anderton says that he personally approved the order as on the order form the guns were 'ambiguously' described. The officers, who made an 'honest and spontaneous' denial when questioned about the order, were similarly confused. The guns have since been modified and now will fire only 40 rounds per minute.

THE forward thrust of the Islamic revolution has achieved another victory. Double-decker buses in Tehran are to be segregated, women underneath and men on top. Symbolic, somehow.

WILDCAT

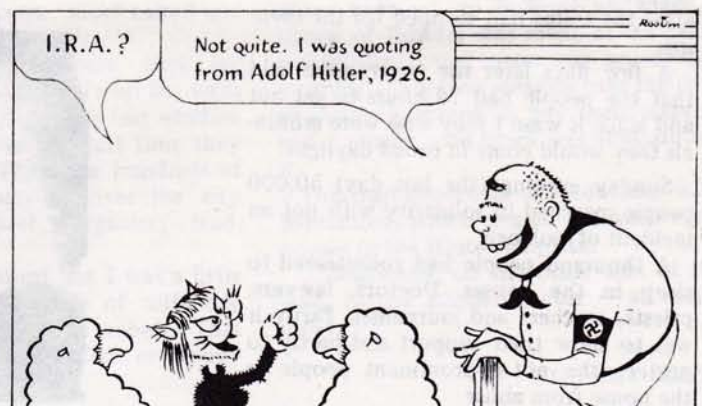
Our nation united and free!!

For that great ideal each of us is ready to die, and each of us ready to kill. There can be no peace, so long as our people lies, divided and impoverished, beneath the heel of aliens and traitors.



I.R.A.?

Not quite. I was quoting from Adolf Hitler, 1926.



THE showdown finally came in Berlin and the CDU (Christian Democrat Union) finally got what they wanted.

Their loud campaign of smashing the squatters without any chance of negotiations culminated there with the Berlin left working together like it hasn't in a long time. But when the smoke had cleared, one was dead, hundreds hospitalized, hundreds arrested and millions of marks in damage had been done and now it was the CDU who wished to negotiate.

With the help of the 'Free Democrats' the CDU got its first ever Burgermeister on the promise of clearing all the occupied houses.

But this wasn't enough. Herr Lummer wanted to make a real witch-burning out of it.

The government declared eight houses would be cleared within the month and even gave out the addresses. The squatters mobilized. Requests for help were sent to many countries and *Tu-wat* was born (the 'Do-something' movement) — did you?

The response was good. Particularly from Amsterdam and Zurich. (A train-load of 3,000 for example.) But it became apparent early on that there would not be enough volunteers to put thousands in those houses as originally planned.

The month ticked by with workshops, theatre, seminars, street-festivals and actions (like raids of fancy tourist shops). Anarchists from many places talking, laughing, building, playing and finally the necessity of fighting.

Then came the anti-Haig demo and 80,000 people showed up for the largest anti-militarist demo in Berlin since Vietnam. There was also the largest street action when 15,000 attempted to march to where the General was speaking and a nervous police struck without warning (after all, they had 'only' mobilized 7,000 riot troops). Squatters were prepared with three ambulances and their own small hospital. 180 people had disappeared out of trains *before* the demo even though this was a completely legal one. Some, like four women interviewed on the radio, were kept until late that night without food or access to toilets and then dropped off on the other side of town after the trains had stopped for the evening.

A few days later the government said that the people had 72 hours to get out and since it wasn't they who were criminals they would come in broad daylight.

Sunday evening (the last day) 50,000 people marched in solidarity with not an incident of violence.

A thousand people had volunteered to sleep in the houses. Doctors, lawyers, priests, teachers and journalists. Partly it was to show their support and partly to protect the not-so-prominent people in the house from abuse.

Showdown in

Each house was to decide its own defence and each house decided on passive resistance. The police were notified of this and of the fact that the front door of each house was open.

The first day passed and nothing happened except three Irishmen wandered into 'The Bobby Sands Pub' after the deadline to buy us a round. Then a radio announcement?! The houses would be cleared at 5.00. Mobilization. Thousands showed up but the police didn't.

The next day another announcement on the radio and we mobilized again. I arrived free of charge courtesy of a sympathetic taxi. Our group, like most people, decided on hanging around on a street corner showing our support but making no move that could be even remotely construed as resisting. The police struck. All 4,000 of them on all eight houses at once. Smashing down doors with battering rams, swarming in through all the windows. Yes Sir, a real impressive show. All the prominent people were escorted out first by smiling policemen past buzzing TV cameras. Everybody was photographed, fingerprinted and computerized on the spot. Where we stood (not by the TV cameras unfortunately) a water cannon came by and blasted us from 10m away through a pharmacy door and kept pumping it in heedless of the fact that there were very old people and children inside. After it passed we retook our positions. I also witnessed people being pushed by riot police into the path of water cannons and tear gas as they tried to get away. We left for discussions at this time as a demonstration had been called for 10.00 that night.

Meanwhile Herr Lummer wanted to run our noses in it a little and made a speech to the assembled masses from a balcony



and a group of now homeless demonstrators proceeded to denounce him. After being pelted with bricks by riot police they were baton charged and one was chased a block out into the traffic slamming headfirst into a bus with about 10 bulls on his tail. DOA. People occupied the spot with flowers and police tried time and again to clear it with tear gas and clubs. They even brought in a street cleaner specifically to sweep away the flowers after the police were done stomping.



PATRIZIA FREED

no deportation

ON 5th October Patrizia Giambi finished her 28 day sentence for threatening behaviour (see FREEDOM Vol 42, No 20). However, the Governor of Holloway Prison continued to detain her beyond her sentence on the grounds that she had been recommended for deportation and therefore would not be released. An application for a writ of Habeas Corpus in the High Court on 8th October was turned down and Patrizia remained incarcerated. Her appeal against the deportation recommendation came up at the Inner London Crown Court on 15th October.

THE APPEAL

From the beginning the police barrister, King-Lassman ('previous' ex-Communist Party, ex-Young Socialists) made it clear that their case rested entirely on Patrizia's political beliefs and associations *not* on her conviction. Her beliefs, he asserted, were a 'fundamental threat to society and public policy and public security'. Her associations were with other anarchists who were 'in themselves undesirables'. Then, in what was to be a fairly good performance for a stand up comedian, he set about 'proving' his assertions.

He started with photographs taken during the Brixton uprising. The first showed Patrizia standing about on the streets (Oh tremble, ye pillars of state!!). The second, for which King-Trashman was slightly apologetic, did not exactly show Patrizia but was instead a fine shot of a burned out pub. This line of approach was strongly objected to by Patrizia's barrister but Judge Cox said that the court would refer to the photographs 'if necessary'.

The next piece of damning evidence was a set of documents. The minutes of a meeting at the 121 Bookshop and a leaflet and books taken from Patrizia's shared flat. When Patrizia's barrister objected that the court should concern itself solely with criminal matters there was an adjournment for the judge to mull this over. On his return he said the documents were admissible. The bookshop minutes. These showed that in the cavernous den at 121 such matters as a leaking roof, the serving of tea and coffee, advertising the shop and covering the windows with grilles were plotted. The leaflet, headed 'Energy is Power' and signed 'a few Brixton Anarchists', was an argument against nuclear power, (Oh tremble once more, ye pillars of state!!). Of the books

Armed Struggle in Italy was given great prominence. Again there was an objection. None of the documents could be shown to belong to Patrizia and even if they did, so what?

Next, more photos, this time of the flat. They showed bookshelves, typewriter and a picture of black youths carrying banners. This proved, said King-Gasman, that Patrizia's presence at the riots was as an agitator not as a participant. To hammer home this point he produced two constables as witnesses. PC Locke (L234), ('previous' he started the whole thing on the Friday night) and a PC Jones (previous record not known). These two were produced to prove that Patrizia was an organiser. Yet under cross-examination they admitted that Patrizia was not urging the crowds on and, more significantly, that *she had been pointed out to them* in a photo *only two days* before the appeal. That is, they had 'suddenly remembered' her SIX MONTHS after the event. Clearly, two days were not enough for these two jokers to rehearse their lines properly and the cop handling the case, Det Sgt Cork ('previous' bullying the witnesses of the New Cross fire bombing into making false statements), was far from pleased with their Laurel and Hardy performance. King-Lashman then concluded his submission saying that unless Patrizia 'renounce' her political beliefs she would re-offend and continue to be 'a danger to society'. (At this point it was thought an Exorcist would be called in to assist but perhaps they thought this might be stretching things too far.)

Patrizia's barrister, Ian McDonald ('previous' getting George Lindo off), began his submission, also with documents. These showed that she had been given leave of absence from her job in Italy, that she had registered for a course in English in London, that she had worked as a cleaner in a London hospital, her pay slips, etc, etc. All this was to prove that her studies and her work were not a 'cover' for subversion which is what the cops had claimed at previous hearings.

He then made it plain that courts of appeal were concerned with criminal matters not political beliefs and that it was for the judge to decide in this appeal whether or not to support the recommendation to deport. This he did by references to cases in the European Court of Justice showing he was on top of the law and enabling him to pin the judge down.

(The judge was looking for a copout and would have preferred to have washed his hands of the matter, leaving it to White-law to do the dirty deed.)

After putting the judge on the spot he then set about destroying the police 'evidence'. As can be seen from the above this was not too difficult and, indeed, his submission was at times almost as piss taking as this report. The cops had set out to prove that Patrizia was an organiser of the riots and all they had done was to show that there had been a banal meeting at 121 Bookshop and, even then, not that Patrizia had anything to do with it. The photographs of the flat were irrelevant. The books, which could not be proved to belong to Patrizia, were just that, books. The leaflet was anti-nuclear power, nothing more, nothing less. None of this proved that she was either an organiser of the riots or had the propensity to commit further crimes. The prosecution in their evidence had produced 'not a lion, but a mouse'. They were 'peddling their own political fantasies'. The recommendation for deportation could not be allowed.

After an adjournment the judge returned to give his verdict. It was not until he actually said that it would be 'wrong to support this recommendation' that it was clear which way he would go as in his summary he had stressed the 'grave' and 'serious' nature of the Brixton events and Patrizia's conviction for threatening behaviour. However, the defence case had been so well argued, the cop's case so badly presented and he himself put on the spot on law so he could not pass the buck. Patrizia was released.

Whilst this decision must delight us all we must also note the sickness of the allegations. Under different circumstances — a shaky defence barrister, a confident cop barrister, a judge less willing to listen to points of law, etc — the decision could have gone the other way and Patrizia would now be back in Italy with 'Deported' stamped on her passport. As it is, she remains here, but she is a marked woman. When McDonald argued that the court was only concerned with criminal matters not political beliefs the judge replied that this was so but it was also for the court to see if Patrizia's political beliefs meant that she had a propensity for crime, a clear illustration of the judiciaries bias against anarchists. As for the cops, we will always be 'criminals' to them. As the street fighting of the summer is bound to return as the social and economic conditions continue to decline we are all marked out as criminals, particularly those already branded as 'agitators'. So while Patrizia's release is a victory in personal and immediate terms her case is also a warning to us all *to be prepared*.

'Bread, Love and Struggle'

THE FRIENDS OF PATRIZIA GIAMBI

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET

OPEN LETTER TO A CND MARCHER FROM A PACIFIST/ANARCHIST

Dear Marcher,

Way back in 1958 the very first Easter March took place from London to Aldermaston. Organized by Pat Arrowsmith (of Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War) it was eventually supported by CND and taken up by them as an official CND project.

However 1959 saw the route reversed; so instead of marching to the Atomic Weapons and Research Establishment, Aldermaston, CND began there and headed for London — and, I suspect, for Parliament. (ie from being a march of direct action aimed at the place manufacturing atomic components, it became a march of 'persuasion' aimed at MPs in London)

Today, in 1981, long after the passing of DAC (Direct Action Committee) and the then Bertrand Russell's Committee of 100, there has been little direct action against the military (a military which includes germ warfare and other equally horrific methods of control) for some fifteen years — with the exception of campaigns for military withdrawal from N Ireland, and odd demonstrations from brave, but tiny, pacifist groups. However your activity in CND has also stirred groups like CAAT (Campaign Against Arms Trade), The Campaign Against Militarism (PPU and WRI) and thrown

into focus the need for those who were involved in DAC and Committee of 100 to once more get up off their arses!

Pacifists have always been active in Direct Action against Armed Forces. Nonviolent Resistance has been the method since means and ends are one. (A less violent society is more libertarian.) Anarchists have always been involved in Direct Action (whether against military or civilian authorities!)

Alex Comfort (now better known for his Joy of Sex) was involved in direct action from the end of World War II. A novelist and poet of stature, his novel *The Powerhouse* about French Resistance to Nazis is a fine example of art into politics — inescapably entwined. At the very first public meeting of CND his topic was Direct Action by Every One of Us — a topic to be seriously considered — over twenty years on!

For we have not stopped one nuclear bomber taking off. We have not stopped one missile being built or deployed for use!

Symbolic action like that of the Committee of 100 was fine for our souls, and we did penance — served time in police cells and prison cells — but it only slightly inconvenienced civilian authorities — even if the jails had been filled they would simply have taken over

professed aim has been to put women on an equal footing with men'. That's not my aim. God forbid! Is she saying that men are the norm to which we should aspire?

I think we can judge just how revolutionary the women's movement is by the fact that so few men understand what it means, even so-called left-wing and revolutionary men (see the last issue of *Anarchy* for example). They cannot understand how deep women's oppression goes in this society. We are not only oppressed financially and sexually, but also in many other ways that we hardly realise. How many of you noticed that Michael Duane, in his recent letters to *FREEDOM*, referred to children as 'he'? He wasn't talking about boys only. To me, this is oppressive, because it ignores the very existence of women.

Those who call the women's movement 'indulgent' or 'introverted' are merely demonstrating their inability to change their way of thinking and revealing their innate conservatism.

Feminism is a different way of life. It means changing our ways of speaking, thinking, behaving and acting. This is the road to true anarchism.

Yours,

ANNA KEY

Derby

schools and football stadia! However we experienced how the state works — what actually happens, not fine legal theory. We learnt how police, courtrooms, prisons, lawyers, make their living — get paid from others' suffering, from others' poverty!

We, many of us, became anarchists through political experience — being on the streets. I found out that you always defend yourself in court. You always plead not guilty; you always use your own voice; go by your own inner conscience — your own 'shit-kicker' — never accept advice unless it agrees with your own innermost voice.

We have to form Direct Action cells — local groups — half-dozen strong; able to withstand prosecution; to have strong community-support groups, community-houses and to further the campaign for a society without small-arms soldiers, for a society without arms and armies is the purest anarchy.

You are the one capable of forming a small nucleus — a group of like-minded pacifists leaning towards anarchism — or anarchists leaning towards pacifism.

CND is a vehicle for politicians heading for parliamentary salaries and cosy committees; compare 1964 in CND.

You are capable of creating a more libertarian society — by selling anarchist newspapers; by writing and duplicating/printing your own local magazine devoted to your own interests, passions, ideas! By supporting groups like those voluntary organizations such as RAP (Radical Alternatives to Prison) and MIND (for mental health) and NCCL (National Council for Civil Liberties) and magazines like *Libertarian Education* — by starting a community bookshop (or, if one already exists, beginning a Neighbourhood Bookshop — a sort of offshoot of your community bookshop, perhaps combining it with cafe).

Nuclear arms are just the top of a military pyramid which is built into our society — like slavery was! Its eradication will be too slow but we can begin without apeing their brutality, blindness, nationalism and violence.

Anarchism is about individuals having space to find their own potential realized, about resisting authority — whether in rock music, in schools, in work or in play. It is about helping each other to live more satisfying lives now — not after some mythical revolution — leave that to the religious marxists and religious followers of leaders in political parties.

You are the only person capable of creating a different society — each one of you! Ignore the priests, the politicians, the psychiatrists and the teachers.

Find your own way. Look after those close to you. Enjoy yourselves.

Don't Follow Leaders and Watch The Parking Meters.

— B Dylan

DENNIS GOULD

FEMINIST DEBATE

Dear *FREEDOM*,

Thank you for publishing the debate on feminism. In my opinion, Iris Mills is wrong and Carol Saunders is right. Of course people are discriminated against for reasons of class as well as sex but these are entirely different things and the oppression that women suffer cannot be explained in terms of class. The trouble with traditional class analysis is that it is simply irrelevant. Women do not exist in their own right. An unmarried woman has the class of her father; as a married woman she takes on the class of her husband and so do her children. Also, the divisions between traditional definitions of classes are now so blurred that we cannot define everyone as belonging to this class or that class. In my opinion, the whole idea of the class system is just a manifestation of patriarchy. Perhaps we should try and get away from our obsession with class and look deeper.

The women's movement is a revolutionary movement. It is a tremendous threat to the patriarchal state, because it is so different. I'm not sure what on earth Iris means when she says 'its

FREEDOM CONTACTS

NATIONAL

ABERDEEN

Solidarity, c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

ABERYSTWITH

David Fletcher, 59 Cambrian St.

BARRY

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

BELFAST

Anarchist Collective, Just 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

Anarchists, Box A, 41 Fitzroy St.

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.

COVENTRY

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

CUMBRIA

12 Bath Terrace, Drovers Lane, Penrith.

DUBLIN

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

EAST ANGLIA

DAM, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron 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

Group A c/o John Cooper, 34 Raithburn Ave, Castlemilk, G 45.

Practical Anarchy (Clydeside Paper) out October from Box 3, Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Gt Western Rd, G 12.

HASTINGS

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

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 2SL.

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 St, Leeds LS2 3AW.

LEICESTER

Blackthorn Books, 7½ Highcross St, (tel 21896), and Libertarian Education 6 Beaconsfield Rd, (tel 552085).

LONDON

Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Avenue N5 (01-359 4794 before 7 pm) Meets each Thursday at Little @ Press, C1 Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, Wapping E1. (22a bus or Wapping tube).

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

Autonomy Centre, 01 Warehouse, Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, E1.

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 7 pm.

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

London Workers Group, meets Tuesdays 8 pm 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 Railton Rd, Herne Hill, SE24. Xtra! Structureless Tyranny, 182 Upper St, N1.

MALVERN

and Worcester area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storridge, Malvern, Worcestershire.

MANCHESTER

Chorlton Anarchists, Louise and Larry, 162 Egerton Rd North, Whalley Range, Manchester M16 0DB, Tel: 061 881 9553.

NORWICH

Anarchists, Student group and town group and Freewheel Community Bookshop Collective, all c/o Freewheel, 56 St Benedicts St, Norwich, Norfolk.

NOTTINGHAM

c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St, (tel 582506), or 15 Scotholme Ave, Hyson Green (tel 708 302)

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, or Duncan Lamb, Nirvana, Chichester Yacht Basin, Birsham, West Sussex.

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.

SUNDERLAND

anarchists/DAM, c/o 183 Durham Rd, Sunderland SR3 4BX.

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.

AUTONOMY CENTRE EVENTS

EVENTS

Saturday 24th October 7.00pm
Autonomy Centre
Two video films about Squatting and the Recent Riots in Berlin.
Admission: 75p and address

Fri 23 Oct: Drop in after 2 pm.

Sat 24 Oct: Drop in after 6.30pm.

Wed 28 Oct: Drop in between 2.30-5.30pm.

Thurs 29 Oct: Drop in after 7 pm.

Fri 30 Oct: Drop in after 2 pm.

Sat 31 Oct: Halloween event. Live music, drink!!! £1.50 non-members, £1 members.

Enjoy Halloween as never before at the Autonomy Centre. The party starts at 8pm. on Saturday October 31st. with live music from 'The Helicopters' and a cabaret by Tony Allen. Food and drink provided!

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

DESIRES

Has anyone got a copy of a pamphlet by Marcus Graham, published by Freedom Press in 1943, called 'The Issues in The Present War'.
Mark Nelson 1 Victoria Road
Hyde Park Leeds 6

OPPRESSED by D C Thompsons media monopoly? Subscribe to Not The Coorier, an Anarchist alternative. £1 for 5 monthly issues (incl. p&p). 3R 17 Cheviot Cres. Dundee, DD4 9QJ.

ANY Anarchist/Libertarian Socialists in the Doncaster area? If so please contact M P Astell at 1 Chapel Hill, Market Place, Asker.

I'M trying to make contact with anarchists or other like-minded people in Merseyside area with a view towards music and filmwork. Anyone's welcome to reply to: John Goddard, 37 Bagot Street, Wavertree, Liverpool 15.

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Anarchist Review

Freedom

24 October 1981. Vol 42, No 21

WHAT HAPPENS IN NUCLEAR WAR?

1. BLAST — CREATES ENORMOUS PRESSURE. TOPPLES BUILDINGS AND TREES. KILLS PEOPLE BY SHOCKWAVE-OVERPRESSURE AND WIND, BY FLYING DEBRIS, BY THROWING PEOPLE AGAINST FIXED OBJECTS, BY CRUSHING THEM IN COLLAPSING BUILDINGS. **2. FIREBALL** — TEMPERATURES UP TO MILLIONS OF DEGREES, IGNITES RAGING FIRES, KILLS BY FLASHBURN, PEOPLE CAN BE BURNED AT GREAT DISTANCES. CAUSES BLINDNESS. **3. PROMPT RADIATION** — KILLS PEOPLE CLOSE TO EXPLOSION BY LARGE DOSE. SMALLER DOSES CAN CAUSE ACUTE DELAYED RADIATION SICKNESS AND POSSIBLY DEATH. AFFECTS FUTURE GENERATIONS GENETICALLY. **4. FALLOUT RADIATION** — SPREADS OUT TO LARGE DISTANCES, SOMETIMES KILLING PEOPLE HUNDREDS OF MILES FROM EXPLOSION. CAUSES LEUKEMIA AND OTHER FORMS OF CANCER EVERYWHERE ON EARTH FOR DECADES. INCREASES INCIDENCE OF STILLBIRTHS, TUMORS, CONGENITAL MALFORMATIONS AND CATARACTS. **5. ENVIRONMENT** — POLLUTES WATER, EARTH AND AIR. DESTROYS FORESTS AND AGRICULTURE BY HEAT AND BLAST. DEATH BY RADIATION OF ANIMALS AND BIRDS WHILE RADIATION-RESISTANT BACTERIA, FUNGI, VIRUSES AND INSECTS FLOURISH. **6. SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION** — DISRUPTION OF MEDICAL FACILITIES AND ENERGY PRODUCTION, BREAKDOWN OF GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY AND DISASTER RELIEF. SPREADING OF DISEASE AND EPIDEMICS. FIGHTING FOR SCARCE FOOD SUPPLIES, DESPAIR AT THE ENORMOUS TASK OF RECONSTRUCTION — WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER NUCLEAR WAR IN THE OFFING ...

OFF THE NUKES !

EXACTLY a year ago this weekend, the largest demonstration in favour of nuclear disarmament was seen in London for well over a decade. This weekend the operation is being repeated — except that, just as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament turned the Aldermaston March back to front in 1959, the London march is being turned back to front this year, so that it goes not from but to Hyde Park on Saturday afternoon, 24 October.

No doubt many anarchists will take part this time as they did last time. But it is difficult to avoid increasingly serious doubts about such demonstrations and indeed about the nuclear disarmament movement as a whole. After all, what has actually happened during the past year? The membership of CND is said to have increased tenfold, from about 3,000 to about 30,000. Lectures and leaflets, badges and stickers, resolutions and petitions — all the paraphernalia of protest have increased in proportion. Public opinion surveys suggest that between one-quarter and one-third of the population favours unilateral nuclear disarmament, as it did twenty years ago, and that more than one-half favours the cancellation of current plans to station new missiles in this country. The World Disarmament Campaign is trying to focus such feelings on governments around the world. The European Nuclear Disarmament movement is trying to concentrate such feelings on the special position of Europe from the Atlantic to the Russian frontier, the collection of countries which suffered so terribly in two world wars and which stand to suffer most in a third.

Yet the situation seems to be much the same as it was a year ago. The Conservative government is firmly attached both to the American alliance and to the nuclear deterrent, though neither would save the country they love if the worst came to the worst. The Labour Party, supported by

the trade union movement and the Marxist sects, has again voted to reject such new developments as Cruise and Trident missiles, though not by a large enough majority to change official party policy, but has also voted to remain in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. The Liberal Party is trying to face both ways, and the new Social Democratic Party is trying to avoid the problem. The pessimistic but realistic view is that nothing much can be expected from party politics until the next General Election, which must be held by 1984. Here a curious coincidence may have some significance.

Nineteen Eighty-Four, George Orwell's last book, which was conceived in 1943-44, written in 1947-48, and published in 1949, is a fable for all time but was also a tract for its own time. It is generally taken to be a satire on totalitarianism, drawing the terrible 'picture of the future' which is 'a boot stamping on a human face — for ever'. But as well as the political implications of a national system based on a party dictatorship of the kind he had observed in Fascism and Communism, Orwell was also exploring the political implications of an international system equally based on developments while he was writing. As he told his publishers in a letter of 26 December 1948, 'What it is really meant to do is to discuss the implications of dividing the world up into Zones of Influence' — as was done by the Great Powers of East and West at the end of the Second World War, with the results we still see thirty-five years later.

Nineteen Eighty-Four is not only about a system called 'Ingsoc' under the Party led by Big Brother. It is also about a country called 'Airstrip One' of an Atlantic empire called Oceania at war with empires to the East. As it happens — partly perhaps because of this very book — totalitarianism

hasn't yet taken over this country, and doesn't seem likely to do so within the next two or three years, though all sorts of unpleasant things may happen. On the other hand, this country has indeed been the main base of the military alliance dominated by the United States of America and formalised by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation for more than thirty years. It was in fact in 1948, when Orwell was finishing his book, that American aircraft were first stationed in Britain in 'peacetime', as a result of the Berlin crisis that year. And in 1960, ten years after his death, an American nuclear submarine base was installed a few miles from where he used to live in West Scotland. So, while Orwell's vision of party dictatorship seems only a nightmare to us — though hardly for the people in half the countries of the world who suffer from its various forms — his vision of the warfare state is hard fact — except that the nuclear bombs haven't fallen yet.

Britain's position is at the same time very vulnerable and very powerful. We are very vulnerable, because we have the largest concentration in the world of nuclear bases directed against targets in the Soviet Union, which no doubt has at least as large a collection of nuclear bases directed against us. Yet we are very powerful, because we are still a more or less free country and could extricate ourselves from this position without too much difficulty, and possibly initiate a much larger process of disarmament. Our so-called independent deterrent is hardly either independent or deterrent, and rather resembles the British Empire in sounding impressive as long as it doesn't try to do anything. If a policy of nuclear disarmament were adopted by Britain, it might well spread to other countries in a similar position. In fact some such countries are already ahead of us in leading the way — Canada in North America and Norway and Denmark in North-West Europe refusing to accept American bases, the Netherlands and Belgium having serious doubts, and West Germany in the front line experiencing the largest campaign for nuclear disarmament in the world (the biggest demonstration so far was seen in Bonn only a fortnight ago).

But all this is material for orthodox politics, which we may be interested in but may hardly take part in as anarchists. No doubt it is a good thing for the various pressure groups to keep up their pressure on the political parties and the mass media, so that when the General Election comes all the parties to the left of the Conservative Government will feel threatened by voters who are more or less unilateralist. But even if the election is won by a Labour Party under Michael Foot and/or Tony Benn, or by a coalition of the new Liberal and Social Democratic Alliance under a leader or leaders afraid of their rank and file, there is no good reason to believe that nuclear disarmament would begin.

It was Labour Governments which began the development of the British nuclear bomb, which launched the British nuclear submarines, and which supported the Chevaline improvement of the British Polaris missiles. Michael Foot was once very active in CND, but he has never been a pacifist or even an antimilitarist, and he would probably end by following the example of his old hero Aneurin Bevan during the late 1950s by refusing to accept nuclear disarmament if it seemed practicable. Tony Benn is now very active in CND, but he wasn't involved in the old days, and he is probably using it to get left-wing support as Harold Wilson did during the early 1960s. All the likely leaders of the Liberals and the Social Democrats are much more strongly against nuclear disarmament than they are for party democracy. So-called socialist and social democratic parties elsewhere in Europe show no signs of adopting nuclear disarmament in office, whatever they say in opposition.

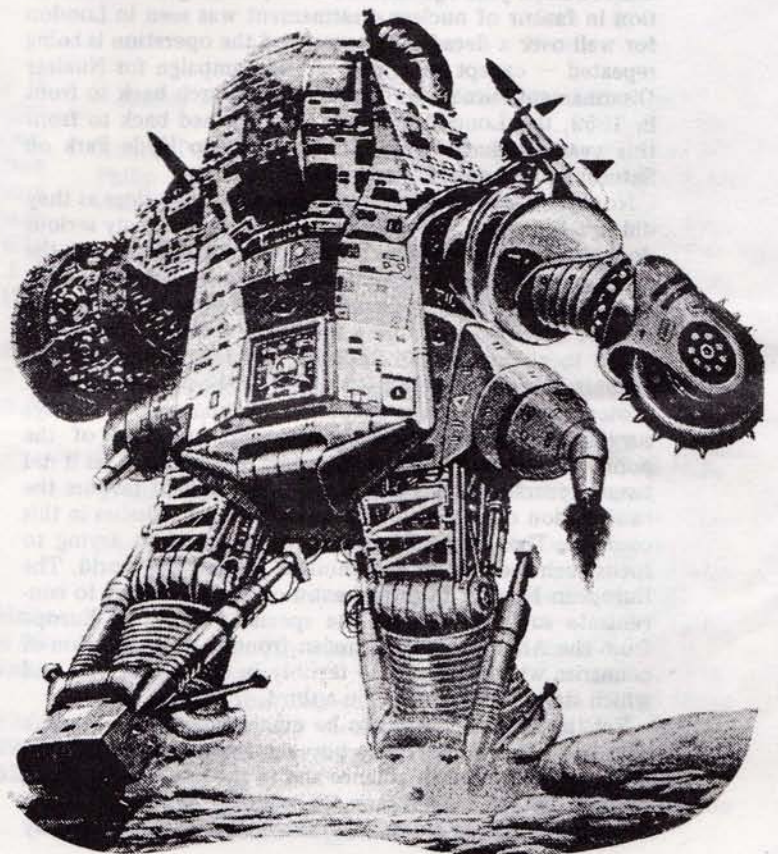
No, the best prospect for real movement in orthodox politics is parallel movement in unorthodox politics. This weekend's demonstration will achieve nothing on its own,

but it would show that even more people are against the position of this country as Airstrip One. All the work of all the pacifist and unilateralist organisations may achieve little on its own, but it should serve to raise the consciousness of even more people than are already aware of the danger we are in. What is needed is constant pressure from anarchists and other libertarians and antimilitarists to keep the movement moving in the right direction — away from fellow-travelling either with parliamentary socialists or with revolutionary Marxists who would lead us straight back into the American alliance or straight on into an equally disastrous Russian alliance; away from the traps of anti-Americanism or anti-Communism or anti-Thatcherism or any other negative fetishism which obstructs the path before us; away from obsessions with votes for resolutions or with reports in the media which are at best very rough guides to success; and above all towards the development of a new direct action movement which can break through some of the thought barriers rebuilt since the old one collapsed at the end of the 1960s.

George Orwell said in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* that 'if there is hope it lies in the proles', but wherever it lies it must be awakened by dissidents and rebels like his Winston and Julia, whoever they are and however they can. This is why we march in London this weekend, though we hope to go much further before long, and why we join everyone who agrees about the necessity to free this country from the nuclear alliance, whatever else we may disagree about. At the very least, there may be a token concession to public opinion — like the partial test-ban treaty in 1963. There may be a more genuine disengagement from the delicate balance of terror — like a refusal of new missiles and a withdrawal of old ones.

And at best, if we manage to do as much as we did twenty years ago and to have more luck, there may be a much more serious shift when large numbers of people turn their opposition from nuclear weapons to the state system which depends on them and which they depend on.

NICOLAS WALTER



WOMEN AND THE NUKES

I WAS sitting on a bus going through one of the sadder bits of Liverpool the other night, where it looks as though they strangled the trees, poured ammonia on the grass, boarded up the houses and everyone moved out. I was just dozing quietly when there was a sound like a rifle shot in my left ear. Of course I ducked and when I summoned the courage to peer out the window I saw 5 very small boys hurling large rocks at the bus. So this is a riot I thought Two weeks previously I'd listened on TV to a slightly older, somewhat cleaner and smarter boy, dressed in American army uniform tell us how he didn't want to know what the targets for his particular brand of missile were as he'd feel 'kinda emotional about the people he was aiming at'. I'm going on a demonstration against his brand of missiles next week. Noone's organised a demonstration against hurled rocks yet, and though it makes little difference to me whether my face is cut to ribbons by glass, broken by stones or a blast wave, I'd probably look odd holding a sign up saying 'No More Toxteths' on a disarmament demo, even though I know the conditions there breed violence as surely as the cold war does. You see I have a real problem with single issues — like symptoms of a disease treated out of context, they tend to recur. Of course, in an emergency they have to be dealt with; but it shouldn't stop there.

Let me give you an analogy. Being a doctor, medical ones come easy: a patient comes into hospital, vomiting blood. She will die of shock unless you restore her blood pressure with an immediate transfusion — so obviously you do. But hopefully you do more. You want to know why she's bleeding, so you have to connect this symptom with any others she might have and look for an underlying cause — pain in her stomach might indicate a stomach ulcer, an enlarged liver alcoholism. Does she drink? Did this cause the ulcer which caused the bleeding. Why does she drink? All the time you make connections and look for causes to get to the root of the problem. Otherwise at best your treatment is only temporary.

Cruise missiles are a symptom. I went to a conference in Groningen in April where a large number of scientists and generals discussed the problem of nuclear war in Europe. They were genuinely concerned and most of them saw the solution in terms of putting the Cruise missiles on submarines. Obviously that's not the answer. It seems to me possible that we could win with cruise missiles. I didn't think so a year ago, but I do now. However it's not enough. We can march in millions and elect ten Tony Benns; if we don't make the connections in our society and look for where the heart of the matter lies, we won't have succeeded.



So let's do that. Some of them are easy. Let's connect the millions who die from malaria and malnutrition with the world expenditure on armaments. You've seen the figures but they're worth repeating: one jetfighter would equip 40,000 pharmacies; two week's expenditure on arms would provide adequate food, water, education, health and housing for everyone in the world. Don't let them tell you that a peaceful nuclear deterrent kills no-one. Could the increasing infringement of our liberties — the control of our media, the blanket ban on marches, the lack of discussion of lay issues — be connected with the growth of a nuclear state that relies on secrecy to exist. Did you, or your elected representatives, have any say in the decision to deploy Cruise or Trident? Oh, I forgot, the blanket ban is because of the National Front; and we know that the violence and racism that they breed, to say nothing of the disillusion of Moss Side, Toxteth, St Pauls and Brixton have *nothing* to do with a government with *other* spending priorities.

Could our lack of regard for the rights of Aborigines or Namibians, their rights to land and health, be connected with the fact that they mine uranium for us to make the weapons that supposedly protect human rights? Could our lack of regard for our whole environment, the fact that we fill the air with lead and the seas and earth with radioactive and toxic wastes be connected with our espousal of a system of defence that *wins* by reducing us to rubble?

I could go on; the connections are endless; the pattern becomes obvious. We live in a society whose organising principles are violence and a disregard for human life. That is the real problem. I have a name for such a society — it is called a patriarchy. I also have a name for some solutions — Womens Liberation, a feminist vision. So before anyone drops this article in disgust at such inflammatory and possibly divisive words, let me explain what I mean.

A patriarchal society is one which assigns certain *human* characteristics according to biological gender. So boys are expected to show so called masculine characteristics — assertiveness, courage, objectivity, competitiveness, achievement orientation. Girls are expected to show the 'feminine' characteristics of nurturance, gentleness, emotionality, cooperativeness etc. These are not biologically determined. I would suggest that we all have the potential to develop all these attributes, and that to be complete human beings we

continued on Page 14

AS IT WAS IN

What is our task? It is to increase and extend our resistance to the Bomb and all bombs, to war and to the Warfare State, to our State and to all States, by direct action and by civil disobedience and by education and by mutual aid. Cobbett used to call what he hated 'the Thing', but the State isn't a thing — Landauer said: 'The State is a condition, a certain relationship between people, a way of human behaviour; and we destroy it when we contract different relationships and behave in a different way.' Nor is revolution a thing either — Gandhi said: 'A non-violent revolution is not a programme of 'seizure of power'; it is a programme of transformation of relationships.'

— Nicolas Walter

WITH the march of CND on the streets of villages, towns and cities once more it might help us all if we recall some of the past direct action. Social Democrats, Liberals and Socialists will be keen to keep the debate within party political and parliamentary terms, so it is important for anarchists and pacifists of nonviolent revolutionary ideas form groups and present our ideas at such demonstrations and meetings.

At the very first CND public meeting on February 28th 1958, at one of two overflow meetings Alex Comfort (author of *Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State* 1950, *Peace and Disobedience* PPU 1946, *Art and Social Responsibility*, *The Joy of Sex*) gave a talk: *Direct Action By Every One of Us*. As a sponsor of DAC (Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War) he was one of a minority in CND who advocated direct action rather than attempt to change Labour Party policy.

Many executive members of CND saw it as a pressure group useful for the Labour Party. They did not put the policy of CND before that of the Labour Party, whereas the apolitical and morally outraged individuals who joined or became involved with CND did so because to them CND was a campaign for life, a movement for civilian power over the military.

Hugh Brock, then editor of *Peace News*, suggested a walk to Aldermaston, which under the organization of Pat Arrowsmith and other DAC supporters became the Aldermaston March: in 1958 a March to Aldermaston AWRE (Atomic Weapons Research Establishment). This was taken

'The minister for Air and the Chief of the Airforce flew over Wetherfield in helicopters. The Attorney General is called in to prosecute. Our offices are raided, our homes searched, telephones tapped, our mail is read, and police spies are sent to our meetings. This is the measure of our success. The government understands now that we are serious. We are not conducting a protest movement but a Resistance Struggle against the State machine and its ability to exterminate millions of people. I have begun my non-cooperation now. If I can turn the handle of a duplicator, if I can see a contact, write a pamphlet, or speak to a supporters' meeting on a tape-recorder I shall be contributing more than if I were kicking my heels in some prison.'

— Pat Pottle

One of Wetherfield 6 and Field Worker for Committee of 100.

up by CND so that it became the CND March in which four thousand people took part.

The Pacifist Youth Action Group (PYAG) supported a DAC picket at Aldermaston in July 1958; and then in December '58 just 46 volunteers walked into North Pickenham 'Thor' missile-base, Norfolk. It is right that we remember their names for many have kept up an involvement long after many more vocal and aggressive 'revolutionaries' have disappeared into the hills. Those imprisoned included: in Holloway:- April Carter; Mary Chisholm; Inez Randall; Frances Edwards. In Norwich:- Michael Randle; Chris Farley; Laurens Otter; Oliver Mahler; Phil Cook; Rev Michael Scott (to become one of the founders of Committee of 100), Ian Dixon, Hugh Brock; John Dennithorne, Francis Deutsch; David Graham; Geoffrey Alexander; Will Warren.

In 1959 a DAC Industrial Campaign was organized in Stevenage with Pat Arrowsmith the Field Secretary. Two unions staged a 1-hour token stoppage in support (500 workers). Francis Deutsch organized a 'Yorkshire

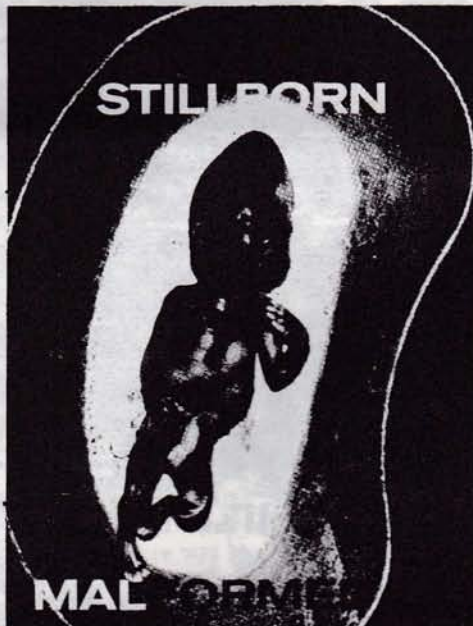


Rocket-Sites' Protest Committee later that year. On September 11th *Peace News* published a front-page map of Britain with missile-bases overprinted. After direct action at Harrington Base organizers got two months prison sentences for refusing to sign the 'binding-over' order 'to keep the peace'. In prison: Allen Skinner (69 year old World War One conscientious objector); Will Warren (Quaker); Pat Arrowsmith; April Carter (Secretary DAC) and others. In January 1960 a further demonstration at Harrington saw 82 arrested and held in custody for four days.

April 23rd Maingate Sitdown at Foulness Island AWRE (near Southend). DAC. Imprisoned: Peter C Brown (author *Smallcreeps Day* and *Potter*), Jane Buxton (author *Gate-Fever* — prison letters), Terry Chandler (DAC activist); Mike Nolan (Polaris Action); Evelyn Poppleton (70 — retired nurse), Will Warren (Fieldworker: Operation Foulness). May 2nd 15 people return to Foulness Island. 4am advance on base. 13 refuse to be bound over and get 6 month sentences.

In the autumn Gustave Metzgar and Ralph Schoeman; both reading Italian Renaissance history met in the Partisan Club with Alan Lovell, Stuart Hall and Ralph Miliband of New Left and Hugh Brock and April Carter of DAC; and this according to the author of *The Disarmers* was how the Committee of 100 came to be named:- from the Guelphs and their Council of 100. Bertrand Russell, already 88 and the most famous of British philosophers (author of a dozen

THE BEGINNING



popular books like *Education; Power; In Praise of Idleness; Roads To Freedom*, etc...) became the President of the Committee of 100 at the same time giving up his Presidency of CND. Over 4,000 people took part in the first mass civil disobedience demonstration surrounding the Ministry of Defence. A pavement blockade ignored by police but covered internationally by media. (February 18th 1961)

The following declaration was pinned to the Ministry door, after speeches by Herbert Read; Hugh MacDiarmid; Rev Michael Scott and Bertrand Russell in Trafalgar Square.

'The nuclear powers of East and West are holding the people of the world to ransom. It is time for the people to act. Today we are taking positive action against the insane nuclear policies of our government. We demand the immediate scrapping of the agreement to base Polaris carrying submarines in Britain. We demand the total rejection by our country of nuclear weapons and all policies and alliances that depend upon them.

Hitler tried to wipe out a whole people. Today the nuclear tyrants of East and West threaten the entire human race with extinction.

We call upon people everywhere to rise up against this monstrous tyranny. We call upon the scientists to refuse work on nuclear weapons. We call upon workers to black all work connected with them and to use their industrial strength in the struggle for life. We call upon people from all walks of life to take direct action to bring the production of nuclear weapons to a halt.

Our action today is the first step in a campaign of non-violent civil disobedience. We hereby serve notice on our government that we can no longer stand aside while they prepare to destroy mankind.'

Michael Randle, secretary of the Committee of 100, writes an article four weeks later stating:-

'Unilateral nuclear disarmament involves a complete break with the military tradition and political tradition of the country, including, alas, the tradition built up in the Labour Party over the last 50 years. Only a profound political and social upheaval can upset this tradition.'

Is It Revolution We're After?
Peaca News 10.3.61.

Meanwhile up in Holy Loch where Polaris submarines are based Terry Chandler takes direct action, with others, in kayak and canoe against *nukiller* USS Proteus Depot ship. One of DAC's projects. At the end of the Easter March from Aldermaston a small group of DAC supporters began a 7-weeks footslog to Holy Loch from Trafalgar Square, led by Mrs Pat O'Connell, ex-Lambeth councillor and mother of five. April 29th sees second mass civil disobedience in Whitehall. Over 800 arrested out of over 6,000 who attempted to reach Parliament Square for a sitdown. Bayard Rustin (of War Resisters League), an American Negro active in the direct action struggle for Civil Rights as well as the anti-war movement, Doug Brewood (Field Secretary, Committee of 100) and Michael Scott (Vice-President, Committee of 100) spoke before the direct action took place.

August 31st: 116 people arrested for blocking entrance to Soviet Embassy in protest at USSR resumption of nuclear tests. (After Easter March US Embassy sitdown to publicise American resumption of nuclear tests)

September 12th: arrest of over 30 members of the original National Committee. Those jailed include Bertrand Russell, Robert Bolt, John Arden, Christopher Logue. New members immediately take the place of those in prison, including A S Neill (Summerhill School); Vanessa Redgrave (actress), Ken Weller (Solidarity and Industrial Sub-Committee).

Weekend of 16th and 17th September sees 300 Scottish demonstrators arrested at Holy Loch (Pat Arrowsmith, Field Secretary, gets 3 months).

Sunday 17th: a ban on demonstrations sees over 20,000 pack Trafalgar Square. 1,314 were arrested, most after midnight when press and TV journalists had gone home. Indiscriminate arrests include those of Fenner Brockway (Movement for Colonial Freedom) and Canon Collins (CND) present as observers; Herbert Read; Alan Sillitoe; Doris Lessing; Vanessa Redgrave; George Melly; Lindsay Anderson (director of the film, *March to Aldermaston*); John Berger and many, many anonymous private citizens. There was much use of bullying force and provocative violence by the police.

'Anyone who upsets people is an agitator; anyone who disturbs the equilibrium, who opposes entropy with energy — 'energy is the only life' — said Blake, and agitators conduct energy from the quick to the dead. Agitators are not just pamphleteers or speakers at street-corners and factory-gates, not just John Ball and John Lilburne and Tom Paine and William Morris — but all poets, all creators of new ideas, all observers of the world and prophets of the world to come. Simply to describe an evil is to agitate against it. Of course many agitators are not conscious of their activity, but all of them consciously or unconsciously sow the seed of discontent and disagreement, which grows into the plant of dissent, whose fruit is disobedience. The seed may fall on stony ground, it may be choked or uprooted, but some will always grow. You can't fool all of the people all of the time.'

— Nicolas Walter. *Nonviolent Resistance: Men Against War*. 1963

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WOMEN AND THE NUKES

continued from Page 11

need to do so. Instead, we are stereotyped according to sex, and what are the consequences? A man who shows a feminine characteristic such as gentleness is accused of weakness, so he represses and denies that part of himself and those human characteristics that he is allowed, become warped: assertiveness becomes aggression, competitiveness the desire to dominate, strength the ability to use force, virility becomes violence. And women, repressing any temptation to assert ourselves — gentleness becomes passivity, nurturance of others means devaluing ourselves.

Is it surprising that men move into the dominant position in society, that society publicly adopts masculine characteristics while devaluing feminine ones? So that men are rewarded for being ruthless, while women are not valued at all for being nurturers. The ultimate expression of Patriarchy is the Military State; where domination is formalised into a rigid, authoritarian hierarchy; where aggression is organised into preparations for war. The connections are obvious — is there really so much difference between a boy who fights on the playground for fear of being called sissy and Casper Weinberger insisting on the production of the neutron bomb because not to do so would be a sign of weakness? Or the little boys and the US soldier that I mentioned earlier, impotently aiming missiles at anonymous faceless targets? Is there that much difference between the twisted logic that calls rape an expression of sexuality and the logic that says mutually assured destruction is a form of protection?

So when women talk of Liberation, it's not from men, but from a Patriarchal value system that exploits us both and threatens to kill us both by denying us *all* half our humanity. And when we talk of a feminist vision, it is not one from which men are excluded but one where the traditionally 'feminine' values come into their own. A society where the organising principle is nurturance and co-operation not violence and competition. A non-hierarchical, egalitarian society where *feelings* are acknowledged as a guide to action not denied as confusing the issue. In such a society one could no longer be objective and detached about the victims of Hiroshima. One could stand up and say — I'm going to be subjective and emotional because *I'm* affected and I have feelings. A society where human relationships have a greater value than material goods so that no-one could espouse the neutron bomb as a useful weapon.

And this is not visionary nonsense — a system of defence is inseparable from the type of society it is defending. An alternative defence needs an alternative society. I am saying that nuclear weapons are the product of a patriarchal society and incompatible with a feminist one, and that is why the struggle for disarmament cannot be separated from the struggle to change the way all of us live. And if none of this is news to all you fellow anarchists why the hell aren't you out there struggling? Just to help you I'll stop being visionary and start being practical. How is this achieved? *Not* through the false equality gained by-drafting women into the army where they only learn a 'masculine' value system. Nor by electing women prime ministers who demonstrate their right to power only by denying any 'feminine' characteristics they might have.

I have two suggestions. Both are already beginning to happen. One: women have to have courage to act. I mean real courage not the kind equated with holding a weapon; the courage it takes to act on your beliefs. Feminism empowers us to do this. I could give you a lot of precedents: Emma Goldman, of course, struggling against militarism all her life, Nhat Chi Mai who immolated herself in protest at the Vietnam War, and Barbara Reynolds who, with others, tried to sail into the nuclear test site in the Pacific in 1961. Rosa Parkes who refused to give up her seat on a bus in



Alabama and sparked off a whole Civil Rights Movement, or Karen Silkwood who was assassinated trying to expose the corporate madness of the United States nuclear energy industry and Mollie Rush, a mother of five children, prepared to face up to ten years imprisonment as one of the Ploughshare 8 who bashed in the nose cones of nuclear weapons at General Electric as a symbolic protest against their use.

I could go on and on; not just individuals but thousands of us — who blocked the entrances to the Pentagon in November, lay down in front of the Ministry of Defence in West Germany, walked from Copenhagen to Paris and are camped at Greenham Common now living out the principles of the kind of society we want. That has to go on. We have to educate ourselves, take power for ourselves and act effectively. Clear in our hearts and minds what it is we are struggling for.

The second suggestion is just as important. I want men to take action too — a different kind. I want them to come home, change the nappies, clean up the shit, care for the kids and be directly and personally involved with what goes on there. Many are doing this already. There has to be more. Only that way will they learn to value the things we value, make the connections we make, acknowledge their feelings, admit they can be gentle and nurturing too and see that the personal is political. When that starts to happen I see a real possibility for change.

An American feminist called Wilma Scott Heide summed it up when she said:

Women have to care enough to be brave.

Men have to be brave enough to care.

LYNNE JONES

The article on Pages 12 and 13 has had to be cut for reasons of space. It was contributed by Dennis Gould.

Why CNDers should be Anarchists

THERE is no political party which does not have, as its main ambition, coming into control of the State, by one means or another.

There is no State which does not see the primary duty of its citizens as the defence of the State; ie, it is the duty of the subjects to defend their masters.

It follows, then, that in the eyes of those who control the State, their own defence is the most important of all the functions the State takes upon itself — the last to be reduced in times of economic recession, the first to be expanded under any threat, real or imaginary. And when the State feels itself to be under threat from *its own subjects*, it can create an imaginary threat from outside as a diversion. It can call for a closing of the ranks against the wolf at the door. And other clichés!

This is not to say that there may not be a wolf at the door — for all States look enviously at the greener grass on the other side — and those with power become besotted with it and with their own patriotic claptrap about the superiority of *their way of life* in their patch of the earth's surface.

So, yes, there can be threats to the State from outside. But from what? From other States, of course.

It is the State in every country which organises its people for war — under the pretext of that threat from outside. But the secondary function of the State (and some would say it is the primary function) is the defence of the ruling class against its own subjects. Thus the State becomes the coalition of all the forces of control: the armed forces, of course, the police, the prisons, the judiciary, the bureaucracy for 'social services', the education system (for 'thought control?'), the censorship, open or hidden, of the media and of the arts, the economy, production, distribution, transport, communication — *everything!*

A State in which all this is done openly as an avowed policy, as in Nazi Germany or Communist Russia, is called totalitarian. In a State where it is done *covertly*, under a guise of democracy and overseen by Parliament, it is called — democratic. The 'Free World'.

The effect is that, as far as the people are concerned, they are manipulated by the State. And, we repeat, the State's first interest is its own defence.

So the question we must ask ourselves is: 'Is it reasonable to ask the State to give up any of its arms, its defence capability, its *power?*'

The State is paranoid, forever looking over its shoulder to see what the others are up to, fearful of any other State stealing a march on it in terms of how many times over it can destroy the world.

Readers will have noticed by now that we are endowing the State with human — albeit sick human — attributes. This is deliberate, for, after all, the State is composed of humans — albeit sick humans — whose sole purpose in life is the control of others. Not only that, but in a weird way the State has a life of its own. And an apparently immortal life at that, inasmuch as it can replace itself continually with those (sick) individuals, which become part of that self-

perpetuating machine for controlling people.

In a totalitarian State, there is no division between the bureaucracy of this machine and the policy-makers. But in a democracy like Britain's, there is this division: that every new government brings into the field of 'policy-makers', those who wish to influence the bureaucratic machine. And nine times out of ten they fail.

Come every election, however, and candidates speak as if they can influence this bureaucracy on issues that really matter to it. More than that, for months and years before the expected new election, prospective candidates are plugging their wares — especially, as now, when there is intense competition for the parliamentary jobs and various contenders in the same old con-game are desperately trying to get the right mix of realism and idealism to pull the punters.

They all, however, have one common factor. They all want to get under that umbrella of the State. *All* of them.

All political parties are essentially leadership parties — and in all the parties that are offering themselves to us at the moment for invitation to become our masters, there is not one that is unequivocally for unilateral disarmament.

The Communists could say they are for it, because they are fundamentally for anything that seems to give an advantage to Moscow. They would certainly not demand of the Soviet Union however that *they* unilaterally scrap their nuclear weapons and in this they are for once being consistent, for in the first CND campaign, the CP were not only late on the scene, but were asking for special dispensation for the 'Workers' Bomb'!

The image of the Liberals may seem to have been blurred with that of the SDP — but not on this issue, which in both parties is exactly the same: the party membership may be sympathetic to unilateral disarmament, but both the party leaderships are against it! Guess who's going to win!

The Conservatives are of course against unilateral disarmament. Although they hate State interference in their capitalist business of making money, they love to have it there to protect their property from any threat, internal or external.

But let's consider — briefly — the Labour Party. Their history in this matter has been the creepiest of the lot, since — as you can read elsewhere — the original CND played a lot of faith in Labour — at least the leadership did. Not without reason, you may think, since no less a person than Aneurin Bevan gave everybody to think that he would be for banning the bomb — until he got the Foreign Secretary's job. Then he uttered the famous phrase about not being able to go 'naked into the conference chambers of the world'.

His old comrade, Michael Foot, however, marched on, and on, and on — into the party leaders' seat. Where responsibility rests, and where the possibility lies of actually becoming Prime Minister and having to deal with the State bureaucracy! And go along with it as is the way of a 'responsible' national leader. For when you become leader of the country as a whole, you must be responsible and act as the country as a whole wants you to, Tories, Fascists, SDP and Liberals and all.

To underline it all, in Britain the trade unions ensured, by their own unique brand of democratic procedure, that right-wing Healey became Deputy Leader and may well take over, in view of Foot's physical condition, before the next election. There's always something!

Anyway, left-wing, right wing, it doesn't really matter. Look at France, where the European anti-nuke consensus has had its first defector in the socialist Mitterand, who, with the communist Marchais, have now agreed that France must keep its own independent bomb — as launched by De Gaulle — after all!

There is this to be said for the left-wing parties, as well. Their economic and industrial policies are to nationalise as much as they can. Doesn't this give the State more

control, more property — and thus *more* to lose? The more power politicians have, the more will they make *you* fight to defend it, and the more methods they have of controlling and using you.

A lot of the foregoing is largely irrelevant to our fundamental argument, of course, for personalities and temporary politics have little to do with the real issues.

These are simply this: it is pointless to demonstrate against one aspect of warfare, no matter how horrific it may be, without recognising the fundamental relationship between warfare and the State and the apparatus of power in general.

The development of ever more horrible weapons has been a steady one through this century, linked to the steady development of propulsion — on land, sea and air. The technological explosion of the last 20 years has accelerated this development — and narrowed the field for those able to take advantage of it.

For it is no coincidence that this same century has seen the evolution of 'super States', with super methods of controlling people and of destroying them. The abuse of all technology spreads throughout society the more the State has control.

Today, only States — who have usurped the right to rob their people for the means to kill them — have the immense resources to develop these means. States everywhere are the enemies of the people everywhere.

So it is no use opposing the existence of horror weapons without opposing the institutions that create them and need them — and the social and economic systems that feed on them.

When trade union leaders defend the armaments industry

because it 'gives employment' we can see how sick they are. When every political party looks forward to the day when it takes charge of the murderous State, we know how sick they are. You cannot change the nature of that corrupt organism — you can only destroy it.

The Anarchists have always *opposed war*, and in the logic of the above arguments have opposed the causes of war. We present *internationalism* against the divisions of patriotism, nationalism, racism or prejudice; we stand for *co-operation* instead of competition, and for *decentralisation* so that individuals shall have more control over their lives. Centralisation — ie, State control — is the kiss of death.

Because we want to live — and see our children live — in a sane world free from fear, we march now as we did with the first generation of nuclear protestors, against the new generation of even more terrible weapons. But we march without illusions, for we know that there is no point in appealing to the moral sense of governments, for governments are part of the problem.

So we warn the new generation of CND'ers against the blandishments of the political parties. The real struggle must be one against the State, carried on by extra-parliamentary means — as it was before by a clear-eyed minority of the anti-bomb movement.

The majority, however, chose the easy road of following politicians — and were, as usual, betrayed. Today we cannot afford another such betrayal, for the penalties are not just the involvement in a war — they are our own involvement in the destruction of the world.

So our call is not just for unilateral disarmament, nor just for Ban the Bomb. Our call is to ban the very *causes* of war!

For all these reasons — CND'ers should be Anarchists.

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